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THE INVISIBLE SLAVS

Andrej Pleterski

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ŽUPA BLEĐ IN THE "PREHISTORIC" EARLY MIDDLE AGES

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Andrej Pleterski

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IN THE “PREHISTORIC” EARLY MIDDLE AGES**



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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. INVISIBLE HISTORY

History is everything that happened in the past, yet in professional terminology there still dwells the memory of the times when historiography was based on written sources, and therefore history was only what was described in written sources. But since there were more and more sources from the time beyond the horizon of written records, that time was provisionally described as prehistory. The fact that written records are today only one of the possible sources of information about the past, renders the above-mentioned definitions anachronistic. These definitions are, nevertheless, firmly established, while at the same time they can provide some new shades of meaning. It is still true that in certain areas there are no written sources which would offer reliable information on some periods. If the term "prehistory" is used for the time and space not "seen" by written records, (and if ideograms are narrow-mindedly not counted among written sources), then there are also "prehistoric" areas in the time that is generally considered "history". In this sense, there are still vast areas of Europe in the early mediaeval period where the state of written records can be described as "prehistoric". This holds true particularly for the areas at that time populated by the Slavs. Among them is the territory of the present-day Slovenia, where Bled lies. Bled does not "enter history" before the year 1004.

Europe is a continent where (as one of my American acquaintances put it) one travels just a few hundred kilometres and everything changes. In line with this is the fact that there is no unified definition of the term Middle Ages, which was conceived by the European Renaissance, and this holds true even more for the term Early Middle Ages (*Mirnik-Prezelj 1998, pp. 362-367*). In this work, the Early Middle Ages will be the time between the 6th and 7th century and the 10th and 11th century. Around these two time boundaries, the number of economic, social, settlement and political changes in the area studied rises drastically.

Certainly, being invisible to written sources means less information about military, political and other history led by social elites. This, however, is not necessarily a disadvantage. It can even be an advantage by redirecting attention to those fields of history which otherwise remain less "exposed to media", but nevertheless offer extremely important information for our understanding of history, especially of all historical events of long duration.

1.2. MOTIVATIONS

The history of Europe, which gathers information mainly from written records, begins in the Mediterranean, describes the development of its countries, proceeds with the migrations of the Celtic and Germanic peoples, moves on to Byzantium and the Vikings, and digs into the diverse past of the feudal states of western and central Europe. What follows is the origins of colonial empires, the birth of parliamentary democracies, the Industrial Revolution, the First and the Second World War together with attempts at social revolutions, and the project of unifying Europe as a conclusion. There are, however, vast areas of Europe (today populated mostly by the Slavs), which have long remained outside the focus of interest. This was expressed symptomatically and concisely almost a

century ago by Henri Pirenne in his history of Europe, which had long remained a work that raised a considerable response: while it is true that the Slavs did join the Christian ecumene, they remained alien to the European community (*Pirenne 1956, p. 351*). The formulation makes sense in the context of reasoning where Europeaness is identified with Christianity, and the Slavs are unknown, unwelcome intruders. Here, the purpose is not to discuss the justification of this formulation, but rather to use it to draw attention to the astonishing fact that the view of the Slavs has remained essentially unchanged for the past 1,400 years.

If we take a look at the time of the decline of the Roman Empire, when the Roman *limes* could no longer hold the pressure of Germanic tribes, who eventually settled the imperial territories in large numbers, we can see that in the 6th century, Slavic newcomers emerged behind their back at the banks of the lower Danube. Byzantine authors described them with mixed feelings and various perceptions. A statement from that time, made by Pseudo-Caesarius, suggests that the Sclavenes consume the breasts of women, full of milk, dashing infants with rocks like rats (*Curta 2001, pp. 36-73, 315*), which definitely does not indicate informed affection, but rather fear of the unknown. The civilisation gap between the Byzantines and the Slavs was huge, much wider in fact than the gap between the Byzantines and the Germanic peoples. The Byzantines simply found it difficult to find the words to describe what they had seen. The Slavs observed their old pagan religion, were not acquainted with a market economy, and their society was so barely stratified that there were no suitable partners for political debate. It seems today, however, that in the Balkans, in southern Europe, it was this civilisation incompatibility that protected them from assimilation (cf.: *Pohl 1988, p. 127*).

Their apparent emergence out of nowhere is a consequence of the distorted optics of the then "media" and, consequently, also of modern historians. Today, the largest part of Europe is inhabited by the Slavs. There are discussions about their origin as fierce as those about the origin of the Indo-Europeans. As early as the Early Middle Ages there is no doubt about their power of assimilation. They assimilated the Antes, the Croats, the Serbs, the Kosezes of the Iranian language group, and also large parts of the Balts and the Ugro-Finns. While different Germanic peoples were successful at conquering vast areas of the Roman Empire, they were there eventually Romanised to a high degree. This never happened to the Slavs in that area of the Balkans and the Eastern Alps which had belonged to the Roman Empire. Moreover, the local inhabitants of these areas, whom the Slavs named Vlachs, were often Slavicised. Further research will undoubtedly shed more light on the issue of what was the source of the assimilation power of the Slavs.

To understand the Slavs means to be familiar with their way of life, which consists of the society-economy-ideology triangle, but due to the lack of written records, very little is known about its characteristics in the Early Middle Ages. Even the existing written records were almost exclusively created by non-Slavs and therefore depend on their view, on their capacity for empathy. Capacity for empathy towards someone who is a stranger and even slightly feared cannot be very strong. What we lack today is thus insider information on the Slavs, created by the Slavs of that period. Today's anthropologists are well aware of the importance of information acquired through participant observation and cooperation. Such an approach enables us to study a culture from inside and to evaluate it with the norms and criteria specific to this culture (*Vinšćak 2011, VII; Šantek 2011, p. 66*). As demonstrated by Lev S. Klejn, this principle means that also in archaeology it is our ability to find and use such criteria that defines the level of success of typology and, consequently, of our interpretation and understanding (cf.: *Klejn 1988, pp. 490-528*).

Is it even possible to get an inside view into the life of the Early Slavs? A direct view is, after all, prevented by the insurmountable distance of time. Such aspirations therefore seem unrealisable, at least as long as we think merely within the frame of the written records from that period, where there is almost no insider information on the Slavs. Sure enough, it is impossible to be shifted simply into the past and perceive what it was like. It is, however, possible to enter the same space (at least the same in the coordinate sense) and to find all the remains of past life which are imprinted in language, names, folk tradition, spatial planning and design, various material remains, and even in much later written records as a peculiar *wirkungsgeschichte* (here in the sense of recording a later consequence of an earlier phenomenon). The very least that can be achieved in this way is the role of passive

observers, who, of course, still remain captives of their own subjective limitations. This is a danger that should be considered, yet not allowed to paralyse research, for even passive observers are not without the ability to make some good observations. This work therefore tries to show, by simultaneously using various types of sources (written, archaeological, ethnological, philological, historical and geographical), that the task of catching an insider view is perhaps not utterly unrealisable. It deals primarily with economic development and its social contexts, while ideology is discussed as little as possible. This is by no means because ideology would be unimportant. It is, on the contrary, so important that it will be discussed in a separate publication.

THE SLAVS

According to mediaeval authors, the Slavs are people predominantly sharing the same language (*lingua*), law (*lex*) and customs (*consuetudines*). But since the time of Christianisation and in accordance with the division into the Catholic and the Orthodox branch of Christianity, these authors write that the Slavs do not share the same confession (*ritus*) (Štih 2011, *entire article, synthetic part pp. 37-41*). Nevertheless, on the level of folk culture, the pre-Christian faith has been preserved until modern times – to such an extent and still in such detail that it is possible to make a sufficiently plausible reconstruction of the common Early Slavic ritual tradition (Toporov 2002; Katičić 2008, 2010, 2011). So even in this regard, the differences between the Slavs were significantly smaller than they officially seemed to be. The belief of the above-mentioned authors that knowing a part of the Slavs means knowing all the Slavs is paradigmatically illustrated in the hagiography *Žitije Metodija* (The Life of Methodius, Ch. II), which describes the life and work of the “Slavic apostles” Constantine-Cyril and Methodius. According to the author, Methodius was virtually predestined for his later work in Moravia and in Pannonia by the fact that in the course of his professional career he had been an archon of the Slavs around Thessaloniki (modern Greece), 1,000 kilometres away.

This, however, does not necessarily mean that the Slavs were an organic whole, a uniformly functioning entity. It would seem that modern sociological terminology is insufficient to adequately describe the society of the early Slavs. Florin Curta convincingly demonstrated the weaknesses and shortcomings of the term “military democracy” (Curta 2001, pp. 312-319). While the term “segmentary lineage system”, describing social organisation which is complex but lacks hierarchy, might seem more suitable, Curta noted that Byzantine authors mentioned “kings” – indicating the development of Slavic society when it came in contact with the Empire (Curta 2001, pp. 319-325). According to Curta, this is proof of the existence of chiefdoms – regionally organised societies with a centralised decision-making hierarchy coordinating activities among several village communities (Curta 2001, pp. 325-332). This is an anthropological classification, partly based on the modern situation in Melanesia. While it is certainly possible that social development in Melanesia led to certain forms which might be similar to the Early Slavic ones, another possibility is that this is merely social homonymy, not social synonymy. Despite this scruple, the obvious existence of certain “chiefs” among the Slavs cannot be denied. Their existence, however, does not explain the functioning of social mechanisms among the early Slavs. It would be useful to go back to the Slavic traditions.

ŽUPA

A common Slavic lexicon for the description of a socially stratified society is very sparse. The word *gospod*, with the original meaning lord of guests or lord of a feast carries a strong ritual connotation (Škrubej 2002, pp. 144-148) and its use in “civil” society is therefore still unclear. The word *oblast*, meaning governance, something over which one has government, is a common Slavic word and shows great stability of meaning (Škrubej 2002, pp. 126-130).

There is also the Early Slavic word **vojevoda* with the original meaning he who leads an army (Snoj 1997, p. 725). However, the Early Slavic word for prince **kǫnęnъg* is borrowed from the Germanic **kuningaz* king, leader of a tribe (Snoj 1997, p. 241). The Early Slavic hierarchy thus ends with the rank of *župan*. The Early Slavic **županъ* is derived from **župa*, meaning a district, the area of a tribe. The word could have derived from the Indo-European word **gewpā*, hollow (Snoj 1997, p. 767). *Župa* thus denotes a relatively small territorial unit, which is superior to a village and is presided over by a *župan*. He can be its *gospod*, *vojvoda* and has *oblast* over it.

It can therefore be assumed that individual *župas* were basic political building blocks of the Slavic world. *Župa* could be paralleled with the Greek *polis*, the Roman *civitas*, the *gau* of the Germanic peoples, or the Celtic *oppidum*. Within its frames, people realised their legal identity – today this would be called citizenship. The old thesis that the Slavs adopted the *župa* from the Avars has been refuted (Smiljanić 2010, p. 14). Its heads, *župans*, are mentioned in records from 777 onwards, when *župa* was being integrated into the feudal system. After that, *župa* acquired different meanings in different places and times (Hardt 1998; Smiljanić 2010, pp. 13-72).

Župas shared a similar structure, similar language, law, customs and rituals, all of these being preconditions for the impression of Slavic unity held by all the authors who described the Slavs. Despite such an impression, the Slavs were never a homogeneous whole – at best they were a group of identical constituent parts. This is one of the reasons why it is a fallacy to describe them as a segmentary society: this assumes an original whole that eventually fell apart into separate constituent parts. The appropriate mathematical metaphor might be that this is a *fractal society*. The metaphor compares *župas* to fractals of some kind, for *župas* not only share the same structure, but moreover, what can be found on the level of each *župa* can also be observed when separate *župas* group into larger territorial units.

In different parts of Europe, the integration of individual *župas* into larger territorial political units took place in different ways and at a different pace. As early as half a century ago, a paradigmatic model, which has remained widely unnoticed, was developed by Wolfgang Fritze on the case of the Obotrites, the Polabian Slavs in present day northern Germany. Instead of the word *župa*, Fritze used the term “small tribe” (*Kleinstamm*), while for *župan* he used the name from Latin sources, *regulus*. The author feels that in the time of their settlement and shortly afterwards, there were no connections between the “small tribes”. As later sources indicate, these tribes each had their own legal and ritual organisation, probably closely interconnected, for at certain times, court meetings were held in the place of ritual. The area of a “tribe” can be seen as a ritual district, and legal organisation of the community as a sacral order. Furthermore, the later prince was also subject to sacral inviolability and the “sovereignty” of law. Written records indicate that there were three stages of development. By the mid-9th century, there was a league of “small tribes”, of which each had its own *regulus*. The tribes were subject to a single *regulus*, who had power over all of them. In the next period, after a foreign policy intervention by the Frankish ruler, larger settlement groups (*Teilstämme*) began to integrate into political units under monarchic leadership. In the middle of the 12th century, there followed a period when the ruling family was building a unified state, using a network of princely castles and their administrative territories (*Burgbezirkverfassung*), while the old tribal groupings lost their political autonomy (Fritze 1960, especially pp. 201-208). This picture of development corresponds well with the settlement analysis by Franz Engel, according to which there were originally small, spatially separated groups of settlements, and it was only after the beginning of the second millennium that the state began to colonise wide areas and to build central and border castles (Engel 1960, p. 140).

Most of the written records on the early mediaeval *župans* comes from the territory of Croatia, and have been recently methodically summarised by Franjo Smiljanić. Evolutionarily older is the form where individual tribes had their “*starci župani*” – *nobiles sapientiores*, chosen by free peasants. As early as the 9th century, however, there is evidence of the existence of the *župans*, who are subjected to the ruler and perform different functions: they could be officials

at the court of the prince, bearers of territorial organization, or merely titular župans. They were *primates populi*, and the ruler recruited his officials from their ranks. When Croatia became a kingdom, the župans became king's officials *primates regni* and belonged to the community of king's noblemen. The king's administrative authority was based on the župas and their župans were chosen from among the local noblemen. Aristocratic župans *nobili iuppani* performed duties that were important for executing the king's authority. The service of the župans was not hereditary, but the title itself was. The župans had their own armed escort, consisting of members of their own clan, and they collected taxes and had judicial power. At the end of the 12th century, the process of the transformation of king's župas into feudal estates began (cf.: Smiljanić 2010, pp. 15-33). The development in Croatia thus corresponds well to the Obotrite model, the development elsewhere being similar. The origin of larger and more stable Slavic states can be seen after the introduction of Universalist Christianity with its power of integration (Pleterski 1998). As late as the end of the 12th century, the founder of the ruling dynasty of mediaeval Serbia, Stefan Nemanja, held just the simple title of grand župan, and the same goes for his son Stefan, until he was crowned king in 1217 (Dinić 1953, pp. 316-322).

Written records thus clearly prove the existence of župas and župans and their autonomy in the early stages. Therefore, in the fractal sense, each župa is a true *pars pro toto* of the Slavs as a whole. Understanding the life of a župa is a precondition to understanding the life of the Slavs.

A genesis of an early mediaeval župa has never been made so far. Sparse fragments of the preserved written records cannot be used to that end. In this sense, we are talking about "prehistory" (see above 1.1.). There are, however, other sources available for this period, as well as the analytical tools offered by historical geography, especially land cadastres as remnants of the past. To this, one should add onomastics, folk tradition and archaeological sources, the latter becoming increasingly important. Settlement history makes use of all these sources (cf.: Krawarik 2006, pp. 61-70). The goal of this work should be even higher: the history of a župa as a social community – which is only possible if there is some sort of administrative continuity, materialised in the cadastre. In which Slavic territories in the Early Middle Ages can such continuity be expected?

The Tatar conquest of Eastern Europe in the 13th century changed the situation there so drastically that it signifies the beginning of a new historic era. Something similar had happened earlier in Pannonia, after the arrival of the Magyars, while in southeastern Europe, there were subsequently enormous settlement changes caused by the Turks. When Central European administrative and economic models were being introduced among the western part of the Slavs during the High Middle Ages (especially in the 13th century), land division there was profoundly altered – it even seems that it had not been established before that time (Hardt 1999). The most promising area in terms of continuity preservation is thus the remaining territory of northern Bavaria (Germany) and the areas between the Danube and the northern Adriatic (Austria, Slovenia, west Croatia). It seems that the fact that these areas shared similar fates influenced their material culture, which reveals – in the Early Middle Ages and also later – a great degree of similarity (Giesler 1980, Losert 2009, Pleterski 2003, 2010a; Štular 2009). It is an encouraging fact that the first specific mention of a župan comes from this territory. In 777, *jopan qui uocatur Physso* took an oath to confirm some boundaries near Kremsmünster (Upper Austria) (*Monumenta Boica* p. 28, *Monachii* 1829, p. 198).

It can be expected that the territory of an Early Slavic župa encompassed a geographic micro-region, spatially well separated from neighbouring microregions. This opens **the possibility of a microregional survey** with all of its advantages. A microregion is to the humanities what a laboratory is to natural sciences – a place where hypotheses and theories are sought, built, developed and tested. In a manageable environment, the maximum number of relations can be observed. Although this is a frog's view of history, its advantage lies in its depth. At the same time, general events can be observed, for they leave traces at the local level. If they do not, they are not general.

The impulse for a microregional survey came from a book I read as a student (Taylor 1974).

It ends with an appeal for "total archaeology", the final deciphering of the total landscape and its genesis. This means that the landscape should be understood as a historical record. Such a study is multidisciplinary and the person best qualified to conduct it is an archaeologist. It promises extraordinary results. Due to its depth, it can only be conducted at the level of a microregion, for the holistic approach greatly increases the quantity of information that needs to be studied. In a microregion, events and processes are certainly geographically limited to its area, but nevertheless, traces of supra-regional, and even global events accumulate in it all the time. Microregional history is therefore a sample piece of general history.

A sufficient quantity of diverse information is therefore needed for a microregional survey. In the above described territory, such diversity of information can be found in the microregion of Bled. Its greatest advantage is the concentration of early mediaeval archaeological sites which have been researched to a great extent.

WHY THE MICROREGION OF BLED

While it would seem that the extraordinary concentration of historical information at Bled is coincidental, its roots are actually very deep. It is the *genius loci*, materialised in the island on Lake Bled, which creates an exceptionally charismatic landscape (Fig. 1.1). Archaeological excavations on the island have discovered an unexpectedly large number of stone artefacts from the 1st millenium BCE, which indicates the probability that this is an old ritual location (Šribar 1971, p. 11). There are many clues indicating that in the Early Middle Ages, the island kept its ritual function, which in the 9th and 10th century dictated the building of the first Christian church (Pleterski 1995, pp. 127-128). It became a well frequented pilgrimage church (Gornik 1990, pp. 173-181), thus proving the symbolic significance of the island in later centuries. It is impossible to avoid thinking it was this landscape

Fig. 1.1:
Lake Bled.



that attracted bishop Albuin of Brixen so much that one millennium ago he convinced king Henry II to donate the estate of Bled to him and the diocese of Brixen. This contributed to the fact that the area is well-represented in written records.

The reason for the concentration of archaeological information is much more dramatic. As early as the 19th century, tourism was in full swing at Bled; it became one of the most important tourist resorts of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy (*Janša-Zorn 1984*). In the period between the two World Wars it was a summer residence of the Yugoslav king, later of Yugoslav president Tito, and it has retained its significance in tourism until today. In the years before World War II, Germans were the most common visitors (*Janša-Zorn 1984, p. 195*). The then mayor advertised Bled to the Nazis as a small European paradise. During World War II, when the northern part of Slovenia was integrated into the Nazi Third Reich, the leadership of the Nazi Party had a special bureau at Bled, where they devised a new cult religion. A temple with a golden statue of Wotan, the supreme god of the West Germanic peoples, was supposed to have been built on the island. At the altar, the leading people of the new *reich* were meant to take blood oaths following a special protocol. In the context of preparations for the construction of the temple, they wanted to start building – at the location of the Yugoslav king's residence – a boarding school for the select, who would have been initiated on Bled Island after completing their training. The villas of Bled would have been reserved for the heroes of war, bearers of the Knight's Cross (*Ritterkreuzträger*). A part of the Slovene inhabitants would have been relocated, while the rest would have become personal property of the new Nazi aristocracy for whom Bled was going to become some sort of an exclusive Nazi paradise. In the context of these preparations, Bled was personally visited by the leader of the Nazi SS (*Schutzstaffel*), Heinrich Himmler (*Gaspari 2008*). Archaeological excavations were also performed as a part of the preparations. As early as 1939, there was an archaeological excavation at Karnburg in the neighbouring province of Carinthia, performed by the SS under Himmler's personal patronage. Its purpose was to establish the new border of the Third Reich, as well as to prove that the Germaness (*Deutschtum*) of this territory dates from the Early Middle Ages (*Dolenz 2011, pp. 246-247*). It seems that the archaeological excavations that took place at Bled (Pristava, the royal mansion of Suvobor) in 1943 were a part of the above-mentioned efforts. They were performed by *Institut für Kärntnerlandesforschung* whose task was to scientifically prove the German character of the newly conquered territories (*Gaspari 2008, pp. 39, 55*). As a reaction, extensive archaeological excavations were initiated after the war, in 1948, at Pristava under Castle Bled and performed by the National Museum of Slovenia. The area of Bled proved to be very promising for the archaeology of the Early Middle Ages, which led to a series of new archaeological investigations (an overview: *Knific 2008*).

1.3. RELATED RESEARCH IN THE EASTERN ALPS AND NEIGHBOURING AREAS

It has been known for a long time that land cadastres can reveal the traces of very old economic, administrative and landholding structures. A highly important question, however, is how old is the earliest situation shown in a particular cadastre. This is not about the physical remainders of individual land boundaries, which could have been used as orientation points for later land redistributions. The boundaries important for this research are those that have been preserved because of the landholding continuity.

In the Early Middle Ages, the northwest neighbours of the Slavs in the Eastern Alps were the Bavarians. Decades ago, Hermann Dannheimer used the example of Lauterhofen (Bavaria, Germany) to show that historical analysis of land cadastres can not only be linked to written, but also to archaeological sources. He made a reconstruction of the land belonging to the later king's court and to the earlier court of the Bavarian prince, to which belonged, in his opinion, the graves found there and dating from the second half of the 7th century and the first half of the 8th century (*Dannheimer 1968, pp. 58-61*). While he found no direct structural connection between the plot arrangement and the graveyard, his results were still within the limits of high probability and therefore quite encouraging.

A recent metric analysis of the early mediaeval graveyard, the area of the settlement and the arrangement of its fields confirmed that they were arranged with regard to a special system connecting them (Pleterski 2008c, pp. 75-77).

Gertrud Diepolder later made a modular analysis of arable land division in Aschheim and its neighbourhood, east of Munich (Bavaria, Germany). She discovered that several distances were multiples of the Roman foot, (0.296 m), the Carolingian foot (0.333 m), as well as the "Aschheim" foot (0.275 m) – the latter being deduced from the ground plan of the early mediaeval church in Aschheim (Diepolder 1988). To be more convincing, this analysis would necessitate a comprehensive modular presentation of arable land development of at least one entire village. Since Diepolder's work has not met an adequate response among the scientific community, its interpretative potential has not yet been tested. Considering the level of accuracy of the measurements for the first land division maps, the reliability of the modules is questionable. An illustrative example is the land division at the foot of the Georgenberg hill in Upper Austria, where Franz Brosch saw traces of Roman land division and the foot of approximately 0.3065 m as the measurement unit, while Diepolder saw a module derived from the Aschheim foot (Diepolder 1988, pp. 210-211). The Aschheim foot was not confirmed by later measurements conducted by Hans Krawarik in the vicinity of Georgenberg (Krawarik 1994a, p. 159).

With the example of the Upper Krems valley microregion (modern Upper Austria), Hans Krawarik demonstrated that the origins of land division often date back to the time before the year 1000. He developed a method of reconstructing the original units of land (see Ch. 11.3.), which he named *Althöfe*, i.e. old courts (= *dvors*). The fact that there are Slavic toponyms in the area as well as two archaeologically investigated early mediaeval graveyards proves just the continuity of settlement. Because of the king's reorganisation of the land, there is a continuity of precise land division only from the 10th and 11th century on (Krawarik 1994). In the following years, Krawarik conducted several separate investigations of individual settlements in Austria, in the territory that was once settled by the Slavs. The conclusions he reached seem similar (Krawarik 2006), but without a pertaining chain of written records his datings remain hypothetical, for not even suitably structured archaeological sources were available. From the aspect of historical geography, the research of Rainer Loose in the southern part of the Central Alps (today mostly in northeastern Italy) also demonstrated the great stability of land allotment and indicated several early mediaeval continuities. There, land was divided between large manors and administratively organised into a system of both different courts as well as villages with individual *hubas*, while there was no free land of individual peasants (Loose 1996, pp. 16-20). This is a territory where the substrate population in the Early Middle Ages was the Romanised inhabitants and where the political, administrative and colonial activities of the Lombards, Bavarians and Franks intertwined.

In the northwest Czech Republic, large open-cast coal mines prompted intensive archaeological investigations. They were summarized by Jan Klápště in an overview of the mediaeval landscape of Most. From the archaeological point of view, a settlement break can be observed in the 13th century. The present ground plans of villages cannot be dated before that time. The area at that time, however, demonstrates a highly stratified society with castles and towns (Klápště 1994, especially pp. 182-183). There is no direct continuity from the Early Middle Ages.

The neighbouring territories, both Germanic and Romance, thus undoubtedly indicate landholding continuity from the Early Middle Ages on, but at the same time also great social and political stratification together with a hierarchical and centralised society that cannot be compared to the fractal system of the Early Slavic *župas*. There is no landholding continuity from the Early Middle Ages on in the Slavic territories north of the Eastern Alps. Franjo Smiljanić's historical topographical research of the territory of medieval *župas* in Croatia, south of the Eastern Alps, has so far also demonstrated a large discontinuity caused by the Turkish raids at the end of the Middle Ages, when the consequence was a complete population change (e.g. Smiljanić 1984/1985).

In Slovenia, a comprehensive classification of village land divisions was made by Svetozar Ilešič, who, though allowing some sort of development, did not investigate their genesis (Ilešič 1950). The classification clearly demonstrated that the territory of modern Slovenia was not all settled at the same time and in the same way. This has also been confirmed by a synthetic overview of the coloni-

sation history of this territory. But since colonisation history is based on written records – which are practically absent in the Early Middle Ages and relatively sparse even in the High Middle Ages – and on some very general onomastic criteria and the simplified classification of the final state of land division, it had not been possible to represent the course of development before the 13th century (*Blaznik, Grafenauer, Kos, Zwitter 1970*). On the general map, the entire territory of the Bled microregion is depicted as colonised by the 13th century (*Kos Milko 1970*). But there was some development, as demonstrated clearly by Pavle Blaznik in the example of the village of Dovje (north-western Slovenia), where the oldest urbarium from around 1160 was used as a *terminus post quem non* for land division (*Blaznik 1950*). A good example of connecting different kinds of written records to the land cadastre and thus enabling a reconstruction of the 15th century situation was given by Sergij Vilfan, who analysed the land of one of the *kosezes* in Log near Ljubljana (central Slovenia) (*Vilfan 1966*). The above listed studies have demonstrated that it is possible to go one step further in our knowledge of the earlier situation, especially at the microregional level, by studying every single piece of land.

The first monographic study of **the area of the Bled microregion** was made by Franc Gornik, who wrote a popular history of the period between the 11th and 19th century, based on written records (*Gornik 1967*). Timotej Knific wrote about the early mediaeval archaeological finds that had been discovered by then and related them to the geographic environment (*Knific 1983*). There have been two thematic collections of separate articles, dealing with individual issues from local history and the culture of the Bled area (editors: *Vodopivec 1984, Dežman 2004*). A microhistorical analysis of the neighbouring microregion of Radovljica in the time span from the emergence of humans to the present day was conducted by Tine Jarc. His basic starting point was the communication network and he discovered numerous relations and connections between settlement points from all periods. While the land cadastre was included in his research, no analysis of the development of land division in individual villages has been conducted. Thus, no cases of continuity from the time before the 11th century have been established (*Jarc 2004*).

Most of the research presented in this work was conducted in the years 1978-1984 and published soon afterwards (*Pleterški 1986*). New discoveries have been included in this edition, as well as the two introductory Chapters and the conclusion. A similar insight into an early mediaeval župa has not yet been made.

1.4. TERRITORY

The geographical position of Slovenia lies at the juncture of the Adriatic Sea as a part of the Mediterranean Sea, the end of the Alpine arch, the Dinarides and the plains of Pannonia. Located at the end of the ancient amber route between the Baltic Sea and the Mediterranean Sea, this juncture is a land access to Italy (*Fig. 1.2*). Today, the name Bled refers to one of the youngest Slovene towns, lying in the northwestern, alpine part of the country. Earlier, it was the name of the entire microregion at the confluence of the rivers Sava Bohinjka to the south and Sava Dolinka to the east, with the high mountain plateaux of Pokljuka and Mežakla to the west and north, respectively. This is the area studied in the present publication (*Fig. 1.3*).

Bled has alpine or at least subalpine regional characteristics. The centre of the Bled basin is Lake Bled, its formation being influenced by tectonic movements. It was formed at a fanlike meeting point of the tectonic faults in both the alpine and dinaric direction. The result of high tectonic activity are thermal springs. During quaternary glaciations, this tectonic basin was covered by ground moraines of the Bohinj glacier as well as by fluvial sediments which cover the larger part of the plain of Bled. While the glacier was withdrawing, smaller moors and marshes arose between the terminal and lateral moraines, which had prevented the water draining away. During each glacial period, the Sava River and its tributaries eroded deeply into the accumulated material. Further accumulations did not reach the level of the previous ones, thus causing the formation of successive fluvial terraces. Older rocks rise from the accumulated material. The ground is fertile and suitable for fields and grasslands. Bled has a mild subalpine climate and is protected against cold winds by the ridges



Fig. 1.2: Southeastern Alps. 1 – town, 2 – castle, 3 – settlement.

of the Julian Alps and the Karavanke. The plain of Bled lies about 500 m above sea level, which is relatively high. Temperature inversion occurs rarely. The heavier cold air, which descends towards the lake surface – in the morning hours from shady slopes and in winters from snowy slopes of the nearby mountains – flows towards the lower areas in the vicinity, therefore morning fog is relatively rare. Because of the mountainous surroundings there is frequent precipitation. On average, there are 111 days of precipitation per year, while the snow-cover lasts a little more than 50 days. Hail is relatively rare. Lake Bled accumulates heat and thus makes the rough climate milder (*Knific* 1984, pp. 104-105; *Šolar* 2004, p. 38; *Trontelj* 2004).

2. METHOD OF ANALYSIS

The analysis is based on the premise that a historical process leaves traces in different kinds of sources. This means that structurally matching traces of past events can be found in different sources because they were created in the same historical process and are therefore synonymous. A multi-disciplinary study is required to identify such synonymous structures. The Bled area is ideal for a study like this as it is the East Alpine region where most sites from the Early Middle Ages have been archaeologically investigated. Furthermore, there is a rich series of written sources referring to Bled and dating from the 11th century on. The onomastics of the area has also been researched in detail. The following analysis is based on toponymic data, oral folk tradition, written sources, archaeology and land cadastres. They all refer to the same area, which links them together and forms their analytical axis. This axis is materialized in land cadastres. The maps represent space, while the written protocols are textual sources, thus forming a synthesis of tangible and intangible heritage. Land division depends on the perception of the concept of ownership, which speaks of the society it is applied to. Therefore, the development of land division can speak of the development of the society.

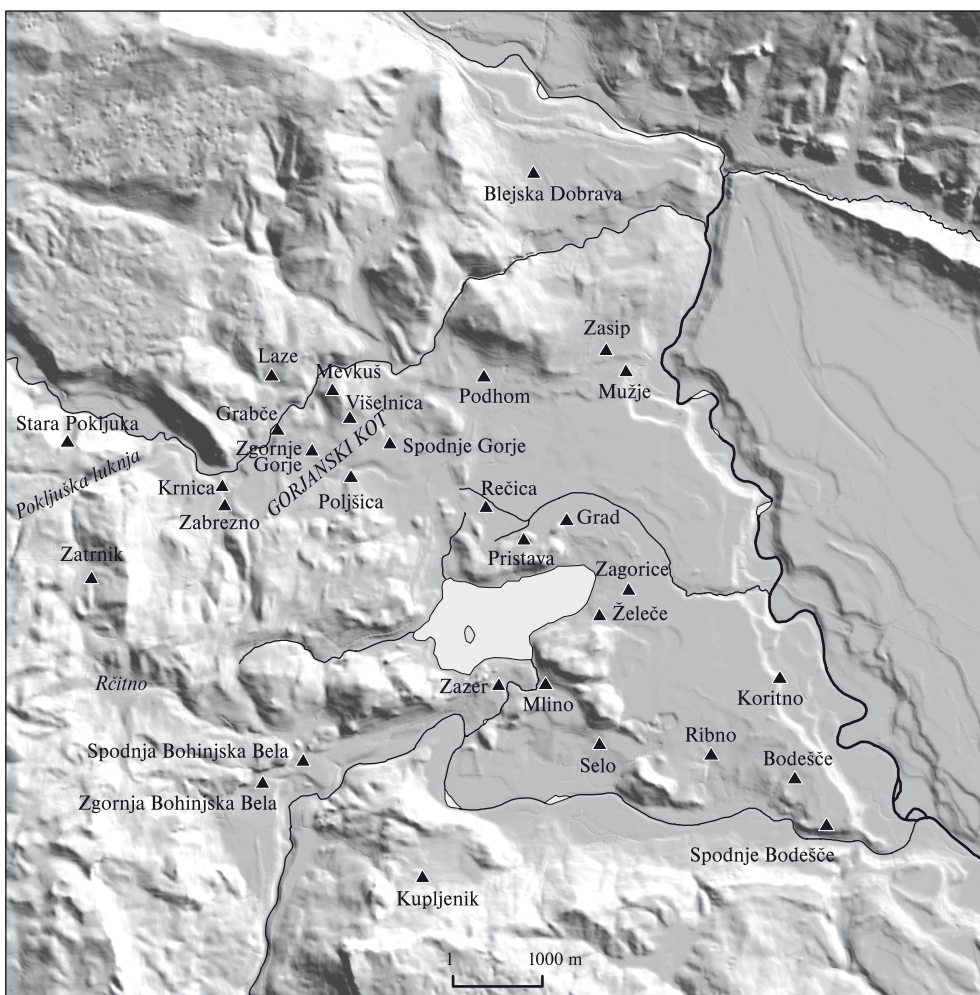


Fig. 1.3:
Villages in the
Bled Area.

The land cadastre is a cumulative record of historical processes, all of them projected onto the same information layer, which creates the false impression that this layer has no temporal depth. Yet this is a typical palimpsest, multiple records in the same place. Their chronological order can be determined by finding synonymous structures in other sources of information. The youngest records are the easiest to identify. The retrograde analysis method, where layer after layer of records is removed – first the youngest and then the older layers – yields very good results.

At the end of the Middle Ages, the Bled area included 26 villages. By the retrograde analysis of land cadastres, the genesis of the arable land development and division have been established for every single village. It is presented in the form of a dendrogram, which is related to the picture of development as represented in written sources – a synonymous structure. In two cases it was possible to include the third synonymous structure: the dendrogram of the development of the early mediaeval graveyards of the villages of Bodešče and Zasip (Figs. 3.5; 3.18). The success of the retrograde analysis of land cadastres is of crucial significance here and its more detailed presentation will be given below.

2.1. RETROGRADE ANALYSIS OF LAND CADASTRE

The starting point was the oldest land cadastre with preserved cadastral maps. In Slovenia, this is the Land Cadastre of Franz I ("Franziscan Cadastre") from between 1817-1828 (introduction and how to use it: *Blaznik 1978*). An important fact is that the boundaries of cadastral municipalities match the then economic areas of the villages – their site catchment areas. This finding is useful for further analysis.

The Franziscan Cadastre was used as the source of cadastral maps and data on the size of land parcels, house names and the social class of the people who worked the farms. This data was linked to the information from the older Land Cadastre of Joseph II ("Josephian Cadastre", 1785-1789; introduction and how to use it: *Blaznik 1974*) regarding individual parcels of land: landowners, land yield and field names. The information from the Josephian Cadastre was entered into the maps of the Franziscan Cadastre. First, the number of the house to which it belonged was written on each land parcel. These numbers are used in all the maps and in the text of this book and they generally match the numbers in the Josephian Cadastre. Since the commission which drew up the Josephian Cadastre visited the terrain and registered the parcels in sequence, together with the relevant data (including the house numbers of the people working the land), the order of house numbers in the Josephian Cadastre matches their order in the cadastral maps of the Franziscan Cadastre. This means that the parcels in one cadastre can be identified with the parcels in another. The parcel numbers in the Franziscan cadastre are not relevant to the identification because their order indicates that they are not a product of fieldwork. They are adapted to the needs of someone who is looking for a parcel in the map, not somebody who is walking in the field. This provides us with an upgraded, reconstructed version of the Josephian Cadastre.

For the reconstruction of the development of a village, a study of the area of that village, as presented by both land cadastres, usually suffices. This, however, is not always adequate. In cases where one village developed into several villages, or where a part of the land was later alienated, it is necessary to include the neighbouring areas, even if they lie in different cadastral municipalities. A good example is the pairs of villages Mlino-Selo (Ch. 3.13.c.) and Želeče-Zagorice (Ch. 3.12.c.). But since such cases cannot be predicted in advance, the easiest way to avoid errors in the explanation of the development is to study the villages of a certain area together. In this way, it is often possible to establish the chronological order of the divisions of arable land of individual villages, e.g. Višelnica-Spodnje Gorje (Ch. 3.2.c.), Blejska Dobrava-Zgornja Blejska Dobrava (Ch. 3.17.c.), Zasip-Mužje (Ch. 3.1.c.), Spodnje Bodešče-Zgornje Bodešče (Ch. 3.3.c.).

On its own, the picture shown by a cadastral file reveals nothing about the past situation for it is merely the depiction of the situation at the time of the geodetic measurements. Nevertheless, the seemingly disorderly multitude of land parcels often contains hidden information about much older times. The starting point for the study of arable land of individual villages was the theory of arable land cores, according to which a settlement would initially have relatively little cultivated land lying in close prox-

imity, usually where the soil was especially good. With settlement growth, more fields were cleared on new, more distant plots of land, while the old core of arable land was further divided and fragmented (Ilešič 1950, pp. 48-49). The villages whose development is in accordance with this theory, allow retrograde analysis, where older forms are reconstructed from later forms. The procedure is illustrated with the case of the village of Spodnje Gorje (Ch. 3.2.). As for the other villages, only the final results of the retrograde analysis are presented, i.e. the development stages of their arable land and its division.

2.1.1. CADASTRAL MAP

We shall begin with the most obvious – the cadastral map of the Franziscan Cadastre. The land in the marginal areas, where parcels belonging to different villages are intermixed, is very young. These areas were cleared only when the neighbouring villages already existed and had no more available land in the immediate vicinity. Narrow "tongues" or "islands" of land, surrounded by the land of the neighbouring village, are young in origin. These areas were almost always subjected to changes of ownership in the modern era, when the peasants working the land gained greater rights of disposal and there was an increase in property trading.

Arable land is the basic type of agricultural land, and it was arable land where the concept of personal ownership first prevailed because it gives the most benefit. The study can thus focus primarily on arable land. Solitary fields of irregular shapes, lying amid grasslands, are young. Plots of arable land belonging to individual villages of Bled are generally separated from each other, but sometimes they border on each other in a straight line, often even sharing the same field name. Such cases indicate that people from both villages divided this land together and at the same time, which enables us to parallel the development of arable land division of two neighbouring villages.

The example of Spodnje Gorje. The area of Spodnje Gorje (Figs. 2.1; 2.2; 2.3) lies between the areas of Višelnica to the west, Poljšica to the south, Rečica to the east and Podhom to the northeast. From the area of Podhom it is separated by the pasture of Radolca. Between the arable land of Spodnje Gorje and Rečica there are grasslands that belong to both villages. A "tongue" extending into the area of Rečica is relatively young. The arable land of Poljšica and Spodnje Gorje is separated by the small valley of Klobasnica. One field, which extends into the arable land of Spodnje Gorje, is a later acquisition of Poljšica. To the west, the arable land of Spodnje Gorje is in a straight line adjacent to the arable land of Višelnica. The field name Na rivouce (Fig. 2.4) refers to both Spodnje Gorje and Višelnica fields in this part. The name indicates that the land was cleared by fire. It is likely that the land was cleared jointly by the two villages and was then divided between them. The majority of the irregularly shaped fields lie to the east of the village amid grassland and can be considered relatively young.

2.1.2. ENTERING DATA INTO A CADASTRAL MAP

It is expedient to first examine where the land of *kajžars* lies. The social class of *kajžars* was formed at the end of the Middle Ages and after, meaning that their property must be relatively young in origin. Plots of land belonging to *kajžars* are only rarely found in the old part of village arable land. Such plots of land are parts of former farms which were divisible and fragmented in the course of centuries.

It has already been mentioned how the information from the Josephian Cadastre is entered in the maps of the Franziscan Cadastre. This gives us a detailed map with field names, which can be a valuable source of data and is sometimes helpful in identifying older farming units. The plot of land to which a field name refers is usually comprised of several land parcels. Older names often refer to larger areas, while younger names refer to single land parcels and intersect the areas with older names. The boundaries of the plots of land with older names sometimes correspond to old property boundaries. It is interesting that field names offer the most information for those villages of the Bled area whose arable land was divided anew in the 11th century by the Diocese of Brixen. Nevertheless,



Fig. 2.1: Spodnje Gorje. Village area according to the Franziscan Cadastre from 1827.
1 – arable land, 2 – grassland, 3 – pasture.

this is only one possible way of searching for the older picture. The field names derived from the names of former owners can be another helpful clue, but only in cases where the plot of land is near the village and has not been divided anew. Even these names are only a working basis.

The meaning of field names can provide information as well, for instance, which fields used to be forest or grasslands. Such fields are younger. Sometimes, even the manner of land clearing is revealed, e.g. by fire. Providing information on past vegetation, configuration of the terrain and soil type, the field names are helpful in reconstructing the past cultural landscape. It goes without saying that they also reveal a whole series of locations of archaeological interest.

Another useful piece of information which should be mapped is land yield. In the Josephian Cadastre, land is divided into three groups: poor, medium and good quality land. What we are interested in is not the monetary value of the yield, but rather the differences in the quality of the land. The yield of the land combines information on several natural conditions influencing it: type of soil, climate and configuration of the terrain. Grasslands differ less in yield than arable land. Moreover, the yield of grasslands is usually one or two levels higher than the yield of arable land on the same plots of

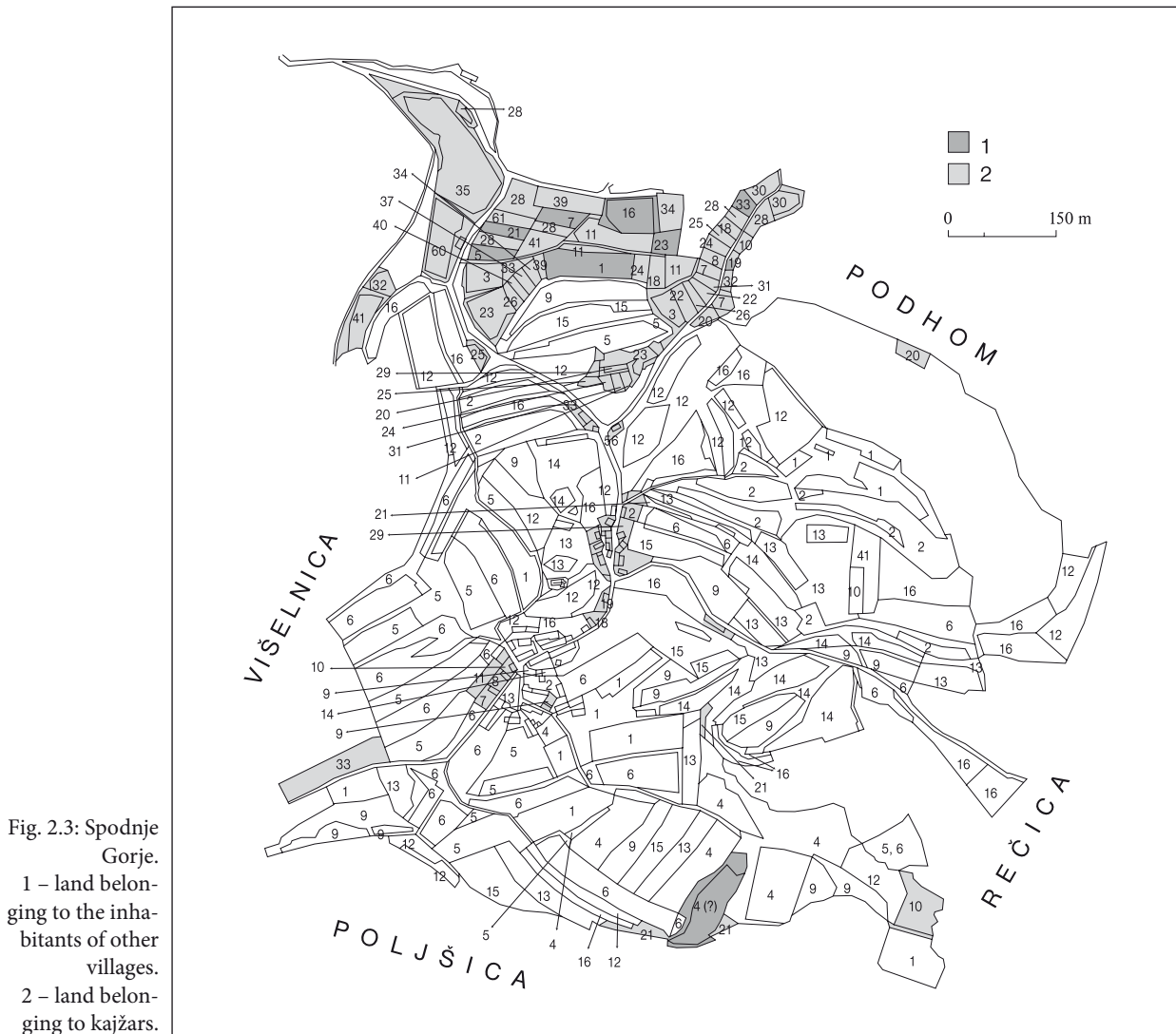


Fig. 2.2: Spodnje Gorje. House numbers of farms to which the parcels belong. The segment shows the plan of the village with the farmhouses in black.

land. To get a clearer picture, only the yield of arable land has been considered in this study. The oldest part of the arable land of a village includes the most fertile fields, or at least the majority of them.

After all this has been done, the outline of the original core of arable land can appear – if the village has one, which cannot be known in advance. What remains is the evaluation of house numbers, which had been entered in the cadastral file in the beginning to connect the Josephian and the Franziscan Cadastre. It is easiest to observe where the fields of individual farms lie. The farms whose fields are only in the younger part of the village arable land are young in origin and can be omitted. A farm with all of its fields in the older part of the village land is one of the oldest farms in the village, while the farms with some of their fields in the older and some in the younger part of the village arable land are younger. However, at this stage, the exact extent of the original core of arable land is often as yet unknown, and furthermore, the farms with their fields only in the older or only in the younger part of the village arable land are rare.

The example of Spodnje Gorje. In Spodnje Gorje, the land of kajžars is mostly in the northern part of the village area (Fig. 2.3) and is intermixed with plots of land belonging to other villages. This



indicates that this part of the village area is young in origin. Other land parcels of kajžars were probably acquired from older farms.

The map of field names is quite informative (Fig. 2.4). The name *U gabrce*, referring to a plot of land in the northern part of the village area, which includes some parcels of kajžars, indicates relatively late clearing of hornbeam forest. To the west, there is a plot of land with the field name *Na rivouce*, which indicates clearing by fire in the oldest period. The field names *Na ledine* and *U travence* are the most common to the east of the village. They denote young fields on former grasslands and uncultivated plots of land.

There are at least three more names: *Na došce*, *Na Radolce*, *Pr Dobrule*. The first one means a long field and refers to a group of fields in the southern part of the village area. It indicates the possibility that they are a former farming unit. The other two names, deriving from the Slavic names *Radol* and *Dobrul*, which must have been the names of former owners, indicate the same possibility. So the plot of land *Na Radolce* belonged to a single farming unit. The plot of land *Pr Dobrule* is quite small, but it means the land near the stream of *Dobrul*. The explanation could be that *Dobrul* was the owner of the land, over which the said stream runs.

The map showing the yield of the land (Fig. 2.5) indicates that the most fertile fields are to the

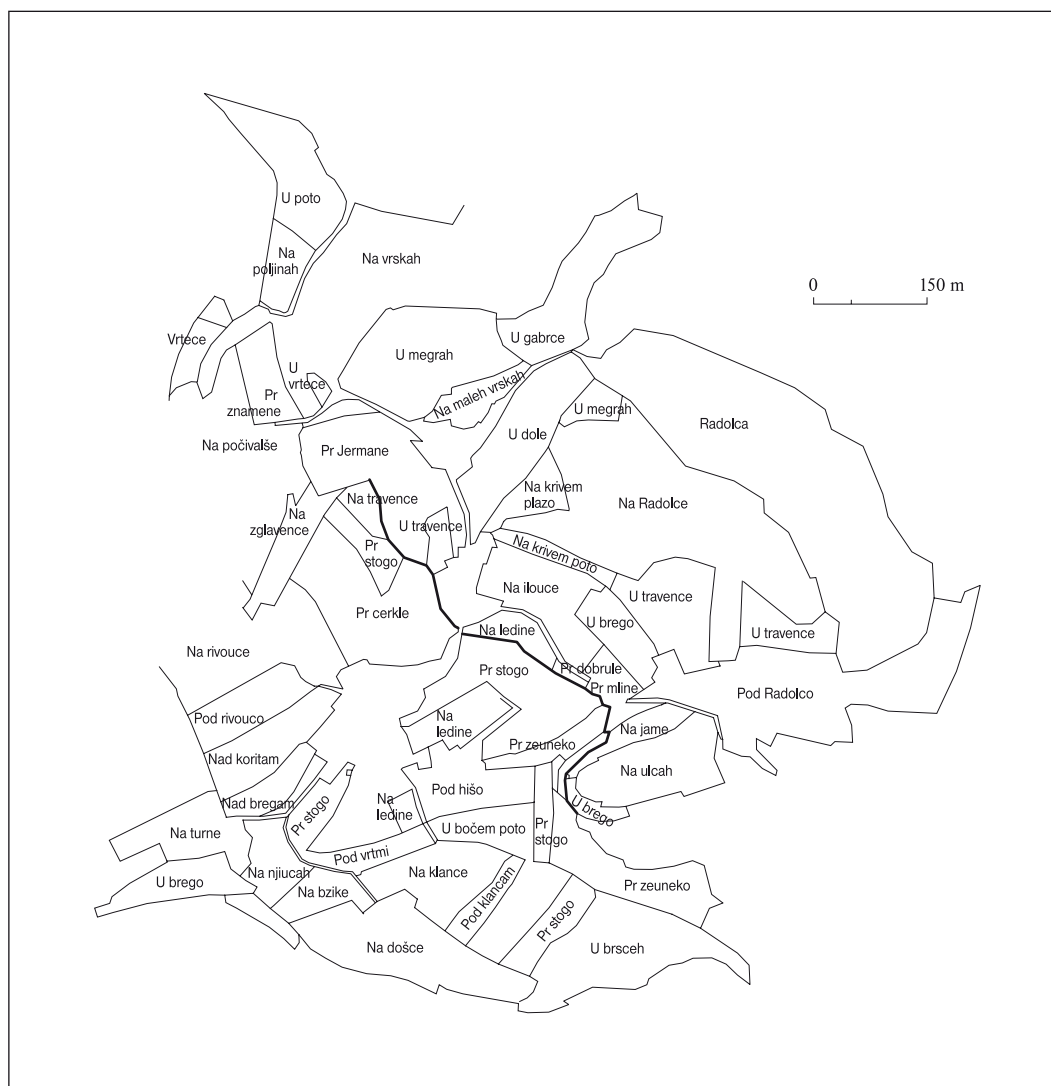


Fig. 2.4:
Spodnje Gorje.
Distribution
of field names
according to
the Josephian
Cadastre from
1785. The bold
line is the stream
of Dobrul.

southeast of the village, while the largest areas of medium quality fields are to the south of the village, where there is the largest area of arable land in a single block. All that has been said indicates that this land was the first to have been acquired and that the original core of arable land should be sought here. Houses 2 and 14 have no fields here and can therefore be considered younger.

2.1.3. RECONSTRUCTION OF THE OLD LAND DIVISION

What follows is the most delicate part of the entire procedure, one that depends the most on the subjective judgement of the researcher. But even though the success of the analysis depends on subjective factors, the objectivity of the results can be confirmed by synonymous structures (see below). The original farming units and also the later farms could have been divided several times. Therefore, groups of continually adjacent house numbers need to be sought. These pairs were only established when individual units were internally divided, not when the entire village area was divided anew. Only in later periods are divisions of farms in the villages of Bled recorded in written sources. These examples demonstrate the distinctive manner of land division. Many land parcels were divided in half. The

Fig. 2.5: Spodnje Gorje. Arable land yield according to the Josephian Cadastre. 1 – medium, 2 – good.



earlier the division happened, the more new, independently lying property the two new halves were able to acquire. An older farming unit was usually divided into two new units, but expanded farming units (*dvors*) could have been broken down into several new units. Since the results are not known in advance, both pairs as well as groups of repeatedly adjacent house numbers should be noted.

An additional problem is that not every parcel of the old farming unit was divided in half. What was considered was the total size of arable land. Therefore the calculation of the entire arable land area of individual farms can be helpful when searching for the right pairs. The farms whose arable land area is less than the village average were usually established by the division of older units. But only later divisions, when there was no more available land for the farms to increase their land area, can be determined in this way.

More detailed data can be obtained if the arable land area of each farming unit is calculated separately in the old and in the young part of the village arable land and if the results are compared. The farms which are the result of the same land division, have at least approximately the same area of arable land. This, however, mostly applies only to the old part of the village arable land because when they became independent, each unit cleared more land individually. It has already been demonstrated how the map of field names can be used (see above).

The right "combination" is seldom found in the first attempt. The procedure needs to be repeated several times. The assumed groups of farms are then combined and their property is drawn as one



Fig. 2.6: Spodnje Gorje. The land of individual groups of houses.
1 – 2, 6, 12, 16;
2 – 4, 9, 13, 14, 15;
3 – 1, 5.

unit. If the right key has been used, the outlines of an older field division appear. This can be the oldest preserved division of the village land, and in this case, the work at this stage is done. Where there are such cases in the Bled area, the land was once systematically divided among a small number of original farming units, or there was a single farming unit with several families. Such a division is not the consequence of longer development. But if the picture obtained shows that a part of the village arable land is divided equally between the farming units, while each unit also has some land in a single block, then the procedure can be repeated. The arable land which is equally divided between the units is older, and the land in single blocks is younger. A further procedure can be the same as before, but now there are only a few cases of units with their arable land only in the oldest part.

The example of Spodnje Gorje. The part of the village area (Fig. 2.6) which was cleared before the colonisation of kajžars, is clearly divided between two groups of farms: 1, 2, 5, 6, 12, 16 and 4, 9, 13, 14, 15. Within the frame of these two groups, the land of 1 and 5, 2 and 16, 9 and 15, and 13 and 14 is more closely intermixed. The arable land of individual farms is: 1 – 3.1 ha, 5 – 3.2 ha, 2 – 1.9 ha, 16 – 2.3 ha, 6 – 4.8 ha, 12 – 3.9 ha, 4 – 2.7 ha, 9 – 2.2 ha, 15 – 2.3 ha, 13 – 2.5 ha, and 14 – 2.0 ha. No. 2 has the least arable land and none of its fields are in the oldest part. It can be said that this is a young farm, which separated from no. 16. A similar case is 14, which probably separated from 13. It is evident that in the pairs 1 and 5, 9 and 15, nos. 1 and 9 have more fields to the east of the village, in the younger part of the arable land, than 5 and 15. Therefore it is likely that

1 separated from 5 and 9 from 15. So the following would be the "first farms" in the two groups: 5, 6, 12, 16 and 4, 13, 15.

When the two groups are considered as units, and no. 5, which is the only one with its land only in the immediate vicinity of the village, is considered as the third unit, the following picture appears. No. 5 only has land near the village. It is intermixed with the land of the group 6-12-16, which also has a part of the plot of land Na došce, as well as a large block in the northern part of the village land. This block includes the plot of land Na Radolce. The group 4-13-15 has the other part of the plot Na došce, as well as a large block, which lies partly to the north of the village, but mainly to the east and southeast. The Dobrul stream runs across this area. Some separate "islands" of land belonging to the group 6-12-16 in this part are probably the result of secondary changes of ownership through the centuries.

This situation indicates that the land to the north and east was cleared later than the land to the west and south. The land of all three units is intermixed only in the southern part of arable land, which is further proof that that was the original core of arable land. Units 4-13-15 and 6-12-16 were originally smaller. Only when they were expanded to include more families (later farms), they had to clear the land to the north and east of the village. In unit 4-13-15, most of the fields in the older part of the arable land belong to no. 4, and in unit 6-12-16 to no. 6. Therefore 4 and 6 can be considered the parent units of 13, 15 and 12, 16.

Now, a map can be made depicting the arrangement of the property of the "first units" 4, 5, 6 in the older part of the village land, to the west and south of the village (*Fig. 3.7c*). No. 4 has its land in a single block to the southeast of the village, and one more field at Na došce. The land of 5 and 6 is evenly intermixed. Most of it lies to the northwest of the village, where the field name Na rivouce indicates that this part of the arable land is younger than the land to the south of the village. This means that nos. 5 and 6 were originally a small single unit. The parent unit was perhaps no. 6, which has 2.4 ha of fields south of the village, while no. 5 only has 1.9 ha.

Now, we can focus only on the arable land south of the village and the arrangement of the property of nos. 4 in 6 (*Fig. 3.7b*). The land of no. 4 is in the eastern part, and the land of no. 6 in the western part. In the central part, where there are the largest plots of arable land, their fields are intermixed. Since the core of arable land is divided between the two units, while in the marginal areas they have land in a single block, it can be concluded that originally they were a small single unit. Perhaps this was unit no. 4, which has 3.4 ha of fields in the original core of arable land, while no. 6 only has 3 ha. Thus, the original core finally emerges as a relatively regularly shaped piece of arable land (*Fig. 3.7a*), as far as this is possible with the uneven terrain. Its area is 6.4 ha and it is divided into three parts, which are 1.9 ha, 2.1 ha and 2.4 ha in size. The boundaries between these three parts were observed in all the subsequent divisions. The southernmost of these three parts is the plot of land Na došce.

2.1.4. VILLAGE PLAN

Once a certain picture of the development and individual development stages has been obtained, it can be verified in several ways. The development can be reflected in the plan of the village. Here, the size and shape of houses are not relevant, and neither is the arrangement of the outbuildings. These are all more often changed than the arrangement of the dwellings, which basically remained at the same place from the very beginning. In the cases where an older farming unit was broken down into several units, their buildings are usually located close together. This holds true more for the older periods. Groups of farmhouses are sometimes very clearly distinguishable, but sometimes they are intermixed. In many villages, groups of houses have their own names, and folk tradition sometimes tells which part of a village is the oldest, which can be helpful, too.

When older farming units were being divided, their land could be divided almost at will. This, however, was not possible with the houses. One part of the old farming unit kept the old house, and the other parts had to build new houses. The factors which decided who would keep the old house and who would build a new one could be reflected in the division of the arable land. The person who kept the old house sometimes also kept slightly more land in the old part of the arable land. This

makes it possible to conclude with some probability which houses are older and which younger. The development of the village plan and of the arable land division can thus explain each other.

It is risky, however, to draw conclusions about the settlement history of a village from the final plan of a village as presented in a land cadastre. So far, it has been believed that linear villages are younger than nucleated villages. This has been turned upside down by some of the villages of Bled. The linear village of Zagorice is older than the nucleated village of Želeče (Ch. 3.12.c.). Likewise, the northern linear part of the village of Grad is older than the central nucleated part (Ch. 3.9.c.). Generally speaking, nucleated villages are indeed older than linear villages, but exceptions are often possible and this rule cannot be applied in all cases. A better definition would be that a nucleated plan is the consequence of unplanned development, while a linear plan is the consequence of planned development, irrespective of the time of their origin.

The example of Spodnje Gorje. The seemingly nucleated plan of Spodnje Gorje becomes orderly, if the presented arable land development is considered. The dwellings of the oldest units (4,5,6) comprise the southern part of the village (Fig. 3.8). The orderly northern part of the village is comprised of farmhouses 12, 16, 13, 15, which were once part of the units 6-12-16 and 4-13-15. The space in between was later filled by the youngest farmhouses 1, 2, 9, 14. This is a logical development of the village, which confirms the presented arable land development.

2.1.5. DENDROGRAM OF THE VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT

Once the development of the village and its arable land has been deduced with the help of the retrograde analysis of the cadastre, all this can be illustrated with a dendrogram. It should present farming units with their house numbers and their divisions with the situation in the land cadastre. The dendrogram can be then connected to written and archaeological sources.

2.2. WRITTEN SOURCES

Written sources can illuminate the development of individual villages. Written references to the villages acquire meaning when they are connected into a continuous chain from their oldest mention in the land cadastre (an instructive example: *Vilfan 1966*). A document mentioning a farm in a village does not reveal much by itself. It only becomes significant when the farm it mentions is identified.

The usual chain of written sources for the villages of Bled is: individual mentions in documents: Systematic inventories in urbaria – Land Cadastre of Maria Theresa ("Theresian Cadastre", a kind of an extract from urbaria), the Josephian Cadastre (where the entire area of a village is considered together, including the individual landowners the property belongs to), and the Franziscan Cadastre (where land is first thoroughly measured and drawn).

The chain needs to be made for every single village separately. As many existing written sources as possible should be included. While the division of the village between several different owners makes it difficult to collect these sources, it is helpful because it facilitates the identification of the farms and properties mentioned.

Some late divisions of farms are evident from successive property inventories, but such cases are rare. The main development of the villages in the Bled area had been concluded by the mid-13th century. Thus it is understandable that the 14th century division of the villages of Bled, which is already well documented in the written sources, usually matches the final situation, which is shown by the dendrogram of the village development. What is more interesting is the written records of the 11th and 12th century, which still indicate the division into older and often larger farming units. There are no documents directly mentioning the beginning of any of the villages in the Bled area. Folk tradition, however, does mention the beginning of some of the villages. It does not reveal the year of foundation, but it does describe the circumstances.

Often the correct chain of sources can be completed only when written sources are correlated

to the dendrogram of the village development – or vice versa. This means that both procedures are connected. They can be conducted separately, but their evaluation should be made together. It should be noted that repeating all the steps improves the results.

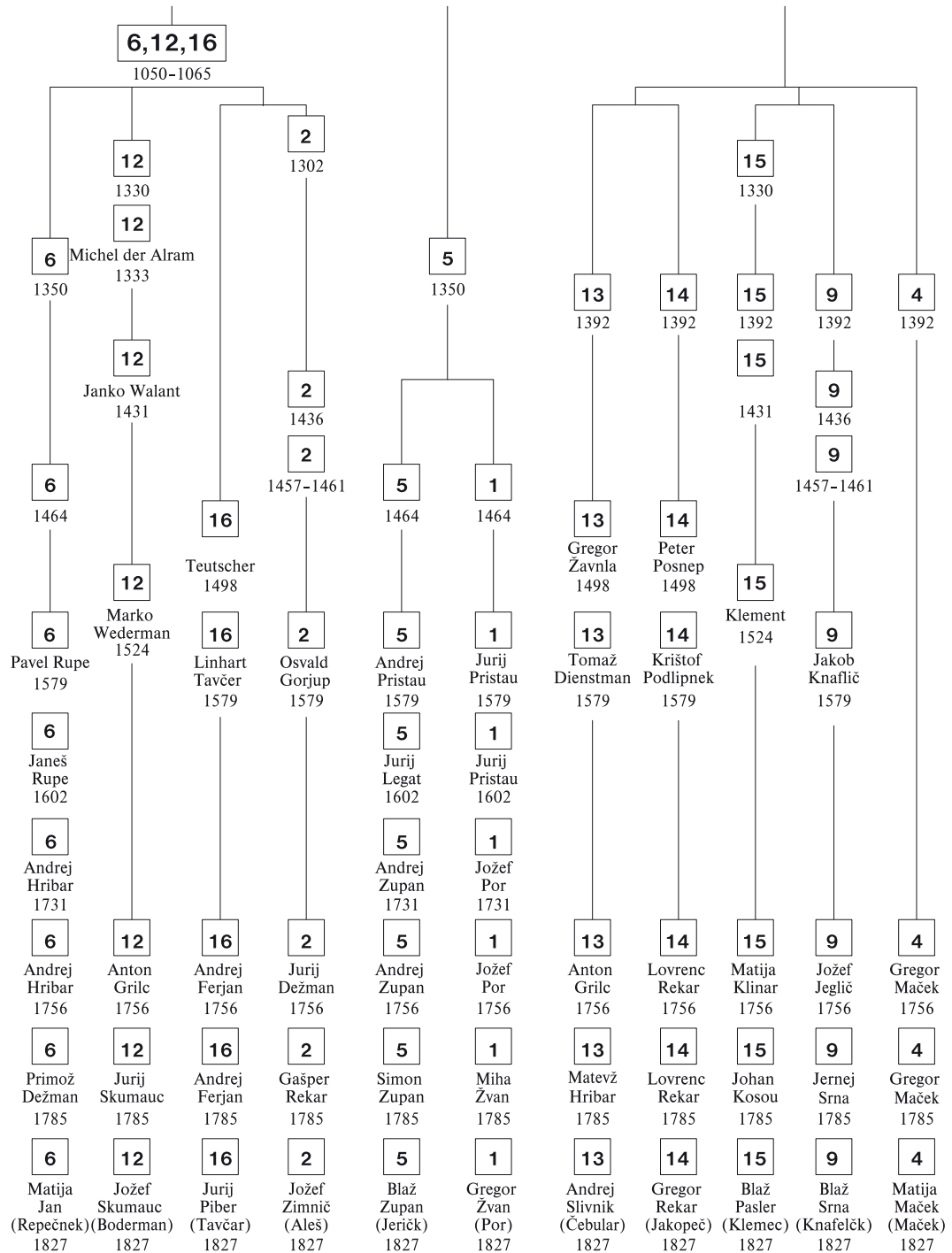


Fig. 2.7: Spodnje Gorje. Individual farms and property in the chain of written sources. House numbers, names of people running the farms (when known), the year mentioned, house names according to the Franziscan Cadastre (in brackets).

The example of Spodnje Gorje. The following written sources refer to the property in Spodnje Gorje (Ch. 3.2.c.): probably (the localisation is not entirely clear) a Brixen document from the years 1050-1065, documents from 1302, 1333, 1352, 1392, the list of rights of the Count of Görz at Bled dating from 1368, two urbaria of the Bled Island provostry from about 1330 and 1431, the Celje fief register from 1436, the Habsburg fief register for the former Celje property from the years 1457-1461, the Brixen urbarium from 1464, the Radovljica urbarium from 1498, the urbarium of the Bled Island provostry from 1524, the Radovljica urbarium from 1579, the Brixen urbarium from 1602, the Brixen urbarium from about 1731, the Theresian Cadastre from 1756, the Josephian Cadastre from 1785, and the Franziscean Cadastre from 1827.

The chain of these sources (*Fig. 2.7*) reveals that the division of farm no. 5 into 5 and 1 most likely happened between the 14th century and 1464. In 1392 the group of farms 4, 9, 13, 14, 15 was already divided into four farms and a dvor (probably house no. 4). Houses 5 and 6 are also mentioned as dvors. If the document from the years 1050-1065 indeed refers to Spodnje Gorje, then the estate mentioned could be identified with the expanded farming unit 6-12-16. This means that it was broken down into separate farms after the mid-11th century and before the 14th century. In this case, written sources explain only the lower part of the dendrogram of the village. They indicate that the upper part is older than the mid-11th century.

An early mediaeval graveyard was discovered during sand quarrying in the immediate vicinity of the southern, older, village core. Unfortunately, the graveyard was almost entirely destroyed. Archaeologists were only able to rescue four graves (*Knific, Pleterski 1993, pp. 235-240*). Judging by the preserved finds and what the local inhabitants related, it belonged to the period from the second half of the 8th to the 10th century, but could have been even older than that. The correlation between the graveyard, the village and its arable land seems logical and could explain the upper part of the dendrogram of the village development.

2.3. ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOURCES

There are several archaeological sites in the microregion of Bled that have been systematically investigated and published: the prehistoric and early mediaeval graveyard and settlement at Pristava below Castle Bled (*prehistoric material partly published by Gabrovec 1960; early mediaeval settlement published by Pleterski 2008a; 2010, early mediaeval graveyard preliminarily published by Kastelic 1960*), the early mediaeval graveyards Sedlo at Castle Bled (*Valič 1964; 1969*), Dlesc near Bodešče (*Knific, Pleterski 1981*), Žale near Zasip (*Knific, Pleterski 1993*), and the church and graveyard on Bled Island (*preliminary report by Šribar 1971*). There has also been a larger number of random finds and some sample trenchings (*systematic overview by Knific 2008*).

The oldest written sources for the Bled area extend back to the 11th century. There are, however, villages with several development stages, where even these sources cannot explain the initial development because they are not old enough. The time before the 11th century can be illuminated by archaeological sources from the early mediaeval period. The most direct information comes from the remains of settlements and graveyards. This information is connected only to those areas of arable land which were already in use in the Early Middle Ages, and not to those cleared after the 11th century.

Traces of early mediaeval settlements were discovered at three locations. In two cases (Bled Castle Hill, Pristava) this was away from the present villages, and in one case they were found in the middle of the present village of Zasip. There are more early mediaeval graveyards, ten of them having been proven by finds. Topographic data indicate the possibility of three more graveyards, and of another three with the retrograde analysis of the land cadastre.

It can be concluded that there are some villages which were established in the early mediaeval period and whose arable land division has been developed and preserved without interruption until today. Then there are the villages which were established in the same period, but their arable land was at least once completely rearranged over the course of centuries. The same happened to their settlement, which could have remained at the same location, or another one was built somewhere else.

Two conditions need to be met for the unambiguous correlation of the dendrograms of the village development and the graveyard. The first condition is that the development of the village was uninterrupted, and that its arable land was never divided anew. The second condition is that the entire graveyard has been investigated. Both conditions were met for the villages of Zasip (Ch. 3.1.) and (Zgornje) Bodešče (Ch. 3.3.). In both cases it was possible to create a dendrogram of the graveyard development and correlate it to the dendrogram of the village development (*Figs. 3.5; 3.18*) as a synonymous structure.

3. THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDIVIDUAL VILLAGES

3.1. ZASIP AND MUŽJE

3.1.a. NATURAL CONDITIONS (*Fig. 3.1*)

The villages of Zasip and Mužje were established at the southern foot of the hill of Hom–Pršivec. To the south of this area, there is the marshy area of Dobravce, and to the east the riverbed of the Sava Dolinka, carved deep into the ground. The area is divided into two parts by glacial moraines accumulated to the west and stretching towards the east, up to the bank above the Sava Dolinka River. Not all of this area is suitable for agriculture. The western and central parts are uneven (field names: V goričicah, V jamah, Pod strmoglavko, Na globeli, Na bregu) and marshy (V rekovniku, Mužje, Loka), while the northern and southeastern parts used to be covered by forest (Na boršto, Na lipje, Na hrušce). Nevertheless, the village was not short of good arable land. The largest plot is located to the northeast, near Zasip (V zadnjem polje). On three sides it is naturally bounded by a glacial moraine, and on the fourth by a hill. Some more pieces of good land (according to the Josephian Cadastre) are scattered further to the south (Pod stagname, Za Mužjam, Na žalah, V štuko) and southwest (V trne, Tripočca, Pod strmoglavko). There is a spring in the centre of the present day village of Zasip, whose waters flow past Mužje to Piškovca and then into the Sava Dolinka.



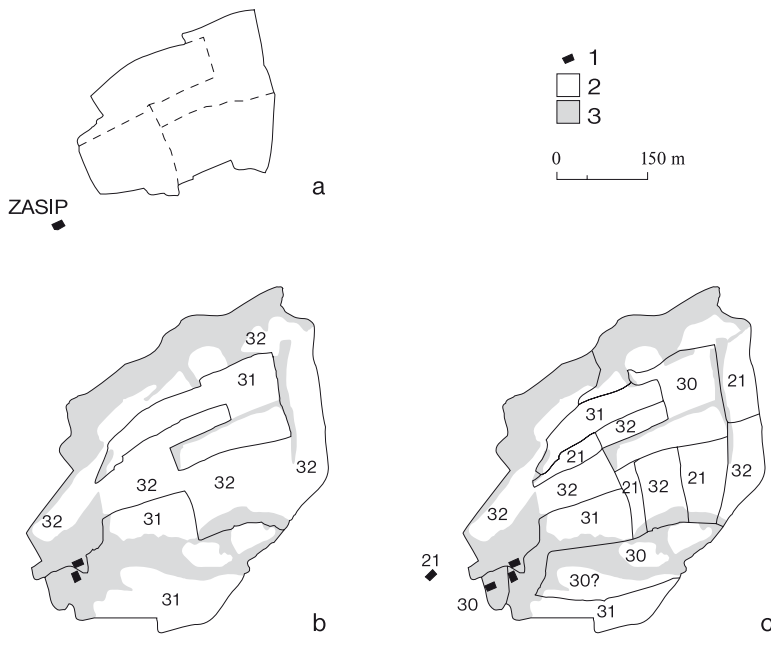
Fig. 3.1: Zasip. Village area and field names.

3.1.b. SETTLEMENT DIVISION, ARABLE LAND DIVISION, THEIR GENESIS AND DEVELOPMENT (Figs. 3.1–3.5)

There are two villages in the area described: Zasip and Mužje. The *grunts* of Zasip are in two groups: Na vasi to the west and Pod lipo to the east. In Mužje, which is also called Spodnja vas (lower village – in relation to Zasip), grunts are lined up in a row from north to south. The two houses at the northern end of the row are oriented differently from the rest. The arable land between the two villages is relatively evenly divided between all the farms of Mužje, only farms 38, 39 and 42 have some more fields in the immediate vicinity of the village. The arable land of the eastern part of Zasip (Pod lipo) lies to the northeast and east of the village, and the land of the western part (Na vasi) to the south and west.

The arable land of Mužje and Zasip is comprised of two large groups of fields. The smaller group lies northeast of Zasip, while the several times larger group lies to the south of the village, on both sides of the road to Bled. There are also some separate fields elsewhere, but they are scattered among meadows, smaller in size, of irregular shape, and they have poor soil. All this indicates that they were cleared subsequently. The original core of arable land should therefore be sought in the two plots described above. The area can be further narrowed down by taking into account field names from the southeastern (Na lipje, Na hrušce) and southwestern (Na rekovniku) part. They indicate that the fields there were cleared from forest and poorer, marshy ground. Furthermore, by also considering land quality and distance from the village, the core of arable land can be narrowed down to the plot northeast of Zasip, comprised solely of the best quality fields.

The entire core of arable land belongs to the eastern village core of Zasip, Pod lipo. The western village core must therefore be younger. The farms of the eastern village core have, in addition to the core of arable land to the northeast, some separate fields on poorer land and surrounded by meadows, which indicates they are younger. This means that the eastern village core was originally smaller. The fields belonging to nos. 21 and 32, as well as those belonging to 30 and 31, are continually adjacent to each other, the pairs forming a whole. The number of farming units has thus been reduced to two. Their seats were most likely nos. 31 and 32, for they have the most arable land in the immediate vicinity of the houses. Both houses are located close to one another and their land is intermixed. It can therefore be concluded with sufficient certainty that they are two halves of the original farming unit, which brings us to the beginning.



The development of the village can now be examined in the usual chronological order. The seat of the first and oldest farming unit was built on the crest of a glacial moraine, at the location of the later houses 31 and 32 (Fig. 3.2a). In front of it, viewed from Bled, there are several more glacial moraines as mounds. So this place is “behind the mounds” (Slovene: za (na)sipi > Zasip). This is probably the reason why the locative is in plural form – “v Zasipih” (“in the mounds”). This is an old, almost extinct local form. The arable land was in

Fig. 3.2: Zasip.
a – first stage of arable land division,
b – second stage of arable land division,
c – third stage of arable land division.
1 – farmhouse,
2 – arable land,
3 – grassland.

the immediate vicinity of the settlement, extending to the northeast. The best land – the original core of arable land of Zasip – was 7 ha in size.

The first farming unit was eventually broken down into two units, the later nos. 31 and 32 (Fig. 3.2b). The original core of arable land was equally divided between the two new farming units: no. 32 received 3.6 ha and no. 31 3.4 ha. The oldest part of the arable land was divided into quarters. The two new farming units each received one half of the two quarters to the west and a whole quarter to the east. Perhaps it was at that time that the first expansion of arable land happened; no. 32 acquired additional land to the east and no. 31 to the southeast. Together with these new fields the area of their arable land was: no. 32 – about 5 ha, no. 31 – about 4.6 ha.

In the next stage of development, both farming units were broken down further; no. 31 into 31 and 30, and no. 32 into 32 and 21 (Fig. 3.2c). There was no new expansion of arable land and the area of the new farms was: 31 – 2.4 ha, 30 – 2.2 ha, 32 – 2.8 ha, and 21 – 2.3 ha. No. 21 was the first farm with the building in the western part of the village, Na vasi, and no longer in the eastern part, Pod lipo.

There followed the emergence of new units and the most extensive expansion of arable land (Fig. 3.3). New arable land was cleared to the south of the village, near the route towards Bled, where there was still enough good fertile land available. Three new farming units of different sizes were founded: 28, 38 and 45. No. 21, however, was transformed: in addition to the old fields it received three large plots of arable land near the route towards Bled. It was also internally divided into three families: 21 (seat), 3, 20. This arrangement can be assumed because no. 21 (in the narrower sense) is the only farm with the majority of its fields still in the old part of the arable land. From the very beginning of this stage of development, farming unit no. 21 must have been comprised of several families – an assumption further supported by the fact that it was much larger (9 ha) than farming unit no. 28,

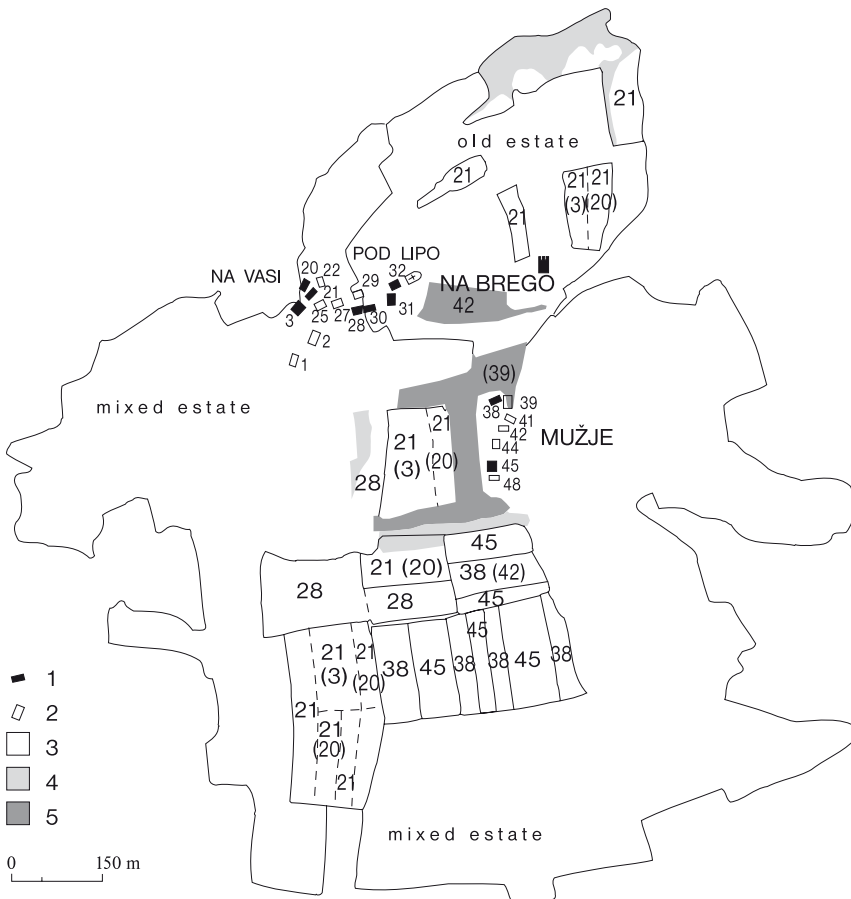


Fig. 3.3: Zasip. Fourth stage of arable land division.

- 1 – old farmhouse,
- 2 – new farmhouse,
- 3 – arable land,
- 4 – grassland,
- 5 – property of farm no. 42.

which was probably comprised of a single family (3.4 ha). The arable land of individual farms of the farming unit no. 21 was: 21 – 3 ha, 3 – 2.9 ha, and 20 – 3.1 ha.

The newly cleared arable land was divided into large rectangular fields, intermixed with the fields of the village of Mužje. The latter came into existence when two new farms were built near the newly cleared fields: 45 and 38. The fields were alternately divided between them. No. 38 had 3.8 ha of arable land and no. 45 had 4 ha. It is very likely that 45 and 38 were two independent farming units.

Another possibility that should be considered is that no. 28 could have originally been a part of no. 21. There are three reasons to the contrary: the arable land of these farms differs in size, the buildings of 21, 20 and 3 are in the western core of the village, while 28 is near the eastern core, and no. 28 is the only farm with no fields in the core of arable land. It is therefore quite probable that three new farming units – 28, 38, 45 – emerged in this stage of development, while unit no. 21 was transformed and comprised of three families from then on. Since the three new units – 28, 38, 45 – were established near the old ones – 30, 31, 32 – it is possible that each new unit separated from an older unit: 38 and 45 perhaps from 31 and 30, because the land of the latter two is most often adjacent to the land of Mužje, while no. 28 could have separated from 32. Farmhouses 38 and 45 are located relatively far apart.

Since there was still arable land available, the above-listed farming units were eventually divided further into separate farms. However, they already had to clear their fields on poorer land and eventually even from the grasslands to the west of the village. Farms 1, 2 and 27 thus separated from 28. Dvor no. 21 was at first broken down into three basic units – 21, 20 and 3, and these were later further divided: 21 into 21 and 29, 3 into 3 and 22 (23), and 20 into 20 and 25. No. 38 was divided into 38 and 41, and no. 45 into 45 and 44. No. 42 was established near the existing farms, whose fields are mostly right next to Mužje (and one amidst the Zasip fields, perhaps formerly the property of no. 30). One field was probably acquired from no. 38. After that, 39 separated from 42. Its fields are mostly in the youngest part of the arable land (Na lipje, Na hrušce). The last farm established in Mužje was no. 48, the only one with all of its fields in the youngest part of the arable land. According to the Josephian Cadastre, the arable land of the farms within the uninterrupted village area was: 1 – 2.7 ha, 2 – 2.5 ha, 3 (22) – 6.9 ha, 20 – 2.8 ha, 21 – 2.6 ha, 23 (22) – 2.8 ha, 25 – 2.4 ha, 27 – 2.1 ha, 28 – 5 ha, 29 – 2.3 ha, 30 – 2.2 ha, 31 – 2.8 ha, 32 – 4.4 ha, 38 – 2.5 ha, 39 – 2 ha, 41 – 2.9 ha, 42 – 2.6 ha, 44 – 4 ha, 45 – 2.5 ha, and 48 – 3.4 ha. The exceptional size of no. 3 can be explained by the fact that it includes farm no. 22, which is otherwise usually listed separately, but is, until the Franziscan Cadastre, run by the same peasant as 3. Its neighbour, no. 23, is labelled as kajža, although its land is the size of a grunt. It is intermixed with the land of no. 3, which indicates that 23 is probably a part of the former farm no. 22.

In the last great expansion of arable land, the division between Zasip and Mužje was roughly observed. However, the division between separate farming units was not so strictly observed as before; there was a tendency for fragmentation into the above-mentioned basic components. The two oldest farming units, which did not receive their share in the previous expansions of arable land, do have some fields in the youngest part.

With all the expansions of arable land, grasslands were considerably reduced. The inhabitants of Mužje and Zasip sought out new grasslands on the other side of Hom-Pršivec, near the Radovna River, and also further at Blejska Dobrava, and partly also in Piškovca, towards the Sava.

3.1.c. LAND OWNERS

AND CHRONOLOGICAL DETERMINATION OF THE DEVELOPMENT (*Fig. 3.5*)

After the stages of development of arable land have been identified and classified in relation to each other, the issue of general chronological determination is raised. Human skeletons from an unknown time period were discovered at the beginning of the 20th century near the route towards Bled (the inn of Cilka Burja) (*ANSI 1975, no. 165*). The skeletons were found on the land of farming unit no. 28. Numerous human skeletons were also discovered while building a house to the north of Mužje. The finds were not preserved, however. Remains of a settlement from the Roman period were discovered in the immediate vicinity (*Sagadin 1990, pp. 379-383*). Both graveyards could have

belonged to the settlement. Burials with early mediaeval pots were also discovered in the vicinity of Zasip (information from Paola Korošec). While their exact location is unknown, the burials attest to early mediaeval settlement of the area.

The first certain chronological information from written sources comes from deeds of donation from the second half of the 11th century. Between 1075 and 1090, bishop Altwin of Brixen acquired 4 estates in Zasip (*Kos F. 1911, nos.: 312, 313, 316, 372*) from local freemen, who mainly still bore Slavic names (cf.: *Kos M. 1970-1971, no. 12*). This means that at that time Zasip was already divided into at least 4 farming units and that the basic division of arable land had been completed. The Diocese of Brixen could not have taken part in the division of arable land, which must therefore be older not only than the second half of the 11th century, but the 11th century in general.

The owners of the first estates that are mentioned in records were local inhabitants. It is not certain whether in the 11th century the Diocese of Brixen became the sole owner of the area of Zasip or not. It is, however, not very likely for the following reasons: The Diocese of Brixen later lost all its property in Zasip, which could not have happened had it been the sole owner. Furthermore, according to a document from 1050-1065 (*Kos F. 1911, no. 166*), Brixen gave arable land in Mužje the size of one estate in exchange for an estate of the same size under Castle Bled, which belonged to a certain Prisnoslav. Since estates were relatively small in the 11th century (cf. Chs. 3.9.b.; 3.9.c.), the Mužje property could not have been the entire village of Mužje, but rather one of the village parts.

Moreover, the development of arable land division (see: Ch. 3.1.b.) does not imply that this was the entire Mužje area. For the same reason it is unlikely that this was one farming unit of Mužje. Furthermore, in that case the document would have spoken of an estate, not just of arable land, so it was probably a piece of land outside the framework of the existing village arable land. The thought presents itself that these were the fields that later belonged to no. 42 (39 – see: Ch. 3.1.b.). They mostly lie at Za Mužjam, while one is located at Na žalah, their area being 2.4 ha. If the identification is correct, this means that Brixen gave in exchange some uncultivated land between separate blocks of the village fields (*Fig. 3.3*). Therefore the above-described basic division of the village land into seven farming units happened before the mid-11th century. It is curious that the same Prisnoslav is mentioned again between 1075 and 1090, when he leaves his inherited estate in Zasip to the Diocese

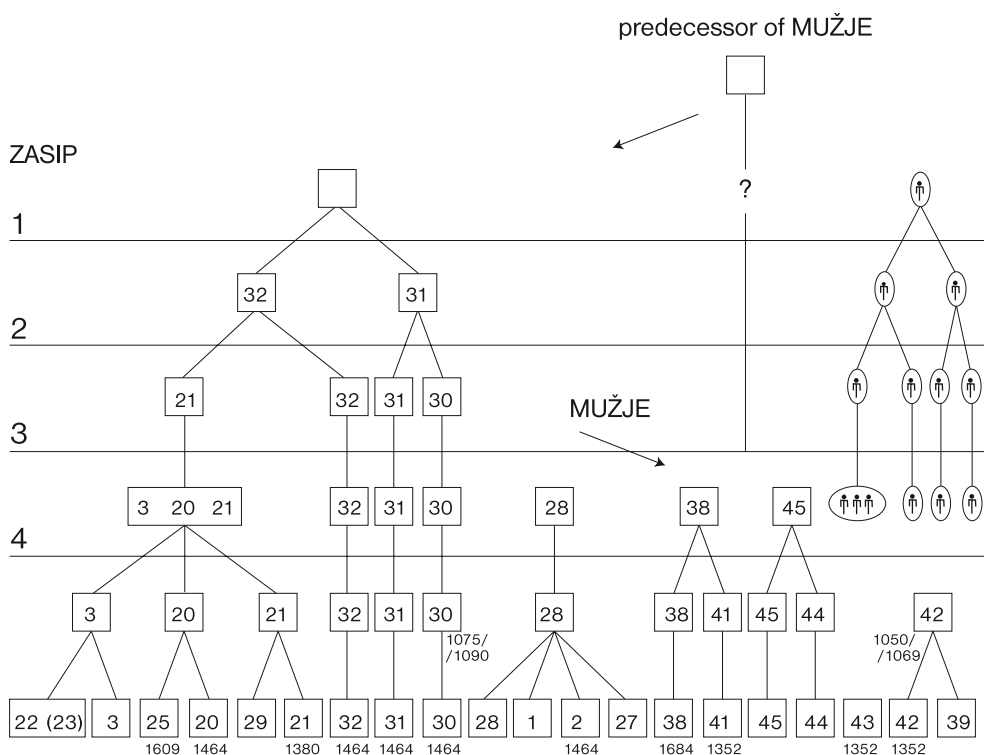


Fig. 3.5:
Zasip and Mužje.
Development
stages of farming
units and the
development of
the families in the
graveyard. Year
first mentioned in
written sources.

of Brixen (*Kos F. 1911, no. 313*). If this is the same person, then the donated estate could have been farm no. 30. This would at the same time explain the connection between 30 and 42 (cf.: *Ch. 3.1.b.*).

Further development of ownership relations by the 14th century can only be assumed. In the 13th century, neither Zasip nor Mužje property is mentioned in the Brixen urbarium. A plausible explanation is that at least part of it – if not all – had been alienated by Brixen's own ministeriales. The last remainder of Brixen's title to the land can be found in a document from 1329 (*Santifaller 1941, p. 417*). According to it, Nikolaj of Bled required the permission of the bishop of Brixen to renovate his house in Zasip.

The church of St John the Baptist in Zasip did not belong to the Diocese of Brixen, and it is unclear when it was built. It is located right next to houses 31 and 32, at the boundary of their land, i.e. on the edge of the original core of arable land. The only thing that can be stated as certain is that the church was not established by the heads of all farms of the village otherwise it would have been built on common land. The founders of the church were either farming units 31 and 32 (possibly already in the Early Middle Ages) or their owner in the 12th or 13th century. In the 11th century, the church would have been founded by the Diocese of Brixen, which was at that time the largest landowner in Zasip, and it is hard to believe that the Diocese would have subsequently lost its own church. As early as 1296, the church was seat of an independent parish (*Kovač 1909, pp. 634-635*). Though the parish belonged to the Patriarchate of Aquileia, it was the Lambergar family who had in writing the right of presentation of a priest (1398 15/9, CKSL). The Lambergars also owned the plot of land with the church and farm no. 28, whose beneficiary was the parish priest of Zasip. On that basis it can be asserted that the church in Zasip was originally a proprietary church. The Lambergars either founded it or inherited it from even earlier founders.

In the first half of the 14th century, at least two noble families live in Zasip: Nikolaj of Zasip-Bled (1311 18/2 – 1333 2/3, CKSL) and brothers Merchle, German, Heugel, Ernst and Meinzlein of Zasip (1312 21/8 – 1333 11/7, CKSL). In the mid-14th century, Zasip is also the home of one of the Lambergars, "Hans der Lamberger von Azzpp" (1356 23/4, CKSL). There are numerous land transactions in that period. One farm even belongs to Nikolaj of the distant Črnelo. How he acquired it remains a mystery. He sold the farm to Nikolaj of Bled and his knight (1320 4/5, CKSL). Nikolaj of Bled had another house in Zasip (1329 10/7, CKSL) and very probably some land with it. These two farms were most likely sold by his children to their uncle Nikolaj Sumereker, from whom they might have passed, by a contract of inheritance (see Chs. 5.1.; 5.6.; 5.8.), to the Lambergar family. There is no doubt that the Lambergars had property in Zasip as early as the 14th century. At that time, the following are specifically mentioned: 1 farm (1353 21/3, CKSL), 1 farm and a dvor and 2 fields near Sebenje (1380 19/3, CKSL). The last document is important for the retrograde analysis of the cadastre. The fact that the fields near Sebenje (the western part of the Zasip area, being mostly grasslands) are specifically mentioned is proof that these two fields are of later origin and not an original part of any farm. At the same time it indicates that in the 14th century, the arable land was reaching its final size (which meant the end of the process of division of the farms). The Lambergars bought one farm from their relative Nikolaj Stainer (1394 2/7, CKSL). In the 15th century, the Lambergars already possessed 6 farms in Zasip (1464 28/10, AS). They still had these 6 farms in the mid-17th century (*Lamb. urb. 1650*), when some of them can be connected with those from the cadastres of the 18th and 19th century, and therefore with house numbers. Together with 5 farms, one dvor is mentioned in the urbarium. With the aid of land cadastres, the dvor can be limited to one of the nos. 1, 21 or 31. Of these, no. 21 used to be the seat of a large former farming unit (21, 20, 3).

According to the Theresian Cadastre (*RDA: 18, 247, 292*), the following have property in Zasip: the Grimšičars – 4 farms (3, 22, 27, 29), the Bled Island provostry – 1 farm (25), the Kamen manor – 6 farms (2, 20, 21, 30, 31, 32), and the parsonage (28) – whose property is the size of 2 and 1/3 of a farm. There is one more farm in the village, the property of Castle Brdo, which probably used to belong to the Grimšičars, and was the last to have been incorporated into the Kamen manor (cf.: *Adam 1983, p. 9*). The farm belonging to the provostry (no. 25) was probably acquired from the Grimšičars by exchange (1609 11/6, *Gr. A III, Bled, Dom., fasc. 6, AS*). At least part of the property of the Grimšičars, if not all of it, probably originates from one or both noble families of Zasip from the 14th century.

Mužje

After the 11th century, the Mužje property is first mentioned only in the 14th century, when the Reynman brothers sell 4 farms in Mužje to their uncle Nikolaj Sumereker (1352 24/9, CKSL). It is not clear how they acquired the farms. If the brothers can be identified with the successors of the Brixen ministeriales of Zasip (cf. Ch. 5.1.), then the Mužje property could have earlier belonged to Brixen. According to the Theresian Cadastre (RDA: 247, 253, 292), the following have property in Mužje: the Kamen manor – 3 farms (41, 42, 48), the Begunje manor – 3 farms (39, 44, 45), and the Grimšičars – 1 farm (38). In 1684 (*Cenitev 1684*), the Grimšičars still have 2 farms in Mužje, while the Lambergars (the Kamen manor) have 3 farms in 1650 (*Lamb. urb. 1650*). This means that one farm passed from the Grimšičars into the hands of the Begunje manor, which actually represents one of the branches of the Lambergar family tree. The Lambergars acquired their property from Sumereker (see above). In the 15th century, one farm probably passed into the hands of another branch of the Lambergar family (1464 28/10, AS). Later, it probably belonged to the Begunje manor. The origin of the Grimšičar property remains unknown, however.

3.1.d. CHRONOLOGY OF THE EARLY MEDIAEVAL GRAVEYARD OF ŽALE NEAR ZASIP (Fig. 3.4)

The area to the southwest of Mužje, east of the route Zasip-Bled, is called Na žalah (nominative: Žale). There is a terrace running from east to west, with a distinct slope facing south. The name itself indicates burials whose existence was known in the Early Middle Ages. Several early mediaeval graveyards in the Bled area are characterised by a route in the vicinity, a slope facing south, and a low mound on top of it – all the features present at Žale near Zasip. The excavation in the years 1985-1987 confirmed the existence of the graveyard, which had been presumed by the interpretative model of župa Bled (*Pleterski 1986, p. 19*).

The entire graveyard with 55 graves was excavated (for archaeological data see: *Knific, Pleterski 1993*, for anthropological data see: *Leben-Seljak 1996*). Just like the Dlesc graveyard near Bodešče (Ch. 3.3.d.), the entire Žale graveyard can be paralleled to the four generations of the Sedlo graveyard on Bled Castle Hill (*Pleterski 1982*). A specific feature of the Žale graveyard is the lack of objects in the male graves. Moreover, the forms of knives are not chronologically distinctive. Therefore, the male graves are dated primarily by their topographic position in the graveyard. The female graves, however, contain chronologically distinctive jewellery, which indicates regular growth of the graveyard from west to east.

The first group (Fig. 3.4a) At Sedlo, the first group is characterised by temple rings of thin wire with a hook and loop (*Pleterski 1982, p. 141, Fig. 5*). The same objects were found at Žale, in female grave 20 and in children's graves 13 and 15, reaching to the westernmost edge of the graveyard. The husband of the woman from grave 20 can be seen in the man from the extraordinarily large grave 55 at the opposite, easternmost side of the graveyard. Apart from the knife, he has a much-decorated pot, the only one in the whole graveyard. They seem to have been the founders of the family, and their graves defined the area of the graveyard because the line connecting them is the prevalent direction of the graves in the graveyard. If this explanation is correct, then the position of the two graves at the edges of the graveyard is not surprising.

The second group (Fig. 3.4b) At Sedlo, the second group is characterised – among other things – by temple rings with a hook and forged S-loop together with temple rings with straight cut ends (*Pleterski 1982, p. 141, Fig. 5*). At Žale, such temple rings were found in female grave 14 and in child grave 25. A thin finger-ring from female grave 18 is contemporary to the above-described temple rings. Based on their topographic position, female graves 17 and 24 can be added to this group as well as male graves 1 and 22, all of them located in the same part of the graveyard. The adults are divided into two groups with one man and two women in each. A possible explanation is that these are two families of the second generation buried in the graveyard. The issue of their relations within

the families remains unsolved. It could have been two men, each with two wives (either parallel or successive), or with a wife and a female relative.

The third group (*Fig. 3.4c*) At Sedlo, the third group is characterised by temple rings with a single thickening at the ends. This is also the time when crescent earrings occur (*Pleterski 1982, p. 141, Fig. 5*). At Žale, such jewellery can be found in female graves 7, 28, 32, 34 and 37. Female grave 37 is located away from the others, in the youngest part of the graveyard, where it is stratigraphically above the older grave 47. This proves that grave 37 belongs to the last period of the graveyard and not to the third group. The group of female graves has a spatial counterpart in male graves 6, 9, 30 and 31. The male and female graves are arranged in 4 pairs, which could represent 4 families of the third generation.

The fourth group (*Fig. 3.4d*) At Sedlo, the fourth group is characterised by temple rings with several thickenings at the ends, while temple rings with a single thickening and crescent earrings are still present (*Pleterski 1982, p. 141, Fig. 5*). At Žale, such artefacts were in graves 35, 36, 46, 47, 48 and 50. Based on their topographic position, also female grave 44 with no grave goods and male graves 42, 43, 45, 47, 51 and 53 belong to the fourth group. Again, they can be divided into pairs which comprise two groups. The western group includes graves 35 and 42, 36 and 43 as well as a man (47) with two wives (48 and 37). The latter must have lived longer than him because her legs are above his grave. The eastern group is comprised of a pair of female graves (46, 50) and a pair of male graves (51, 53). Heading the group is the pair 44, 45. The fourth generation therefore seems comprised of 6 families, three of them buried equally, while the fourth and fifth seem slightly subordinate to the sixth.

3.1.e. FINDINGS ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE GRAVEYARD AND ARABLE LAND DIVISION (*Figs. 3.3-3.5*)

The population development, as represented by the four generations, perfectly matches the image given by the arable land development of Zasip (*Fig. 3.5*), an analysis made independently before the graveyard was excavated. This opens important new possibilities of understanding the development. Events can now be explained in the following way: If the information about another early mediaeval graveyard with several pots in the graves is correct, then this indicates an earlier settlement. The oldest arable land of Zasip lies to the north of the village. The largest good quality fields, however, are to the south of the village. Zasip was established, as indicated by the oldest graves at Žale, in the second half of the 8th century (*Knific, Pleterski 1993, p. 240*), in the vicinity of an already existing settlement. The arable land of this settlement was to the south or to the southwest of the village, the exact location of its graveyard being as yet unknown. At one point, the settlement was completely desolated, and then the area was settled anew. This happened in the fourth development stage of the arable land of Zasip, which is contemporary to the fourth generation at the Žale graveyard. By chronological analogy to the nearby Sedlo graveyard on Bled Castle Hill, it is likely that the beginning of the fourth generation was at the turn of the 10th century (*Pleterski 1982, p. 146*). So the desolation must have happened earlier, but probably not long before that time. Had it happened several decades earlier, the option of expansion would have already been used in the third development stage (*Fig. 3.2c*) of the arable land of Zasip. This, however, was not the case and at that time, all the fields were still in the old limited area. This means that the arable land to the south of the village was still in use in the second half of the 9th century.

So at the turn of the 10th century, the abandoned fields to the south of the village were integrated into the arable land of Zasip (*Fig. 3.5*). Farm no. 21 was now comprised of two more families (3, 20), but remained a single unit. Farms 28, 38, 45 were established anew, probably by the people from the older Zasip farms 30, 31, 32. The building of farm no. 28 is indeed located right next to the building of farm no. 30 (*Fig. 3.3*), while the inhabitants of farms 38 and 45 decided to build their dwellings closer to the arable land. Thus, the village of Mužje was rebuilt.

The time of the fourth generation at the Žale graveyard is the time when village graveyards were being abandoned in favour of church graveyards. At the old graveyard of Bodešče there are only a

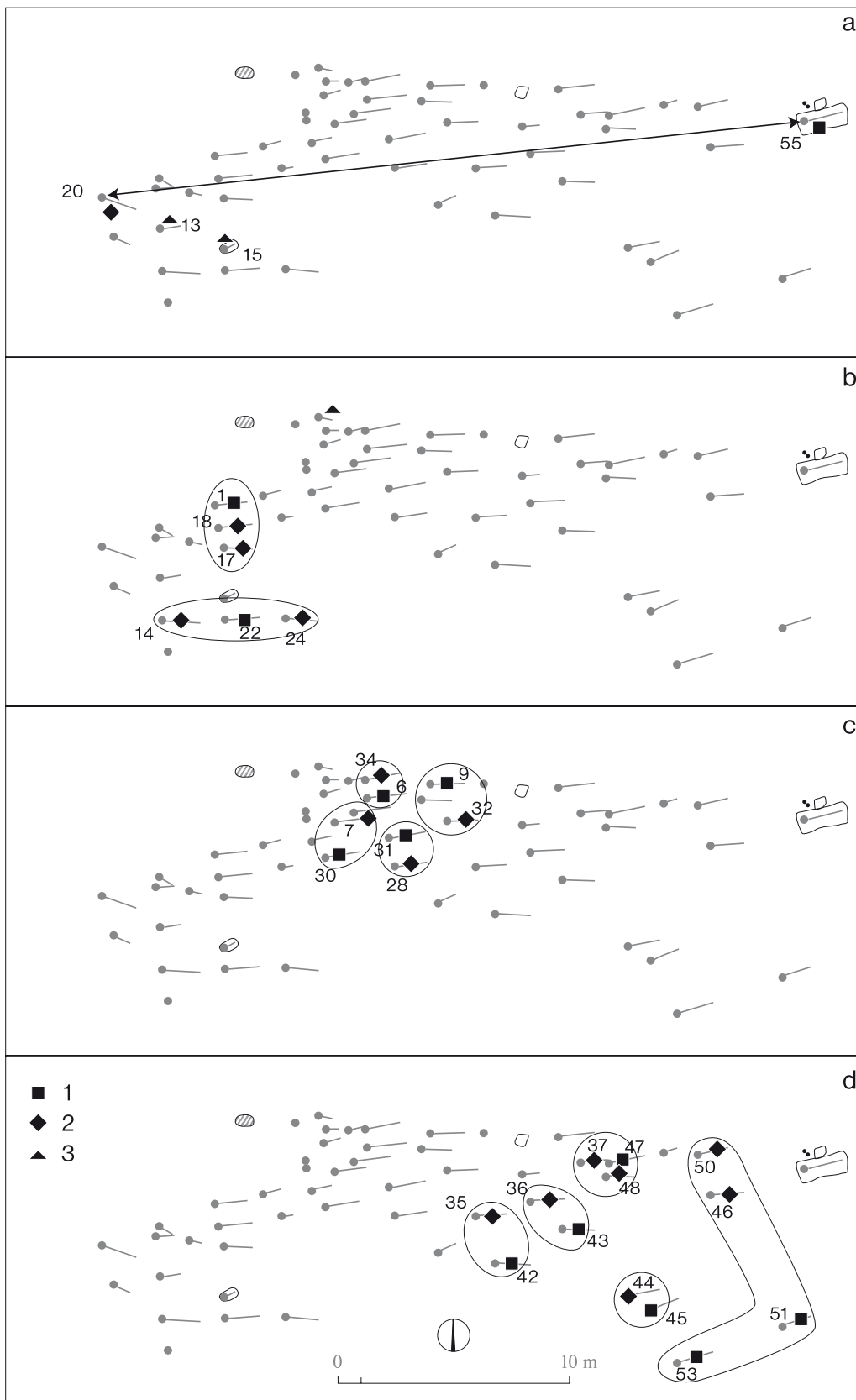


Fig. 3.4:
The graveyard of Žale
near Zasip.
a – first generation,
b – second generation,
c – third generation,
d – fourth generation.
1 – man,
2 – woman,
3 – child.

few individual female graves at this time (see Ch. 3.3.c.). It is therefore not surprising that in Zasip, the deceased from farms 28, 38 and 45 were not buried among the graves of the fourth generation at Žale. According to their new status, they were buried in a new church graveyard, probably near the church of St Martin below Castle Bled.

3.2. SPODNJE GORJE

3.2.a. NATURAL CONDITIONS (Fig. 3.6)



The area of Spodnje Gorje is bounded to the north by the Radovna River, to the west by the hill of Višelnica, and to the south by the small valley of Klobasnica. To the southeast it ends in marshy ground, and to the northeast it includes the low hill of Radolca. The terrain is rather uneven and variable with many falling terraces and slopes. This is reflected in field names (V brego, Nad bregam, Na klance, V brzeh, Na jame, V dole, V megrah). The soil is not the best (Na ilovcah), on average being of medium to poor quality. There is some good soil only east and southeast of the village, while the poorest soil is at the hill of Radolca.

Fig. 3.6: Spodnje Gorje.
Village area and field names.

3.2.b. SETTLEMENT DIVISION, ARABLE LAND DIVISION, THEIR GENESIS AND DEVELOPMENT (Figs. 3.7; 3.8)

It is immediately apparent that the village core (the part with grunts) is divided into two parts, the north and the south. The arable land, however, is not so clearly divided. The fields belonging to one part are intermixed with those of another. Nevertheless, it is evident that the arable land belonging to the south part is mostly to the southeast, south and west of the village, while the fields belonging to the north part are to the northwest, north and northeast. The fields belonging to the northern part of the village must be of later origin. This is indicated by the fact that a large proportion of the land where they lie is grassland. Moreover, the soil there is of poor quality. The largest plot of arable land extends to the south-southeast of the village, where the soil is relatively good (the best in the village). This is where the original core of arable land is to be sought. It lies south of the old route towards Bled.

An examination of land parcel ownership throughout the entire village area reveals two groups of farms whose fields are continually adjacent to each other. These are nos. 1, 2, 5, 6, 12, 16 and 4, 9, 14, 13, 15. The original arable land is divided between them in approximately equal shares. As for the rest of the land, the larger part of it belongs to the first group of houses and the smaller to the second. The land of each group is in one piece and the fields of one group are almost never intermixed with those of the other. Several "islands" of land belonging to the first group within the area of the second group can be explained by subsequent changes of ownership (purchase, marriage, inheritance). Nos. 5, 6 and to an extent also no. 1 from the first group, as well as no. 4 from the second group,

have their fields in the older part of the village arable land. Others have their fields exclusively (or almost exclusively) in the younger part. All this points to the fact that the two groups were not formed at once but rather underwent their own internal development.

It is evident that within the thus defined older group (5, 6, 1) the land of no. 1 is marginal. Furthermore, some of its fields are in the younger part of the village arable land. Therefore it is probably younger than 5 and 6. No. 1 also complements the fields of no. 5, and it appears that 1 separated from 5. The fields of no. 5, however, are clearly intermixed with those of no. 6. Hence they can be seen as two halves of an older unit, possibly 6, because it shows greater strength in later development. The original units thus seem to be 6 and 4. Since the area of their land is larger than the supposed core of arable land, it can be concluded that in the beginning there must have been one single farming unit with fields just in the oldest core of arable land. Its seat was probably no. 6, whose fields are near the settlement, while the fields belonging to no. 4 are further away.

On this basis the development of land division can be reconstructed. The reconstruction will be verified by comparing the size of arable land.

Spodnje Gorje came into existence when a single farming unit was established on elevated terrain above the fields near Bled. Hence probably the name Gorjane; this form of the name was recorded in the Brixen urbarium as late as 1602 ("Spodne Goryane"). The building was located near the crossroads of the routes towards Bled, towards the Radovna valley and the village of Zasip, and towards the Upper Sava Valley (Fig. 9.2). Its arable land was located south-south-east of the settlement, south of the route towards Bled (Fig. 3.7a). The area of the fields was approximately 6.4 ha. In the course of time, however, the first farming unit was broken down into two new units: no. 6, which kept the seat of the old unit, and no. 4 with a new building near the original one (Fig. 3.7b). The old arable land was divided between them; 6 got approximately 2.6 ha and 4 approximately 3.8 ha. At the same time, new land was cleared: for no. 4 to the east, near the old core; and for no. 6 to the north and west. Together with the newly cleared fields, the arable land of no. 6 covered 4.2 ha, and that of no. 4 was 5.5 ha.

In the next stage, 5 separated from 6 and its building was built near 6 (Fig. 3.7c). In order to avoid economic consequences, more land to the north and west of the village was cleared for both units (6, 5). These fields are in a straight line adjacent to the fields of the village of Višelnica and together they form a single block of fields. Since the delimitation was systematic, this land must have been cleared simultaneously with the founding of Višelnica (Ch. 3.4.b.). Including the new land, no. 5 had up to 4.6 ha and no. 6 up to 4.2 ha of fields. It is possible that the farming unit of Višelnica separated from no. 4. Four farming units were thus formed altogether: 4, 5, 6 and Višelnica.

In the next stage, nos. 4 and 6 continued their internal transformation (Fig. 3.8). Each of them built two farmhouses, together with outbuildings, north of the old village core; no. 4 to the south, near

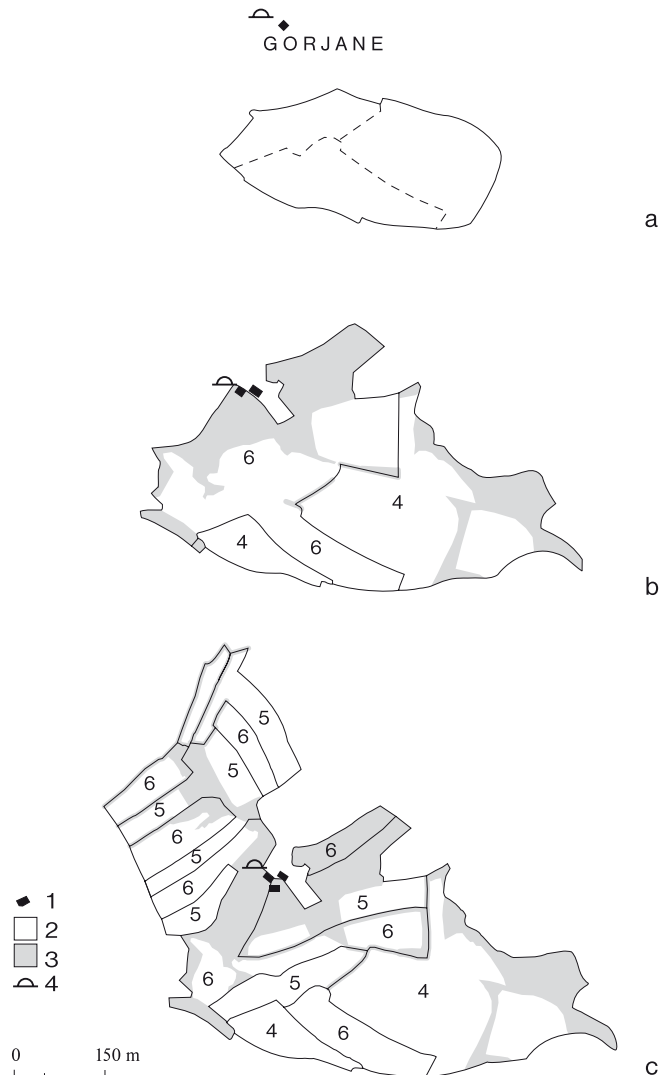


Fig. 3.7: Spodnje Gorje.
a – first stage of arable land division,
b – second stage of arable land division,
c – third stage of arable land division.
1 – farmhouse,
2 – arable land,
3 – grassland,
4 – graveyard.

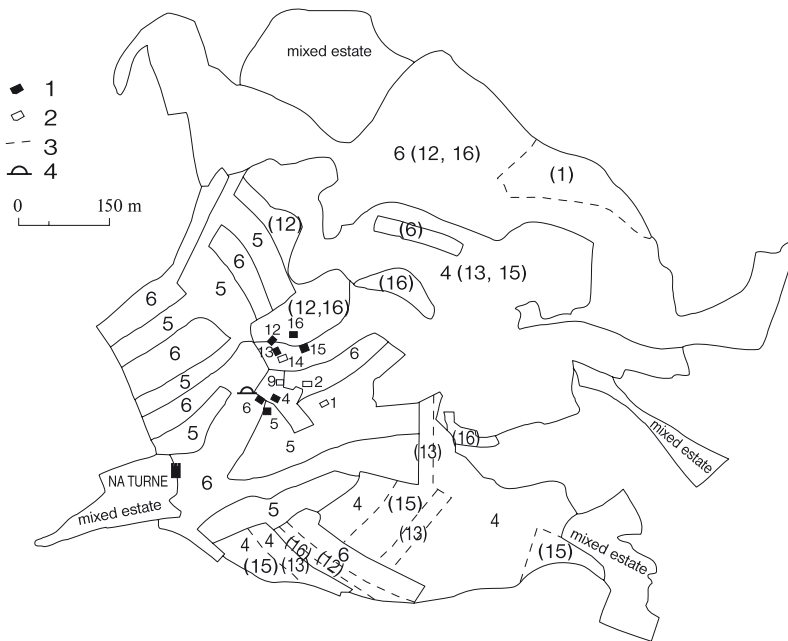


Fig. 3.8: Spodnje Gorje. Fourth stage of arable land division.
1 – old farmhouse, 2 – new farmhouse, 3 – later parcel boundary, 4 – graveyard.

broken down into smaller ones. No. 1 separated from no. 5. Some of its fields were acquired by converting the grasslands at Radolca into arable land. No. 16 was divided into 16 and 2 (the latter had none of the old arable land), no. 15 into 15 and 9, and no. 13 into 13 and 14. Except for 14, with its building near 13 in the northern part of the village, the buildings of the new farms were built between both village cores, south of the route towards Bled. The arable land development of Spodnje Gorje until the occurrence of the kajžars was thus concluded. The final size of arable land of the divided farms was: 1 – 3.1 ha, 2 – 1.9 ha, 4 – 2.7 ha, 5 – 3.2 ha, 6 – 4.8 ha, 9 – 2.2 ha, 12 – 3.9 ha, 13 – 2.5 ha, 14 – 2 ha, 15 – 2.3 ha, and 16 – 2.3 ha.

3.2.c. LAND OWNERS AND CHRONOLOGICAL DETERMINATION OF THE DEVELOPMENT (Fig. 3.9)

The nearby early mediaeval graveyard (*Knific, Pleterski 1993, 235-240*) can help to at least approximately establish the time of the beginning of the village. The graveyard (*Fig. 3.7a*) is in the immediate vicinity of the oldest part of the settlement, just several tens of metres from house no. 6. Therefore, it can be assumed that it belongs to the village. The graveyard is located on the land which was acquired by no. 6 by clearing common land and was almost entirely destroyed by sand quarrying. There are two distinctive objects – temple rings, one belonging to the Kötllach and the other to the Carantania stage of the material culture of the Alpine Slavs (*Knific 1983, pp. 61-62*). According to a report dating from before World War II, there were clay pots in the graves (*Kocjančič 1940*). On this basis, it could be stated that the graveyard was in use at least as early as the 8th century. The possibility of an earlier beginning is not excluded.

Another clue as to ownership and chronology are the names Radolca (hill) and Dobrul (stream). All the meadows and fields at Radolca belong exclusively to farming unit no. 6. Its name is derived from the personal name Radol. This implies the first owner, who acquired the meadows at the top of the elevation northeast of the village. There is a stream between Radolca and Spodnje Gorje. In the Josephian Cadastre its name is Dobrul (locative: Pr Dobrule), while its present name is Pr Dr(o)bune. The latter

the route towards Zasip and Jesenice, and no. 6 to the north. The new farms received some of the old fields, but in general new fields were cleared from the grasslands belonging to both farming units. The two units thus had: no. 4 up to 11.8 ha, and no. 6 up to 13.2 ha of fields. The fields of nos. 4 and 6 (parent units) remained almost entirely in the area of the old arable land. No. 6 had up to 4.6 ha, while its two offshoots had: no. 12 up to 3.9 ha, and no. 16 up to 4.2 ha (though its land must have originally been somewhat smaller, for this is the combined land of no. 16 and the younger no. 2, which certainly cleared some more fields when it was formed). No. 4 kept only 2.7 ha of the old arable land and cleared no new fields. Its offshoots 15 and 13 had, together with the newly cleared fields, up to 4.5 ha of arable land each.

During further development, these basic farming units were broken

form can be found in F. Bezljaj, who explains it as deriving from the stem – *drobiti* (“to crush”), while he also allows the possibility of derivation from the personal name *Drob* (Bezljaj 1956, p. 157). Likewise, the form *Dobrul* can also be derived from a personal name (stem *Dobr*). I find the older record (18th century) of greater value, especially considering the possibility of metathesis which could have happened in the meantime: from *dobr-* into *drob-*. Whatever the case may be, both explanations derive from a personal name. The stream rises and runs entirely through the land of the second farming unit (no. 4). It was probably named after the owner of the land, *Dobrul*.

It therefore follows that the land northeast of the village was divided between two owners (4 and 6), *Dobrul* and *Radol* (Figs. 3.6; 3.8). This had happened before both farming units were divided into smaller economic units as farms. An interesting question is when did *Radol* acquire the meadows – before the separation of 5 from 6 or afterwards. No. 5 itself has no land at *Radolca*, but no. 1, which separated from 5, does. The area of this land, though, is small, no bigger than the area of the individual component parts of no. 6 (2, 12, 16). Had the aforementioned acquisition happened before the separation of 5 from 6, the grasslands at *Radolca* would probably have been divided as well. The land of no. 1 at *Radolca* could have been acquired late in time, when new landholding relations were being formed. Therefore the acquisition of the grasslands at *Radolca* most likely happened after the separation of 5 and 6.

Another field name, indicative of the manner of clearing new land in the time of separation of nos. 5 and 6, and also of the beginning of *Višelnica*, is *Na rivouce*. It designates a low hill between *Spodnje Gorje* and *Višelnica* (Fig. 3.6). *Rivouca* can be derived from *Gorevouca*, which means burnt land, therefore the fields must have been acquired by burning down the forest.

Spodnje Gorje is first mentioned in records perhaps as early as the 11th century (*Kos F. 1911, pp. 165, 167*). Between the years 1050 and 1065, a certain *Winrih* left to the Diocese of *Brixen* his inherited estate in a place with the Latin name *Summitas campi* and the German *Obinentiges felde* – a place at the upper field. All the villages of the *Gorje* area (*Spodnje Gorje*, *Zgornje Gorje*, *Poljšica*, *Višelnica*) meet this geographical description, but the closest corresponding Slovene toponym is *Gorje*. Which *Gorje* of the two?

As early as the 12th century there is a *Brixen ministerialis* living in *Zgornje Gorje*. *Brixen*, however, owns substantial property in *Spodnje Gorje* in later centuries. Another important piece of information is that soon after acquiring it, the bishop of *Brixen* gives his property in *Obinentigemo uelde* in exchange to the noble *Friderik*, originating from *Rodeneck* near *Mühlbach* north of *Brixen* (*Kos M. 1970-1971, p. 13*). It is unclear, however, whether he handed on everything he had received or only a part of it. It is not easy to decide between the two villages, yet the one mentioned might be *Spodnje Gorje* (cf. Ch. 3.5.c.). It is nevertheless an interesting fact that *Winrih* is a local inhabitant (*Kos M. 1970-1971, p. 12*), who, together with his brothers, *Paul*, *Tvnzo* and *Ivan*, owned considerable property in the *Bled* area and also elsewhere (cf. Ch. 4.).

The next possible mention of *Spodnje Gorje* is in a document from 1185, where a *Brixen ministerialis* knight *Eberhard* and his wife *Mahthilda* are mentioned in *Gorje* between the years 1142 and 1164 (*Santifaller 1929, p. 46*). The same *Eberhardus* was most likely a *Brixen* witness in 1179 (*Kos F. 1915, p. 617*). There is a *Brixen ministerialis* *Nantwin* mentioned in (*Zgornje*) *Gorje* in 1173 (*Kos F. 1915, p. 542*), and therefore contemporary with *Eberhard*. It is not very likely that there were two

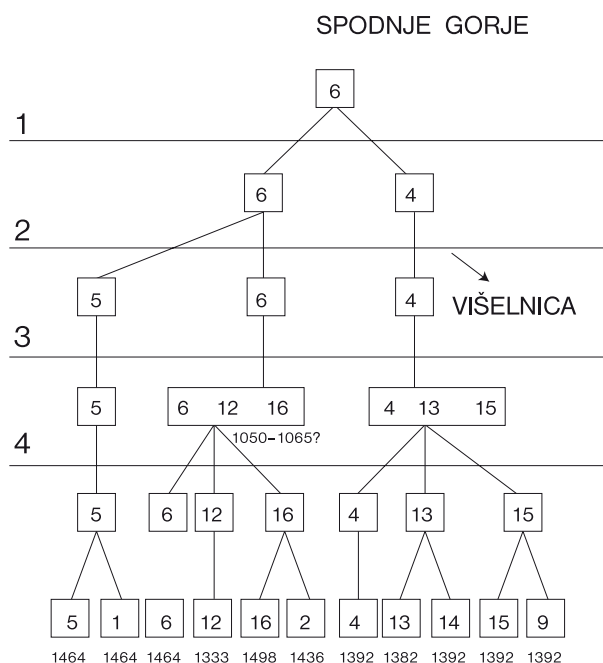


Fig. 3.9: *Spodnje Gorje*. Development stages of farming units.
Year first mentioned in written sources.

Brixen ministeriales in Zgornje Gorje, so Eberhard was probably from Spodnje Gorje. This somehow strengthens the idea that *Summitas campi* or *Obinentigemo uelde* is Spodnje Gorje.

In the 13th and at the turn of the 14th century, Brixen urbaria do not mention any property in Spodnje Gorje. A possible explanation is that the land there had been given in fief. Yet a list of rights of the Count of Görz at Bled, dating from 1368, mentions Brixen property in Spodnje Gorje (*UBŠ*, 195). This means that some time earlier, Brixen must have taken over the property again directly. In 1464, the land is already recorded in the urbarium (*UBŠ*, 197).

Unfortunately, the number of farms is not indicated there. It can, however, be determined through searching for the common denominator of the sum of different kinds of tributes. This will be done by an analogy with Dvorska vas, a village with a similar tribute structure where, according to an older urbarium, there were 6 Brixen farms (*UBŠ*, 191). The calculation assumed that 1 modius ("mut") equalled 6 "hoffmes" (*UBŠ*, 65). Peasants in Dvorska vas (3 peasants together) had to pay: 2 hogs, 2 marten skins, 2 measures of broad beans, 2 measures of salt ("salcz"), 2 hanks of flax, 5 modii and 4.5 hoffmes of wheat, 5 modii and 3 hoffmes of rye, and 74.5 hoffmes of oats. Serfs in Spodnje Gorje had to pay: 2 hogs, 2 marten skins, 2 measures of broad beans, 2 measures of salt, 2 hanks of flax, 5 modii of wheat, 5 modii of rye and 80 hoffmes of oats. Based on this comparison, it could be stated that in 1464, there were 3 Brixen farms in Spodnje Gorje.

The next information on Brixen property is from the year 1579, when 5 Brixen farms in Spodnje Gorje are mentioned in the tithe list of the Radovljica manor (*Rad. urb.* 1579). This number, however, is questionable, since in all the subsequent Brixen urbaria no more than 3 farms belong to the diocese. It is exactly there that the mentioned tithe list is in disarray and the inhabitants of Spodnje Gorje are mixed up with those of Zgornje Gorje and Višelnica. Furthermore, assuming there were 5 Brixen serfs in Spodnje Gorje in the year 1464, that would mean, according to the same urbarium (*UBŠ*, 196-200), that the tributes of the peasants of Spodnje Gorje were incomparably smaller than the tributes of the rest of the Brixen serfs. In 1464 Spodnje Gorje was the only village where peasants did not pay some of the tributes in money. In accordance with what has been said above, the most likely possibility is that throughout the period between 1464 and the 18th century, the Diocese of Brixen owned 3 farms in Spodnje Gorje.

It is an important fact that in the urbarium from 1602 (*Briks. urb.* 1602), Brixen property is labelled as two times 1/2 of a dvor ("halben hoff") and 1 dvor ("ganzen hoff"). The situation is the same in the 18th century (*Briks. urb. ca.* 1731). With the help of the Theresian, Josephian and Franziscan cadastres it can be ascertained that the two halves of a dvor are house nos. 1 and 5, while the whole dvor is house no. 6. The development of the arable land demonstrated that nos. 1 and 5 used to be a single unit. The Brixen urbarium is fully aware of that, therefore it is justified to conclude that the separation happened when they were the property of the Diocese of Brixen, probably the second time, i.e. between the 14th century (when Brixen acquired the land again) and the 15th century (when the separation had already happened). Brixen ownership also enabled clearing the land for no. 1 at Radolca (see Ch. 3.2.b.).

Another great landowner in Spodnje Gorje in the 14th century was Nikolaj of Kokra, inhabitant of Bled (cf. Ch. 5.5.). In 1392, his two daughters pledged the property in Spodnje Gorje to their mother as a dower from their father. It consisted of 1 dvor and 4 farms (1392 13/6, *CKSL*). Since nos. 5 and 6 were Brixen property in the 14th century, the third dvor is probably no. 4. As early as ca. 1330, 1 farm (15) belonged to the Bled Island provostry (*UBŠ*, 206). In 1498, 2 farms (13, 14) belonged to Radovljica manor (*Rad. urb.* 1498). By 1436, 1 farm (9) had been transferred to the ownership of the Grimšičars (*CF*, p. 27 v.), while the seat of the dvor (4) had been transferred to the ownership of the Kamen manor (*RDA, fasc.* 292).

The 3 remaining farms are already mentioned in the 14th century. In 1302, an Aeschwein of Trefen/Trebnje in Carinthia, together with his son and wife, sold 1 farm (perhaps no. 2) to brothers Maerchlein and Wulfing (1302 5/3, *CKSL*). The latter lived in Spodnje Gorje (cf. Ch. 5.1.), possibly as the owner of the third dvor. In 1333, brothers of the aforementioned two gave 1 farm (12) back to the Bled Island provostry, whose fief it was (1333 11/7, *CKSL*), and in 1352 (1352 24/9, *CKSL*), the Reynman brothers of Bled sold 1 farm (possibly 16 or 2) to their uncle Nikolaj Sumereker. The previous owner of these farms is unknown, but it could have been the Diocese of Brixen, which lost them in the turmoils

of the 13th century. This brings us back to the question of what comprised Winrih's estate in the 11th century. Quite possibly it comprised of farming unit no. 6, together with farms 12 and 16, which Brixen could have lost subsequently. The provostry kept its two farms until the 18th century. No. 16 became the property of the Radovljica manor by 1498 (*Rad. urb.* 1498), and no. 2 of the Grimšičars by 1436 (*CF* 27 v.). In 1436, the Grimšičars held two estates ("gueter") in Gorje in fief from the Counts of Celje (*CF* 27 v.), and the situation is the same in 1457-61 (*HCF* f. 37) and in 1579 (*Rad. urb.* 1579).

On the basis of what has been said it is evident that the division of arable land and the fragmentation into 11 farms had been finished by the 14th century (possibly earlier), and that the inner separation of the dvors (2, 9, 13 from 16, 15, 14) happened between the 11th and the 14th century.

In the second half of the 11th century there are three estates in Spodnje Gorje. One belongs to Winrih as his inheritance (*Kos F.* 1911, p. 165) and is comprised of farming unit no. 6 with two pertaining families (12, 16). The second estate has a seat and two more families (4 + 13, 15), while the third is farming unit no. 5. The second and third estate probably remained in the hands of the local inhabitants.

3.3. ZGORNJE BODEŠČE AND SPODNJE BODEŠČE

3.3.a. NATURAL CONDITIONS (*Fig. 3.10*)

The area of the villages of Zgornje Bodešče and Spodnje Bodešče is naturally bounded. To the north-east it falls steeply into the valley of the Sava Dolinka River, to the east it is bounded by precipitous slopes ending in the Sava Bohinjka River, to the southwest it descends relatively steeply towards the village of Ribno and the Sava Bohinjka, while to the northwest it is adjacent to the area of the villages Koritno and Ribno. Expansion of the village land was therefore only possible within this limited area. Even this area is not entirely flat – it is cut through by glacial moraines (Na hribe, Na klancih, Na križne gorice) and valleys (Na doleh, V krnišence).

The latter are often water-rich and marshy (V blateh, Curkovca, Pretaka, Nad potokam), the northwestern part being at least partly covered by forest (V mecesne, Nad lescam). There are two pieces of good arable land: the smaller near Zgornje Bodešče (Nad lescam), and the larger near Spodnje Bodešče (Na meleh, Za hribam).

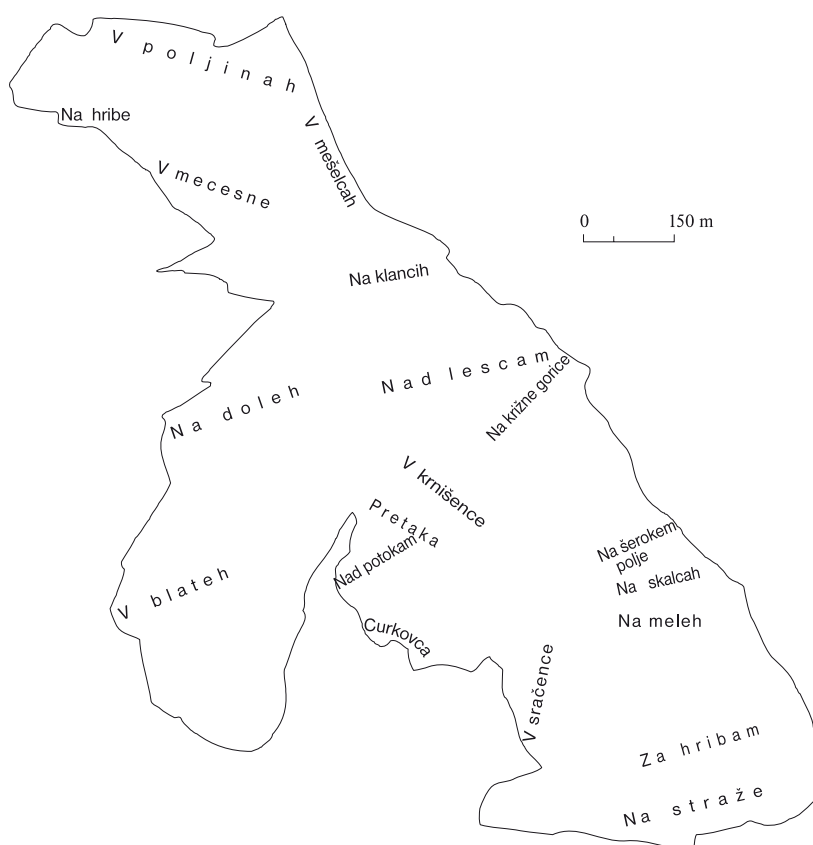


Fig. 3.10: Bodešče.
Village area and field names.

3.3.b. SETTLEMENT DIVISION, ARABLE LAND DIVISION, THEIR GENESIS AND DEVELOPMENT (Figs. 3.11–3.15)

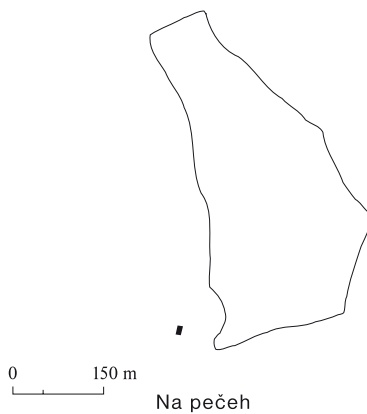


Fig. 3.11: Bodešče. First stage of arable land division.

Bodešče is comprised of two villages, Zgornje Bodešče (Bodešče) and Spodnje Bodešče (Na pečeh), located 600 metres apart. Both villages have their arable land in one piece around the village. In more distant parts, however, their plots of land are strongly intermixed (V blateh, V poljinah, Na klancih, V mešelcah). Those plots were acquired by clearing the land later, when both villages were already there. The original core of arable land can therefore be seen in the uninterrupted strip of good flat arable land along the edge of the valley of the Sava Dolinka River (from Nad lescam to Na straže). This land largely belongs to Spodnje Bodešče and only a smaller part to the north to Zgornje Bodešče, indicating that the original settlement was Spodnje Bodešče.

The division of land within each of the two villages indicates internal village development. In both villages it is possible to detect two groups of farms whose land is contiguous; nos. 11, 13, 14 and 15, 16, 17, 18 in Zgornje Bodešče, and nos. 19, 20, 23 and 21, 22, 24, 25 in Spodnje Bodešče. By taking into account the area of their fields and their distribution over the village area, the following development can be assumed:

The area of Spodnje Bodešče (local inhabitants call it Na pečeh) was settled first. One farming unit was probably established there (Fig. 3.11). Its arable land extended to the northeast and was comprised of good (Na meleh, Za hribam) and slightly poorer soil (Na skalcah, Na širokem polje). The entire area of this, presumably oldest, part of the arable land could have been approximately 9.3 ha.

Later, two farming units were formed (Fig. 3.14). The original arable land was evenly divided between them, so that the fields of one unit (each unit had 6-7 fields) alternated with the fields of another. Unit 22 received about 4.3 ha of arable land and unit 23 about 5 ha. The fields in the remaining flat areas near the village (mainly the land at Nad lescam, V križne gorice and V sračence) were also divided between them. The land of one unit again alternates evenly with the land of the other. The area to the west of the old arable land was acquired by unit 23, and the area to the south by 22. Altogether, no. 22 had approximately 8.1 ha, and no. 23 9.2 ha of fields. According to cadastral files, there are relatively large balks between the younger fields. It is not certain whether or not these balks were there from the very beginning, but it seems more likely that they were formed later with the fragmentation of the land. There are no balks where the land was not divided between different owners, and moreover, local inhabitants have no logical explanation of their existence. This makes it more difficult to calculate the area of the original arable land, which can only be approximately accurate, because it is unclear which of the present day meadows used to be arable fields in the past.

This concluded the development of the arable land of Spodnje Bodešče. In certain parts (Nad lescam, Križna gorica), the younger fields of Spodnje Bodešče are closely intermixed with the fields of Zgornje Bodešče, which indicates that the latter were cleared simultaneously with expansion of

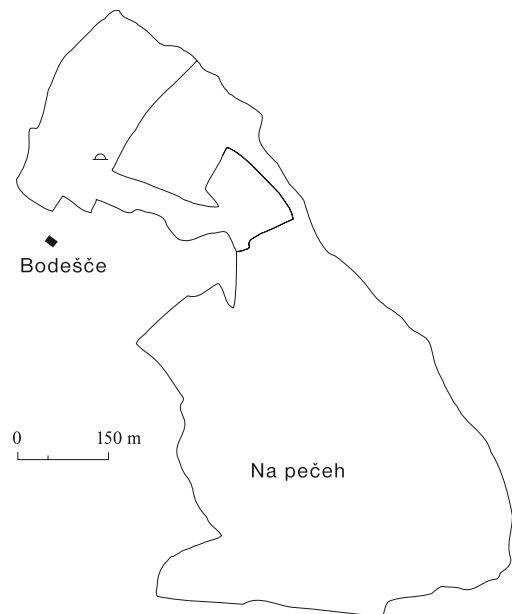


Fig. 3.12: Bodešče. Second stage of arable land division.

the Spodnje Bodešče arable land. The arable land at V sračence lies in a straight line adjacent to the grasslands of Zgornje Bodešče.

After that time, new arable land for the village of Spodnje Bodešče was cleared only at the distant boundary of the land of Zgornje Bodešče (Fig. 3.15). Spodnje Bodešče also acquired some plots of land within the area of Zgornje Bodešče, and this obscures the original situation.

It can be assumed that in Zgornje Bodešče too there was only one original farming unit, no. 18. Its arable land was at Nad Iescam and at Križna gorica; the former had better and the latter somewhat poorer soil (Fig. 3.12). The fields were about 6.3 ha in size.

In the next stage of development, no. 18 was broken down into 18 and 14 (Fig. 3.13). The old arable land was divided between them: no. 14 received about 3.1 ha, and no. 18 about 3.2 ha. New fields were cleared to the northwest of the village (Na doleh) and equally divided between them. All together, the units had about 5 ha of arable land each. The grasslands to the southeast of the village went to no. 18 and the grasslands to the southwest of the village to unit 14. Building no. 14 is located right next to building no. 18. It is a less likely possibility that there were two farming units in Zgornje Bodešče from the very beginning. In that case, their land would be expected to be less fragmented and less intermixed. It is also unlikely that the first farming unit already cleared all the fields. That would mean that units 14 and 18 would only have half of them each without clearing any new land for cultivation. From then on, new fields were cleared only at the edges of the old arable land, together with those of Spodnje Bodešče, and also by converting some grassland into arable land.

In both villages, farming units were further internally divided: 23 into 19, 20, 23 – 22 into 21, 22, 24, 25 – 14 into 11, 13, and 14 – 18 into 15, 16, 17, 18. The units had different portions of the old arable land: 19 and 20 – 5.6 ha, 23 – 2.4 or 3.6 ha (see below), 21 – 2 ha, 22 – 1.8 ha, 24 – 2.5 ha, 25 – 2.4 ha, 11 – 2.7 ha, 13 and 14 – 2.9 ha (see below), 15 and 16 – 1.7 ha, 17 – 2 ha, and 18 – 1.9 ha.

The expanded farming unit 23 lost some land in the old part of the arable land in favour of the two expanded farming units of Zgornje Bodešče. All the fields of farm no. 23 are in the original core of arable land of Spodnje Bodešče, while the fields of the supplementary farms 19 and 20 are distributed over the entire area. It therefore seems that the loss affected only no. 23. Hence the different data about the size of its fields: before the loss and after it. The fields

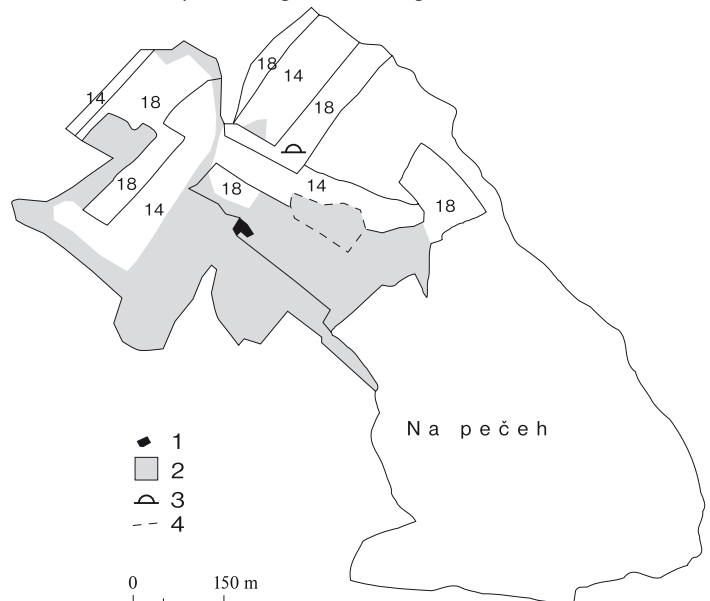


Fig. 3.13: Bodešče. Third stage of arable land division.
1 – farmhouse, 2 – grassland, 3 – graveyard, 4 – uncertain property.

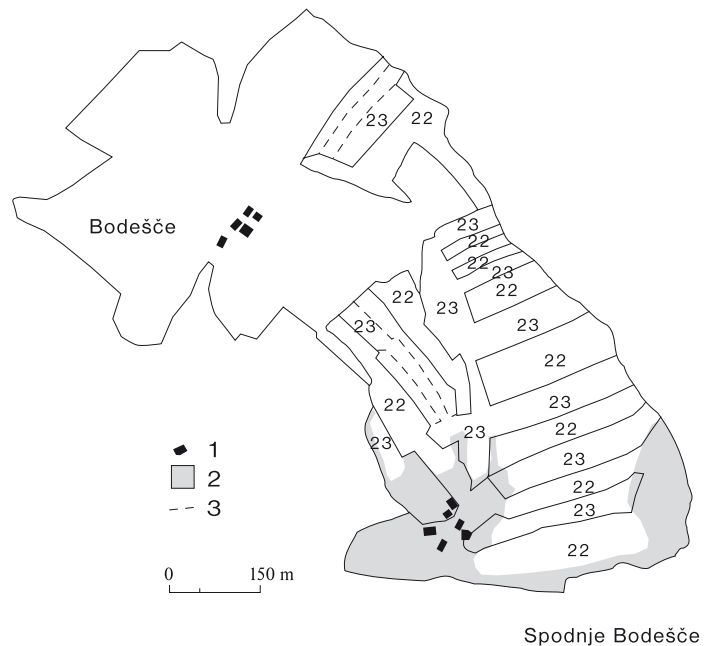


Fig. 3.14: Bodešče. Fourth stage of arable land division.
1 – farmhouse, 2 – grassland, 3 – uncertain property.

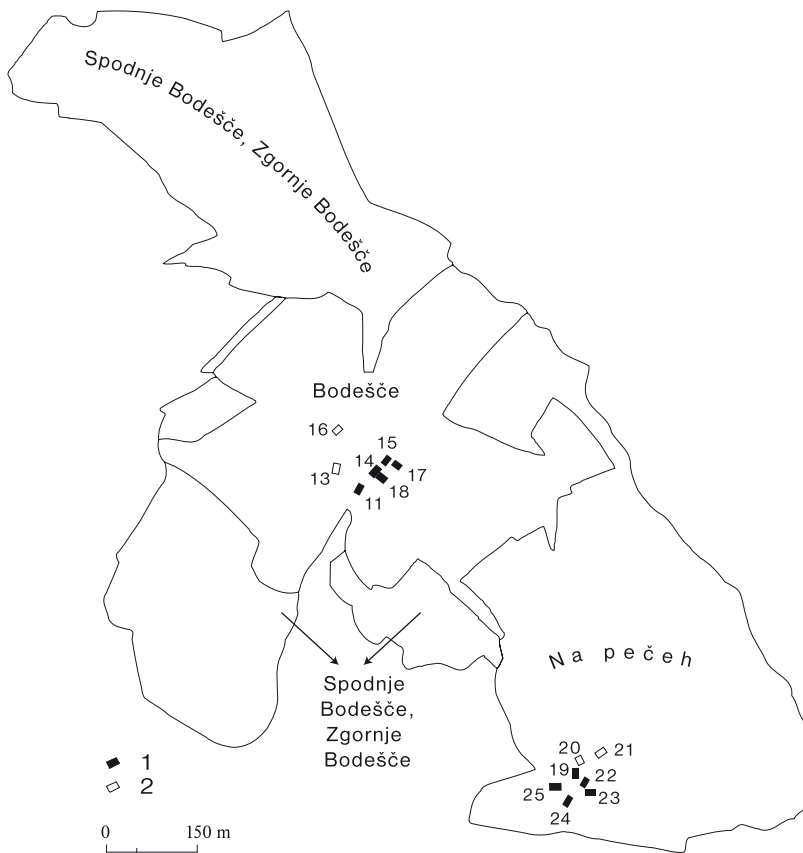


Fig. 3.15: Bodešče. Final stage of arable land division.
1 – old farmhouse, 2 – new farmhouse.

of nos. 21 and 22 are often adjacent. The two farms are small (for Spodnje Bodešče) and the building of no. 21 is located somewhat outside of the village. All this indicates that 22 was the original farm with 3.8 ha of arable land, and 21 separated from it. Also nos. 13 and 14 are considered a unit. Their fields are often adjacent even at V Poljinah and Na klancih, where arable land is of later origin. This means 13 and 14 were divided later. The same goes for 15 and 16. Taken separately, each of them has little arable land and moreover, the division is evident from the *urbaria* (see: Ch. 3.3.c.). All of the farms also acquired fields in the later cleared areas also by converting grasslands into arable land. This land, however, does not affect the issues discussed here and is not included in the calculation.

At the time of the first internal division of the expanded farming units of Bodešče, 22 was divided into 22, 24, 25 – 23 into 19, 20, 23 (see: Ch. 3.3.c.) – 14 into 11, 14 – and 18 into 15, 17, 18 (hence the smaller average land area).

3.3.c. LAND OWNERS AND CHRONOLOGICAL DETERMINATION OF THE DEVELOPMENT (Fig. 3.18)

It has been shown that the arable land of Spodnje Bodešče is older than the arable land of Zgornje Bodešče. Judging by how the land of the two villages is intermixed, Zgornje Bodešče was most likely founded by the inhabitants of the settlement at the location of Spodnje Bodešče (Na pečeh). At Nad lescam (today: Dlesc) near Zgornje Bodešče, an early mediaeval graveyard was excavated (*Knific, Pleterski 1981*), proving that both villages were established in the early mediaeval period (see: Fig. 3.3d.).

However, the arable land of Spodnje Bodešče gives an unclear image as it is divided into several strips (Fig. 3.14). From the contemporary arable land of other villages (see Ch. 10.2.) it differs in two more respects: the entire arable land of Spodnje Bodešče was evenly divided between two farming units (not only the original arable land, but also the fields that were cleared later), and both units were directly transformed into expanded farming units with several families. None of these can be observed in any of the other settlements founded by the 10th century. This seems to be in contradiction with the fact that the arable land of Zgornje Bodešče is of later origin than that of Spodnje Bodešče (see: Ch. 3.3.b.).

At least two or three development stages of the arable land of Spodnje Bodešče would be expected before the emergence of Zgornje Bodešče: the first stage with just the core of arable land, and the second (as well as the third) stage, with the area as far as the land of Zgornje Bodešče cleared for

cultivation. But it is evident (*Fig. 3.14*) that the whole area was divided at the same time, and the core of arable land can only be identified based on natural conditions (land topography, soil fertility), not on the division of arable land. It seems that the present division of the arable land of Spodnje Bodešče originates from the time when Zgornje Bodešče with its arable land was already there. This seems to contradict the previous conclusion that the arable land of Zgornje Bodešče is of later origin.

The contradiction can be resolved with the following explanation: the oldest settlement was located at Na pečeh, probably at the site of the later Spodnje Bodešče. A new settlement, Bodešče, was later established at the northern edge of its area. After that time, there was a break in "Spodnje Bodešče" – perhaps the population was wiped out by a calamity. Since there are no traces of clearing the land anew, it seems that the arable land was redivided and the village settled again relatively soon, when the area was not yet overgrown. The new settlers might have come from the neighbouring Bodešče, and this could be an explanation for why the southeastern part of the Bled area was not more densely populated before the Brixen colonisation in the 11th and 12th century (see Chs. 10.4.; 10.5.). Before then there were fewer people and more available land in that area. Since the new farming units had up to 8.1 ha and up to 9.2 ha of land, which was generally the size of an expanded farming unit (see Ch. 10.2.), it is likely that they were already formed as expanded farming units. Each of them had three families, the family of the owner and two subordinate families (see Ch. 3.3.b.).

The two expanded farming units of Zgornje Bodešče could be the parent units of the two new units of Spodnje Bodešče. Such a beginning of the formation of Spodnje Bodešče explains why the name Bodešče was used for both villages.

The additional label ("Spodnje" – lower; in relation to Zgornje Bodešče) was first assigned to Spodnje Bodešče (1387 25/11, *copied from 1503 1/3, AS*), while the adjective Zgornje (upper) was added only later (*Rad. urb. 1498*). This is another indicator that Zgornje Bodešče is older (cf.: *Kos M. 1966, pp. 89–91*). The local inhabitants use simply the name Bodešče for Zgornje Bodešče, and for Spodnje Bodešče the name Na pečeh. On this basis, the name "Peccaz" from the 11th century can be identified with Na pečeh (see below). This would be proof that only after the 11th century the name Bodešče began to be used also for the village of Spodnje Bodešče. What does Bodešče mean? It may be derived from the Early Slavic name Bodeh or Bod(eš). A person with this name could be the founder of (Zgornje) Bodešče.

This explanation offers an approximate chronological framework for the desolation and new settlement of Spodnje Bodešče: the expanded farming units in Zgornje Bodešče were not formed before the second half of the 9th century (*d.*), while the Brixen colonisation began in the 11th century. This is the upper and the lower time limit for the events described.

Between 1075 and 1090, an estate in the village of "Peccaz" is mentioned in records, donated by the local inhabitant Radogoj (*Kos F. 1911, p. 302*). Zgornje Bodešče is mentioned in the 12th century, when bishop Oton of Brixen (1165–1170) donated two farms in the village of Bodešče to the church of St Mary on Bled Island (*Santifaller 1929, p. 46*). The Bled Island provostry kept these two farms by the 18th century, when they can be identified with farms 11 and 17. In 1253, 2 farms in Bodešče are registered in the Brixen urbarium (*UBŠ, 187*). These two farms are also probably in Zgornje Bodešče, where Brixen had the same number of farms in the 18th century. No. 15 was divided after 1609 (*Opis 1609*), when Brixen had only four farms in both villages (two in each village), and before about 1731, when the half-farms 15 and 16 already existed (*Briks. urb. ca. 1731*). The two remaining farms, 14 and 18, belonged to the Kamen manor as early as 1579 (*Rad. urb. 1579*).

It can be concluded on this basis that in the mid-12th century, Brixen had 4 farms in Zgornje Bodešče (11, 13, 15, 17), i.e. all of the farms, except the seats of both expanded farming units. It remains a guess whether Brixen acquired them in the 11th or only in the 12th century. Nevertheless, some conclusions can be made: the division of 13 and 14 happened before the mid-12th century and the youngest fields at Na poljinah and Na klancih between the villages of Ribno and Koritno (cf.: *Fig. 3.3b.*) had therefore been acquired earlier. At that time, the expanded farming units of both villages were already being broken down into individual farms, as proven by the irregularly intermixed plots of land in the above-mentioned new part of the arable land, which belonged to the individual farms of both villages.

After the 11th century, Brixen property in Spodnje Bodešče is not mentioned for several centuries. Spodnje Bodešče is first mentioned in 1387, when the Diocese of Brixen purchased a farm there from Nikl Wasserman and his wife. While the farm is described as their property, it is highly likely that it is actually a former Brixen fief (1387 25/11, *copied from 1503 1/3, AS*). According to the urbarium from 1464, Brixen only had two farms in both villages of Bodešče, nos. 13 and 15 in Zgornje Bodešče (UBŠ, 197). According to a description from 1609, there were 4 Brixen farms in Bodešče (Opis 1609). If two of them were in Zgornje Bodešče, then the other two must have been in Spodnje Bodešče, which is the same situation as in the 18th century. These are therefore farms 21 and 24.

As early as ca. 1330, the Bled Island provostry had 3 farms in both villages of Bodešče (UBŠ, 204) and this number remained the same until the 18th century (RDA, fasc. 18). The church of St Leonard is located on the land of no. 25, which belongs to the provostry.

The reconstruction of the development would be as follows: in the 11th century, the presumed Radogoj estate, which had been donated to Brixen, comprised of farms 21, 24, 25. Almost the entire farming unit, except for its presumed seat, no. 22, thus became the property of Brixen. The supposed division of 22 into 22 and 21 happened before that time. The Brixen property in Spodnje Bodešče was given in fief, and by the 14th century it had become alienated so that Brixen had to repurchase some of it. The rest was re-acquired by the 16th century. The seat itself, no. 22, belonged to the Radovljica manor as early as 1498 (Rad. urb. 1498). At that time, as well as later, the Radovljica manor was also the owner of the other farms: 19 (20), 23 (Rad. urb. 1498). The Ortenburgs are known to have been among the older owners and they had at least 1 farm (1368 20/7, Komatar AS) as well as – it might have been the same farm or something else – the inheritance from Nikolaj of Kokra (1392 13/6, CKSL).

As early as 1498, 13 farms are mentioned in Bodešče (Rad. urb. 1498). In 1579, it is mentioned that 6 farms are in Zgornje Bodešče and 7 in Spodnje Bodešče (Rad. urb. 1579). According to individual mentions, there were only 6 farms in Spodnje Bodešče (2 belonged to Brixen, 1 to the provostry and 3 to the Radovljica manor). According to the Theresian Cadastre, two serfs of Radovljica (19, 20) had together one farm (RDA, fasc. 282), which was later divided. This farm was the size of two ordinary farms. Originally, these were probably two different farms. One of them became empty and then only one serf ran both of them. This can be an explanation for the fact that in 1579, the Radovljica manor had 4 farms, but only three are listed in the list of names. Ownership changes before the 14th century remain a mystery.

3.3.d. CHRONOLOGY OF THE EARLY MEDIAEVAL GRAVEYARD AT DLESC NEAR ZGORNJE BODEŠČE (Figs. 3.16; 3.17)

The graveyard (for archaeological data see: *Knific, Pleterski 1981*, for anthropological data see: *Štefančič, Leben-Seljak 1992*) is extremely informative for two reasons; because it was entirely excavated (*Knific, Pleterski 1981, p. 497*) and because it exhibits distinct horizontal stratigraphy (*Knific, Pleterski 1981, Figs. 28-34*). The chronology will be our primary object of interest. The graveyard has already been roughly classified into an older and a younger time period (*Knific, Pleterski 1981, Fig. 33*), yet an even more detailed classification can be made. A helpful analogy is the periodisation of the nearby Sedlo graveyard on Bled Castle Hill (*Pleterski 1982*). It was possible to classify the latter into four stages, which can be identified with four generations of the dead. A comparison of both graveyards demonstrates that the Dlesc graveyard is also divided into 4 generations.

The majority of the dead can be classified into four groups, based on the objects found in the graves, as well as on the basis of their position in the graveyard. Only a few children's graves are difficult to classify.

The first group (Fig. 3.16a) At Sedlo, the first group is characterised by knives with a clip-point blade, and temple rings of thin wire with a hook and loop (*Pleterski 1982, p. 141*). The same objects were found at Dlesc in graves 6, 31, 43 (knife) and 4, 38, 34 (temple ring). Grave 6, however, also contains two temple rings of thick wire with one straight cut end and with a single thickening at the

other end. Moreover, it is positioned above the older grave 14, therefore it cannot belong to the oldest group. Grave 45 can be classified with sufficient certainty in the first group. It contained a clay pot, a grave good of old tradition, which could not be expected in a younger grave (cf.: *Pleterski 1981, p. 590*). The dating of graves 43 and 34 has already been discussed (*Knific, Pleterski 1981, p. 502; Knific 1983a*).

With the exception of some children's graves, the first and oldest group was located in the westernmost part of the graveyard, on the vertex of the glacial mound. On the basis of this horizontal stratification, graves 46 and 47 from the same part of the graveyard, among the classifiable graves, can be added to this group. Graves 4, 31, 34, 38, 43, 45, 46 and 47 therefore belong to the first group.

The second group (*Fig. 3.16b*) At Sedlo, the second group is characterised, among other things, by temple rings with straight cut ends. It also contains one knife with a spear-point blade (*Pleterski 1982, Fig. 5: grave 40*). At Dlesc, such objects were found in graves 27, 33 (knife) and 32, 6 (temple rings). The two temple rings from grave 6 already have a single thickening at one end, which brings them closer to younger leading types. There are, however, two reasons for the classification of the grave into the earlier second group: the grave contained an infant, who would, had it lived, have carried the temple rings to the grave much later. Furthermore, the same grave contained, near the skeleton of an adult male, an earlier type of knife (with a clip-point blade). Grave 6 is therefore classified into the second group. Furthermore, these graves, except for the child's grave, lie in the western half of the graveyard, but east of the first group. On the basis of their topographical position, graves 35 and 42 from the same part of the graveyard can also be classified into the second group. Their excavation damaged graves 45 and 34 which belong to the older group. Grave 42 contained a knife with two volutes, which by itself cannot be dated more precisely (cf.: *Knific 1983a; Pleterski 1983*). Perhaps the child's grave 7, which is right next to grave 6, parallel to it and lying in the same direction, can be also classified into this group. All the graves of the second group are: 6, 7, 27, 32, 33, 35 and 42.

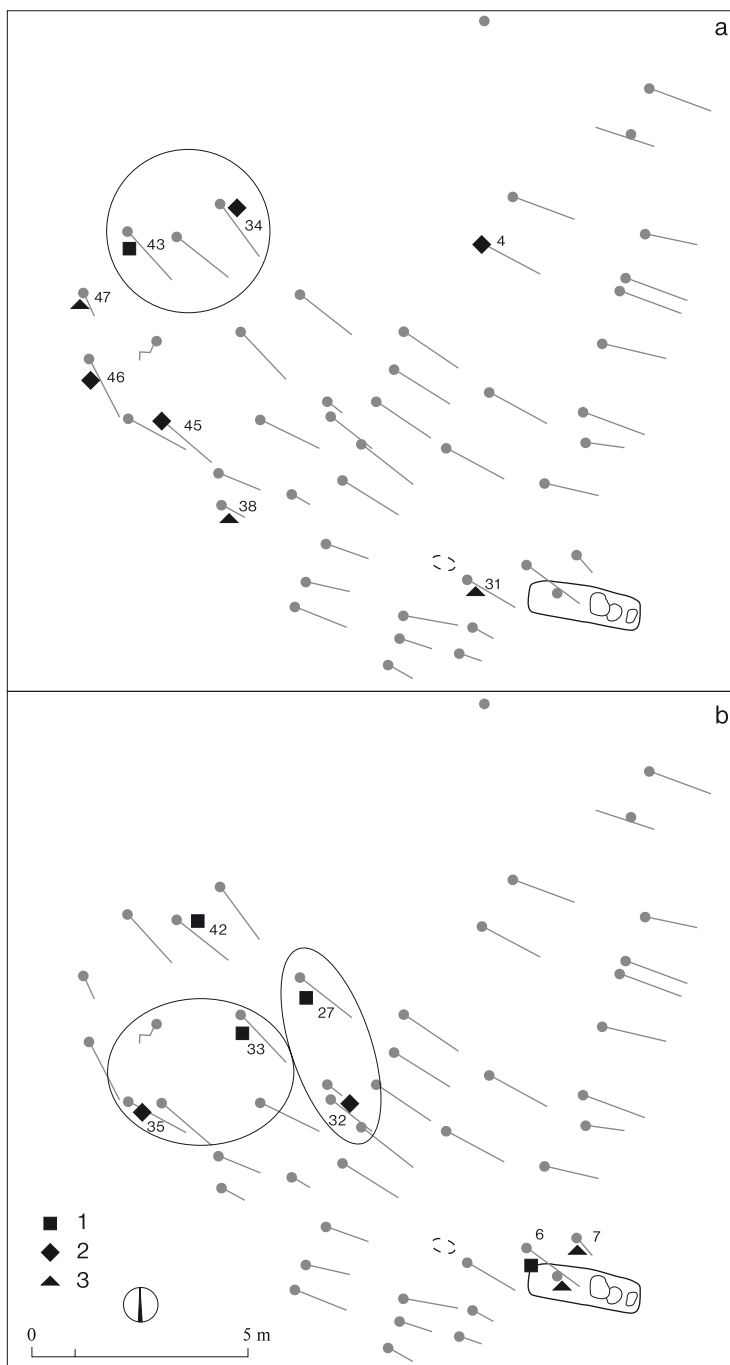


Fig. 3.16: The graveyard of Dlesc near Bodešče.
a – first generation,
b – second generation.
1 – man,
2 – woman,
3 – child.

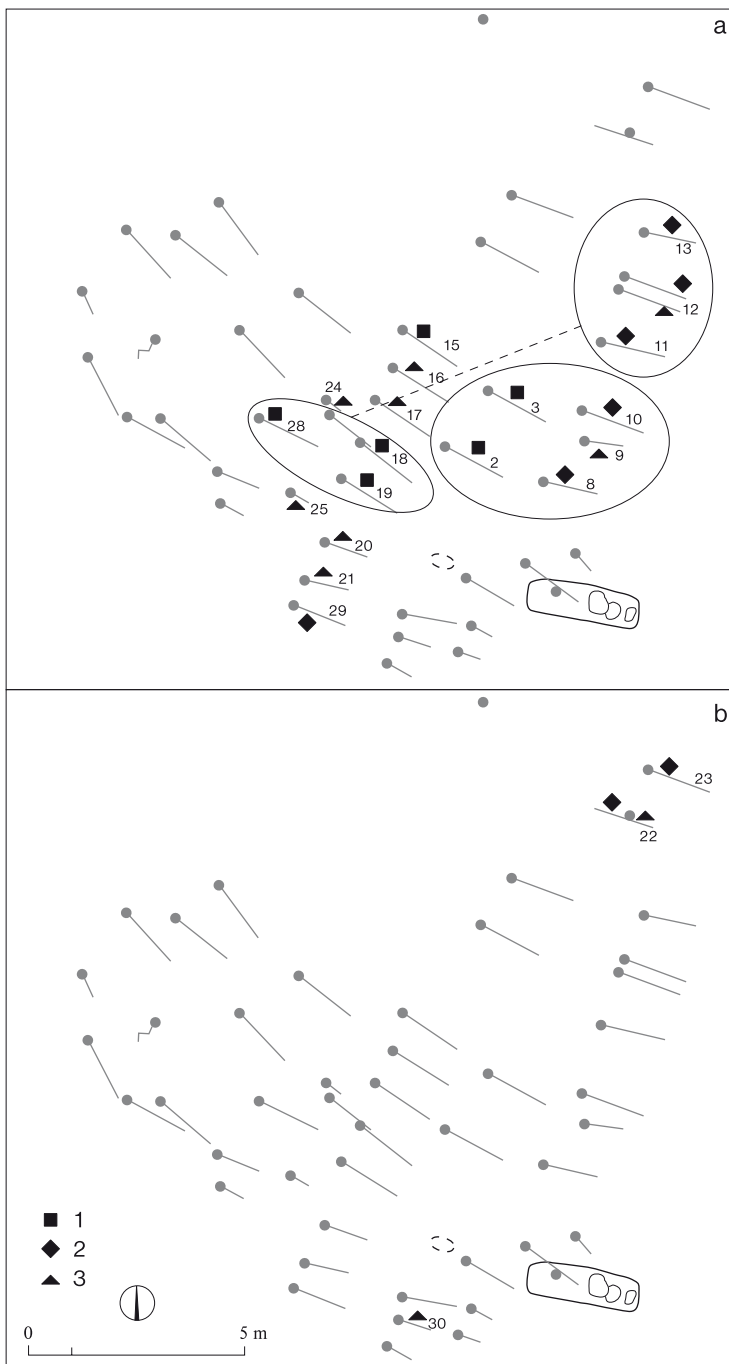


Fig. 3.17: The graveyard of Dlesc near Bodešče.
c – third generation, d – fourth generation. 1 – man, 2 – woman, 3 – child.

side the rows, at the northern edge of the graveyard. Graves 23 and 1 are located in the same part and can therefore be added to the fourth group, which thus contains graves 1, 22, 23, 30. Perhaps there were more graves, but this part of the graveyard was destroyed by sand quarrying in the past.

It is clear that the graveyard expanded from west to east, from the vertex of the glacial mound across its eastern slope onto the plain. This was the case with the first three groups. The fourth group

The third group (Fig. 3.17a) At Sedlo, the third group is characterised by temple rings with a single thickening at the ends, knives with a drop-point blade, and also trailing point knives (Pleterski 1982, p. 141). All these objects were found at Dlesc in graves 8, 10, 12, 13, 21, 23, 29, 30 (temple rings) and 3, 15, 16, 28 (knives). All these graves lie in the eastern half of the graveyard, at the eastern edge. The western edge is formed by the graves of the second group.

On the basis of such distribution (and graves 18 and 24 also on the basis of stratigraphy, for they are positioned above grave 32), graves 2, 9, 11, 17, 18, 19, 20, 25, which are located in the same part of the graveyard and in the same rows as the classifiable graves, can also be added to this group. Grave 23, however, must be excluded. It lies at the northernmost edge of the graveyard, relatively far from the other graves of the third group. It is also questionable whether grave 30 belongs to this group or not. It contained crescent earrings and probably also a round fibula. Similar earrings have been found at Castle Ptuj, together with the relatively young jewellery of the Bijelo Brdo type (*Knjfic*, Pleterski 1981, p. 503). A small round fibula of the same form was found at Sedlo in grave 143, which is one of the youngest graves in the graveyard (Pleterski 1982, Fig. 5). Based on these analogies, grave 30 could be added to the next, fourth group.

Also grave 37 is difficult to date. It contained a finger-ring of thick bronze wire such as that used for temple rings from the second group onwards. Graves 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 2, 3, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 24, 25, 28 and 29 have thus been classified into the third group.

The fourth group (Fig. 3.17b) At Sedlo the fourth group is characterised by temple rings with several thickenings at the ends, and enamelled artefacts (Pleterski 1982, p. 141). At Dlesc such objects are in graves 22 (temple rings) and 30 (enamel). Grave 22 lies a little further from the third group, outside the rows, at the northern edge of the graveyard.

did not follow the same direction and is located at the northern part of the graveyard. It looks as if the graveyard had met an obstacle, which had set its limit. Since the graveyard is still located between the fields of Zgornje Bodešče, a logical explanation is that this was the edge of a field east of the graveyard. When the graveyard was no longer in use, it was slowly forgotten and the edge of the field moved a bit to the west, above the first row of the easternmost graves, where it has remained until today. On this basis it can be said that the fields of Zgornje Bodešče were cleared before the eastern edge of the graveyard was formed, i.e. before the third group was buried.

But even more was discovered about the relation between the graveyard and the village and its arable land. What happens if the skeletons in the graves of the four groups are treated as human individuals? First, some general findings, which will be helpful in providing more detailed descriptions. With time, the graveyard expanded. Moreover, its social stratification is evident. The area around grave 14 was reserved for children (also the man in grave 6 is buried together with an infant). This is the only part of the graveyard which was used from its beginning to the end (*Knific, Pleterski 1981, p. 504, Fig. 34*). The central part of the graveyard stands out, too. All the most prominent graves – the largest and the deepest – were found there (*Knific, Pleterski 1981, Fig. 28*). They face more to the south than the other graves (*Knific, Pleterski 1981, Fig. 29*), and contain all the adult males (*Knific, Pleterski 1981, Fig. 34*) and only two females (32, 34). All the other graves are closer to the edges, indicating that the man was the head of the family.

And what can be gathered from this division within the frame of each group?

The first group (*Fig. 3.16a*) Only one grave belongs to an adult male. Of all the people buried in the graveyard, he lived to the highest age (grave 43). There are two adult women (graves 34, 45). In graves 4 and 46 there were two girls (teenagers), the rest are children. The graves indicate a family: a husband with a wife buried near him (34). It cannot be said who the woman in grave 45 is – a grandmother, a second wife, maybe a servant. The rest of the graves contain children.

The second group (*Fig. 3.16b*) There are no less than 4 graves of adult males (6, 27, 33, 42). One of them (42) died younger than the other three. A knife with two volutes was found in his grave, indicating the “vagabond” life of its owner (cf.: *Pleterski 1983, p. 386*), who travelled around and came home, where he died and was buried between his father (43) and mother (34). Also the man in grave 6, who was buried together with an infant in the children’s part of the graveyard, does not seem equal to the rest as otherwise he would have been buried in the male part. The heads of families could only have been the men from graves 27 and 33. They are indeed the ones who were buried with the greatest care. One of them (33) was buried in a coffin (*Knific, Pleterski 1981, Figs. 12-18*), and the other (27) in a pit paved with big stones and covered with a wooden board (*Knific, Pleterski 1981, Fig. 5*). There were only two adult women (32, 35), the rest were children. This indicates two husbands (27, 33) with their wives (32, 35).

The third group (*Fig. 3.17a*) In this group, male graves are the most numerous. There are five adult males (2, 3, 18, 19, 28) and another adult skeleton (15), which can be considered as male because of the knife (which is typical of male graves) in the grave – a fact also confirmed by anthropological analysis. This skeleton, however, is located behind two children, a little apart from the group of five male graves, and was probably unequal to them. The five male graves lie in three rows, 2 and 3, 18 and 19, and 28 between them to the west. There is also a considerable number of female graves (8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 29). The female graves 11, 13, 29 contain young girls; one of them (29) was even buried among the children and is therefore not equal to the other five. The five women are buried in one row, which at the same time represents the perimeter of the graveyard. Their graves are distributed relatively evenly, but with a slightly larger space between 8, 10 and 11, 12, 13. The rest of the graves belong to children. Overall, the group gives an image of five husbands (2, 3, 18, 19, 28) with five wives (8, 10, 11, 12, 13). Both of them seem to be divided into two groups: three husbands (18, 19, 28) and three wives (11, 12, 13), and two husbands (2, 3) and two wives (8, 10).

The fourth group (*Fig. 3.17b*) This group is the youngest and there are no male graves, only graves of women (22, 23) and children (30). They are the last to have been buried at the Dlesc graveyard. The rest of the people belonging to this group were probably already buried in hallowed ground at some church nearby.

Based on what has been said, it is evident that the four groups of the Dlesc graveyard are actually four consecutive generations of people buried there. This corresponds to the chronological groups of the Sedlo graveyard (Pleterski 1982, p. 141). Dlesc thus indicates the following population development: a single family in the beginning, which split into two families in the next generation, followed by five families in the third generation, which still belong to two groups, one with two and the other with three families. In the time of the fourth generation, the graveyard was abandoned and eventually forgotten – but not quite. According to folk tradition still alive among the inhabitants of Zgornje Bodešče, a treasure trove is buried 100 paces from the Marofar household (the owner of the majority of the land where the graveyard lies, formerly no. 18) in the direction of Dlesc. The area has preserved its ritual significance: until recently, the villagers of Zgornje Bodešče lit bonfires at the crossroads near the graveyard.

3.3.e. FINDINGS ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE GRAVEYARD AND ARABLE LAND DIVISION (Fig. 3.18)

It has been demonstrated that the fields near the graveyard had been cleared before the third generation was buried. There is another direct relation between the graveyard and the division of arable land: the parcel boundary between farms 17 and 18 crosses the glacial mound with the graveyard so it could not have been there in the time when the graveyard was in use. The boundary between 17 and 18 could only have been drawn after the graves had been well forgotten.

A structural connection between the graveyard and the division of the arable land of Zgornje Bodešče could also be found. The development of the settlement and arable land division of Zgornje Bodešče indicated three stages; the first – one original farming unit (18), the second – two farming

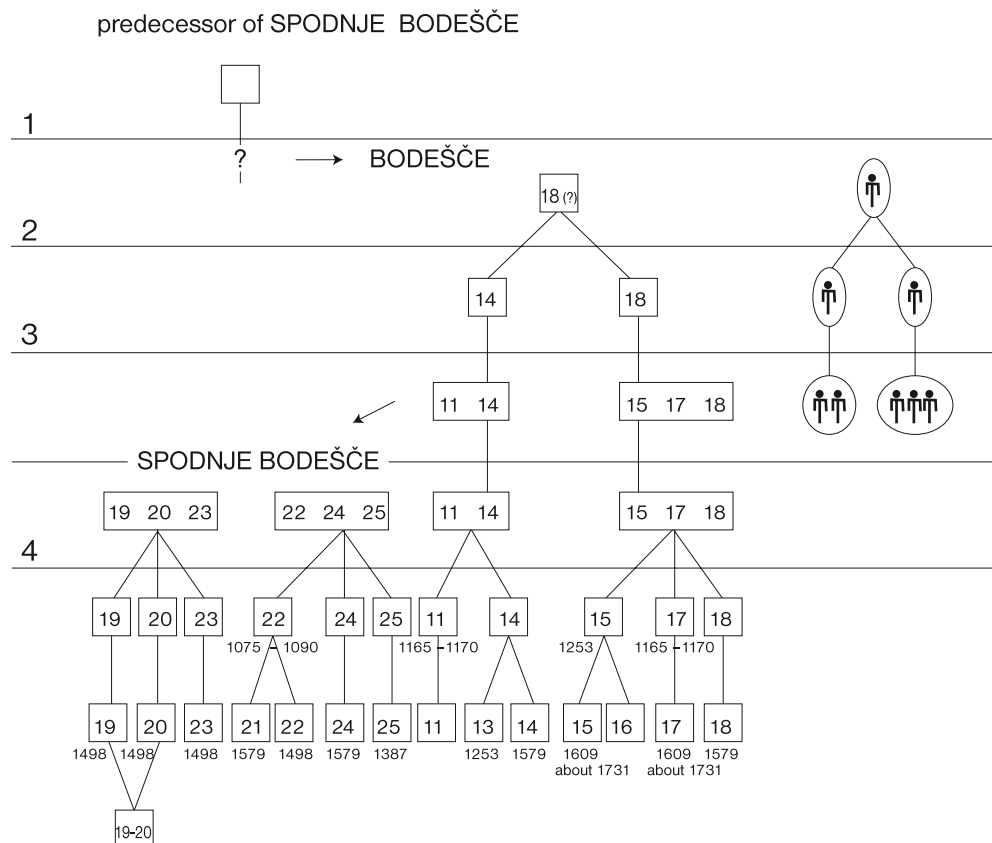


Fig. 3.18: Spodnje Bodešče and Zgornje Bodešče. Development stages of farming units and the development of families in the graveyard. Year first mentioned in written sources.

units (14, 18), the third – unit 14 expands to 11, 14, and unit 18 to 15, 17 and 18. The development of the Dlesc graveyard near the same village indicates the following: the first generation – one family, the second generation – two families, the third generation – five families, connected in two groups with two and three families.

It is evident that the arable land division and the graveyard display symmetrical development. The three stages of arable land development match the three generations of the graveyard: one farming unit – one family, two farming units – two families; two expanded farming units with two and three later farms – two groups of families with two and three families.

All of this cannot be a coincidence, only be a reflection of actual events. Dlesc was the graveyard of the first inhabitants of Zgornje Bodešče.

Earlier (3.3.c.) it had been shown that the name Bodešče originally denoted the later village of Zgornje Bodešče and is derived from the personal name of its founder. Judging by the additional information from the graveyard, it could be said that Bodeh was a man who really lived. He is the old man buried in grave 43, the oldest male grave in the graveyard. If this was the founder of the family, then the attention paid to him is no longer surprising. His grave was located on top of a glacial mound, and contained grave goods more numerous, diverse and richer than any other grave. At the same time it is understandable that his wife (34), the first mother of the family, was buried in the male part of the graveyard, and that she had many very rich pieces of jewellery in her grave, which was the largest in the graveyard.

Judging by the development of the arable land, it is very likely that Bodeh came from Spodnje Bodešče, built his new home near his new arable land and founded a new graveyard for his family on the glacial mound, which rose like an island out of the fields. The land later passed to two of his sons, who established their families and divided their father's property equally between them, and also cleared some new fields (Na doleh). After them, the property passed to their successors, but there was a crucial change.

It has been shown that the division of land between 17 and 18 – which means the internal division of the two expanded farming units – happened only after the graveyard had been abandoned. But two groups of families (11, 14 and 15, 17, 18) already appear in the graveyard in the third generation. The explanation could be that in the third generation, the property was no longer divided and there were only two owners, but the land could support five families. Since five families was the upper limit allowed by natural conditions, the number remained the same by the time the land was divided between all of the families.

Finally, the graveyard of Bodešče also enables a general chronological determination. The parallels with the Sedlo graveyard can also be used for determining the time of burial of the four generations. The following main time periods could be established at Sedlo – the first generation was buried in the first quarter of the 9th century, the second in the mid-9th century, the third at the turn of the century, while the fourth generation was buried in the second quarter of the 10th century (*Pleterski 1982, p. 146*). The graves at the graveyard of Bodešče belong more or less to the same periods. Considering that Bodeh founded the new settlement as a young man, it can be said that this occurred in the last quarter of the 8th century. This means that the predecessor of Spodnje Bodešče was older than that. The first division of the arable land of Zgornje Bodešče was made in the first half of the 9th century. Two expanded farming units with several families had already been formed in the second half of the 9th century, but the land was divided between the families only after the second quarter of the 10th century, though certainly till the 12th century.

3.4. VIŠELNICA

3.4.a. NATURAL CONDITIONS (*Fig. 3.19a*)

The village was founded on the gentle southern slopes of the hill of Višelnica. Its area therefore extends over relatively steep and variable terrain (V brego, V rebre, V ježah, Za brscam and V brsce). To the southeast of the settlement, there is a large contiguous area of the most fertile fields (most fertile according to the Josephian Cadastre).

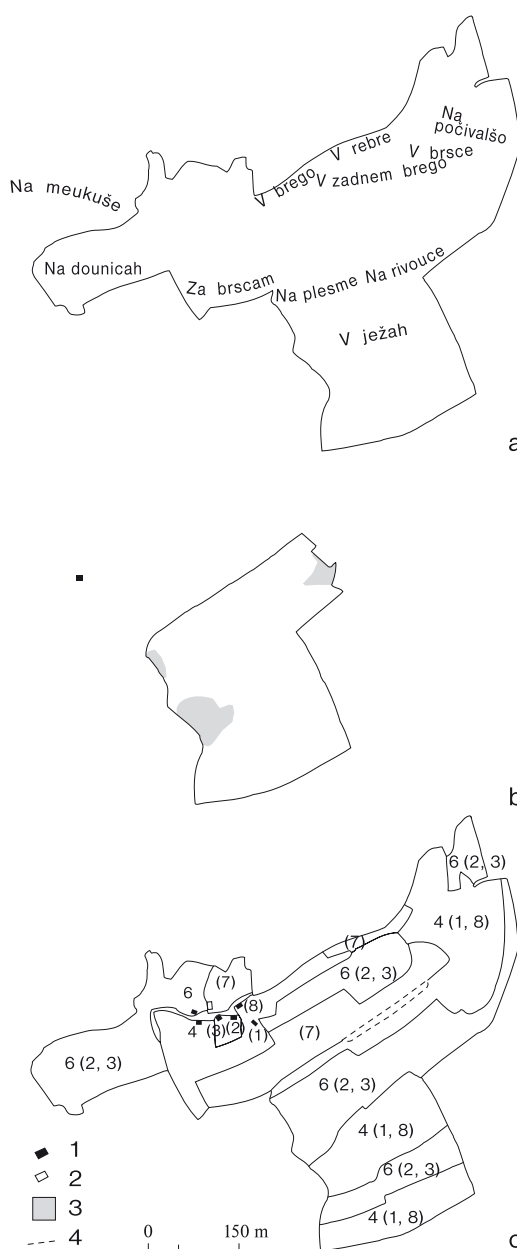


Fig. 3.19: Višelnica.

- a – Village area and field names,
 b – first stage of arable land division,
 c – final stage of arable land division.
 1 – old farmhouse, 2 – new farmhouse, 3 – grassland,
 4 – uncertain property.

3.4.b. SETTLEMENT DIVISION, ARABLE LAND DIVISION, THEIR GENESIS AND DEVELOPMENT (Figs. 3.19b; 3.19c)

The houses of the village are located on both sides of the route. Towards the east, one branch of the route leads to the valley of Radovna, and the other through Megre into Podhom. Towards the west, the route leads to Zgornje Gorje. To the southwest, the fields of Višelnica are adjacent to those of Zgornje Gorje and related to their land division (Na dounicah), while to the south, the fields of Višelnica extend to the route between Zgornje Gorje and Spodnje Gorje, and to the east they are related to the division of the arable land of Spodnje Gorje (cf. there: Na rivouce, Na počivalšo). The land north of the route towards Podhom lies on a steep slope (V bregu, V zadnem bregu, V rebre). The soil there is poor and many land parcels belong to kajžars. All this points to the fact that this part of the village area was converted into arable land relatively late in time. The Mevkuš settlement to the northwest, which is comprised of kajžas, is therefore clearly of more recent origin and will not be discussed here. (The same goes for its land, mostly at Na meukuše.)

Višelnica is comprised of 7 farms (nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8). It is possible to determine two groups of farms, whose fields are continually adjacent to each other: 1, 4, 8 and 2, 3, 6. No. 7 is the only one whose land is in a single block. This is mostly the poorest land, north of the route towards Podhom. The rest of the arable land can be divided into three parts. The first part is the land southwest of the village (Na dounicah), which belongs only to the second group (2, 3, 6). At Mevkuš, the fields of nos. 5 and 2 are continually adjacent to each other as a consequence of the separation of 5 from 2. Therefore, the land of no. 5 here has been added to the land of no. 2.

The second part is the land southeast of the village, with the best soil, divided evenly between the two groups, while the third part is the land northeast of the village, which belongs almost entirely to the first group (1, 4, 8). The rest of the village land is divided between the two groups and no. 7. On this basis, the following chronological order of land clearing can be assumed: the original arable land is southeast of the village, divided evenly between the two groups. There is approximately 7 ha of arable land (Fig. 3.19b). It is highly likely that it originally belonged to a single farming unit, which was formed at the same time as units 5 and 6 in Spodnje Gorje (cf. Ch. 3.2.b.).

In the next stage of development, two farming units were formed from the original one (Fig. 3.19c). The old arable land

was equally divided so that each unit (4, 6) received one land parcel with better and one with poorer land. At the same time, additional land was cleared for one unit mostly west and for the other mostly east of the original arable land. No. 4 had 3.4 ha of the original arable land and altogether up to 5.8 ha of fields, while no. 6 had 3.6 ha of the original arable land and up to 6.3 ha of fields in total. The buildings of both farming units are probably nos. 4 and 6, standing opposite each other, one on each

side of the route. Furthermore, even several centuries later, no. 4 still enjoyed an exceptional position (cf.: Ch. 3.4.c.). Subsequent development saw internal expansion of both farming units and then, in time, no. 4 was broken down into 1, 4, 8, and no. 6 into 2, 3, 6. The buildings of the four new units – at this point, it is already possible to call them farms – were located in pairs to the east of the two old houses, according to their affiliation to the old farming units. After the land of the two expanded farming units had already been divided among the pertaining families, another farm – no. 7 – was formed on the poorest land near the village. Its building is located near the building of no. 6 and it might be assumed that it originates from 6. Farms of the first and second farming unit received some of the remaining land.

After the land had been divided, the area of arable land of individual farms was: 1 – 2.1 ha, 4 – 1.9 ha, 8 – 1.8 ha, 2 – 2 ha, 3 – 2.3 ha, 6 – 2 ha, and 7 – 1.6 ha. Comparison of their size confirms that no. 7 came into existence only when there was almost no available land left.

3.4.c. LAND OWNERS

AND CHRONOLOGICAL DETERMINATION OF THE DEVELOPMENT (Fig. 3.20)

The settlement was founded on the slopes of the hill of Višelnica and was named after it. The name indicates elevated terrain and Višelnica is indeed the highest hill in the Gorje area. This interpretation of the name uses the mention of Višelnica in 1352: “tze Bisschawnitz” (1352 27/3, CKSL), hence “at Višavnica” (višava = highland). Recently the etymologist Silvo Torkar collected cogent arguments for the explanation, deriving the name Višelnica from the personal name *Višel.

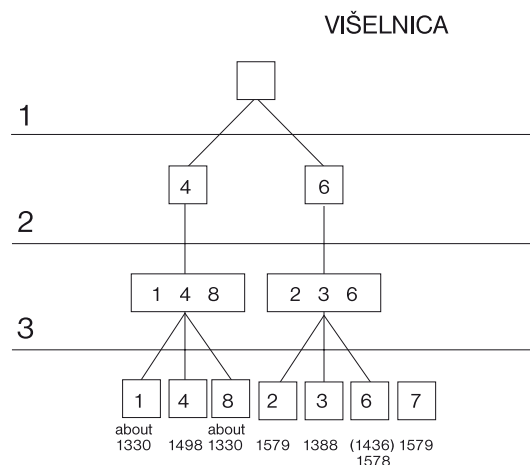
It has been demonstrated that the arable land for the first farming unit was cleared together with the land for nos. 5 and 6 in Spodnje Gorje (cf. Ch. 3.2.c.). The arrival of settlers to Višelnica from Spodnje Gorje, perhaps from unit no. 4, is therefore a tempting idea.

Furthermore, the next enlargement of the arable land of Višelnica was simultaneous with the enlargement of the arable land of Spodnje Gorje, and also with the division of the arable land of Zgornje Gorje (cf. Ch. 3.5.c.). The position of Višelnica between the two villages was thus definitively established.

It is not known when the land division was completed. It is likely that in the 14th century all 7 farms already existed and it is possible to identify the two farms belonging to the Bled Island provostry (8, 1), which are first mentioned around the year 1330 (UBŠ, 205). They are not mentioned in the deed of donation from 1184 (*Santifaller* 1929, no. 46), therefore it is likely that the provostry acquired them after that year. A farm in Višelnica is mentioned in 1352, when it is sold by the Reynman brothers to their uncle Nikolaj Sumereker (1352 27/3, CKSL). It cannot be ascertained which farm this was. There are farms in Višelnica mentioned several times in the 15th century, yet, even so, their identity can be ascertained only approximately. No. 4 remains independent and is first mentioned in an urbarium as late as 1498 (*Rad. urb.* 1498), when the peasant living on it pays minimal monetary tribute and has to serve the Prince of the Land by carrying luggage during his journey between the Karavanke Mountains and the village of Naklo. By the mid-18th century, the peasants living on farm no. 4 had been made equal to the rest of the serfs of Radovljica manor.

In 1474, Jorg Ratt and his wife sell a rovt in Radovna, which is subject to the Diocese of Brixen (1474 21/4, AS). It is not possible to identify the farm they lived on. In 1388, Nikolaj Stainer pledged one farm to his wife in dower (1388 8/3, CKSL). In 1428, Linhart Stainer obtains the same farm as his share of the inheritance from his father (1428 8/2, CKSL). It is probably the same farm that Jurij Lambergar receives in 1464 as part of

Fig. 3.20: Višelnica. Development stages of farming units.
Year first mentioned in written sources.



his inheritance (1464 28/10, AS) and is referred to as “vogthuebe”, a payment for an advocateship. As late as the 18th century, one farm (3) certainly still belongs to the Kamen manor (RDA, fasc. 292).

One farm is mentioned in 1436 (CF, f.30), when it is given in fief to Leonhard from Zgoša by the Counts of Celje. It might be the same farm that was sold between the years 1462 and 1464 to a new owner, a Radovljica citizen Štefan Sneyder (AF, f. 267), and later to Brixen, whose first and until the 18th century only farm in Višelnica (no. 6) was first mentioned in 1579 (*Rad. urb.* 1579), when there lived a peasant by the name of Novak (<nov = new). His name might be derived from new ownership. In 1579, one farm (no. 2) belonged to the church of St George in Zgornje Gorje, and another (no. 7) to the Grimšičar family (*Rad. urb.* 1579). The owners retained these two farms from then on, but it is not clear how and when they obtained them in the first place.

3.5. ZGORNJE GORJE

3.5.a. NATURAL CONDITIONS (Fig. 3.21)



The village area is uneven and variable, criss-crossed with valleys, streams, low hills and gentle slopes (V dougem brde, Na meukuše, V rebre, Na brde, V kobasence, Dou, Na potoko, V točce, Na uobočence). Originally, it was largely covered by forest (Na boršto, Na zabreznem, V vošeh). In general, the land is poor, yet there is some good land only very close to the village, mostly to the north. Nevertheless, there was enough flat land where fields were cleared.

Fig. 3.21: Zgornje Gorje.
Village area and field names.

3.5.b. SETTLEMENT DIVISION, ARABLE LAND DIVISION, THEIR GENESIS AND DEVELOPMENT (Figs. 3.22-3.24)

In the Josephian Cadastre, the land is very fragmented as a consequence of the possibility of non-agrarian income from the ironworks in the Radovna Valley. As many as four villages of kajžars (Krnica, Zabrežno, Grabče, Mevkuš) thus originated near Zgornje Gorje. There was even relatively much flat land that had remained available for their fields, which lie mostly northwest and west of Zgornje Gorje and are of later origin, acquired also by clearing the forest (Na zabreznem, hence also the name of the village Zabrežno; Na boršto). What therefore remains for analysis is the arable land evenly distributed around Zgornje Gorje.

Here, it can be ascertained that certain plots of land are contiguous, the most notable being a large plot of land northwest of the village, belonging to the parsonage (no. 26) and the parish farm (no. 28). No. 26 has, in addition, some land elsewhere, but it can be assumed that at least some of those fields did not originally belong to the parsonage, but were donations of individuals for their spiritual welfare.

Moreover, the group of houses 1, 2, 25 can be easily identified. All the land belonging to them lies northeast of the village (cf.: Fig. 3.22c). No. 19 should also be added to this group because it forms a whole with no. 25 as late as the Theresian Cadastre. At that time, the brothers Jurij and Jakob Jan lived on it. One of them had $\frac{3}{4}$ and the other $\frac{1}{4}$ of the farm, but they still paid tributes together (RDA, fasc. 282). The closely intermixed land of nos. 7 and 10 was adjacent to the land of the above-mentioned farms.

The third remaining group of farms is even more fragmented, comprising of nos. 6, 16, 13, 20, 21, 22 and 23 as well as some individual land parcels of the kajžas 3, 9 and 42 (in Krnica), 35 (Krnica–Zabrežno). Within the frame of these three groups, sub-groups can be identified. The sub-groups are probably former farms that were later broken down into smaller units.

Each group taken as a whole had its land in a single block. The only part of the village land that was divided among all three of them is the arable land west of the village (cf.: Fig. 3.22b), indicating that a single original farming unit can be presumed in Zgornje Gorje.

If we take into account the arable land belonging to the farms, the following development can be deduced. Initially (Fig. 3.22a) there was one single farming unit in Zgornje Gorje, with its building near the route Spodnje Gorje–Poljšica, and with fields west of the building. The fields were about 4.8 ha in size. In the next stage, three units were established and the old arable land was divided among them. Each unit also cleared a new plot of land (Fig. 3.22b). The first one – no. 28 (cf.: 3.5.c) had its land northwest of the village with fields up to 6.4 ha in size. The second farming unit – no. 2 (as late as 1579 there is a peasant with the name Duornickh, while later the house name is Dornik) had its new fields northeast of the village and they were up to 5.6 ha in size. The third unit – no. 13 had its new fields south of the village and were up to 6.3 ha in size.

In the next stage of development (Fig. 3.22c), unit no. 2 was divided, or at least its arable land was, into two parts, 2 and 25. It is uncertain whether this reduced the arable land of no. 2, because it is possible that no. 2 originally had slightly less arable land. While it lost some of the land due to the division, it could have also cleared some new fields. It is, however, certain that all the arable land of no. 2 remained in a single block (4 ha). No. 25 had some of its fields at that location, but mostly they lay southeast of the village, above the stream in the small valley of the stream K(1)obasnica, while one of the fields was in the original part of the village arable land, west of the village. All the arable land of no. 25 was 4.1 ha in size. In the passage of time, the third unit (13) was also divided into three parts: 13, 22 and 21. The land was divided in such a manner that each of the new parts received a plot in the new part of

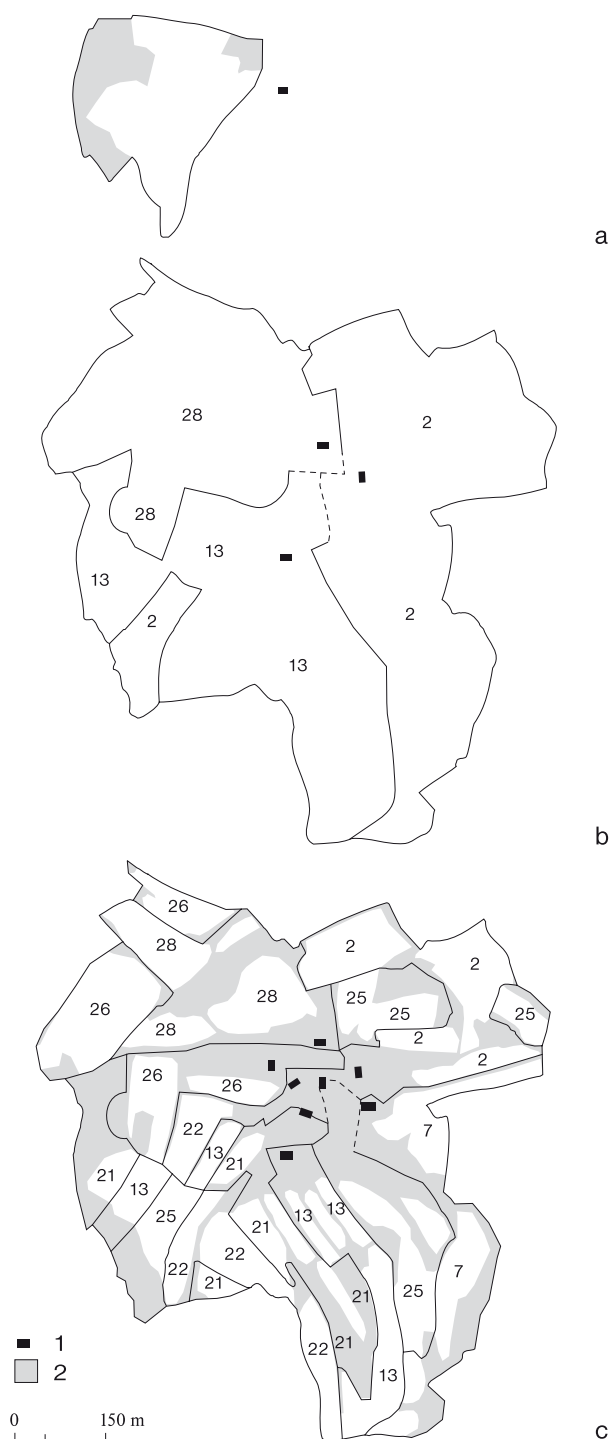


Fig. 3.22: Zgornje Gorje.
a – first stage of arable land division,
b – second stage of arable land division,
c – third stage of arable land division.
1 – farmhouse, 2 – grassland.

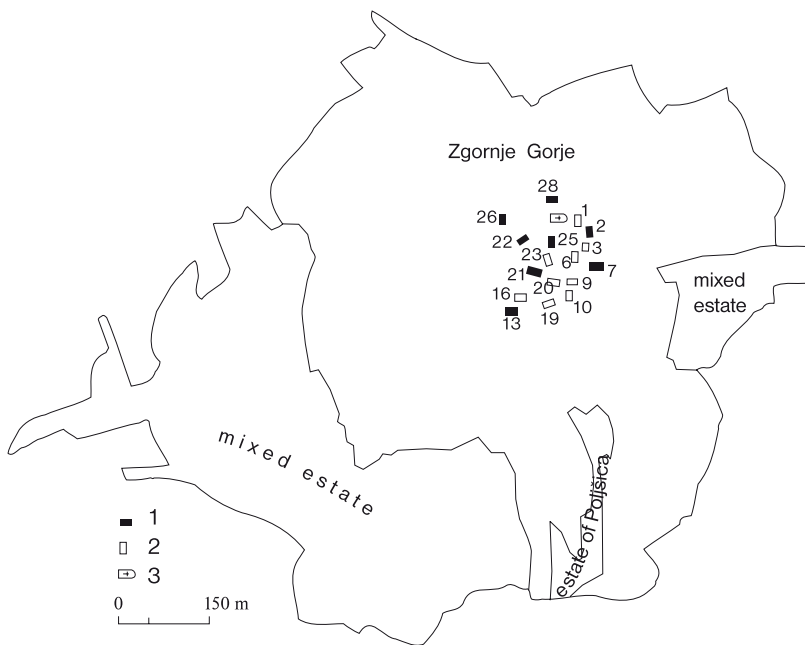


Fig. 3.23: Zgornje Gorje. Final stage of arable land division.
1 – old farmhouse, 2 – new farmhouse, 3 – church.

was comprised of two, the second of three and the third also of three farms. Further development took the path of strong fragmentation (Fig. 3.24). No. 2 was divided into 1 and 2, no. 25 into 25 and 19, no. 7 into 7 and 10, no. 13 was divided into 13 (and this one further into 13, 17, 18, 35 Krnica, 42 Krnica) and 20 (this one further into 20 and 23), 22 into 22 and 6, 21 into 21 and 16 (or 9) (and this one further into 3, 16, 9). Due to all the fragmentation, it was necessary to at least partially compensate for the reduced land of individual farms. Some new fields were therefore cleared to the east of the village, in the valley of Klobasnica, but most of them by far were cleared to the west, as far as the villages Krnica, Zabrezno and Grabče. There, some new kajžas also came into being, but they are not old enough to be relevant and shall not be included in this analysis.

3.5.c. LAND OWNERS AND CHRONOLOGICAL DETERMINATION OF THE DEVELOPMENT (Fig. 3.24)

The commencement of the village can be determined relatively with respect to the development of the arable land of the neighbouring village of Višelnica. In both Višelnica and Zgornje Gorje, the second stages of the expansion of arable land are simultaneous (see Ch. 3.4.b.). It is compelling to think that the first settler of Zgornje (“Upper”) Gorje originated from Spodnje (“Lower”) Gorje. That would also be an explanation for the name of the village Zgornje Gorje. The field names Hotunje and Ratna dolina also offer some interesting information about past owners. The former is comprised mostly of the meadows southwest of the village of Krnica, while its name originates from the Slavic personal name Hotimir. Ratna dolina is comprised of the meadows in the valley to the south, near the Pokljuka plateau. The valley ends in the ravine of Pokljuška luknja. Its name derives from the Slavic personal name Ratimir. Were Ratimir and Hotimir two of the first settlers of Zgornje Gorje? This is not very likely for the simple reason that Hotunje is divided between the farms of all three original expanded farming units (2, 13, 28). Besides, Hotunje and especially Ratna dolina are quite distant from the village and are not adjacent to its area. It is possible that Ratimir and Hotimir lived in

the arable land (only no. 21 had one larger and one smaller plot), and two fields in the old part of the arable land west of the village. Their area was: 13 – 3.1 ha, 22 – 3.4 ha, and 21 – 2.9 ha. Unit no. 28 was divided into 28 and 26, the former having up to 3.3 ha and the latter up to 4.6 ha of arable land.

Soon afterwards, another farm – no. 7 – arose with its fields near the land of nos. 2 and 25. The arable land of no. 7 was already in the valley, above and along the stream through Klobasnica. While it would have been possible that 7 came into existence as an independent farm, it is more likely that it was originally a part of the expanded farming unit no. 2 because all of its land is adjacent to the land of no. 2 (Fig. 3.22c). All the arable land of no. 7 was 3.3 ha in size.

So there were three expanded farming units in Zgornje Gorje in the third stage of development. The first

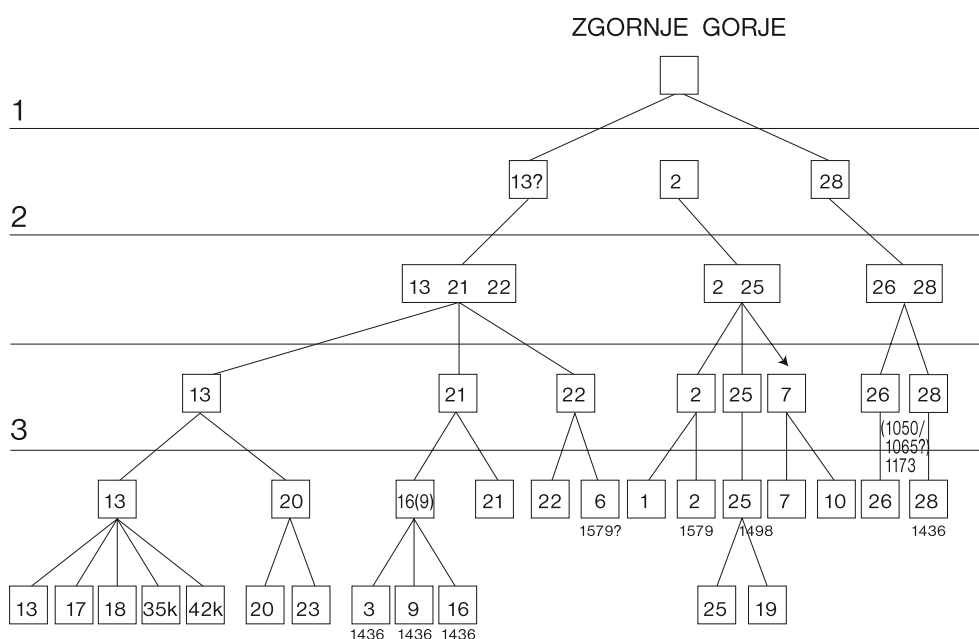


Fig. 3.24: Zgornje Gorje.
Development stages of
farming units.
Year first mentioned in
written sources.
k = kajža.

some other village of the Bled area. Nevertheless, it is quite likely that their property changed hands (this can be the explanation for the fragmented land of Hotunje).

It is unclear whether or not Zgornje Gorje is mentioned as early as the 11th century (cf. Ch. 3.2.c.). The Diocese of Brixen acquired property in Krnica ("Cornizic") (*Kos F. 1911, p. 158*) from a man called Ozi, who was not a local inhabitant (*Kos M. 1970-1971, p. 13*). It is possible that this mention refers to Zgornje Gorje. Krnica is a village of kajžars, which did not come into existence before the modern era. The field name, however, is older and it is possible that in the beginning it also referred to the later village of Zgornje Gorje. It is certain that in 1173 there is a Brixen ministerialis Nantwin who lived in Zgornje Gorje and had a proprietary church on his land (*Kos F. 1915, p. 542*). Nantwin's land in Zgornje Gorje later belonged to the parsonage, i.e. the expanded farming unit no. 28. Whether this is Nantwin's own property or a former Brixen fief, remains a guess. By analogy to Nantwin's estate in the nearby village of Lesce, which was almost certainly a former Brixen fief, the second possibility is somewhat more likely – and consequently the probability that the area of Zgornje Gorje was mentioned as early as the 11th century. Between the years 1050 and 1063, margrave Odalrik donated to the Diocese of Brixen – among other things – an estate in "Lêscāh" (locative). This is more likely Lesce than Leše (*Kos F. 1911, p. 143*), since the latter is never again mentioned in connection with Brixen. As likely as not it was the ambitious Nantwin who ultimately alienated the fief from the Diocese of Brixen.

Later, when the one-time proprietary church became an independent parish, a part of the former Nantwin's estate, no. 26, became demesne of the parsonage. If Nantwin's land was the one-time Ozi estate, then it is likely that farms 26 and 28 already existed in the 11th century because Ozi was given two estates for his own: in Vadiče and Visoče.

In 1253 the Ortenburg ministerial Berchtold (*Baraga, Otorepec* 2002, no. 189) is mentioned.

The next reliable information on Zgornje Gorje dates from the 14th century. At least two families (cf. Ch. 5.5.) of the Ortenburg ministeriales lived there at that time. It is highly likely that Nantwin's family is among them because in 1394 Frederick of Ortenburg is even given the right of patronage to the parish of St George in Zgornje Gorje (1394 10/11, CKSL).

In the 14th century, the village land was already very fragmented. In 1326, Ulrik of Waldenberch donated 1 farm to his daughter Greta and his son in law Fric of Drnča (1326 25/7, CKSL). In 1392, Nesel and Dyemot pledged 2 dvors and 1 farm to the daughter of Klara, widow of Nikolaj of Kokra, in dower from her father (1392 13/6, CKSL). In 1385, Jakob Steiner pledged 1 dvor to his brother

Nikolaj (1385 23/4, CKSL). In 1400, Jurij of Poljče received the same dvor as part of his inheritance from Jakob the Bald (1400 25/10, CKSL). All these documents indicate that in the 14th century there were three different dvors in the village and two of them had the same owner. At the same time it can be assumed that the parish priest of Zgornje Gorje had no other property except for his demesne because no. 28 is very likely one of the three dvors, but the parsonage soon acquired more property. A farm belonging to it is mentioned as early as 1436 (CF, f. 30).

In 1464, Jurij Lambergar received 1 dvor and 2 farms as his inheritance (1464 28/10, AS). The Lambergar family were the main landowners in Zgornje Gorje until 1645, when 5 farms and 1 half-farm were passed over first to the Javornik manor and then, a year later, to the Diocese of Brixen (*Menjava* 1646). Nos. 1, 7, 20 were among these farms, while some of the land that became the property of the Diocese of Brixen was probably also on the Pokljuka plateau. This could be the date of the first indirect mention of the small village of Stara Pokljuka. It is not mentioned in the urbarium from 1579 (*Rad. urb.* 1579) and it is possible that it was established only after that time. The beginning of the settlement of Zatrnik should also be mentioned here. In fact, it is first mentioned in 1579 and the two owners of the land there did not have to pay the special tribute for compensation for the damage resulting from the peasants' uprising of 1515 (*Rad. urb.* 1579), which means that the settlement was founded only after the uprising. At all times, Zatrnik belonged to the Radovljica manor. The Kamen manor only had farm no. 22 in Zgornje Gorje in the 18th century (*RDA, fasc.* 292).

A large group of fiefholders of the Counts of Celje is mentioned in 1436. Niclas the Hunter ("jaeger"), edling, holds in fief one half of an edling estate: a house in the village, between Matuš, serf of the Lambergars, and Janez the Hunter (CF, f. 28 v.). Jakob, uncle of Uczet, Janez Ferčej and Urša, daughter Spaetlein, hold in fief 1 edling estate (CF, f. 40). Urša, daughter of the late Janez the Hunter ("Janes der jeger"), is given in fief one half of an edling estate (CF, f. 40). Brothers Primož and Niclas are given in fief one edling estate (CF, f. 40). And cousins Hieronim and Nikolaj Menciger of Poljšica hold in fief two fields near Zgornje Gorje (CF, f. 40). The same group of edlings appears in the register of fiefs from 1457-1461. The same property and, in two cases, also the same people (*HCF, f.*: 29, 29') are mentioned there. In one case, however, children of the former owners are mentioned (*HCF, f.* 29'), who combine two estates back into one (cf. Ch. 6.).

Who are these people and what do they have? As was the case with other villages in the Bled area, in Zgornje Gorje too property was later entered in the urbarium of the Radovljica manor. In 1498, the Radovljica manor owned 1 farm and 3 edling estates in Zgornje Gorje (*Rad. urb.* 1498), and in 1579 one farm and one half-farm, which is a former Celje fief, 1 small estate, which is also a fief, 1 meadow and 1 edling estate. According to the Theresian cadastre, the Radovljica manor had only the property of kajžars in Zgornje Gorje and Zabrezno – except for nos. 25 and 19 (*RDA, fasc.* 282). It has been demonstrated that nos. 25 and 19 remained a unit until the 18th century (cf.: *Fig. 3.5b*), this unit probably being the farm from 1498. Kajžas came into being with the fragmentation of farm no. 16 or 9, but mostly by clearing new land.

No case is known of a property mentioned in 1436 as a Celje fief, which would have become an ordinary farm by 1498. Therefore it can be assumed that no. 25 is not the edling estate mentioned in 1436, but was acquired by the Radovljica manor somewhere else. An edling estate from 1436 is therefore very small – by no means larger than the average kajža of Zgornje Gorje. The social origin of its owners can be at least partly attributed to their position of hunters (the nickname "jeger").

It is possible, however, to identify the two fields which belong to the Mencingers of Poljšica. These are the fields at Pod skavo, Na došce, Za gorjame and V klučeh. This land is intermixed with the land of no. 13, to which it originally belonged. This is also the only case where the land of Poljšica extends into the original core of arable land of Zgornje Gorje (*Fig. 3.23*).

The urbarium from 1498 gives more evidence for land fragmentation. In its tithe list, there are 14 farms mentioned in Gorje – this is more likely Zgornje Gorje, although Spodnje Gorje is also possible. If the village mentioned is indeed Zgornje Gorje, then it is proven that at the end of the 15th century at the latest, village land was highly fragmented (*Rad. urb.* 1498).

The urbarium from 1579 gives us another insight into the land situation, but it is very incomplete and confused in the case of Zgornje Gorje. It mentions the following: 1 farm, which is the prop-

erty of Winckler's heirs – and perhaps this is the very same farm owned by the Grimšičars in the middle of the 18th century (no. 6); the property of the Corpus Christi Fraternity of Radovljica (as late as the 18th century, no. 2), which is the former seat of a dvor because the peasant living there has the surname Duornickh (*Rad. urb. 1579*). Brixen property is also mentioned here, but it is not recorded in any other urbarium before the year 1646. Brixen urbaria from the 18th century (*Briks. urb. ca. 1731*) do not give a clear impression because many more farms are mentioned in Zgornje Gorje than there really are (1, 7, 20, 21, 23). Probably the farms on the Pokljuka plateau and the land in Krnica and Radovna were included.

By the mid-18th century, the parsonage of Zgornje Gorje had acquired some farms because at that time it has the demesne, as well as farms 10, 13, 28 (*RDA, facs. 49*).

3.6. POLJŠICA

3.6.a. NATURAL CONDITIONS (Fig. 3.25)

The village area is bounded to the north by the small valley of Klobasnica (V potoko, V dole), and to the south by the precipitous slopes of Stolec hill. The village is situated on a terrace above the stream in Klobasnica. Its arable land extends to the east of the settlement, over the gently sloping terrain (Na ježah). To the east, it is separated from the next village of Rečica by marshes (V batnece) and a group of low hills. The western part of the village arable land (Pod vasjo) has good soil, while the rest of the fields are mostly of medium quality.

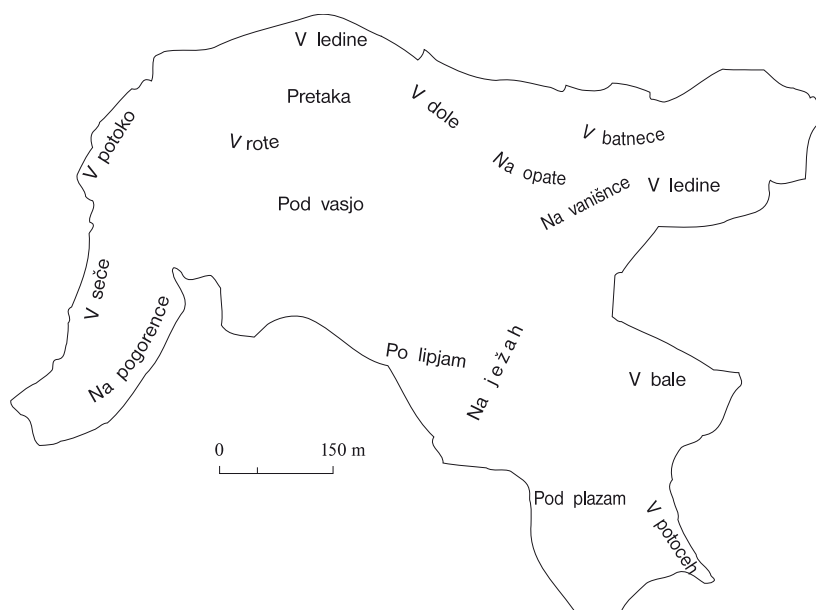


Fig. 3.25: Poljšica.
Village area and field names.

3.6.b. SETTLEMENT DIVISION, ARABLE LAND DIVISION, THEIR GENESIS AND DEVELOPMENT (Figs. 3.26; 3.27)

East of the village, there is an uninterrupted, naturally bounded area of arable land that is divided among a considerable number of farms. These farms can, however, be classified into two groups of farms, which are continually adjacent to each other: 1, 2, 4, 6 and 7, 16, 17, 18. The arable land is alternately divided between the two groups.

Within these two groups, the land of the following pairs is more closely connected: 2, 4 – 1, 6 – 7, 16 – 18, 17. If the fields south of the route Poljšica–Rečica, without the water-rich area in the extreme southeast (V potocch, V bale, Pod plazam, Na ledince), are considered as the original core of arable land, then the following development of arable land division and therefore the village itself can be reconstructed.

Originally, there was one single farming unit in the village and its arable land consisted of two adjoining parts with different land quality (Fig. 3.26a). The smaller one (Pod vasjo – 4.1 ha) was more and the larger one (Pod lipjam – 4.4 ha) less fertile. In the second stage of development, this ar-

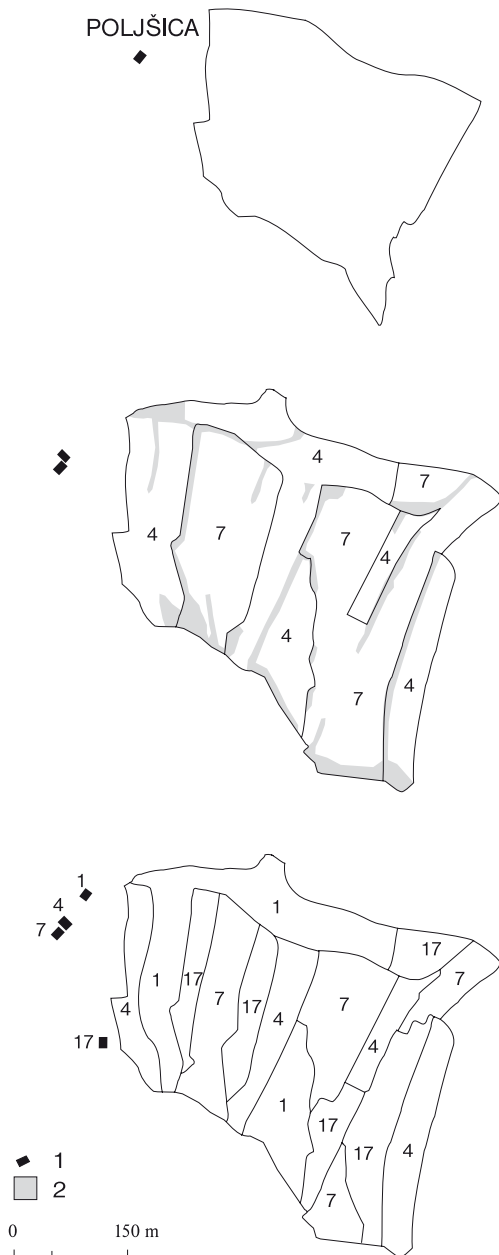


Fig. 3.26: Poljšica.

- a – first stage of arable land division,
 b – second stage of arable land division,
 c – third stage of arable land division.
 1 – farmhouse,
 2 – grassland.

able land was divided between two farming units (7, 4), whose buildings were located close to one another, north of the route Zgornje Gorje–Rečica (Fig. 3.26b). They came into being with the division of the oldest unit. The arable land was divided in such a way that each plot contained some of the poorer and some of the good land. The two units had 3.8 ha (no. 7) and 3.7 ha (no. 4) of the original arable land. At the same time, new land was cleared to the north and east of the old arable land. The fields to the north (Pretaka) mostly belonged to no. 4 and only a few of them (Na opate, Na vanišnce) to no. 7, while the fields to the east (Na ježah) mostly belonged to no. 7 and only a few of them to no. 4. No. 7 had 3.1 ha of the new arable land and no. 4 had 3 ha. Together with the old fields, 7 had 6.9 ha, and 4 6.7 ha of arable land.

In the next stage, both units were internally divided (Fig. 3.26c). Because of their size, there was no need to clear new land. No. 4 was divided into 4 and 1, and house no. 1 was built near no. 4. No. 7 was divided into 7 and 17. House no. 17 was a little further, south of the others. The area of their arable land was: 1 – 3.3 ha, 4 – 3.7 ha, 7 – 3.4 ha, and 17 – 3.5 ha.

This was enough to enable further divisions (Fig. 3.27). No. 4 was divided into 4 and 2, no. 7 into 7 and 16, no. 1 into 1 and 6, and no. 17 into 17 and 18. New arable land was acquired at the same time, mostly to the north, northeast and southeast, along both streams (V ledine, V potocch, V bale, V dole, Pretaka, Pod plazam). This probably required regulation of the stream that comes from the valley between the low hills of Stolec and Kuhovnica and nowadays runs in a straight line between the fields towards the north. Despite the new land acquired, the area of arable land per farm decreased considerably. The farms therefore had: 4 – 2.5 ha, 2 – 1.9 ha, 7 – 2.2 ha, 18 – 1.8 ha, 1 – 3.1 ha, 6 – 2.4 ha, 17 – 2.6 ha, and 16 – 2.8 ha of arable land.

The newly cleared land no longer shows a clear distinction between the two groups of farms. It is therefore likely that when the land was divided for the third time, the two groups no longer had economic significance. The land to the west of the village (V potoko), which was cleared partly by cutting down and burning the forest (V seče, Na pogorence), might be of even later origin because some of it already belongs to kajžars. It was during this expansion that the last farm in the village, no. 8 was established. Its land lies in four separate plots along the valley of Klobasnica (Fig. 3.27). These plots are not adjacent to the land of only one or another expanded farming unit, but rather extend into the land of both of them. No. 8 also includes quite a lot of the arable land of Zgornje Gorje; a part of the land of no. 13 (cf. Ch. 3.5.c.). The scattered land parcels

between plots of land belonging to other farms indicate the late origin of the farm. Its arable land was sought out in economically less desirable locations, while some of it was taken from older farms. This last farm thus had 3.1 ha of fields, but together with the fields in the arable land of Zgornje Gorje, it had as much as 4.4 ha. Later, it was divided into several smaller units (see: Fig. 3.6c.), after which only several new kajžars originated in the village.

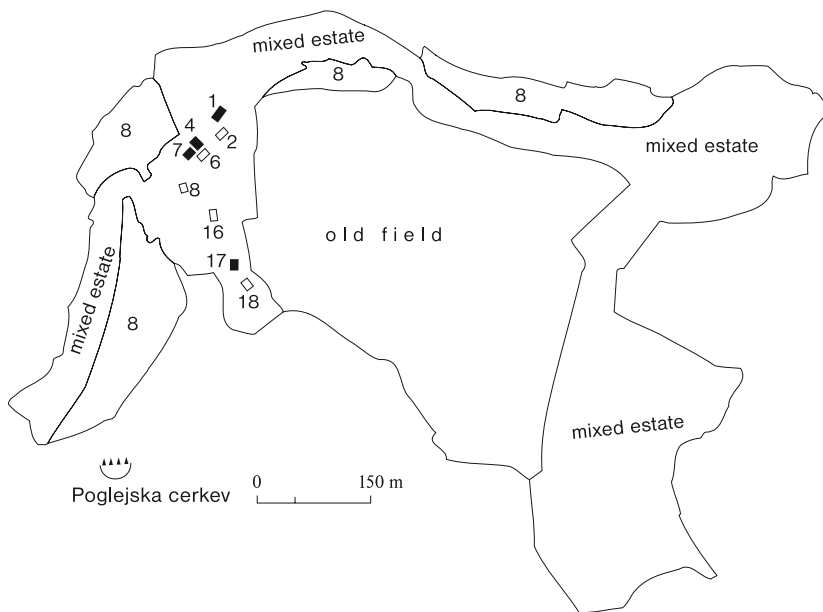


Fig. 3.27: Poljšica.
Final stage of arable land division.
1 – old farmhouse,
2 – new farmhouse.

3.6.C. LAND OWNERS AND CHRONOLOGICAL DETERMINATION OF THE DEVELOPMENT (Fig. 3.28)

The village of Poljšica is first mentioned in 1185 (*Santifaller 1929, no. 46*), when there lived the Brixen ministerialis Rudeger. Only indirectly, based on the situation in later centuries, can it be assumed whether or not he held a Brixen fief. The village is mentioned again in 1253, when Brixen acquired from the Ortenburgs the knight Erckhenpold of this village in exchange for certain judicial rights. Brixen also acquires three more farms through an Ortenburg ministerialis from the castle of Waldenberg (Pusti grad near Radovljica) (*Jaksch 1915, no. 2529a = 3082*).

Almost a century had to pass until the next mention in 1344, when the Brixen ministerialis Schroetel and his wife sold to the bishop of Brixen one dvor in the village and 1/3 of a cave in the forest, all of these being a Brixen fief (1344 24/4, *CKSL*). Could the dvor be identified with one of the three farms acquired in 1253? This is not very probable as several subsequent documents reveal that the Brixen fief in Poljšica was comprised of at least: 1 dvor in Poljšica, a forest with a cave near the village (most likely the forest of Stolec and the cave of Poglejska cerkev – cf. Ch. 5.4.), as well as the mountain pastures of Javornik and Lipanca in Bohinj (1347 4/11, 1377 25/2, *CKSL*). All of these could be part of the supposed Brixen fief, whose beneficiary in the 12th century was Rudeger.

The dvor, mentioned in the 14th century, was given in fief by Brixen to its Bled castellan and keeper Dyem of Bruneck (1351 9/1, *CKSL*). Brixen thus only kept the three farms mentioned above. These farms are mentioned in the urbarium from 1464. Their number is not stated, but the tributes are mostly divisible by 3 (*UBŠ, 197*). Though an earlier record in the Brixen urbarium would be expected, the urbarium from 1253 was probably too early, and in the urbarium from 1306-1309, the part concerning the Gorje area is missing. It is unclear why Poljšica is not mentioned in the list of rights of advocacy of the Count of Görz from the year 1368 (*UBŠ, 194-195*). In the urbarium from 1602, Brixen already has 5 farms in Poljšica: nos. 1, 2, 6, 17 and 18 (*Briks. urb. 1602*). This number does not change any more. Between the years 1464 and 1602 Brixen therefore acquired two more farms (17, 18); at least one of them from the successors of Linhart Steiner.

Another farm is mentioned in the 14th century as the property of the Kranschrot family (1354 27/4, *CKSL*), and this is probably the same farm which is then bought by Nikolaj Steiner (1390 3/6, *AS*; 1393 21/10, *CKSL*) and later forms part of the inheritance of Linhart Steiner (1428 8/2, *CKSL*). The Kamen manor has no property here. Its owner in later centuries is Brixen.

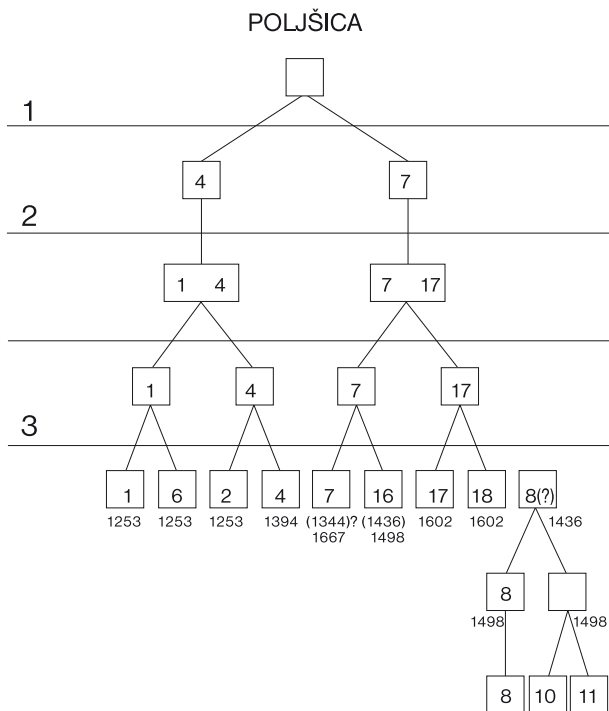


Fig. 3.28: Poljšica. Development stages of farming units.
Year first mentioned in written sources.

To the Lambergars, the Kranschrot family also sold a hayfield at Rčitno on the eastern edges of the Pokljuka mountain plateau and a meadow near Poljšica that lay next to Kliner's meadow (1390 5/3, CKSL). A farmer with the same name is also a point of orientation (Klyner's farm) in 1436 (CF, f. 27 v.). A Miklaw Kliner of Poljšica is mentioned in 1467 (1467 23/9, CKSL), and in 1498 an Ulrik Miclaw, perhaps his son, is mentioned in the Radovljica urbarium (*Rad. urb.* 1498). In the urbarium from 1579, there is an Andrej Kliner mentioned at the same place (*Rad. urb.* 1579). It is hard to say whether this is the same farm all the time. The name could have passed from one house to another, e.g. by marriage. It is, however, certain that the Kliner mentioned in the Radovljica urbarium lived at farm no. 16, where his surname was preserved as the house name Kliner (*Fr. kat., cadastral municipality Poljšica*, L 210 Poljšica, 15).

In the 14th century, another dvor is mentioned in Poljšica. It is an Ortenburg fief and Hensel of Zgoša pledged it to his wife Wendlein as a dower (1394 1/11, CKSL). This must be how he lost this dvor because in 1436 the Counts of Celje, heirs of the Ortenburgs, gave it in fief to a relative of Hensel (see Ch. 5.3.), Hans Grimšičar (CF, 27. v.). He still retained it in the years 1457-1461 (HCF, f. 37^v). In 1498, there were two farms in Poljšica registered in the Radovljica urbarium – nos.

16 and 4 (*Rad. urb.* 1498). One of them was the Kliner homestead (16), while the other (4) was probably the former dvor of the Grimšičars. If we assume that the name Kliner stayed with the same farm all the time, then a description from 1436, saying that the dvor lies below the Kliner homestead (CF, f. 27. v.), confirms the identification of farm no. 4 with the former dvor of the Grimšičars. No. 16 is indeed located slightly higher than no. 4.

In 1436, another former Ortenburg fief is mentioned in Poljšica. This is the Poljšica estate of Jeronim Mencziger of Poljšica and his cousin Niclaw as well as 2 fields near Zgornje Gorje (CF, f. 40). They still held this fief in the years 1457-1461 (HCF, f. 29^v). After their death, the estate was divided among the heirs, and in the urbarium from 1498 (*Rad. urb.* 1498) it is already described as two estates. They belonged to the widow of Šoberle and Jurij Miklavič, whose surname could be derived from the name Niclaw. In 1579, the first estate belonged to Šoberle, and the second to Jernej Miklavšič and Jakob Pešlap (*Rad. urb.* 1579). The second estate, which belonged to two people, was also divided into two. In the mid-18th century there were three units: 8, labelled as a half-farm, as well as 10 and 11, which are labelled as quarter-farms. All three belonged to the Radovljica manor (RDA, fasc. 282).

In the cadastre, the land of all three units is intermixed, which indicates their past unity. Here it should be mentioned that according to the Josephian Cadastre, no. 11 had only one small field left at Zgornje polje, next to the land of the farmer Borštnar, to the southwest of the village. This field is obviously the newest acquisition, while everything else had passed into the hands of no. 18. This change of ownership is further confirmed by the information that while the entire no. 18 belonged to Brixen, the land which used to belong to no. 11 is subject to the Radovljica manor. The land of nos. 8, 10, 11 (the Radovljica part of no. 18) is therefore probably the fief from 1436.

In 1667, the owner of farm no. 7 is known to be the benefice of Our Lady and St Catherine of Lesce (*Urb. Sv. Katarine* 1667). It is not known when and from whom the benefice acquired the farm, perhaps indirectly from the Diocese of Brixen – because this farm is most likely the Brixen dvor from the 14th century.

The following sketch of the development can be deduced. Perhaps as early as the 11th century, Brixen acquired an expanded farming unit (7) in Poljšica by one of the deeds of donation that cannot be located. The unit must have been comprised of at least two farms (7, 17). Brixen gave it in fief. In the second half of the 12th century, ministerialis Rudeger lived there. The second expanded farming unit (4) became the property of the Ortenburgs by the 13th century and was held in fief by Ortenburg ministeriales. Three of the farms comprising this fief (2, 1, 6) were acquired by Brixen in 1253. If this assumption is correct, then the last stage of the development of the Poljšica arable land had been finished by then (cf.: *Fig. 3.6b*). In time, the Poljšica ministeriales of the Diocese of Brixen became increasingly alienated. In the 14th century, Brixen was forced to buy its own property from them. By the end of the 14th century, the Kranschrot family became feoffees of the Ortenburgs (cf. Ch. 5.4.), alienating the remainder of the former Brixen fief. After 1253, the Ortenburgs kept the seat of the dvor (4), which is given in fief to several different feoffees.

At the end of the 14th century, there are two large landowners in Poljšica: the Diocese of Brixen and the Ortenburgs (indirectly through their feoffees). Both of them own a share of both dvors. This is also the situation where it is the easiest to imagine the beginning of farm no. 8 (cf.: *Fig. 3.6b*). The purpose of its origin can be found in the surname of its beneficiaries – Mencziger. If it derives from the word “metze” (grain measure, bushel), then a mencziger was a person who dealt with bushels. In this case, it would have originally been a fief, connected with the service of collecting certain tributes.

As has been shown, a part of the property of the Ortenburg feoffees later passed into the hands of the Diocese of Brixen.

3.7. PODHOM

3.7.a. NATURAL CONDITIONS (*Fig. 3.29*)

The area of the village of Podhom is bounded to the west by the low hill of Radolca, the Fortuna hill-ridge and the valley of Radovna (Graben). To the north it extends up to the slopes of the hill of Hom (hence the name of the village), to the south it descends into the marshy flat-land of Blata, and to the east, near Sebenje, it is intermixed with the land of the village of Zasip. Even the area thus delineated is not entirely flat, a fact reflected in the field names (V megrah, V beržiči, Vobočenca, V klanci, Na doli, V hribeh, Na vrskah, V brdi, etc.). Judging by the field names, the rest of the area was once partly

covered by forest (Na gaberce, V dromažu, V boršče, Pri lipah) and partly grassland (the name V travenci appears several times), while the southern part was marshy (Na blatenci). There is little good arable land. To the north and to the south of the village there is a narrow strip of good land, and to the east of the village the two strips merge into a somewhat larger plot of good arable land. In general, this land is not the best for settlement.

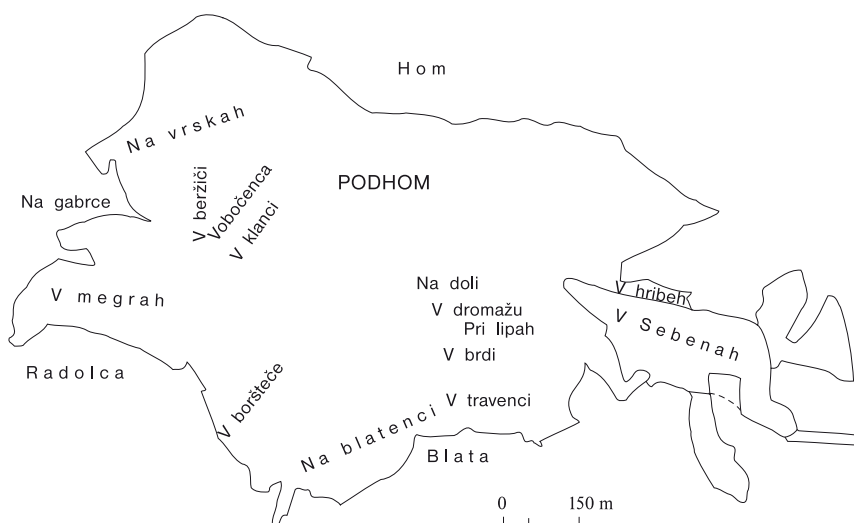


Fig. 3.29: Podhom. Village area and field names.

3.7.b. SETTLEMENT DIVISION, ARABLE LAND DIVISION, THEIR GENESIS AND DEVELOPMENT (Figs. 3.30; 3.31)

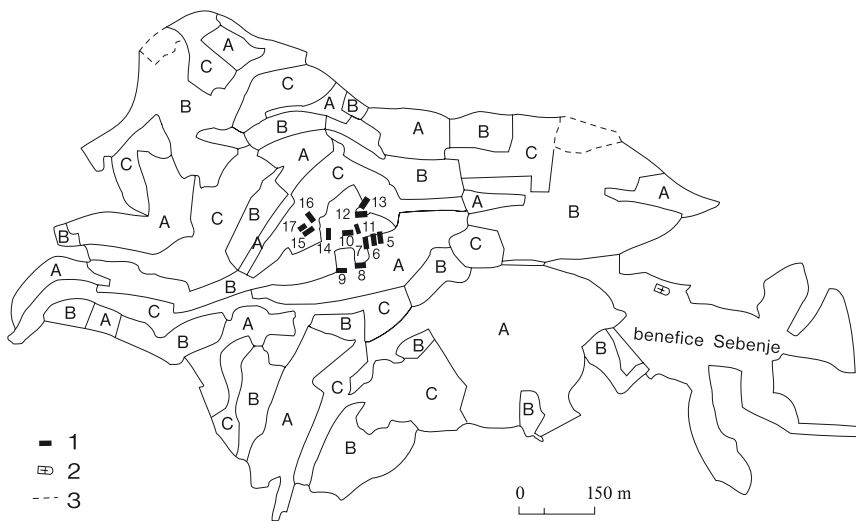


Fig. 3.30:
Podhom.
Village land
division.
1 – farmhouse,
2 – church,
3 – uncertain
property.

The farmhouses of the village can be divided into several groups: 15, 16, 17 – 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 – 5, 6, 7 – 8, and 9. The arable land of individual farms is thoroughly intermixed, but in any case, it is possible to identify the repeating groups of neighbours, which almost entirely correspond to the groups of houses in the village. The only exception is no. 13, whose building is next to the group of houses 10, 11, 12 and 14, while its arable land belongs to the group 15, 16 and 17. Also farms 8 and 9 are not independent,

their fields being intermixed with those belonging to the group 5, 6 and 7.

The village can therefore be divided into three groups of farms: A (5, 6, 7, 8, 9), B (10, 11, 12, 14), and C (13, 15, 16, 17). Their land is intermixed and evenly distributed over most of the village area (Fig. 3.30). There are two exceptions: the slopes above the Radovna valley towards the Fortuna hill-ridge that were cleared for cultivation by kajžars, and the plot of church land V Sebenjah. It is not possible to identify an original core of arable land. The only larger plot of good arable land is evenly divided among all the three units. Two of the units also had a larger piece of land each: unit A near Sebenje, south of the route towards Zasip, and unit B north of it. There is no doubt that the plot belonging to unit A was grassland and it mostly remained as such throughout. The plot of unit B was mostly fields in the 18th century, but originally it might have been grassland. The third unit did not have such a large plot of land (grassland) in the 18th century. Perhaps the meadow V Sebenjah originally belonged to it and was later alienated and became the core of the church benefice of Sebenje.

In the 18th century, unit A had approximately 12 ha of arable land, B 13 ha and C 11 ha. It has to be taken into account that the original area of arable land was smaller and that when the three basic farming units were being broken down into farms, some of the grasslands were converted to arable land. This is a possible source of the differences between the arable land area of the three units and also of individual farms. By the 18th century, the first unit had been broken down into 5 farms. Of these, no. 8 was labelled as a half-farm. Their arable land area was: 5 – 2.4 ha, 6 – 1.9 ha, 7 – 2.5 ha, 8 – 1.8 ha, and 9 – 3.3 ha. The fact that nos. 6 and 8 are both small, no. 8 is considered a half-farm and their land is intermixed imply that they were originally a single farm. The second unit was divided into 4 farms: 10 – 3.6 ha (reconstructed), 11 – 3.3 ha (reconstructed), 12 – 3 ha, and 14 – 3 ha.

In the 18th century the third unit comprised of 4 farms: 13 – 2.3 ha, 15 – 2.6 ha, 16 – 3 ha, and 17 – 3 ha. No. 13 has relatively little arable land, its dwelling is quite distant from the original group of houses and its land is intermixed with the land of no. 17. This implies that 13 and 17 were originally a single farm. The arable land of the Sebenje benefice was approximately 3.1 ha in size.

3.7.c. LAND OWNERS AND CHRONOLOGICAL DETERMINATION OF THE DEVELOPMENT (Fig. 3.31)

The land is extremely fragmented and intermixed, indicating that the number of farms must have originally been much smaller than at the end of the village development. It can be presumed

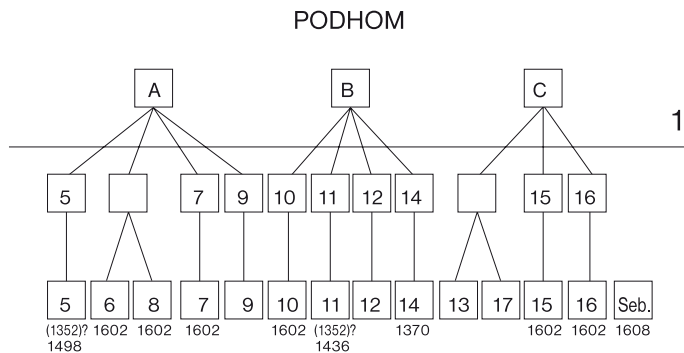


Fig. 3.31: Podhom. Development stages of farming units.
Year first mentioned in written sources. Seb. = benefice of Sebenje.

that initially there were probably three farming units, but they were not necessarily comprised of more than one farm each. The original arable land should be sought to the northeast and probably also to the southwest of the village. Because of several divisions, followed by gradual land clearance, acquiring new land was rather irregular. However, it might still have been led by the heads of the three basic farming units at least for some time. Each unit also had a large piece of grassland. The grassland of unit C (see: Fig. 3.7b) still bears the name of its original owner – the name Sebenje may be derived from the personal name Seben(oslav) (Bezljaj 1961, p. 178).

Later, the land was divided among several families and gradually passed on to new heads of farms. A reminder of the former seat was preserved in the name of the farm no. 14, D(v)ornik – “Dornickh” (Cenitev 1684). The unit of Seben(oslav) had already probably lost its plot of grassland earlier and therefore it passed into the hands of new owners in one piece.

Podhom is first mentioned in records in the 14th century (1345 10/4, CKSL). According to this document, Jense “von Hof” sells one farm, which is a Brixen fief, to his uncle, Viljem I. Lambergar. The document proves that Brixen owned land in Podhom long before 1464, when it is first mentioned in the urbarium (UBŠ, 197). The land was probably not recorded in the urbarium because it had been given in fief. The sale of the farm means that it had already been practically alienated from Brixen. Therefore it is very likely that it had been held in fief for quite some time, possibly from as early as the 13th century. It is not impossible that at that time Brixen already owned, at least indirectly, the farms that were later recorded in the urbarium in 1464. In 1602, Brixen had 5 farms (6, 7, 10, 15, 16) and one half-farm (8) in Podhom (Briks. urb. 1602). It remains unclear when and how Brixen acquired these farms. It is, however, interesting that of the originally strongest expanded farming unit (10, 11, 12, 14), Brixen acquired only one farm (10). This is perhaps why this unit persists longer and is the only one that keeps the Slovene name of its seat.

In addition to the already mentioned farm, there is other property in Podhom in the 14th century that does not belong to Brixen and is mentioned in various deeds. In 1352, the Reynman brothers of Bled sold 3 farms to their uncle Nikolaj Sumereker. Two of these farms were run by a single serf (1352 24/9, CKSL). In 1370, Katarina, widow of the late Nikolaj Lambergar, sold her dower to Viljem III. Lambergar: 1 dvor with a meadow and 2 farms (1370 19/4, CKSL). Perhaps the same two farms were assigned in 1388 in dower by Nikolaj Stayner to his wife Katarina, daughter of Viljem III. Lambergar (1388 8/3, CKSL).

What is this property? First, it should be clarified whether these are several properties or just one. In all three cases, the sellers are different. The buyer is twice Viljem Lambergar, once the first and once the third with this name (cf. Ch. 5.6.). It follows that these are three different properties. This is in total 6 farms, 1 dvor and 1 meadow. Together with 5 farms and one half-farm belonging to Brixen, the number of farms is 13, the same as in the 18th century (RDA, facs.: 17, 49, 181, 247, 282). Also the ratio between the farms belonging to Brixen and other farms remains the same, only their owners are different. 3 farms belong to the Grimšičars (12, 13, 14), 2 to the Radovljica manor (5, 11), 1 to the parish church of St George in Zgornje Gorje (9) and 1 to the parsonage of Zgornje Gorje (17). The Grimšičars are also the owners of the Dornik farm (14), the dvor from the 14th century. It is last mentioned as a

dvor in 1464, when it forms part of the inheritance received by Jurij Lambergar (1464 28/10, AS). The Podhom property of the Grimšičars is therefore relatively new. As for the remaining 4 farms from the 14th century, 2 of them became church property (St George and the parsonage of Zgornje Gorje), and 2 the property of the Radovljica manor. The two farms belonging to Radovljica most likely originate from Sumereker's property, which changed owners after the family had died out (see Ch. 5.).

The meadow mentioned in 1370 could probably be identified with "Sebenje". The fact that it is specifically mentioned proves that it is not part of a farm, but a separate unit with its own beneficiary (see above). As such it was transferred into the ownership of the Brixen castellans at Bled. For this reason it is the core of the church benefice, founded for the benefit of the Radovljica Chlain by Ana Marija Lenkovič (castellan's widow), who also built the church at Sebenje in 1608 (*Gornik* 1967, p. 127).

The presented development gives no reliable clues for the explanation of the development of the arable land. It only proves that the three farming units of Podhom were established before the period of feudal particularism and that the division of the arable land at Sebenje is the consequence of colonisation in the modern era.

As for the property belonging to Radovljica, it has already been stated that its origin probably lies in the farms inherited from the Sumereker family. The Sumerekers bought three farms in Podhom, and two of them were run by the same serf (1352 24/9, CKSL). It is very likely that they later passed on to Radovljica manor, whose owners were at that time the Counts of Ortenburg and later the Counts of Celje. In 1436, the Count of Celje granted the former Ortenburg fiefs: 1 farm, described as half of an edling estate ("edlingtumb"), is given to Andrej of Podhom. Another farm, described as an edling estate ("edling gut"), is given to Helena, widow of the late Kristan of Podhom (*CE*, f. 40) and daughter of the late Martin of Žirovnica. Helena's brother Janez lived in Žirovnica and also had an edling estate (*CE*, f. 12 v.). The same two feoffees are mentioned between the years 1457-1461 in the register of fiefs, but there it is stated that the first one has a whole edling estate and the second one half of it (*HCF*, f. 29, 29'). This indicates that originally there was a single estate, which was later divided.

In 1498, one of these two farms – no. 5 – was run by župan Ingenuin ("Jenuin"), while the other one, no. 11, which is referred to as an edling estate ("edlthumb"), was run by a certain Janez (*Rad. urb.* 1498). At that time, two more co-owners had property which was subject to the Radovljica manor, although they paid lower tributes than the two above-mentioned farms. This is probably the second half of the edling estate, which was divided one more time. Jurij, who in 1505 or 1506 married Polyxena, widow of the Bled castellan Kreig (*Gornik* 1967, p. 121), also lived in Podhom in that period. Jurij is especially known for his exploitation of the Brixen serfs at Bled (cf.: *Gornik* 1967, pp. 41-45). He was probably a member of the Lambergar or the Grimšičar family, but since he lived in Podhom he adopted the name of the village. This is one possible way how the Sebenje meadow could have come into the hands of the Bled castellans. His home could have been the later Dornik homestead (no. 14).

The other farm with the character of a nobleman's property (no. 11) retained this characteristic until as late as the 17th century. In 1579, it is labelled as a half-farm. Whose fief the farm is is not mentioned, but it only pays monetary tribute (*Rad. urb.* 1579). The farm is run by Janez Dinstman ("Janesch Diennstman"). But as late as 1623, the property of Hans Dinstman is still described as a farm held in fief, designated as an edling estate ("ein Lehens hueben das Edlthumb genant") (*Kom. za fevd. zadeve*, 10 (7) no. 224 – *Kom. fevd.*, 16, AS). In the 18th century, the differences between this farm and the others have disappeared. It is, however, still evaluated as a half-farm, while the surname Dinstman is preserved in no. 11's house name, Dežman. In the first half of the 16th century, one of the Dinstmans of Podhom is Janez (perhaps uncle of Janez from the second half of the century), who has, together with Lovrenc Močnik, a free farm in Radovljica (*Im. knj.* 1-4). The second half of the estate is described in the Theresian Cadastre as two quarter-farms, but there is no house number, which is unusual for the property of Radovljica manor (*RDA, fasc.* 282). There is no trace of them in the Josephan Cadastre. They had probably been bought by the owner of the first half, and one land parcel by the owner of no. 10, which is a possible explanation for why the farm is described as a half-farm (see: Ch. 3.7.b) while actually being larger.

3.8. SPODNJA BOHINJSKA BELA

3.8.a. NATURAL CONDITIONS

The area of the village is squeezed into the narrow space between the Sava Bohinjka River to the south, and the rocky slopes of Gradišče, Kamna gorica and Osojnica to the north. To the west, it extends up to the stream of Suha, and to the east it ends with the ravine between the Sava Bohinjka and Osojnica. Two streams cut through this area; the larger Belica and the smaller Blato. The village is located on the right bank of the Belica, where it extends from the ravine between the hills of Gradišče and Kamna gorica. Because of the stream beds and the Sava terraces, the terrain is uneven and variable. Therefore, there is relatively little flat arable land. There are only two larger pieces of flat land: the larger lies to the south, near the village, approximately 7 ha in size, and the other one is a long, narrow stretch of land east of the village – Pod rojam. These two plots also have good fertile soil.

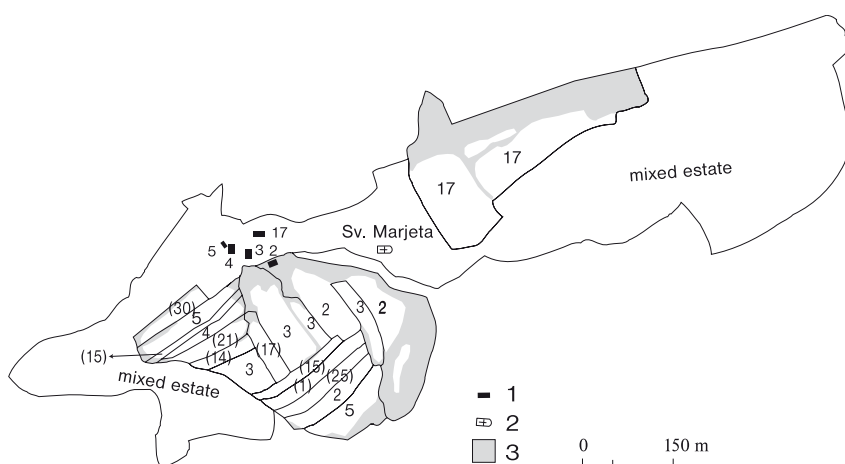
3.8.b. SETTLEMENT DIVISION, ARABLE LAND DIVISION, THEIR GENESIS AND DEVELOPMENT (Fig. 3.32)

The plan of the village is simple as there are only 5 farms: no. 17 is on the left bank of the Belica, and nos. 3, 4 and 5 stand in a row on the right bank. A little further, on the other side of the road, is no. 2.

The land is highly fragmented and divided between different owners. Some of the fields south of the village belong to the farms of the village of Zgornja Bohinjska Bela, and the same goes for the land south of Pod rojam, where there is also the land belonging to the kajžars of both villages. It is an interesting fact that the land of the Spodnja Bohinjska Bela kajžars is scattered over the entire village area. An explanation for this could be the extraordinary fragmentation of farms. The fields of farms 2–5 are intermixed, especially south of the village, where, judging by natural conditions and the represented division of arable land, the original core of arable land is to be sought. The arable land of farm no. 17 is in a single block (Pod rojam) and the mill on the stream of Blato is also on its land. The arable land of individual farms was: 2 – 1.9 ha, 3 – 1.8 ha, 4 – 0.3 ha, 5 – 1 ha, and 17 – 2.7 ha. Moreover, a large proportion of the fields belonged to kajžars, and some fields even to the villagers of the neighbouring Zgornja Bohinjska Bela. It is questionable whether the explanation for the small sizes of 4 and 5 could only be the fragmentation of their property. Perhaps it can be assumed that they used to form a whole. The extraordinary size of no. 17 indicates that this farm came into existence in different circumstances than the other four. It has no fields in the oldest part of the arable land. There were therefore originally 3 or 4 dwellings (2, 3, 4, 5) in the village and they belonged to one or more farming units. Farm no. 17 came into existence later and had its arable land and its seat in a single block on the left bank of the stream of Belica. At the edge of this area, the church of St Margaret was built in the 15th century. Advantage was taken of stone from the ruins of a late-Roman house at that location (cf.: *Leben – Lux 2007*). Farms 4 and 5 were subsequently broken down into a number of kajžas.

Fig. 3.32: Spodnja Bohinjska Bela.
Village land division.

- 1 – farmhouse,
- 2 – church,
- 3 – grassland.



3.8.c. LAND OWNERS AND CHRONOLOGICAL DETERMINATION OF DEVELOPMENT

Only a few assumptions can be made about the time of the beginning of the village and the land owners. The village was named after the stream of Belica. The village of Zgornja Bohinjska Bela must therefore be younger for it is located near the stream of Suha. It is, however, first mentioned as early as 1253 (UBŠ, 186), which means that Spodnja Bohinjska Bela must therefore be much older. Written records do not imply directly that it used to belong to Brixen (cf. Ch. 3.15.c.), and so it is possible that the village already existed when Brixen started to expand its Bled property. On the other hand, the short development of its arable land division is proof of its being relatively young among the villages of Bled. So it seems that the village could not have been established before the 10th century.

In the following centuries, the village became subject to the Radovljica manor and is first mentioned in its urbarium in 1498 (*Rad. urb. 1498*), when all the five farms are already there. Farm no. 17 must therefore have been established earlier, probably when the village passed into the hands of great feudal lords – the Ortenburgs (cf. Ch. 7.) – for as early as the 14th century there is proof that Bohinjska Bela paid tithes to the Ortenburgs (1375 15/4, CKSL). Farm no. 17 could have been founded by the Ortenburgs, and the mill could have been there from the very beginning.

Even later on, the owner of the village remained the same. The urbaria only show rapid land fragmentation. In 1579 there are already 5 kajžars in the village (*Rad. urb. 1579*). It seems that farms 4 and 5 were the most fragmented. In the middle of the 18th century, no. 5 is described as a half-farm and so is no. 4, but this one is crossed out for it is actually no bigger than a mere kajža (*RDA, facs. 282*). The surname Kolbl, which is found in the village, indicates that such fragmentation was possible due to extra income from burning wood for charcoal.

3.9. GRAD - BLED

3.9.a. NATURAL CONDITIONS (Fig. 3.33)

To the west, the area of Grad is bounded by the slopes of Bled Castle Hill, the hill of Bledec and by marshy grasslands. To the north it extends a little further from the stream of Rečica up to

the Dobravca forest, while to the south it is adjacent to the shores of Lake Bled. To the east it is intermixed with the land of the village of Zagorice. To the south and to the north the village area is cut through by two glacial moraines (the north one – Na rebre, the south one – Na pecovce, Križna gorica), and there is some flat land only between them and partly to the south of them towards the lake. The flat area to the south is marshy

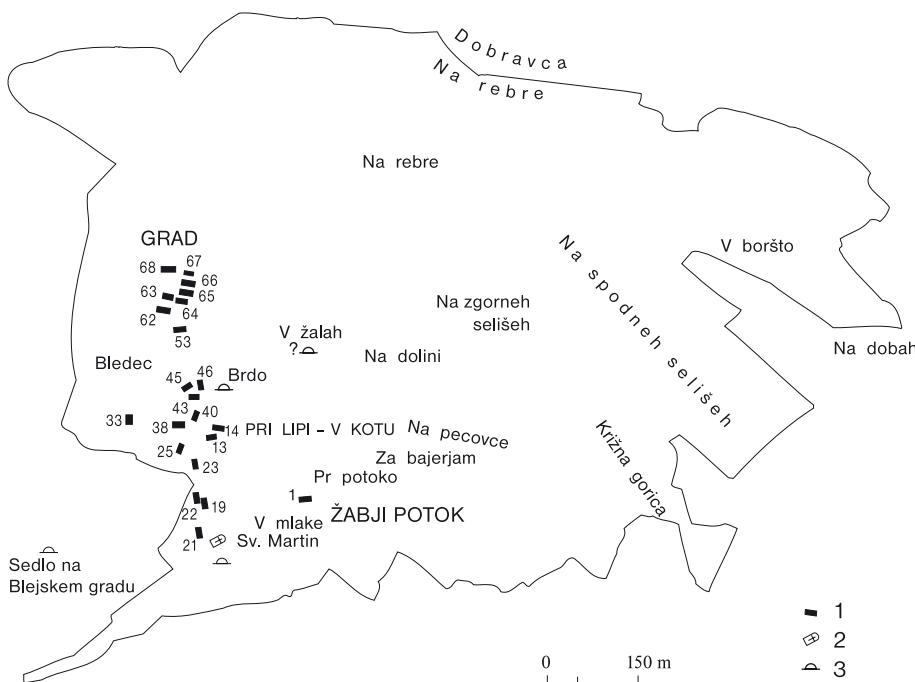


Fig. 3.33: Grad – Bled.
Village area and field names.
1 – farmhouse,
2 – church,
3 – graveyard.

(Za bajerjam, Pr potoko, V mlake), while the flat land to the north is narrowed by the Rečica that runs through it. It is therefore no surprise that there is good arable land only in the plain between the low hill of Pecovca and the Rečica. It is approximately 18 ha in size, which is a considerable amount. The area north of the Rečica used to be covered in oak forest (Dobravca, Na dobah, V boršto).

3.9.b. SETTLEMENT DIVISION, ARABLE LAND DIVISION, THEIR GENESIS AND DEVELOPMENT (Figs. 3.33-3.35)

The village is comprised of several groups of houses. To the north, near the route towards the village of Zasip, there is the linear village core, comprised of eight farms (53, 62-68). At the southern bottom of Bledc, there is the irregular nucleated village core, comprised of ten farms (13, 14, 23, 25, 33, 38, 40, 43, 45, 46). Its southern extension is the group of farms near the church of St Martin (19, 21, 22). To the southeast, quite distant from the village, there is one more isolated farm (1). The division of the village is roughly mirrored in the division of its arable land. Most of the good fertile land belongs to the farms of the linear village core which have the nearby land. No. 62 is the only one that has some fields to the south. Some good fertile fields also belong to certain farms of the central nucleated village core (33, 38, 45, 46). Otherwise, the farms of the nucleated core have their fields in the south and east part of the village arable land, and some also to the north, on the other side of the stream of Rečica. The farms near the church of St Martin have some of their land in one piece around the church, while the rest is quite evenly scattered over the entire village area. Only the parsonage (21) has all of its fields in the most fertile part. The isolated farm no. 1 has its land in a single block at the southern edge of the village area.

This division of arable land indicates that the oldest part of the village is the north linear village core. The former opinion that the oldest is the nucleated part in the centre of the village is incorrect (Pleterski 1978, p. 383). The only farm whose fields are only in the most fertile part is no. 64, so it can be assumed that the original division of the village arable land could be most easily gathered from the arrangement of its fields. The good fertile part of the arable land is divided into several rectangular blocks of parallel fields and is bounded by routes. To the west, there is the route from Grad towards Zasip, to the north the stream of Rečica, to the east the route from the Rečica towards Zagorice, and to the south the route between Zagorice and Grad. In the centre of the field thus delineated, at the crossroads of two routes, there is a small Chel. One of the routes cuts through the field from west to east, and the other from the small Chel on the north towards the south. There is no route north of the Chel, but it is evident that the fields in the western part are oriented east-west and the fields in the eastern part are oriented north-south. The land therefore seems to be divided into quarters. The southern part of the southwest quarter is

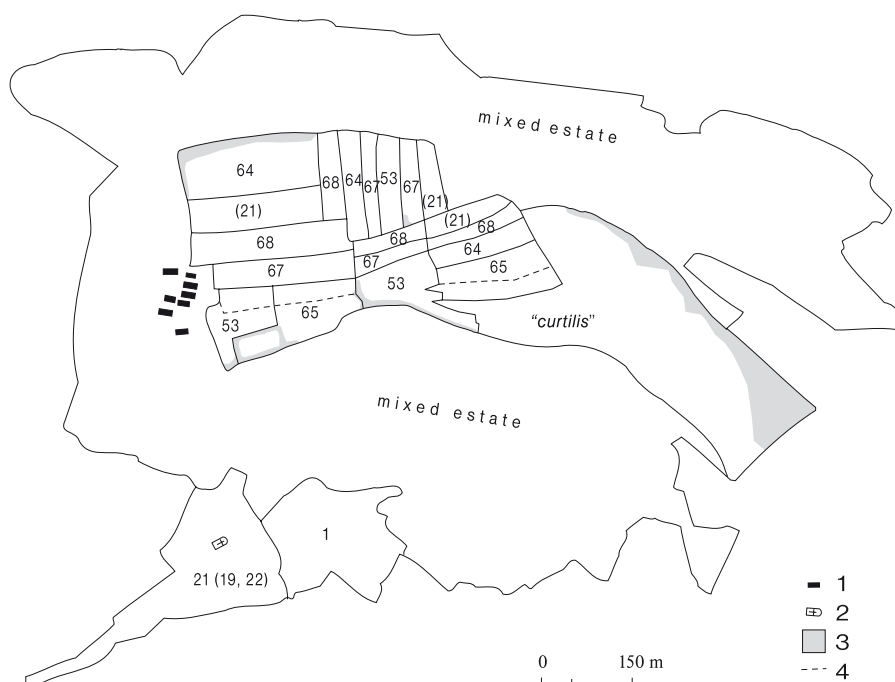


Fig. 3.34: Grad – Bled.
Village land division.
1 – farmhouse, 2 – church,
3 – grassland,
4 – uncertain property.

quite fragmented. The situation is the same with the southeast quarter, but this is not only divided east-west, but also north-south. No. 64 has a large field in the northwest quarter, a field in the southeast quarter and a field in the northeast quarter. Despite the fact that there are no more than three fields, their area is 2.8 ha. It catches the eye that 64 does not have a field in the southwest quarter. Is 64, therefore, only a part of a larger older farming unit or is there another explanation?

64 forms a whole only with all the other farms of the north core, which means that it is not a part of an expanded farming unit and has thus preserved the form of an original one.

In shape and size, the fields of the southwest quarter correspond best to those of the northwest quarter. Both quarters can be considered a single block. It is therefore quite plausible that the arable land was originally divided into two halves, the west and the east. Each farm had a large field in the west half. The east half was initially divided into two quarters and each farm had a field in each quarter. According to the Josephian Cadastre, the following farms have fields in the area described: 21 – 2.2 ha, 33 – 1 ha, 38 – 0.9 ha, 45 – 0.3 ha, 46 – 1 ha, 53 – 1.2 ha, 62 – 0.8 ha, 64 – 2.8 ha, 65 – 0.8 ha, 66 – 0.9 ha, 67 – 1.4 ha, and 68 – 1.8 ha. Considerable differences in the arable land area indicate that some of the farms have probably been fragmented. In the Josephian Cadastre, there indeed are certain groups of continually adjacent house numbers at the end of the 18th century throughout the whole area of the village of Grad. The above-listed farms form the following groups: group 45, 46, 53; group 66, 67; group 62, 68; and group 38, 33, 65. The last group is closely connected with the first one and it is possible that they were originally a single farming unit. Or, which seems more likely, they were two farming units with the same owner, who divided them at the same time into several farms without strictly observing the old limits between them. The following are probably the original farms: 21 (only its fields), 64, 68 (which has a larger portion of the original arable land than 62), 67 (for the same reason as 68), 53 (the same reason), and 65 (its buildings are next to the afore-mentioned farms). The dwellings of all these farms are in the north core of the village, near the route towards Zasip, except for 21, which is located, like the parsonage, near the church of St Martin. Since the parsonage is most likely a secondary owner (cf.: Ch. 3.9.c.), the dwelling of the original owner could have also been located in the north core of the village. The arable land area of the first farming units in the original part of the arable land is: 21 – 2.2 ha, 53 – 2.5 ha, 64 – 2.8 ha, 65 – 2.7 ha, 67 – 2.3 ha, and 68 – 2.6 ha.

However, the arable land thus divided does not include the entire southeast quarter of the core of arable land. Its southeastern part, which belongs to the area with the field name Na zgorneih selišeh, is missing. This part is divided between younger farms, just like the entire adjacent block of fields Na spodneih selišeh, the medium-quality arable land between the low hill of Križna gorica and the stream of Rečica. The fields here were obviously divided later, despite the fact that they form a logical whole with the core of arable land.

Subsequently, new fields could also have been cleared from the grasslands in the neighbourhood. According to how the land is intermixed, the following separations can be assumed: 45 separated from 53. 45 was later divided into 45 and 46, and then 40 and 43 separated from 45. 65 was divided into 65 and the unit which was later divided into 33 and 38. The last farm that separated from 65 was 13. 66 separated from 67 and 62 from 68. 63 then separated from 62. 19 and 22 were formed near 21. 1, 14, 23 and 25 were formed anew and the latter two used to be a single farm. Their fields are on the poorest land. According to the Josephian Cadastre, the arable land area of individual farms was: 1 – 0.8 ha, 13 – 1.3 ha, 14 – 2.2 ha, 19 – 1.7 ha, 21 – 3.6 ha, 22 – 1.8 ha, 23 – 1.8 ha, 25 – 1.8 ha, 33 – 2.5 ha, 38 – 2.7 ha, 40 – 2.2 ha, 43 – 1.6 ha, 45 – 3.6 ha, 46 – 4.1 ha, 53 – 2 ha, 62 – 5.5 ha (according to the Theresian Cadastre and the Brixen urbarium from around 1731, the owner had two farms), 63 – 2 ha, 64 – 2.8 ha, 65 – 4 ha, 66 – 2.6 ha, 67 – 2.1 ha, and 68 – 3.1 ha.

3.9.c. LAND OWNERS AND CHRONOLOGICAL DETERMINATION OF DEVELOPMENT

(Fig. 3.35)

Early mediaeval graves from three glacial mounds to the south, near the route from Grad towards Zagorice, at the edge of the village arable land, are proof that the area was settled even before

is that it was in the immediate vicinity. Its very existence could have dictated the later choice of location at the place of the subsequent castle. This explanation is further confirmed by folk tradition from the village of Zgornje Laze, according to which there used to be a village at Sedlo on Bled Castle Hill. The lords of Castle Bled moved it from the hill because the villagers were too noisy, and this was the beginning of the village of Grad.

Another question raised by the graveyard is where was the arable land of these people? It would be hardly credible that they had none at all. The only suitable land in the vicinity is the arable land of the villages of Rečica and Grimšče and the that of the village of Grad. The village of Grimšče and the settlement at Pristava existed since the earliest times (see Ch. 3.11.c.). Therefore only the arable land of Grad remains, though this one is supposed to have supported the settlement whose graveyard was Žale-Brdo. These relations seem inexplicable. The first question is, are the graveyards of Žale-Brdo and Sedlo from the same time? According to the known finds, the graveyards generally complement each other in terms of chronology – Žale-Brdo is older and Sedlo younger. There seems to be no time gap between them because certain forms of objects from Žale-Brdo were still in use with the first generation at Sedlo. The idea suggests itself that the inhabitants of the settlement whose graveyard was Žale-Brdo moved to Bled Castle Hill, where they founded a new graveyard, Sedlo (*Knific* 1983, pp. 72-74). They kept their old fields, which today belong to Grad. The settlement on Bled Castle Hill was established before the first generation was buried, i.e. probably at the end of the 8th century.

The last generation was buried in the second quarter of the 10th century (*Pleterski* 1982, p. 146). As early as 1011, Castle Bled is mentioned as the former property of the (East Frankish) king (*Kos F.* 1911, no. 17; *Štih* 2004, pp. 23-24). It is most likely that when he became lord of the lands south of the Karavanke Mountains before the year 973 (*Grafenauer* 1965, p. 140), the king abolished the settlement, which corresponds to the above-mentioned folk tradition.

What was the time of the oldest preserved division of the Grad arable land? Documents from the second half of the 11th century are proof of several pre-Brixen owners of property in the village (see below). The origins of the arable land division, however, do not reach far into the Early Middle Ages, for the division does not reflect centuries of village development. One possible explanation is that the planned division of arable land among 6 farms with their dwellings near the route towards the village of Zasip is the work of the East Frankish ruler or someone who acted in his name.

He distributed the recently conquered land as allodial property (see Ch. 10.3.), according to the deeds of donation from the second half of the 11th century, to people who were at least at first personally dependent on him (cf. Ch. 4.). Otherwise it would be difficult to imagine the emergence of the regulated linear village core. It is quite probable that these were the people “driven away” from the settlement at Bled Castle Hill. The folk tradition about this migration is further confirmed by documents from the 11th century, where the name of the village is uncertain. A few times it is described as lying under Castle Bled, but on several occasions, the village itself is called Bled (cf.: *Kos M.* 1975, p. 24). If we take into account the name of the rocky low hill south of the new village – Bledec, i.e. small Bled – then only the higher neighbouring hill with the castle could have been the “real” Bled, which also gave the name to the newly founded early mediaeval settlement, whose graveyard was at Sedlo. Hence the confusion in the 11th century, when it was not clear who was going to keep the old name: the new castle at the site of the old Bled, or the old Bled at a new location. The exact location to which the name Bled refers has remained uncertain until today. The Slovene name of the village – Grad (= castle) – is another clue to the origin and the older location of the village.

The name of the village in its oldest period, before the dwellings were moved to Bled Castle Hill, is unknown. Its location might have been the sunny southern foot of Bledec, near the lime tree and the spring (cf.: *Knific* 1983, p. 74).

The arable land of the newly founded village of Grad did not include about 8.2 ha of medium quality land at Na selišeh. Between the years 1060 and 1070, Udalrik, the margrave of Carniola, donated a dvor-meierhof (“curtilem”) in the village, together with half an oral of land, to the Diocese of Brixen (*Kos F.* 1911, no. 209), its demesne probably being Na selišeh (*Fig.* 3.34). This would explain the field name Na selišeh, which is reminiscent of the buildings of the former dvor-meierhof, in a similar way as the field name Hišce is reminiscent of the dvor-meierhof of the village of Zagorice (cf. Ch. 3.12.c.).

The dvor-meierhof was most likely established by the same person who established the neighbouring allodial farms. In time it was given to the margrave of Carniola, who held it in allodium.

There is only one more piece of village land whose origin still needs to be explained: the church of St Martin and the surrounding land. It can be assumed that since the Diocese of Brixen was not its patron, it also did not build the church (*Gornik 1967, p. 170*). Its builder could have been the East Frankish ruler during the time the village was resettled and its field rearranged, but in this case the church would have probably been included in the newly divided land. But on the contrary, the church is very distant from the new houses of the village and the newly divided arable land. The plot of land around the old church was too large for the church alone. But assuming that it also includes an entire early mediaeval graveyard near the church, then the most plausible possibility seems that the church and the graveyard came into existence at the same time and that this was a graveyard church from the very beginning.

The choice of location for the church tells us something about its builders. It might have been dictated by the spring and the lime tree only several tens of metres to the north, a possible pre-Christian sacred place. The lime tree is first mentioned in records in 1253 (*UBŠ, 188*), but it could have been there much earlier. The nearby church thus christianised the place. The sunny sandy slopes below the church are probably where the graveyard was located because the same position had been chosen for the older pre-Christian graveyards of the Bled area (cf.: *Knific – Pleterski 1981, p. 497*). All this indicates people who had recently become Christians, but were at the same time still retained their old, pre-Christian concepts. This speaks for the early mediaeval origin of the church, too (see above). It is likely that the East Frankish ruler took possession of this church. However, in 1004, he did not have it – or no longer had it – for otherwise it would have gone to the Diocese of Brixen, like the church on Bled Island. The church of St Martin later belonged to the parish of Radovljica and it was not before the mid-15th century that it became parish church of the newly formed parish of Bled (*Gornik 1967, p. 168; Gornik 1990, p. 15*).

The village of Grad and its land, the dvor-meierhof and the church of St Martin with the graveyard were therefore in 1004 no longer parts of the royal estate of Bled for they did not pass to Brixen. Not before the second half of the 11th century did bishop Altwyn of Brixen acquire, with several donations, the better part of the Grad land. Three (53, 65, 68) of the original six farms went to him; between the years 1050 and 1065 he acquired the estate of Prisnoslav (*Kos F. 1911, no. 166*), between 1065 and 1075 the estate of Dobrogoj (*Kos F. 1911, no. 236*), and between 1075 and 1090 the estate of Dobrisko (*Kos F. 1911, no. 314*). Perhaps individual farms had already lost some fields, or the first additional land clearing had already begun. In any case, Altwyn acquired some more separate pieces of arable land; between 1050 and 1065 a field from Nepokor (*Kos F. 1911, no. 164*), and between 1060 and 1070 half an oral from the margrave Udalrik (*Kos F. 1911, no. 209*). At the same time, he also acquired Udalrik's dvor. The great majority of the village arable land was thus firmly in the hands of Brixen.

Furthermore, there were vineyards near the village and Altwyn acquired a good many of them; between 1060 and 1070 the vineyard of the noble Elizabeta (*Kos F. 1911, no. 210*), between 1065 and 1075 one third of the vineyard of a certain Trebinja (*Kos F. 1911, no. 239*), between the same years two parts of the vineyard belonging to two men with the name Bojnoslav (*Kos F. 1911, no. 240*), and the vineyard of Mazili, to whom it had been left by Godeslav (*Kos F. 1911, no. 241*), and between 1085 and 1090 the vineyard of Marti (*Kos F. 1911, no. 369*). Later, there is almost no trace left of these vineyards. In 1253, there is only one peasant left (house no. 1 at Žabji potok) who paid a bucket of wine as tribute (*UBŠ, 188*), and later no-one after him. His land lay at the southern foot of Pecovca hill. According to local people, the route leading from the church of St Martin to Rečica crosses the area called Pod nogradom (below the vineyard). This means that vineyards were also on the southern slopes of Bled Castle Hill, above the lake, at a very warm location, heated by the castle rock and the water of the lake.

We can only guess who planted the vineyards of Bled. It might have been the East Frankish ruler, but more likely the vineyards are older because they also used to be in the village of Zasip, where there is no trace of his interventions in land (Ch. 3.1.). At the sunny foot of Pršivec hill, north and northwest of the village, the field name V nograde (in the vineyard) appears twice.

In the following centuries Brixen increased the number of farms in Grad by clearing new fields and partly also by dividing the old farms. Thus, the nucleated village core near the lime tree was formed. As early as the mid-13th century, the majority of the farms were already there (*UBŠ*, 188). At that time, the village was comprised of three parts (*Fig. 3.33*), in which Brixen had the following farms (for the localisation cf.: *Pleterski 1978, pp. 328-329*): Žabji potok – 1 farm (no. 1), Grad – 1 farm, and Pri lipi – 5 farms. 50 years later, the situation is similar (*UBŠ*, 192-193); Grad is already the name of the entire village, but it is still divided into several parts. At that time, Brixen is supposed to have had 10 farms in the village, but only 8 are listed in detail, with the parts of the village they belong to: Žabji potok 1 farm, Grad 2 farms, V kotu 4 farms, and 1 farm in an unnamed part which might have belonged to one of the aforementioned three, but could also be autonomous. Where are the remaining two farms? They had probably been given in fief. One farm, held in fief, is mentioned as early as 1273 (1273 12/7, *CKSL*), and it is perhaps the same farm which was sold back to the bishop of Brixen in 1347 (1347 1/11, *CKSL*). The farm which the bishop of Brixen had to buy in 1312 was also a Brixen fief (1312 21/8, *CKSL*). In the 14th century, the bishops of Brixen bought 4 more farms from small feudal lords (1343 19/1, 1345 23/11, 1358 10/8, *CKSL*; 1348 4/8, *AS*). Two of them, run by the same serf Kristan, were Brixen fiefs. With these purchases, the number of Brixen farms in the village was already very close to the later number of 16 farms. This means that the 14th century was the time when fragmentation of farms had been almost completed.

V kotu designates the same part of the village as the older Pri lipi (nowadays the part near the route towards Zasip). This is evident from the already mentioned listings in the urbarium and from two documents (1343 19/1, 1345 23/11, *CKSL*), where these two names designate the part of the village near the church of St Martin. In 1347 (1347 1/11, *CKSL*) and 1348 (1348 4/8, *AS*) another part of the village is mentioned, “an der gazze”. The first of the two documents (1347 1/11, *CKSL*), where the sold property is described in detail, reveals which part this is. It refers to two houses at Bled, in the village near the street (“an der gazzen”), under the rock; 1 field near Žabji potok, 1 field near the Pecovca hill, two fields at Dobravce, 1 more field near Pecovca, and a meadow for 4 days’ mowing at Dobravce. On the basis of this description it can be said that the rock is Bledec, the street is the route towards Zasip, and the fields, together with the two buildings near the route below Bledec, belong to farms 45 and 46, which were apparently still a single unit at that time. The document is also of interest because field names are listed in detail, while the arable land mentioned at Dobravce proves that fields had already been cleared from the grasslands there. The latter can also be assumed from the tithes paid for the newly cleared land at Bled, which were sold in 1343 by Ernest of Poljane to his cousin Viljem I. Lambergar (1343 2/11, *CKSL*). The Lambergars still possess this land in later centuries and, according to the tithe list of the Radovljica urbarium from 1579, these are the fields at Dobravce and Na dolini (*Rad. urb. 1579*).

An interesting question is what did Brixen do with the land of Udalrik’s dvor? It is fragmented between a large number of farms, especially those of very late origin (e.g. 40). It is not impossible that as late as the mid-13th century this land was still held as demesne of one of the meierhofs (cf.: *Pleterski 1978, p. 394*) of the Bled manor. Perhaps it was divided only later, but since there were already so many farms and each received its portion of the land, new farms could not have been established.

And what happened to the three remaining original farms that did not belong to Brixen? Records are not clear. One was donated to the new Bled parsonage (21) and two more farms (19, 22) were established near it. Their fields were cleared on poorer land, but perhaps they also acquired some fields of the other farms. 19 and 22 belonged to the same owner, the Radovljica provostry. No. 22 is first mentioned in 1551 (*Copy from 1572 15/12, Gr. A III, Bled, Rust., facs. 17, AS*), when all three of them (19, 21, 22) are mentioned in the tithe list in the Radovljica urbarium of 1579 (*Rad. urb. 1579*). According to the list, at that time two of the farms belonged to the church of St Martin, one to the Corpus Christi Fraternity of Bled, and one to the Mother of God Fraternity of Bled. One of the two farms belonging to the church of St Martin was the home of Liennhardt Khurschner, who could have been – judging by his surname – a descendant of Primož Krznar of Grad (“Primos der Chuersner von der Wurg”), who lived in the mid-14th century (1354 28/8, *CKSL*). Later, when he already had the nickname Smrade, the latter bought a farm in Blejska Dobrava (see Ch. 3.17.c.).

According to the Josephian Cadastre, the church of St Martin in the village of Grad had the following farms: 13, 46, 64, 66 and 67. According to the Theresian Cadastre, the last one belonged to the church of St George in Zgornje Gorje (*RDA, fasc. 181*). Since 66 and 67 used to be a single farm (see: Ch. 3.9.b.), Krznar's farm should be sought among the first three. Out of these, only the buildings of no. 64 are in the northern core of the village – the Grad of the 14th century. So the family of Primož Krznar still firmly stuck to their farm in the 14th century. His newly purchased farm in Blejska Dobrava became a free farm, while his old farm eventually passed into the hands of the church of St Martin.

Over the centuries, all the land of the village of Grad thus became the property of different Church institutions.

3.10. KORITNO

3.10.a. NATURAL CONDITIONS (*Fig. 3.36*)

The arable land of the village extends over relatively flat terrain and only its southern part is adjacent to the glacial moraine Na brde. To the northeast it is bounded by a slope descending towards the Sava Dolinka River (Na brego), to the south it is adjacent to the arable land of the villages of Bodešče and Ribno, and to the northwest it reaches into the fields at Jarše. The village itself is located at the edge of the plain above the bank of the Sava River, in the vicinity of a strong spring. The land is of medium quality; only to the northwest and south of the village there are some separate good quality fields.

3.10.b. SETTLEMENT DIVISION, ARABLE LAND DIVISION, THEIR GENESIS AND DEVELOPMENT (*Figs. 3.37; 3.38*)

It is evident from field names that the arable land was not cleared all at once. The fields east of the village are thus called V novinah. Moreover, the fields at Jarše can be assumed to have been acquired somewhat later because there are two large, irregularly shaped blocks of fields intermixed with land belonging to kajžars and to other villages. The boundary of Jarše is a straight line from northeast to southwest and represents the northwest boundary of the Koritno arable land. The name Jarše itself indicates more recent land clearing.

The part of the village with grunts is divided into two groups of houses. A quick glance at the land division reveals that the fields of the western part of the village are mostly in the northern, and the fields of the eastern part of the village in the southern part of the village arable land. However, by examining the situation more closely, some deviations can be observed. The fields of houses 8, 10, 11, 12 and 14 form a whole, but the seat of no. 14 is in the eastern part of the village. Also the fields of nos. 9, 13, 15 and 16 form a whole, but no. 9 is an exception, with its seat in the western part of the village. In addition, the fields of the exceptions 14 and 9 form some enclaves, surrounded by the land of the other group. Likewise, farms 15 and 16 from the eastern group have some similar "islands" of fields within the land of the western group. This can be explained by the secondary rearrangement of property (cf.: Ch. 3.10.c.). The land area of in-

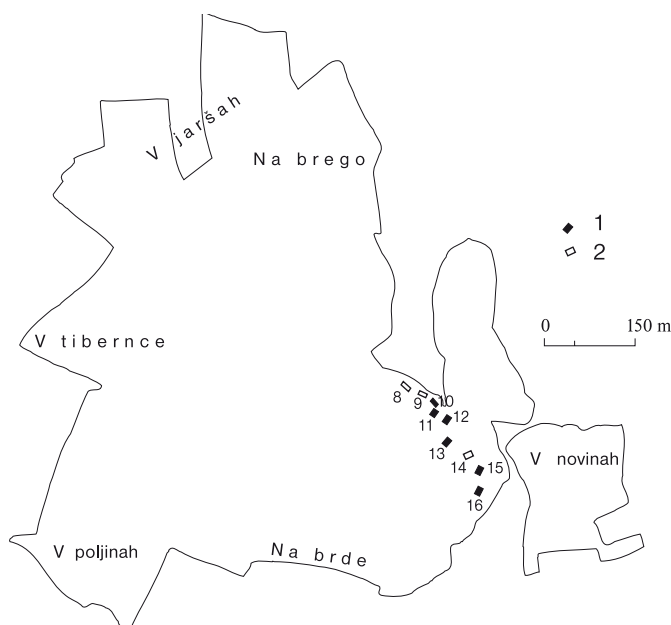


Fig. 3.36: Koritno. Village area and field names.
1 – old farmhouse, 2 – new farmhouse.

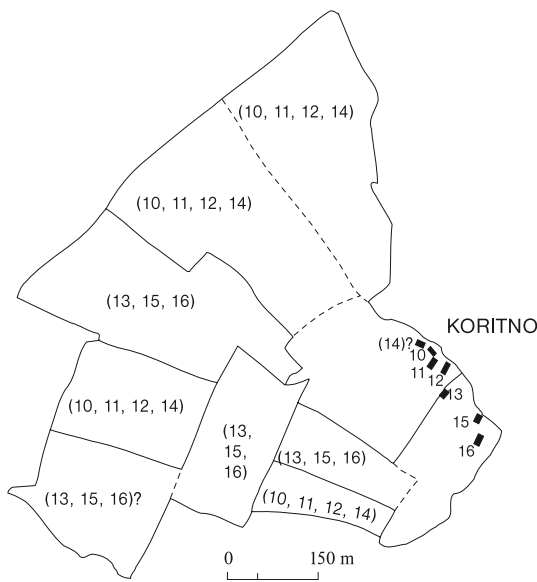


Fig. 3.37: Koritno. Initial village land division.

dividual farms in the older part of the village arable land is as follows. The western group: 8 – 2.7 ha, 10 – 1.7 ha, 11 – 2.2 ha, 12 – 2.8 ha, and 14 – 2.4 ha; and the eastern group: 9 – 2.3 ha, 13 – 2.7 ha, 15 – 4.1 ha, and 16 – 3.7 ha.

If this is compared with the arrangement of houses and fields, it becomes evident that house no. 14 is in the eastern part of the village, but its fields are among the fields of the western part, except for the fields at Jarše. It is likely that no. 14 was once a farm of the western part, the seat of which was later transferred to the eastern part of the village. Furthermore, it is evident that the fields of no. 9 are within the arable land of both parts of the village. In the western part they are adjacent to the fields of no. 10, which has the least arable land, and in the eastern part to the fields of no. 13, which also has considerably less arable land than 15 and 16. On this basis, the assumption can be made that no. 9 was formed from parts of land belonging to 10 and 13. Also the large size of 15 and 16 is unusual. They too have some property within the land of the other part – including 1.9 ha of arable land, which is enough for a small farm. This farm (X) probably really existed, but was later divided between 15 and 16.

The following development can be deduced (Fig. 3.37). The village was formed when two expanded farming units were founded. Their arable land was cleared and equally divided into large rectangular plots. Each unit received five of the plots. As field names (V poljinah, V tibernece) suggest, large portions of some of these plots were once grassland, which indicates that the fields were cleared gradually, not all of them at the same time. Therefore it is difficult to evaluate with certainty the original number of families in one farming unit. The eastern farming unit could have consisted of 3 families, and when the land was divided, they received: no. 13 up to 3.9 ha of arable land, no. 15 up to 3.4 ha, and no. 16 up to 2.5 ha. The western farming unit might have originally consisted of no more than 4 families (10, 11, 12 and 14), while its original seat was located between 8 and 10. The fields of no. 8 are mostly of the poorest quality (Na brego) and were probably cleared somewhat later. Also farm X, which was divided between 15 and 16, had been small in size and therefore probably of more recent origin, formed by taking a small plot of arable land from every farm of the western part. In any case, there were 6 farms in the western part at its largest and the size of their fields within the old arable land was: 8 – 2.7 ha, 10 – 2.8 ha, 11 – 2.2 ha, 12 – 2.8 ha, 14 – 2.4 ha, and X – 1.9 ha. The arable land was drastically enlarged when new fields were cleared at Jarše. This probably happened when no. 9 had already been founded and the seat of no. 14 had already been transferred to the eastern part of the village because at Jarše there are two blocks of fields, each of them belonging to one part of the village and not to the former expanded farming units. It is nos. 9 and 14, partly also 15 and 16, that make the difference between the former and the latter.

3.10.c. LAND OWNERS AND CHRONOLOGICAL DETERMINATION OF DEVELOPMENT

(Fig. 3.38)

The village was created from two farming units and the development of its land division was not complicated, indicating that it must be of relatively recent origin. In relation to the arable land of the village of Bodešče, it is quite probable that Koritno was founded before the youngest Bodešče fields were cleared northwest of Bodešče (V poljinah).

Koritno is first mentioned as early as the 11th century. Between 1065 and 1075, the Diocese of Brixen received two orals of Koritno land from the noble Charilinc, who acquired it from Gundram the freeman (*Kos F. 1911, no. 237*). Between 1075 and 1090, Dobrisko, a local inhabitant, gave to the

Diocese of Brixen an estate (1 farm) at Bled (Cf.: Ch. 3.9.c.) and was given in exchange an estate in Koritno, which had been shown to him (*Kos F. 1911, no. 314*). This estate was certainly larger than two orals, so the Diocese of Brixen must have had more land in the village. It is possible that the village was founded by Brixen and that Gundram was Brixen ministerialis (see: Ch. 4.).

It is not known how long Dobrisko was the beneficiary of his Koritno estate. If his property later fell into the hands of the provostry, that must have happened after 1185 because in the deed of donation from 1185, all the donations made until then are carefully listed and the Dobrisko estate is not mentioned. Between 1142 and 1164, bishop Hartmann of Brixen allowed his ministerialis Eberhard of Gorje to donate his fief in Koritno to the church of St Mary on Bled Island, i.e. to the Bled Island provostry (*Santifaller 1929, no. 46*). But the Diocese of Brixen still kept some of its property in Koritno. In 1253, it had three farms (*UBŠ, 187*). In 1287, bishop Bruno of Brixen pledged 1 farm to Ernest of Rittersberg (*Santifaller 1929, no. 246*). From then on, Brixen had only two farms in Koritno, nos. 10 and 14. The third farm passed into the hands of the Bled Island provostry, which was ca. 1330 the sole owner of all the other farms (8 at the time), four of which were empty (*UBŠ, 204, 207*). After that, there were no more changes of ownership.

In 1416, the provostry still had eight farms in Koritno, two of which were empty (*UBŠ, 210*). The number is the same in 1431, when the same two farms were empty as in 1416 (*UBŠ, 219*). In 1431, župan Ingenuin had two of the eight farms, and two serfs ran another farm besides their own. The populated farms differed in the amount of tributes they had to pay and can be accordingly divided into two groups, which coincided with the western (smaller farms) and the eastern (larger farms) part of the village. However, the difference in tributes was smaller than the difference in the size of arable land. In 1524, the provostry only had seven farms left in the village, but they were all populated (*Briks. urb. 1524*). After that, the number did not change any more.

Based on all that has been said, it could be stated that the first two farming units were two ministerialis dvors, founded in the first half of the 11th century. The fragmentation of the western dvor already began in the 11th century. Brixen had property in the western part (10, 14) all the time. Together with the estate of Dobrisko and the farm of Ernest (11, 12), this gives us the original number of farms – 4 (cf.: Ch. 3.10.b.). The second dvor remained a whole, but in the 12th century it was no longer run by a ministerialis of Koritno, but was instead given to a ministerialis of Gorje.

It is most plausible that farm no. 9 was founded and the seat of no. 14 transferred from the western into the eastern part of the village in the first half of the 12th century, when almost all the land belonged to the Diocese of Brixen. The fields at Jarše were cleared later because they already followed the new arrangement of the houses in the village. According to the information from urbaria, farm X finally ceased to exist between 1431 and 1524 and was divided between 15 and 16.

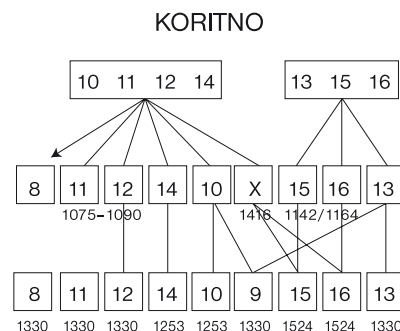


Fig. 3.38:
Koritno. Development stages of farming units. Year first mentioned in written sources.

3.11. GRIMŠČE/REČICA AND THE SETTLEMENT AT PRISTAVA

3.11.a. NATURAL CONDITIONS

The village area is quite uneven and variable. The land to the east, where the fields lie, is flat and extends towards the villages of Grad, Podhom and Zasip. In the central part of the village area there is a range of low hills running from the north (Turnč) to the south (Gorica) and the southwest (Prdanca). To the west, there are meadows which are adjacent to the meadows of the villages Poljšica and Spodnje Gorje. The southern part of the area is a valley descending towards Lake Bled. The entire area is criss-crossed with streams. In the marshy plain northwest of the village, a river bifurcation occurs: the stream of Dobrul and the stream from the valley of Klobasnica flow into one another, but then part of the water flows as the stream of Rečica into the Sava Dolinka River, while the rest of the water flows as the stream of Mlinščica into Lake Bled and then into the Sava Bohinjka River. A stream

arises from the southern bottom of Radolca hill and flows through the northern part of the village area, the marshy Blata, and then into the Rečica. To the northeast and southeast of the village there are two large plots of good farmland divided by the Rečica.

3.11.b. SETTLEMENT DIVISION, ARABLE LAND DIVISION, THEIR GENESIS AND DEVELOPMENT (Figs. 3.39-3.41)

It is immediately apparent that the village is divided into several parts: the linear village core to the north near the stream of Rečica, the more nucleated village core to the south, and near the cross-roads of the routes Bled – Gorje and Zaka – Bohinjska Bela (Fig. 9.2). Three separate farms with mills are situated along the stream, south of the village towards the lake. To the north of the village there is the Grimšče manor house. It is interesting how the arable land of the village and of the manor house is divided. The land belonging to the Grimšče manor house is in one piece, in the northernmost part of the area. The land belonging to the two main cores of the village is in two and three alternating plots, respectively, while the scattered farms with mills south of the village have their land in single blocks. The rest of the land is unevenly divided between individual farms and kajžas and is therefore clearly the youngest part of arable land.

The original core of arable land should therefore be sought to the northeast and southeast of the village, where there are two large plots of arable land, of mostly good and partly medium quality. They are divided by a narrow strip of grassland with the distinctive name V ledine. Across its middle, there is a very winding boundary between the two larger land units – the north and the south village core. To the west, the boundary between them follows the Rečica, which flows from there towards the southeast in a straight line along the route towards the village of Grad, and crosses the fields without a strip of grass at the banks. This situation implies that the described course of the Rečica is only secondary and that the winding boundary used to fol-

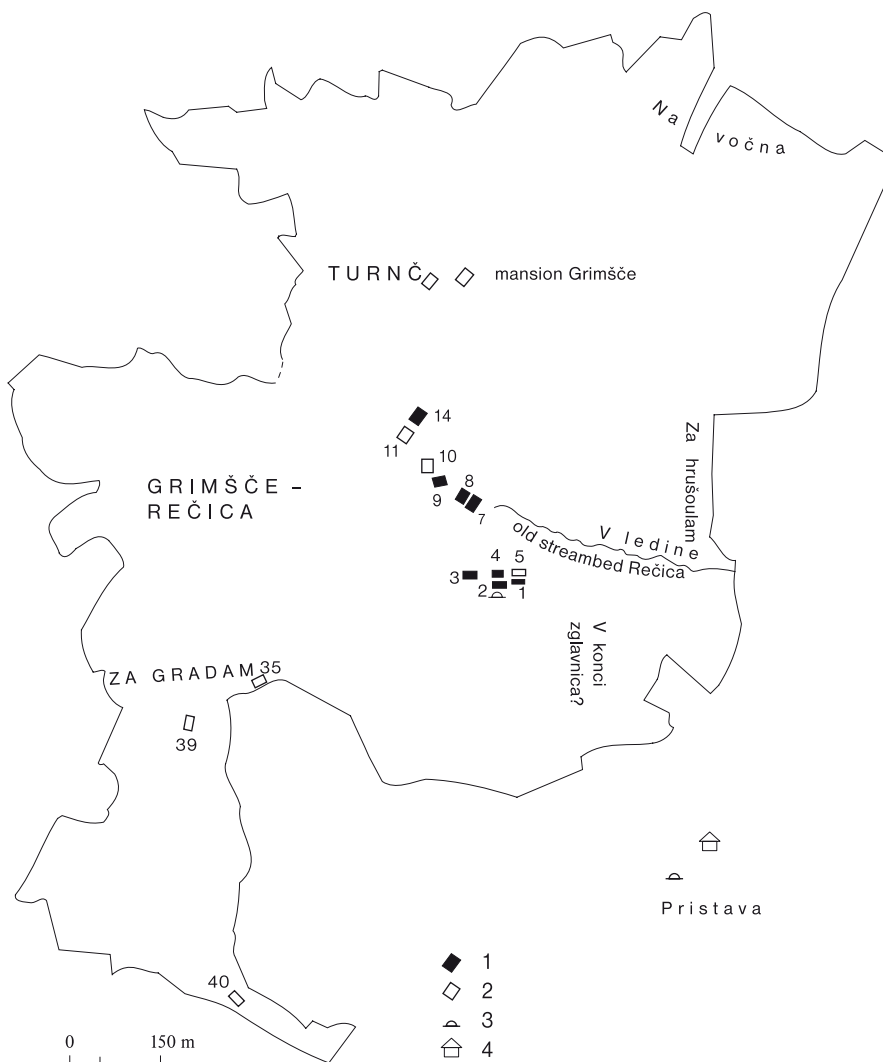


Fig. 3.39: Grimšče, Rečica and the settlement at Pristava.
Village area and field names.
1 – old farmhouse,
2 – new farmhouse,
3 – graveyard,
4 – settlement.

low its old course. According to folk tradition, the Rečica was regulated by “counts” and the effluent into the Mlinščica is man-made, so the bifurcation is not natural.

The old course of the Rečica divided the arable land into two parts. The arable land of the northern part was up to 14.1 ha in size, perhaps originally slightly less since the fields at Za hrušoulam were probably cleared some time later than the rest of the fields, being marginal and on poor land. The arable land of the southern half was 13.6 ha in size. The division of the two parts was carefully planned. The southern half is divided into two parts: the western part (7.1 ha) belongs to the farms of the southern part of the settlement, and the eastern part (6.5 ha) belongs to the farms of the northern part of the settlement. The northern half is divided into three parts of approximately equal size: the first part (4 ha) belongs to the farms of the southern village core, the second part (5.2 ha, including the fields at Za hrušoulam) to the farms of the northern village core, and the third part (4.8 ha) belongs to the Grimšče manor house. The southern village core has in total 11.2 ha of arable land and the northern village core has 11.7 ha. The field of farm no. 11 is considered as belonging to the manor house.

Individual farms have two or three very large fields, two of which are close together in the same part of the arable land, and the third is in another part of the arable land (*Fig. 3.40*). The farms had the following arable land. The farms of the southern village core: 1 – 2.7 ha, 2 – 2.4 ha, 3 – 3 ha, 4 – 2.7 ha, and 5 – 0.4 ha, and the farms of the northern village core: 7 – 2.7 ha, 8 – 2.5 ha, 9 – 2.9 ha, 11 – 0.9 ha, and 14 – 2.5 ha. Farm no. 3 was originally smaller. One of its fields is in the middle of the grassland V ledine, which means it must be of later origin. The building and one field of farm no. 5 are adjacent to the land of farm no. 1. Other fields of no. 5 are in the western (i.e. youngest) part of the village arable land. Therefore it can be assumed that no. 5 was founded relatively late. It separated from no. 1 and cleared some additional fields from as yet uncultivated common land to the west of the village. It is an interesting fact that no. 10, an independent farm in the 18th century, has no fields within the original arable land of the village, thus indicating its later origin. Moreover, no. 11 has only one field in the old part of the village arable land, while the rest

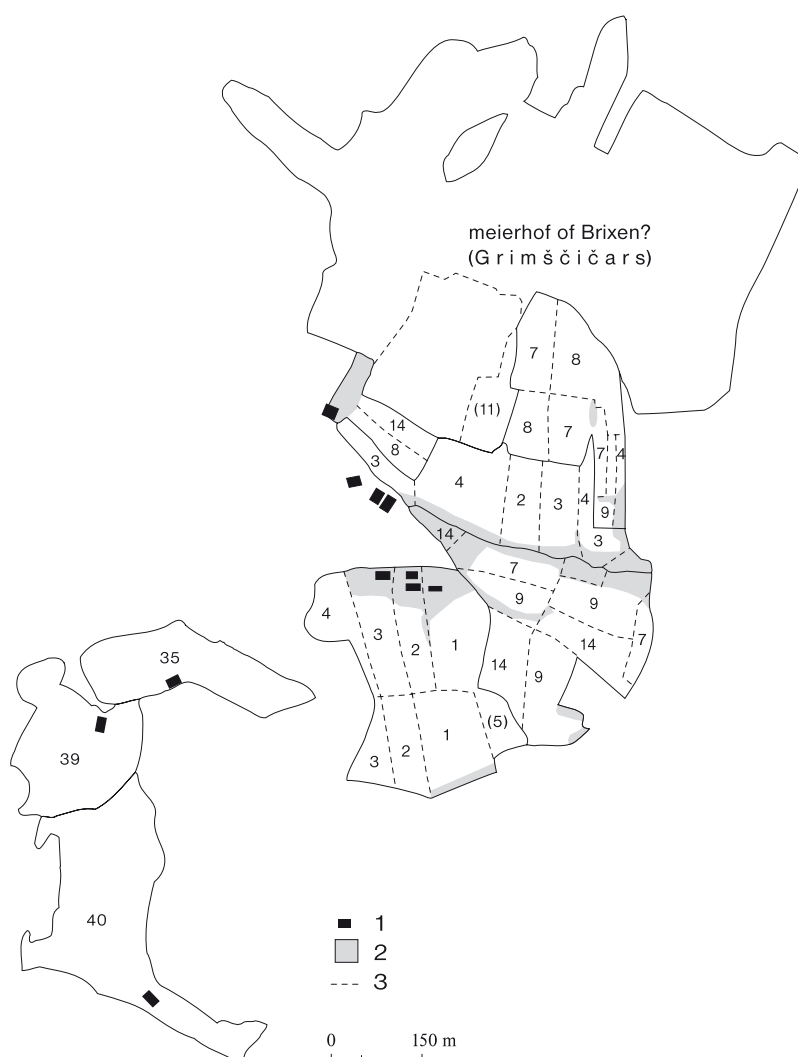


Fig. 3.40: Grimšče, Rečica and the settlement at Pristava.
Village land division.
1 – farmhouse,
2 – grassland,
3 – field boundaries.

of its fields are in the youngest part of the arable land of the village. This is another case of a farm of later origin. The seats of farms 10 and 11 are next to each other and their land is closely intermixed, all indicating that 10 and 11 were originally a single farm, probably no. 11. Their buildings are located at the edge of the common land, and their fields are often intermixed with or adjacent to the fields of the Grimšče manor house. Hence it is quite likely that the farm was founded by the Grimšče manor house or its predecessor.

So, originally there were four farms in each of the two village cores: nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 in the southern, and nos. 7, 8, 9, 14 in the northern core of the village. Not only did the two village cores have the same number of farms, but they had the same area of arable land as well. It is not impossible that initially there were even fewer farms. The land of nos. 2 and 3, 9 and 14, 7 and 8 is more closely intermixed, but overall it cannot be claimed that the arable land of one village core is younger than the arable land of the other. The same applies to the arable land of the manor house. It was formed at the same time as the rest of the village arable land because the planned division of arable land indicates that it was divided among all the users simultaneously. Did then the entire village come into existence at the same time?

This is not in accordance with the complex plan of the village, normally a consequence of different times of origin. Furthermore, just next to the southern village core, an early mediaeval graveyard was discovered (*Valič 1967*), but the manor house and its land can only be from a relatively late period. How then the apparent contradiction between the division of arable land and the plan of the village? A possible explanation is offered in the next section (cf.: Ch. 3.12.c.).

3.11.c. LAND OWNERS

AND CHRONOLOGICAL DETERMINATION OF DEVELOPMENT (*Figs. 3.39; 3.41*)

The graveyard proves that the village already existed in the Early Middle Ages. Since only one object (an iron knife) from the graveyard is known (*Valič 1967*), the graveyard cannot be precisely dated. But the graves are undoubtedly older than the end of the 10th century because after that time, all the graveyards in the Bled area are exclusively near the churches. Thus it can be stated that while the village can certainly be older than the 10th century, it could not have been founded after that time.

In records, the village is first mentioned between 1050 and 1065, when the Diocese of Brixen acquired an estate in it from four brothers (*Kos F. 1911, no. 168*) who were local inhabitants (*Kos M. 1970-1971, p. 12*). The village is mentioned again only in 1253, when Brixen had three farms at Rečica ("apud Rieschisch") (*UBŠ, 186*). An important piece of information from a little later on is that Pertholt, the keeper ("der maiger") of the Brixen maierhof, lived in Rečica (1287 28/9, *CKSL*). In the next century, the Kranschrot family, relatives of the keeper (cf.: Chs. 5.4.; 5.7.), had a dvor in Rečica, which they sold piece by piece to Nikolaj Stainer (1390 3/6, *AS*; 1393 21/10, *CKSL*). Although they sold it as their own property, it had probably been alienated from Brixen. In 1418 this dvor is acquired in exchange by Jurij Lambergar (1418 20/9, *CKSL*). It is mentioned again in 1499 – still the property of the Lambergars (1499 26/2, *Zap. inv.*). Perhaps the entire southern village core was owned by the Kranschrot family. As late as 1457-1461 there is mention of Martin son of Nikolaj, who has a farm in Rečica, which is a former Celje fief and his inheritance (*HCF, f. 74*). This farm is not mentioned in the earlier Celje fief register, so it must have been granted just before the Princes of Celje died out. It is possible that the rest of the property was still allodial property. In the following decades, all of it passes to Brixen.

Around 1330, the Bled Island provostry had two farms in the village (*UBŠ, 205*). In 1431, the situation is similar, but it is mentioned that one farm had been rented by Hans Grimšičar (*UBŠ, 221*), a situation already documented in 1422 (*UBŠ, 213-214*). Hans Grimšičar also had the same (then empty) farm in 1461, when his lease was reaffirmed. At the same time, there was a detailed description of the farm, together with a list of separate plots of land and field names. Interestingly, at least half of them are scattered all around the Bled area (Poljane, Obranca, Jarše), yet even those near the village do not have the names that appear in the Josephian Cadastre. The farm has only three fields

near the village: one of them is under a cherry tree below the Grimšičar barn, the second is named "V konci zglavnica", and the third is the last field below the village. The building itself is located near the Grimšičar garden (*UBŠ*, 224).

The land of farm no. 14 matches the description best (*Fig. 3.40*). Of all the farms in the village, its buildings are the closest to the garden of the Grimšičars. One of its fields is adjacent to the arable land of the Grimšičars and could be identified as the field under the cherry tree below the Grimšičar barn. Another field of no. 14 is located at the head of the fields of the northern village core in the southern part of the arable land, so its old name could have been V konci zglavnica. The third field extends to the edge of the village arable land and could therefore have been the last field under the village. In 1524 the provostry still had two farms. One of them was empty and its beneficiary was Gašper Dvornik (*Briks. urb. 1524*). If it is correct that in 1461 the empty farm belonging to the provostry was no. 14, then it is likely that in 1524 it was the same farm that was empty.

More detailed information about the property of the provostry comes from 1565, when Miha Gašperšič, serf of the provostry, had an estate comprised of two farms. Their parts are so intermixed that it is impossible to determine to which farm they belong. One of the two farms is subject to the provostry and the other to Jakob Lambergar (*Wallner 1889, pp. 245-246*). The land of farms 10 and 11 is very closely connected. The house name of farm no. 11 is Gašperček, perhaps a remainder of the former beneficiary Miha Gašperšič, or his predecessor with the same surname. If the identification is justified, then it could also be said that the final separation of 10 and 11 happened in the second half of the 16th century. The two farms of the provostry from around 1330 are therefore 11 and 14.

In 1464, Brixen might have had the same number of farms in Rečica as in 1253, but certainly not many more – gathering from the tributes (*UBŠ*, 196). But in 1609 the Diocese already had 10 farms, which is the total number of all the farms in both village cores (*Opis 1609*). This means that Brixen reacquired all the farms from other owners.

An interesting question is how much property in the village was owned by the Grimšičar family. The first piece of information comes from 1436, when Anton Grimšičar had one dvor in Grimšče (*CE, f. 23*). He still retained it between 1457 and 1461 (*HCE, f. 20*). In 1461, it is mentioned that his brother Hans had a garden in the village (*UBŠ, 224*), so they already had two different pieces of property at that time. In the mid-16th century, the Grimšičars had considerable debts (*Smole 1982, pp. 171-172*). It is therefore no surprise that their property in Grimšče probably passed into the hands of Hans Goldschan, whose surname ("golden shine") indicates that he dealt with money. In 1562, he sold to Jakob Lambergar, among other things, a manor house ("edlmans siz") and a dvor, which was run by Tomaž Dvornik, both of these in Grimšče (1562 4/12, *Zap. inv.*). In just a few years, between 1569 and 1572, the manor house was again in the hands of the Grimšičars (*Smole 1982, pp. 171-172*). Based on all that has been revealed so far, it is evident that the garden of Hans, mentioned in 1461, probably belonged to the Grimšče manor house. So as early as the mid-15th century, the Grimšičars not only had a dvor in the village, but also a manor house, whose land was to the north of the village.

It has already been said that the keepers of the Brixen maierhof are mentioned in Rečica. The last one mentioned is Andrej of Rečica in 1347 (1347 4/11, *CKSL*). This raises the question of which maierhof this is? If it is correct that the Brixen maierhof under Castle Bled was founded relatively late in time (see below), that the keeper most likely lived where the maierhof was, and considering that two villages with similar arable land division also have maierhofs (Ch. 3.9.; 3.12.), then the conclusion is plausible that the large plot of land to the north of the village was originally a Brixen maierhof and Andrej of Rečica was its keeper. This is further confirmed by a document from 1343, according to which Andrej of Grimšče has the nickname "Hofer" (= Dvornik) (1343 19/1, *CKSL*). It would be quite unlikely if the two Andrejs in the same village and at the same time were not the same person.

The plot of land belonging to the maierhof subsequently became demesne of the Grimšičars. The question is, when did they become its owners? They did not own it in 1347, but in 1461 they already did. Perhaps this happened in the first half of the 15th century, when the Grimšičars were already relatively strong landowners (cf.: Ch. 5.3.). At that time, surely they must have had enough spending power for the purchase. Furthermore, the Bled manor of the Diocese of Brixen was at that time already run by the Kreig family, who certainly acted for their own benefit, not for that of the Brixen.

Initially, the Grimšičar family undoubtedly lived at their ministerialis dvor in the village, but in the 15th century they left it to a serf of theirs. In 1524 Gašper Dvornik had the provostry's empty farm no. 14 (*Briks. urb. 1524*). He obviously also had his own farm, for otherwise no. 14 would not be empty. The aforementioned Tomaž Dvornik from the year 1562 is probably his successor. Gathering from the family surname, Gašper lived at the former dvor of the Grimšičars. The surname is already fixed and therefore quite some time must have passed since the Grimšičars left their dvor. Their leaving was not necessarily connected with the purchase of the Brixen maierhof, and it is possible that they moved to one of their places of work (cf.: Ch. 5.3.).

Together with the Brixen maierhof, the Grimšičars probably acquired some sort of dwelling. The plot of land with the field name Turnč, which encompasses the slope above the present Grimšče manor house, is interesting in this regard. An outline of a rectangular building can still be seen there. The building can probably be identified with the small tower in Valvasor's depiction of Grimšče from 1679 (*Reisp 1983, p. 10*). At that time, it was single-storey and obviously well maintained. The tower probably gave its name to the plot of land. It does not give the impression of an old feudal building and therefore it is very likely that the Grimšičars lived all the time at the same location of their new property, i.e. at the location of the present-day manor house.

How was the village divided in the 14th and 15th century? Three farms belonged to Brixen and two farms (11 and 14) belonged to the provostry – the Brixen maierhof and the dvor of the Kranschrot family, which was either the size of two farms, or consisted of two farms. Perhaps they had another farm, where Martin of Rečica lived in the 15th century. The Grimšičars had their own dvor. After the Kranschrots sold their dvor, it was certainly broken down into two farms, and the dvor of the Grimšičars did not differ in size from the rest of the farms. Therefore, 9 farms can be listed: 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 11, 14, and the maierhof.

There is another part of the village mentioned in records. In 1253 a mill is mentioned (*UBŠ, 186*), in 1464 two mills (*UBŠ, 196*), and in 1609 five mills and three farms (*Opis 1609*) in the settlement, whose name, Millpach, first appeared in 1602 (*Briks. urb. 1602*). In a summary of the Bled manor urbarium, which has no year on it, but could be, judging by the writing, from the 17th century, Slovene names of villages are listed beside German ones; and the Slovene equivalent of Mülpack is Sagrađam (*Gr. A III, Bled, Rusticalia, fasc. 14, AS*). This name for the area near the stream of Mlinščica has been preserved until today. The three farms with mills mentioned in 1609 are thus undoubtedly farms 35, 39 and 40. Their land is in a single block and they were established near the older mills, not later than the 16th century.

An interesting issue is the name of the village. When it is first mentioned in the 11th century, its name is Grimšče (Grimizahc) (*Kos F. 1911, no. 168*). However, as early as the 13th century, the village clearly has a double name, Grimšče and Rečica. In 1273, Friderik and Frančišek of Grimšče, and Marcelin of Rečica are listed together as witnesses (*1273 21/7, CKSL*). The three farms mentioned in 1253 in the Brixen urbarium are located at Rečica (*UBŠ, 186*), which probably refers to the stream near the village. It appears that with the new feudal lord also a new name for the village, adopted from the nearby stream, was introduced. In all the subsequent mentions of Brixen property or the property of the Brixen keepers, the name of the village is always just Rečica. The only exception is the amendments of the Bled manor urbarium from 1591, which primarily concern rights of pasture. The community of Rečica is mentioned, with the mountain pasture of Ribenšica ("Ribenschiza"), as well as four serfs, all from Grimšče, who have the mountain pasture of Klek (*Urb. popr. 1591*). One of the four, Miha Gašperšič, can be identified with certainty. It has been demonstrated that in 1565, he had farms 10 and 11. It is not certain whether in 1591 he was a serf of Brixen, but it is quite likely.

For a long time, the name Grimšče was used beside the name Rečica. Until today, the name Grimšče has designated the manor house at the northern edge of the village, but it was also used to refer to the former dvor of the Grimšičars and the two farms belonging to the provostry (10-11, 14), before they passed into the hands of Brixen. So, at least from the 13th century onward, the name Grimšče probably designates only the northern part of the village. It seems that Rečica as the name of the village was only introduced by the Brixen lords. The division of the village into Rečica and

Grimšče does not therefore coincide with the division into the north and south village core, but rather depends on the owners of different parts of the village.

As for the origin of the name Grimšče, the local inhabitants pronounce it Grinšče, and hence the name can be derived from the word “grinta”, which means, among other things, crumbly and stony terrain (cf.: *Bezljaj 1956, pp. 198-199*). So Grinčiče would be a village on friable, stony ground. The north village core, located at the bottom of a low rocky hill, corresponds to this description. The south village core lies on a gravelly plain, perhaps on the flattest ground of all the villages in the Bled area, which were generally built on uneven terrain. From this point of view, it could be assumed that the area of the north village core is older. However, it is interesting that the early mediaeval graveyard was discovered right next to the houses of the southern part of the village.

3.11.d. EXPLANATION OF THE DEVELOPMENT (Figs. 3.39-3.41)

Because of land consolidation and redistribution of arable land it would be hazardous to make conclusions about the development prior to that. The following is therefore mostly an assumption. With regard to the beginning of the village, the early mediaeval settlement at Pristava should be mentioned. Located on the sunny slopes of Pristava hill, it existed from the beginning of the 7th until the second half of the 10th century. To the southwest of it, there was the pertaining graveyard with graves also dating from the 6th century. They belong to the settlement which was at that time located at the neighbouring Bled Castle Hill and still existed at least in the first half of the 7th century (*Pleteriški 2008a, pp. 159-161; Pleteriški 2010, pp. 161-176; Knific 2008, p. 24*). While the male inhumation burials indicate contact of two different populations, this cannot be said for the female graves (*Leben-Seljak 2000*). In the first half of the 7th century, a group of cremation burials appeared in the graveyard (*Pleteriški 2008*). The remains of the Pristava settlement indicate two different types of buildings: houses on ground level and houses raised above the ground of the slope (*Pleteriški 2008, pp. 107-130*). Moreover, kitchen objects reveal two different traditions; the Slavic and that of the indigenous Vlachs (*Pleteriški 2008b, pp. 15-97*). The most reasonable explanation is that in the beginning of the 7th century, a new Slavic population settled in the Bled area. The Slavs lived at Pristava together with the indigenous Vlachs and the Slavs mostly married the indigenous women. The settlement at Bled Castle Hill, however, was abandoned some time after the arrival of the Slavs.

The arable land south of Rečica is the nearest to the Pristava settlement. Considering also the fact that the demesne of Castle Bled, in the centre of which the early mediaeval Pristava settlement lies, consists of only few fields, and even those are scattered and obviously of late origin, and furthermore, that the demesne encircles three sides the arable land of Rečica south of the old course of the stream of Rečica, which at the same time forms the northern boundary of the demesne, then the thought presents itself that this part of the Rečica arable land used to belong to the Pristava settlement.

If we accept this explanation, then it is also likely that the new village of Grinčiče (later Grimšče) was founded by people who came from the Pristava settlement. They cleared their fields to the north of the old course of the Rečica. Their graveyard was a good 100 m to the south of the village, near the route towards Pristava, being located at the edge of the

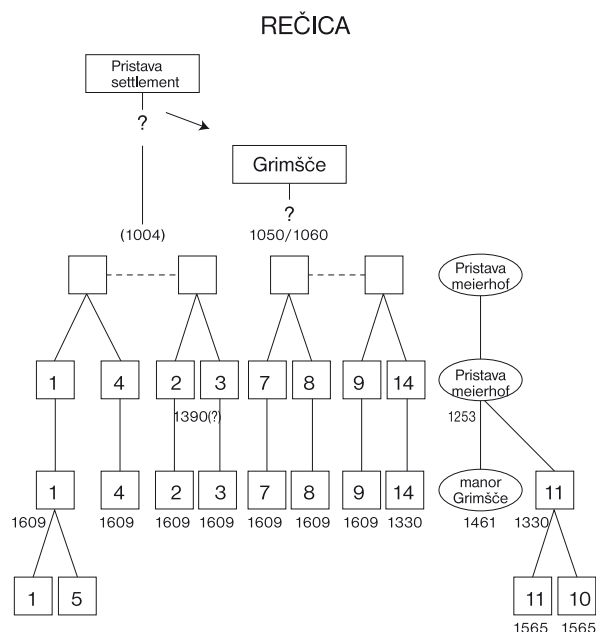


Fig. 3.41: Grimšče, Rečica and the settlement at Pristava.
Development stages of farming units.
Year first mentioned in written sources.

old part of the arable land, probably on a plot of poorer quality. The distance between the village and the graveyard is the same as the distance between the village of Bodešče and the graveyard at Dlesc (Fig. 3.12).

If the hypothesis about the arable land of Pristava is true, then it is very likely that the arable land south of the old course of the stream of Rečica formed a part of the royal estate of Bled, donated in 1004 by the king to the Diocese of Brixen. That would mean that the king acquired the entire area of the Pristava settlement.

Between 1050 and 1065, Brixen received an estate in Grimšče (*Kos F. 1911, no. 168*), which was probably comprised of the village and its arable land north of the old course of the Rečica. Thus the Diocese of Brixen became the sole owner of the entire area. Having one single owner is an essential condition for the planned division of arable land (see: Ch. 3.11.b.). It is possible that the Rečica was regulated at that time, probably with the intent of better utilisation of the large plot of grassland V blateh, which belonged to the castle. At the same time, a new route towards the village of Grad, which avoided the abandoned Pristava settlement, could have been introduced.

The land was not divided evenly between individual farms, but between two groups of farms, i.e. the north and the south village core, and the future Grimšče manor house. Within the groups, the land was evenly divided between the farms. It seems that two ministerialis dvors with four farms (perhaps with only two farms in the beginning) were formed intentionally. The third plot of land was then probably a Brixen maierhof, but was later alienated in a similar way as the maierhof of Zagorice (Ch. 3.12.c.) and was acquired by the Grimšičars. The grasslands north of the arable land most likely already belonged to the maierhof. It is possible that the Grimšičars acquired some of the common land there because the fields at Na vočnah are intermixed with common land, the land of kajžars and also with the land of some of the Podhom farms.

The north dvor can probably be identified with Grimšče and the south one with Rečica. Both parts of the village are mentioned in 1273: Brixen ministeriales Francišek and Friderik are from Grimšče and Marcelin is from Rečica (1273 21/7, CKSL). A little more than a century later, keeper Perhtolt is mentioned (1287 28/9, CKSL), and it is possible that he lived at the maierhof. If it is correct that Rečica was the south dvor and that its seat was comprised of two farms, then these two farms could be the later nos. 2 and 3, whose land is the most closely connected (Fig. 3.40). The farm belonging to Martin of Rečica must have therefore been either 1 or 4. So the south dvor persisted the longest, although in 1253, at least one of its farms belonged to Brixen directly. The other two Brixen farms, 7 or 8 or 9, were in the northern part. One of the farms 7, 8 or 9 was probably the dvor where the Grimšičar family lived. The time when no. 14 passed into the hands of the provostry is unclear, but it is quite certain that no. 11 was not founded before the 14th century.

The fragmentation of the two dvors as early as the 13th century mirrors the crisis of relations between the Diocese of Brixen and its ministeriales. Nothing new can be added about subsequent changes of ownership.

3.12. ŽELEČE AND ZAGORICE

3.12.a. NATURAL CONDITIONS (Fig. 3.42)

The area of the two villages is bounded to the west by Lake Bled, to the east by the stream of Rečica, and to the north it is intermixed with the land of the village of Grad. To the southwest there is the hill of Straža and to the south the flat Jarše. With its several glacial moraines and streams (Križna gorica, V brdeh, Ilove jame, Nad potokam, V dole), the northwest part is quite uneven. The southwest part, however, lies on a gravelly plain, bounded to the south by the dry bed of the former lake outlet (V doline, V dindole). The village of Zagorice itself is located on a glacial moraine. To the southeast of the village, there is a large plot of approximately 22 ha of the best arable land. However, the quality of land deteriorates towards the southeast. The easternmost part of the area was once probably covered in oak forest.

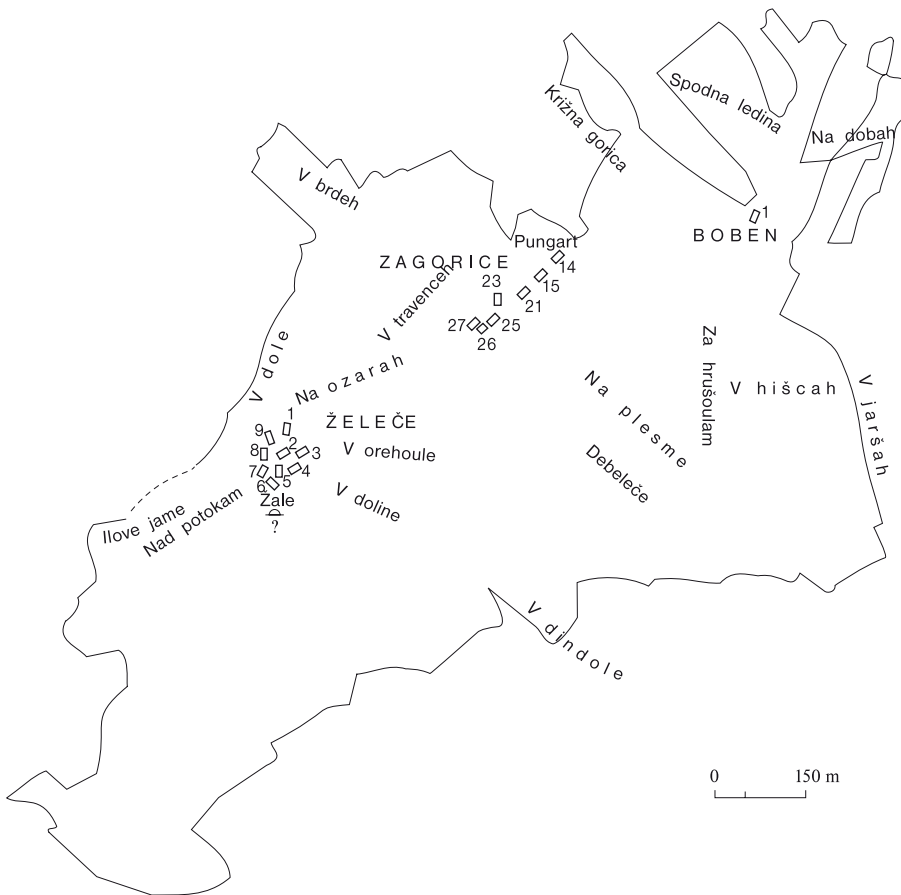


Fig. 3.42: Želeče and Zagorice. Village area and field names.

3.12.b. SETTLEMENT DIVISION, ARABLE LAND DIVISION, THEIR GENESIS AND DEVELOPMENT (Figs. 3.42-3.44)

Želeče and Zagorice are two villages, the former is nucleated and the latter linear. Each of them has its own plot of arable land and the two plots are adjacent to each other in a relatively straight line. The core of arable land of both villages lies in the same part of the area where their land is sometimes intermixed. Therefore it is reasonable to discuss both villages together.

The village of Zagorice is comprised of three parts, the pretty distant and secluded small manor house of Boben (no. 1), and two groups of farms: 14, 15, 16, 21 and 23, 25, 26, 27 (Fig. 3.42). Also, based on the arable land division the farms of Želeče can be divided into two groups: 1, 2, 3, 8, 9 and 4, 5, 6, 7. The original core of arable land should be sought in the large plot of good quality land. The surrounding area is topographically much more variable, the fields are poor and intermixed with meadows, while field names (Spodna ledina, Na dobah, Pungart, V travenceh, Na ozarah, V orehoule) indicate more recent land-clearing. It is only towards the southwest that all the fields are in one piece, but the land there is poorer, portions of land belonging to different villages are intermixed, and furthermore, the name Jarše indicates more recent land clearing. The lion's share of the core of arable land belongs to Zagorice. Only the southwest corner and the southern edge, where land quality deteriorates rapidly, belong to Želeče. There is no doubt that the village of Želeče has a subordinate position.

The land belonging to Želeče is closely intermixed within two groups: 2, 4, 5, 6 and 1, 3, 7, 8, 9. In the original part of the arable land, the fields of one group are closely intermixed with the fields of the other. The first group has 2.7 ha of arable land and the second group 2.4 ha (Fig. 3.44). The rest of the village land is divided between them in a few large plots. Together with the fields that were cleared later,

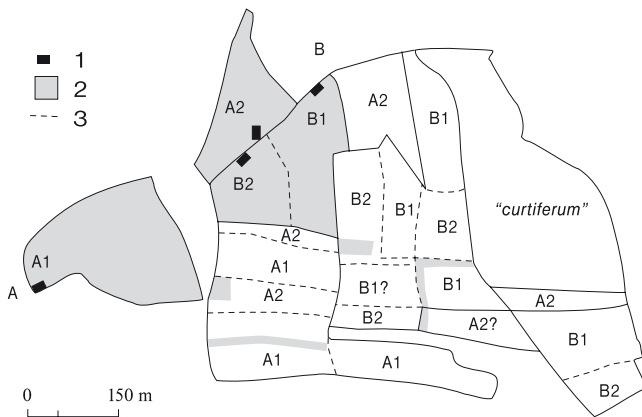


Fig. 3.43: Želeče and Zagorice. Village land division.
1 – farmhouse,
2 – grassland,
3 – field boundaries.

they comprise of the first group with 6.9 ha, and the second group with 7.5 ha of arable land.

Farms 7 and 9 have no fields in the original part of the arable land, and farm no. 4 has by far the fewest fields of all the farms. For that reason and also because their land is closely intermixed with the land of farms 1, 5, 8, they are probably the youngest, having separated from older farms: 9 from 1, 4 from 5, and 7 from 8. The size of arable land of individual farms will not be listed here because a considerable amount of their land is at Jarše. The fields there were subsequently cleared for cultivation, and they are closely intermixed with those belonging to other villages. This separation is therefore not very old. The Želeče land at Jarše is not divided into two groups, so all the nine farms must have already existed before the land at Jarše was cleared for cultivation.

In the older stage, there were three farms in each of the two groups: 2, 5, 6 and 1, 3, 8. These reconstructed farms had the following arable land: 1 – 2.7 ha, 3 – 1.9 ha, 8 – 2.9 ha, 2 – 2.2 ha, 5 – 2.6 ha, and 6 – 2 ha. It should be taken into account that their sizes were originally smaller for it is very likely that some of the fields were cleared later. Located next to each other, nos. 1 and 2 could have been the seats of the two older farms from which the two groups developed. One or the other could have also been the seat of the original first farming unit – the manner in which the land is divided between the

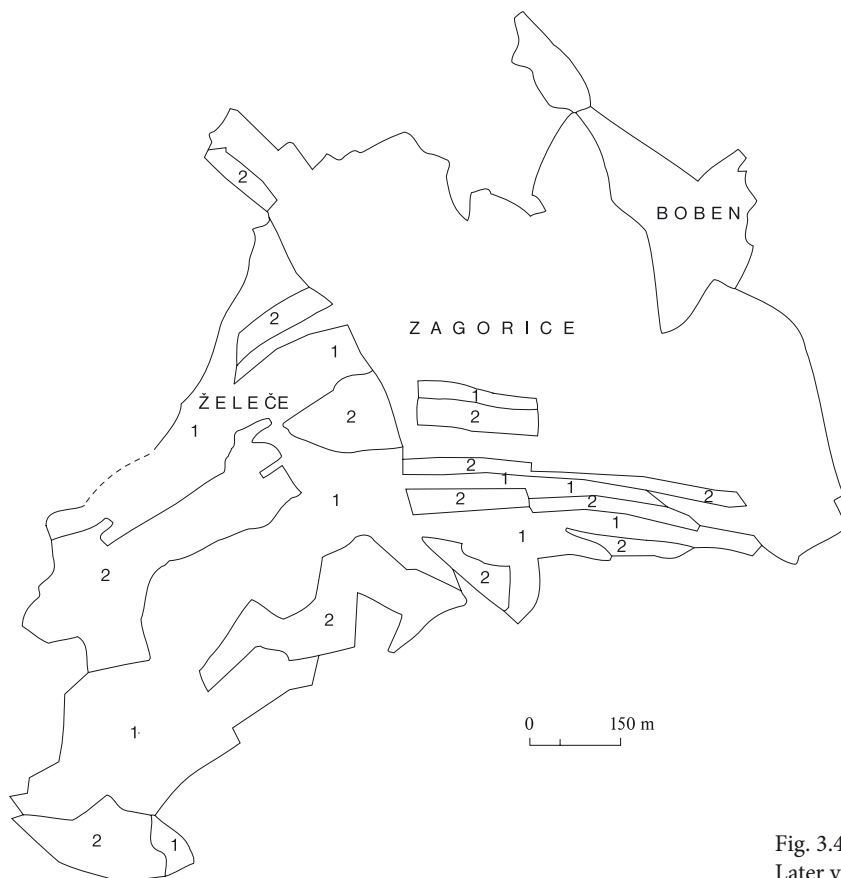


Fig. 3.44: Želeče and Zagorice.
Later village land division.

two groups suggests that there was originally one single farming unit. The first farming unit must have had the combined land of nos. 1 and 2 in the original part of the arable land – 5.2 ha (A1).

The division of the arable land of Zagorice indicates similar development. The most outstanding part of it is the land belonging to the small manor house of Boben, which lies in a single block at the edge of the original part of the arable land. It is still of excellent quality, but it is evident that this land was not divided at the same time as the rest of the village land. The area of the fields belonging to Boben is 2.6 ha. Some of them are north of the route Zagorice–Lesce, where the land of Zagorice is strongly intermixed with the land of the village of Grad. Moreover, a large proportion of it is grassland, and there are many fields of kajžars. All this indicates that this land was cleared for cultivation relatively late.

Based on the division of arable land, some further conclusions can be made about the plan of the village. Fields are closely intermixed within three groups of farms: group 14, 15, 16, group 23, 27, and group 25, 26. Only at Debeleče is the land of no. 15 intermixed with the land of 23 and 27, but this could be secondary. The half-farm no. 21 also belongs to the first group. It has only two fields in the original part of the arable land and is obviously of late origin (cf.: Ch. 3.12.c.). Some separate fields within the original part of the arable land were later acquired by farm no. 1 in the village of Grad. Based on their position within the original field blocks, it can be determined to which of the first farming units (but not to which of the later farms) these fields belonged. The first group (B1) had 5.5 ha, the second group (A2) 4.1 ha, and the third group (B2) 3.7 ha of the original arable land (Fig. 3.43). All the land was of excellent quality. As it has been said, the village of Želeče (A1) had 5.2 ha of the original arable land, which was a considerable area.

If the arable land of each of the three groups is considered as a whole, a clear image of the original land division appears (Fig. 3.43). The arable land was divided into a few large, wide fields, rectangularly positioned to each other. There were some slanted limits only where the plots were adjacent to the already existing routes: Želeče–Zagorice–Lesce, Zagorice–Koritno, Zagorice–Bodešče. The plots of land to which field names refer are the same as the described plots of arable land. The land of the village of Želeče is logically included in this arable land division, both in terms of shape and size of the fields. Every farming unit (in both villages) had, perhaps already in that stage, a large meadow around the building. The farming units of both villages comprised of three to five fields each, all of which is proof of the simultaneous planned division of arable land between the two villages.

It seems, however, that originally there were only two farming units, for the fields of A1 are closely intermixed with those of A2, and the fields of B1 with those of B2. Unit A thus had 9.3 ha of arable land and unit B 9.2 ha. The seats of the first two farming units should be sought among the farms of A1 and B1 because they are larger than A2 and B2. In the following stages of arable land division, each unit was divided into two or three farms: 14, 15, 16 – 25, 26 – 23, and 27. These already have some of the later cleared fields around the village, as well as at Jarše, implying that these farms are of relatively late origin and therefore the area of their arable land will not be listed here. To the northeast there is a large indentation in the original arable land, filled by 5.6 ha of fields (see: Ch. 3.11.c.).

3.12.c. LAND OWNERS AND CHRONOLOGICAL DETERMINATION OF DEVELOPMENT (Figs. 3.42–3.45)

The original arable land division indicates that the arable land was simultaneously divided between both villages – if they can be called villages at that time – however, there are several indices for Želeče being older. Inhumation burials were discovered near the village, on the plot of land with the distinctive name Žale, probably a part of an early mediaeval graveyard (Pleteriški 1978, p. 381). The name Želeče is derived from the personal name Želęta (Bezljaj 1961, p. 348). These two pieces of information, as well as good quality arable land in the vicinity, indicate that the village dates from early mediaeval times. Since the origin of the village name is the same as in the case of Bodešče, it is possible that the village was founded in similar circumstances, possibly at approximately the same time. The assumption could therefore be made that the village was established when Želęta and his family settled there, not later than the 9th century.

Based on the first documents mentioning the village, quite some time must have passed between its beginning and the 11th century. Contrary to my former opinion (Pleterski 1978, p. 384) I concur with the localisations by F. Kos (*Kos F. 1911, nos.: 167, 259, 300, 311*), although a more thorough explanation will be given here. The Želeče property which the Diocese of Brixen acquired in the second half of the 11th century had already been divided between several owners: between 1050 and 1065 Brixen acquired the estate of Friderick's ministerialis Hadolt (*Kos F. 1911, no. 167*) and between 1075 and 1090 the estate of the local inhabitant Vencegoj, as well as a field of Brixen ministerialis Grifo (*Kos F. 1911, no. 311*; cf.: *Kos M. 1970-1971, p. 14*). So there were at least two farming units in Želeče at that time, one of which had already passed into the hands of someone who was not a local inhabitant (cf.: *Kos M. 1970-1971, p. 13*).

Before discussing other documents, the issue of localisation of the place with the name Cilintun (*Kos F. 1911, no. 167*) or Zilint (*Kos F. 1911, no. 259*), offered by Ljudmil Hauptmann (*Hauptmann 1938, pp. 102-103*) should be addressed. According to Hauptmann, the correct spelling of the name should have been "ze Lintun = zu den Linden". Since brothers Friderik and Henrik, who are mentioned in the documents, had their property "in loco Linta" in Carinthia, Hauptmann is of the opinion that the name Cilintun also refers to that place. He supports this with a comparison of exchanges between Henrik and the bishop of Brixen. According to the research of Therese Meyer and Kurt Karpf, Friderik and Henrik belonged to the family of the Counts of Eppenstein, while their property was probably in Lind (Slovene: Lipje) near Grafenstein (Slovene: Grabnoanj) (*Meyer, Karpf 2009, pp. 128-129*).

Between 1065 and 1077, Henrik and his wife gave to the Diocese of Brixen their estates in Carantania and in Isel Valley, while they received for their lifetime the property in Kranj owned by bishop Altwinn of Brixen, together with the estates of clerics and ministeriales, a dvor in "loco Linta", and what the bishop possessed in the county of Adalberon. Apart from that, Henrik and his wife donated an estate in Artegna (Slovene: Ratenj; "loco Retin") in Friuli (*Redlich 1886, no. 228*). Between 1070 and 1080, Henrik and his wife exchanged their castle and estate in Kranj for: Castle Stein (Slovene: Kamen), an estate "in loco z Obinentiges Seves", the church and three farms at St Daniel near Grabelsdorf (Slovene: Grabalja vas) and a vineyard, all of these in Carinthia (*Kos F. 1911, no. 258*). Soon afterwards, still between 1070 and 1080, they returned the castle of Kamen-Stein and in addition renounced the estates they had promised earlier to the Diocese of Brixen only after their death. Bishop Altwinn gave them in exchange, under the same conditions as before, i.e. for their lifetime, the castle in Kranj with the pertaining land and serfs, and also a dvor "loco Zilinta situm" (*Kos F. 1911, no. 259*).

Hauptmann took into account only the exchanges of the Kranj property and the dvor, which is located in a place once called Linta and once Zilinta. Therefore, there was no doubt about the identification as far as he is concerned. But his conclusion would only be valid had Henrik and his wife also given back the dvor in Lipje-Lind once they returned the property in Kranj. Only thus could they have received it again later, together with their Kranj property. But the very documents Hauptmann refers to tell another story; Zilinta is not the same place as Linta (Lipje-Lind).

Henrik and his wife returned the castle in Kranj together with the estate there, which is probably the ministerialis estate they had received from Altwinn in the previous agreement. But they did not give anything else – the dvor in Lipje-Lind remained in their possession. In the third exchange, they returned the castle of Kamen-Stein and renounced their property in Ratenj-Artegna, which should, according to the first agreement, have gone to the Diocese only after their deaths. They were given again their castle in Kranj and the estate and serfs belonging to it as well as another dvor in the place named Zilinta. It seems that the bishop wanted the Friuli property very much as he also gave them the said dvor, which could not have been the one in Lipje-Lind because that one had not been returned to him (T. Meyer and K. Karpf similarly conclude that the Lipje-Lind property remained in the hands of the Eppenstein family: *Meyer, Karpf 2009, p. 128*). So Zilinta and Cilintun – if they are the same place – is not Lipje-Lind.

It is very likely that the two documents from 1070-1080 and 1075-1090 refer to the Brixen dvor ("curtiferum") in Želeče (*Kos F. 1911, nos.: 259, 300*), which was given to Henrik by bishop Altwinn, who later received it back from Henrik's brother Friderik (cf.: *Kos M. 1970-1971, p. 13*). What did the dvor consist of? – In the oldest stage, the arable land of Želeče-Zagorice does not include the

known owner is from the 16th century (cf.: *Gornik* 1967, p. 152). The land of the Brixen dvor was probably partly sold and partly divided among the serfs.

The village of Zagorice is mentioned directly only in 1253, when Brixen had 4 farms there, two of them *mansus censualis* – paying tributes in cash. One farm is run by Erchenbold, probably the ministerialis who had been moved there from the village of Poljšica by the bishop of Brixen (*UBŠ*, 188; see also: Ch. 5.4.). It seems that the farm was one of the fiefs held by ministeriales and became independent. In 1287, bishop Bruno of Brixen pledged one farm to his ministerialis Ernest of Rittersberg (1287 6/10, *CKSL*; cf.: Ch. 5.1.), which caused the alienation of the farm. This was probably one of the two farms which in the 18th century belonged to the benefice of St Catherine of Lesce (*RDA*, fasc. 43), nos. 26 and 27. Perhaps the other farm too formed part of the 13th century Brixen estate.

Between the years 1306-1309 Brixen had only two farms left in Zagorice (*UBŠ*, 192). Perhaps it was Erchenbold's farm that was in the 16th century owned by the Grimšičars and in 1574 acquired from them by Krištof Fašang (*Im. knj.* 4), the former parish priest of Bled, the former keeper of Castle Bled and Lutheran preacher (*Gornik* 1967, pp. 52-53; cf.: *Pokorn* 1904, p. 120). The farm then passed from one owner to another before it became the property of the Seničar family in 1678 (*Im. knj.* 7). The former property of the Grimšičars became a free farm and as such, it was subjected to intensive fragmentation in the 17th and 18th century, when it was broken down into several free kajzas of Zagorice. This farm is no. 23. In the 18th century, Brixen had only one farm left in the village, no. 25 (*RDA*, fasc. 17). It stands in the group of farms 23, 25, 26, 27, and perhaps it is these four farms which could be identified with the four Brixen farms from 1253.

There are also traces of former Brixen property in the other parts of the village. In 1390 and in 1393, brothers Mertel and Günczel of Rečica, sons of Kewlein Kranschrot, sold to Nikolaj Stayner their respective shares of two farms. The peasant who ran one of them was called Hafner, while the other one, which seemed to be empty, was run by an Alchnicz, together with his own farm (1390 3/6, *AS*; 1393 21/10, *CKSL*). This means that three farms are actually mentioned. All of them were probably owned by the Kranschrots because it is unlikely that they would have let someone else's serf run their farm. One of the two farms that were sold is mentioned in 1428, when it formed part of the inheritance of Linhart Stayner (1428 8/2, *CKSL*). They both became the property of the Radovljica manor by 1498, when there is a comment in the urbarium that these two farms used to be two owner-ships (*Rad. urb.* 1498). The co-ownership of the two brothers from Rečica suits this description. The Radovljica manor still had both farms – nos. 14 and 16 – in the 18th century (*RDA*, fasc. 282).

A new farm, 21, was formed when two fields separated from farm no. 15 and some new arable land was cleared. In the 17th century, no. 21 was already the property of the parish of Radovljica (*Urb. žup. Rad.* 1657), and in the 18th century it was considered a half-farm (*RDA*, fasc. 5). As for the fate of Alchnicz's farm, if the earlier identifications are correct, then it soon became the property of the Bled Island provostry, which had a farm in Zagorice in 1416 (*UBŠ*, 210) and retained it all the time. In the 18th century, this was the farm no. 15 (*RDA*, fasc. 18). Based on what has been said, the fragmentation of farms was completed as early as the mid-13th century.

3.13. MLINO AND ZAZER

3.13.a. NATURAL CONDITIONS (*Fig. 3.46*)

The area of both villages extends between Lake Bled to the north and the Sava Bohinjka River to the south. To the east it is bounded by the hills of Straža, Dobra gora (Špik), Kozarca and Obroč, and to the west by the hill of Osojnica. The area between them is not flat; terraces and slopes fall from the higher Lake Bled to the lower Sava Bohinjka. The area is cut through by the stream of Jezernica (Mlinščica) connecting the lake and the river. The largest plain in the area bears the field names Mlin-sko polje and Pod Dobro goro and it is also the only larger plot of good arable land. To the west, there are three smaller flat areas: Vadiše, Na pole and Za pungartam, the soil there being of medium or even poor quality. The rest of the flat area has clay soil (Na iloušah) or is marshy (V pijalcah, V blate).

3.13.b. SETTLEMENT DIVISION, ARABLE LAND DIVISION, THEIR GENESIS AND DEVELOPMENT (Figs. 3.46-3.48)

The positioning of houses indicates two separate villages. The linear village of Zazer is located near the right bank of the stream of Jezernica, and the village of Mlino, which has a more irregular plan, is near the left bank. Mlino consists of seven farms, four of which (19, 20, 22, 23) are located close together. A little further from them, there are two farms slightly further apart (24, 25), and then one more farm, pretty distant and isolated (26). The division of arable land is similar. The arable land of Mlino lies on the left side of the Jezernica, and that of Zazer on the right side. However, the internal arrangement of fields within the area of each village is somehow different.

The area of Mlino is divided into three parts. The first part is Mlinsko polje, which is divided between five farms (19, 20, 22, 23, 24). The second and the third part are farms 25 in 26, which are located to the west. Each of them has its land in a single block, which means that they are of later origin. The arable land of the older five farms is a single block of fields, indicating that originally this was a single farming unit. One of the five houses (24) is located slightly apart from the other four, the house name being Dornik. These two facts indicate that no. 24 was a *dvor*, comprised of the family of its owner and four subordinate families. This is further confirmed by the size of the arable land of the farms: 19 – 1.1 ha, 20 – 1.4 ha, 22 – 2 ha, 23 – 1.8 ha, 24 – 2.3 ha, 25 – 1.6 ha, and 26 – 1.3 ha.

The small size of nos. 19 and 20 is surprising. They cannot be two halves of an older farm because their land is not intermixed. A part of their arable land seems to be missing. Where is it? – Mlinsko polje extends into the area of the neighbouring village of Selo. If the land of Selo is included in the explanation, an interesting image appears; the

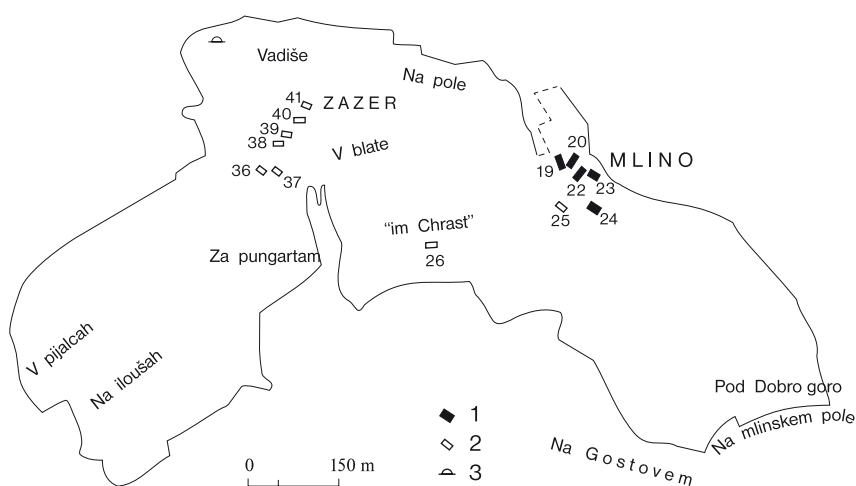


Fig. 3.46: Mlino and Zazer. Village area and field names.
1 – old farmhouse, 2 – new farmhouse, 3 – graveyard.

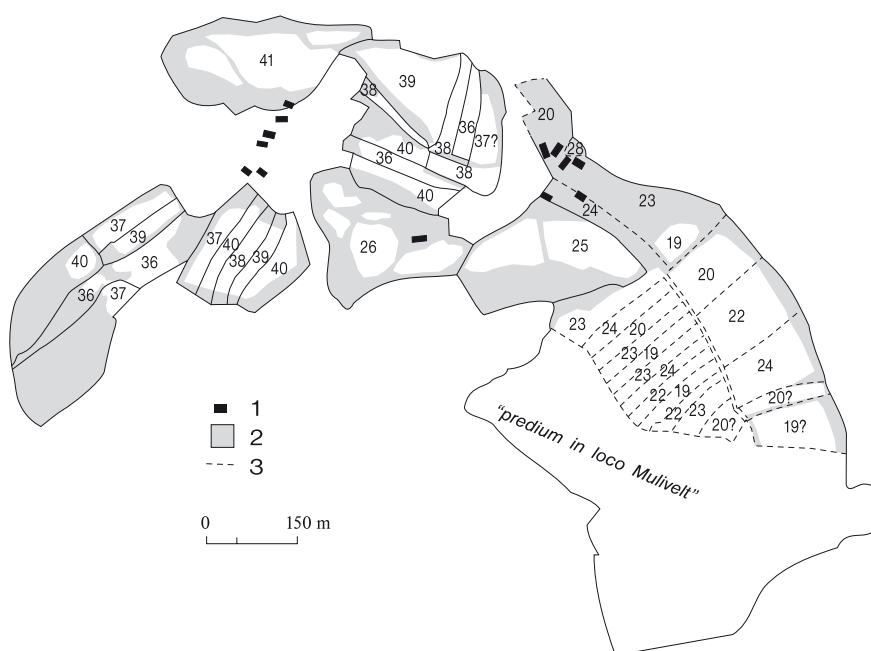


Fig. 3.47: Mlino and Zazer. Village land division.
1 – farmhouse, 2 – grassland, 3 – field boundaries.

southern tip of Mlinsko polje belongs to the village of Selo, but it is an unimportant, marginal part of the land of Selo.

A logical explanation is that the tip originally belonged to Mlino and was only later acquired by Selo. It consists of four fields, one of them lying to the west of the route that cuts the arable land of Mlino in half, while the other three are located to the east. Of these, the southern two form a whole and are separated from the third by a balk. By adding the southern two fields to one farm of Mlino and the other two fields to another farm, the two farms have the following arable land: the southern two fields (0.9 ha) + no. 19 (1.1 ha) = 2ha; the northern and western fields (0.6 ha) + no. 20 (1.4 ha) = 2ha. The size of 19 and 20 reconstructed in this way perfectly matches the average size of a farm in the village core, i.e. 2 ha of arable land per farm.

Only farm no. 23 has slightly less land than average and no. 24 slightly more. Since their fields are continually adjacent to each other, it is possible that no. 24 acquired a field from no. 23. If this was the smallest field (0.2 ha) belonging to 24, then the original size of no. 23 would be 2 ha, and the original size of no. 24 2.1 ha. The division of Mlinsko polje between the farms was then as follows: to the east of the route which cuts the arable land in half, there were only a few large fields with good soil. Nos. 22 and 24 had one field each, and nos. 19 and 20 two fields each. To the west of the route, where the soil was poorer, the arable land was divided into smaller fields. Each farm had two of them, except for 23, which, having no larger field to the east of the route, had four fields there (*Fig. 3.47*).

Nos. 25 and 26 have less arable land than the other five farms. This is another indication that they must have been established later, when there was no longer much land available. Since no. 26 is the most distant from all the other farms and even smaller than 25, it is possible that it is younger than 25. A short summary of the development stages would be: the dvor with four subordinate families is established, the arable land is divided between them, some of the fields of nos. 19 and 20 are acquired by Selo, and nos. 25 and then 26 are founded. A part of the arable land could have been acquired by Selo only after the arable land had been divided because only two farms were affected. Had this happened before the division, the loss would have been evenly distributed among the farms.

The division of the arable land of Zazer is much less regular than that of Mlino. The arable land of Zazer is divided into two parts: the demesne farm no. 41, which belongs to the provostry and has its land in a single block at the plot of land called Vadiše, and the arable land belonging to five farms (36-40), whose fields are evenly distributed over the entire area. The area of arable land of individual farms is: 36 – 1.5 ha, 37 – 1.4 ha, 38 – 1.7 ha, 39 – 1.9 ha, 40 – 1.7 ha, and 41 – 1.8 ha. It is not possible to identify any groups of more closely connected farms. Only farms 36 and 37 have considerably less than average size. Their buildings stand together, slightly apart from the other four farms. Perhaps this was originally one single farm.

Judging by the arable land division with no signs of development, as well as the poorer location of the fields of Zazer, the arable land of Zazer is younger than that of Mlino.

3.13.c. LAND OWNERS AND CHRONOLOGICAL DETERMINATION OF DEVELOPMENT

(*Figs. 3.46-3.48*)

The division of arable land may seem simple, but the explanation of its development is complicated by the fact that early mediaeval burials were discovered north of the village of Zazer (*Knjiga 2008*, p. 22). Most of the graveyard has been destroyed, therefore much cannot be said about it. Two pots were found in the graves, which means that the graveyard probably already existed before the 9th century, when pots were no longer found among grave artefacts at Bled. The graveyard lies at the plot of land with the field name Vadiše. The pertaining settlement must have been in the vicinity, possibly on the same plot of land. This possibility is further confirmed by the findings of an archaeological test excavation conducted in 1943, when pottery fragments and bone fragments with old breaks were discovered near the graveyard (unpublished). It is certainly possible that they date from later periods, but pottery fragments and bones are the most common settlement finds.

It is most likely that the arable land of the early mediaeval settlement was located below the hill of

Dobra gora. There is a 10 ha plot of mostly good quality land belonging to the village of Mlino, which could have supported the settlement. It is surprising therefore that the distance between the supposed settlement and its arable land is 700 m, which is far above the average in the Bled area. The possibility should also be taken into account that the early mediaeval settlement could have been located at the site of the present village of Mlino, which lies where the arable land of Mlino begins. However, this would be even more exceptional because the distance between the settlement and its graveyard would then be more than half a kilometre. There seems to be no explanation for the second option, while the first one could be explained by non-agrarian aspects of building the settlement (see: Ch. 10.2.a.).

Some information about the end of the early mediaeval village can be indirectly deduced from the oldest written records referring to the area of Mlino. It is very likely that the king's deed of donation to the Diocese of Brixen from the year 1004, where the Bled estate is mentioned for the first time (*Kos F. 1911, no. 17*), also refers to the area of Mlino (cf.: *Pleterski 1978, p. 380*). There is a provision that after the death of the then bishop Albuin, one third of the income of the Bled estate goes to the Brixen canons, i.e. their superior, the provost. Although this was income and not a material asset (*Štih 2004, pp. 21-22*), property was still the source of income. And if one benefits from the income from a material asset for a long time, one considers this property as his own. In 1004 the bishop of Brixen was given only the land of the former villages at Pristava and Mlino, and the church on Bled Island with the pertaining harbour (see also: Chs. 10.3.; 10.4.) The income from the church, which was probably already a pilgrim church, could have easily represented one third of the then low income from the donated property (see below). Since there is no later document describing how the church on Bled Island passed into the hands of the provostry, the deed of donation from 1004 should be seen as the first step in this direction. This was the origin of the property of the Bled Island provostry, whose demesne was Vadiše with the harbour, as well as Bled Island with the church of St Mary (cf.: Ch. 10.3.). The second document which mentions Mlino is from 1085-1090, when Vencegoj the freeman gave to the Diocese of Brixen his estate at Zgoša, and was given in exchange an estate in a place called "Mulivelt" (*Kos F. 1911, no. 368*). What was the Mulivelt estate and where was it located?

The name "mulivelt" is composed of two German words: mul (mill) and velt (field). Mulivelt therefore means "a field of mills" (Slovene: mlinsko polje). This is the very name attributed to that part of the original arable land of the village of Mlino which later passed to the inhabitants of the neighbouring village of Selo. So Mulivelt refers to Mlinsko polje below the hill of Dobra gora, which was named after a mill or mills on the stream of Jezernica. This explanation means that Mulivelt does not refer to a settlement, but is rather the name of an area, and that the name is older than the present village of Mlino.

At first glance it seems that the Mulivelt estate was comprised only of the fields at Mlinsko polje and some meadows to the north where the village of Mlino was founded. But it has already been shown that a part of the original Mlino land passed into the hands of the inhabitants of Selo (see: Ch. 3.13.b.). Did they acquire anything else? In the Selo area, to the south of Mlinsko polje, there is indeed a piece of land with the field name Na Gostovem, where there are several meadows and fields. The distinctive Slavic suffix denoting possession (-ovem) indicates that the plot of land was owned by someone whose name ended in "-gost", e.g. Radogost. He was therefore a local inhabitant. The only explanation for the fact that there is a single field name for a fragmented area, which belongs to several groups of farms in Selo, is that this is secondary use of the area (cf. Chs. 3.15.b.; 3.15.c.). To the north, Na Gostovem is adjacent to Mlinsko polje. A large proportion of it is still grassland, therefore the most logical explanation is that it was originally grassland that belonged to Mlino. So, roughly, the "Mulivelt" estate would have been comprised of the fields at Mlinsko polje below Dobra gora and the grassland which was later named Na (-?)gostovem,

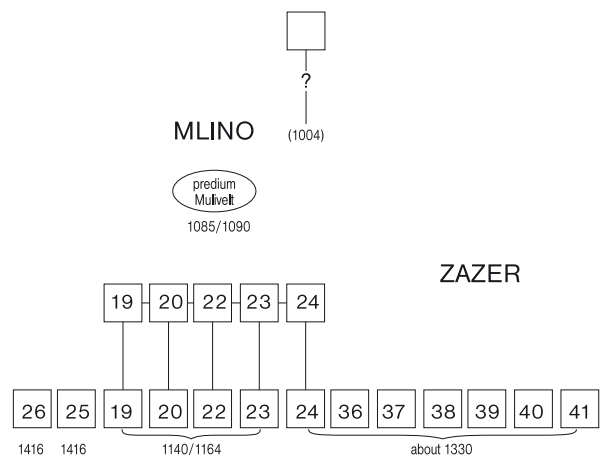


Fig. 3.48: Mlino and Zazer. Development stages of farming units. Year first mentioned in written sources.

after an owner who was a successor of Vencegoj. This was probably the owner from whom Selo acquired the grassland.

How did Brixen acquire this estate? There can be two possible explanations: either this was the available arable land the size of 30 royal farms, which Brixen was given in 1011 (*Kos F. 1911, no. 28*), or the land was a part of the royal estate of Bled from 1004 (*Kos F. 1911, no. 17*). The second option seems more plausible. It has already been mentioned that there is a connection between the early mediaeval graveyard at Vadiše and the arable land at Mlinsko polje, which are both supposed to have belonged to the same early mediaeval settlement (see above). It is very probable that Vadiše was a part of the royal estate of Bled and it would be logical that the entire area of the early mediaeval village, not just the graveyard and the settlement, belonged to the estate. A part of the estate was probably also the Jezernica stream with its mill or mills, unless they were built by the bishop of Brixen in the first half of the 11th century. In the second half of the 11th century, the mill(s) was already there, as the explanation of the name name Mulivelt has shown. It is possible that in 1004, there was already a maierhof there, exploiting the fields and grasslands. There was a provostry maierhof at Vadiše at least in 1416, when its “mayer” is mentioned in the village of Zazer (*UBŠ, 210*).

So the income from the Mlino part of the royal estate of Bled was divided between the Diocese of Brixen and the Brixen Bled Island provostry. In time, the latter only owned the island with the church of St Mary and Vadiše – which is far less in area than one third – as mentioned in the document from 1004. The explanation can be sought in the concept of property, which must have been understood as something very flexible at that time (*Vilfan 1980, p. 80*). Ownership of a property was perceived predominantly as an individual’s right to income from the property. This was also the case with the Bled Island provostry, as shown in a document from 1485, which confirms the incorporation of the Bled income of the Brixen provost into the common table of the Brixen Chter (1485 3/9, *CKSL*). In reference to the origin of the income, the document mentions the deed of donation from 1004 and one third of income of different kinds (“*tertia pars iurium fructuum reddituum et provenituum*”). So it was not the area of land that mattered, but rather the income from it.

And what was the source of income for the provostry with so little land? First, there is the church of St Mary on Bled Island, which already existed in the Early Middle Ages, as proven by the remains of a pre-romanesque church and an early mediaeval graveyard beside it (*Knific 2008, p. 22*). In later centuries, the church was a famous place of pilgrimage and the donations of visitors alone were a sound source of income. The second part of the provostry’s property was Vadiše. The name Vadiše can be explained in two ways: either it derives from “vodišče” (voda = water; Vadiše is to the north adjacent to the lake), or from “ladjišče” (ladja = ship, boat). The second name would refer to the place from where boats sailed to Bled Island. The boat connection between Bled Island and Vadiše is still depicted in the Franziscan Cadastre. Boat fares could also have represented a source of income for the provostry.

From what has been said it is evident that the entire area of the early mediaeval settlement at Mlino became a part of the royal estate of Bled. The beginning of the estate is therefore the upper time limit for the end of the settlement.

Mlino is mentioned in records again in the 12th century, when the Bled Island provostry is given substantial property there: between 1140 and 1164 4 farms by an unknown donor and 2 farms by the bishop of Brixen. In 1185, it is given 4 fields in Zaka and the mill of Mlino by the Brixen ministerialis Rudeger of Poljšica, as well as 2 farms by the bishop of Brixen (*Santifaller 1929, no. 46*). The document reveals several facts about the development of the village and its arable land. The most obvious fact is that at that time, both villages of Mlino and Zazer already exist, although the name Mlino refers to both, for neither of the villages has 8 farms. On this basis, the farms donated by bishops Hartman and Henrik, can be identified with those in Zazer, while the 4 farms of the unknown donor are the farms in Mlino (19, 20, 22, 23). Therefore, the village of Zazer must have been established at least in the first half of the 12th century.

It seems that the unknown donor was personally free because other donors who were not personally free are carefully labelled in the document. He also had his property at his disposal and did not need the permission of his eventual feudal lord for the donation. Judging by the position of the

donor and the fact that the donated farms were a part of the former dvor of Vencegoj, the donor can be considered a successor of Vencegoj. With the donation he lost the majority of his Mlino property and only kept the farm where he probably lived himself. It is curious that he is the only donor in the document whose name is not stated. It seems as if the relations between the donor and the recipient were unclear. Adding to this the previous loss of a part of the Mlino area, which passed to the Brixen village of Selo, then the thought presents itself that the Bled Island provostry did not acquire the four farms of Mlino in an amicable way, but rather as a consequence of systematic pressure of the Diocese of Brixen on the owner of the Mlino dvor. The Selo acquisition of the Mlino property can therefore be dated in the first half of the 12th century. The internal division of the dvor was, as indicated by the arable land division (see: Ch. 3.13.b.), even older, perhaps dating from the end of the 11th century, when the dvor was established.

The further fate of the owners of the Mlino dvor will be discussed elsewhere (Ch. 5.2.). In the 15th century they no longer lived in Mlino, but still bore the name Seepacher (Seepach is the German name for the stream of Jezernica). In 1469, Friderik Seepacher sold the one farm that was left in Mlino to Andrej Kreig, the keeper of the Bled manor of the Diocese of Brixen (1469 14/1, AS). At that time, the farm was still labelled as "hoff", a reminiscence of the former seat of a dvor. As late as the 16th (*Rad. urb. 1579*) and 17th century (*Briks. urb. 1602*) the peasants living there bear the name Duernickh, Dornigkh, while the house name Dornik is still in use today. When the Kreigs left, the farm (no. 24) passed to the Diocese of Brixen, which still owned it in the 18th century.

In 1416, the Bled Island provostry already possessed all of its 6 farms in Mlino (*UBŠ, 210*). Four of them paid the same amount of tributes and can be identified with the farms acquired in the 12th century. The fifth farm, probably no. 25, paid slightly different tributes, while the last farm only paid low monetary tributes and is labelled as "im Chrast" ("in the oak"). This means that it was located in a special part of Mlino and can be identified with no. 26. The low tributes might be connected with its recent origin. Nos. 25 and 26 were therefore founded as the product of internal colonisation led by the provostry: 25 after the 12th century, and 26 before the 15th century.

In Zazer, Brixen retained another farm, in the Brixen urbarium from 1253 (*UBŠ, 186*) described as "apud lacum" (behind the lake), the translation of the Slovene name Zazer. So the village already had its own name in the 13th century. The farm still belonged to Brixen in 1368, when Zazer already had the germanised form of the Slovene name – Sasern (*UBŠ, 195*). About 1330, three empty farms are mentioned in Zazer (*UBŠ, 207*). In 1416, all the farms in Zazer belong to the provostry, including the former Brixen farm. A "mayer", keeper of the maierhof, is mentioned as living at one of them (*UBŠ, 210*). So the demesne at Vadiše had already been turned into a farm. As late as 1524 one serf worked two farms, his own and the provostry's dvor-maierhof (*Briks. urb. 1524*). Later, there were again six farms. The temporary desolation probably caused the land to be intermixed to such an extent that the original situation cannot be reconstructed with certainty.

3.14. RIBNO

3.14.a. NATURAL CONDITIONS

The village area extends over a gravelly plain and is cut through by glacial moraines (Pr hrifce, V goričah). To the south, the terrain slopes towards the valley of the Sava Bohinjka River (Na do-line, Na doleh). The village is located at the edge of the plain near a strong spring which flows into the Sava Bohinjka. The eastern part of the arable land was once covered by larch forest (V macesne), and the grasslands to the west of the village by willow and hornbeam trees (Vrbica, Na gabrce). The fields to the west of the village could have been acquired by burning down forest (V korile). However, good arable land is quite scattered. There are two large plots of good land: to the east of the village (Podovenca, V macesne) and to the northwest of it (V polinah). Between them, there are some more fields which are described as good quality arable land as well as a large block of grassland with the distinctive name V snožečah.

3.14.b. SETTLEMENT DIVISION, ARABLE LAND DIVISION, THEIR GENESIS AND DEVELOPMENT (Fig. 3.49)

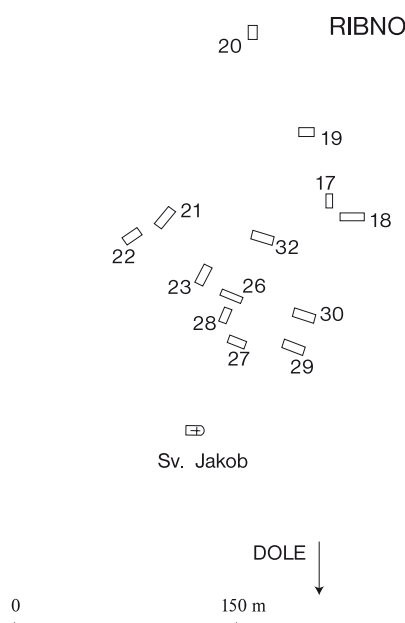


Fig. 3.49: Ribno. Village plan.

The plan of the village does not reveal a very clear picture. Farms 21-30 stand relatively close together, while the rest of them are located more or less far away towards the north. Farm no. 7 is located far to the south, in the valley near the stream, close to where it flows into the Sava. It has little land and it is evident that it was economically dependent on the mill. It could be assumed that the farms located away from the main village core are younger than the village itself.

Arable land division does not reveal much more about the development of the village. The original core of arable land can be determined only very approximately. The fields to the north of V snožehač must be younger because plots of land belonging to different farms and kajžas, as well as to other villages, are intermixed there. Also the fields to the south and southeast of the village are younger because they are intermixed with grasslands and plots of land belonging to kajžars. The rest of the arable land is divided so that the farms that are close together in the core of the village have their fields mostly in the eastern part, and the rest of the farms mostly in the western part. But the farms of both groups also have some fields in the other part. The area of land of individual farms in the thus determined core of arable land does not reveal much either: 17 – 2.1 ha, 18 – 2.5 ha, 19 – 2.3 ha, 20 – 3 ha, 21 – 2.5 ha, 22 – 2.5 ha, 23 – 1.5 ha, 26 – 1.8 ha, 27 – 1.9 ha, 28 – 1.3 ha, 29 – 2.1 ha, 30 – 2.3 ha, and

32 – 1.5 ha. A comparison of farm sizes reveals that nos. 23, 26, 27, 28 and 32 are smaller than average, which implies they were formed by the fragmentation of older units. Based on how their land is intermixed and also on the position of the houses in the village, the following three groups can be assumed: 27, 28 (in the Franziscan Cadastre, they are the only ones described as half-farms); 23, 26, 32; and the group of farms whose buildings stand together in the village, although their arable land does not imply any connection – 17, 18, 19.

The original number of farms in the village remains a mystery, but it was probably much smaller. Perhaps the good quality fields to the east of the village (Podovenca, V mecesne) were the original core of arable land. Two of the fields lie on the plot of land with the field name Župenca, which forms the boundary between the two parts of arable land. Every farm has approximately one field in each part.

3.14.c. LAND OWNERS AND CHRONOLOGICAL DETERMINATION OF DEVELOPMENT

The division of arable land does not reveal any kind of planned development and indicates a village of very late origin. Ribno is first mentioned in records in 1245, when a Brixen document was issued at the bridge near the village (*Kos F, Kos M. 1928, no. 854*). According to the Brixen urbarium from 1253, the Diocese had 10 farms in the village, as well as a half-farm run by the župan (scultetus), who paid no tributes for it (*UBŠ, 188*). Brixen had the same number of farms as late as the 18th century (*RDA, fasc. 17*). It is interesting that in 1253, these farms paid relatively much higher tributes than in many other villages.

It is therefore clear that in 1253 all the farms were already there, while nos. 17, 18 and 27, 28 were formed by fragmentation only after the Theresian Cadastre. In 1253 there were no differences in the relatively high tributes they had to pay, therefore it can be assumed that the probable divisions of individual farms had happened some time earlier. Land of different farms is strongly intermixed and it is quite likely that the farms were divided into smaller units and that additional arable land was cleared. Furthermore, the entire village belonged to a single feudal lord. All this indicates that the village of Ribno is the product of planned Brixen colonisation at the boundary of the flat area between the villages Bodešče, Koritno, Želeče and Zagorice, which had been unexploited until then.

The village was built near the route from Bled to the south, across the Sava and towards the castle of Pusti grad (Waldenberg) and Radovljica. Perhaps the church of St Jacob was also built at the same time. Since there was still enough arable land, the number of farms grew and their buildings were built outside the village core. From as early as the first half of the 13th century on, the number of farms did not change any more.

It can therefore be assumed that the time of the beginning of the village is the 12th century, perhaps the first half, which is probably also the time when the village of Zazer was founded (cf. Ch. 3.13.c.).

An interesting issue is the history of the ownership of no. 22. In 1312, a farm is mentioned in Ribno, which had been given in fief by the Diocese of Brixen to Ulrik der Geschlecht, a ministerialis of Waldenberg (1312 29/6, CKSL). From 1306 to 1309 the Diocese of Brixen still has 10 farms which all paid the same tributes, so perhaps Ulrik had been given the farm which used to belong to the župan. In 1343, the Geschlecht brothers officially sold the farm back to Brixen, but it seems that the farm remained alienated from Brixen (1343 5/4, CKSL). The Rainer brothers (cf. Ch. 5.1.) sold it in 1400 as an empty farm to the church of St Jacob in Ribno (1400 21/5, CKSL). By 1602, the farm had been incorporated into the rest of the Brixen estate (*Briks. urb. 1602*). In 1623, it is mentioned that this is the farm of Sodar (*Prepis 1623*). In the Franziscan Cadastre, farm no. 22 has a house name Sodar.

According to the urbarium from 1602, Brixen had one farm at Dole (*Briks. urb. 1602*), and kept it all the time. This is undoubtedly farm no. 7, whose first known owner is Wolfgang Seepacher (1458 28/8, CKSL). In 1469, it was sold by Friderik Seepacher to Andrej Kreig, the then keeper of the Bled manor, and it was described as a farm in the valley below Ribno – “ym tal vnder Reyfen” (1469 14/1, AS). After the Kreig family left, the farm passed into the hands of Brixen. But the time of its foundation and its first owners remain unknown.

3.15. SELO

3.15.a. NATURAL CONDITIONS (Fig. 3.50)

The village is situated at the southern slopes of the hill of Dobra gora (Špik). Its area is bounded to the west by the hill of Kozarca, to the south by the marshy Loke near the Sava Bohinjka River, to the southeast by the hill of Ribenska gora, to the northeast it includes the low hill of Hmec and extends to



Fig. 3.50: Selo.
Village area and field names.
1 – old farmhouse,
2 – new farmhouse.

Jarše, to the north it is bounded by the hill of Dobra gora, and to the northwest it is adjacent to the arable land of Mlino. The terrain is uneven (V rebernice, Rupa, V ježah, V doline, Na dindole, Na brego), water-rich (Slatna, V točce, Na močileh, Na mlace, Na potoko) and was once at least partly covered by forest (V boršto, Na korile). There is almost no good arable land except for two small plots: one to the east of the village (Na korile), and the other relatively far away to the northeast (Na dindole).

3.15.b. SETTLEMENT DIVISION, ARABLE LAND DIVISION, THEIR GENESIS AND DEVELOPMENT (Fig. 3.50-3.53)



Fig. 3.51: Selo. a – first stage of arable land division, b – second stage of arable land division.

The village is nucleated, yet it is possible to distinguish three groups of houses: the farms of the north part of the village near the road (1, 6, 7, 8, 19-20, 22), the group of serried houses in the centre of the village (9, 10, 18), and the farms in the southern part of the village (11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17), some of them near the route and some of them away from it. Fields are scattered over the entire area. Based on soil quality and land configuration, three cores of arable land can be deduced. The first is northwest of the village (Na Gostovem), the second east of the village (Na korile), and the third to the northeast, on the other side of Hmec (Na dindole).

The arable land of individual farms was: 1 – 1.2 ha, 6 – 2 ha, 7 – 1.9 ha, 8 – 2.9 ha, 9 – 2.5 ha, 10 – 2.4 ha, 11-12 – 3.2 ha, 13 – 3.6 ha, 14 – 2.2 ha, 15 – 2.4 ha, 16 – 2.4 ha, 17 – 1.7 ha, 18 – 2.3 ha, 19-20 – 1.8 ha, and 22 – 1.8 ha. Considerable differences in the size of the farms, especially the fact that some of them are very small, indicate that their original number must have been smaller. Indeed, there are certain more or less distinct groups of farms whose fields are continually adjacent to each other: 1, 6, 7-9, 17, 18-13, 14-8, 22, 19-20-11-12, and 16. So it is true that the number of the farms in the village was smaller initially.

The most unevenly divided

is the land at Na Gostovem, which indicates it was acquired when the village of Selo had already existed. However, the good quality land at Na korile and Na dindole is systematically divided into two parts (Fig. 3.51a), indicating that there were originally two dvors in the village, in the beginning perhaps even run by a single family. Soon the number of families of each dvor increased to three, and at that point more land was cleared for cultivation between the two oldest cores of arable land: to the south of the village, towards the Sava, and to the north, at Jarše (Fig. 3.51b). Later, after the two dvors had already been broken down into separate farms, the land at Na Gostovem was included in the village area. The division of the arable land there is already completely individualised, without paying any regard to the farming groups of the two dvors (Fig. 3.52). In the following centuries, further fragmentation of farms ensued.

3.15.c. LAND OWNERS AND CHRONOLOGICAL DETERMINATION OF DEVELOPMENT (Figs. 3.50; 3.53)

Between the years 1075 and 1090, a document concerning the Diocese of Brixen was issued in a village with the name Selo (Kos F. 1911, no. 300). Without justification, F. Kos located this Selo at Bled and M. Kos later obviously concurred with him (Kos M. 1975, p. 543), again without justification. Since there is a large number of villages with this name in the territory of Slovenia, and since the document refers to properties in Carinthia (cf.: Meyer, Karpf 2009, p. 128), it is not very plausible that this is the Selo in the Bled area. Nevertheless, the time of the origins of the village can still be determined.

It has already been said that one of the three cores of arable land is the plot of land Na Gostovem (see: Ch. 3.15.b.), which was acquired from the village of Mlino in the first half of the 12th century (see: Ch. 3.13.c.), when Selo had already been broken down into separate farms, so the village must have been founded before this occurrence. Initially, the sole owner of the village was probably the Diocese of Brixen because only Brixen had the right to the available land. This narrows down the time of the beginning of the village to no earlier than 1011, when the Diocese of Brixen was given land the size of 30 royal farms between the rivers of Sava Dolinka and Sava Bohinjka (F. Kos 1911, no. 28). But over time – perhaps in the mid-13th century (cf. Ch. 7.) – the Diocese lost most of the farms in the village and only the two groups of farms to the north remained in its hands: 1, 6, 7 – 8, 19, 22. In 1253 there were 6 Brixen farms in Selo, three of them run by fishermen (UBŠ, 188). These 6 farms are those listed above. Nos. 1, 6 and 7, which have less land and are of poorer quality than the other

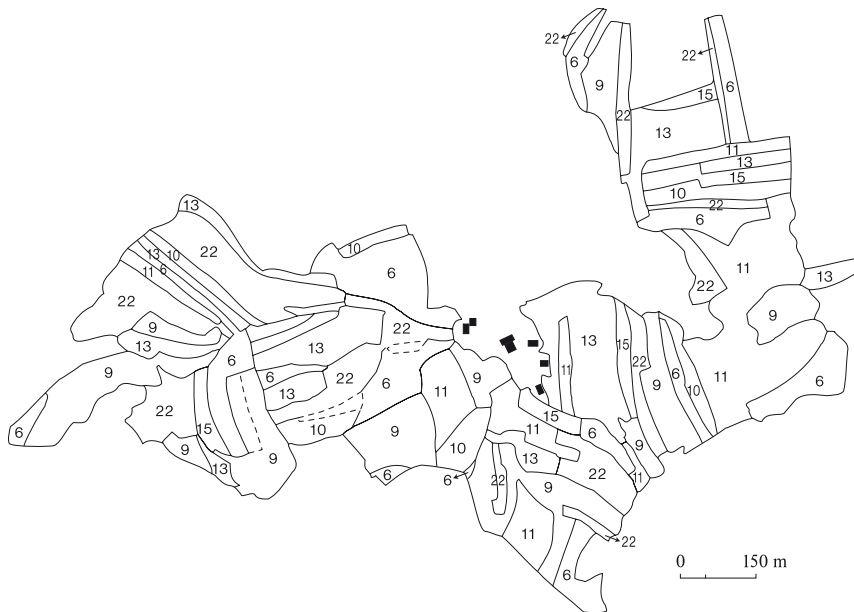


Fig. 3.52: Selo.
Village land division.

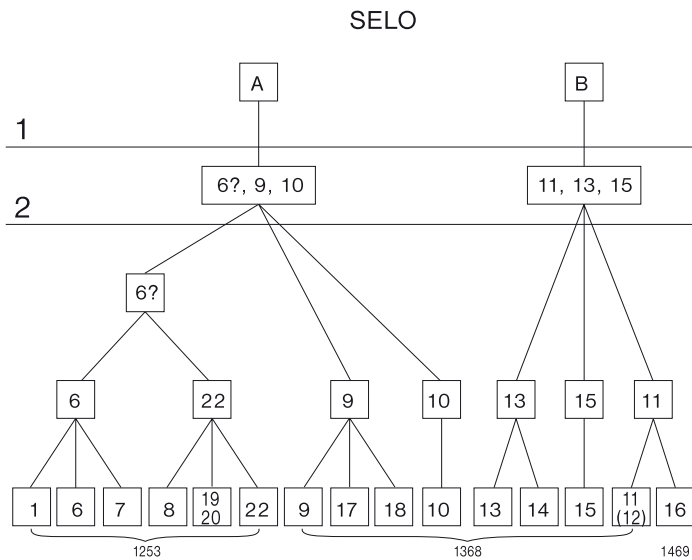


Fig. 3.53: Selo. Development stages of farming units. Year first mentioned in written sources.

from them. It is significant that in 1326 a Chvnrat von Vsel is mentioned, and in 1354 an Vllein von Zelach (1326 9/6, 1354 28/8, CKSL), although it is quite possible that they lived in some other village with the name Selo, perhaps the Selo near Žirovnica. It is possible that the Seepachers, whose existence depended on fiefs such as this, were the beneficiaries of the farm from the outset.

three, belong to fishermen. Their houses stand in a very straight line. So in the mid-13th century the village development had been completed. In the following centuries, Brixen acquired only one more farm, no. 16, which is located apart from the other six. In 1469 it was sold by Friederik Seepacher to Andrej Kreig, the keeper of the Bled manor (1469 14/1, AS). The remaining eight farms are first mentioned in 1368 as Ortenburg property (1368 20/7, Komatar AS). After the Counts of Ortenburg and Celje had died out, the farms were incorporated into the Radovljica manor, which belonged to the Prince of the Land. It is an interesting fact that farm no. 16 is located in the middle of the Ortenburg part of the village. This indicates that 16 was once probably an Ortenburg fief, perhaps connected with running their Selo property, but later alienated

3.16. ZGORNJA BOHINJSKA BELA

3.16.a. NATURAL CONDITIONS

The village area is bounded to the north by the stream of Suha, to the east by the river Sava Bohinjka, to the south by the Soteska gorge, and to the west by the steep slopes of the Pokljuka plateau. Between them, there is a relatively large flat area gently sloping towards the Sava. Its central part is about a 14 ha large plot of good quality land. To the east of it, there is a large plot of land with the field name Na dobraucah, and the field in the very centre of the best village arable land bears the same name. The entire village area was probably covered by oak forest, which was later cleared for arable land. The western part of the village area is cut through by a small stream.

3.16.b. SETTLEMENT DIVISION, ARABLE LAND DIVISION, THEIR GENESIS AND DEVELOPMENT (Fig. 3.54)

The village resembles a square with the stream of Suha as its north side. There are 11 farms scattered across it: 20 – 23, 25, 26, and 28 – 32. It cannot be said that they form smaller groups. The arable land lies to the south of the village and the most regularly shaped fields are those on good quality land. The land in the surrounding area (Na dobraucah, Na ledinah, Pod klancam, Pod goro) is of poor quality and the fields there are scattered among grasslands. Therefore it was probably converted into arable land later than the central part.

The land area of individual farms in the oldest part of the village arable land was: 20 – 1.7 ha, 22 – 2.3 ha, 23 – 1.9 ha, 25 – 1.9 ha, 26 – 2.1 ha, 28 – 1.5 ha, 29 – 1.9 ha, 30 – 1.3 ha, 31 – 1.5 ha, and 32 – 0.7 ha. It is noticeable that farm no. 21 has no land here. Its fields are in an area that was cleared for cultivation only later on, and it also has a large portion of land belonging to the village of Spodnja Bohinjska Bela so it is of later origin. It is also evident that the last three farms and farm no. 28 are small. The arrangement of their fields indicates that this is because some farms were broken down

into smaller ones. No. 28 thus separated from 26, 30 separated from 29 and 32 from 31. Since no. 31 is the smallest, it is likely that it is also the youngest. The land of farms 22 and 23 also indicates that they are more closely connected. Their fields are often adjacent to each other, but due to their large size it cannot be stated that they were originally a single unit.

So in the beginning, there were seven farms in the village: 20, 22, 23, 25, 26, 29 and 31. Their fields lay almost entirely on good quality land. They were divided into three not very clear strips, oriented east-west, while the fields themselves were oriented north-south. Each of the farms had its fields evenly distributed over all three strips.

3.16.c. LAND OWNERS AND CHRONOLOGICAL DETERMINATION OF DEVELOPMENT

The positioning of the houses in the village, systematic division of arable land, forest clearing and short development of arable land all indicate late feudal colonisation. The village is first mentioned in records in 1253, when the Diocese of Brixen had ten farms in it. A certain Gozmer was a temporary beneficiary of one of them (UBŠ, 186). In the 16th century, there was one more farm in the village (*Rad. urb.* 1579), while the owner was still the same. So as early as the mid-13th century, almost all the farms already existed. It can be gathered from what has been said that the village is the product of Brixen feudal colonisation. It was probably established in the 12th century because several decades, in which some of the farms were divided, should be subtracted from the year 1253.

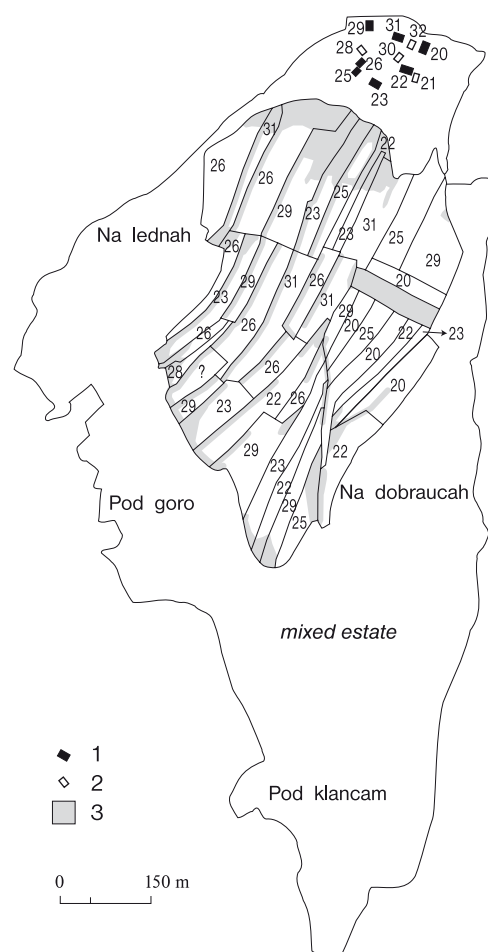


Fig. 3.54: Zgornja Bohinjska Bela. Village land division. 1 – old farmhouse, 2 – new farmhouse, 3 – grassland.

3.17. BLEJSKA DOBRAVA AND ZGORNJA BLEJSKA DOBRAVA

3.17.a. NATURAL CONDITIONS (Fig. 3.55)

The arable land of the village lies on a terrace, bounded to the west by the hill of Vrše, to the north and east by the river of Sava Dolinka, and to the south by the Radovna valley. The eastern part of the area is quite uneven (V goričecah). The best arable land is found to the north, east and south of the village, especially a narrow strip of land to the south (Na hribence, V dobje, V ledine, V dobraučicah, V travence). The field names Borštek, V travence, Na vošišeh, Bznica, Bzounik, Na bzuncarce, V ledine, V dobje, and V dobraučicah indicate that the area was originally covered by oak, alder and elder, but there were also some grasslands.

3.17.b. SETTLEMENT DIVISION, ARABLE LAND DIVISION, THEIR GENESIS AND DEVELOPMENT (Figs. 3.55; 3.56)

The village is divided into two parts, the larger northern part with the church of St Stephen, and the smaller southern part. In the Theresian Cadastre, the southern part is referred to as Zgornja Do-

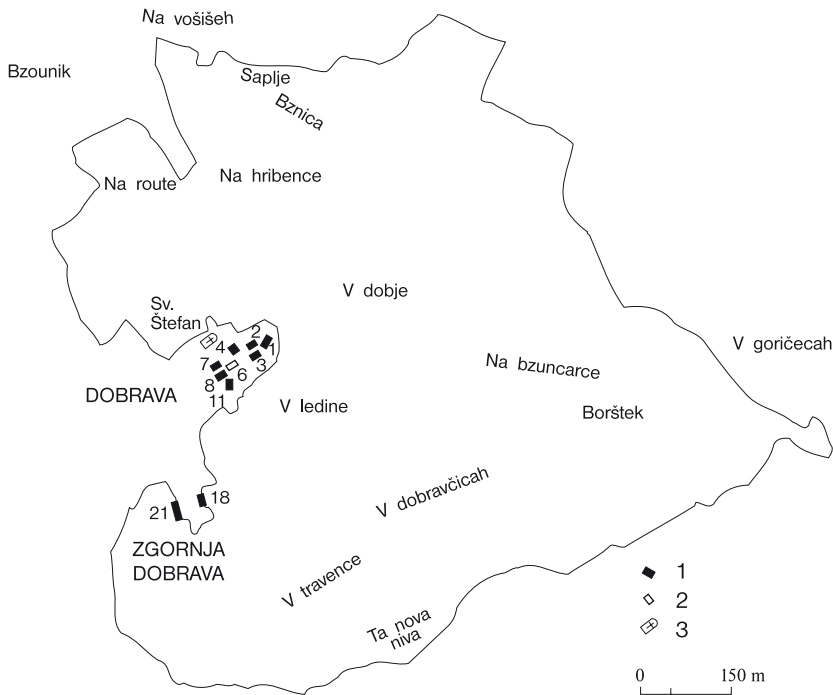


Fig. 3.55: Blejska Dobrava and Zgornja Blejska Dobrava.
Village area and field names.
1 – old farmhouse, 2 – new farmhouse, 3 – church.

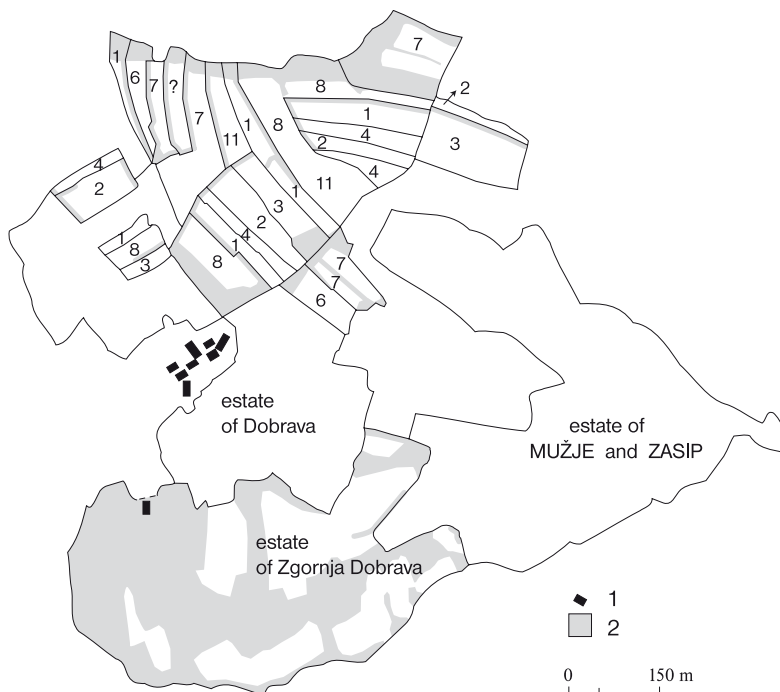


Fig. 3.56: Blejska Dobrava and Zgornja Blejska Dobrava.
Village land division.
1 – farmhouse, 2 – grassland.

brava (*RDA, fasc. 282*). Therefore it can be gathered that the name of the northern part was Dobrava and the name of the southern part Zgornja Dobrava.

The arable land of the village is also divided into two parts. Dobrava has a plot of arable land to the north of the village, while the fields of Zgornja Dobrava are south of Dobrava and east of the village. To the east of the land of both parts of the village, there is a plot of grassland belonging to the villages of Zasip and Mužje. The best land is divided between the two parts of the village and Zgornja Dobrava has the smaller share. The grasslands north of the best arable land of Dobrava are called Saplje (behind the field). This explanation suggests that the original name for the core of arable land of Dobrava was simply Polje (field). The names of the best fields of Zgornja Dobrava (V ledine, V dobravčicah, V travence) indicate additional clearing of the rest of the available good farmland.

This already indicates the basic outlines of the development of the arable land division. The original arable land of the village of Dobrava was to the north of the village and it was divided into two adjacent parts. The larger western part had the best arable land and was about 6.9 ha in size. The eastern part was smaller, approximately 5.7 ha in size and with poorer land. The land belonged to seven farms: 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 11, each with a plot of land in both halves of the village arable land. New land was then cleared to the west and southwest of the original arable land, where the field names V dobje and Na route indicate that this happened later in time. Nearly all of the above listed farms have a plot of land there, as well as a new half-farm, no. 6. The latter might have separated from no. 7, because their fields are adjacent to each other.

er. This concluded the division of arable land. The farms differ in size with respect to their arable land. The reason for this might be differences in land quality, but it is also possible that not all the farms originate from the same time. Nevertheless, the size of arable land of an average farm (including the land acquired by the second land clearing) was 2 ha. Thereafter, Zgornja Dobrava came into existence south of Dobrava. The names of its fields (V travence, V dobraučicah, V ledine) indicate that they are of late origin. The name Zgornja Dobrava itself indicates that this village is younger than Dobrava. It has been proven that the village bearing the same name as another village, but with an additional label (upper, lower, big, small, etc.), is often younger (*Kos M. 1966, pp. 89-98*) and its fields lie on the rest of the good land. The land of Zgornja Dobrava was later fragmented and some new fields were cleared amidst the grasslands to the south. One of them even has the distinctive name *Ta nova niva*. The original arable land of Zgornja Dobrava was approximately 4.4 ha in size, which is the size of two average farms of Dobrava. The same proportion can be found in the Celje fief register, where an edling estate comprised of two farms is mentioned in Zgornja Dobrava (*CF, f 40*).

To the east of the land of both Dobrava villages, there is a plot of grassland belonging to Zasip and Mužje. There, the land of both villages is thoroughly intermixed, which indicates that it was divided later in time, when both villages had already been broken down into individual farms (cf. Ch. 3.1.c.). The rest of the arable land was cleared very late in time, as indicated by the fact that plots of land belonging to kajžars and gruntars are intermixed. At the very boundaries of the cadastral municipality, there are even some plots belonging to several neighbouring villages.

3.17.c. LAND OWNERS AND CHRONOLOGICAL DETERMINATION OF DEVELOPMENT

Dobrava is one of the few villages whose origin is mentioned in folk tradition, according to which, the area of Dobrava used to be a pasture of the villages of Zasip and Mužje, but it was later permanently settled. The tradition, the name Dobrava, and the fact that according to the Brixen urbarium from 1253 the serfs of Dobrava paid low tributes, led the late M. Kos to the conclusion that this is a village of later origin, established at the former common pasture (*Kos M. 1960, pp. 138-139*). This opinion can only be agreed with and will be further confirmed here.

The plot of grassland in the immediate vicinity of Dobrava, belonging to the villages of Zasip and Mužje, can be explained as a remainder of their former right to the entire Dobrava area. The time of the beginning of Dobrava can only be approximately determined. The half-farm no. 6 is mentioned as early as 1253, but at that time it did not have to pay any tributes (*UBŠ, 186-187*). There are two possible explanations: either the income from the farm went to someone else and not to Brixen, or the farm was exempt from tributes because it had been founded only recently. The second possibility is more plausible because the farm is later firmly in the hands of Brixen. This, together with the fact that it was established in the second stage of the division of arable land, speaks for the fact that the village of Dobrava cannot have been established very late in the 13th century. The only feudal lord of the village was the Diocese of Brixen. With its planned division of arable land, village houses orderly placed along the street and a church near the village, Dobrava is a good example of feudal colonisation.

The beginning of Zgornja Dobrava is much less clear. Its land is marginal and closely connected with the land of Zasip and Mužje, indicating that the area of Zgornja Dobrava could have formerly belonged to Zasip and Mužje.

As early as 1355, furrier Primož Smrade purchased a farm in Dobrava from Katarina, widow of Nikolaj Kaul of Bled, and her son Hans (1355 21/8, AS). In 1364, he also purchased a farm run by the same serf as the first one, from Hans's brother Nikolaj of Jama (1364 13/10, CKSL). It seems plausible that these were two halves of the same estate, which would also explain its description in the following century (see: Ch. 3.17.b.).

This farm cannot be one of the seven farms and a half-farm belonging to Brixen because a series of Brixen urbaria from 1253 onward proves that the Dobrava property is most firmly in the hands of Brixen. It is also not very likely that the documents from the 14th and 15th century, bearing witness to

how Brixen lost and regained property in Dobrava, would not have been preserved. It is therefore far more plausible that the farm mentioned is in Zgornja Dobrava – in fact, that it is Zgornja Dobrava itself.

Nikolaj's family owned at least six farms in Zasip and Mužje (1352 24/9, AS) and it is quite possible that one of their serfs settled in the part of the Zasip-Mužje land which later became Zgornja Dobrava. The serf who worked the farm in the mid-14th century has an interesting name – Delopust (1355 21/8, AS; 1364 13/10, CKSL). It implies that he had been exempt from serf labour, perhaps because of his recent settlement.

In time, the farm was given in fief to brothers Ruprecht and Niclas, sons of Matko of Zgoša (CF, f. 40). In the years 1457-1461, only Niclas was still alive and he had the property by himself (HCF, f. 29). It has already been mentioned that the fief was the size of two farms. Because of the size and shared ownership it was possible to divide the farm into two parts. In 1498, Zgornja Dobrava was divided between Klemen Rožič (no. 21) and Linhart Ferčej (no. 18). They were described as "edlings" and each of them had his own edling estate (*Rad. urb.* 1498). In 1579, the situation had not changed. The same two families held in fief one half of a *huba* each (*Rad. urb.* 1579). After that time, two more *kajžas* were established in Zgornja Dobrava: 19, 23. This is the situation in the Theresian Cadastre (RDA, fasc. 282), where there are no longer any traces of the special status of the farms of Zgornja Dobrava.

3.18. SPODNJE LAZE AND ZGORNJE LAZE

3.18.a. NATURAL CONDITIONS (*Fig. 3.57*)

The village is located on the southern slopes of the Mežakla plateau, relatively high above the valley of Radovna. Zgornje Laze and Spodnje Laze are separated by a small stream valley. Their fields lie on uneven ground (V dole, Na hribence, V bregu, Na doli, V brdi, V bali, V grabnu, V strmine, Na slemen), which used to be partly covered in oak forest (Na hrastouce, Na dobrauci). The land is poor, however. Spodnje Laze is located somewhat lower than Zgornje Laze and has slightly better land.

3.18.b. SETTLEMENT DIVISION, ARABLE LAND DIVISION, THEIR GENESIS AND DEVELOPMENT (*Figs. 3.57-3.59*)

The village is divided into two parts: Spodnje Laze, comprised of three farms, and Zgornje Laze, comprised of four farms. Two of the four farms are located next to each other, while the third and fourth are rather far away. The farms of Spodnje Laze stand closely together. There is a larger plot of arable land to the south, adjoining the village, which is divided into fields, each of the farms having two of them. The rest of the land that belongs to the three farms is in large blocks, intermixed with each other. The arable fields are scattered among grasslands. This impression indicates that originally there was only one farm in Spodnje Laze and its arable land was to the south of the building. Subsequently, it was divided into three farms and new fields needed to be cleared from the surrounding grasslands (V ledine) and forests (Na hrastouce) at a different location for each of the farms. The old arable land was relatively evenly divided between all of them.

This is supported by the area of arable land per farm. The arable land of the original farm was 1.8 ha. It was divided among the new farms (1, 2, 3) as follows: 1 – 0.6 ha, 2 – 0.5 ha, and 3 – 0.7 ha. Together with the newly cleared fields, their arable land near the village was: 1 – 1.5 ha, 2 – 2 ha, and 3 – 3.2 ha. It has to be taken into account that only no. 3 has all of its arable land near the village, while 1 and 2 acquired quite a lot of land to the north of the village, the former a little more and the latter a little less. Together with that land, all three farms have about the same amount of arable land.

In Zgornje Laze, the lion's share of land belongs to the two farms located next to each other, nos. 51 and 52. Their fields are inseparably intermixed, and it can be stated that originally this was a single farm. Farms 53 and 46 are located further away and they both have their land in a single piece. The fields of all the farms are scattered among the grasslands and it is not possible to identify the original core of

A map of the study area showing sampling locations and vegetation types. The map is divided into several irregular polygons representing different vegetation types, labeled with numbers: 1, 2, 3, 51, 52, and 53. Sampling locations are marked with black squares. A scale bar at the bottom right indicates a distance of 150 m, with a '0' at the start. Dashed lines are used to indicate boundaries or specific features, particularly in the lower-left area where they enclose areas labeled 1 and 2.

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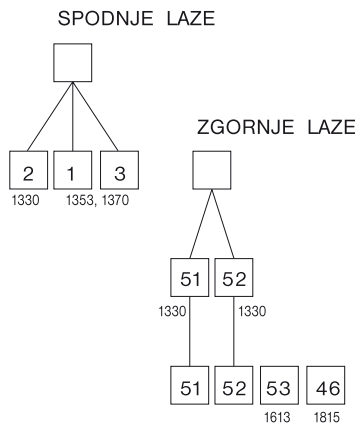


Fig. 3.59: Spodnje Laze and Zgornje Laze. Development stages of farming units. Year first mentioned in written sources.

the Theresian Cadastre (*RDA, fasc. 18*), according to which it had two farms in Zgornje Laze (51, 52) and one farm in Spodnje Laze (2). This information, as well as the intermixed land of 51 and 52 (see: Ch. 3.18.b.), indicate that the original farm in Zgornje Laze was established before the 14th century and that it was divided into two farms before 1330. It was the Bled Island provostry that saw to the establishment of this farm.

The first changes appear in the Bled Island provostry urbarium from 1615, when the provostry had two new farms in Zgornje Laze, nos. 53 and 46 (*Prono. urb. 1615*). By the time of the Josephian Cadastre, these two farms had passed to Brixen. Since they do not occur in the provostry's urbarium from 1524 (*Briks. urb. 1524*), the two farms must have been established in the meantime.

The first farm in Spodnje Laze is also older than the 14th century. Around 1330 it had already been broken down into three farms because at that time one of the farms belonged to the Bled Island provostry (see above), while the other two appeared in documents a little later. In 1353 Marko Lambergar assigned his wife Elizabeta in dower – among other things – the income from one of his farms “dacz Haygernuczz” (1353 21/3, *CKSL*). Two decades later, Katarina, widow of Nikolaj Lambergar, sold to Viljem Lambergar a dvor in Podhom, together with a meadow and three farms, one of which was “ze Hagermos” (1370 19/4, *CKSL*). At the end of the same century, Frederick of Ortenburg gave to his Chlain Jakob, the parish priest of Zgornje Gorje, in exchange for what he had lost in Lesce, tithes from the village of Podhom and from one farm “ze Hegermuzz” (1398 10/5, *CKSL*).

Notwithstanding the slightly different forms of the name, it is highly likely that they refer to the same place: in 1353 and 1370 it was the property of the same family, while in 1370 and 1398 it belonged to Podhom. The last document is the most important for the identification of the place as it can be related to the urbarium of the parish of Zgornje Gorje (*Urb. žup. Zg. Gorje 1727*). According to this document, the parish was entitled to tithes from only three whole villages: Zgornje Gorje, Podhom and Spodnje Laze. The village on the list is clearly Spodnje Laze because there are three farms paying tithes. Furthermore, according to its urbarium, the parish of Radovljica at that time collected tithes from Zgornje Laze (*Urb. žup. Rad. 1725*). The name from the 14th century derives from the German word “Hag”, which has the same meaning as the Slovene word “laz”, a cleared forest area. A similar case, also from the 14th century, is the village of Preska (German: Hag) (*Kos M. 1975, pp. 480-481*).

The three documents from the 14th century also indicate the number of farms in Spodnje Laze in the 14th century. In 1353 and 1370, two different farm owners are mentioned, which means the documents probably refer to two different farms. Since 17 years passed between the documents, another less likely possibility is change of ownership. The two farms (1, 3) remained the property of the Lambergars and as such belonged to the Kamen manor as late as the 18th century (*RDA, fasc. 292*).

3.19. KUPLJENIK

3.19.a. NATURAL CONDITIONS

The village area extends over a hollow between the hill slopes of Gradišče to the west, Preval and Prelesje to the north and Hom to the east. To the south, there is the Jelovica plateau. The bottom of the hollow gently slopes to the edge (V korene), where it ends with a slope descending towards the river of Sava Bohinjka. The land is poor.

3.19.b. SETTLEMENT DIVISION, ARABLE LAND DIVISION, THEIR GENESIS AND DEVELOPMENT (Figs. 3.60; 3.61)

The village is divided into two parts: the eastern part with three farms (12, 13, 14), located rather far apart, and the western part (Mešiše) a good half kilometre away, with the church of St Stephen, the sexton's house below the church (7), and one farm (6). The arable land belonging to the sexton's house is in one piece around the church. To the northeast of it, there is the land belonging to farm no. 6, also in a single block. Some of the fields must be of later origin (field name V ledine). The fields are also relatively small and intermixed with grassland. To the east is the arable land of the three farms of the eastern part of the village. The land of no. 14 is in a single block with some large fields. With no. 12, the situation is similar. The land of no. 13 is somewhat more fragmented, extending into the land of nos. 14 and 12. Its fields are mostly small.

The fields of farms 12, 13 and 14 lie on the plots of land V klučeh, V rounah and Za Homam. The fields at V korene are relatively small, lie on uneven terrain, are intermixed with grasslands and belong to different farms, so they seem to be of later origin.

The arable land of the farms is: 6 – 2.6 ha, 12 – 3.3 ha, 13 – 2.2 ha, and 14 – 3.1 ha, while the sexton's house has 0.7 ha of arable land. Also the size of arable land indicates a younger origin of 6 and 13. The most probable development of the village and its arable land was: farms 12 and 14 came into existence first and their land was in a single block. Later, no. 13 was established on their land, then farm no. 6 was established on the poorer land to the west.

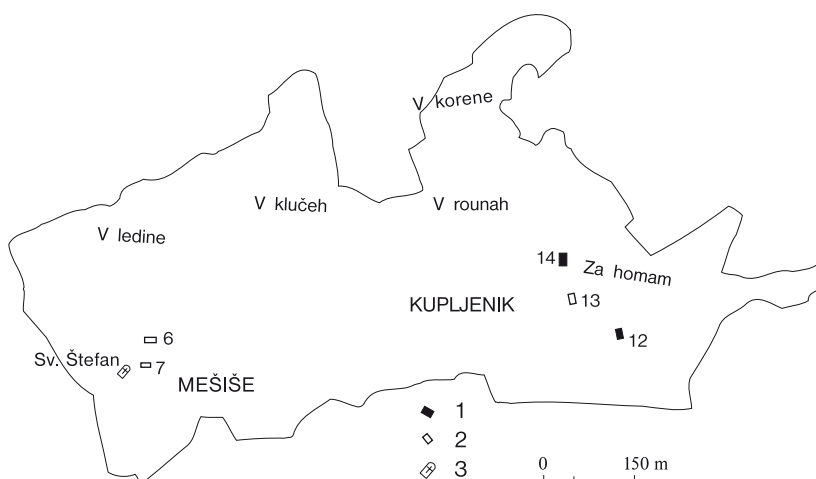


Fig. 3.60: Kupljenik. Village area and field names.

1 – old farmhouse,
2 – new farmhouse,
3 – church.

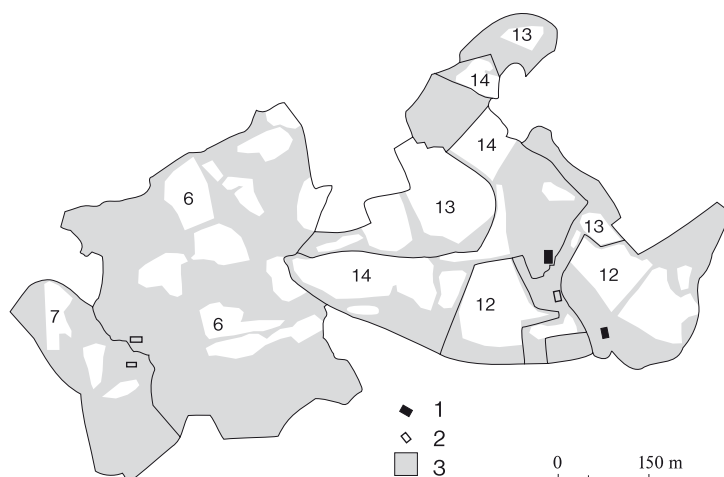


Fig. 3.61: Kupljenik. Village land division.

1 – old farmhouse,
2 – new farmhouse,
3 – grassland.

3.19.c. LAND OWNERS AND CHRONOLOGICAL DETERMINATION OF DEVELOPMENT

According to folk tradition, Kupljenik was initially a pasture of Radovljica, but was later permanently settled by the shepherds. In records, there is no explanation as to why Radovljica is mentioned. In the urbarium of the Bled Island provostry from around 1330 (*UBŠ*, 205) three farms in Kupljenik are mentioned. They paid low tributes and only in cash. If this was to make life easier for the new settlers, then the village could not have been founded much earlier, perhaps at the end of the 13th century, as the product of Bled Island provostry colonisation. These three farms can probably be identified with farms 12, 13 and 14. As early as 1431 the provostry had four farms in the village. The fourth paid tributes to the church of St Mary on Bled Island (*UBŠ*, 220-221) – probably farm no. 6, which is younger than the other three. In the following centuries, these four farms still belong to the provostry.

4. LOCAL INHABITANTS OF BLEĐ IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 11TH CENTURY

People who are attested to have not originated from the Bled area (cf.: *Kos M. 1970-1971, pp. 13-15*) are not considered local inhabitants here. The same goes for Adalfrid and his sons Ivan and Preslav, who donated to the diocese of Brixen two orals of arable land at Sebenje and two meadows at Poljane (*Kos F. 1911, no. 306*). As it has been demonstrated in the section on the village of Podhom, the nearby Sebenje was neither then nor later a village, but merely a field name (Ch. 3.7.). There is, however, a village of Sebenje near Tržič, where Brixen also had property: e.g. Visočje, Vadiče, Brezje, and Castle Gutenberg (cf.: *Pleterski 1978, 390-391*). The Sebenje mentioned in reference to the donation is probably that village and Poljane should be somewhere in its vicinity. Eventually, bishop Altwin of Brixen probably acquired another meadow there, donated by Gorgius and Domoslav (*Kos F. 1911, no. 378*). Therefore, neither of these donors are considered local inhabitants of Bled. The same holds true for those inhabitants of Carniola of Slavic descent whose place of origin is unknown.

Twenty names remain, not all of them being Slavic, but this does not necessarily mean that their bearers were not Slavs (cf.: *Kos M. 1970-1971, p. 12*). The group in its entirety may at least give a rough picture of the social stratification of the Bled inhabitants of Slavic descent.

L. Hauptmann was of the opinion that the social class of the donor cannot be gathered from the size of the donated property, for even magnates did not often donate more than small landowners (*Hauptmann 1952-1953, p. 272*). The only certain thing for Hauptmann is that the donors of Gorenjska were freemen (*Hauptmann 1954, p. 110*). By analysis of social labels used by Altwin's scribes, he established that different expressions do not necessarily mean different social strata of freemen; the multitude of titles only indicates the crisis of the entire stratum of freemen at that time, caused by pressure from below (*Hauptmann 1954, p. 114*).

A comparative statistical analysis by B. Grafenauer demonstrated that the last statement can only apply to Bavaria, not to Bled. Here, it does not seem that the noblemen were trying to hold their position by using clearer titles to be distinguished from the newcomers from the ranks of ministeriales (*Grafenauer 1955, 1140 and note 50*).

Nevertheless, are the freemen of Bled indeed a more or less unified social stratum? Since the documents do not reveal enough, the information acquired by the analysis of the development of individual settlements will be used.

The analysis demonstrated that all of the Bled property of the Diocese of Brixen was certainly not acquired through the donations of local inhabitants. It seems a plausible explanation that not all of the landowners of Bled are mentioned in the 11th century, and that those who are mentioned did not own much more than what they donated, at least not in the Bled area. The exception are those who donated vineyards, for vineyards alone were certainly not enough to live on. Therefore I believe that at least a rough estimate of the different financial situations of the inhabitants of Bled can be made, judging by the property they donated.

At least two groups can be distinguished. The first group is comprised of those who worked their land themselves; i.e. lived on their own free farm. These certainly include Dobrisko (*Kos F. 1911, no. 314*) and Dobrogoj (*Kos F. 1911, no. 236*), who had a farm in the village of Grad (cf.: Ch. 3.9.c.), and very probably also the brothers Hademar and Protihc (*Kos F. 1911, no. 316*), as well as Bodigoj and his wife Treplica (*Kos F. 1911, no. 312*), who had two farms in the village of Zasip. The only expanded farming unit of Zasip was probably strong enough to hold on (cf.: Ch. 3.1.c.).

A subgroup are the donors or former owners of vineyards at Bled whose property can only be guessed at. These are: two Bojnoslavs, each of whom donated his part of a vineyard (*Kos F. 1911, no. 240*), Trebinja, who donated a third of a vineyard (*Kos F. 1911, no. 239*), Marti, who donated one vineyard (*Kos F. 1911, no. 369*), and Godeslav, who also had one vineyard (*Kos F. 1911, no. 241*). None of the names listed in the main group or in the subgroup are mentioned as witnesses in other Brixen documents from that time.

Gundram, who is first mentioned as the former owner of two orals of land in the village of Koritno (*Kos F. 1911, no. 237*), should be discussed separately. Nothing else is known about his property. Without specific justification, M. Kos considers him a local inhabitant (*Kos M. 1970-1971, p. 15*). Contrary to this, L. Hauptmann thinks that Gundram might have been a German immigrant, and must be distinguished from his namesake, who was a member of the Brixen *familia* (= the group of ministeriales) (*Hauptmann 1954, 111 and note 17*). The first Gundram is presumably the one who has property at Koritno and is mentioned twice in documents as a witness. Among the witnesses are also other inhabitants of Bled; Tunzo and Ivan in one document (*Kos F. 1911, no. 316*), and Tunzo and Vencegoj in another (*Kos F. 1911, no. 372*). The second Gundram is presumably the one mentioned as a witness in the remaining 11 Brixen documents, issued mostly in Carniola, except for four, which were issued in Lieserhofen (*Redlich 1886, no. 228a*), Rasen (*Redlich 1886, no. 338*), Brixen (*Redlich 1886, no. 240a*) and Glanhofen (*Redlich 1886, no. 262*).

In a document from 1085-1090 (*Kos F. 1911, no. 372*), both Gundrams are mentioned in two different groups of witnesses. The origin of either can only be guessed at. Perhaps the "Koritno" Gundram did live permanently at Bled, while it can be stated that the other one was not a local inhabitant. The first three documents where he is mentioned as a witness are not connected with Gorenjska, but the rest of them are – with only one exception (*Redlich 1886, no. 338*). All but one of the Gorenjska documents (*Kos F. 1911, no. 378*) refer to properties in the Bled area, so it seems that Gundram settled there as a Brixen ministerialis.

The second group is comprised of those inhabitants of Bled who own property in several villages, or those who own an estate with several subordinate families in one village. Radogoj thus donated to the Diocese of Brixen an estate in Spodnje Bodešče (*Kos F. 1911, no. 302*), which comprised of – if the localisation is correct – three dependent farms (21, 24, 25). The seat of the estate (22) he probably kept to himself (cf.: Ch. 3.3.c.).

Between 1050 and 1065, Prsnoslav gave one farm in the village of Grad (Ch. 3.9.c.) to Altwin in exchange for the same amount of arable land in the village of Mužje (*Kos F. 1911, no. 166*). Between 1075 and 1090, Prsnoslav gave his inherited property in the village of Zasip, comprising of one farm (Ch. 3.1.c.), and is given in exchange two mills for his lifetime (*Kos F. 1911, no. 313*). This might have been two different Prsnoslavs because the average time gap between the two documents is as much as 25 years. Yet on the other hand, this period is not too long for one lifetime and Prsnoslav might still have been only one person, especially since the property is in both cases in the Zasip area (cf.: Ch. 3.1.c.). Radogoj and Prsnoslav are the only ones in this group who are never mentioned as witnesses.

Nepokor exchanged a field below Castle Bled for two other fields, and at the same time he donated an estate in Begunje, which he had been given from the margrave Udalrik (*Kos F. 1911, no. 164*). Apart from the field below Castle Bled, he must have had – and kept – an estate where he had lived before he was given the Begunje estate. Not long after that he is mentioned three more times as a witness in documents concerning donations of property in Gorenjska (*Kos F. 1911, nos.: 165, 168, 169*).

Vencegoj donated to the diocese of Brixen his estates in Želeče (*Kos F. 1911, no. 311*) and in Kranj (*Kos F. 1911, no. 370*). He also exchanged his estate in the village of Zgoša for an estate in Mlino (*Kos F. 1911, no. 368*), where he established a dvor with four dependent farms (Ch. 3.13.c.). He is once mentioned as a witness in a document concerning Zasip property (*Kos F. 1911, no. 372*).

The property of brothers Winrih, Ivan, Paulus and Tunzo extended over a large area. Winrih donated his inherited property in Spodnje Gorje (*Kos F. 1911, no. 165*), which was probably an expanded farming unit comprised of the seat (6) and two dependent farms (12, 16) (Ch. 3.2.c.). Ivan

exchanged his inherited property in Zasip – one farm (cf. Ch. 3.1.c.) – for an estate in Bohinj (*Kos F. 1911, no. 372*). Together, the four donated an estate in Grimšče (*Kos F. 1911, no. 168*), which was probably comprised of several farms (Ch. 3.11.d.). In addition, Ivan, Paulus and Tunzo donated the right of hunting within their estate in the forests of the bishop of Brixen (*Kos F. 1911, no. 305*) and two farms in Zgoša (*Kos F. 1911, no. 307*). Winrih is mentioned as a witness once (*Kos F. 1911, no. 164*), Tunzo twice (*Kos F. 1911, nos.: 316, 372*) and Ivan three times (*Kos F. 1911, nos.: 214, 316, 377*). All the documents were related to property in Gorenjska. Only Paulus is never mentioned as a witness.

A great variety of terms is used in documents to describe the social class of the members of both groups, from “*libertatem sortitus*” to “*ingenuus*”. Ivan, the most often mentioned of the four brothers, has a different title in each deed of donation: “*nobilitatem sortitus*” (*Kos F. 1911, no. 168*), “*nobilis*” (*Kos F. 1911, no. 305*), “*libertate potitus*” (*Kos F. 1911, no. 307*) and “*ingenuus*” (*Kos F. 1911, no. 372*). Hauptmann’s thesis that different titles do not mean different social positions still seems to be correct.

But there is yet one more thing: If all the titles are divided into two groups, with “*ingenuus*” and “*nobilis*” in the first and all the rest in the second group, it appears that all the titles connected with property in Zasip belong to the first group and the majority of the titles connected with property in Grad belong to the second group. Only one title is mentioned in connection with other villages, which is not enough to give a clear picture. If it is correct that the free property of Zasip originates from the early mediaeval period (Ch. 3.1.c.-e.), while the land of Grad was arranged only under the order of the Frankish ruler (Ch. 3.9.c.), then the first group of titles refers to the free inhabitants of the village of Zasip, and the second to the liberated inhabitants of Grad.

So different social class labels do have different meanings. But since the meaning depends on the different personal circumstances of their bearers, as well as on the legal status of their property, the title itself cannot be an indicator of social position. One more thing can be gathered from documents: those local inhabitants who are mentioned as witnesses are usually witnesses to each other in their deeds of donation.

What can be concluded from all of this? The local inhabitants of Bled in the second half of the 11th century can be divided into the unfree serfs, who are not even mentioned directly in documents, the free peasants, who possess only their own farm, the freemen (landowners) who live on their estates with subservient families, and the freemen who managed to acquire substantial property in different places. Integration of property was caused by family ties (the group of four brothers had several inherited estates) and probably also by entering into feudal relations, as indicated by the case of Udalrik, who gave his estate in Begunje to Nepokor. The right of hunting the three brothers retained could have been a former regality.

With respect to the personal situation of freemen, one process had been concluded at that time and another one began. The originally unfree peasants of Grad had been made equal to the other peasants (freemen). A key feature in this process was the fact that the property of the inhabitants of Grad was free and that they were dependent only on the ruler or his steward, which was undoubtedly better than being dependent on a feudal lord who is present in person.

The growing differences in their economic situation, on the other hand, caused differentiation into two social groups: of peasants – freemen, and of freemen – landowners. Since the latter were witnesses only to each other, it can be concluded that the group was relatively formed. Radogoj, who could have belonged to this group, donated his dependent farms, which made him equal to the peasants (freemen). The case with respect to Prisnoslav was similar. This raises the issue of how they were affected by the presence of foreign feudal lords.

The peasants (freemen) who donated their farms, probably became ministeriales (cf. Ch. 5.8.) or serfs. Dobrisko exchanged a farm in Grad for one in Koritno (*Kos F. 1911, no. 314*). The freemen – landowners often exchanged the land Altwin was the most interested in for something else (cf. Ch. 10.4.); Vencegoj thus moved to Mlino and Ivan to Bohinj. The rest either persisted or became dependent on different feudal lords, either as peasants or as ministeriales.

5. LANDOWNERS IN THE BLED AREA FROM THE 11TH TO THE 15TH CENTURY

This chapter concerns only the landowners who were local inhabitants of the Bled area. The bishops of Brixen and their castellans of Castle Bled, the Bled Island provostry and the Counts of Ortenburg and Celje will therefore not be discussed. In particular, this chapter is an attempt to ascertain the local and social origin of the rest of the landowners and the origin of their property. At the same time it is concerned with the fate of the free local inhabitants from the 11th century, assuming that all of them did not become serfs.

Since only urbaria of some of the greatest feudal lords are known from this period, conclusions about the property of the inhabitants of Bled can only be inferred from numerous separate documents. Each document comprises only a small part of the whole, and the main theme connecting them is the family they refer to. To ascertain the social origin of an individual, it is essential to know their family origin, therefore family trees of individual families had to be composed. However, there were several obstacles, lessening the credibility of the findings. Family ties can often be only indirectly assumed. Some people are designated only by their – often inconsistently spelled – personal name and place of residence. The latter could be changed, which created the impression of several different persons. The most reliable guidelines are the seals of individuals, but they are rarely preserved and date mostly only from the 14th century. Sometimes a seal was even changed (e.g. Hans of Bled – of Jama).

The majority of landowners were named after Bled. Where they actually lived often remains a guess. The castellans of Castle Bled can only be detected from the second half of the 13th century on. It is, however, possible that even in earlier centuries some of the people with the nickname “of Bled” lived at the castle. Others with this name might have lived in the village of Grad: at the Brixen meierhof, which probably still existed at that time, or in the village itself. Some of them certainly lived in the villages in the neighbourhood, but only used the name Bled, which designated the entire Bled area.

The first with this name is the Brixen ministerialis Majnhard of Bled, mentioned in 1154 (*Kos F. 1915, no. 336*) -1179 (*Kos F. 1915, no. 617*), who was at the same time a feoffee of Count Meinhard of Istria (*Kos F. 1915, no. 583*). So he served at least two different lords, which was later almost a rule. Only a few years later, in 1185 Brixen ministerialis Popo of Bled is mentioned, as well as knights Engelbero and Ekkerich, who served him (*Santifaller 1929, no. 46*). It cannot be ascertained whether Popo and Majnhard were related or not.

About 1215, Rudolf of Bled was mentioned as a Brixen witness (*Kos F.-Kos M. 1928, no. 248*). Images of separate families start to form only later. In the mid-13th century there are several families of ministeriales in the Bled area. In 1245, two Brixen ministeriales, brothers Albert and Friderik, are mentioned (*Kos F.-Kos M. 1928, no. 854*). The latter is married to Rikarda, a ministerialis of the bishop of Bamberg (*Kos F.-Kos M. 1928, 855*), and has unknown children with her.

At the same time, Brixen ministerialis Wersso (Weriand) of Bled is mentioned (*Kos F.-Kos M. 1928, no. 854*), son of the late Beron of Kamnik and Munza (Rihza) (*Schumi 1884-1887, nos.: 102, 103*), who was a ministerialis of the Counts of Andechs (*Hauptmann 1952-1953, 276*). His mother was probably from Bled or from the neighbouring areas because in 1247 the family is mentioned to have property in the villages of Doslovče and Vrba (*Santifaller 1929, no. 116*). Wersso was married to Willebirga, the daughter of Konrad Gal of Gamberk, a ministerialis of the Counts of Andechs (*Kos F.-Kos M. 1928, XLII*), while his sister was married to Bertold of Gradenegg/Gradnica, a ministerialis

of the Counts of Spanheim (*Schumi* 1884-1887, nos. 149, 151; *Hauptmann* 1952-1953, p. 276). It is a question how long did Wersso actually live at Bled as there is no proof of his children in the area. He sealed the above-mentioned document from the year 1247 in Bistrica near Tržič, and on the seal his name is “de Stein” (from the town of Kamnik) (*Baraga, Otorepec* 2002, no. 35).

5.1. THE REYNMAN FAMILY (*Fig. 5.1*)

The most is known about the family of Markvard of Bled, a ministerialis of the Counts of Görz. He is first mentioned in 1230, when bishop Henrik of Brixen acquired by exchange his daughter and son Konrad (*Kos F.-Kos M.* 1928, no. 528). The family is apparently not mentioned again. In 1241, bishop Egnon of Brixen and Count Meinhard of Görz reached an agreement that the latter would return to the bishop Castle Bled with all the land and judicial rights, except for the right of advocacy. This had to be handed over by Markvard of Rittersberg and his son Konrad (*Kos F.-Kos M.* 1928, no.

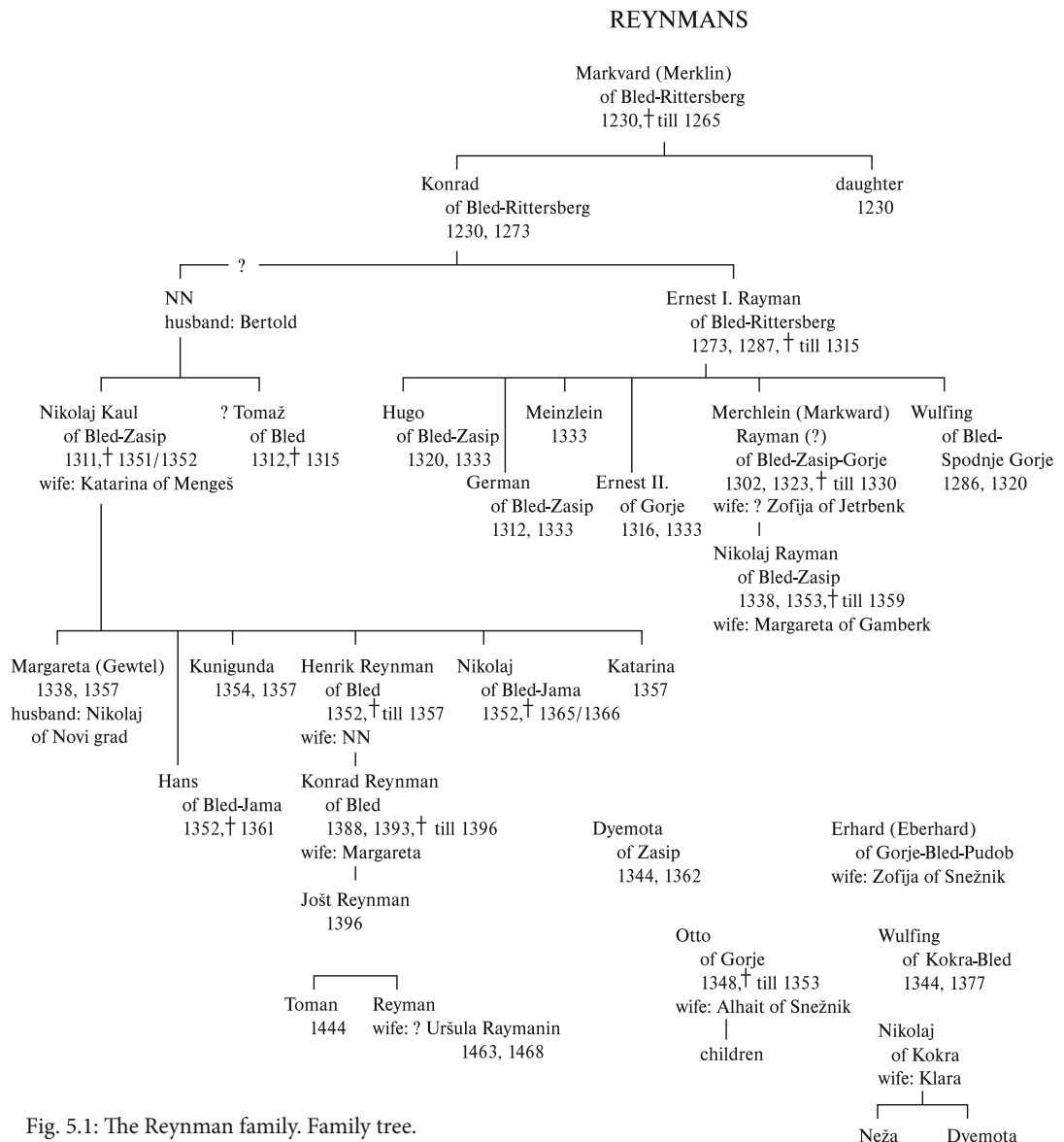


Fig. 5.1: The Reynman family. Family tree.

764), ministeriales of the Counts of Görz (*Kos M.* 1929, p. 66). The family of Rittersberg is first mentioned in this document and they apparently die out by the year 1265, when Merklin's Rittersberg property passed to the Görz ministeriales of Višnjevci (cf.: *Kos F.* 1923, p. 32).

Konrad, however, is last mentioned among Brixen witnesses at Bled in 1273 (1273 21/7, CKSL), so the family of Rittersberg had not died out yet. Markvard, ministerialis of the Counts of Görz, together with his son Konrad, is mentioned twice at Bled: once as "of Bled" and once as "of Rittersberg". Therefore it can be assumed that this was the same man. He probably lived some time at Bled and some time at Rittersberg in Goriška Brda and used both names alternately. The same holds true his son Konrad. Since Merklin and Markvard are only two different forms of the same name (see: *Ebner* 1973, p. 119), they probably both refer to Konrad's father, who remained in Goriška Brda until his death. The identification of both Markvards and Konrads is further confirmed by the fact that it was they who handed over the Bled manor. As local inhabitants, they were well familiar with the situation, which would not have been the case had they only been from Rittersberg.

In 1273, Konrad is mentioned together with Ernest (1273 21/7, CKSL). Ernest is last mentioned at Bled in 1287 as Brixen ministerialis "de Rittersperch" (*Santifaller* 1929, no. 246). In 1286, Wulfing, son of Ernest of Bled, is mentioned as a witness (1286 8/3, CKSL). That the two Ernests are the same person is confirmed by a seal on a document from the year 1287. The seal was stolen, but its description is known (*Zahn-Siegenfeld* 1893, p. 64). The seal of Ernest of Rittersberg bears the inscription "+SI: ERENESTI-DE VELDIS". Since Konrad is already first mentioned in 1230, he is probably the father of Ernest. Ernest was given in fief the village of Nemški Rovt in Bohinj and he even managed to sell it back to its owner, bishop Bruno of Brixen, for 42 marks of old Aquileian (pfennigs) (1287 28/9, CKSL). Only a good week later, the bishop was forced to pledge him the same property, and four more farms, for half of the initial price, 20 marks of old Aquileian (pfennigs) (*Santifaller* 1929, no. 246). There is almost no doubt that Ernest was a talented merchant and can probably be credited for the beginning of the family's prosperity.

Wulfing of Bled is last mentioned in 1320 as a witness at Castle Kellerberg in Carinthia (1320 28/9, CKSL). Two of his brothers are specifically mentioned in documents: Merchlein (Markward) of Bled (1302 5/3, CKSL; 1312 14/5, *Otorepec* 1995, p. 72) and German (1320 28/9, CKSL). Wulfing of Gorje is mentioned in 1312 (1312 21/8, CKSL), and again in 1319, when it is revealed that this is Spodnje Gorje (1319 11/8, CKSL). He, too, had a brother Merchlein (Markward), but this one was from the village of Zasip (1312 21/8, CKSL). Since both Wulfings and both Merchleins belonged to the same group of brothers (see below), they must have been the same two persons, designated in one case by the village they lived in, and in another case by the broader area – Bled.

Wulfing held in fief at least one Brixen farm in the village of Grad (1312 21/8, CKSL). He stood as guarantor for a loan taken by Albert of Ortenburg in Cividale (Friulian: Cividat; Slovene: Čedad) (*Fabrizi* 1774, pp. 75-76), and he was a judge ("rictarus") at Bled (1313 4/7, *Otorepec* 1995, p. 78). In Cividale-Cividat, he was not only a guarantor, but also borrowed money himself (1313 4/7, *Otorepec* 1995, p. 78) and bought cereals (1312 14/5, *Otorepec* 1995, p. 72). The only thing that can be added about Merchlein is that he is last mentioned in documents in 1320 as Markward of Gorje ("Meruardo de Gruach"), knight and Ortenburg ministerialis (*Bianchi* 1844, p. 371).

Furthermore, the third brother, German, is sometimes labelled "of Zasip" (e.g.: 1312 21/8, CKSL), and sometimes "of Bled" (e.g.: 1318 29/9, CKSL). He is last mentioned in 1333, in a document where he, together with his brothers Hugo of Zasip, Ernest and Meinzein, signed away their rights to a farm of the Bled Island provostry in Spodnje Gorje (*Santifaller* 1941, no. 513). Brothers Wulfing and Merchlein are not mentioned in the document and might have been already dead. This is the only document where Meinzein is mentioned. Also Hugo is in one case described as "of Zasip" (*Santifaller* 1941, no. 513), and in another case "of Bled" (1320 28/9, CKSL). He was a ministerialis of the Ortenburgs (cf.: *Santifaller* 1941, no. 513).

Of the brothers Ernest is the most interesting for further research of the family. He is first mentioned in Cividale-Cividat in 1316, when knight Nikolaj of Bled named his representative in a dispute with a debtor who owed money either to Nikolaj or to Ernest, son of lord Rayman of Bled, or to his brother Rayman ("Hernisto filio domini Raymani de Veldis vel Raymanno fratribus")

(1316 13/11, *Otorepec* 1995, p. 88). Unless there was another Ernest living at Bled at that time, this must be the Ernest mentioned above. It follows that he had a brother Rayman and that his father was Rayman of Bled. The word “fratribus” is ambiguous for it is not clear whether it refers only to Ernest and Rayman, or to Nikolaj as well. The first possibility seems more plausible for the reasons that will follow. Nevertheless, all three of them are undoubtedly closely connected because financial matters were at that time kept in close family circles. Ernest, too, lived in Spodnje Gorje (e.g. 1326 24/6, CKSL).

It has been demonstrated that the father of Ernest and his brothers was Ernest of Bled-Rittersberg. This document, however, mentions a Rayman, which seems to contradict the above conclusions. But the name Rayman was, later in the 14th century, used as an adjective – as an additional nickname. Its meaning can be deduced from the less distorted form: Reynman – a man who lives at a shore/bank/slope (e.g.: 1338 27/4, CKSL). The thought presents itself that the name refers to Lake Bled, or possibly to the rivers of Sava Dolinka or Sava Bohinjka or Radovna. However, none of the main settlements in the Bled area at that time are located near any of these waters. Only Želeče lies right next to the shore of Lake Bled, but since it is quite certain that only serfs lived there (cf.: Ch. 3.12.c.), it cannot be taken into account.

As it has been demonstrated in the chapter about the development of individual villages, the field name Breg is very common and can refer to any slope. The Reynmans are labelled as “of Bled” and once “of Zasip” – “Rainman von Aspe” (1343 19/1, CKSL). It is possible that “of Bled” does not refer to the whole area, but only to the village of Grad. Castle Bled is not an option because it was at that time the home of the Brixen castellans. The field name Breg does not occur anywhere near the village of Grad, but the name of a glacial moraine and a terrace to the east to Zasip is Na brego (on the slope). Moreover, there are remains of a late mediaeval square stone tower on that very piece of land (*Sagadin* 1990, pp. 377–387). Therefore it seems plausible that the Reynmans were named after Breg near Zasip and that they lived in the afore-mentioned tower. The tower is located on the land of farm no. 30, which was perhaps a part of Prisnoslav’s estate in the 11th century (Ch. 3.1.c.). It is therefore possible that Ernest of Bled-Rittersberg and Rayman of Bled are the same person: Ernest Rayman of Bled-Rittersberg. By 1315 he was already deceased (1315 26/6, *Otorepec* 1995, p. 82).

The afore-mentioned brother Rayman is only recorded in Cividale-Cividat. He was first mentioned as a son of the late knight Rayman of Bled, when he promised to pay the due sum for the weapons he had bought (1315 26/6, *Otorepec* 1995, p. 82). He is last mentioned as knight Rayman of Bled, when he and Count Albert of Ortenburg borrowed 117 marks of solidi (1323 18/5, *Otorepec* 1995, p. 103). He was a ministerialis of the said count (cf.: 1321 4/4, *Otorepec* 1995, p. 98). Since he is an important figure in the documents of Cividale-Cividat, his absence from documents in Carniola seems unusual. It has already been said that in this family the nickname Rayman was only used as an additional label. Perhaps that was also the case with the Rayman from Cividale-Cividat. If this is correct, then he could be identified with one of the afore-mentioned brothers. Since he was probably already dead in 1330 (see below), Wulfing and Merchlein are the only candidates (see above). The former is mentioned a few times in Cividale-Cividat and lived in Spodnje Gorje. The latter is never mentioned in Cividale-Cividat and lived in Zasip (see above). Perhaps the Rayman from Cividale-Cividat could therefore be identified with Merchlein of Zasip.

Ernest I Rayman of Bled-Rittersberg therefore had at least six sons: Wulfing of Bled-Spodnje Gorje, Ernest II of Gorje, Hugo of Bled-Zasip, German of Bled-Zasip, Merchlein (Markward) Rayman of Bled-Zasip-Gorje, and Meinzein. With regard to their place of residence, the brothers can be divided into the Zasip and the Spodnje Gorje branch of the family. In the village of Zasip they lived at Na brego in a square stone defence tower. It is probably not a coincidence that the remains of a similar tower were also found in Spodnje Gorje, on a plot of land with the field name Na turne (*Knific* 1983, p. 64). A logical explanation is that the Spodnje Gorje branch of the brothers lived there.

Dyemota of Zasip probably also belonged to the Zasip branch of the children of Ernest I Rayman. She is first mentioned in 1344, when she and Meyli of Kellerberg bought a farm from the convent of Velesovo (1344 14/12, CKSL). At that time, both of them were probably already nuns there. This is explicitly stated in 1360, when they exchanged some property with their uncle Nikolaj Sumereker (1360

23/2, CKSL). Since they had an uncle in common, they must have been related. They are mentioned for the last time two years later (1362 4/4, CKSL).

There is no direct information about the next generation of the family. However, several very plausible family connections can be inferred from the records. Nikolaj Reynman of Bled is first mentioned in 1338 (1338 27/4, CKSL), and for the last time in 1353 (1353 30/6, CKSL). His coat-of-arms was a shield with a blank left half, the right half divided by two lines, and the inscription "S. NICOLAI RAINMANI" (e.g.: 1347 13/6, CKSL). Later, he changed the coat-of-arms slightly so that there was only one line in the right half, together with the inscription "S. NICOLAI DE WELDES" (e.g.: 1353 30/6, CKSL). His mother was Zofija of Jetrbenk (1348 1/5, CKSL), who was married to Rutlib of Hmeljnik in 1330 (1330 2/12, CKSL). The question is, how did Nikolaj Reynman end up at Bled, even in Zasip? He probably cannot be identified with Rainman of Zasip (see above). K. Trotter offered a reasonable explanation: Zofija was married twice and Nikolaj was the son of her first husband (Trotter 1954, p. 104), who could have been Merchlein Rayman. Nikolaj Reynman must have been married to Margreta of Gamberk because his brother-in-law was Engelein Gall (1348 4/3, CKSL). Documents do not mention any of their children, which means they probably had none. The family, though, did not die out.

A few decades earlier, contemporary to the sons of Ernest I Rayman and his grandson Nikolaj Reynman, there lived Nikolaj Kaul of Bled-Zasip. He is first mentioned in 1311 as Kewl of Zasip (1311 18/2, CKSL), and for the second time in 1314, when his name is "of Bled" (1314 12/8, CKSL). He is recorded as "of Zasip" only one more time (1333 3/3, CKSL), which is not surprising because in the course of his eventful life he probably spent little time at home. In many documents he is described as a knight, for the first time in 1316, when he can be found in Cividale-Cividat as a creditor for 67 marks of solidi (1316 13/11, *Otorepec* 1995, p. 88). He might have made the money in the army. It is likely that a year earlier he took part in the siege of Villalta (21/7-7/8 1315), where his brother was killed by a siege engine. On 11 January 1317, he donated his serf Nikolaj, son of a blacksmith of Gemona/Gumin, to the altar of St Mary in the cathedral of Cividale-Cividat for his spiritual welfare (cf.: Trotter 1954, p. 105). It would appear that later he was a mercenary for bishop Konrad of Freising. In 1318 it is recorded that Nikolaj owed him 16 marks for a sword (cf.: Trotter 1954, p. 105). He also had a servant ("chnecht") Haertlein (1320 4/5, CKSL). In 1324, he and three other armed men took part in the march of king Henry of Bohemia against Cangrande of Verona. In Padua he was given a payment of 54 pounds for himself and his companions (Trotter 1954, p. 105). One year later he was already the marshal of Countess Beatrix of Görz (Trotter 1954, p. 105). Perhaps it was then that he became castellan of Castle Postojna, which belonged to the Counts of Görz. It is certain, however, that as castellan he was on 20 June a guarantor that Count John Henry of Görz, i.e. his guardian and relative (cf.: *Grafenauer* 1965, *family tree VIII*) king Henry of Bohemia would return Castle Postojna to Paganus, patriarch of Aquileia, in accordance with the terms of the truce (Trotter 1954, p. 105).

In the years that followed, Nikolaj changed sides. In 1334, he is mentioned in Udine (Friulian: Udin; Slovene: Viden) as an Aquileian mercenary ("stipendarius Aquilegensis"), accompanied by his vassal Nikolaj Sumreker ("famulus") (1334 18/2, *Otorepec* 1995, p. 142). In 1335, he was present in Aquileia when Aquileian fiefs were given to Count John Henry of Görz (Trotter 1954, p. 105). The following year he participated in the army of the patriarch and was a witness to the truce with the Görz ministeriales (cf.: *Kos M.* 1954, pp. 34-41) Ulrik of Rihemberk and Friderik of Vikumberk (1336 27/8, *Otorepec* 1995, p. 157). At the end of the year, patriarch Bertrand gave him in fief Castle Jama as a reward for being his supporter and commander of mercenaries (Trotter 1954, p. 100). Nikolaj could probably expect nothing more from Aquileia and again turned to the side of the Counts of Görz. In 1337 he is already mentioned in Pazin as a witness for Count John Henry of Görz (1337 8/8, CKSL). In 1341 he is first described as a knight of the Count of Görz (Trotter 1954, pp. 105-106). It would appear that later he remained loyal to the Counts of Görz, of course, for a good salary: in 1345 he was paid 29 guldens (Trotter 1954, p. 104), and in 1349 as much as 178 guldens (Trotter 1954, p. 104). This, however, did not prevent him from being at the same time castellan of the bishops of Freising in Škofja Loka (1347 23/4, CKSL).

Thus he made a considerable fortune. As an ambitious man he also conducted financial dealings, some of which have already been mentioned. In 1326 he lent as much as 240 marks of Aquileian

pfennigs to Viljem and Jakob of Loka (1326 9/6, CKSL). Dukes Albert of Austria and his brother Otto also owed him 50 and 320 marks of Aquileian pfennigs (1343 29/5, CKSL). Yet shortly before his death, he was forced to borrow money himself. A promissory note for 35 marks of Aquileian pfennigs is preserved (1351 23/5, AS). This is the last time he is mentioned during his life. As early as the following spring, his sons were selling off different family property (1352 27/3, CKSL), which means he must have died in the meantime. His coat-of-arms is well preserved on this last document: a dragon with his tail beneath him, facing right.

He bought cereals and wine in Friuli, e.g. in Cividale-Cividat for 17 marks and 60 denarii of new Aquileian pfennigs (1349 10/2, *Otorepec* 1995, p. 212). There is no doubt that he also purchased more land, but hardly any documents about this are preserved. In 1320 he bought a farm in Zasip (1320 4/5, CKSL), where he held in fief of Brixen a house with a farm where he built a room in 1329 (*Santifaller* 1941, no. 417). A later document reveals that he also bought property from Nikolaj of Jeterbenk (1354 28/1, CKSL).

Who were his relatives? – It has already been said that he had a brother who was killed in the summer of 1315. A document from 1345 states that he was son of the late Bertold (*Trotter* 1954, p. 105) whose identity remains more or less a mystery. He might have been the same person as the Brixen keeper of the maierhof, Bertold of Rečica (“Perhtolt der maiger von Reschize”), who was mentioned in 1287 (1287 28/9, CKSL). Another possible candidate is Bertold of Gorje, an Ortenburg ministerialis, mentioned in 1253 (see Ch. 5.5.).

The close connection between Nikolaj Kaul and the sons of Ernest I Rayman has already been mentioned (1316 13/11, *Otorepec* 1995, p. 88): they were mentioned together in Cividale-Cividat in connection with the debt, but Nikolaj was also their heir. In 1302, brothers Wulfing and Merchlein Rayman bought a farm in Spodnje Gorje and two farms in Dosloviče (1302 5/3, CKSL). Among the farms sold by the sons of Nikolaj Kaul to their uncle Nikolaj Sumereker were also two farms in Dosloviče and one farm in Spodnje Gorje (1352 27/3, CKSL), i.e. very possibly the three farms purchased in 1302. Finally, it is not unimportant that the nickname Rayman remained with the descendants of Nikolaj Kaul.

Based on what has been said, the most plausible assumption is that Bertold, father of Nikolaj, was brother or at least brother in law of Ernest I Rayman. Nikolaj Kaul was married to Katarina of Mengeš. She had two coats-of-arms in her seal: the Bled coat-of-arms on the left – a winged dragon with his tail beneath him, facing left; and the Mengeš coat-of-arms on the right – two snakes in the shape of the number eight, joined by their tails (1354 4/5, AS).

Nikolaj Kaul was father-in-law to Nikolaj of Novi grad, who was married to his daughter Margareta (*Trotter* 1954, pp. 101-102). His cousin was Ernest of Poljane (1343 2/11, CKSL). He was uncle of Linhart Zaeppel of Gutenberg (1347 23/4, CKSL) and Jensl “von Hof” (1345 10/4, CKSL). When he was a witness, it was most often for the family of Jeterbenk. Geiseler Posch of Begunje and Nikolaj Sumereker (1351 23/5, AS) are also stated as his relatives (“vrewnt”).

Six of his children are known: three sons, Hans, Nikolaj and Henrik Reymanm, and three daughters, Kunigunda, Margareta (Gewtel) and Katarina. Apparently, the oldest was Margareta, who was married to Nikolaj of Novi grad in 1338 (*Trotter* 1954, pp. 101-102). She is directly mentioned once more in 1357 (1357 15/6, AS). The oldest of the brothers was Henrik Reyman who is mentioned only once in 1352 (1352 27/3, CKSL) with the name “of Bled”. Thereafter, he is no longer mentioned in the family documents, probably because he was already dead. His coat-of-arms was similar to that of his father: a winged dragon with his tail beneath him, facing left. He was married, apparently. In 1357, his young widow is mentioned (1357 15/6, AS). Their children are not directly mentioned in documents, but Konrad Reynman was probably their son (see below).

After the death of Henrik, the second brother Hans became the head of the family. He is first mentioned together with Henrik and Nikolaj (1352 27/3, CKSL) and was responsible for relations with their uncle Nikolaj Sumereker, who was the caretaker of the family and its property from 1354 (1354 4/5, AS) to 1357 (1357 15/6, AS). In the beginning, Hans is not known by the name of his place of origin in documents. However, his first preserved seal bears the inscription “+ S IOhANIS D'VELS” and the same coat-of-arms as his brother Henrik. In 1357 he was in Vienna (1357 22/4, AS),

and in that year he already had a new seal “+S IOHNES D’FELS” and a new coat-of-arms: the left half of the shield is blank and the right half is divided by two lines. At least in his seal he thus kept the label “of Bled”. At that time, he and his brothers and sisters were given back Castle Jama from their uncle and caretaker Nikolaj Sumereker (1357 15/6, AS). It seems that he lived there from then on. In 1361, he is already named “of Jama” and he dies in the same year (Trotter 1954, pp. 101-102).

Nikolaj lived in the shadow of his two brothers. He is first mentioned together with them when they sell 14 farms to their uncle Nikolaj Sumereker, almost all of them in the Bled area: 2 in Zasip, 4 in Mužje, 2 in Dosloviče, 1 in Grad, 1 in Gorje, 1 in Višelnica, and 3 in Podhom (1352 27/3, CKSL). In 1354 he is still called “of Bled” (1354 28/1, AS), but he lives at Castle Jama, together with his brother Hans, and in 1361 his name is already “of Jama” (Trotter 1954, p. 101). His coat-of-arms is the same as the second coat-of-arms of his brother, the only difference is the left blank half. Nikolaj had it raised above the surface, and Hans sunk into the surface (1364 13/10, CKSL). In 1361 Duke Rudolph of Austria took him and his property under special care and protection on a field near Manzano (Trotter 1954, p. 102). The following year he was given Castle Jama in fief by the patriarch Ludovico of Aquileia (Trotter 1954, p. 100), after which Nikolaj joined the Austrian dukes in their struggles with the patriarch. Supporters of the patriarch captured him on 10 January 1365, but released him only one day later (Trotter 1954, p. 102). Nikolaj entrusted his uncle Henslein of Mengeš and other relatives with the care of Castle Jama. On 8 October of the same year he ordered them to immediately hand over the castle to his lord, Count Meinhard of Görz (1365 8/10, CKSL). They, however, did not comply (Trotter 1954, p. 102). Nikolaj died right after that for he is mentioned in April 1366 as deceased and without heirs – “sine heredibus” (Trotter 1954, p. 100).

Two more sisters are mentioned in documents: Kunigunda between 1354 (1354 4/5, AS) and 1357 (1357 15/6, AS), and Katarina (1357 15/6, AS).

With the death of Nikolaj Kaul of Bled-Zasip the strength of the family began to decline. Being both a relation and caretaker, uncle Nikolaj Sumereker took advantage of it, as clearly shown by a verdict between him and the children of Nikolaj (1357 22/4, AS). That, as well as the document of settlement (1357 15/6, AS) also reveal that many debts were settled with Jews in Celje, Slovenj Gradec and other places. The debts added up to 319 and a half marks of Aquileian pfennigs and 14 guldens. It is very likely that a large part of the debt, if not all of it, was created by the father, Nikolaj Kaul.

The daughters were married, Hans and Nikolaj had moved to Jama and a large part of the Bled property was sold off. The two farms in Zasip which were sold were probably those that had been already owned by their father Nikolaj Kaul. The tower “Na brego” together with the land thus remained in the family. It was probably the place where Konrad Reynman, who is first mentioned in 1388, lived (1388 3/4, CKSL). At that time he was married to Margareta and had the name “of Bled” in his seal. His coat-of-arms is a shield with the right half blank and the left half divided by two lines. He is last mentioned in 1393, when he sealed a document for either his nephew or cousin Nikolaj Sumereker II (1393 27/10, CKSL). In that document, his name is “of Bled”.

It remains a mystery whether the Reynmans lived at Bled from then on. Konrad died only a few years later. In 1396 he is stated as deceased in a document with which Duke William of Austria promised his son Jošt Reynman that when he came of age, he would be bestowed properties and people that the late Henrik Reynman had been given from the late Count Albert of Görz (1396 5/11, CKSL). Thereafter, Jošt no longer appears in documents. It is not impossible that he used some other name. There is an interesting inscription on the back side of the said document: “Ein khundtschafft – Urlaub – Stermohl”, which indicates that the document is connected with Castle Strmol. At the same time, the document is indirect proof that Konrad was son of Henrik.

Just a few more words about the relatives of the children of Nikolaj Kaul of Bled-Zasip. Besides the afore-mentioned family of Jeterbenk and Sumereker, Wulfing of Kokra was their uncle (1364 13/10, CKSL). Among their relatives were also Hans Lambergar (1354 4/5, AS), Erhard of Pudob (1357 15/6, AS), Majnhard of Kellerberg, Hans of Šteberk and Hartlen “von Prisan” (1357 15/6, AS).

In the 15th century, there is no trace of the Reynmans in the Bled area, but also elsewhere the name almost disappears. Toman, brother of Reyman, is mentioned in 1444 (AF 1444, f. 235^v, 236). Uršula Rayman, Mother Superior in the convent of Velesovo (1468 24/4, CKSL) and perhaps widow

of the Reyman mentioned above, is first mentioned in 1463 (1463 12/4, CKSL) and for the last time in 1468. So in the mid-15th century the family still existed and was apparently distinguished and wealthy enough so that Uršula was able to become Mother Superior. Was she the last of the family?

According to the above-mentioned document with the inscription mentioning Strmol, Jakob of Strmol owned a dvor in 1412. After his death his two daughters sold the dvor to Jurij Rainer, to whom it was given in fief about 1462 (AF, f. 266^v). Jurij was the vidame of Carniola (1479 20/9, CKSL), and his family owned Castle Strmol until 1634 (Smole 1982, p. 468). The Reiner family are also connected with the village of Breg near Žirovnica. As early as 1400, brothers Nikolaj, Jurij and Fridel of Breg are mentioned. The seal of Nikolaj bears the inscription "S.NIKLEINS V(ON) DEM RAIN" and his coat-of-arms is three balls in a shield (1400 21/5, CKSL). The same coat-of-arms is on the tombstone of Jurij and Andrej Reiner in the monastery of the Order of Teutonic Knights in Ljubljana. The village of Breg is very near Zasip, on the other side of the river Sava, and it is not impossible that a branch of the Reynmans settled there. This is how a Reynman document could have come to Castle Strmol.

5.2. THE SEEPACHER FAMILY OF MLINO

The landowners of Mlino by the mid-12th century have already been discussed (see Ch. 3.13.c.). After that, there is no trace of them for a century and a half. It seems that they recovered from the loss of four farms in Mlino and did not become serfs. From the beginning of the 14th century onwards they regularly appear in records.

Henrik (Aynzilo) (cf.: Ebner 1973, p. 118) of Mlino-Bled lived in the first half of the 14th century. He is first mentioned in Cividale-Cividat in 1315, with the name "of Bled" (1315 26/6, Otorepec 1995, p. 82). In 1323 he is mentioned for the first time as "of Mlino" (1323 4/3, Otorepec 1995, p. 103) and keeps this name until the last mention in 1347 (1347 4/11, CKSL). His seal bears the inscription "S HAINRICI DE SEPACH", and his coat-of-arms is a horse's head (1325 6/11, CKSL). He must have travelled to Cividale-Cividat very often, and his travels surely had economic significance. He possessed land in Gagliano/Galjan and a vineyard on the hill of Quellati. He pledged the land in 1323 for 8 marks of solidi (1323 25/4, Otorepec 1995, p. 103) and again in 1325, together with the vineyard, for 8 marks of Aquileian denarii (1325 6/10, Otorepec 1995, p. 108). He could not repay the debt until 1335, when he was forced to sell the land in Gagliano/Galjan (1335 30/5, Otorepec 1995, p. 151). Concerning his debt, he was represented by two men from Bohinj (1333 23/10 and 1334 10/10, Otorepec 1995, pp. 139, 144). His trips to Cividale-Cividat, a vineyard in the vicinity, a horse's head in the coat-of-arms, and friends in Bohinj all imply that Henrik traded goods between Bled and Friuli (Cividale-Cividat) via the valley of Bohinj. The name of his father is known as well, being the late Viljem ("Guillelmi") of Mlino near Bled ("de Seypach prope Weldis") (1323 25/4, Otorepec 1995, p. 103).

One decade after Henrik, Hans of Mlino is mentioned. He was the first with the nickname Sepacher, which became the family surname from then on. His wife was Dimota, and together they acknowledged Count Otto of Ortenburg as their lord (1358 8/4, CKSL). The relation between Henrik and Hans can only be guessed at; they might have been father and son. It is not known which one of the Mlino family was the first feoffee of the Ortenburgs, but it is possible that this happened with the acquisition of a farm in Selo (cf.: Ch. 3.15.c.).

The next Sepacher was Merkhel (Markward), perhaps son of Hans, mentioned in 1387 (1387 25/11 copied from 1503 1/3, AS) and in 1403, when he sealed a document at Bled for Herman Esel. His coat-of-arms was an animal head with horns and claws (1403 13/5, CKSL).

There is more information on the following Sepacher, Hans II. He is first mentioned in the fief register of the Counts of Celje from the year 1436, when he is given in fief the estate he bought from the late Viljem of Valburga near Smlednik (CF, f. 48). In 1442, he was castellan of Castle Smlednik and purchased from Count and Prince Ulrich of Celje Castle Kamen near Radovljica and was given it in fief (1442 21/4, CKSL). He is last mentioned in 1445, when the Counts of Celje pledged him tithes from Smokuč (CF, f. 64 v., 65). So Hans already had a considerable fortune and he was high on the social ladder. It was him – or one of his predecessors – who left Mlino and from then on the family resided in

Smlednik. He must be distinguished from Hanns Seppacher, a citizen of Villach (Slovene: Beljak), mentioned between 1457 and 1461, who held a fief in Sepach (Slovene: Jezernica) near Villach and was obviously named after it (*HCF*, f. 18'). Hans II had sons Wolfgang, Andrej, Friderik and Lenart (see below).

The most important of them was Wolfgang Sepacher who is mentioned for the first time in 1458 (1458 28/8, *CKSL*) and for the last time in 1460 (1460 16/6, *CKSL*). He held in fief Castle Kamen as his inheritance, as well as the rest of the property previously owned by Hans II (*HCF*, f. 9'). This implies he was his son. While his father accumulated wealth, Wolfgang lost a considerable amount of it. Because of a debt he owed to Pavel Lustaler, citizen of Ljubljana, he lost four farms including the family dvor in Mlino (1458 28/8, *CKSL*). This is at the same time proof that the Sepachers of Smlednik originate from Mlino. Some time later he sold Castle Kamen to Andrej Kreig (*HCF*, f. 46). Andrej and Fric (Friderik) are specifically mentioned as his brothers (1460 16/6, *CKSL*). He is supposed to have had one more brother, Lenart (*SBL* 3, 263). It would appear that Wolfgang died a few years later and family matters were taken over by Friderik, who did no better and sold off a considerable part of his inheritance (1469 14/1, *AS*). The family remained castellans of Castle Smlednik and must have still been quite wealthy. In the following generation, there were sister Lucija and brothers Jurij and Luka, who was married to Marjeta Praunsperger. Their son Peter Seebach, born about 1500, was the bishop of Ljubljana (1558-1568) and a Catholic opponent of Primož Trubar (cf.: *SBL* 3, 263).

5.3. THE GRIMŠIČAR FAMILY

The Grimšičars were the only noble family of Bled that remained in the Bled area until the 19th century. The origin of their demesne has already been discussed (Chs. 3.11 c.; 3.11.d.).

The family is first mentioned in records only in the second half of the 13th century, when Friderik and Frančišek of Grimšče are witnesses for bishop Bruno of Brixen, perhaps as his ministeriales (1273 21/7, *CKSL*). Friderik is not mentioned again and the source does not state how he is related to Frančišek. Frančišek was also a witness for Bruno in 1287, together with his brothers Ottel and Schludi (1287 28/9, *CKSL*).

The family is not mentioned until the mid-14th century, when a Wulfing of Grimšče appears in 1343 as a witness in a document issued to the bishop of Brixen (1343 5/4, *CKSL*). There is no doubt that he did live in Grimšče because the name "of Grimšče" is in his seal too (1344 23/4, *CKSL*). He is last mentioned in 1347 (1347 4/11, *CKSL*).

Thirty years later, there is a Nikolaj, who is already named Grimšičar, which in time becomes the family surname (1375 15/4, *CKSL*). On his seal he is no longer labelled "of Grimšče", but rather "of Bled" (1377 25/2, *CKSL*). In 1377 he is mentioned for the last time.

One decade later, Ahac Grimšičar is first mentioned as a witness in Brixen (1386 19/12, *CKSL*). It seems that Ahac was at the same time a feoffee of the Counts of Ortenburg because he was castellan of Castle Kamen as early as 1407 (1407 13/3, *CKSL*). He held the same position in 1418, when he is last mentioned (1418 20/9, *CKSL*). It is clear that he no longer lived in Grimšče, but at his place of work. A document from 1415 reveals that he was uncle to the children of the late Hans of Zgoša (1415 24/8, *CKSL*).

Peter Grimšičar, who lived at the same time as Ahac, is recorded in 1395 as a relative of Hans of Zgoša (1395 27/1, *CKSL*), and again in 1412 (1412 19/3, *CKSL*).

Earlier, there was no mention of the family property, but in the Celje fief register from 1436, several fiefs in Carniola and Carinthia, held by Hans (*CF*, f. 27 v), Anton (*CF*, f. 23, 27) and Andrej (*CF*, f. 59 v, 67) Grimšičar, are already listed. The latter two are recorded as brothers (1449 25/7, *CKSL*). Hans and Anton are last mentioned in 1461, when they both have property in Grimšče (*UBŠ*, 224-225), while Andrej is last mentioned in 1460, when he was given in fief from Emperor Frederick III different properties near Šoštanj (1460 13/12, *CKSL*). So the family had done well and their property at Bled now only formed a part of what they had. It is therefore understandable that not all of them lived in Grimšče any more.

However, all the members of the family did not do so well. In 1485, a Nikolaj Grimšičar is mentioned, who was a servant ("dienar") of Ana, widow of Jurij Kreig, and her confidant (1485 26/8, *CKSL*).

5.4. THE KRANSCHROT FAMILY (*Fig. 5.2*)

Members of the Kranschrot family do not appear before the mid-14th century, when they sell off their property in Poljšica, which is a Brixen fief. In 1185, Brixen ministerialis Rudeger of Poljšica is mentioned (*Santifaller 1929, no. 46*), and in 1253 also knight Erckhenpold of Poljšica, an Ortenburg ministerialis, who was given to bishop Bruno of Brixen, together with three Ortenburg farms in Poljšica (*Jaksch 1915, R. 2529a= 3082*). These farms were probably a part of Erckhenpold's fief in Poljšica. Since Brixen kept the farms in demesne (cf. Ch. 3.6.c.), it would appear that Bruno made Erckhenpold move to Zagorice, where he held a farm in fief from Brixen in 1253 (*UBŠ, 188*). Records from the 13th century do not mention Brixen ministeriales in Poljšica, but they may be inferred from archaeological remains.

To the southwest of Poljšica, on the northern slope of the hill of Stolec, there is an underground cave with the name Poglejska cerkev (church of Poljšica) in which there are traces of human activity since the Palaeolithic (*Brodar 1995*). The floor is flat with artificially flattened edges and there is a moat and a smaller earthwork in front of it. During a site survey (*TDAT, 17/5 1979*) 13th century pottery fragments were discovered at the edge of the flat area. According to local inhabitants, the cave was used as a place of refuge during Turkish raids, which is also supposed to be the reason for the moat.

The cave is first mentioned in 1344 as a part of a Brixen fief (1344 24/4, CKSL). Since it is specifically mentioned, it must have had a certain significance which, judging by the archaeological remains, lay in its defence potential. The presence of a Brixen ministerialis in the 12th century, the cave being a part of a Brixen fief in the 14th century, and 13th century pottery – all this implies there were Brixen ministeriales at Poljšica also in the 13th century, and that they used the cave of Poglejska cerkev, which was a Brixen fief. If the above conclusion is correct, then it can be stated with sufficient certainty that the Kranschrots are their successors.

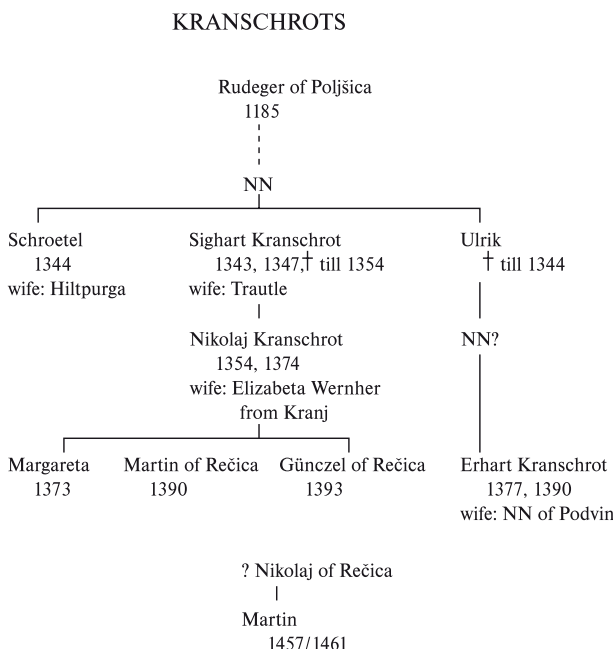
The first of them is Sighart Kranschrot, mentioned in 1343 (1343 5/4, CKSL). He had two brothers, Schroetl and Ulrik (1344 24/4, CKSL). The latter was already deceased in 1344. Sighart is last mentioned in 1347, when he and his wife Trautle sold to bishop Matej of Brixen a Brixen fief: a third of the cave, a third of the forest near Poljšica, and the right of pasture on a third of two mountain pastures in Bohinj (1347 4/11, CKSL). He only sold third parts of property because he was one of three brothers and this was his share. He probably died soon afterwards because in 1354 he is already mentioned as deceased (1354 27/4, CKSL). The same document reveals that he had a son named Nikolaj.

In 1343 and in 1345, Sighart sealed a document for Andrej Hofer (1343 19/1, CKSL; 1345 23/11 copied from 1503 1/3, AS). The latter is probably the same person as keeper ("mayr") Andrej of Rečica, who is two years later a witness for Sighart (1347 4/11, CKSL). Since the Kranschrots subsequently live in Rečica (see below), it is possible that Andrej of Rečica is a relative of Sighart.

The second of the three brothers was Schroetel, who is mentioned in 1344, when he and his wife Hiltpurga sold to bishop Matej of Brixen a Brixen fief: a dvor in Poljšica, a third of the cave in the forest near the village, and the right of pasture on a third of two mountain pastures in Bohinj (1344 24/4, CKSL). Records reveal nothing about the children of Schroetl, not even indirectly.

Sighart's son Nikolaj is first mentioned in 1354, when he assigns a dower to his wife Elizabeta, daughter of Wernher of Kranj: a farm in Poljšica and tithes from the villages of Žirovnica and Selo, which he had been pledged by the Ortenburgs (1354 27/4, CKSL). How Nikolaj acquired so much money that he could lend it to the Ortenburgs remains a puzzle. Nikolaj was still alive when Elizabeta

Fig. 5.2: The Kranschrot family. Family tree.



joined the convent of Velesovo (1373 11/7, CKSL), which seems unusual, and he was still alive a year after that (1374 2/2, CKSL). He had a daughter Margareta (1373 11/7, CKSL) and sons Martin (1390 3/6, AS) and Günczel (1393 21/10, CKSL).

The next Kranschrot mentioned is Erhart, who in 1377 sells two mountain pastures in Bohinj, which he claimed are his own ("meiner aygen") – Lipanca and Javornik, as well as a third of the forest near Poljšica (1377 25/2, CKSL). This means that in the course of thirty years, the former Brixen fief turned into allodial property. Since two thirds of it had been sold off by Sighart and Schroetel, Erhart's third can only be the inheritance after Ulrik Kranschrot, the third brother. Ulrik was already dead in 1344. Erhart first appears three decades later, which means that he was probably grandson of Ulrik.

It seems that Erhart was an Ortenburg protectee because in the above-mentioned document he acknowledges Frederick von Ortenburg for his lord. He is mentioned for the last time in 1390, when he sells a meadow near Poljšica and a hayfield at Rčitno to his uncle Viljem Lambergar, castellan of Waldenberg. His documents are sealed also by his brother-in-law Tomaž of Podvin (1390 5/3, CKSL). It is unlikely that Erhart had any more property in the Bled area. Nevertheless, he had distinguished relatives and must have been quite wealthy himself, but apparently his main properties were somewhere else and not in the Bled area.

The two sons of Nikolaj Kranschrot have already been mentioned. They already had a different nickname and were named after Rečica. Each of them is only mentioned once. The first one, Martin of Rečica, is mentioned in 1390, when he sold a third of his dvor in Rečica, which was comprised of two farms, as well as two farms in Zagorice and one farm in Poljšica (1390 3/6, AS). The second, Günczel of Rečica, is mentioned in 1393. He sold off the remaining two thirds of the property (1393 21/10, CKSL). They both acknowledged the Ortenburgs as their feudal lords. Their documents were sealed by the relative Tomaž of Podvin as they probably no longer had their own seal. This implies their descending the social ladder. Martin, son of Nikolaj of Rečica, is mentioned between 1457 and 1461, when he held a farm in Rečica in fief from the Counts of Celje (*HCF*, f. 74). If this is indeed the Rečica in the Bled area, this means that by the mid-15th century, Nikolaj's branch of the Kranschrot family had turned into almost ordinary peasants. The descendants of Erhart, however, if they existed, lived somewhere else.

5.5. THE FAMILIES OF GORJE (*Fig. 5.3*)

As early as ca. 1173, Brixen ministerialis Nantwin is mentioned in Zgornje Gorje. He had a proprietary church in the same village and another one in Lesce (*Kos F. 1915, no. 542*). At the same time, Brixen ministerialis Eberhard and his wife Mahtilda lived in Spodnje Gorje (see Ch. 3.2.c.). Mainhart of Gorje, who was a vassal of the Counts of Görz, is mentioned in 1252 (*Jaksch 1906, no. 2516*), and one year later so is Ortenburg ministerialis Bertold of Gorje, whose two children had been given by Herman of Ortenburg to bishop Bruno of Brixen (*Jaksch 1915, no. 2529a = 3082*).

There is more information concerning the Gorje families only from the 14th century. The first one mentioned is Majnhardt of Gorje, who was a witness to a purchase by the Ortenburgs in 1304 (1304 22/3, CKSL). It can be stated that he was from Zgornje Gorje because in 1319 he was a guarantor, together with Wulfing, who was, unlike Majnhardt, explicitly described as being from Spodnje Gorje (1319 11/8, CKSL). In that document, Majnhardt was described as a knight and was last mentioned as a witness in 1326 (1326 24/6, CKSL). He had a daughter Agneza, who was married to Friderik, son of Jakob of Strmol (1319 31/10, CKSL). Majnhardt also had a son Herrant (1335 13/7, CKSL), who is mentioned in 1320 as an Ortenburg ministerialis (*Bianchi 1844, 371*).

Herrant of Gorje is mentioned in 1335 (1335 13/7, CKSL) and in 1357, when he sold a farm in Podgorje in Carinthia to his cousin Pilgreim of Kellerberg (1357 12/3, CKSL). He was probably the same person as Haertel of Gorje, who appeared only once in 1365 when he pledged two farms in Senično near Tržič and one farm in Lesce (1365 10/5, AS). His documents were sealed by his uncle Nikolaj Sumereker. This family of Gorje therefore owned considerable property, some of it even in Carinthia. Its actual size, however, is unknown.

Judging by his family name, Majnhard II of Gorje could have been a descendant of Herrant. Majnhard II is only mentioned in a document from 1375, where he and his wife Florey acknowledge that they have received money for the tithes from the village of Bohinjska Bela, pledged to them by Count Frederick of Ortenburg (1375 15/4, CKSL). This implies that the family was financially sound. Nevertheless, there is subsequently no trace of this family any more as they probably died out or moved away.

Zgornje Gorje was also the home of Jakob the Bald ("Jaekel der Glatz"), as he is described in 1327 when he is mentioned for the last time (1327 23/6, CKSL). He was first mentioned in 1319 when he bought a farm in Sebenje near Tržič. His guarantor was Wulfing, who was specifically described as being from Spodnje Gorje (1319 11/8, CKSL). One year later, Jakob was married to Eufemija. Apparently he was a feoffee of the Ortenburgs because Eufemija was assigned in dower the income of one farm in Predtrg near Radovljica, two farms in Zgornje Duplje, two farms in Pivka and one farm in Struževo near Kranj (1320 22/8, CKSL) by Count Albrecht of Ortenburg. Later, Jakob and his wife purchased one more farm in Poljče (1322 2/11, CKSL), a farm in Rupa near Kranj (1326 2/2, CKSL), and two farms in Strahinj (1326 24/6, CKSL). This indicates that Jakob was quite wealthy. In a document from 1400 his late daughter Katarina is mentioned (1400 25/10, CKSL). It would appear that he had no sons (see below). It is, however, possible that he had another daughter, who could have been married to Jurij of Poljče (see below).

Katarina was mother of Jakob and Bertold (Fig. 5.3), who were already deceased in 1400 when her heirs are Nikolaj Stayner and Jurij of Poljče (1400 25/10, CKSL). Two other documents reveal that Nikolaj had two brothers, Jakob Stayner (1385 23/4, CKSL) and Bertold, parish priest in Naklo, while Jurij of Poljče was his uncle (1388 8/3, CKSL). It is clear that these are the same people. The identification is even further confirmed by the inheritance from his mother, which Jakob Stayner pledged to his brother Nikolaj: a dvor in Gorje, a farm in Sebenje, two farms in Strahinj, a farm in Poljče, and two farms in Spodnje Duplje (1385 23/4, CKSL). This is almost all of the property that had been purchased by Jakob the Bald of Gorje. It follows that Katarina was married to one of the Stayner family, perhaps to knight Nikolaj I, who is described in 1353 as married (1353 30/6, CKSL). His brother Erhard lived in Senično near Tržič (1353 30/6, CKSL) and was married to Elizabeta (1359 12/3, CKSL). This also makes sense because it means that Nikolaj II Stayner was named after his father.

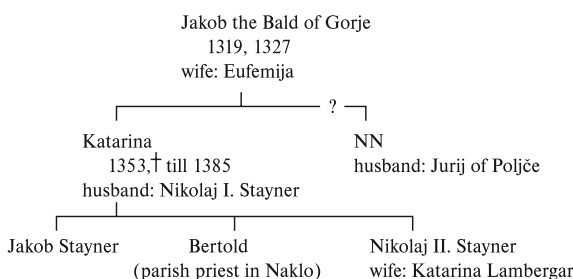
Jakob Stayner, Nikolaj II Stayner and Bertold, parish priest of Naklo, were therefore children of Katarina of Gorje and Nikolaj I Stayner. The best explanation for the fact that the uncle of these brothers, Jurij of Poljče, is among the heirs of Jakob the Bald and his daughter Katarina (1400 26/10, CKSL) is that he was married to an unknown sister of Katarina. So the family of Jakob the Bald became extinct in the male line and moved away from the Bled area.

Two of the children of Ernest I Rayman lived in Spodnje Gorje: Wulfing and Ernest II (see Ch. 5.1.). Their children are not directly mentioned in documents. Two more families of Gorje are known from the 14th century and probably originated from Spodnje Gorje because two other families already lived in Zgornje Gorje (see above) and it is difficult to imagine as many as four noble families in the same village. Perhaps the two families of Spodnje Gorje are descendants of Ernest II and Wulfing.

The first member of these two families is Otto of Gorje, mentioned in 1348, when he, together with his wife and children, was given a farm in Podgora near Lož (1348 11/6, CKSL). His wife was Alhait, daughter of Pirs of Snežnik (1361 19/11, CKSL). Otto must have died shortly after that because in 1353 Alheit is already in the convent of Velesovo (1353 23/4, CKSL), where she is later mentioned several times as Mother Superior (e.g.: 1359 18/5, CKSL). This means she was a distinguished woman of means. That her fortune was considerable is known from a document, according to which she purchased from her sister Zofija and her brother in law Erhard of Pudob their half of a quarter of Castle Snežnik (1361 19/11, CKSL). There is no trace of her children in Gorje, and it is not impossible that they moved to the valley of Lož.

An example of such migration was the case of Erhard of Pudob. In his seal he had the inscription "S ERHARDI

Fig. 5.3: The family of Gorje. Family tree.



DE VELŠ” – his name being “of Bled”. His coat-of-arms was a shield with blank right half, while the left half was divided by two lines (1354 4/5, CKSL). Eberhard of Gorje is mentioned only once, in 1348, as a witness at Bled (1348 4/8 copied from 1503 1/3, AS). Eberhard of Gorje and Erhard of Pudob-Bled were probably the same person. If this is correct, Eberhard first lived in Spodnje Gorje, and then – perhaps after he married Zofija of Snežnik – he moved to Pudob. Since he was twice a witness for the children of Nikolaj Kaul (see Ch. 5.1.), he was probably one of the Spodnje Gorje branch of the children of Ernest I Rayman, and could be a brother or a cousin of Otto.

Nikolaj of Gorje, who is mentioned only in 1352, when he and his wife sold a farm in Lesce to their uncle Tomaž of Podvin, was probably also from Spodnje Gorje. He was married to Dyemota, daughter of Fric of Drnča (1352 30/11, CKSL). Furthermore, his son Gašper is only mentioned once, without stating his place of origin, when he settled an inheritance dispute with his uncle Fridl of Drnča. The document was sealed by his uncle Tomaž of Podvin and cousin Viljem of Snežnik (1379 12/5, AS). He is no longer mentioned in connection with Gorje and probably lived elsewhere.

Emigration from Gorje is also implied in a document stating that Nikolaj of Kokra had two dvors and one farm in Zgornje Gorje and one dvor and four farms in Spodnje Gorje (1392 13/6, CKSL). It is very likely that at least some of the afore-mentioned inhabitants of Gorje had lived on some of the property that later belonged to Nikolaj. There are, for instance, remains of a tower in Spodnje Gorje on the land of farm no. 13, which was probably one of the 4 farms Nikolaj had in the village (cf. Ch. 3.2.c.).

How did Nikolaj of Kokra acquire all this property? His ancestor (probably his father) Wulfing of Kokra is mentioned several times between the years 1344 and 1377 (1344 23/4, and 1377 25/2, CKSL), usually in connection with Bled and its inhabitants. He was uncle of the children of Nikolaj Kaul of Bled-Zasip (1364 13/10, CKSL), and the inscription on his seal was “S VLVINC ChOCRER DE VELSE” (1352 27/3, AS). His coat-of-arms was a shield divided into three parts, the upper two raised above the surface. He could only have been uncle of the afore-mentioned children on their father’s side because their mother was of Mengeš (see Ch. 5.1.). He could have belonged to the Gorje branch of the children of Ernest I Rayman, which would be a logical explanation for how his son acquired so much property in Gorje. He was also uncle of Viljem III Lambergar (1372 2/2, CKSL).

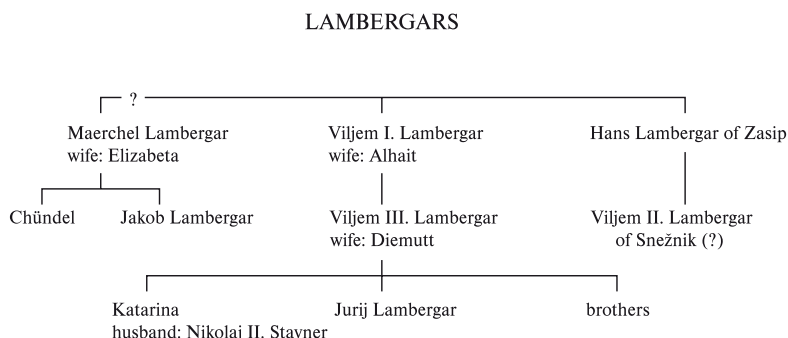
Wulfing probably moved to Kokra early in his lifetime and was named after it. Nikolaj of Kokra had the same coat-of-arms as Wulfing. The inscription on his seal, however, is no longer “of Bled” (e.g.: 1382 17/8, CKSL). He had only two daughters, Neža and Dyemota (1392 13/7, CKSL) and appointed as his heir his cousin Viljem III. Lambergar (1382 17/8, CKSL) in case he died without male heirs.

5.6. THE LAMBERGAR FAMILY (Fig. 5.4)

It is not the purpose of this chapter to investigate the entire Lambergar family tree. However, a few words should be said about them because even in the 14th century they were related to certain inhabitants of Bled, possessed property in the Bled area, and some of them even lived there. One of the latter is Hans Lambergar who, in a document from 1356, is described as “of Zasip” (1356 23/4, CKSL). Nikolaj Lambergar had a relatively large property in Podhom, which implies that he also lived there (cf.: 1370 19/4, CKSL). Another Lambergar of Zasip was Viljem III Lambergar, whose seal bears the inscription “+ S. WILhALMI. LAMBG. DAZPE” (1372 2/2, AS).

A few more words should be said about Viljem I Lambergar, who is often mentioned in connection with Bled and its inhabitants. He is already mentioned in 1326 (1326 2/2, CKSL) and a document from 1344 reveals that Hans Lambergar

Fig. 5.4:
The Lambergar
family.
Family tree.



of Zasip was his brother (1344 24/4, CKSL). In 1372 Hans was already dead. His son was Viljem II Lambergar, whose cousin was Viljem III Lambergar, his father being the late Viljem I Lambergar (1372 2/2, CKSL). The document from 1372 was sealed by Viljem III, whose coat-of-arms was a shield with the left half blank, while the right half was divided by one line. The Viljem who later served the Ortenburgs as castellan of Waldenberg had the same coat-of-arms (1379 12/5, AS). There are no indications that there were two Viljem Lambergars at that time and therefore it can be concluded that this was Viljem III. His cousin was Viljem of Snežnik, who also had property in the area of Bled and Radovljica (1391 16/8, CKSL). Perhaps he can be identified with Viljem II Lambergar.

Viljem III Lambergar was married to Diemuta (1386 30/3, CKSL) and had several children with her; his sons include Jurij Lambergar (1399 25/5, CKSL), and his best known daughter is Katarina who married Nikolaj II Stayner (1386 30/3, CKSL), a descendant of Jakob the Bald of Gorje (Ch. 5.5.). The Stayners and the Lambergars had been related even before. Father of Katarina, Viljem III Lambergar, is mentioned as uncle of Jakob and Nikolaj II Stayner (1385 23/4, CKSL).

Maerchel Lambergar also had property in Zasip. He was married to Elizabeta (1353 31/3, CKSL) and his children Jakob Lambergar and Chündel were cousins of Viljem III Lambergar (1380 19/3, CKSL). This implies that Maerchel was brother of Hans and Viljem I. Since Hans lived in Zasip, this means that the Zasip property was divided between him and Maerchel. Therefore it is likely that one of their parents had lived in Zasip. How the Lambergars got there in the first place remains a mystery. They were the successors of the owner of the former expanded farming unit (see Ch. 3.1.c.).

It was Viljem III who expanded the Lambergar property in the Bled area the most by buying land in Zasip (1380 19/3 and 1394 2/7, CKSL), in Poljšica and its surroundings (1390 5/3, CKSL), and in Podhom (1370 19/4, CKSL) – and probably also by contracts of inheritance with his cousin Nikolaj of Kokra (1382 17/8, CKSL) and nephew Nikolaj II Sumereker (1397 25/4, CKSL). Furthermore, the Lambergars were related to the Stayners, who also expanded their Bled property (1390 3/6 in 1393 21/10, CKSL). Therefore it is not unusual that it is the Lambergars and their later Kamen manor who are the third largest landowners in the Bled area, the first two being the Bled manor of the Diocese of Brixen, and the Radovljica manor belonging to the Prince of the Land.

5.7. OTHER FAMILIES

People whose family cannot be identified are the most often connected with the names Bled or Grad. Nothing else is known about Viljem of Bled, who seized Castle Bled in the mid-13th century, together with Gerloh of Jeterbenk (*Kos F. - Kos M.* 1928, no. 854).

A small Brixen foffeee, Matija with the nickname “Gvsman”, is known from the 13th century. He held one farm in Grad in fief from the bishop of Brixen. In 1273 his son Anselin and his daughters Mia and Ritza returned the farm to bishop Bruno of Brixen and asked him to give it in fief to a certain Lampreht and his wife Truta, who had purchased it (1273 21/7, CKSL). These people are not mentioned again and therefore it is impossible to even surmise about their family tree.

However, a few words can be said about their social position. They were certainly not tied to the land; they acted in the same way as other foffeees, selling off the fiefs of their feudal lord. It is quite probable that they were personally free. Matija’s nickname “gusman” (foundryman) referred to his work so the farm he held in fief was not his only source of income. Perhaps even most of his income was derived from his trade working iron. After he died his children perhaps did not carry on his trade and were forced to sell the farm.

So as early as the 13th century the village of Grad in its broadest sense was the centre of trade in the Bled area, which is confirmed by other sources. As early as the beginning of the 14th century Brixen serfs in Grad included a weaver, a blacksmith and a tailor. All of them also worked their farms, the blacksmith even two of them (1306-1309, *UBŠ*, 193). In 1342, Janez (“Janisso”) the blacksmith, son of the late Martin of Bled, is mentioned in Cividale-Cividat (1342 1/8, *Otorepec* 1995, p. 188). It is a plausible conclusion that Martin was a blacksmith in Grad at Bled and that his son Janez went to find work in Cividale-Cividat. Moreover, the furrier Primož (Primož Krznar) lived in Grad in the

mid-14th century. His supposed social origin has already been discussed (Ch. 3.9.c.). He was son-in-law of Vllein of Selo (1354 28/8, CKSL). The nickname Smrade (stench) refers to his work (1355 21/8, AS), which brought him the money to buy the tithes from the village of Zgornja Dobrava near Otoče for 21 marks of Aquileian pfennigs (1354 28/8, CKSL), as well as a farm in Blejska Dobrava for 17 and a half marks of Aquileian pfennigs (1355 21/8, AS) and subsequently the second half of the same farm for 14 marks of Venetian pfennigs (1364 13/10, CKSL).

Another inhabitant of Bled is known from the beginning of the 14th century: Tomaž of Bled, who is mentioned once as a witness, after brothers Merchlein and German of Zasip (1312 – *Santifaller* 1941, no. 164). It is not impossible that he was a relative of theirs, perhaps the unknown brother of Nikolaj Kaul, who was killed three years later (see Ch. 5.1.).

A certain Herman der Schirmer also had property – a Brixen fief – in Grad, the later farms 45 and 46 (see Ch. 3.9.c.). In 1347, after his death, his sons Nikolaj and Gabrijel sold them to bishop Matej of Brixen (1347 1/11, CKSL). The nickname “schirmer” implies that his father Hans could have taken part in the defence of Castle Bled and that his property had been a service fief. Records do not reveal where Herman came from and what happened to his two sons.

In 1450, a Klement of Čadovlje purchased arable land near Zasip and the tithes from Grimšče, Sebenje and Poljšica, which were a Celje fief (1450 25/9, AS), for 100 pounds of good Vienna pfennigs. In a document from 1455, Klement already has the name “of Bled”. In that year he sold the tithes from Poljšica to Andrej Kreig, to whom Poljšica was later given in fief by Count Ulrich of Celje. Ulrich then emphasized how he wished his fiefs would not be reduced, and that they would be owned by noblemen – “ritterlicher manschafft” (1455 20/9, CKSL). This implies that Klement was not a nobleman. Thereafter he is no longer mentioned in connection with Bled. It is questionable whether he ever lived there – perhaps he was only named after Bled for a short while.

In the mid-13th century an Erchenbold is mentioned in connection with Zagorice. He was most likely from Poljšica, where he held in fief one farm belonging to the Diocese of Brixen (UBŠ, 188). It is possible that he lived at the Brixen maierhof in Zagorice (see Ch. 3.12.c.). In 1273 Ulrik of Zagorice is mentioned among Brixen ministeriales as a witness for the bishop of Brixen (1273 21/7, CKSL). He could have been a successor of Erchenbold. Documents from the 14th and 15th century do not mention his descendants in Zagorice. Perhaps they were integrated into the Kranschrot family (cf. Ch. 3.12.c.). It is quite certain, however, that in the 14th century there were no more Brixen ministeriales in Zagorice.

A Marcelin of Rečica is mentioned in 1273 among Brixen ministeriales as a witness for the bishop of Brixen (1273 21/7, CKSL). In 1278 a maierhof keeper (“maiger”) Bertold of Rečica is mentioned among Brixen ministeriales as a witness for the bishop of Brixen (1287 28/9, CKSL). In 1347 Andrej of Rečica has the same function (1347 4/11, CKSL). Andrej was probably already related to the Kranschrots (cf. Ch. 5.4.), who later lived in Rečica.

There was also an unknown Nikolaj with the nickname Wasserman, who, together with his wife, sold a farm in Spodnje Bodešče to the bishop of Brixen (1387 25/11 copied from 1503 1/3, AS). His wife was daughter of Össlein of Šteberk, which indicates that Nikolaj must have been a distinguished man who probably did not live in the Bled area.

5.8. DEVELOPMENT

It has been demonstrated that almost all of the discussed inhabitants of Bled – with the exception of the family of Mlino, Primož Smrade and perhaps Matija Gusman – were originally ministeriales. Therefore the following overview is dedicated to ministeriales. First, the minimum number of ministeriales and their feudal lords will be determined. The Counts of Görz had their ministeriales in the villages of Gorje and Zasip (Chs. 5.1.; 5.5.); the Counts of Ortenburg in Zasip, Podhom (Ch. 5.6.), Gorje (Ch. 5.5.), and Poljšica (Ch. 3.6.c.); and the bishops of Brixen in Zasip (Ch. 3.1.c.), Podhom (Ch. 3.7.c.), Zgornje Gorje and Spodnje Gorje (Ch. 5.5.), Poljšica (Ch. 5.4.), Grimšče (Ch. 5.3.), Rečica, Zagorice (Ch. 5.7.), Želeče (Ch. 3.12.c.), and Spodnje Bodešče (Ch. 3.3.c.), as well as the castellans of Castle Bled.

The majority of the ministeriales in the Bled area belonged to Brixen. Some information concerning them can already be gathered from the 11th century documents. Although they do not mention the granting of fiefs to ministeriales in Carniola, there is no doubt that the bishop had his people in Carniola. Between 1065 and 1077 Altwın specifically mentioned the estates of ministeriales that belonged to his Kranj property (*Kos F. 1911, no. 244*). If Brixen had ministeriales near Kranj, then surely they were also at Bled, which was the centre of Brixen property in Carniola.

How did Brixen acquire the ministeriales of Bled? The question is whether they were newcomers or local inhabitants. The 11th century documents are the most explicit with respect to the former. In his detailed discussion, M. Kos identified Mantwin and Albger, who appear in 19 documents, as newcomers (*Kos M. 1970-1971, pp. 14-15*). They are mentioned side by side in 10 documents, including the first one, between 1070 and 1080 when they were donated in Aufhofen by the noble Henrik to the bishop of Brixen (*Redlich 1886, no. 240b*). It is very likely that they were brothers. Between 1075 and 1090 Albger was a witness in Brixen (*Redlich 1886, no. 288a*). Subsequently he was a witness only in Kranj, with the exception of one matter that needed to be concluded in Glanhofen in Carinthia (*Kos F. 1911, no. 314*). After 1075-1090 Albger is no longer mentioned. His brother Mantvin was a witness only in Kranj and once in a village named Selo. He is present in documents longer than Albger and is mentioned for the last time between 1085 and 1097, when he donated to Altwın a farm in the village of Zgoša which had been left to him by the free Preslav (*Kos F. 1911, no. 377*).

The newcomers include at least one of the Gundrams, if not both of them (see Ch. 4.). – Another newcomer – or possibly a local inhabitant – was a certain Heceman, who was a witness as many as thirteen times, and only in Kranj. He is first mentioned between 1050 and 1065 (*Kos F. 1911, no. 162*), and for the last time between 1075 and 1090 (*Kos F. 1911, no. 316*).

A certain Mazili also settled in Carniola and temporarily acquired a vineyard at Bled from a certain Godeslav (*Kos F. 1911, no. 241*). He is first mentioned as a witness between 1050 and 1065 in Mettnitz near Sachsenburg in Carinthia (*Redlich 1886, no. 109b*). Thereafter he is mentioned as a witness only in Kranj, for the first time between 1060 and 1070 (*Kos F. 1911, no. 214*), and for the last time between 1075 and 1090 (*Kos F. 1911, no. 311*).

Another newcomer was Orendil, who is first mentioned as a witness between 1050 and 1065 (*Redlich 1886, no. 107*). He was also with Altwın at Castle Kamen-Stein in Carinthia (*Kos F. 1911, no. 158*) and in Aufhofen (*Redlich 1886, no. 131*). Not before long he appeared in Kranj (*Kos F. 1911, no. 164*) and is mentioned there as a witness for the last time between 1065 and 1075 (*Kos F. 1911, no. 241*). Between 1075 and 1090 he was once a witness in a place by the name Selo (*Kos F. 1911, no. 300*). Between 1050 and 1065 he gave two orals of arable land near the village of Brezje to Altwın in exchange for a dvor in Radovljica (*Kos F. 1911, no. 169*).

Six to seven newcomers who settled in Carniola have been listed here. Their number might have been higher, but only the ones listed above appear often enough for a reliable identification to be possible. Only two of these six or seven, Gundram and Mazili, are attested to have had property in the Bled area. The number of Brixen ministeriales in the Bled area will be calculated on the basis of comparison.

It is noticeable that there are no ministeriales in any of the villages established in the 12th century (Blejska Dobrava, Zgornja Bohinjska Bela, Zazer, Ribno), let alone in younger ones. This distribution is proof that the network of Brixen ministeriales had been wholly established in the 11th century. Only two of them have been proven to have been newcomers. It is a rough estimate, but it can be claimed that in the 11th century at least half – but possibly even more – of the Brixen ministeriales in the Bled area were local inhabitants. They were probably among those who donated all their property to the Diocese of Brixen, which means that they lost their source of income. Becoming a Brixen ministerialis was an acceptable solution to the problem of their existence.

Why so many ministeriales? – It would appear that in the 11th century, Brixen divided all newly acquired property among ministeriales (see Ch. 10.4.) and only kept the demesnes in Grad (Ch. 3.9.c.), Zagorice (Ch. 3.12.c.) and Grimšče (Ch. 3.11.d.), as well as some separate pieces of land for exchange. This is connected with the land division in Koritno, Zagorice–Želeče and Rečica–Grimšče, where ministerialis dvors with dependent farms were established, two in each village. So in the 11th century Brixen exploited the land either directly by demesne meierhofs, or indirectly, by ministerialis dvors. The for-

mer were the source of material goods, the latter of military power – which meant power in general. The similarity is apparent between a ministerialis dvor and an early mediaeval expanded farming unit. The organisation of farming was the same: the leading family (a ministerialis or a free owner) and subordinate families. It is, however, possible that a Brixen ministerialis dvor was in a better position when it came to the use of common land, which was owned by Brixen (cf.: Ch. 10.4.).

Far less can be said about ministeriales of other feudal lords. The documents mentioning them have not been preserved. In the 11th century, only ministerialis Hadolt is mentioned, whose estate in Želeče was donated by his feudal lord Friderik to the Diocese of Brixen (*Kos F. 1911, no. 167*). Whether Hadolt was a newcomer or a local inhabitant cannot be ascertained. Other feudal lords of that time only had individual pieces of property in the Bled area, which they had acquired from the local inhabitants (*Kos F. 1911, nos.: 158, 241*) and some of them also from the Frankish ruler, for instance the margrave in Grad (cf. Ch. 3.9.c.). Directly, they did not benefit greatly from the land in the distant Bled area, so they gave it to their ministeriales, or – perhaps even more often – used it for further exchanges (e.g.: *Kos F. 1911, no. 158*).

Sources do not mention how much property belonged in the 11th century to non-Brixen, non-native owners, but this can be indirectly estimated. Deducting the royal estate of Bled (see Ch. 10.3.) and considering the fact that the main part of Brixen property was acquired only by the ambitious Altwin – that acquiring local property therefore depended above all on one's competence, it is likely that the local inhabitants still had the majority of the non-Brixen property. It is even possible that Hadolt was the only non-Brixen ministerialis in the 11th century.

Non-Brixen ministeriales probably appeared only in the following centuries. There is no information on their origin, yet it is a reasonable explanation that they were local inhabitants, who eventually, out of necessity, submitted to feudal lords. Furthermore, as late as the first half of the 14th century, there are no traces of non-Brixen fiefs in the Bled area. Although it is true that also the once numerous Brixen fiefs were rare at that time, it is still hard not to imagine that the property of ministeriales is mostly old allodial property.

The personal position of Bled ministeriales will not be discussed here in detail since it is sufficiently well represented in the disquisition by L. Hauptmann (*Hauptmann 1952-1953, pp. 274-284*). Although they were still not personally free in the 13th century, their position had been greatly strengthened by their being feoffees of different feudal lords, by owning allodial properties, but moroso by the incessant succession conflicts of great feudal lords of the 13th and 14th century and by the fact that the Diocese of Brixen was quite powerless in the 13th century.

The end of the 12th century and the entire 13th century were characterised by disputes between the bishops of Brixen and their advocates, the Counts of Görz-Tyrol. Among other things, there were constant attempts from the latter to alienate Brixen ministeriales – and their property – in their own favour (*Fajkmajer 1908, pp. 160-191*). It is quite possible that the ministeriales of the Counts of Görz in the Bled area used to belong to Brixen, especially since there is otherwise no trace of the property of the Counts of Görz in the area.

The Brixen ministeriales of Bled became independent; one of the reasons was probably that in the 13th century Brixen bishops lost the Bled manor twice: for the first time between the years 1236 and 1241, and for the second time between the years 1288 and 1296 (*Gornik 1967, p. 117*).

It is interesting how fiefs were turned into allodial property. As early as the 13th century the Diocese of Brixen was only the nominal owner of its fiefs. The document concerning the sale of the farm of Matija Gusman in the village of Grad is instructive in this respect (1273 21/7, CKSL). The farm, a Brixen fief, was purchased from the children of Matija Gusman by Lampreht and his wife Truta. Bishop Bruno of Brixen gave the farm in fief to the latter two on the condition that he had the right to purchase it back at the sale price, should Lampreht or his successors not suit him. The price of eventual new buildings would be evaluated by two honest men and they would be compensated. Lampreht and Truta had the right to sell the farm or donate it for their spiritual welfare, but the bishop of Brixen always had the right of pre-emption. In the 14th century, the bishops of Brixen actually had to buy their own property at the same prices as property which had never been theirs. This means that financially there was no difference for the bishop between a Brixen fief and an allodium belonging to someone else.

The most illustrative example is a fief in Poljšica. In the first half of the 14th century, a part of it was purchased from the Kranschrots (Ch. 5.4.). The other part was at the end of the 14th century already considered an allodium ("aygen") of the Kranschrot family (e.g.: 1377 25/2, CKSL). For the retrograde analysis method this means that as early as the 14th century, the label "aygen" can also refer to a former fief. Of course, the process could also go in the opposite direction: feudal property in the Bled area was mostly former allodial property. As early as the 14th century there was absolute chaos and, without the knowledge of older written sources, inferring to the earlier situation is merely guesswork.

It has been demonstrated that the ministeriales of Bled also dealt in trade. Their finances had probably been strengthened by the wars of succession between the Habsburgs and the Counts of Görz -Tyrol at the beginning of the 14th century (*Grafenauer* 1965, pp. 374-379). Evidence of this is the life of Nikolaj Kaul, who made a fortune as a mercenary knight and ascended to several high positions, which makes him one of the most important noblemen of Carniola at that time (Ch. 5.1.). The ministeriales of Bled were, together with the rest of the Carniola ministeriales, legally finally liberated by a land privilege in 1338 (*ZAP* 1980, p. 151). The money they had acquired was invested in real estate, which provided regular income due to the tributes of the serfs. They also dealt in money, more or less successfully.

Personal freedom and fiefs turning into allodial property meant that Brixen ministeriales were less and less dependent on their feudal lords, the bishops of Brixen. The final break was probably the year 1371 when the bishop of Brixen pledged the Bled manor to Konrad Kreig for 3000 guldens (cf.: *Gornik* 1967, p. 119). From then on, there is no trace of Brixen fiefs or Brixen ministeriales in the Bled area. They had lost all their importance to Brixen, and vice versa. The social and economic function they had in the 11th century had definitively disappeared.

Since they were acquiring property beyond the Bled area, it is understandable that they moved away to their places of work. They were related to Brixen and Radovljica ministeriales of the Radovljica area, and the Reynman family also had connections with Carinthia and the valley of Lož, but within the frame of Ortenburg property. Therefore it is no wonder that after the decline of the Diocese of Brixen, the noblemen of Bled started to serve the Counts of Ortenburg. At least those who can be traced until the end of the 14th century and sometimes even further mostly became feoffees of the Counts of Ortenburg and later of the Counts of Celje (Chs. 5.2.; 5.3.; 5.4.).

Smaller families died out – at least in the male line – and their feudal lords had changed. This, together with emigration, meant that the Bled area lost most of its noblemen as early as the end of the 14th century. Close family connections, on the other hand, enabled the rest of them to start accumulating property in the Bled area (Chs. 5.3.; 5.5.; 5.6.). As it has been demonstrated in the chapter about the development of individual villages, a part of their property later passed into the hands of the Radovljica manor belonging to the Prince of the Land. Brixen managed to regain some of the property, while the rest of it passed into the hands of different church institutions, probably as a benefice for spiritual welfare.

6. EDLINGS OF THE 15TH CENTURY

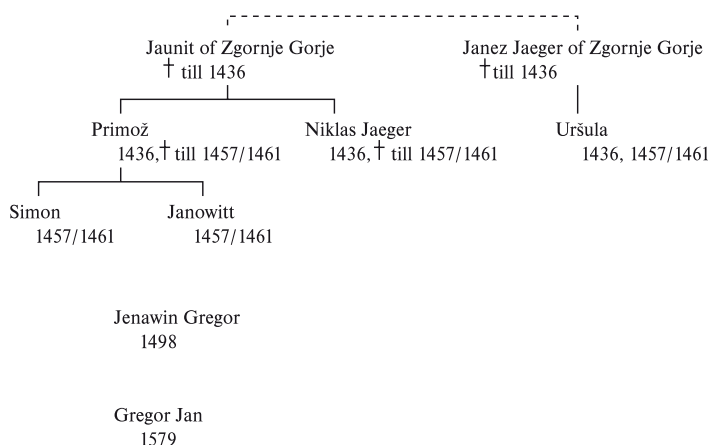
In the 15th century a new social group occurs in the written records for the Bled area: edlings. Due to its significance and for the sake of clarity and convenience, the group deserves a special chapter, although almost all the individuals belonging to it have already been discussed in other chapters. The urbarium from 1498 mentions edlings in five villages: Poljšica, Zgornje Gorje, Višelnica, Podhom and Zgornja Blejska Dobrava (*Rad. urb. 1498*).

In Poljšica an edling estate (“edlinggutt”) is first mentioned in 1436 as a former Ortenburg fief (*CF, f. 40*). This is farm no. 8, the last one to have come into being probably at the end of the 14th century. It was given in fief to the tribute collector (Ch. 3.6.c.). The edling character of a farm was therefore determined by the personal situation of its beneficiary. In 1436 the farm belonged to cousins Jeronim and Niclav who, in addition, have two fields of the village of Zgornje Gorje. This is probably all the land they own since the records do not mention anything else and the situation is the same with their successors (Ch. 3.6.c.). The area of their fields is 3.3 ha, and 4.4 ha together with their fields in Zgornje Gorje. This is a relatively substantial property, approximately the size of two average contemporary farms, yet the actual economic position of Jeronim and Niclav was the same as that of the other peasants; they made a living working on their farm. What distinguished them from others was their personal freedom as well as the special service they performed and with which they, in some sense, paid for their farm.

Edling property was the most fragmented in Zgornje Gorje. As early as 1436 it was divided between three groups of owners: brothers Primož and Niklas Jaeger, edlings, sons of the late Jaunit of Zgornje Gorje – Uršula, daughter of the late Janez, a hunter of Zgornje Gorje – Jakob, uncle of Uczet, Janez Ferčej and Urša, daughter of Spaetlein. The first two had jointly one edling estate (“edlinggutt”) (*CF, f. 40*), while Niklas alone had one half of an edling estate (“edlingtumb”) in the village of Zgornje Gorje between the houses of Janez the hunter and Matuš, serf of Lambergar (*CF, f. 28v*). Uršula, daughter of Janez, had one half of an edling estate (*CF, f. 40*), and the group of the latter three had one edling estate (*CF, f. 40*). All of the estates were still Ortenburg fiefs.

Between the years 1457 and 1461 the situation remained unchanged only in the first group (*Fig. 6.1*). At that time brothers Primož and Niklas had already passed away and all of their property had been given in fief to Simon and Janowitt, sons of Primož (*HCF, f. 29*). In 1498 all edling property of Zgornje Gorje was already registered in the urbarium of the Radovljica manor (*Rad. urb. 1498*), where it was again divided into three parts, all of them described as one edling estate (“edelthumb”). The tributes they had to pay are listed, therefore it is to a certain extent possible to guess at the size of the parts. Jenawin Gregor paid 80 solidi for the first part. He is probably the successor of Jaunit and Janowitt. Štefan the sexton (“kürchmann”) paid 66 solidi, which included the tribute for his rovt, and Zellnerin paid 26 so-

Fig. 6.1:
The edlings of
Gorje.
Family tree.



lidi. The highest tribute for a rovt in the valley of Radovna in that urbarium was 26 solidi; therefore it could be stated that Štefan and Zellnerin together paid approximately the same amount as Jenawin.

In the urbarium from 1579 the proportion of old tributes is the same, but the size of property is somehow better defined. Gregor Jan, the successor of Jenawin Gregor, had one half-farm, while Klemen, son of Primož from Bled, who is the successor of Zellnerin, had a small part of one ownership ("aigenthumb"). Matevž Štefan, the successor of Štefan the sexton, and Tomaž Ferčej, an edling, who lived in Višelnica, had the third part, which is still described as edling property (*Rad. urb.* 1579).

The development of the village arable land showed that it makes the most sense if these three parts correspond to houses 16, 9, 3 (Ch. 3.5.b.; 3.5.c.). Moreover, the land areas of these farms roughly correspond to the afore-mentioned proportion of tributes: 3 – 0.2 ha, 9 – 0.7ha, and 16 – 0.75 ha. No. 16 could have belonged to Jaunit, while his neighbour Janez would have been the possessor of no. 9. No. 3 would have been shared by Jakob, Janez and Urša.

Such fragmentation as early as the beginning of the 15th century indirectly proves that the estate as a whole cannot have existed later than the 14th century. The owners of the two main parts, Jaunit's son Niklas and Janez, are described as hunters, meaning that the edling estate of Zgornje Gorje was originally an Ortenburg hunting huba. This explanation is only possible if the Ortenburgs had the right to hunt in the Bled area. That is not impossible for there is evidence that they gained judicial rights in the Bled law court as early as the mid-13th century (*Jaksch* 1915, no. 2529a = ω3082). That the Ortenburgs utilised this area is further evidenced by their settlement of the village of Spodnje Laze (Ch. 3.18.c.) and possibly also of Zgornja Blejska Dobrava (Ch. 3.16.c.), either indirectly by ministeriales, or perhaps even directly.

If the whole edling farm in Zgornje Gorje had only 1.6 ha of fields, then there is no doubt that divided into three parts and between even more owners, it was too small to support all of them. Their main source of income must have therefore been something else.

It has already been demonstrated that Tomaž Ferčej from the 16th century lived in Višelnica, and it is quite likely that the situation was the same with his predecessor Janez Ferčej from the 15th century. It is an interesting fact that the Višelnica property of Janez is not recorded in the registers of fiefs, only in the urbarium from 1498 when his successor, edling Valentin Ferčej, had to pay 50 solidi for his edling property and, in addition, help with carrying the luggage of the Prince of the Land from the Karavanke Mountains to the village of Naklo and back (*Rad. urb.* 1498). Tomaž Ferčej no longer had this duty. It is, however, interesting that the urbarium states that he was given his half-farm in fief by the Counts of Ortenburg and the Counts of Celje (*Rad. urb.* 1579), which does not correspond to the silence of the fief register. Tomaž lived on farm no. 4, which had 1.9 ha of fields (Chs. 3.4.b.; 3.4.c.) – as much as the average farm in the village. It is not clear why it is described as a half-farm in the urbarium.

Two important facts are that the Ferčej family are the only edlings in the Bled area who lived at the presumed seat of an early mediaeval expanded farming unit (Ch. 3.4.b.), and also the only ones who directly served the Prince of the Land. Therefore it can be assumed that their personal circumstances originated from earlier periods, while the situation regarding their property at the end of the 15th century is merely a consequence of extended development during which the two dependent farms were lost and the only one that remained was the farm they lived on. There are at least three reasons for why Valentin is already mentioned in the urbarium: he had edling property in Zgornje Gorje with edling relatives, and he served the Prince of the Land – a Habsburg, who had by then already become the feudal lord of other edlings.

Everything has already been said about edling property in Podhom (Chs. 3.7.b.; 3.7.c.). It was comprised of farm no. 11 with 3.3 ha of fields, which was divided into two parts as early as the 15th century. Andrej of Podhom had one part, and Helena, daughter of the late Martin of Žirovnica and widow of the late Kristan of Podhom, had the other one (*CF* f. 40). Helena's brother Janez also owned edling property in the village of Žirovnica (*CF* f. 12v). It is likely that Andrej and Kristan were relatives, possibly even brothers. If it is true that all the farms in the village which do not belong to Brixen in the 15th century are mentioned in the 14th century records (cf.: Ch. 3.7.c.), then the edling estate in question, farm no. 11, must have been one of them. It was therefore still an ordinary farm as late

as the mid-14th century, and only gained its edling character when an edling settled on it because of his personal situation. We can only surmise at whether this was another case of a service fief. Or perhaps a less important member of one of the noble families of Zgornje Gorje received the farm as his hereditary share – a similar situation to that of Martin of Rečica (Ch. 5.4.). It could even be a fief of a knecht, the servant of a nobleman. One of them, Haertlein, is recorded in the 14th century in the Bled area (1320 4/5, CKSL).

Moreover, the edling estate in Zgornja Blejska Dobrava has already been discussed in detail (Chs. 3.17.b.; 3.17.c.). It was comprised of farms 18 and 21 with as much as 4.4 ha of fields and was bought in the mid-14th century by the furrier Primož Smrade from Grad, when it still had an allodial character. Considering Primož's stable financial position (cf.: Ch. 5.7.), the farm could have become an Ortenburg fief only in the time of his successors. In 1436 the estate was held in fief by brothers Ruprecht and Niklas, sons of Matko of Zgoša (CF, f. 40). How it passed from Primož to the family of Zgoša remains a mystery. There are two possible ways: through purchase or through family ties. Whatever the case, in Zgornja Blejska Dobrava too the property in question gained its edling character from its beneficiary.

The common characteristics of the Bled edlings and their property in the 15th century are as follows: It is apparent in all five villages that the legal position of edling property is secondary, that it is merely a consequence of the personal situation of its immediate holder. None of the edlings had more than one farm, although it is true that they were of different sizes. The edlings were connected by family ties. Thus it can be assumed that the edlings of Višelnica were related to those in Zgornje Gorje and in Zgornja Blejska Dobrava. As early as 1498, Linhart Ferčej is the holder of one half of an edling estate in Zgornja Blejska Dobrava (*Rad. urb. 1498*). The Podhom edlings were related to those of Žirovnica.

All this creates an impression that in the 15th century the edlings of the Bled area were a rather uniform social class. Edlings and edling property as such in the Bled area are first mentioned as late as the Celje fief register (CF), which seems to portray edlings as members of a special social group of the feudal ladder, serving their feudal lord. It is presumed that their fiefs already belonged to the Ortenburgs, while the service of edlings was being transformed into a monetary tribute as early as 1436, as indicated by the case of the Kranj citizen Janez Krulc. Like other edlings, he should have had to serve the Counts of Celje for his estate in Malo Naklo, yet all he actually had to do was pay one mark per year (CF, f. 15). Edling property was inheritable and divisible, which caused it to be quite fragmented as early as the 15th century – probably in relation to the fact that there were eventually no more services performed on its account.

On the other hand, it has been demonstrated that edling property is of various origins: a newly established farm, which was a service fief – Zgornje Gorje; the remainder of an old allodial estate of a freeman, who served the Prince of the Land – Višelnica; an old serf-farm, which was a service fief – Podhom; and a newly established farm, which was a new fief, formerly an allodium – Zgornja Blejska Dobrava. In light of what has been said, it can be stated that in the Bled area edlings and edling property did not appear before the second half of the 14th century, and that by the end of the 15th century, when they were recorded in the urbarium, they had become much like the rest of the serfs. Furthermore, it is evident that at the end of the 15th century the term edling no longer had the same meaning as a century ago.

It might not be a coincidence that in the Bled area edlings arose somewhat at the same time as ministeriales ultimately disappeared from it. It would seem that ministeriales were somehow replaced by edlings at performing small services within the frame of the Ortenburg property. However, with the transition under the Counts of Celje, and probably also with the economy increasingly run by clerical staff, their socio-economic significance disappeared. Thus, the most evident difference between them and the rest of the peasant serfs was lost and gradually these distinctions entirely disappeared.

7. ŽUPANS OF THE BLEĐ AREA FROM THE 12TH TO THE 15TH CENTURY

The purpose of this chapter is primarily to determine how old is the service of the župan and to make assumptions about the earlier situation. Written records do not provide much assistance. Since it is extremely risky to project the situation of, for instance, the 18th century several centuries back, only those župans will be discussed here who are mentioned in records by the end of the 15th century. They only appear in ten villages and can be divided into two groups: those mentioned earlier – Ribno, Koritno, Spodnja Bohinjska Bela, Selo, Zgornja Bohinjska Bela; and those mentioned later on – Mlino, Zagorice, Podhom, Mužje, Zgornje Bodešče.

The first mention of a župan in the Bled area is from 1253: a “scultetus” had a half-farm in Ribno and paid no tributes for it (*UBŠ*, 188). It is highly unlikely that he lived on the said farm; it would appear that he was its beneficiary and the farm was his payment for serving as a župan. The time when župans first appeared in Ribno can be only assumed indirectly. It has been demonstrated that Ribno was established as the result of Brixen colonisation in the 12th century (Ch. 3.14.c.). There are some indices that the village had a župan from the very beginning.

In the following urbarium, however, a župan is no longer mentioned in Ribno (*UBŠ*, 192), which could be proof that the service was declining as early as the 13th century. It seems that the farm of the župan had been given in fief, and that Brixen retrieved it only several centuries later. This was the later Sodar farm, no. 22. Its building is in the main group of farmhouses, slightly removed from the rest, at the western edge (cf.: Chs. 3.14.b.; 3.14.c.). It is an interesting piece of information that two fields in the oldest part of the village arable land bear the name “župenca”. If this name originates from the time when fields were cleared for cultivation, then this is yet another piece of evidence that the village had a župan since the earliest times.

In 1253 a Gozmer is mentioned in Zgornja Bohinjska Bela. He had a farm for his lifetime and paid no tributes for it (*UBŠ*, 186). It is possible that the farm was some sort of fief, but a more plausible explanation is that Gozmer was the župan of Zgornja Bohinjska Bela, and the benefit from the said farm was payment for his services. The addendum that he had it for his lifetime implies that the service was not hereditary – so the farm was connected with the service, not with a person. This village probably had a župan later on too. In 1579 a Jernej Zupan is mentioned (*Rad. urb.* 1579). Since this is the time when the surnames of serfs were being formed, it is uncertain whether Zupan denotes the service, or is just a surname, or both. Zupan had farm no. 20, located at the northwestern edge, near the entrance into the village.

The next župan is mentioned in 1416 in Koritno (*UBŠ*, 210). He is stated only as “suppan” – without a name. For his farm he paid just slightly lower tributes than the rest. He had another farm which was empty, but this is not necessarily connected with his service because he was not the only one in the village who worked another empty farm besides his own. In 1431 another župan is mentioned in Koritno, Jenuin (Ingenuin), son of Kerner (*UBŠ*, 219). A curious fact is that in 1416 Kerner is mentioned together with the župan. This is proof that in this case, the function of župan was not hereditary. This can also be gathered from the urbarium of 1431 where it is stated that Ingenuin paid less in tributes than the rest of the serfs only if he was the župan. Ingenuin, too, runs two farms: his own – the farm of the župan, as well as his father’s farm, but the reason is again only a shortage of labour for there are two other villagers at the same time who also run two farms. The function of

župan in this village probably originates from the time when the Bled Island provostry gained most of the farms, i.e. after the mid-12th century (cf.: Ch. 3.10.c.).

In the village of Selo, župan ("suppan") Martin is not mentioned before 1498 (*Rad. urb. 1498*). Urbaria for this village from previous times are unknown and it is quite possible that there was a župan in this village even much earlier. Selo is also one of the villages established by Brixen colonisation in the 11th century. Martin had a farm for which he paid the same tributes as everybody else, only in the urbarium of 1579 the payment of the župan is a meadow for 4 days' mowing (*Rad. urb. 1579*). Martin had farm no. 15, which is one of the oldest farms in the village, located at its southern end (Chs. 3.15.b.; 3.15.c.). This is another clue that the village probably had a župan from the very beginning. Like the majority of the serfs in the village he changed his feudal lord, passing from the Diocese of Brixen to the Counts of Ortenburg.

Zupan Križan ("Crisann suppan") in Spodnja Bohinjska Bela is also not mentioned before 1498 (*Rad. urb. 1498*). He had one farm and paid for it as much as the rest, but as župan he was exempt from tributes of hens and eggs. He had farm no. 17, the youngest in the village, located on the left bank of the stream of Belica (Chs. 3.8.b.; 3.8.c.). It is therefore likely that the function of župan was established only by the Ortenburgs when they acquired and rearranged the whole village.

Had the village been acquired from a freeman who became a vassal of the Ortenburgs, then a ministerialis would be expected in the village in the 13th and 14th century, but records do not mention any. However, if it had been acquired from Brixen, then this could have happened at the same time as they acquired property in Selo, i.e. before 1253, perhaps in connection with the compensation bishop Egnon had to pay in order to regain Castle Bled. His guarantor was Count Herman of Ortenburg, who had the right to take some property of the bishop of Brixen as compensation for eventual losses (*Kos F.-Kos M. 1928, no. 854*). So if the bishop did not have enough money, it was paid by Herman, who was given bishop's property in exchange. It is quite possible that this is what happened.

It is interesting that in 1579 neither of the five peasants in Spodnja Bohinjska Bela is recorded as župan. The urbarium only states that the župan served no more than one day of serf labour (*Rad. urb. 1579*). This implies that at that time, župans were changed on a frequent basis.

The first župan ("amptman") in Mlino is mentioned in 1431, when this was Mihel son of Rupreht. It is stated that he paid no tributes due to his service. If he was not župan, he paid the same tributes as everybody else (*UBŠ, 220*). In an older urbarium from the year 1416, his father Rupreht was equal to the rest of the peasants and no župan is mentioned in the village (*UBŠ, 212*). Mihel was therefore the first župan, and this was at about the same time as the Sepachers left the village (Ch. 5.2.). Matjaž Bizjak makes a guess that Mihel was no ordinary župan, but a clerk with the competence over the whole manor (*UBŠ, 87*).

In 1524 the village župan ("suppan") is Jakob Strupec who is paid for his service in cereals, hens and eggs (*Briks. urb. 1524*). He lives on farm no. 22, one of the first four farms of serfs in the village (Ch. 3.13.c.).

The Radovljica urbarium of 1498 mentions the župan of Zagorice, Kristan Muesel. He had one farm and as župan he did not have to pay the tributes of hens and eggs (*Rad. urb. 1498*). His farm, no. 14, used to be a part of the property of the Kranschrots, which is last mentioned as late as the second half of the 15th century (Ch. 3.12.c.). Župan was probably introduced in the village only after that time, and he is no longer mentioned in the urbarium of 1579 (*Rad. urb. 1579*).

The first known župan in Podhom is Jenuin in 1498 (*Rad. urb. 1498*). He had one farm and as župan he did not pay the tributes of groats, broad beans, hens and eggs. He lived on farm no. 5, which is probably already mentioned in the 14th century, like the rest of the non-Brixen farms (Ch. 3.7.c.). No župan is mentioned at that time and it seems likely that also in Podhom this function was introduced only in the 15th century.

In 1474 a certain Tomaž, who was at that time župan ("diezeit suppan") in Mužje, is mentioned (*1474 21/4, AS*). This implies that also in Mužje the service was not connected too closely to a specific person. It is not impossible that he also served as župan in Zasip. The service was probably introduced in the 15th century because of the accumulation of Lambergar property in the two villages (Chs. 3.1.c.; 5.6.).

In Zgornje Bodešče there was a Luka Zupan in 1579 (or some time earlier; the tithe list is slightly older than the rest of the *urbarium*), serf of the Bled Island provostry (*Rad. urb. 1579*). It is true that Zupan was already his surname, but it is quite likely that he originated from a family of župans, which would mean that there might have been a župan also in Zgornje Bodešče at least by the end of the 15th century. Luka lived on farm no. 17, which is an old serf farm (see: Ch. 3.3.a.).

In summary, it is not by any means possible to prove the early mediaeval origin of the župans of Bled. Neither can it be assumed indirectly from their farms. There is no evidence that any of them lived at a seat of an early mediaeval expanded farming unit. Moreover, all that has been said indicates that this was a young feudal service that was introduced in the Bled area in the 12th century during the planned settlement of some villages. Earlier, the Diocese of Brixen had depended on *ministeriales* at governing and exploiting the Bled manor. In the “new” villages this service was taken over by župans who were “authorised” serfs and represented no danger of alienating property and income, as the *ministeriales* did. The župans of Ribno, Selo, Zgornja Bohinjska Bela and Koritno belong to this period. This was the newly rearranged property which no longer belonged to *ministeriales*, but directly to Brixen. A župan would therefore be expected in Blejska Dobrava too, while in Zazer the service could have been performed by the keeper of the *maierhof* (Ch. 3.13.c.). The župan in Spodnja Bohinjska Bela appeared slightly later, probably in the mid-13th century. There was a new wave of župans in the 15th century, perhaps in connection with the disappearance of small noblemen from the villages (Mlino, Zagorice, Mužje, Podhom), and possibly also with the fact that certain services were no longer performed by edlings.

8. MOUNTAIN PASTURES OF THE BLEED AREA

This chapter will discuss the age of Bled mountain pastures (Fig. 8.1), i.e. how long mountain livestock breeding has been present in the Bled area. Since property ownership has been subject to many changes, our starting-point will be the current situation from which we will gradually descend into past periods. Only common mountain pastures will be discussed since the private ones are of late origin.

A systematic investigation of mountain pastures in the Julian Alps has led to the conclusion that shepherds preferred to build their settlements at the transition from forest to alpine meadows, which facilitated the economic exploitation of both. Forest was the source of timber for buildings and fuel, while the barrens provided extensive pastures among dwarf pines and rocks (Melik 1950, pp. 51-52).

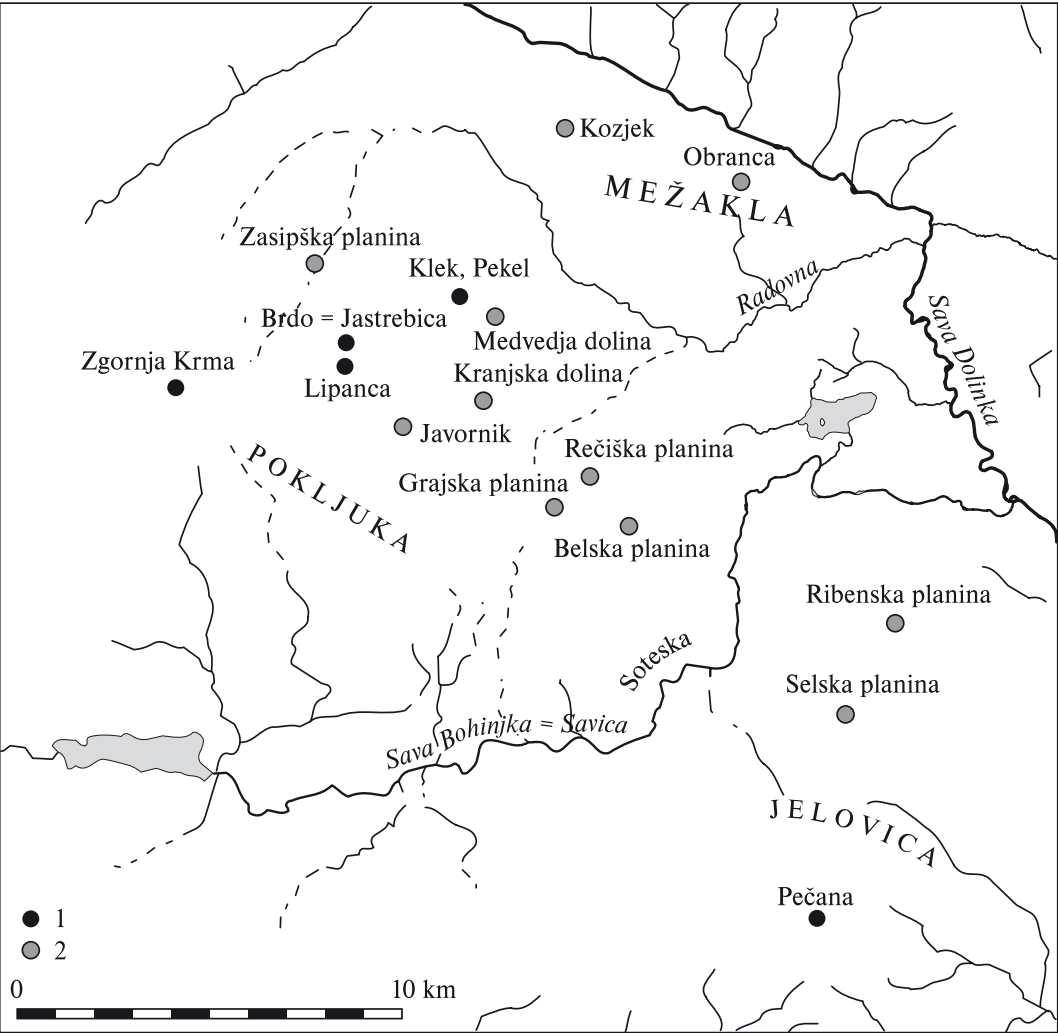


Fig. 8.1: Mountain pastures of Bled. 1 – high-altitude pastures, 2 – lower pastures.

It is not difficult to gather from this an idea that the large, natural high-altitude mountain pastures are primarily connected with the oldest villages (*Melik 1950, p. 92*).

Until recently there were the following pasture communities in the Bled area: Bled/Grad (the villages of Grad, Zagorice, Želeče, Mlino and Zazer) – Rečica – Gorje (the villages of Zgornje Gorje, Spodnje Gorje, Poljšica, Višelnica) – Podhom – Blejska Dobrava – Laze – Bohinjska Bela – Selo and Kupljenik – Ribno (the villages of Ribno, Koritno, Bodešče) – Zasip and Mužje. The Grad community has the mountain pasture of Grajska planina, while the village of Grad itself has the mountain pasture of Lipanca. Rečica has Brdo and Rečiška planina, and the Gorje pasture community has Kranjska dolina. Podhom has the mountain pasture of Meja dolina (Medvedja dolina in all the records until the 18th century) and Klek. Blejska Dobrava has Klek and the nearby Pekel, Laze has Kozjek and Bohinjska Bela has Belska planina. The villages of Selo and Kupljenik have Selska planina, while the Ribno community has Ribenska planina. The villages of Zasip and Mužje have the mountain pastures of Zasipška planina (in Spodnja Krma) and Zgornja Krma. The majority of the mountain pastures are on the Pokljuka plateau, except for Kozjek on the Mežakla plateau, and the mountain pastures of Selska planina and Ribenska planina on the Jelovica plateau. There are high-altitude mountain pastures only at Pokljuka: Lipanca, Brdo, Zgornja Krma and Klek (*Melik 1950, p. 164*). It should be mentioned that Brdo can probably be identified with Jastrebica, a former mountain pasture of Rečica (*Melik 1950, p. 100*).

Until the 18th century Pekel (Blejska Dobrava) is never mentioned in lists of mountain pastures. Located in the immediate vicinity of Klek, which belongs to the same village, it is probably an expansion of Klek and of relatively late origin. Older lists of mountain pastures do not always state all the villages because they were concerned with the income of individual manors and their purpose was not to provide a view of the whole. Therefore only changes in the rights of their beneficiaries will be discussed here.

A description of the mountain pastures of the Bled manor from 1609 is the first source which reveals traces of the earlier situation. Rečiška planina is referred to as Rečiška Ribenšica and belongs to both Rečica and Grimšče. Grimšče also has the mountain pasture of Klek together with the villages of Podhom and Poljšica. Grajska planina is referred to as Blejska Ribenšica and is used by the pasture community of Grad, including the village of Zazer. Belska planina is referred to as “Naseskhindola” (*Opis 1609*), while in the urbarium of 1602 it is referred to as “Nasseskim pallu”.

In the same year it is mentioned for the first time that the mountain pasture of Lipanca belongs to Grad. Grajska planina is referred to as “Spodnja Ribenšica” and Rečiška planina as “Ribenšica na polji”. The urbarium reveals that only one peasant of Poljšica could use the mountain pasture of Klek (*Briks. urb. 1602*). In similar individual cases, information like this has not been taken into account, but here it implies the earlier situation (see below).

The corrections of the Bled manor urbarium from 1591 reveal some new information about earlier times. Grajska planina is referred to as Za Ribničico. Grimšče is only mentioned in connection with Klek. A new piece of information is that Gorje could also use the pasture of Klek, but it is not stated whether this is Spodnje Gorje or Zgornje Gorje. Belska planina is referred to as “Naschebsskhim dallu” (*Urb. popr. 1591*).

An earlier urbarium from 1579 reveals the rights of pasture of the serfs of the Radovljica manor. Again, there are some changes. The villages of Zgornja Bohinjska Bela and Spodnja Bohinjska Bela have “the mountain pasture of Bela”, this being a description, and not the name of the mountain pasture. The pasture of Medvedja dolina is used by the communities of Podhom and Spodnje Gorje. Klek is used by the villages already mentioned and also by Poljšica, Spodnje Gorje and Zgornje Gorje (*Rad. urb. 1579*).

The most considerable changes, however, began a century before, in the second half of the 15th century. After the Counts of Celje had become extinct, the Radovljica manor too was pledged to the Kreig family. Between the years 1493 and 1501 (*Kaspret 1889, pp. 109-148*) Bled peasants issued several complaints concerning the mountain pastures of Bled. Their complaints were: the mountain pasture of Klek, whose beneficiary used to be the castellan of Waldenberg, had been appropriated by the Kreigs. Kreig took one mountain pasture from the villages of Podhom, Spodnje Gorje, Višelnica, Laze, and gave it to his own people. He began to prevent Kristan Muesel, župan of Zagorice, from

using the pasture of Ribenšica ("Rawenschitz")). The serfs of Zgornje Gorje complained that the mountain pasture of Krma, which used to be the property of the Counts of Celje, was after their extinction appropriated by the Kreigs, who had become keepers of the Radovljica manor, and given by them to the villages of Zasip and Mužje as a yearly tribute. Furthermore, they complained that in the time of the Counts of Celje they did not have to pay anything for the mountain pastures of Krma, Klek, Kranjska dolina, Jastrebica, Lipanca ("Wopllinga") and Kozjek, only the Kreigs started to introduce tributes for the pastures.

It can be gathered from these complaints that in the first half of the 15th century the pastures of Krma, Klek, Kranjska dolina, Jastrebica, Lipanca and Kozjek belonged to the Counts of Celje and were not taxed. All of them were used by the pasture community of Zgornje Gorje. The villages of Podhom, Spodnje Gorje, Višelnica and Laze used to comprise a pasture community that lost one mountain pasture, which was given to the serfs of the Bled manor. As early as the end of the 15th century the serfs of Zagorice used the pasture of Ribšica.

In the mid-15th century, i.e. before the interventions of the Kreigs and their successors, the pasture communities and their mountain pastures were as follows. The high-mountain pastures of Lipanca, Jastrebica (Brdo), Krma and Klek were the property of the Counts of Celje and were not taxed. The same applied to the lower mountain pastures of Kranjska dolina and Kozjek. The fact that they were not taxed is particularly significant because it implies old common property. All the listed mountain pastures represent a closed group and all were used by Zgornje Gorje. Was the village of Zgornje Gorje part of the pasture community with the afore-mentioned four villages? This can be presumed for at least those mountain pastures which were subsequently used by some villages from this group: Klek (Zgornje Gorje, Spodnje Gorje, Podhom), Kranjska dolina (Zgornje Gorje, Spodnje Gorje), and Kozjek (Zgornje Gorje, Laze). It is likely that also the village of Poljšica belonged to this large pasture community even at that time and that it used at least Klek (in the 16th century, Poljšica is mentioned there, together with the other villages), and perhaps Kranjska dolina too (which is not proven until the 18th century) (*Briks. urb. ca. 1731*). It is also possible that Grimšče used the pasture of Klek as early as the 15th century, as it did at the end of the 16th century. According to folk tradition, the village of Podhom acquired the mountain pasture of Klek from Blejska Dobrava by deception. When a woman from Blejska Dobrava married a man from Podhom, the people of Podhom appropriated Klek as her dowry. It seems that what happened was quite the opposite: the village of Podhom was a part of the pasture community which firmly held Klek. So the intruder was the village of Blejska Dobrava. This probably happened in the time of the interventions of the Kreigs, who acted for the benefit of the Brixen serfs, i.e. for their own benefit, since they were the keepers of the Bled manor at that time. Therefore it is not impossible that in the mid-15th century, none of the villages of Blejska Dobrava, Zasip and Mužje had any of the above-mentioned mountain pastures.

Based on what has been said, the mountain pasture which was lost by the villages of Podhom, Spodnje Gorje, Višelnica and Laze could have been the part of Klek which later belonged to Blejska Dobrava. But Klek was also used by the serfs of Zgornje Gorje, who listed precisely all the injustices inflicted on them, yet failed to mention this appropriation (*Kaspret 1889, p. 118*). Therefore it is more likely that the mountain pasture in question was not Klek. It could have been Javornik, which would thus have been acquired by Kreig for the Brixen serfs in Bohinj. Furthermore, Javornik fills the gap between Lipanca and Kranjska dolina. Other mountain pastures, which had already belonged to the Bled manor and had the same owners all the time, were probably not subject to changes.

The reconstructed situation in the mid-15th century thus implies the following about the relation between mountain pastures and the age of the villages: the group of mountain pastures belonging to the Counts of Celje (Javornik, Lipanca, Jastrebica, Krma, Klek, Kranjska dolina, Medvedja dolina and Kozjek) were being used by the villages of Zgornje Gorje, Spodnje Gorje, Poljšica, Višelnica, Laze, Podhom, Grimšče. All the high-mountain pastures are among them. Other pastures at Pokljuka (Grajska planina, Rečiška planina, Belska planina) and Jelovica (Selska planina, Ribenska planina) were being used by Rečica and Grad (they probably did not acquire Javornik and Lipanca before the 16th century), Zagorice, Želeče, Mlino, Zazer, Zgornja Bohinjska Bela, Spodnja Zgornja Bohinjska Bela, Selo, Kupljenik, Ribno, Bodešče and Koritno.

It should be noted that the names of mountain pastures correspond to their division into two groups. By the end of the 15th century the names of the mountain pastures of the first group were already formed, while the names of those from the second group were still being formed. As late as 1749, Selska planina was only known as Jelovica (1749 24/7 *List of rights of use*, RDA, fasc. 17). All the pastures from the second group bear the names of the villages using them, while there is no such name among the pastures of the first group. It could be assumed on the basis of their names alone that the pastures of the first group are generally older than those of the second group.

The situation is the same with the villages to which the pastures belong. Poljšica, Zgornje Gorje, Višelnica and Spodnje Gorje and Podhom are older than Rečica, Zagorice, Mlino, Zazer, Selo, Ribno and Koritno. There are some exceptions: in the first group the young villages of Laze and Grimšče, and the old village of Bodešče in the second group (cf.: Ch. 10.). Since the villages of the second group date from the end of the 10th century onwards, mainly from the 11th and 12th century, while the villages of the first group are older, it is highly likely that at least some of the mountain pastures from the first group originate from the Early Middle Ages. Not all of them are of the same age. Kozjek, which is used only by the very young village of Laze (Ch. 3.18.c.), is unlikely to be older than the village. The area of the oldest mountain pastures has thus been limited to Pokljuka. Even there, the lower pastures (Javornik, Kranjska dolina, Medvedja dolina) are probably younger than the high-mountain pastures (Krma, Lipanca, Jastrebica, Klek) – the former being man-made and the latter natural (see the beginning of the chapter).

The issue of general exploitation of mountain pastures has not yet been resolved, though it has been demonstrated that there are some exceptions. While it is understandable that a younger village can begin to use an older mountain pasture (Laze, Grimšče), it is more difficult to explain why the old village of Bodešče uses a young mountain pasture. Also the old villages of Zasip and Mužje, as well as the young village of Blejska Dobrava, are interesting exceptions with no mountain pastures at all. So the relatively clear situation in the mid-15th century is still only a stage of older development. Let us take another look at written sources, although mountain pastures are scarcely mentioned in the older period.

Two mountain pastures in Bohinj – Lipanca and Javornik – are mentioned as early as the 14th century (cf.: Ch. 5.4.): for the first time in 1344 as a Brixen fief and without their names stated (1344 24/4 and 1347 4/11, CKSL), and for the last time with their names in 1377 as an allodium purchased by Konrad Kreig (1377 25/2, CKSL). Kreig purchased one third of the pastures, while the remaining two thirds had already been purchased by the bishops of Brixen. Thus, both pastures were again part of the Bled manor. On this basis, it can be assumed that the two pastures were a relatively old fief, already divided into thirds in the mid-14th century, and that they probably already existed as a Brixen fief in the 13th century. The fact that they belong geographically to Bohinj implies that they were once economically exploited by the population of Bohinj. The fact that they were a fief, on the other hand, implies there must have been some sort of benefit from them. There are two possibilities: The first is that the Kranschrots were paid some sort of tributes from them, which contradicts the claims of the Gorje serfs that Lipanca was not taxed. The second possibility is that the Kranschrots used them for shepherding their own livestock. The second option seems more plausible, especially since the Kranschrots had extensive hayfields (for 12 days' mowing) at Rčitno (1390 5/3, CKSL), undoubtedly needed for breeding a large herd of livestock. This explanation is in accordance with the fact that Lipanca is the nearest high-mountain pasture to the low pasture of Javornik, which enables moving livestock from one pasture to another according to season, thus increasing the possibilities of their exploitation.

This opens the issue of how and when did the mountain pastures of Lipanca and Javornik pass from the Kreigs to the Counts of Celje. Once, neither Javornik nor Lipanca belonged to the Gorje pasture community, which raises a question about other mountain pastures. It is interesting that in the mid-15th century only the village of Zgornje Gorje – and none of the other villages of the Gorje pasture community – used the pastures of Jastrebica and Krma which are, like Lipanca, the most distant from Bled. All the villages of the Gorje pasture community are represented only on the high-mountain pasture of Klek and partly in Kranjska dolina and Medvedja dolina.

An interesting piece of information from the beginning of the 14th century is that there were 14 mountain cheese dairies within the Bled manor (*UBŠ*, 189). Since Brixen had no mountain farms at that time (cf. Ch. 10.5.), it is not impossible that the dairies mentioned were the later lowland pastures. If this assumption is correct, the pastures are the consequence of planned Brixen colonisation.

If A. Melik's explanation of the word "alpis" is correct (*Melik 1950*, p. 101), then the first mountain pasture is mentioned as early as 973 (*Kos F. 1906*, no. 445). This is the high-mountain pasture of Pečana (*Melik 1950*, p. 101). However, in that year even Bled did not belong to Brixen, let alone Pečana. When could it have become part of Brixen's Bled manor?

L. Hauptmann was of the opinion that in the 11th century the bishop of Brixen took possession of the forests on the right bank of the Savica/Sava Bohinjka River (predominantly the Jelovica plateau) on his own for Jelovica is supposedly not mentioned in any deed of donation (*Hauptmann 1952-1953*, p. 271). Is this a correct assumption?

In 1063 king Henry IV donated to bishop Altwin of Brixen two mountains "Staeinberch et Otales" between the place called "Linta" and the stream of "Steinbach", all in the county of the margrave Udalrik (*Kos F. 1911*, no. 228). According to F. Kos, Otales was the hill of Otaleški vrh south of Cerklno, while Linta is supposed to have been the village of Ledine west of Žiri, and Staeinberch the hill-chain of Kamnik, west of Ledine (*Kos F. 1911*, p. 140). Since Udalrik II was the margrave of Carniola, Kos regards this localisation also as proof that in the 11th century Carniola included Otalež in the Tolmin area (*Kos F. 1911*, XL). This localisation has not been disputed thus far. There can, however, be two concerns raised against it: this is the only proof that Carniola ever extended into the area of Tolmin, and furthermore, Brixen later had no property there. Is this the only possible localisation?

A description of the limits of the Bled manor from the year 1721 mentions the border stream "Steinpach oder Camenegk genannt", which flows into the Sava Bohinjka River (*Opis meja 1721*). This is the stream north of Brda that flows into the Sava Bohinjka below Bodešče. The stream is mentioned – only with its Slovene name "Khameneckh" – back in 1579 as the limit of the common land of Bodešče (*Rad. urb. 1579*). According to the same description, the common land of Bodešče included the hayfield Talež. A new explanation could be that Otales is Talež south of Bodešče and Steinbach is the Kamnek stream north of Brda. The document from 1063 then refers to a part of Jelovica and not to the Tolmin area. This localisation no longer demands the exceptional extent of Carniola in the 11th century, while at the same time it explains Brixen property at Jelovica.

Moreover, Staeinberch and Linta must therefore be near the limits of Brixen property at Jelovica. In 1721 the south limit at Jelovica was Ratitovec, and then the limit ran to "Petschana Galle Verch" and from there towards the west (*Opis meja 1721*). It can be gathered from this that as late as the 18th century the present day Kosmati vrh was Ratitovec, while Goli vrh was Pečana. Pečana was therefore not only a mountain pasture, but also the hill to the south of it. It is possible that the Staeinberch of the 11th century is actually Pečana (Goli vrh), while Linta could be the marsh of Ledine to the north-east of Pečana at the edge of Jelovica. So Brixen was given Pečana in 1063.

The mountain pastures of Pokljuka are mentioned in a deed of donation as early as 1040. They were given by the king, together with the forest of Pokljuka, to bishop Poppo of Brixen (*Kos F. 1911*, no. 107). It is a question whether they were already mountain pastures or just appropriate locations for them. It is, nevertheless, certain that in the deed of donation such use of the land is at least presumed.

According to folk tradition, Pečana was once used by the villages of Zagorice, Želeče, Mlino and Zazer (*Melik 1950*, p. 135). Since all of these villages were established towards the end of the 11th century (Ch. 10.4.), the tradition can only refer to a later time. Pečana subsequently belonged to the village of Nemški Rovt in Bohinj (*Melik 1950*, p. 176). Yet even today it is still included in the cadastral municipality of Selo, which proves that the area used to be economically exploited by the inhabitants of Bled.

Folk tradition, according to which Blejska Dobrava used to be a pasture of Zasip, also offers an explanation as to why Zasip has no mountain pastures (and Mužje) (cf.: *Kos M. 1960*, p. 138). This at the same time proves it was unnecessary for an old village like Zasip to use a high-mountain pasture; it was possible to shepherd livestock closer to the village. The villages did not necessarily choose their mountain pastures at the very beginning of their existence (cf.: *Melik 1950*, p. 97).

Another pasture closer to the village is mentioned in folk tradition: Kupljenik is supposed to have been a pasture of Radovljica (Ch. 3.19.c.). "Radovljica" here probably does not refer to the town of Radovljica, but to the Radovljica manor. This means that Kupljenik could have been a pasture belonging to the Bled serfs of the Radovljica manor, probably the inhabitants of Selo or Spodnja Bohinjska Bela.

The name Plesmo also speaks of former pastures in the vicinity of the villages. Its basic meaning is probably "fence" (*Bezlaj 1961, p. 96*). In the Bled area it can be found near four villages: Zgornje Gorje, Višelnica, Selo and Zagorice – always in the locative form (Na plesme). The plots of land with the field name Na plesme lie in the original cores of arable land of the listed villages. At Selo, whose oldest fields are at several different locations, "Na plesme" is right next to what are undoubtedly the oldest fields of the village. At Zagorice as many as three plots of land in the oldest part of arable land bear this name, which indicates that the name originally referred to a much larger area than it does today and that the arable land was originally enclosed by a fence whose function was to protect the fields from animals.

Such fences were probably also used in other villages, where the memory of them was not preserved in a field name. Thus it cannot be assumed with certainty when people first started to enclose their fields and how long the fences – *plesmos* – were in use, but the period when they were in use in the above-mentioned villages can be at least roughly determined. Zgornje Gorje and Višelnica were established in the 9th century at the latest, Selo in the 11th century, and Zagorice at the end of the 11th century (Ch. 10.). So plesmos were probably used in the Bled area at least from the 9th to the 11th century.

Based on what has been said, the picture of mountain pasture exploitation in the Bled area could be as follows: the only natural high-mountain pasture of Bled (and, consequently, the oldest) is Klek. It is probably not a coincidence that it was used by the Gorje pasture community. The Gorje area was the most densely populated part of the Bled area and, consequently, the first where the need for new pastures arose, yet the area was so densely populated as a result of gradual development, not from the very beginning (Ch. 10.2.). This means that economic exploitation of Klek began relatively late, almost certainly not long before the 10th century. Until then, the villages of Bled used nearby areas for pasture.

Recent archaeological investigations at mountain pastures raise a series of new issues. Remains of Roman, late Roman and early mediaeval settlement, as well as iron production, were discovered at Klek and Pečana (*Ogrin 2006, pp. 103-104; Ogrin 2010, p. 206*). Since lower mountain pastures are near the routes to high-mountain pastures (*Štular 2006, p. 237*), it is indisputable that high-mountain pastures began to be used first. It seems, though, that in the earliest period the principal activity was mining. The current impression of the areas of Klek and Pečana having been used continually for at least the last two millennia raises the issue of the possibility of survival of the pre-Slavic indigenous Vlachs into the time of the Early Middle Ages.

As it has been said, mountain livestock breeding was begun by the villages of the Gorje pasture community, perhaps even before the 10th century. In the 10th century the community included the villages of Poljšica, Zgornje Gorje, Višelnica, Spodnje Gorje and Podhom. The fact that in the mid-15th century it included Grimšče is probably only a consequence of later feudal changes of rights of pasture. When the number of farms in the villages increased, the mountain pastures of Kranjska dolina and Medvedja dolina were cleared. Perhaps as early as the 11th century the Diocese of Brixen too began mountain livestock breeding, when it gave the high-mountain pasture of Pečana to the newly established villages of Želeče, Zagorice and Zazer. The village of Mlino probably joined this community in the mid-12th century when it became indirectly subjected to Brixen (Ch. 3.13.c.). It is, however, well possible that all of them started using Pečana only in the mid-12th century, when the area of Jarše, which could have been used as a pasture by that time, was converted into arable land. If Nemški Rovt was the only Bohinj village which used Pečana, then this mountain pasture belonged to Bled at least by the mid-13th century, when Nemški Rovt was established (*Pleterski 1978, p. 393*).

Pečana was lost, some mountain pastures were used by ministeriales, and the colonisation had been completed, all of which increased the need for new mountain pastures. The Brixen urbarium

from 1253 does not mention mountain cheese dairies (*UBŠ*, 185-188), but they are recorded half a century later (*UBŠ*, 189). Therefore, the planned clearing of Bled mountain pastures can be dated to the second half of the 13th century when Grajska planina, Rečiška planina, Belska planina, Selska planina and Ribenska planina were probably established. It was only then that mountain livestock breeding became generally used. This explains why the old village of Bodešče was in the same pasture community as younger villages and used even younger mountain pastures.

9. ROUTES IN THE BLEĐ AREA

It is self-evident that also in the early mediaeval period there were routes connecting different places and areas. Of course, the represented route network of that time in the Bled area is only an assumption, basically being the network drawn in the maps of the Franziscan Cadastre. There is indeed a thousand-year time gap, but the same was the case with the division of arable land. It has been proven that with the latter the forms depicted by cadastral maps extend far back into the Early Middle Ages (Ch. 10.2.). The situation could be the same with routes for there are far fewer reasons for changing them than there are for arable land rearrangement. A monograph concerning routes in this part of Slovenia has recently listed a series of well-supported arguments for the thesis that the route network has been used since prehistoric times (*Jarc 1999; Jarc 2004*).

Routes are certainly necessary for economic exploitation of arable land, but also for grasslands, pastures and forests. However, such a detailed route network will not be discussed here. Its chronological determination would be difficult and, furthermore, it underwent the biggest transformation together with the changes of arable land. Therefore it should be noted that the routes which will be represented were definitely not the only ones of their time.

Only the longer-lasting routes will be discussed – those connecting not only two villages, but reaching further into neighbouring places or even lands. The course of such routes is dictated by broader aspects and therefore they are not subject to changes of local settlement. This chapter will therefore discuss those routes that connected the Bled area with neighbouring areas as well as their course within the Bled area (*Figs. 9.1; 9.2*).

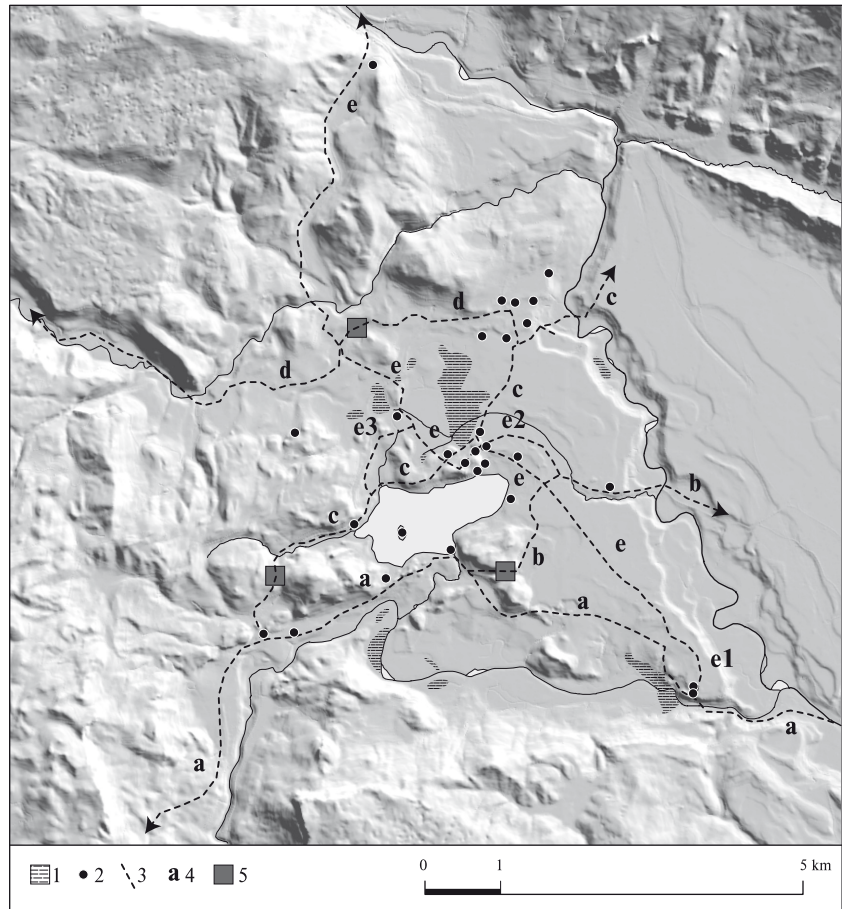
The Bled area is naturally limited and there are only a few entrances to it. The routes connecting them are marked with letters for the purposes of presentation.

Route a. The route runs along the southern edge of the Bled area without moving too far away from the Sava Bohinjka River. Near Mlino it touches the southern margin of Lake Bled. From there it leads to the west, through Bohinjska Bela, across the Pokljuka plateau (because Soteska was impassable) to Bohinj and further to the regions of Posočje and Friuli. To the east, the route runs north of the marshes near the Sava Bohinjka River, past Zgornje Bodešče, and descends along the valley towards the Sava, crosses it before the ravine, and then continues along the right bank towards the towns of Radovljica and Kranj. The route once connected the Gorenjska region (the early mediaeval Carniola) and Friuli.

Route b. The route crosses the Sava Dolinka River and ascends along the stream of Rečica onto the plain of Bled. Nowadays this is the course of the main road to Bled. It then turns south and runs through Megre between the hills of Straža and Dobra gora to Mlino, where it converges with Route a. To the east, Route b connected the Bled area with the neighbouring župa (Ch. 10.2.b.) and then it ran through Draga across the Ljubelj Pass to Carinthia. The field name Megre denotes a place between hills (*Bezljaj 1961, p. 16*) and occurs three times in the Bled area, always in the vicinity of an old pass between two hills. The Megre south of the hill of Straža indicates the course of the route in the Early Middle Ages.

Route c. The route crosses the Sava Dolinka River at the place where it emerges from the gorge near the village of Breg. From there, the route ascends onto the Bled plain near Mužje and turns south towards Grad and then across Pristava to Lake Bled and through Zaka and Megre to Spodnja Bohinjska Bela, where it converges with Route a. Route c connected the Bled area with the villages of

Fig. 9.1: Routes in the Bled area.
 1 – marsh,
 2 – archaeological site from before the Early Middle Ages,
 3 – route,
 4 – route label,
 5 – field name of Megre.



Žirovnica, Moste (cf.: *ANSI*, 168), Završnica to the northeast, and then across the Ljubelj Pass with Carinthia. The fact that this route is very old was confirmed by the latest archaeological discoveries at Bled in the former village of Grad, where a well-preserved Roman pavement was discovered under the present road.

Route d. The route runs along the northern edge of the Bled area. Near the villages of Mužje and Zasip it converges with Route c, runs through Megre, past Spodnje Gorje and Zgornje Gorje and through the Radovna valley to the village of Dovje and from there through the Upper Sava Valley to Carinthia.

Route e. The route starts in the Upper Sava Valley. Near Jesenice it turns south and runs across Poljane into the Bled area. It then crosses the Radovna River, runs past Spodnje Gorje, north of the low hill of Turnč, turns south and traverses Pristava, passes through Grad and in a straight line to Zgornje Bodešče, where it converges with Route a. There are three side branches: **e1** runs north of Zgornje Bodešče to Spodnje Bodešče, **e2** runs north of the low hill of Pecovca from Zagorice to Grad, while **e3** is a shortcut towards Zaka and Bohinj, which avoids Pristava. The course of Route e is proven by two archaeological sites: the crossroads at Pristava (*Pleterski 2008a*, pp. 75-96) and the part of **e1** at the Dlesc graveyard near Bodešče (*Knific – Pleterski 1981*, pp. 496-497). The **e2** branch means that a traveller ascending along Rečica onto the Bled plain can reach Grad without descending again into the small valley south of Pecovca.

The described routes take advantage of the topography; they often run along the edges of plains and – with a few exceptions – carefully avoid good arable land. Almost all archaeological sites from the periods before the arrival of the Slavs are located near or in the vicinity of the described network of routes. This implies that the network is even older than the Early Middle Ages (Fig. 9.1).

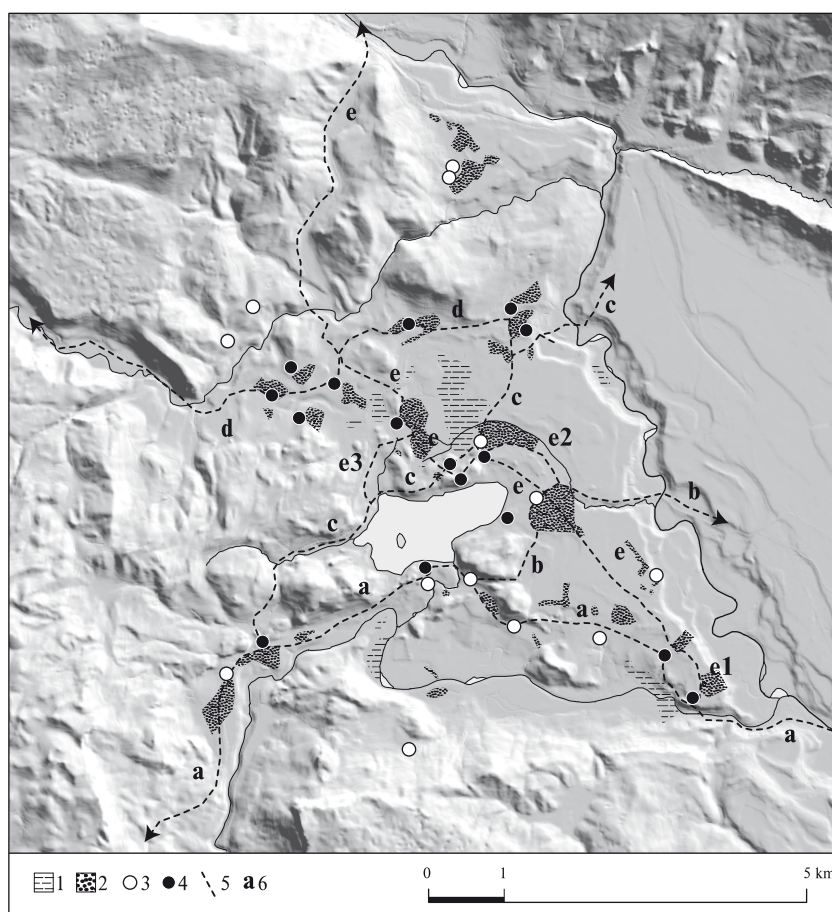


Fig. 9.2: Routes in the Bled area.

- 1 – marsh,
- 2 – good quality arable land,
- 3 – new settlement,
- 4 – old settlement,
- 5 – route,
- 6 – route label.

Accordingly, all the settlements from the oldest period of the Early Middle Ages (Ch. 10.2.a.) are located near the crossroads of the main routes or in their vicinity: the predecessor of Grad at the crossroads of **e**, **e2** and **c**, the settlement at Pristava near the crossroads of **e** and **c**, Zasip in the vicinity of crossroads **c** and **d**, Spodnje Gorje in the vicinity of crossroads **d** and **e**, the predecessor of Mlino in the vicinity of crossroads **a** and **b**, and the predecessor of Spodnje Bodešče in the vicinity of crossroads **a** and **e** (cf. Figs. 9.2; 10.3). This shows how the existing network of routes governed the choice of locations for the early mediaeval settlements. It seems that the settlers were more concerned with good transport connections than with controlling the entrances to the Bled area, although this reason cannot be disregarded.

The junction north of Lake Bled is the transport centre of the Bled area.

By comparing the route network with the extent of the royal estate of Bled (cf. Figs. 9.2; 10.6), it is evident that the estate cut all the main routes through the Bled area: Routes **c** and **e** by taking over the predecessor of Grad and the Pristava settlement, and Routes **a** and **b** by taking over the predecessor of Mlino south of Lake Bled. This was probably not a coincidence, especially considering that these routes were transport connections with the central part of the early mediaeval Carniola as well as Carantania and Friuli.

Once the settlement at Pristava was abandoned, the crossroads there lost any significance. The bishops of Brixen set up a new route north of Pristava. Settlements were being founded along the described network of routes as late as the 12th century. Only with colonisation of more remote areas did new villages move away from the old routes (Fig. 9.2).

10. LANDHOLDING AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE BLEĐ AREA

10.1. THE BLEĐ AREA AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 7TH CENTURY

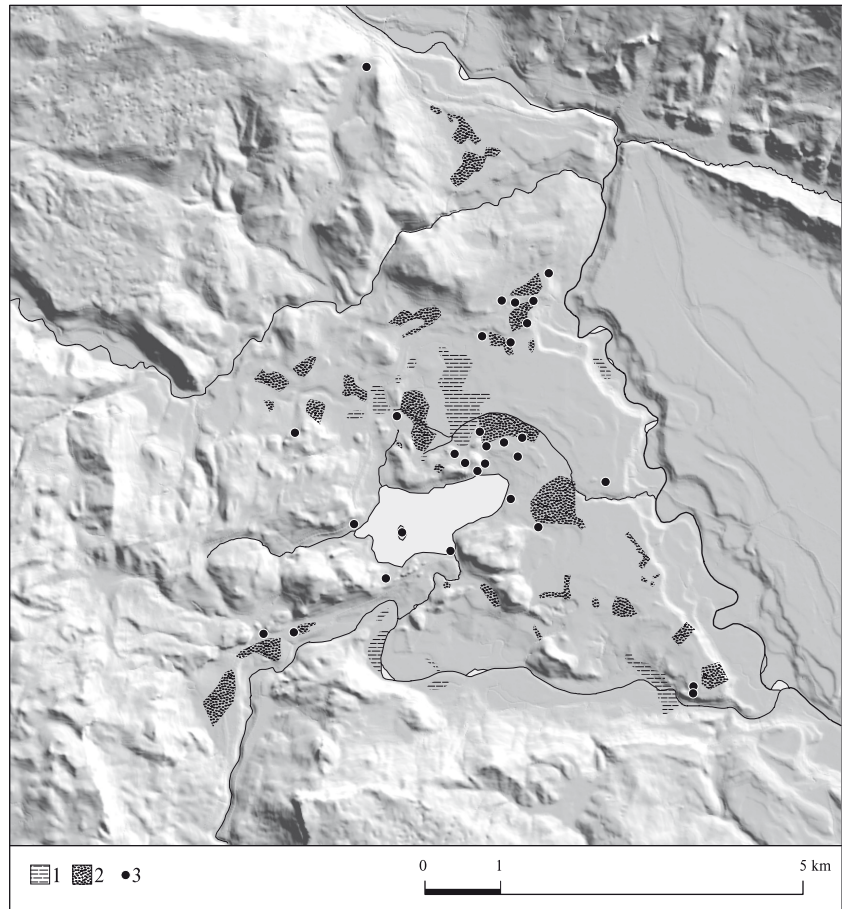
The Bled area is bounded to the east and northeast by the Sava Dolinka River, and to the north, west and south by the respective mountain plateaux of Mežakla, Pokljuka and Jelovica (*Fig. 8.1*). These plateaux form the natural economic basis of the area. The plain between them was given its distinctive shape by the Triglav glacier which created Lake Bled and the extensive marshes of Blata between the villages of Grad, Rečica and Podhom, as well as numerous moraines between Podhom and Mužje, along the stream of Rečica, between Grad and Zagorice, and between Straža and Bodešče. The eastern part of the area lies on the gravel accumulations of the Sava (cf.: Šifrer 1969, pp. 159-220). Several solitary hills to the north and south of Lake Bled contribute to the landscape configuration, their steep, often precipitous slopes shaped by the glacier. The slopes of the valleys of the Sava Bohinjka and Sava Dolinka Rivers are also very steep. Landscape configuration undoubtedly had an impact on the possibilities of agricultural land use in the Bled area.

It is self-evident that plains are more suitable for farming than steep areas and mountain plateaux. There is a relatively large uninterrupted plain only in the eastern part of the Bled area (*Fig. 10.1*), but its agricultural value lies in the northern part substantially reduced by the marshy Blata. Flat areas in the valleys of Sava Dolinka and Sava Bohinjka are marshy and subject to flooding. Although there is some flat land near Selo, Blejska Dobrava, both villages of Bohinjska Bela and around Gorje, there is generally little flat land in other parts.

Individual prehistoric finds in the microregion of Bled are not enough to give a conclusive picture. Even the monograph by Stane Gabrovec on Bled in prehistory is limited to a mere catalogue of finds, their classification and dating (*Gabrovec 1960*). When it comes to the Roman period, the state of research is hardly any better. There are, however, some indications of modest country life in this territory, which was so close to Italy and had connections with the broader area and its material culture. Many finds of coarse pottery produced according to local tradition indicate that the inhabitants were natives who were gradually Romanised. There are traces of settlements in Želeče, Zasip, Pristava and Bohinjska Bela (*Pflaum 2008; overview of all the sites in Knific 2008*). Late Roman settlement remains at the west shoulder of Bled Castle Hill (*Knific 2008, p. 24*) indicate that in those restless times the inhabitants fled to an elevated fortified settlement, which was abandoned for some time after the arrival of the Slavs. In the second half of the 6th century the area of the Eastern Alps was at the intersection of political interests of the Franks, Lombards, Avars, Byzantium and the Catholic Church. But once the smoke of conflicts had dispersed, there were Slavs living in that area.

An interesting picture (*Fig. 10.1*) emerges if archaeological sites from the periods before the Early Middle Ages (*ANSI, 162-164; Knific 2008, pp. 13-20; TDA*) are drawn onto this map. The majority of archaeological sites is located where the plain meets the hillslopes. This position indicates their agrarian character – the plain is preserved for farming but the settlements are in its immediate vicinity. There are two larger groups of sites: in the area of Pristava, Grad and Želeče, and in the area of Zasip and Mužje. Both groups are related to the northern part of the eastern plain of Bled. The find from Rečica also belongs to this area. The absence of sites in other parts is unusual: traces of old settlement are scarce even though there is enough flat land. This means that settlement was also influenced by other factors, one of them being soil fertility.

Fig. 10.1: The Bled area before the Early Middle Ages.
 1 – marsh,
 2 – good quality arable land,
 3 – archaeological site.



The information on the latter was taken from the Josephian Cadastre, where land is divided into three groups: poor, medium and good quality land. Since these are relative values and not the actual yield of the land, and since there is no such information for the Bled area in the Franziscean Cadastre, the Josephian Cadastre seems adequate for this aspect of the present study. Soil fertility data combine several natural conditions: climate, type of soil, and configuration of the terrain. For the sake of clarity only good quality arable land is shown on the map of the Bled area. Good quality meadows have been left out because a good meadow does not necessarily make a good field and it is the fields that are the basis for this investigation.

There is the question of which is older – settlement or arable land? Clearing land for cultivation and cultivation itself have an impact on soil (*Lovrenčak 1981, p. 122*), and hence on its fertility. This is another reason why the map is only a rough guide. However, large areas of good quality land where there are no archaeological sites (see below) and which were cleared for cultivation relatively late indicate that the quality of land in the Bled area is primarily determined by natural conditions.

The main finding is that all the good quality fields are in the plain – mostly scattered small pieces of land. There are few large plots of good quality arable land, mostly accumulated in the area of the villages of Rečica–Grimšče, Grad and Zagorice–Želeče, but also in the areas of Blejska Dobrava and Zgornja Blejska Dobrava, of Zgornja and Spodnja Bohinjska Bela, and of Zasip–Mužje. Archaeological sites from the periods before the Early Middle Ages generally avoid the areas of good quality fields, but are located in their vicinity. It is at the same time evident that the two largest groups of sites (Rečica–Želeče, Zasip–Mužje) are located in the vicinity of the largest areas of fertile fields. Agrarian aspects of settlement in the earliest periods are therefore clear. There are, however, two

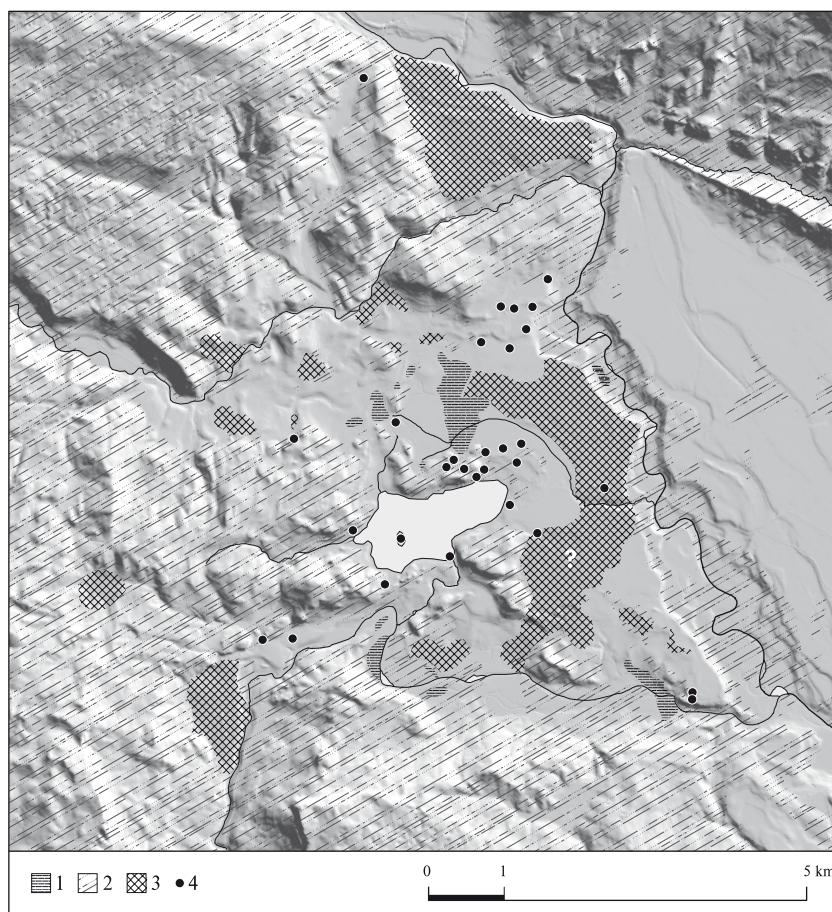


Fig. 10.2: The Bled area before the Early Middle Ages.

1 – marsh,
2 – present extent of the forest,
3 – cleared forest,
4 – archaeological site.

exceptions: the sites in the broader surroundings of Zaser, where there is no fertile land, and, on the other hand, good quality land (Blejska Dobrava) almost with no archaeological sites. The first exception was probably caused by non-agrarian reasons, while the explanation for the second could be the map attempting to represent the extent of forest in the Early Middle Ages (Fig. 10.2).

The starting-point for it was the present extent of forest. It is known that woodland in Slovenia has been expanding since the second half of the 19th century due to abandoned agricultural land. It can, nevertheless, be stated that the present extent of woodland is still smaller than it was at the beginning of the 7th century. Therefore, all the areas whose field names indicate that they used to be covered by any kind of forest were added to the present forest areas.

The field names considered are those referring to different kinds of trees (with the exception of fruit trees) or different kinds of forest (such as “boršt, dromaž, lesec”) or its clearance. It appeared that a large part of the plains in the Bled area used to be covered by forest. The forest at Jarše is only assumed, however. Field names indicate woodland in the vicinity of Ribno and Bodešče. These areas were cleared earlier than those of Jarše, which implies that the area of Jarše was also covered by forest. For the same reason it is likely that the extent of forests was much larger in the areas of Bodešče, Koritno, Selo, Podhom and Gorje. Furthermore, there is no doubt that the area of Blejska Dobrava and Zgornja Blejska Dobrava, as well as that of Zgornja Bohinjska Bela, were covered by forest.

Certainly the extent of the reconstructed forest is only approximate, but it does show a rough picture. Adding to this picture the archaeological sites from the periods before the Early Middle Ages (Fig. 10.2), it turns out that almost all of them are located near or in larger areas without forest. The only exception are those sites which were a deviation on the previous map (Fig. 10.1). A comparison

of the two maps reveals that several areas with good quality land were covered by forest. In these areas there is no pre-early mediaeval settlement, meaning that the agricultural potential of the Bled area was only partly exploited at the turn of the 7th century.

There were two main areas of permanent settlement in the early periods: the area between Lake Bled and the stream of Rečica and the area of Zasip–Mužje. Finds from the 6th and 7th century have been discovered in both of these areas (ANSl, 163; *Knific* 2008, pp. 20-24; TDAT).

Overall, the Bled area was probably still largely covered by forests at that time – even the flat parts. At least two large areas had been cleared for cultivation: one of them to the north and east of Lake Bled, and the other in the area of the later villages of Mužje and Zasip. There were probably still some native inhabitants living in both of these areas.

10.2. FROM THE 7TH CENTURY TO THE THIRD QUARTER OF THE 10TH CENTURY

10.2.a. THE OLDER SETTLEMENT PERIOD IN THE 7TH AND 8TH CENTURY (Fig. 10.3)

The issue of when the Slavs settled the Eastern Alps will not be addressed here because that should be the focus of a separate study. For the present one it will suffice to say that the first burials in the Bled area which can be connected with the Slavs already appear in the 7th century (*Pleterski* 2008, pp. 35-37). Live contacts between the Slavs and the native inhabitants and the assimilation of the latter are illustrated by both anthropological (*Leben-Seljak* 2000) and archaeological discoveries from Pristava (*Pleterski* 2008a; 2008b; 2010).

Among the oldest early mediaeval settlements in the Bled area are those villages which demonstrate the most development stages of their arable land (Spodnje Gorje – 4), as well as those with pertaining graveyards where the older stage of the material culture of the Alpine Slavs is strongly represented (Pristava – 1, the predecessor of Grad – 2, the predecessor of Mužje – 3). The existence of the latter has been confirmed by the development of the arable land of Zasip and by the graveyard at Žale near Zasip (Chs. 3.1.b. – e.). Although the division of its arable land has not been preserved, the predecessor of Spodnje Bodešče (6), whose existence is strongly implied by the development of the arable land of both villages of Bodešče, should also be placed in the first group (Chs. 3.3.b.; 3.3.c.). The predecessor of Mlino (5) may be – with a certain degree of caution – placed in the second group (*Knific* 2008, p. 22). The locations of the predecessors of Mlino, Mužje and Grad are only assumed (Chs. 3.1.e.; 3.9.e.; 3.13.c.). The graveyard and the settlement of the predecessor of Spodnje Bodešče have not yet been proven by archaeology. Spodnje Gorje is the only still existing village whose graveyard has been discovered. Unfortunately, it had been mostly destroyed (*Knific, Pleterski* 1993, pp. 235-240). Since the location of the graveyard near Mužje (Ch. 3.1.c.) is uncertain, it is not shown on the map.

All the settlements are located at the edges of plains. The predecessor of Mužje – 3 and the predecessor of Grad – 2 are located near large areas of good arable land, Pristava – 1 in their vicinity, while the predecessors of Spodnje Bodešče – 6 and Spodnje Gorje – 4 are located near somewhat smaller cores of arable land. The predecessor of Mlino – 5 is an exception, having no arable land in the vicinity (Fig. 10.3). 1 and 2 are located in the southern core of the pre-early mediaeval settlement, and 3 in its northern core. 5 is located in the area where there are non-agrarian sites from earlier periods (Ch. 10.1.), while 4 and 6 are located in the area which was earlier almost unpopulated.

The settlement at Pristava – 1 and the predecessor of Grad – 2 can thus be dated to the time of the settlement of the Slavs. It is not impossible that the predecessor of Mužje – 3, Spodnje Gorje – 4 and the predecessor of Spodnje Bodešče – 6 are somewhat younger. At present, the predecessor of Mlino cannot be dated more precisely due to lack of information. For the Slavs the crucial factor in the selection of the location for settlement was the already cleared, cultivated agricultural land.

The only one of the six settlements whose original division of arable land has been preserved is Spodnje Gorje – 4. The first stage of its arable land is contemporary to the beginning of the settle-

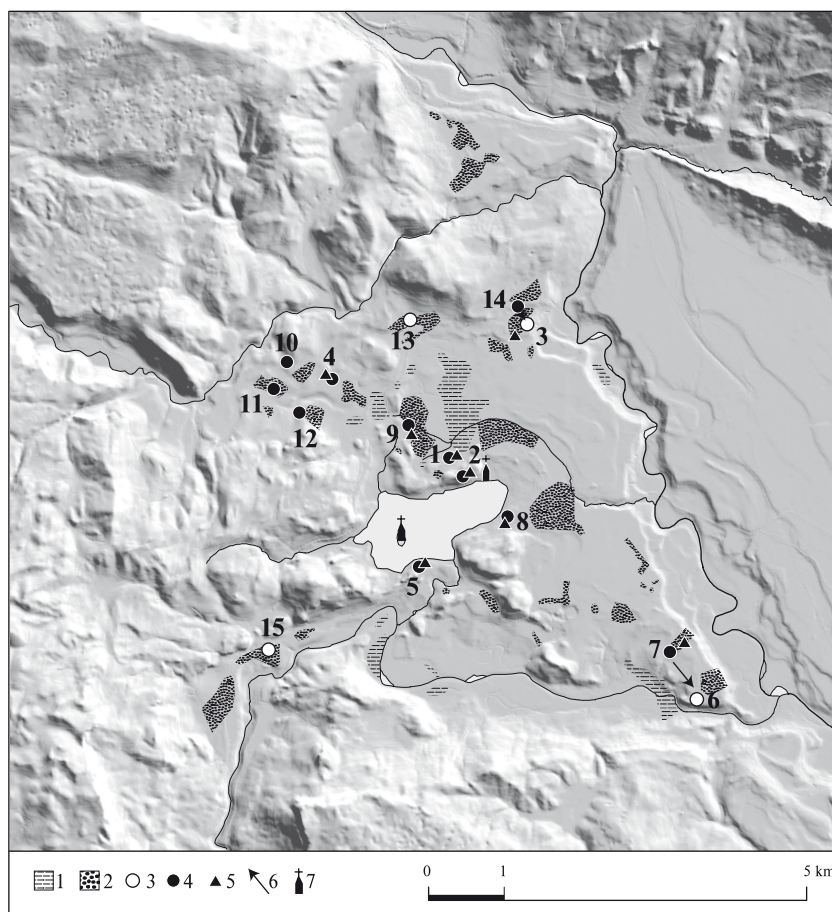


Fig. 10.3: The Bled area. Settlement in the 7th and 8th century.

1 – marsh,
2 – good quality arable land,
3 – new settlement,
4 – archaeological site.

ment. At that time there was only one farming unit, the area of its arable land being at least 6.4 ha as one piece and comprising the best land near the settlement. It was divided into three parts (Fig. 3.7a).

An interesting question is how many people comprised a farming unit. To obtain the answer, the entire early mediaeval period should be considered. The basis for the growing number of farming units in different development stages of the Bled villages must have been the proportionate population growth. For the early mediaeval settlement period this has been proven by an analysis of the graveyards at Dlesc near Bodešče and at Žale near Zasip. The graveyards indicate that in the first development stages of individual villages, the number of farming units corresponds to the number of families in the village (Chs. 3.1.d.; 3.3.d.). The families buried there are comprised of a father and a mother, their children and occasionally another adult – they are families in the narrow sense.

The number of people in a family is questionable, especially if the possibility is considered that the villagers who moved away for different reasons were not buried in the graveyard. Besides, the number also varied due to high child mortality – almost half of the graves at Dlesc and Žale belong to children. Perhaps a family, from children to the elderly, had on average at least seven members.

It certainly seems plausible that even in the earliest initial period there was only one family within the frame of a farming unit. This is supported by the analysis of the early mediaeval graveyard at Pristava, which likewise evolved from a small core (cf.: Knific 1983, Fig. 28).

This means that the number of Slavs who settled the Bled area comprised of only a few families, i.e. several tens of people altogether. Since this group of people was extremely small, it is quite likely that they had been connected by family ties even before settlement, and did not meet for the first time in the Bled area. If only for the hazards of the migration period, it is unimaginable that they

would not have had at least the smallest degree of organisation – that this group of people would not have had a leader. The newcomers took over the land together with certain types of ploughs (*Pleterski 1987, pp. 257-281*) and some components of dwelling culture (*Pleterski 2008b; 2010*) from the native inhabitants. They also married native women (*Leben-Seljak 2000*).

It seems an important piece of information that the oldest part of the arable land of Spodnje Gorje was divided into three, while the slightly younger arable land of Zasip was divided into four parts. In the initial stage of the arrangement of arable land, this cannot be a consequence of the division of one farming unit. The explanation should be sought in the manner of land cultivation. If the land of an agricultural farming unit is divided into three parts of approximately equal size, this is related to a 3-year crop rotation, where each year a third of the arable land lies fallow (a third is planted with winter cereals and a third with spring cereals). The division into two parts (possibly with several fields, planted only with winter cereals), however, is related to a 2-year crop rotation (*ZAP 1970, pp. 227-228*), where each year half of the arable land lies fallow. This would mean that in the 8th century at the latest, people in the Bled area knew and used the systems of 2- and 3-year crop rotation side by side.

This does not seem impossible because even a 3-year rotation was known by the Bavarians, neighbours of the Alpine Slavs, probably as early as the first half of the 7th century (*ZAP 1970, p. 228*). B. Dostál assumes that the Slavs in Břeclav-Pohansko in Moravia used a 2-year crop rotation with half of the land lying fallow as early as the 6th century (*Dostál 1982, p. 49*). It is quite likely that the Slavs adopted the more developed 3-year crop rotation method from the native inhabitants together with the evolved form of ploughs (*Pleterski 1987, pp. 257-281*).

It can be concluded that from the time of their settlement, the Slavs at Bled area had fixed fields and also the division of land between individual farming units was fixed. With this kind of land cultivation a family or an individual already had the right to the arable land itself, not only to the crops (*ZAP 1970, p. 239*).

However, since every settlement, or at least the majority of them, was initially comprised of a single family with its land, the proprietary attitude towards the land was the logical consequence. It is therefore probably not possible to speak about common land and common rights in this period because a family equalled the village community. More extensive use of land was only possible if settlements banded together. But since there were extensive empty areas around the settlements, it is not very likely that their economic environments would have overlapped in the initial period. The only possible exceptions could have been the settlements of Pristava – 1 and the predecessor of Grad – 2, located in close proximity. It is not impossible that the need for cooperation led to increased internal social stratification in at least one of them.

As for the predecessor of Mlino, although it has been said that the choice of location for the settlement was influenced by non-agrarian factors, this certainly does not mean that agriculture was not the livelihood for the settlement. The above-mentioned non-agrarian factors could have been factors of any kind, but perhaps the crucial reason is indicated by the folk tradition recorded by Breckerfeld and quoted by A. T. Linhart in the 18th century (*Linhart 1981, p. 260*). According to it, there was once a shrine of the Slavic god Radegast on Bled Island, and the island was connected to the land by a wooden bridge. Although the bridge and Radegast probably originate from learned literature, the tradition about the pagan shrine seems authentic (more on this subject: *Pleterski 1995, pp. 127-128*). Since the main access to Bled Island was in the “historical” periods from Mlino (Vadiše!), it is plausible that there was a “bridge” between Bled Island and the predecessor of Mlino.

Moreover, the existence of an early mediaeval shrine could have been the reason why the church was built on the island. At the same time it does not seem impossible that Bled Island was, considering its non-agrarian character, a place of religious significance (cf.: *Šribar 1971, 11*) even in the pre-early mediaeval periods (Ch. 10.1.). It therefore seems that the first inhabitants of “Mlino” primarily provided boat rides to Bled Island, but perhaps they had even more special assignments related to the shrine. Archaeological excavations on Bled Island discovered the outline of a wooden rectangular building under the foundations of the oldest early mediaeval church. According to the results of the excavation, the building could be from the Early Middle Ages (*Šribar 1971, pp. 12, 29*). In light of this chronological determination, it is not impossible that the building is the remains of a pre-Christian shrine.

If this had indeed been the reason for building a settlement in the vicinity of the later Mlino, it seems possible that there was a certain division of labour among the settlements of Bled at that time, which is another indication that they were organised as a whole.

Population growth dictated clearing new arable land. This led to the second development stage of arable land division, which has been preserved in Spodnje Gorje – 4 (*Fig. 3.7b*), but can also be assumed for the predecessor of Spodnje Bodešče – 6 (*Ch. 3.3.b.*). It is reasonable to conclude, for population reasons, that at least the period of one generation elapsed between the first and second stage. This did not necessarily happen simultaneously in different settlements and their development stages can be paralleled only provisionally.

Two farming units were established in Spodnje Gorje, the old one and a new one. Also later on and in other villages too the farming units were divided into two or at the most three parts. It seems that this was more the consequence of the opportunities of economic land exploitation (rearrangement of the old arable land and the effort necessary to clear new fields) than of the development of the population, which could only grow in accordance with an increase in agricultural output. At the same time population growth needed to be high enough to create the pressure. It can be assumed that non-agrarian subsistence was hardly worth mentioning, and that the share of agriculture as a source of income was significant compared to livestock breeding, hunting and fishing.

The old arable land was equally divided between the two new units in Spodnje Gorje so that each unit had two groups of fields there, and in addition some new fields were cleared, which each unit had in one piece. The farming units of Spodnje Gorje thus had up to 4.2-5.5 ha of arable land (*Ch. 3.2.b.*). Only the upper limit of the size of the arable land can be determined because some smaller, marginal fields could have been cleared later.

When the number of farming units in a village increased, the issue of common exploitation of non-arable land was raised. At that time, only those grasslands that were adjacent to fields were divided between the farming units, but even they were more or less used as headland. Other non-arable areas were probably pastures (*cf. Ch. 8.*).

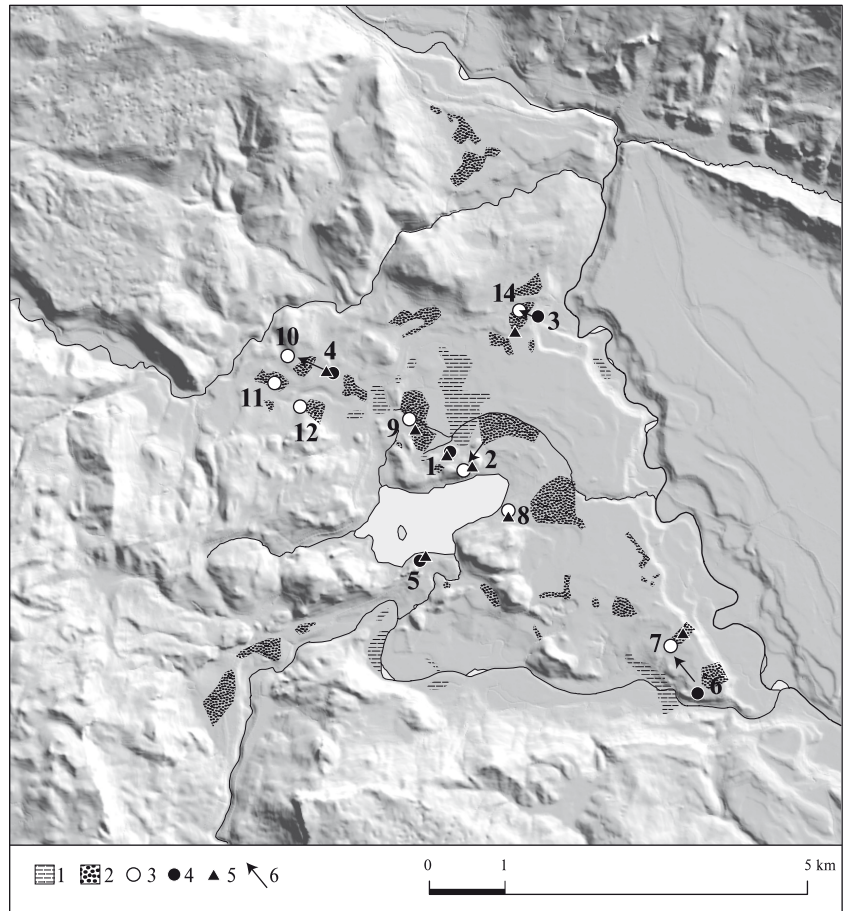
If the case of the village of Spodnje Gorje can be generalised with respect to the entire Bled area, then there were at least 15-20 farming units and the same number of families in the Bled area in the first half of the 8th century. An increase in population, the division of arable land, common exploitation of pasture lands – all of these demanded orderly intra- and inter-settlement relations. This probably led to increased social stratification within the Bled area (dealings between the settlements), as well as perhaps within some larger individual villages (management of village matters). It seems the situation was ripe for social change. This marks the beginning of the younger early mediaeval settlement period.

10.2.b. THE YOUNGER SETTLEMENT PERIOD

FROM THE SECOND HALF OF THE 8TH CENTURY TO THE MID-9TH CENTURY (*Fig. 10.4*)

During this time, the number of settlements doubled. In addition to the six old settlements, six new settlements were established: Zgornje Bodešče – 7, Želeče – 8, Grimšče – 9, Višelnica – 10, Zgornje Gorje – 11, Poljšica – 12, and Zasip – 14. Like the old ones, the new settlements were located at the edges of plains, near larger areas of still-available good arable land. The location and chronological determination of Želeče and Grimšče are indicated only by graveyards that belonged to the settlements (*cf. Chs. 3.11.6.; 3.12.c.*), which means they are only a speculation. Only the graveyards of Zasip and Zgornje Bodešče have been entirely investigated. The position of the latter – on good arable land in the middle of a plain – is at first sight unusual, but it actually lies on a glacial mound, where there are no fields (*Knific – Pleterski 1981, Fig. 3*). Of the old settlements, the predecessor of Grad – 2 (*Ch. 3.9.c.*) moved from its old location at the edge of the plain, near its arable land, to Bled Castle Hill. It seems that the agrarian aspect of the location of the settlement had lost its significance and the military aspect had prevailed due to the exceptional defensive position and excellent view. Furthermore, from Bled Castle Hill the entire transport junction of the Bled area can be controlled the easiest (*cf.: Fig. 9.2*).

Fig. 10.4: The Bled area. Settlement from the second half of the 8th century to the mid-9th century.
 1 – marsh,
 2 – good quality arable land,
 3 – new settlement,
 4 – old settlement,
 5 – archaeological site,
 6 – direction of colonisation.



The development of arable land division indicates that Višelnica – 10 was probably settled from Spodnje Gorje – 4 (Ch. 3.4.c.), Zasip – 14 from the predecessor of Mužje – 3 (Ch. 3.1.c.), and Zgornje Bodešče – 7 from the predecessor of Spodnje Bodešče – 6 (Ch. 3.3.c.). Considering the proximity of old villages, it seems possible that Želeče – 8 was settled from the predecessor of Grad – 2, Grimšče – 9 from the settlement at Pristava – 1, and Zgornje Gorje – 11 and Poljšica – 12 from Spodnje Gorje – 4. It is evident that near Spodnje Gorje there is an accumulation of settlements. There are, on the other hand, no settlements around the predecessor of Mlino – 5, a fact which can be explained by lack of arable land.

The reason for the emergence of new settlements was probably lack of arable land in close proximity to the old villages. At first sight, the explanation seems incorrect because even after that time the arable land of the old villages was still expanding. While this is true, it should be noted that this newly cleared arable land was of poorer quality and people preferred, when it was still possible, to clear better land at more distant locations. Near the newly cleared arable land, new settlements with new graveyards arose. Four graveyards are known, while the rest of them can be presumed.

The division of arable land was preserved in five of the seven new settlements: Zgornje Bodešče – 7 (Fig. 3.12), Višelnica – 10 (Fig. 3.19b), Zgornje Gorje – 11 (Fig. 3.22a), Poljšica – 12 (Fig. 3.26a) and Zasip – 14 (Fig. 3.2a). All of them were established as one farming unit, with 6.3-7.4 ha of arable land with only Zgornje Gorje having no more than 4.8 ha of land. Zgornje Gorje is at the same time also the only village with the oldest part of its arable land on slightly poorer land, and where better land was cleared only in the second stage of arable land development. The graveyard belonging to Zgornje Bodešče indicates that in the beginning there was only one family in the village (Ch. 3.3.d.), which was named after the head of the family, Bodeh/š. Since the village of Želeče – 8 was named after

Želeta, it must have also been established by no more than one family. Initially, the graveyard of Zasip also contained only one family (Ch. 3.1.d.). Grimšče – 9 was, judging by other settlements, probably established in a similar way.

All the five new settlements with a preserved division of arable land were expanded in the following stage (Figs. 3.2b; 3.13; 3.19c; 3.22b; 3.26b). With the exception of Zgornje Gorje, where as many as three farming units were formed from the original one, two farming units were formed in all of the settlements. The old arable land was evenly divided between them, while the new land of each unit was, if possible, in one piece. The entire arable land area of individual new units ranged in size from 4.6 ha in Zasip to 6.9 ha in Poljšica. Compared to the earlier period, the size of arable land per unit did not change significantly.

The beginning of Višelnica was simultaneous with the third development stage in Spodnje Gorje – 4, where two new farming units were formed from one of the two old units (Fig. 3.7c). So in the third stage, the village was comprised of three farming units. The two new units each had the same amount of arable land as their parent unit, the old and the new arable land being evenly divided between them.

The question presents itself whether this was simultaneous with the beginning of the seven new settlements. Only their graveyards, wholly investigated, could give an accurate answer. An analysis of the graveyards of Sedlo at Bled Castle Hill (Pleterski 1982), Žale near Zasip (Ch. 3.1.d.) and Dlesc near Bodešče (Ch. 3.3.d.) indicates that they were established at or about the same time and had been used for four generations. This could hardly be a coincidence – more likely it is an indicator of similar population development in the Bled area, a consequence of the fact that it was settled simultaneously, all at once. Therefore it seems justified to date the beginning of the seven new settlements in at least approximately the same period. The same forms of arable land development in this group also indicate that the beginnings of the settlements were at least approximately simultaneous, especially because they indicate certain social changes which cannot be dated randomly (see below).

As it has been said, Zasip was established in the second half of the 8th century (Ch. 3.1.d.) and Zgornje Bodešče in the last quarter of the 8th century (Ch. 3.3.d.). Since their graveyards are contemporary to the graveyard on Bled Castle Hill, this means that the settlement on Bled Castle Hill must have been established at approximately the same time as Zasip and Bodešče. The origins of the other settlements from that period can be dated at about the same time. This gives us the upper time limit for the duration of the earlier, older early mediaeval settlement period.

The period in its entirety can indicate certain aspects of social development. The intra-settlement relations show no differences from the earlier period. There was still land available for converting into arable fields which provided roughly the same living conditions for everybody. The issue of the inter-settlement management of common affairs, on the other hand, already came to a head in an earlier period. It is therefore not surprising that in the very area where the issue first presented itself (Ch. 10.2.a.), an entire village – 2 moved location and marked its special significance with a new settlement.

This settlement was important in at least three fields: judicial – managing common affairs, military – reflected in the position of the settlement, and spiritual. At present, the last one is only a working hypothesis that will have to be verified by a detailed analysis of the pertaining graveyard. In any case, the leading position of this village in the Bled area had already been established. In the future, its internal structure will perhaps be further revealed by the pertaining graveyard. At present, it can already be stated that this leadership was not collective: the settlement – and, consequently, the Bled area – was led by a single person.

This indicates that the Bled area was a territorial administrative unit. In the beginning, its inhabitants were connected by family ties, but later this was replaced by territorial cohesion. What has been described matches the reconstructed Slavic župa (ZAP 1980, pp. 22-30), therefore the term župa will be used from now on for the Bled area, and župan for its leader. As regards the question of whether the župa included only the Bled area: this seems very plausible for several reasons. The Bled area is naturally bounded on three sides by mountains, while on the fourth it is separated from Dežela (the Radovljica area) by the Sava Dolinka River. The 11th century records also mention a royal

estate in Dežela (*Kos F. 1911, p. 106; cf.: Pleterski 1978, p. 390*). If this estate was established in the same way as the royal estate of Bled (Ch. 10.3.), then Dežela must have been an independent župa, separate from the župa of Bled.

It should be added that the most of the later arable land was involved in the described development of arable land in this period, causing a social change that marks the next period.

10.2.c. THE YOUNGEST SETTLEMENT PERIOD FROM THE SECOND HALF OF THE 9TH CENTURY TO THE THIRD QUARTER OF THE 10TH CENTURY (*Fig. 10.5*)

Relatively few new settlements were established in this period, two of them – **3** and **6** by rebuilding the older villages which had been destroyed (Chs. 3.1.e.; 3.3.a.). It is not entirely certain whether Spodnja Bohinjska Bela – **15** belongs to this period or is even younger. The division of its arable land (*Fig. 3.32*) is most similar to that of Mlino (*Fig. 3.47*), which originates from the end of the 11th century. The reason it has been dated in this period is more the implied arrangement of its land than its time of origin. Podhom – **13** and Mužje – **3** can be placed among the new settlements with greater certainty; the former because its division of arable land could not have been formed later (*Fig. 3.30*), and the latter because it is clearly connected with the development of the arable land of Zasip (*Fig. 3.3*). This connection indicates that the inhabitants of Mužje came from Zasip – **14**, while the inhabitants of the rebuilt village of Spodnje Bodešče – **6** came from Zgornje Bodešče – **7** (*Fig. 3.14*). Just like the old ones, the new settlements were established near available good arable land, at the edges of plains.

In those old and new settlements where the division of arable land has been preserved, there was only one stage of arable land development in this period. The number of farming units in the old villages (*Figs. 3.3; 3.8; 3.19c; 3.22c; 3.26c*) remained the same, but their arable land area increased. The division of the old arable land was not changed. If possible, each farming unit acquired new fields in a single block. In some places, new fields within the allocated land were cleared gradually. Therefore only the final size of arable land, which is probably larger than the original size, can be established. On the other hand, in the later divisions of farming units and their fields, several grassy balks along the new boundaries were created, which diminished the original area of arable land. In that case, the land area was originally larger than it was later on. For both reasons, the arable land area of the original expanded farming units can be only approximately estimated. There are substantial differences in their size: from slightly more than 5.6 ha in Zgornje Bodešče to slightly less than 12.7 ha in Spodnje Gorje. These differences are a consequence of different demands for new arable land, different natural conditions in acquiring arable land, and of other reasons which can be at present only guessed at.

Zasip – **14** (*Fig. 3.3*) and Spodnje Gorje – **4** (*Fig. 3.8*) differ slightly from the other old villages. Some of their old farming units remained unchanged: one in Spodnje Gorje and three in Zasip. This could be a consequence of internal social stratification in the oldest villages, which had begun earlier.

Zasip is the only old village where a small farming unit was established in this period, probably supporting only one family (Ch. 3.1.b.). This brings us to the issue of how many families comprised an expanded farming unit. The Dlesc graveyard near Bodešče indicates that there were two families in one unit and three families in the other unit in Zgornje Bodešče at that time (Ch. 3.3.d.). The burials at Žale near Zasip also indicate the existence of a unit with three families (Ch. 3.1.d.). Subsequently, the expanded farming units with several families were broken down into the same number of farms (Chs. 3.1.b.; 3.3.b.). Since expanded farming units were eventually broken down into separate farms in other villages too, the number of farms can indicate the number of families at the beginning of the expansion of farming units. This number is always 2 to 3 and was probably determined more by living conditions and means of subsistence, than by population growth. At the same time, the number corresponds to the growth rate in the previous period (Ch. 10.2.b.). The average arable land area per family was, compared to the earlier period, smaller by 1.8 ha.

The new settlements do not seem to differ from the old. One farming unit with perhaps three families and less than 7 ha of arable land was probably established in Spodnja Bohinjska Bela. Three

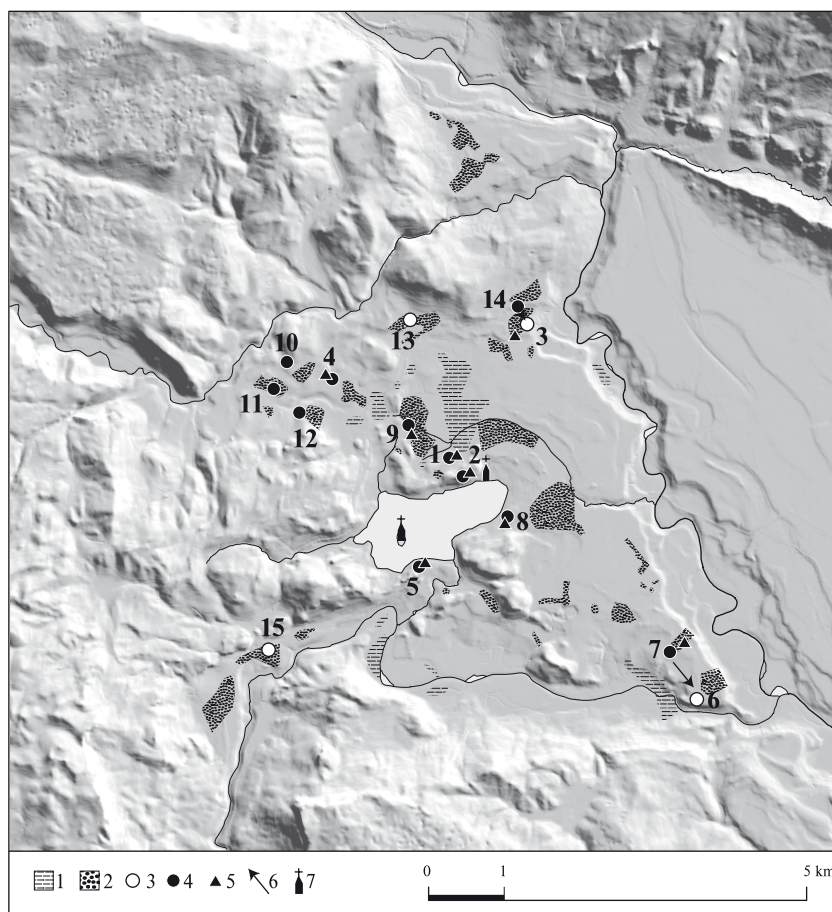


Fig. 10.5: The Bled area. Settlement from the mid-9th century to the mid-10th century.

- 1 – marsh,
- 2 – good quality arable land,
- 3 – new settlement,
- 4 – old settlement,
- 5 – archaeological site,
- 6 – direction of colonisation,
- 7 – church.

farming units with an unknown number of families and unknown arable land area were established in Podhom. Two farming units with three families each were established in Spodnje Bodešče with 8.7 and 9.2 ha of fields. Only two small farming units were established in Mužje, each of them probably comprised of one family with 3.8-4 ha of fields.

What was the reason for large farming units with more than one family, and what was their internal organisation like? The reason for their emergence was probably population growth, while the possibilities of agricultural subsistence were rapidly decreasing. It has been demonstrated that the majority of good arable land had been utilised in an earlier period (Ch. 10.2.b). With an unaltered method of cultivation and limited potential for additional land clearance, only the different organisation of labour enabled the production of more food. Earlier, each family worked the land on its own. Now, two or three families worked the fields together, which enabled better land utilisation and eased the efforts of clearing new land. The maximum sustainable capacity of the villages was thus reached and this brought population growth to a standstill for a long time.

Perhaps even in this period the density of settlement caused a change in livestock farming. While earlier there had been enough pasture areas around the settlements, it seems that because of the increased population of the Gorje area, which was the most densely populated, pastures had to be found in more distant areas. Perhaps it was from that time on that the villages of the Gorje pasture community used the natural high-mountain pasture of Klek (Ch. 8.).

Like in the previous periods, the increase in population was the result of natural population growth. It has been demonstrated that one family was usually replaced by two families in the following generation (Ch. 10.2.b). Since some families moved away and established new settlements, we can talk of two or three families, the same number as in the youngest period. This means that

the families of the new expanded farming units were closely related – they had the same father and mother.

Relations between them were dictated by the internal structure of the family, which was undoubtedly patriarchal (cf.: *Grafenauer* 1952, p. 459). An analysis of the Dlesc graveyard near Bodešče clearly shows the superior position of men (*Knific – Pleterski* 1981, p. 503). Considering that expanded farming units could not have been established overnight, the following picture emerges: the owner was at first the father, who worked the land with the help of two or three sons. His death triggered the shift towards greater social inequalities (see below).

Developed personal ownership of the arable land, an hierarchical family structure and at the same time the need for better use of the land by means of group cultivation led to a contradictory solution: one brother was the owner of the land, while the other two could only live and work on it. This caused their descent on the social ladder. While it can be assumed that all of them were personally free, owner / non-owner relations caused great inequalities. Until recently, the position of brothers and sisters of the head of a farm was almost equal to that of the farmhands (cf.: *Kumer* 1981, pp. 73-75). In the first generation, close family ties probably reduced the inequality, but in later generations, blood ties grew weaker. It can be easily imagined that marriage was only acceptable between members of the same social class, which further widened the social gap. In time, those who were not the owners of the land they lived on became underlings who could not make decisions or take part in the management. For some time, they might have had a certain degree of personal freedom, which they eventually lost. In the second half of the 11th century, when bishop Altwin acquired many estates from the local inhabitants of the Bled area, underlings are not specifically mentioned in any of the deeds of donation. They were probably regarded as a part of the donated property because if only land without people had been donated, that would have required an extraordinary influx of a new population. The Diocese of Brixen did not have enough people – even its ministeriales were mostly local inhabitants (Ch. 5.8.).

What was the name of the expanded farming units? In the centuries that followed, several small feudal lords lived on them in the supposed dwellings of the former owners of expanded farming units. From the 14th century on these dwellings are referred to as “hof”. They were actually farms, but their inhabitants belonged to a higher social class. When they moved away, these farms became the home of common serfs. This happened mostly in the 14th century, but sometimes also earlier or even later (Ch. 5.8.).

In the 15th century surnames were being formed for the serfs too. The former “hof” was preserved as a distinctive name for the new inhabitants. The peasant living at a former “hof” was given the nickname Dvornik (e.g. Ch. 3.13.c.). While it is true that this surname does not appear in all cases – one of the reasons is probably the time that passed between the settlement of a serf and the first recording of the surname – it is still common enough (Zgornje Gorje, Podhom, Grimšče, Grad, Mlino) that a general conclusion can be drawn. Dvornik was a person who lived at a dvor, meaning that the words Hof and dvor denote the same thing. Originally the above-mentioned small feudal lords had more than one farm in a village. These farms had comprised the early mediaeval expanded farming units in the old villages (e.g. Ch. 3.6.c.), and also the expanded farming units in younger villages (Grimšče–Rečica, Mlino, Zagorice–Želeče, Koritno). It can be concluded from this that “hof – dvor” originally denoted the entire expanded farming unit, not only its seat. The narrowing of the meaning of the word was a consequence of later fragmentation. The word “dvor” was, together with expanded farming units, adopted from the Early Middle Ages.

Ergo: *dvor* equals the early mediaeval expanded farming unit. It seems that the word dvornik refers to the owner of an early mediaeval dvor. The expression *feudal dvor* will be used for dvor as an expanded farming unit in later periods. The expression *ministerialis dvor* is too narrow as it does not include feudally independent owners. In the Bled area a ministerialis dvor is also a feudal dvor, but this does not apply vice versa.

Perhaps it is not unimportant that in Spodnje Gorje also farm no. 5 is labelled as hof. While this farming unit originates from the early mediaeval period, it had been until then comprised of only one family (Chs. 3.2.b.; 3.2.c.). This raises the issue of what was in the early mediaeval period the name for farming units with only one family. Where they also dvors? This is not impossible. Originally, dvor

could have denoted any farming unit, regardless of the number of families comprising it. But nowadays, the usual expression for a farming unit with only one family is farm and this word will be used here. To make a distinction, the label "early mediaeval" will be added to it for the same reason as with *dvor*. An early mediaeval farming unit with one family equals an early mediaeval farm. Although its owner was perhaps also called *dvornik*, the terminus technicus used here will be freeman.

In the youngest settlement period, the society of the *župa* of Bled was already rather stratified. In the old villages certain freemen still lived on early mediaeval farms and in some places they even settled anew (e.g.: Mužje, Zasip), but the majority of the arable land belonged to the early mediaeval *dvors*, where *dvorniks* and their underlings lived. Economic differences between the *dvorniks* and the freemen probably gradually led to social differences, which are indicated by the records of the 11th century (cf. Ch. 4.). Villages were generally comprised of two or three early mediaeval *dvors*, a low enough number that managing common affairs was possible. The exception could have been the villages of Zasip and Mužje, with six freemen and only one *dvornik*, who could have had a leading position in the village.

What were the relations in the entire *župa*? – With the emergence of the class of *dvorniks*, a new group of people appeared between the freemen and the *župan*. They were economically powerful because they had more land and their own serfs. The greater power of *dvorniks* compared to freemen probably caused the tendency toward the supremacy of the former in those villages where both lived. Nevertheless, at least in terms of property, neither of them managed to completely prevail. The leadership of the pasture community of Gorje could have also presented a challenge for one of the *dvorniks*. The power of *dvorniks* should have weakened the central authority of the *župan* of Bled, but he was able to draw new forces from the circumstances of his time.

For him it must have been the easiest to assert himself in his village as the sole owner of the land. He turned people who lived there into his underlings, who were the ones he could most rely on to enforce his authority. If only for the number of people he had at his disposal, he was stronger than individual *dvorniks*. He still had military command in his hands as well as judicial power in the *župa*. It seems, however, that in this period the power of the *župan* of Bled relied on a new force – Christianity. The teaching that authority is from God lessened the responsibility of the *župan* towards anyone of lower social status.

Two new early mediaeval churchyards were founded at that time, one on Bled Island, near the church (*Šribar* 1971, pp. 11-21), at the location of the supposed shrine, and the other one at the south-eastern foot of Bled Castle Hill, also near a church (about the church: Ch. 3.9.c.). The church on the island – St Mary – could have thus been the successor and replacement for the pre-Christian sacred place. A graveyard was founded near it but it did not last long. It could not have been the central Christian graveyard of the *župa* of Bled because there are too few graves. It seems that the central graveyard church was the church at the foot of Bled Castle Hill – St Martin.

Building a church required money and the consent of the ruler. It is hard to imagine that the *župan* of Bled would not have had the deciding word when it came to the building of the church of St Mary. At the same time it seems almost beyond doubt that it was he who had the church of St Martin built because it is located at the edge of his village. The Sedlo graveyard on Bled Castle Hill, which belonged to the *dvor* of the *župan*, also implies that the *župan* of Bled was associated with spreading Christianity. Two fibulas with explicitly Christian depictions – two saints and the Lamb of God, were found at the Sedlo graveyard. Their owners were men (*Leben-Seljak* 1996, pp. 286-287) who belonged to the third generation buried there, which means they lived in the second half of the 9th century (cf.: *Pleterski* 1982, Figs. 5, 146). Had they been foreigners – Christians, they would have been buried in the church graveyard and not in the graveyard of the old faith. Therefore it seems more likely they were local inhabitants, members of the family of the *župan*, who encountered Christianity during their journeys outside the *župa* of Bled. It is possible they were not the only ones and that the priests of the churches of Bled could have been the relatives of the *župan*.

It is interesting that among the graves of the fourth generation buried at Sedlo, there are almost no male graves, while at Dlesc, there are none at all. This could mean they were already buried near a church. Christian burial was a matter of prestige and as such it was first used for the heads of families.

Based on everything that has been said, the župan of Bled was the leading figure in the introduction of Christianity, which greatly strengthened his position. There is no doubt about his supremacy in the župa of Bled – but this had fatal consequences in the following period (Ch. 10.3.).

A few more words about the chronological limits of the period: Judging by the Dlesc graveyard, the early mediaeval dvors in Bodešče appeared in the second half of the 9th century (Ch. 3.3.d.). In some villages this might have happened even earlier and in others – for instance in Zasip – slightly later (Chs. 3.1.d.; 3.1.e.). The upper limit is the break in the third quarter of the 10th century, when the early mediaeval Carniola finally became a part of the mediaeval Holy Roman Empire.

Although this period is the time of the Magyar raids, the raids themselves did not cause a break. Nevertheless, they were not without consequences. A Magyar arrow, found in the layer of burnt material in the Pristava settlement beneath Bled Castle Hill, was fired around the year 900 (Pleterski 2010, p. 170). The same attack probably caused the complete destruction of the settlements near Bodešče and Zasip (Chs. 3.1.e.; 3.3.a.). The population must have been murdered for otherwise there would have been no need for a new division of arable land and new villages. The rest of the villages could have been, like Pristava, plundered and burned, but their inhabitants at least managed to save their lives and rebuild their dwellings. The settlements near Bodešče and Zasip were the first to have been attacked as they were located to the east, at the entrances to the Bled area (Fig. 9.2) from where the Magyars came.

It is an interesting question whether only arable land was privately owned in the youngest settlement period – or did individual people own also other types of land? It is true that early mediaeval dvors often included some more grasslands than early mediaeval farms. The most compelling evidence, however, are the field names derived from the personal names of the owners. But even there caution is needed because such field names could have arisen relatively very late, even around the year 1100 (Ch. 3.13.c.) and can therefore not answer the question. The most convincing are those names which denote parts of the old village land. There are three of them: the grasslands and later also arable fields on the hill of Radolca, as well as the stream of Dobrul in Spodnje Gorje, and the grasslands V Sebenjah in Podhom. The names Radovna (river), Hotunje (grasslands near Zgornje Gorje), and Ratna dolina (grasslands beneath the Pokljuka plateau) can also be placed in this category of names, but they are more distant from the village and the time of their origin is unclear. They could have passed into the ownership of a local inhabitant at the end of the 10th or beginning of the 11th century with a deed of donation – but it was not necessarily so. In short, there was a tendency to own grasslands and perhaps also individual waters (fishing, mills), but that did not prevail. The role of the župan of Bled in this process can only be guessed at, but it is unlikely that he just remained passive.

The Sedlo graveyard belonged to the dwelling of the župan on Bled Castle Hill. Sedlo is the successor of the Žale–Brdo graveyard, which lay in the plain. This indicates that the župans initially lived below Bled Castle Hill (Ch. 3.9.c.). The prestigious artefacts from both graveyards (weapons, fine jewellery: *Knjfic* 2004, pp. 102–108) differ from the graveyards in the neighbourhood, which could indicate that the function of the župan remained in the same family all the time since the beginning of the župa in the 7th century.

The question that arises is whether the inhabitants of Bled had to pay any kind of tributes to the župan. If he had indeed financed the building of the churches, his income must have been sufficiently high, and the little arable land he had was certainly insufficient for that. His source of income could have been livestock farming and perhaps he had some additional non-agrarian activity. It is very likely that he was paid regular tributes for his judicial service and also the two churches, when they were built, must have been a source of income.

10.3. THE SECOND HALF OF THE 10TH CENTURY

When in the third quarter of the 10th century the early mediaeval Carniola – together with the Bled area – definitively became a part of the mediaeval Holy Roman Empire, this led to important changes, both in settlement and in the organisation of society. These were a consequence of the fact that a royal estate was founded in the centre of the Bled area. What was its extent?

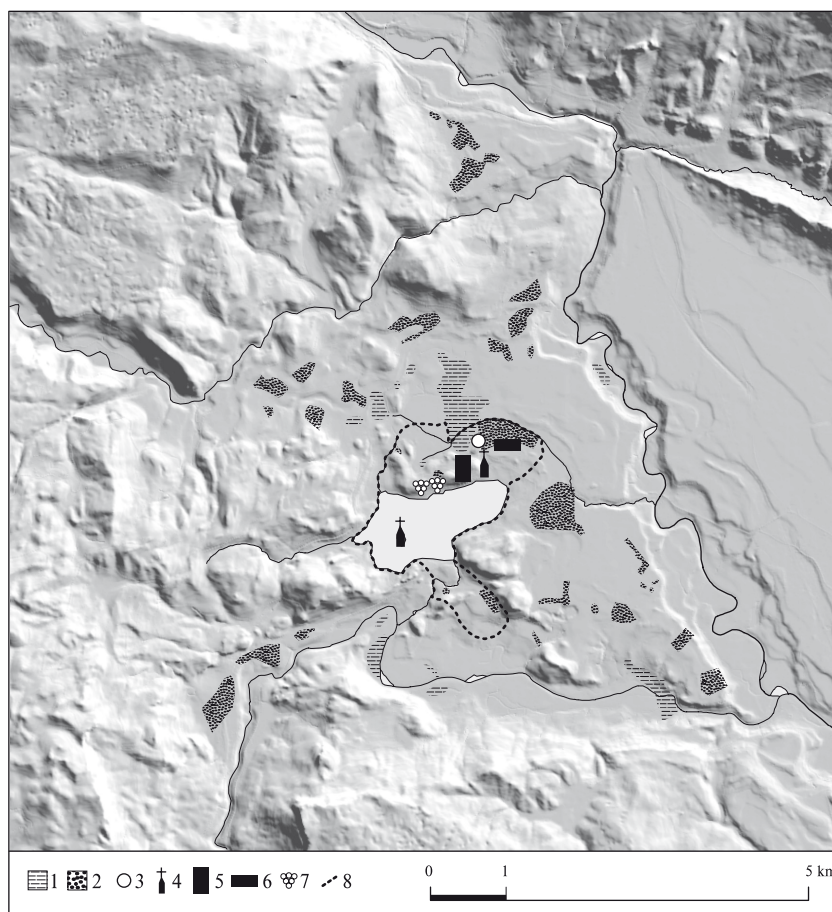


Fig. 10.6: The Bled area. End of the 10th century. The royal estate.

- 1 – marsh,
- 2 – good quality arable land,
- 3 – new settlement,
- 4 – church,
- 5 – castle,
- 6 – meierhof,
- 7 – vineyard,
- 8 – boundary of the royal estate.

What its original component parts were can be assumed on the basis of their subsequent fate. The main parts of the estate were probably those that had some real useful value because uncultivated land belonged to the king automatically in any case. Therefore its limits cannot be determined clearly – only the basic component parts can be stated. Most of them have already been mentioned in the discussion of individual villages: the settlement at Pristava and its arable land (Ch. 3.11.d.), the settlement on Bled Castle Hill with its arable land and the church of St Martin (Ch. 3.9.c.), and Bled Island with the church of St Mary and the predecessor of Mlino with its arable land (Ch. 3.13.c.). The vineyards below Bled Castle Hill can probably be added to this, at least to the degree they were previously owned by the župan of Bled. It should not be a surprise that one hundred years later, in the second half of the 11th century, this property was very fragmented because the then rulers did not usually retain their acquired property for long. Documents do not reveal how the king acquired all that.

At the beginning of the second half of the 10th century the early mediaeval settlement at Pristava below Bled Castle Hill was destroyed by fire (*Pleterski 2010, pp. 174-175*). There are as yet no archaeological data for the other two villages (see above), but it is unlikely that the župan of Bled would have given up his dwelling without a struggle – it would appear that the transition under the empire was not peaceful.

The Frankish king appropriated the most important features of the župa of Bled: the predecessor of Mlino, which was probably associated with the religious centre on Bled Island (the church of St Mary); the hill fort of the župan, which was the administrative and military centre of the župa, and its assets – the arable land, vineyards and the church of St Martin (*Fig. 10.6*). It is also unclear why the king appropriated the Pristava settlement. Judging by all that has been said, it must have been im-

portant for the entire župa. Perhaps it was the centre of craftsmanship, as indicated by a goldsmith's melting pot found in it (*Knific 2004, Fig. 12: 19*). It has already been mentioned that the royal estate included the junction of routes through the Bled area (Ch. 9.).

How did the king arrange his newly acquired property? – A castle was built on Bled Castle Hill. There is no doubt that the castle is mentioned as early as 1011 (*Kos F. 1911, no. 28*). The destroyed settlements were not rebuilt; only the two churches and vineyards remained in the same place. It appears that most of the land was at first uncultivated. At least for Mlinsko polje this can be assumed with sufficient certainty. What happened to the defeated who survived remains a mystery. Near the arable land of the hill fort of the župan, a new village was founded for some of its inhabitants – Grad. In the beginning, the inhabitants of Grad were not personally free and held their land in allodium (cf. Ch. 4.). There were six families with 2.2-2.8 ha of fields (Ch. 3.9.e.), which was sufficient for a farm. An interesting question is why they were not free.

Surely, if the king granted allodial properties, that was in exchange for certain favours, usually help with arms. Since all freemen had to serve in the army, it does not seem likely that the inhabitants of Grad were soldiers. The most reasonable explanation seems that they supported the king in enforcing and exercising his rule in the župa of Bled – as some sort of militia. There are two possible answers to the above-mentioned question: either these people had already been “unfree” in the previous period, or their freedom was taken away by the king.

Comparing the two periods, there are two possibilities: either free people with their own land became unfree people with their own land, or unfree people without their own land became unfree people with their own land. Taking into account the service they are supposed to have performed, only the second possibility seems plausible for it improved their status and therefore guaranteed their loyalty to the ruler. If the folk tradition concerning the inhabitants of Grad originating from the settlement on Bled Castle Hill reflects what really happened, then the king actually took over the subjects of the župan of Bled. It has already been mentioned that they had probably been a tool of the authority in an even earlier period (Ch. 10.2.c.). Thus the authority of the king in the župa of Bled was based on the church and the “militia” – much like it had been with the župan.

To provide for the needs of the new castle, the king established a dvor – meierhof near the arable land of Grad (Ch. 3.9.c.). Besides, he also owned both churches and the vineyards (*Fig. 10.6*). The estate probably included Lake Bled (for fishing) and perhaps the streams of Mlinščica and Jezernica to the north and south of the lake – if mills had already been built on them in that time. This, however, is only an assumption since it is equally possible that they were built by Brixen later on.

In brief, it is not easy to define the royal estate of Bled. Based on what has been said, it could be assumed that it was more a matter of the king's power than of any real economic significance. The local inhabitants reconciled themselves to the new authority in a relatively short time, especially since no interventions of the king in the property ownership structure of the rest of the župa of Bled can be detected. This was the end of the župa because as soon as the authority of the king became indisputable, and the royal estate as a means of consolidation of his power was no longer necessary, the king began, in accordance with the tendencies of the time, to divide the estate. The dvor – maierhof was given to the margrave of Carniola (Ch. 3.9.c.). The vineyards, if they belonged to the king, were mostly divided among local inhabitants (Ch. 3.9.c.). The church of St Martin was given to an important nobleman, perhaps the margrave of Carniola (Ch. 3.9.c.). Not much was left of the royal estate and it is no surprise that at the beginning of the 11th century the church of St Mary together with Vadiše was considered no less than a third of the estate (Ch. 3.13.c.). All these donations must have happened before 1004, when the remainder was donated to bishop Albuin of Brixen (*Kos F. 1911, no. 17; Štih 2004, pp. 9-27*).

10.4. THE BLEED AREA IN THE 11TH CENTURY

Perhaps it is not a coincidence that it was Bled that was bestowed to bishop Albuin of Brixen. His family estate was in the Jaun Valley (Slovene: Podjuna) in Carinthia, where the landscape is quite similar to that of Bled (*Kos. F. 1906, nos. 517, 529, 532*). It would appear that he had been familiar with the

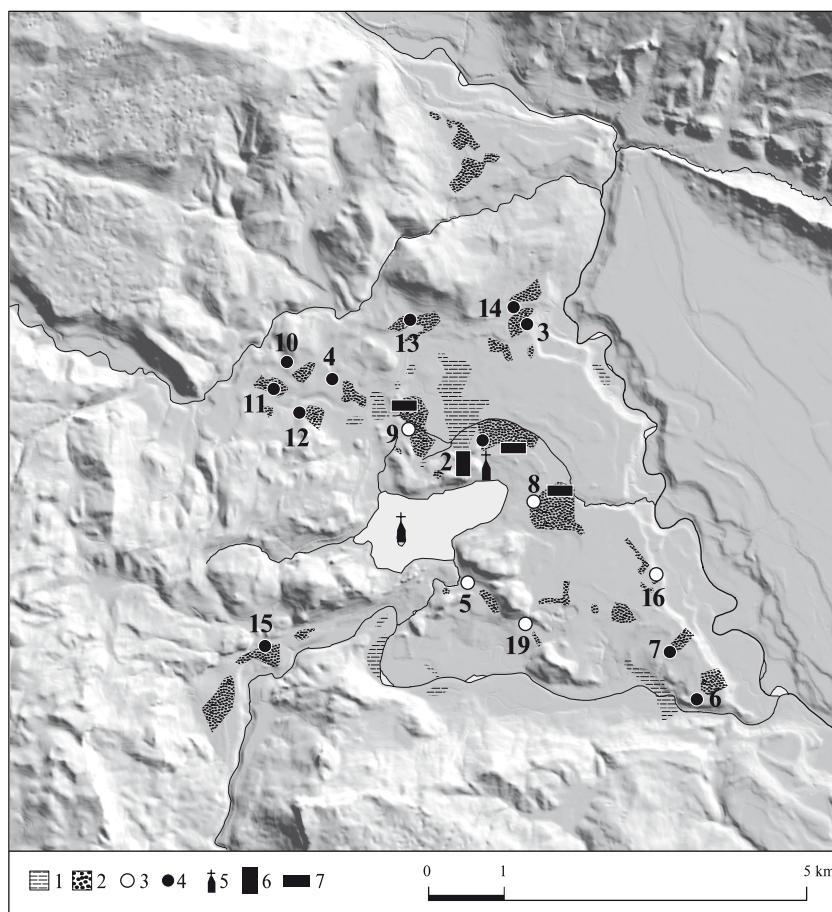


Fig. 10.7: The Bled area. Settlement in the 11th century.

- 1 – marsh,
- 2 – good quality arable land,
- 3 – new settlement,
- 4 – old settlement,
- 5 – church,
- 6 – castle,
- 7 – meierhof.

Bled area even before he received it and that he had wanted it also for personal reasons. After his death in 1006, the income (*Štih 2004, pp. 21-22*) from the church of St Mary on Bled Island and from Vadiše – from boat rides to Bled Island – passed into the hands of the Brixen canons (Ch. 3.13.c.). Of great importance is the king's deed of donation from 1011, when the Diocese of Brixen was definitively given Castle Bled and the available arable land the size of 30 royal farms between the rivers of Sava Dolinka and Sava Bohinjka (*Kos F. 1911, no. 28*). This meant that all the uncultivated land in the Bled area passed into the hands of Brixen, which prevented any clearing of new land by anybody else, i.e. by the local inhabitants. The early mediaeval dvors and farms were thus frozen in time.

Brixen gradually, yet systematically expanded its property, and hence its power, in the Bled area. The first move did not harm anybody: probably already in the first half of the 11th century the new village of Koritno – 16 (Fig. 10.7) was founded at the edge of the plain above the valley of the Sava Dolinka River, in the empty area between Želeče – 8 and Zgornje Bodešče – 7. It was comprised of two ministerialis dvors, each of which had five large plots of land (Fig. 3.37; Ch. 3.10.c.). The original number of families comprising each of the dvors remains unknown because it seems that the fields were not cleared all at once, but gradually over time, meaning that the number of families could have increased. It seems that the division of the western dvor already began in the 11th century (Ch. 3.10.c.). A similar situation existed in Selo – 19, where two Brixen dvors were founded in the 11th century (Chs. 3.15.b.; 3.15. c.).

Perhaps also the Brixen dvor-meierhof at the eastern edge of the Želeče area was founded in the first half of the 11th century. Yet on the other hand, it could have been established in the second half of the century during the time of bishop Altwin, who was undoubtedly the most successful at expand-

ing Brixen property in the Bled area. He managed to acquire the entire areas of Želeče and Grimšče. The land of the former was rearranged and two ministerialis dvors with two families of ministeriales and serfs were established (*Fig. 3.43; Ch. 3.12.c.*). The arable land of Grimšče and its the former settlement at Pristava was combined and divided anew. In the northern part, a Brixen dvor–meierhof was established, while the rest of the land was divided between two ministerialis dvors – 9, each with two families of ministeriales and serfs (*Fig. 3.40; Ch. 3.11.d.*).

It cannot be ascertained whether each of the ministerialis dvors was originally one or two farming units. Perhaps the second explanation is more plausible because the division of arable land of both villages is much more similar to each other if viewed as divided into farms. The farms had a few large fields each, totalling 3.7 ha to slightly less than 5.8 ha per farm. However, a ministerialis dvor was certainly a property unit. The dvors in Želeče had 9.3 and 9.2 ha of arable land, the dvors in Grimšče less than 11.2 ha and 11.7 ha, and the dvors in Koritno less than 9.8 and 13.7 ha. Therefore, the size and internal organisation of a ministerialis dvor were very similar to, if not the same as, an early mediaeval dvor.

Like formerly in the settlement of the župan, the internal social stratification within the dvors also produced unfree serfs apart from the free owners living on them (*Ch. 10.2.c.*). This caused the serfs, who worked for someone else's benefit, to become less deeply engaged in the cultivation of land. Perhaps the example of ministerialis dvors encouraged the dvorniks to give the land directly to the serfs and thus increase land utilisation and, consequently, their own income. The difference between the two types of dvors was now only nominal: dvorniks were personally free and had independent property, while ministeriales were dependent on their feudal lord.

The fact that Altwin exploited only a part of his property directly, with dvors–meierhofs (including the former dvor–meierhof in Grad – 2), while dividing the rest of the property among his ministeriales, increased his actual power in the Bled area. Thus he was able to intensify the pressure on individuals, who, one after another, donated him their property and probably often also became personally dependent on him, either as ministeriales, or worse, as serfs (*Ch. 4.; 5.8.*). This was the fate of both dvorniks and freemen with early mediaeval farms. The inhabitants of Grad became equal to the latter because after the king had given away his Bled property, their material and personal position was no longer any different from that of the freemen (*Ch. 4.*). The serfs were the only old social group for whom the situation improved slightly: in time they were able to start working the land on their own. Early mediaeval dvors were thus broken down into individual farms, one of them run directly by the dvornik.

It can be seen that Altwin wanted to acquire the best land in the centre of the Bled area (*Fig. 10.7*), and, when possible, also elsewhere. To this end he exchanged poorer or more distant plots of land for the better land in the centre. The best example was when Altwin was given property in Želeče, Kranj and Zgoša from Vencegoj, while he gave him in return the land in Mlino (see *Ch. 4.*), which was not the best and had been deserted.

Vencegoj settled on his “donated” land as a dvornik and established his dvor with four subordinate families, who were probably already given the land directly to cultivate it individually (*Ch. 3.13.c.*) – the land Vencegoj did not work himself. This was the beginning of the village of Mlino – 5. Vencegoj's dvor differs from the early mediaeval dvors in the time of origin, the number of subordinate families, and the fact that it was probably already comprised of several farming units. Therefore, the expression feudal dvor will be used for it.

Altwin usually turned the donated property into ministerialis dvors and left them in the hands of the local inhabitants. In some places, the difference between a dvornik and a ministerialis – between an early mediaeval dvor and a ministerialis dvor – had thus already disappeared, while elsewhere it was only nominal, in their different origin.

Occasionally, non-native individuals acquired property from the local inhabitants (cf.: *Kos M. 1970-1971, pp. 13-15*). Such cases are only known when the property later passed into the hands of Brixen, but nevertheless it can be said that the local inhabitants lost little land in this way.

Based on the study of individual villages, it can be calculated what was at the end of the 11th century the approximate ratio between the Brixen ministerialis dvors (including the former early

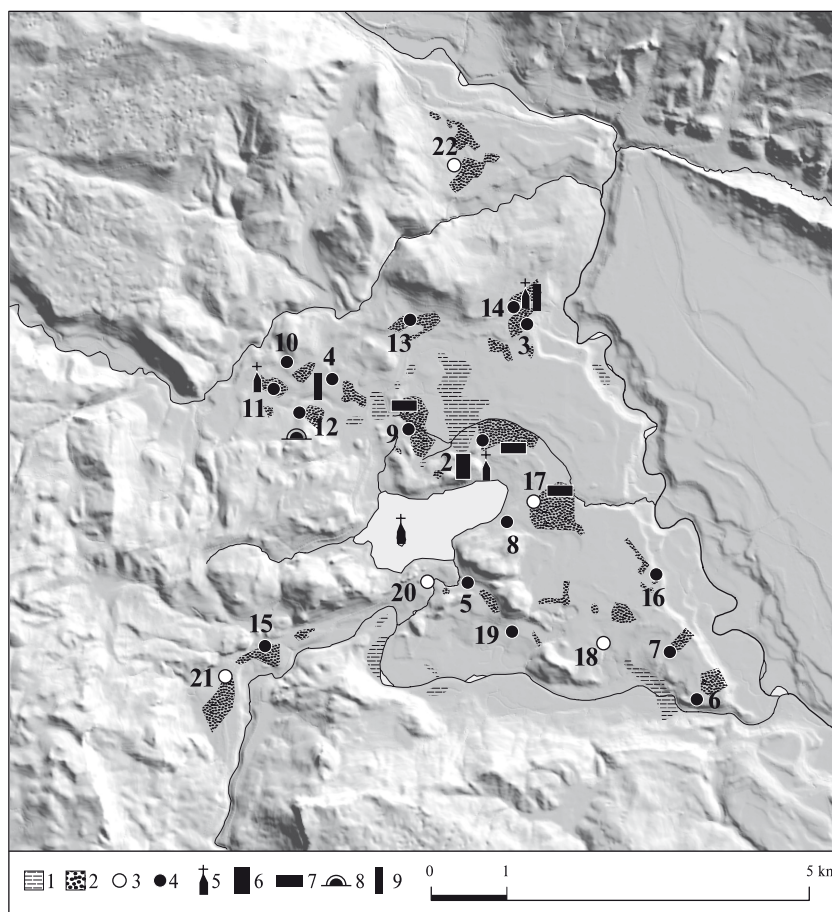


Fig. 10.8: The Bled area. Settlement in the 12th and 13th century.

- 1 – marsh,
- 2 – good quality arable land,
- 3 – new settlement,
- 4 – old settlement,
- 5 – church,
- 6 – castle,
- 7 – meierhof,
- 8 – fortified cave,
- 9 – tower.

mediaeval dvors), and the rest of the early mediaeval farms, early mediaeval dvors and the dvor of Vencegoj. There were 14 Brixen ministerialis dvors and about 22 other dvors. The ratio between the Brixen farms and the other farms was similar: 27:48. At the end of the 11th century a third of the arable land in the Bled area belonged to Brixen.

Only two new villages were established in the 11th century, and two were rearranged: a small expansion, for which the local population was large enough.

10.5. THE BLED AREA IN THE 12TH AND 13TH CENTURY

The 12th century brought many changes to the Bled area. The most notable external sign of the changes was planned Brixen colonisation when all the available land was turned into arable land (Fig. 10.8). A number of new settlements were founded, mostly by clearing the land at and around Jarše: Ribno – 18, Želeče – 8, and Zagorice – 17. The villages of Želeče and Zagorice were formed by the division of separate farms after both ministerialis dvors had been broken down (Ch. 3.12.c.). Zazer – 20 was established to the south of Lake Bled. All these villages had to be content with slightly poorer land. Two villages with good quality arable land were established by clearing oak forests: Zgornja Bohinjska Bela – 21 and Blejska Dobrava – 22. As earlier, new villages were built at the edges of plains, in the vicinity of good arable land.

The new villages were no longer divided between ministeriales in the form of ministerialis dvors, but were managed and exploited directly by Brixen with the aid of the village župans (cf. Ch. 7.). The

new villages were divided into individual farms, each of them normally with 3-4 fields in different parts of the village arable land (Figs. 3.47; 3.54; 3.56). The farms of one village had about the same arable land area, but there were considerable differences between the villages. The average farm of Zazer had 1.6 ha of fields, while the average farm of Zgornja Bohinjska Bela probably had 2.4 ha. It should be noted, however, that later, each farm cleared as much arable land as possible from the grasslands near the village and also in the more distant areas. The same was happening in the old villages: they had been broken down into individual farms which were expanding their arable land through non-systematic land clearance. There were individual cases of farms being broken down further, which caused an increase in the number of farms in the old villages too. Until there was available land, the number of farms in all villages increased. As early as the 13th century the final number of farms in the Bled area had been almost reached and later this number did not change significantly.

Population growth demanded a larger production of livestock, while at the same time land-clearing greatly reduced the pasture areas near the villages. Therefore Brixen gave the high-mountain pasture of Pečana to its old villages near the lake. Perhaps a little later on, after they had been well-established, the new villages also began to clear the forest systematically for new mountain pastures on the Pokljuka and Jelovica plateaux (cf. Ch. 8.).

Thus, as early as the 12th century, there were no more new Brixen ministeriales. The property in Zgornje Bodešče, which Brixen acquired in the first half of the 12th century at the latest, was kept as demesne. The bishops of Brixen eventually tried to reduce the number of their ministeriales and to re-acquire their fiefs, which can explain why the ministerialis dvors of Koritno (cf. Ch. 3.10.c.) and Želeče–Zagorice (cf. Ch. 3.12.c.) were dismantled.

For Brixen, ministeriales had become unnecessary, even harmful. Their growing tendency for personal and material independence weakened the diocese (cf.: *Hauptmann* 1952-1953, pp. 276-277). Some of them became feoffees of other feudal lords, while at the same time they alienated most of the fiefs from the Diocese of Brixen, which is why these fiefs are no longer recorded, either in the Brixen urbarium from 1253, or later on. Only some rare traces of former Brixen fiefs were preserved in the 14th century (e.g. Chs. 3.6.c.; 3.9.c.; 3.7.c.; 3.1.c.). In Zgornje Gorje, a Brixen ministerialis had a proprietary church as early as the mid-12th century (Ch. 3.5.c.) which eventually became the seat of an independent parish.

Interestingly, donations of land to the church of St Mary on Bled Island began only in the mid-12th century. The property of the Bled Island provostry – i.e. indirectly the Diocese of Brixen – was acquired by these donations. It seems that the diocese was at that time too weak to acquire property directly, and therefore it resorted to exploiting the concern of individuals for their spiritual welfare.

In the 12th and 13th century those remaining dvorniks and freemen who had not become common serfs formed a connection with Brixen ministeriales and sometimes even found their own feudal lords, of whom, the Counts of Ortenburg and Görz are mentioned in the 13th century (cf. Ch. 5.). Their number in the Bled area was slowly reducing due to marriages, migrations and extinctions, and there were more and more common serfs living in their dwellings. There were no longer any differences between them and the Brixen ministeriales: as early as the 13th century they formed a unified social class and are not distinguished in records.

Some of them managed to remain independent. At the end of the 13th century there were at least three of them: the dvorniks of Mlino and Višelnica, and “the last” freeman of Grad (see Ch. 5.). Perhaps there were also other individuals in some villages (Spodnje Bodešče, Zasip, Spodnje Gorje, Višelnica, Zgornje Gorje) at that time. But their existence is mostly based on “argumentum ex silentio” and therefore questionable.

The first three did not have much property. The dvorniks of Mlino and Višelnica probably did not have much more than their farm, and the freeman of Grad had only his farm. It seems that the source of their economic power lay more in non-agrarian activities. Although these activities are not mentioned in written sources before the 14th century, they probably existed earlier. The dvornik of Mlino was most likely engaged in transporting goods and he traded wine and cereals from Friuli (cf.: Ch. 5.2.). The dvornik of Višelnica also dealt in transporting goods because it is unlikely that

his successors would have worked only for the Prince of the Land (cf. Ch. 6.). The freeman of Grad was a furrier (Ch. 5.7.), one of the craftsmen – the other being Brixen serfs – in Grad (cf. *UBŠ*, 193).

It is likely that also others were engaged in non-agrarian activities. In the 13th century the Diocese of Brixen lost (and regained) its Bled property twice, which aided the ministeriales in gaining their independence (*Gornik* 1967, p. 117). The external signs of small feudal lords of the Bled area becoming independent were the proprietary churches in Zgornje Gorje and Zasip (Ch. 3.1.c.) as well as the tower fortifications in Zasip and Spodnje Gorje (Ch. 5.1.). It is probably not a coincidence that it was the Brixen ministerialis of Poljšica, who dealt in livestock (Ch. 8.), who fortified the nearby cave of Poglejska cerkev (Ch. 3.6.a.).

So there was no longer any trace of the early mediaeval society in this period, and the economic structure was also entirely different.

As late as the mid-13th century the serfs did not pay high tributes. But colonisation had been completed and it was only possible to increase income – or, considering that some fiefs had been alienated, at least keep it at the same level – by raising tributes. The incessant wars of that time also demanded more income (cf.: *Hauptmann* 1952-1953, p. 277). Therefore the serfs of Brixen were paying higher tributes at the beginning of the 14th century than in the 13th century, but the tributes were even higher in the mid-15th century (*UBŠ*, 88-89).

10.6. THE BLEĐ AREA IN THE 14TH AND 15TH CENTURY

In the 14th century several new settlements were established, but they were located higher on the slopes of the Mežakla (Zgornje Laze – 24, Spodnje Laze – 25) and Jelovica (Kupljenik – 26) plateaux. Only Zgornja Blejska Dobrava – 23 was founded in the plain where the land was good, but it had to be cleared from forest (*Fig. 10.9*). Each of these settlements was originally one farm with its land in a single block, which was sometimes broken down because of the divisions of individual farms (*Figs. 3.56; 3.58; 3.61*). Land was cleared gradually and therefore it is not possible to establish the original arable land area.

Not one of the new villages was founded directly by the bishops of Brixen, although the diocese was officially the owner of all the available land. This demonstrates how powerless Brixen was at that time.

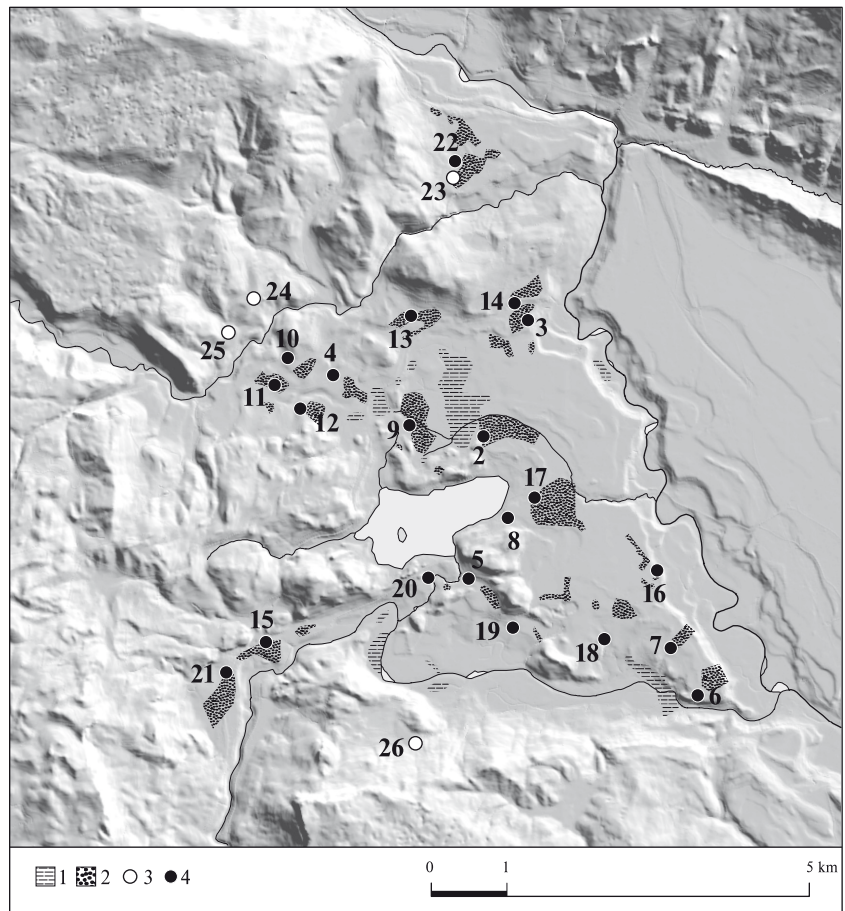
In the 14th century the Brixen meierhof in Grad was divided among some of the farms in the village (Ch. 3.9.c.). In the first half of the 15th century the meierhof of Grimšče was bought by the Grimšičar family (Ch. 3.11.c.). The meierhof of Zagorice was sold in the 16th century at the latest (Ch. 3.12.c.). The Brixen meierhof at its present location below Bled Castle Hill was probably established only after the meierhof of Grimšče had been sold.

In 1338 the ministeriales of Bled – like all the ministeriales of Carniola – gained personal freedom and were made equal to the high nobility (Ch. 5.8.). With this, the last eventual differences between them and the “independent” inhabitants of Bled disappeared. By the end of the 14th century their number had already been much reduced due to extinction and emigration. At the same time, their property was being accumulated in the hands of the remaining families, and also the Prince of the Land. A property structure was thus formed in the 15th century, which remained more or less unchanged for several centuries.

Brixen gradually expanded its property by purchasing new land, and only in the 16th century did the diocese reach the extent it could have already had in the 13th century, had it not lost most of the fiefs.

When ministeriales no longer participated in managing and exploiting the land belonging to great feudal lords in the Bled area, they were replaced by new feoffees – edlings. Edlings held their farms in fief and performed certain services in return, which gave them a special status. In the 15th century their services were eventually no longer needed, probably because manors were being increasingly run by clerical staff. This produced a decrease in the differences between edlings and com-

Fig. 10.9: The Bled area. Settlement in the 14th century.
1 – marsh,
2 – good quality arable land,
3 – new settlement,
4 – old settlement.



mon serfs. At the end of the 15th century they were already recorded in an urbarium. The status of the dvornik of Višelnica was at that time no different from theirs (cf. Ch. 6.).

Perhaps the decline of edlings triggered the emergence of župans in those old villages of Bled where they had not been present before. It is clear that from then on, landowners managed their property with the help of župans (see Ch. 7.). The class of village župans was thus finally formed. The service usually remained in the family, but it was not a rule. Their benefits were insufficient to cause the formation of a special social group.

The tributes of serfs had increased greatly by the beginning of the 14th century. Their income, however, had not decreased because they had an additional source of income – trade. The document issued in 1332 by patriarch Paganus of Aquileia to merchants and other serfs of lord Henrik ab Vilanders, the Brixen castellan of Castle Bled, is proof of trade between the Bled area and the lands belonging to the patriarch of Aquileia. With the document, merchants and their merchandise were guaranteed the patriarch's protection ("affidamus") when they were in his area for the purpose of buying and selling or other mercantile affairs (1332 19/6, CKSL). At the same time, the document is proof of the restless times of conflicts between the patriarchs of Aquileia and the Counts of Görz, which Nikolaj Kaul of Bled-Zasip used so well to his benefit (cf. Ch. 5.1.). The situation of the Bled serfs was probably relatively moderate, until the crisis in the second half of the 15th century (cf.: ZS 1979, pp. 228-250) which prepared the ground for the peasants' revolts.

11. CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

11.1. TO BELIEVE OR NOT TO BELIEVE. TWO ARCHAEOLOGICAL TESTS

The presented study had been conducted by the end of 1984 and published right away (*Pleterski 1986*). Its results are a picture of the past, but also – like any other explanation – an interpretative predictive model. In practice, the credibility of such a model can be verified by its ability to include newly acquired information. The more the remnants of the past and their relations can be included, the better the model. A model is valid as long as it can include new data. It was possible to use the following observation as an interpretative model: those present day villages whose arable land division dates from the Early Middle Ages also have their graveyards and these graveyards are located near an old route or in its vicinity on a sunny slope with a small mound on top. All of these features were present near the village of Zasip, on the plot of land with the field name Žale – a name that attracted the attention of archaeologists in its own right. The first attempt at excavation revealed an unknown graveyard. An analysis of the graveyard showed an exact structural match between the graveyard and the earlier established development of the arable land of Zasip (Ch. 3.1.). The adequacy of the analytical method and the accuracy of the results were thus confirmed in the best possible way.

Even earlier the seemingly static archaeological finds had been successfully connected to the dynamic development of land division in the case of the village of Bodešče (Ch. 3.3.). That case, however, was isolated and could have raised suspicion that it was a coincidence. Besides, it was technically impossible to prove that the analyses of the cadastre and the graveyard were indeed conducted independently. All such doubts have no longer been justified since the discovery of the Žale graveyard near Zasip. Other authors have thus far shown no similar cases, but hopefully these will emerge in time.

Another confirmation came in the summer of 1985: a hoard of early mediaeval tools, weapons and horse equipment was accidentally discovered at Sebenje, at the old boundary between the villages of Zasip and Podhom (*Pleterski 1987*). The artefacts were probably buried in the summer of 820, during a war between the Franks and a union of tribes in the Eastern Alps and western Balkans, which resisted Frankish domination. The hoard is significant as a record of military and political events, but even more as a record of the then conditions on one homestead of the Bled area (*Fig. 11.1*). The owner of the artefacts made his living by farming. He had at least three ploughs, as well as a grub hoe, with which he was able to cultivate the arable land in different ways. Two of the ploughs were *sohas*, light ploughs with two ploughshares, which were in the past used by the Slavs for the cultivation of burned land. The third plough had a wide, shovel-like share and was used for the ploughing of old arable land. This type of plough had already been widespread in the Eastern Alps in the Late Roman period (e.g.: *Ciglenečki 2000*, pp. 56-57, t. 3). The harvest was reaped with sickles and scythe rings indicate grass mowing and hay drying for livestock feeding in winter. A chisel indicates that the head of the farm maintained the tools himself. For buildings he used wooden pegs, as indicated by two wood drills. He used a stitching awl for leather work and carefully kept useless iron objects in order to have them reforged later. In wartime, he became a warrior and had his own battle horse. He was armed with at least two spears and probably with a shield and at least an axe, if not a sword.

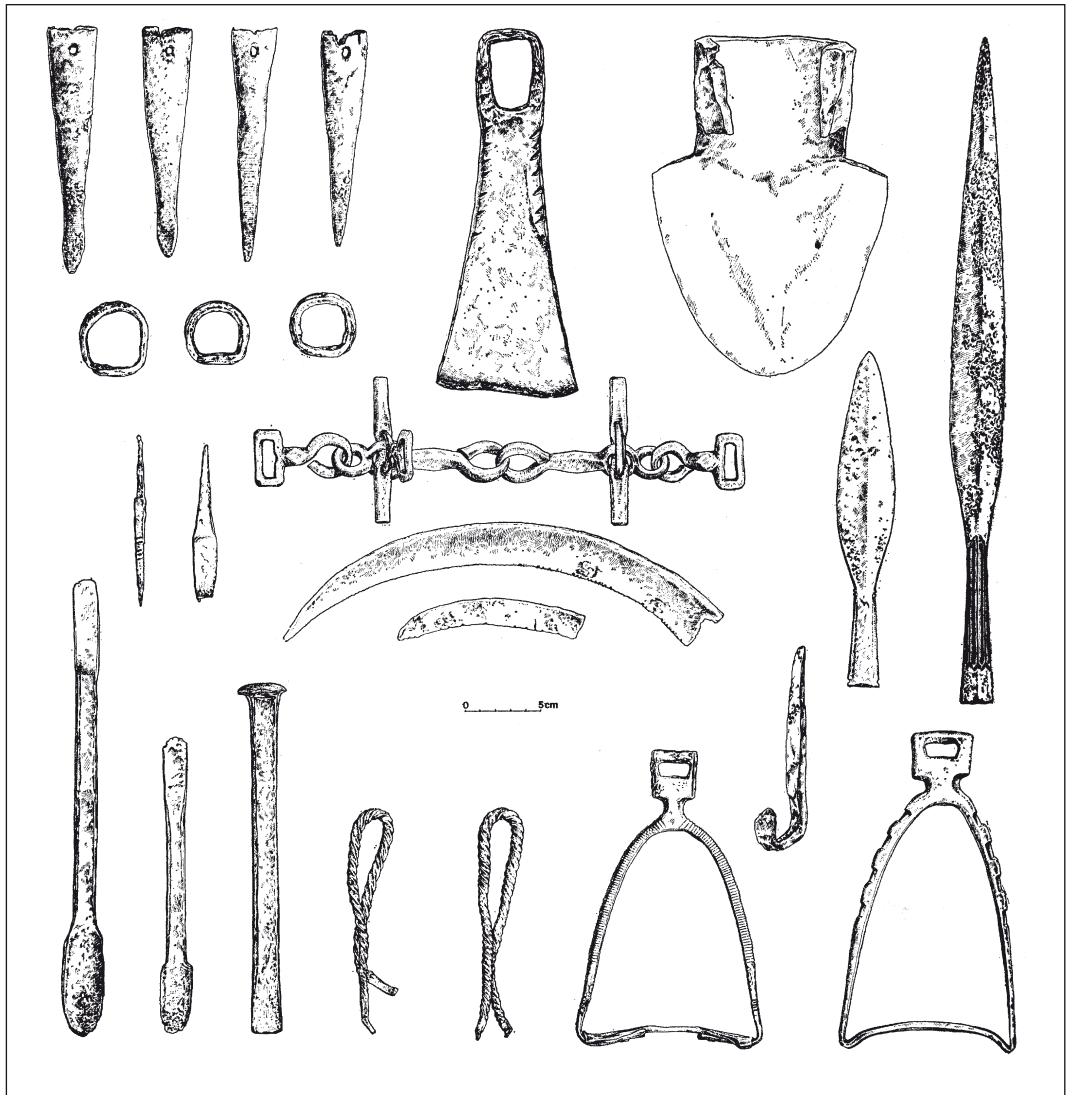


Fig. 11.1: Hoard of Sebenje.

The hoard confirms that the arable land and farming tools had been taken over from the native Vlachs. The soha was introduced by the Slavs and had not been used earlier in the area. It coincides with the field names which indicate acquiring arable land by cutting and burning down the forest (Chs. 3.2.c., 6.b., 14.a.). As early as the beginning of the 9th century some of the inhabitants were wealthy enough to fight as heavy cavalry, which indicates a certain degree of social stratification.

These tools belong to a developed and differentiated agriculture and correspond to the early system of permanent field division. In the case of Spodnje Gorje, this system indicates the use of a 3-year crop rotation back in the 8th century or even earlier (Ch. 3.2.). This is in sharp contrast with the western part of the Slavs who used wooden scratch ploughs and the 2-year crop rotation system until the 13th century (Hardt 1999, pp. 278-280).

11.2. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

An analysis of the microregion of Bled has produced a satisfactory and coherent picture of the origin and development of an Early Slavic župa and thus the first detailed insight into any župa. Such a result was possible because some of the stereotypes of the Early Slavs – in particular the basis of their economy and the consequences that derive from it – cannot be applied to this area. Procopius indeed claims in the 6th century that the Slavs and the Antes often change their place of abode (*Procopii De bello Gothico*, III. c. 14). Several conclusions can be derived from his statement: that their arable land was not permanent, that agriculture was based on slash-and-burn practices, which exhaust the soil rather quickly, and that their settlements were therefore also not permanent (cf.: Grafenauer 1970, pp. 234-240; Krawarik 2006, p. 114; Biermann 2010, p. 284). Land cadastres, however, can only reveal the situation during a time of stable land division. If the assumption is true that stable field division was only introduced by great feudal lords in feudal times – in Slovenia between the 9th and 11th century (Grafenauer 1970, p. 240), then cadastres could tell us nothing about the earlier administrative form – župa. The picture of župa Bled disproves all such claims, however. With the aid of the graveyards near the villages of Zasip (Ch. 3.1.) and Bodešče (Ch. 3.3.), the origin of the two villages and their permanent field division can be dated to the 8th century. Since these two villages are not the oldest in župa Bled, it is highly likely that the beginning of permanent arable land division at Bled coincided with the new regime introduced in the 7th century by the Slavs. This is in line with Pristava below Castle Bled, where the continuity of settlement from the 7th to the 10th century has been proven by archaeology (Pleterski 2010, pp. 165-176). This certainly demands a rethink of the types and degree of agriculture also in other areas populated by the Slavs, of the (im)probability of permanent arable land division and individual ownership, and of the idea of independent development of social stratification. All of these issues are connected to the question (in many respects unresolved) of the beginnings of Slavic statehood. While in other areas early mediaeval land division might not be preserved to such a degree as in the case of Bled, at least the structures of archaeological finds there could be compared to those of Bled. Župa Bled can therefore be a useful interpretative model. The necessity of reinterpretation is imposed by settlements like Raškiv I in Ukraine and Roztoky near Prague in the Czech Republic. The former was the same location for almost two centuries, from the 7th to the 9th century (Baran 1997, p. 176), while the latter persisted at the same location at least for a century in the 6th and 7th century (Profantová 2005, p. 214). This does not correspond to the model of non-permanent settlements of that time.

The question arises of how is the permanency of land division and settlement at Bled in line with the information by Procopius. It was already Bogo Grafenauer who made the assumption that in the Eastern Alps a general lack of arable land as well as the indigenous inhabitants (the Vlachs) promoted the development of the agriculture of the Slavs (Grafenauer 1970, p. 239). Župa Bled has not only confirmed the validity of his ideas, but has also indicated that this happened very swiftly, possibly even right away. The relatively limited agricultural areas created a demand for sustainable cultivation, which was mastered by the Vlachs – meaning that the Slavs were flexible enough. Evidence of this provided by archaeology is the set of farming tools from the hoard of Sebenje (*see above*). Another indicator is building culture: at Pristava there is a house raised above the ground (apparently an old alpine tradition), and next to it stands a square building whose shape, size and interior layout correspond to the pit houses of the Slavs, but it is not dug into the ground (Pleterski 2008a, pp. 122-126). The Slavs that Procopius described lived in the Wallachian Plain, where the environment was evidently different from that of the alpine Bled. At the same time it becomes evident that the history of the Slavs cannot be understood without the history of the Vlachs and that knowledge of the so far much overlooked Vlachs is a desideratum of future research.

11.3. THE ORIGINAL STATE OF LAND DIVISION

Hans Krawarik assumes that initially there were large *dvors*, the so-called *Althöfe*, which were later fragmented into *Althufe* (= old *huba*). His thesis is that the development was segmental. The originally

large units were fragmented into smaller and smaller ones, which can help with dating: the larger the original dvor/Althof, the older the village. As comparisons for establishing dates before the year 1000, Krawarik uses places from the territory of the Bavarians. On the basis of the information from the time after the beginning of the second millennium he infers that the dvors/Althöfe from the same period are also of the same size. He named his method *Kulturflächenanalyse* – the analysis of cultivated surfaces which include fields, grasslands and gardens. Even though Krawarik emphasizes that the size of cultivated surfaces does not always give the absolute time of the beginning of a settlement (Krawarik 2006, pp. 68-69), this criterion is often used for dating (e.g. Krawarik 2006, p. 114). A weak point of his conclusions is that it is not known whether the development was the same everywhere. Moreover, it is not necessary that the size of dvors/Althöfe was being reduced everywhere simultaneously. The analysis of the colonisation history of eastern Bavaria during the Early Middle Ages indicates a significant correlation between the then populated areas and the division of arable land into long strips (*Langstreifenflur*). If this observation is correct, such forms could have come into existence in both the Early and the High Middle Ages, within a time-span of a few centuries (Zenzinger 2005, pp. 45-53). Therefore one has to be careful also with the other formal criteria of the analysis.

It makes sense that the territory of earlier villages should be larger as they had more time to reach their site catchment. In this sense, Krawarik's hypothesis is justified. It is also possible to concur with his explanation that smaller areas (per family) became possible because of improved agricultural methods. The analysis of the land of Bled, however, has shown that in the case of Bled, only arable land was originally divided between individuals, and that the use – and, consequently, the ownership of grassland was communal. Individual ownership of grassland was established only in the 10th century. A series of early mediaeval settlements indicates a gradual independent development from one family of the original settler with his arable land to a larger number of families, who gradually expanded the arable land and divided it among themselves while observing old boundaries. The possibility has not been excluded that at least the two central settlements, Pristava (Ch. 3.11) and the predecessor of Grad (Ch. 3.9) were already in the very beginning comprised of a larger number of families. This is, moreover, even indicated quite eloquently by the several simultaneous dwellings at Pristava (Pleterski 2010, Fig. 5.22). The total amount of grassland and arable land therefore cannot simply indicate the realistic original situation in those villages that had developed independently.

Krawarik's datings of the land divisions preceding the situation fixed by the first written records are based only on size comparisons and must therefore remain hypothetical. There is another weakness in his postulate at the level of social interpretation. To cultivate a large (original) plot of land would have required many people, certainly more than one single family. Krawarik thus assumes that there were many farmhands (Krawarik 2000, p. 72), which is possible only in a highly stratified society. The existence of such a differentiation already in the time shortly after the Slavic settlement south of the Danube would mean that it had either been present among the Slavs before their settlement, which is contrary to the written reports from that time, or that the Slavs established themselves as masters of the indigenous population and subjugated them economically and socially. This is again contrary to the information on the Slavs found in written records (Curta 2001, p. 317). Those large dvors from Krawarik's study, which were confirmed by written records, are from the areas that were ruled by the Franks or the Bavarians in the Early Middle Ages. They were created in a very hierarchical society, as a part of deliberate colonisation by the great feudal lords (see also: Zenzinger 2005). There, Krawarik's interpretative model seems convincing. It is, however, questionable whether it can be applied elsewhere. It cannot be applied to the Slavs in the time before the period feudal manors were established, and especially not in the time of their settlement.

11.4. THE KOSEZES

A peculiar feature of the southeastern alpine region at the end of the Middle Ages is a special social class of *kosezes/edlings*, personally free people, who were, together with the little property they had, subject directly to the Prince of the Land. Places whose German name is Edling have the Slovene

name Koseze / Kazaze (*Vilfan 1980a*, pp. 320-321). This fact triggered an unfinished debate on the possibility that the late mediaeval (13th/14th and 15th century) edlings are connected with the early mediaeval Kosezes (*see above*), and whether it would be possible that *kosezes* were a special social class in early mediaeval society rather than some sort of a tribal group whose name was only later transferred to a social class. Since there are many edlings mentioned in the records of the 15th century in the Bled area, the microregional analysis was able to give a clear answer – at least for this specific area – to the question about the potential early mediaeval origin of edlings (Ch. 6.): the Bled edlings are a social class formed in the Late Middle Ages and of heterogeneous origin. At least in the Bled area they are a socio-legal group with no early mediaeval tradition.

This is contrary to the hypothesis of Bogo Grafenauer who, in his monumental monograph on Carantania, the central Slavic principality of the Eastern Alps, tried to establish that Carantania was the first Slavic state – following the definition of political theory that there were no states before the stratification of society into different social classes. The State is an institution created by the possessing class (the expropriators) to defend themselves against the non-possessing classes (the expropriatees). It has a tool, an apparatus of coercion – special armed divisions, that are an essential and determining indicator of a state (*Grafenauer 1952*, p. 14). Grafenauer assumed the *kosezes* to have been this determining indicator, and even though there are no indicators that *kosezes* were a social class in the Early Middle Ages, he projected them into the 8th century as people who worked for the prince in order to maintain the structure required by the above definition (*Grafenauer 1952*, pp. 557-558). The issue of *kosezes* and the origins of statehood will have to be discussed anew.

11.5. THE FATE OF ŽUPA BLEĐ AND ITS PEOPLE

In the time of its existence, the broader political framework of župa Bled was the early mediaeval principality of Carniola (about Carniola see: *Štih 1996*). Carniola can be seen as the first or second stage of integration of župas as described by Fritze (Ch. 1.2.). While Charlemagne was conquering the Pannonian Avaria, he also subjugated the early mediaeval Carniola. From the perspective of župa Bled, however, no interventions in its organisational structures can be observed. The break only happened in the second half of the 10th century when Carniola was wholly incorporated into the Holy Roman Empire.

Carniola thus shared the fate of the neighbouring principality of Carantania, which was administratively reorganised into a system of counties in the first half of the 9th century. When the territory of the Eastern Alps was included in the mediaeval Holy Roman Empire, the autonomous development of the fractal organisation of župas into an independent integral administrative unit was interrupted. An uninterrupted development in the Eastern Alps might have led to a kingdom of Carantania (or a kingdom of a different name), but that did not happen. Hans-Dietrich Kahl therefore speaks of a decapitated ethnogenesis – *geköpfte Ethnogenese* (*Kahl 2002*, p. 401). Consequently, by the end of the Middle Ages the original ceremony of the inauguration of Carantanian princes and later Carinthian dukes stiffened into a strange form which seemed exceedingly anachronistic and archaic and therefore attracted attention (*Grafenauer 1952*, *Dopsch 2010*). In 1576 French philosopher and lawyer Jean Bodin thus mentioned the ceremony in his book *Les six livres de la Republique*. He included it in his contractual theory of the origin of the state where it served as an example of contractual transfer of sovereignty from the people to the monarch. This book was, among other material, used by Thomas Jefferson, the author of the American Declaration of Independence, and he was familiar with the part mentioning the inauguration ceremony (*Štih 2005*) – an example that shows how far the events that used to be a part of life in every župa can extend.

Whether the expression *župa Bled* actually existed in the Early Middle Ages cannot be confirmed by contemporary records for there are none. Although the name is merely a reconstruction and a technical description, there is one clue that it might have indeed existed in the past. In the neighbouring microregion of Bohinj, which demonstrates a structural development very similar to that of Bled, the word *župa* is still used by people (*Snoj 1997*, 767). Furthermore, according to folk

tradition, Bohinj was once a “*dežela* (country) that governed itself”. The word *dežela* is a legal term, derived from the same root as the word *država* (state) (Škrubej 2002, pp. 176-182). In this case it seems that in the Early Middle Ages the expression *dežela* referred to the župa. This tradition from Bohinj is an important clue for a development that has thus far not been very well known.

An indication for this development is the emergence of the župans in the villages from the 12th century onwards (Ch. 7.). Though a functional connection between these lowest officials within the frame of a feudal manor and the župans of early mediaeval župas cannot be seen, it is not entirely impossible that they are some sort of a submersive relic of the Early Slavic župa. In other words, some of the structures of a župa might have been preserved at the level of a village community (cf. Vilfan 1980b, pp. 19-58). This could have been the basis for the firmness of identity of the village population, which was relatively independent from the identity changes of respective social elites. If this thesis is true, this could be a channel through which the so far unknown remnants of the past could have been preserved in folk tradition.

There are also trends in historiography. At present one of them is denying the identity connections between the past and the present (e.g.: Geary 2005) in the sphere encompassed by the recently extremely controversial notion of the nation. By analysing written sources, it is indeed possible to find a series of proofs for the discontinuity, especially when it comes to the social elites, who are the most glamorous, most attractive, best documented – and the most misleading. It is the social elites that are the most subjected to changes. They are the ones creating fashion as an incessant course of conscious changes because it is the ability to follow these changes and to adapt to them which is the ticket to the elite club. The masses remain invisible. It is, however, the masses that maintain the tradition as a structure of long duration. Masses and long-lasting events are thus automatically highlighted in the study of “prehistoric” areas. The Bled area indicates the continuity of property from the 7th century until today. The forms and development of the cultural landscape are reflected in the Slovene field names. The only remnant from the time before the 7th century is the name Bled itself, which is of pre-Slavic origin (Bezljaj 1976, p. 26). The 7th century was the beginning of a reorganisation of space as well as its designation in the new language, which has been, *mutatis mutandis*, preserved until today. On the other hand, several elements of the culture of the old population survived the changes of the 7th century (e.g. certain elements of farming or dwelling culture). All these are components of the identity of the present-day local inhabitants – Slovenes, clearly telling them that they have not been here only since now or the recent past.

11.6. FUTURE TRENDS

Župa Bled opens the possibilities of testing new ideas, new methods and new interpretative models which will be developed by their authors based on comparable material or in comparable situations.

This study considers the relations between landscape, natural environment and the humans who utilise the area economically. Several GIS tools for the research of such relations have been developed in the interim. Nevertheless, these tools alone cannot depict the diachronous development of an area. A cultural context is needed for something like that – and *Župa Bled* offers such a context. Moreover, it has independently included the historical structures which GIS analysis is yet endeavouring to find (e.g. site catchment area). Therefore it is suitable for verifying and improving GIS algorithms as well as for developing new GIS methods (recently, by the use of *Župa Bled: Štular 2006; 2006a*). As the record of historical memory, it is the cultural landscape that is becoming an increasingly valued source for historical research (e.g. Forbes 2007; Lihammer 2011).

Župa Bled extends the history of Europe. Based on a new point of view, it brings different results. To think that knowing one župa from all the aspects means knowing all of them is a wild exaggeration, if nothing else because of the different geographical environments and different substrates and adstrates. It is, however, certainly not too presumptuous to say that in this way, the understanding of the whole has been significantly improved. *Župa Bled* certainly represents an explanatory model which was realised at least once. *Župa Bled* is therefore not only the history of a microregion – it is an information key to the invisible European civilisation, supplementing the cultures of the Mediterranean and the Atlantic and other northern seas into the history of Europe.

12. NAMES, PLACES, SPECIAL WORDS

(Figs. 12.1; 12.2)

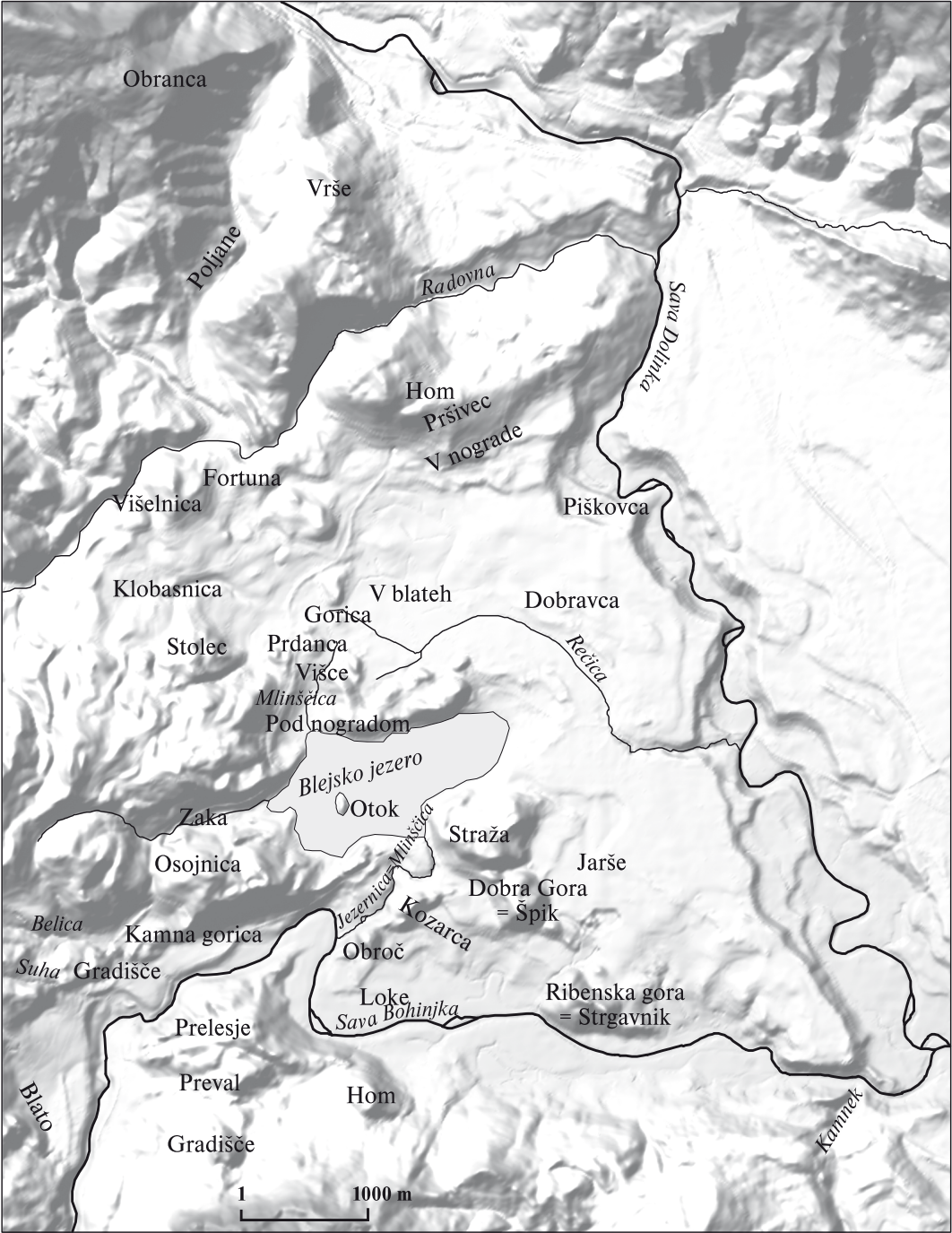


Fig. 12.1: Toponyms in the Bled area.



Fig. 12.2: Toponyms in Gorenjska.
1 – town, 2 – castle, 3 – settlement.

WRITING OF PERSONAL NAMES

In the Middle Ages the orthography of names was not yet established. This is the reason why the same person is often mentioned with different forms of the name in different documents. The influence of the native language of the scribe can be noticed as well. Here, the names have been adjusted to modern writing and their Slovene forms because the people discussed are from the territory of the Slovene language. At the same time the original forms have been preserved to such an extent that identification with the forms in the documents is possible, although this often means that several variants of the name of the same person have been used.

THE MEANING OF NAMES

anthr. = anthroponym
gmf. = geomorphology
veg. = vegetation
ar. = archaeology
agr. = agrarian

The list only includes names on which the interpretations in the text are based. The author of the explanations is the Slavist Dušan Čop. Field names are written in the same form as in the Josephian Cadastre from the end of the 18th century.

name	type	base	meaning
Blata	gmf.	blato	mud
Borštek	veg.	Forst (German)	forest
Brdo	gmf.	brdo	low hill
Bznica	veg.	bezeg	elder tree
Bzounik	veg.	bezeg	elder tree
Curkovca	gmf.	curek	jet
Delopust	anthr.	delo, pust	without work duty
Dobravca	veg.	dob	oak forest
Dornik, Duornickh	anthr.	dvor–nik	inhabitant of a dvor
Dou	gmf.	dol	valley
Goldschan	anthr.	Goldschein (German)	golden shine
Grad	ar.	grad	castle
Hom	gmf.	holm	low hill
Hotunje	anthr.	Hotimir	land belonging to Hotimir
Ilove jame	gmf.	ilovica, jama	clay pit
Kolbl	anthr.	Kohle (German)	charcoal (as a surname: charcoal burner)
Križna gorica	gmf.	križati, gorica	hill near a crossroads
Loka	gmf.	loka	marshy grassland
Mlinsko polje	agr.	Mlino, polje	the field of the village of Mlino, whose name derives from the word “mill”
Mužje	gmf.	muža	hollow filled with water
Na blatenci	gmf.	blato	mud
Na boršto	veg.	Forst (German)	forest
Na brde	gmf.	brdo	low hill
Na brego	gmf.	breg	slope
Na bzuncarce	veg.	bezeg	elder tree
Na dindole	gmf.	Devinji dol	valley of the mythical Deva
Na dobah	veg.	dob	oak forest
Na dobraucah	veg.	dob	oak forest
Na dobrauci	veg.	dob	oak forest
Na doleh	gmf.	dol, dolina	valley
Na doli	gmf.	dol, dolina	valley
Na doline	gmf.	dolina	valley
Na došce	agr.	dolg	long field
Na dounicah	agr.	dolg	long fields
Na gaberce	veg.	gaber	hornbeam forest
Na gabrce	veg.	gaber	hornbeam forest
Na globeli	gmf.	globel	hornbeam forest
Na Gostovem	anthr.	Gost	land belonging to Gost
Na hrastouce	veg.	dob	oak forest
Na hribe	gmf.	hrib	hill
Na hribence	gmf.	hrib	land on a hill
Na hrušce	veg.	hruška	pear tree
Na iloušah	gmf.	ilovica	clay
Na ilovcah	gmf.	ilovica	clay
Na jame	gmf.	jama	pit

name	type	base	meaning
Na ježah	gmf.	ježa	slope of a terrace
Na klance	gmf.	klanec	slope
Na klancih	gmf.	klanec	slope
Na korile	agr.	kuriti	land acquired by burning the forest
Na križne gorice	gmf.	križati, gorica	hill near a crossroads
Na ledince	agr.	ledina	uncultivated grassland
Na lipje	veg.	lipa	lime
Na meukuše	gmf.	miolki (Old Slavic)	shallow valley
Na mlace	gmf.	mlaka	pond
Na mlinskem pole	agr.	Mlino, polje	the field of the village of Mlino, whose name derives from the word "mill"
Na močileh	gmf.	močilo	hollow filled with water
Na novini	agr.	nov	newly cleared land
Na opate	gmf.	lopata	shovel-shaped piece of land
Na ozarah	agr.	ozara	headland
Na pecovce	gmf.	peč	rocky ridge
Na plesme	agr.	plesmo	pasture area enclosed by a woven fence
Na počivalšo	ar.	počivališče	resting place (of a funeral procession?)
Na pogorence	agr.	pogoreti	burnt land
Na potoko	gmf.	potok	stream
Na rebre	gmf.	rebro	slope
Na rivouce	agr.	goreti	burnt land
Na route	agr.	Gereut (German)	cleared forest area
Na slemen	gmf.	sleme	ridge
Na spodneh selišeh	ar.	selišče	settlement
Na straže	ar.	straža	guard
Na turne	ar.	Turn (German)	tower
Na uobočence	gmf.	izbočiti	convex land form
Na vanišnce	veg.	lan	land where flax grows
Na vočnah	veg.	loka	meadow near the water
Na vošišeh	veg.	jelša	alder forest
Na vrskah	gmf.	vrh	hilltop
Na zabreznem	veg.	breza	birch forest
Na zgornih selišeh	ar.	selišče	settlement
Nad bregam	gmf.	breg	slope
Nad lescam	veg.	les, lesec	forest, small forest
Nad potokam	gmf.	potok	stream
Pod lipjam	veg.	lipa	lime forest
Pod nogradom	agr.	vinograd	vineyard
Pod plazam	gmf.	plaz	landslide
Pod rojam	gmf.	arrugia (Romance)	water ditch
Pod skavo	gmf.	skala	rock
Pod strmoglavko	gmf.	strm, glava	steep slope
Pod trbiči	agr.	trebiti	newly cleared land
Pod vasjo	agr.	vas	village
Podovenca	agr.	podolgovata njiva	elongated field

name	type	base	meaning
Pr Dobrule	anthr.	Dobrul	land belonging to Dobrul
Pr hriŕce	gmŕ.	hrib	hill
Pr potoko	gmŕ.	potok	stream
Pretaka	gmŕ.	pretočiti	dip in the terrain
Pri lipah	veg.	lipa	lime
Pungart	veg.	Baumgarten (German)	orchard
Radolca	anthr.	Rado	land belonging to Rado
Radolca	anthr.	Radol	land belonging to Radol
Ratna dolina	anthr.	Rat(imir)	valley belonging to Ratimir
Rupa	gmŕ.	rupa	hollow
Sagradam = Zagradam	ar.	grad	behind the castle
Slatna	gmŕ.	slatina	mineral water
Spodna ledina	agr.	ledina	uncultivated grassland
Ta nova niva	agr.	nov, njiva	newly cleared field
Turnč	ar.	Turn (German)	tower
V bale	gmŕ.	vallis (Romance)	valley
V bali	gmŕ.	vallis (Romance)	valley
V batnece	gmŕ.	blato	mud
V beržiči	gmŕ.	breg	slope
V blate	gmŕ.	blato	mud
V blateh	gmŕ.	blato	mud
V boršteče	veg.	Forst (German)	forest
V boršto	veg.	Forst (German)	forest
V brdeh	gmŕ.	brdo	low hill
V brdi	gmŕ.	brdo	low hill
V brego	gmŕ.	breg	slope
V bregu	gmŕ.	breg	slope
V brsce	gmŕ.	brdo	low hill
V brzeh	gmŕ.	brdo	low hill
V dindole	gmŕ.	Devinji dol	valley of the mythical Deva
V dobje	veg.	dob	oak forest
V dobraučicah	veg.	dob	oak forest
V dole	gmŕ.	dol	valley
V doline	gmŕ.	dolina	valley
V dougem brde	gmŕ.	dolgo brdo	long low hill
V dromažu	veg.	drma	forest
V goričcah	gmŕ.	gorica	low hill
V goričecah	gmŕ.	gorica	low hill
V goričicah	gmŕ.	gorica	low hill
V grabnu	gmŕ.	Graben (German)	ditch
V hiščah	ar.	hiša	house
V hribeh	gmŕ.	hrib	hill
V jamah	gmŕ.	jama	hollow
V jaršah	agr.	jar-išče	newly cleared land
V ježah	gmŕ.	ježa	riser of a terrace
V klanci	gmŕ.	klanec	slope

name	type	base	meaning
V klučeh	agr.	ključ	wind, turn
V kobasence	gmf.	klobasa	sausage-shaped valley
V konci zglavnica	agr.		last or first field in a plot of land
V korile	agr.	kuriti	land acquired by burning the forest
V krnišnce	gmf.	krnica	cirque
V ledine	agr.	ledina	uncultivated grassland
V macesne	veg.	macesen	larch tree
V mecesne	veg.	macesen	larch tree
V megrah	gmf.	med gore	route between two hills
V mlake	gmf.	mlaka	pond
V nograde	agr.	vinograd	vineyard
V novinah	agr.	nov	new arable land
V orehoule	veg.	oreh	group of walnut trees
V pijalcah	gmf.	piti	watery land
V polinah	gmf.	polje	plain
V poljinah	agr.	polje	plain
V potocch	gmf.	potok	stream
V potoko	gmf.	potok	stream
V rebernice	gmf.	reber	slope
V rebre	gmf.	reber	slope
V rekovniku	gmf.	Dreck? (German)	mud, muddy terrain
V Sebenah	anthr.	Seben(oslav)	land belonging to Sebenoslav
V seče	agr.	sekati	to cut
V snožečah	agr.	seno, žeti	hayfield
V strmine	gmf.	strmina	steep slope
V točce	gmf.	potok	stream
V travence	veg.	travnik	grassland
V travenceh	veg.	travnik	grassland
V travenci	veg.	travnik	grassland
V vošeh	veg.	jelša	alder tree
V žalah	ar.	žalbje (Old-Slavic)	graveyard
Vadiše	ar.	ladja, ladjišče	harbour
Vobočenca	gmf.	izbočiti	convex land form
Vrbica	veg.	vrba	willow
Za bajerjam	gmf.	Weiher (German)	pond
Za brscam	gmf.	brdo	low hill
Za Gorjame	agr.	Gorje	on the other side of the village of Gorje
Za hrušoulam	veg.	hruška	pear trees
Zagradam = Sagraadam	ar..	grad	on the other side of the castle
Zaplje	agr.	polje	on the other side of the field
Župenca	anthr.	župan	area whose beneficiary was the village župan

SPECIAL WORDS

word	explanation
Aquileian mark	Monetary unit named after Aquileia. Contains 160 pfennigs.
dežela	A legal term, derived from the same base as the word <i>država</i> (state). It seems that in the Early Middle Ages, the term <i>dežela</i> referred to <i>župa</i> .
dvor	Originally an enclosed area with a door. Later, it can refer either to buildings or to the belonging arable land. Dvors can be of different sizes, with different numbers of families. In the case there are more families, this is an expanded farming unit.
dvornik	An inhabitant of a dvor, or its owner who also lives there.
early medieval farm	A farm in the early medieval period, run by a free owner.
edling	Personally free people who were, together with the little property they had, often subject directly to the Prince of the Land.
expanded farming unit	A farming unit comprised of several families.
farming unit	A functional unit of people and arable land. Hypernym of grunt, huba, farm, kajža, dvor ...
feudal dvor	A dvor which had been given in fief.
grunt	A farm which can entirely sustain one family. Buildings and land.
hoffmes	A sixth of a <i>modius</i> .
huba	A farm the size of a <i>grunt</i> , subject to a manor.
kajža	A building with little land, which cannot sustain a family.
kajžar	Who lives on a <i>kajža</i> .
kosez (Kosezes)	Kosezes can be explained as a slavized tribe of the Iranian language group. According to another theory, <i>kosezes</i> were not a tribe group, but a special social class in the Eastern Alps in the Early Middle Ages, separate from other freemen. At the end of the Middle Ages, the word <i>kosez</i> is the Slovene synonym for the word <i>edling</i> .
ministerialis dvor	<i>Dvor</i> where a ministerialis lives.
modius	A solid measure. In the medieval Bled manor of the Diocese of Brixen perhaps 122.3 l.
oral	Area measure. The area one man can plough in one day.
pfennig	See: Aquileian mark
plesmo	Woven fence in a field.
rovt	A cleared area in the forest.
soha	Light plough with two ploughshares, which was in the past used by the Slavs for the cultivation of burned land.
solid	Pfennig.
urbarium	An inventory of the income and rights of a manor, as well as the tributes and duties of the serfs.
zadruga	A patriarchal community of families, with common property, production and consumption.
župa	A Slavic territorial and legal community, connected also by family ties. When it is included in the feudal system, it acquires different forms and meanings.
župan	The head of a <i>župa</i> . In the Late Middle Ages in the Eastern Alps, <i>župan</i> is the head of a village, the lowest link in the administration of a manor.

13. REFERENCES

GENERAL ABBREVIATIONS

- ANSI* = Arheološka najdišča Slovenije (Archaeological Sites of Slovenia)
AS = Arhiv Republike Slovenije, Ljubljana (Archive of the Republic of Slovenia)
IzA = Inštitut za arheologijo Znanstvenoraziskovalnega centra Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti, Ljubljana (Institute of Archaeology at the Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts)
SBL = Slovenski biografski leksikon (Slovenian Bibliographic Lexicon)
UBŠ = Urbarji brixenske škofije (Urbaria of the Diocese of Brixen)
ZAP = Zgodovina agrarnih panog (History of Agrarian Disciplines)
ZIMK = Zgodovinski inštitut Milka Kosa Znanstvenoraziskovalnega centra Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti, Ljubljana (Milko Kos Historical Institute at the Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts)
ZS = Zgodovina Slovencev (History of Slovenians)

ARCHIVAL SOURCES

- AF* = Avstrijski fevdi (Austrian fiefs) 1440–1441, 1470–1480 (Kranjski fevdi = the fiefs of Carniola). A photocopy in the collection of Milko Kos Historical Institute. Original: Ms. 17/5 (old sign. 1656), fol. 87–106, Niederösterreichisches Landesarchiv, St. Pölten.
- AF 1444* = Avstrijski fevdi 1443–1469 (Austrian fiefs). A microfilm and a photocopy, Zgodovinski arhiv Ljubljana. Original: Staatsarchiv, Wien, Ms. W 724, fol. 216–277, W 725, fol. 159–254.
- Bled–Mlino* = Grabung bei Suvobor 19. –21. Juli 1943, Bled–Mlino, the archive of IzA.
- Briks. urb. 1524* = Urbar otoške proštije 1524, an abstract in the legacy of Milko Kos, the archive of Milko Kos Historical Institute.
- Briks. urb. 1602* = Urbar Bled 1602, an abstract in the legacy of Milko Kos, the archive of Milko Kos Historical Institute.
- Briks. urb. about 1731* = Urbar gospostva Bled from about 1731, Gr. A. III., Bled, Rusticalia, knj. 3, AS.
- CF* = Celje register of fiefs, began in 1436, typescript transcript by Božo Otorepec, the archive of Milko Kos Historical Institute. Blank pages have been included in the foliation.
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- Zgornje Gorje, L 179 (53) Zg. Gorje (Zgornje Gorje); Občina Želeče, L 243 (št. 70) Želeče (Mlino, Zagorice, Zazer, Želeče); AS.
- HCF = The Habsburg fief register for the former Celje property from about 1457—1461, typescript transcript by Božo Otorepec, the archive of Milko Kos Historical Institute.
- Im. knj. 1* = Imenjska knjiga 1, 1539, AS.
- Im. knj. 2* = Imenjska knjiga 2, 1546–1549, AS.
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- Im. knj. 4* = Imenjska knjiga 4, 1546–1618, AS.
- Im. knj. 7* = Imenjska knjiga 7, 1662–1757, AS.
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- Komatar AS* = Schumi — Komatarjeva zbirka prepisov listin 1261–1400 (Komatar's collection of document transcriptions), box 70, AS.
- Lamb. urb. 1650* = Urbar donosa blejskih imenj in podložnikov barona Adama pl. Lamberga 1650, Gr. A. III., Bled, Rusticalia, fasc. 14, AS.
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- Rad. urb. 1498* = Urbar gospostva Radovljica 1498, RDA, fasc. 282, AS.
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- RDA* = Rectificierte Dominical-Acten (the Theresian Cadastre): fasc. 5, Laibach Probstei Radmannsdorf; fasc. 17, Veldes Herrschaft; fasc. 18, Probstei Inselwerth bei Veldes; fasc. 43, Lees Beneficium U. L. Fr.; fasc. 49, Obergörjach Pfarrhof; fasc. 181, Radmanskendorf 23 Zukirchen; fasc. 247, Grimschitz Gut; fasc. 253, Katzenstein Herrschaft; fasc. 282, Herrschafft Rattmansdorff; fasc. 292, Stain Herrschaft; AS.
- TDAT* = Terenski dnevnik arheološke topografije Blejskega kota (log of the archaeological topographic survey of the Bled area), arhiv IzA.
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