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**THE ESTATES
OF THE BISHOPS OF FREISING
AND GURK IN FIFTEENTH-CENTURY LOWER STYRIA AND
UPPER CARNIOLA.
THEIR ADMINISTRATION AND FUNCTIONING**

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of the Bishops of Freising
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Their Administration and Functioning**

by

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ABSTRACT

The Estates of the Bishops of Freising and Gurk in Fifteenth-Century Lower Styria and Upper Carniola. Their Administration and Functioning

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This investigation aims to inspect two examples of extra-territorial land-possession, belonging to different clerical institutions: the Freising episcopal estate Škofja Loka in Upper Carniola and the group of Gurk episcopal estates in Marchia (parts of Lower Styria and Lower Carniola). The two properties differed concerning their distance from the seat of their lord, as well as in the form of land-possession. In the present study an attempt is being made to compare these two property units according to their (financial) administration and economy, trying to measure the influence of the mentioned spatial relations on their effectiveness.

The research is predominantly based on the qualitative-quantitative analysis of the account books of the given estates, which are preserved in partially disconnected series covering most of the fifteenth century; in addition to this, it also takes into consideration the land registers, on which the previous scholarship relied to a greater extent.

The study focuses on several aspects concerning the estate management. First of all, it inspects the development of administrative structure, as well as its state in the fifteenth century, which firmly depended on the form of land-possession. In the case of the cohesive Škofja Loka estate, institutions remained highly centralized; however, the management functioned in several units the case of scattered Marchian property. Secondly, it discusses the modes of transfer of revenue. In general this mainly took the form of cash transactions, although supplying with victuals was still practiced over smaller distances; however, regarding the transfer, the distance as well as scattered nature of the property represented obstacles, which had to be dealt with in different ways: the former by reducing the installments of delivery and the latter by establishing a dispatching center. Finally, the study

analyses the trends in development of the annual income and expenditure, which shows a stable economy on the Škofja Loka property, while a certain unsteadiness can be observed in Marchian group of estates. Moreover it reveals, that the centralized management of Škofja Loka succeeded in running the estate at costs approximately one third lower than those, which the Gurk Marchian administration needed to manage their scattered property.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Acc. B.	Account Book
AEM	Archiv des Erzbistums München und Freising, Munich
Ann. Acc.	Annual Account
BayHStA	Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Munich
DAK	Diözesanarchiv Klagenfurt
Fasz.	Faszikel
GFK	Geschichtsverein für Kärnten
Heck.	Heckenstalleriana
HL	Hochstiftsliteralien
HS	Handschriftenreihe
KLA	Kärntner Landesarchiv, Klagenfurt
Nr.	Nummer
Rep.	Repertorium
ZAL	Zgodovinski arhiv Ljubljana (Historical archive of Ljubljana)
ZRC	Znanstveoraziskovalni center (Scientific Research Centre), Ljubljana

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1. INTRODUCTION

A process of establishment of a network of estates, which was in Carniola and Lower Styria completed roughly by the end of the eleventh century, placed the social and economic relations in the mentioned territories on a new basis, that remained practically unchanged during most of the Middle Ages. The predominantly agricultural potential of the territory began to be utilized in a more intensive way under the organizational framework of relatively large estates, whose emergence was mostly a result of the royal donations of land to the upper strata of nobility (*Hochfreie*) and clergy (*Kirchenfürsten*). While the estates of the former went through a number of changes and were mostly disintegrated during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and its parts reincorporated in new formations, those of the latter to a great extent lived to see the fifteenth century in their original forms. The development of estate economy and administration was adjusted to the fact, that the residential seat of their lord was as a rule situated outside of the given province.

The aim of this investigation is to inspect two examples of such property units, belonging to different clerical institutions: the Freising episcopal estate Škofja Loka/Bischofslack in Upper Carniola and the group of Gurk/Krka episcopal estates in Marchia (parts of Lower Styria and Lower Carniola). The main differences between these two properties were: 1) in the distance that separated them from the seat of their lord: Škofja Loka estate lay approximately 500 km from Freising, while the average distance of the Marchian estates from Gurk or Straßburg was about 150 km; and 2) in the form of land possessed: the Freising episcopal property in Upper Carniola existed of cohesive territory, while the one belonging to the Gurk bishopric was divided into several smaller estates scattered across a wider area. In the present study an attempt is being made to compare these two property units according to their (financial) administration and economy from the local point of view, that is from the point of view of the estates themselves rather than from the one concerning their lords or the entire property in their hands.

The investigation is predominantly based on the qualitative-quantitative analysis of the account books of the given estates, which are preserved in partially disconnected series

FIGURE 1. The map: Freising and Gurk bishoprics' Property in Carniola and Styria.

covering most of the fifteenth century and are presently kept in the archives of Klagenfurt/Celovec and Munich.¹ The available sources for the Freising episcopal estate of Škofja Loka are from the years: 1396–1400, 1437–1441, 1476–1477, 1485–1490, 1493–1500, and for the Gurk episcopal property in Marchia from the years: 1424–1452, 1467–1472. In addition to these other source material also concerning both properties has been consulted, most of all, the surviving land registers, which are available in the critical editions of Blaznik and Wiessner accompanied by historical scholarship.² To some extent the study relies also on the achievements of the previous scholarship, in which the differences in the research accomplished have to be pointed out. Much more has been done so far in the field concerning the Škofja Loka estate—mostly as a result of the research of Pavle Blaznik, who devoted a greater part of his scholarly life to this issue—than in the case of the property of the Gurk bishopric in Marchia, which may in some details affect the results of the present study. Nevertheless, the choice of a different approach in this study results in a new notion of the role of the spatial relations in the estate management.

The research has been accomplished in several stages, focusing on the different aspects of the estate management. First of all, the development of administrative structure, as well as its state in the fifteenth century will be shown. Secondly, a segment of financial management, namely, the modes of transfer of revenue will be discussed. The third phase will consist of an analysis of the trends in development of income and expenditure in the fifteenth century and of a discussion of the factors which influenced it. Finally, the comparison between the two properties will be done on the basis of the accounting balances as well as on the basis of a detailed inspection into the types of expenses, in order to establish—in the range of the possible—the efficiency of both administrative systems.

In order to be able to understand the results of this study clearly and to confine their range properly, several remarks concerning the methodology and problems connected to the source material have to be made. The research is based on the results gained with the help of the κλειο database system.³ The formation of the database was conditioned by two facts; one

¹ The account books used are kept in the Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv and Archiv des Erzbistums München und Freising in Munich, as well as in the Kärntner Landesarchiv and Diözesanarchiv in Klagenfurt. For the detailed quotations see p. 53.

² Pavle Blaznik, ed., *Urbarji freisingške škofije* (The land registers of the Freising bishopric), Srednjeveški urbarji za Slovenijo 4.4. (Ljubljana: SAZU, 1963); Hermann Wiessner, ed., *Gurker Urbare 1285–1502*, Österreichische Urbare 3.3.1. (Vienna: Adolf Holzhausens Nachfolger for Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1951).

³ Manfred Thaller, *κλειο, A Database System* (St. Katharinen: Scripta Mercatura Verlag, 1993).

concerning the bookkeeping system of the sources and the other concerning the planned level of research. Thus the database, organized according to accounting periods and single estates, consists of sums in different accounting values (e.g. money, grains, wine) in its income-part, and sums for different parts of expenses concerning the same values in the expenditure-part.

As far as money is concerned, two different systems of account were in use in the discussed territories in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The first one was based on the compatible currencies of Aquileia and Venice, circulating intensively in Carniola and some parts of Carinthia. The second one was based on the Viennese coinage, dominating in other parts of the Habsburg hereditary lands. In the accounts of Škofja Loka the former monetary accounting system was used, while in the accounts of the Marchian estates—except for Mokronog, where we find both—the latter. For the purpose of the computer-analysis all the values had to be converted into one of the lowest units, so the Aquileia-Venetian *solidus* was chosen. As a consequence of this, this system of account is used throughout the paper when discussing the results of the quantitative analysis, while the systems actually appearing are used when referring to the separate sources.

Although the chaotic situation in the field of medieval measuring systems in Carniola and Styria has been generally discussed,⁴ some details are still not solved satisfactorily.⁵ That was the main reason for basing the whole investigation on the values expressed in cash. The advantage of this kind of approach is a high level of compatibility of results. Its disadvantage lies in the fact, that the conversion into cash is only possible through the recorded prices, whose proportion is unfortunately very low. Prices are recorded in account books only in the cases, when a certain quantity of the given cereal was sold. Thus we rely on one or two prices per year for a certain cereal in a single estate—in some cases none—while it is known, that the prices of grains changed more often.⁶ Besides the gaps in the series of annual accounts mentioned above, there are additional ones concerning the single estates of the Marchia group; for unknown reasons accounts of some estates for certain years are not recorded in otherwise cohesive *codices*. This problem, as well as the problem of gaps in prices, has been dealt with by calculating the average estate proportions in the total property income and

⁴ Robert Baravalle, "Zur Geschichte der steirischen Maße," *Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereines für Steiermark* 29 (1935): 9–98; Sergij Vilfan, "Prispevki k zgodovini mer na Slovenskem s posebnim ozirom na Ljubljansko mero" (Contributions to the history of measures with special attention to the Ljubljana measure), *Zgodovinski Časopis* 8 (1954): 27–86.

⁵ Cf. the list of measurements, p. 46.

⁶ Sergij Vilfan, "Mestne računske knjige kot zgodovinski vir" (Town account books as a historical source), in *Zbornik ob devetdesetletnici arhiva, Gradivo in razprave* 8 (Ljubljana: ZAL, 1988), 15–7.

expenditure concerning the given cereal on the basis of surviving records and establishing the presumable complete annual value. The distinction in the presentation of data is being made by italicizing all the numbers, which are calculated on the basis of data represented by less than two thirds of the entire property.⁷

⁷ See appendix A.

2. ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM

2.1. Structure

THE FREISING BISHOPRIC'S ŠKOFJA LOKA ESTATE

The bishopric of Freising came into possession of its landed property in Upper Carniola by several imperial donations between 973 and 1033⁸ as a part of the administrative as well as defensive reorganization of the southeastern borderland after the Hungarian invasion. In order to stabilize these vulnerable territories, the Ottonians tended to grant their land, which was by that time very sparsely populated, to the lay and the cleric nobility establishing a new estate organization. In practice it did not mean that the Freising bishopric got an entirely depopulated property, but it was certainly the first to build an officially recognized system of administration on it.⁹

These circumstances enabled the bishop to create a geographically bordered and homogeneous estate on a territory of approximately five hundred square kilometers. This core territory consisted of two valleys, Selce/Seltzah in the north and Poljane/Pölland in the south, leading from the western Carniolian border toward the east, together with the fertile lowland of the Sora/Zeier plain, which spreads in a northeast direction from the point where the valleys meet. Besides that, the bishop possessed a smaller area around Dovje/Lengenfeld, some twenty kilometers to the north, although dislocated, considered as a part of the Škofja Loka estate.¹⁰

⁸ J[oseph] Zahn, ed., *Codex Austriaco-Frisingensis*, Fontes rerum Austriacarum: Diplomataria et acta 31, (Vienna: Kaiserlich-Königliche Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1870), no. 37, p. 36–7; no. 38, p. 38–9; no. 53, p. 54–5; no. 67, p. 68–9.

⁹ The so-called *Supaneiverfassung*, a sort of self-government over the land by the community of free commoners, was however not recognized as a proper ownership and therefore the land, subject to these social relations, was considered a ruler's property. Sergij Vilfan, "Zemljiška gospostva" (Estates), in *Gospodarska in družbena zgodovina Slovencev: Zgodovina agrarnih panog 2. Družbena razmerja in gibanja* (Economic and social history of Slovenians: History of agriculture, vol. 2, Social relations and movements), ed. Pavle Blaznik, Bogo Grafenauer, and Sergij Vilfan (Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije for SAZU, 1980), 108.

¹⁰ Pavle Blaznik, *Škofja Loka in Loško gospostvo (973–1803)* (Škofja Loka and the Loka estate [973–1803]) (Škofja Loka: Muzejsko društvo, 1973), 11–5.

The original organization of a *župa*, a unit containing several villages governed by a patriarch, was modified in a way that the land was newly divided into individually possessed hides¹¹ (*hobae* or *mansi*), while the broader framework was kept; *župe* were turned into lesser administrative units (*officia/ämbter*)¹² subordinate to the estate administration, although no ordinary estate-employed officials were introduced above them. The prior “clan chiefs,” *župani* (*sculteti/suppanen*), kept their position within the local community; additionally, they were incorporated into a newly established estate administration as heads of *officia*, who mainly took care that their people delivered their dues in kind as well as labor services for the landlord.¹³ Newly settled land (the first, medieval phase of settlement took place between the early eleventh and mid-fourteenth centuries)¹⁴ was organized in the same way; as the settlers were brought to the estate in relatively large, ethnically homogeneous groups, they were able to form separate *officia*, using their traditional social organization as an administrative framework, similar to the one used by the native population. As one proof of their foreign origin, different terms denoting leaders of the non-native communities can be followed deep into the fifteenth century; opposed to the *župan* of the natives, the head of the Bavarian settlers from the territory of the Freising diocese was called *preco*, while the Carinthian immigrants from the possessions of the Freising chapter around Wörthersee/Vrbsko jezero kept their *stifterius*.¹⁵ The success of these arrangements can be demonstrated by the very low percentage of abandoned hides; 2,2% in 1318 and 3,9% in 1501.¹⁶

At the end of the fourteenth century the estate consisted of seventeen *officia* with almost 1300 hides (see *TAB. I*). This relatively huge territory was managed by a well organized administrative system. At the top of it stood a residing administrator, responsible for the management of the whole estate. It was he who represented the bishop in this remote

¹¹ The size of a hide depended on the type of landscape (flat land, mountain area, etc.); in the Škofja Loka estate it varied between 9 and 11 hectares. Sergij Vilfan, “Kmečko prebivalstvo po osebne položaju” (Peasant population according to personal status), in *Gospodarska in družbena zgodovina Slovencev* 2.2, 322.

¹² As any translation into English would be misleading, the Latin term *officium* will be henceforth used to denote these lower territorial administrative units.

¹³ Sergij Vilfan, “Soseske in druge podeželjske skupnosti” (Rural communities), in *Gospodarska in družbena zgodovina Slovencev* 2.2, 36–8; Blaznik, *Urbarji*, 67–8.

¹⁴ Blaznik, *Urbarji*, 39–41.

¹⁵ Regarding the Bavarian settlers of the *officium* Sorica, for instance, where settlement was still in process in 1291, it is stated in the land register that of the twenty hides they had at the time, “*preco, qui eisdem* [Bavarians] *pro tempore praefuerit, habeat unam [hubam] ratione sui officii.*” Blaznik, *Urbarji*, 165. A new, uniformed terminology was not introduced until 1501; the land register from that year uses the term *suppan* (*župan*) for the head of any *officium*. Blaznik, *Urbarji*, 68.

¹⁶ Values are calculated on the basis of Blaznik’s table with inclusion of data on the *officium* Dovje from both land registers. Blaznik, *Škofja Loka*, tab. between p. 430–1; Idem, *Urbarji*, 211, 315.

place, far away from Freising;¹⁷ he appointed and deposed lower officials, controlled the use of forests and rivers, took care of the defense system and town buildings, and even represented the bishop in the Carniolian diet.¹⁸ The existing sources show to some extent a confused notion about his title. In the early land registers (from 1291 and 1318) this position is denoted by *capitaneus*. At the end of the fourteenth century the Latin term was replaced by a German—*pfleger*—although the meaning is not quite the same and the title itself certainly less honorable. The term *capitaneus* was used again only for a brief period from 1437 to 1440, not surprisingly, for a person, who was at the same time appointed also to the second most important office on the estate—the granary keeper (see below). It cannot be clarified to what extent the use of this term was connected to some kind of a military function (he certainly had command over a small castle garrison), however, it was more probably a result of the administrators' own strong-mindedness; they felt quite important and confident as managers of probably the most splendid estate in the province.¹⁹

TABLE 1. Number of Hides in Škofja Loka Estate in the Fifteenth Century²⁰

Officium	Number of hides		Officium	Number of hides	
	Direct Admin.	Fiefs		Direct Admin.	Fiefs
Bitnje	278	29	Žiri	87	
Gadmar	18		Hlevni vrh	29	
Godešče	83	10	Strmica	70	
Poljšica	55	18	Stripnik	82	
Brode	53	2	Selce	84	
Javorje	71		Rudno	66	
Charintian	80	2	Sorica	31	
Poljane	94		Dovje	26	
Hotavlje	91				
Total				1298	61

¹⁷ The distance of approximately 500 km took the bishop (with his escort) between two and three weeks. Pavle Blaznik, "Stare prometne povezave med Škofjo Loko in Freisingom" (The old traffic connections between Škofja Loka and Freising), *Loški razgledi* 15 (1968): 53–4.

¹⁸ The bishop, as an owner of land in Carniola, was obliged to attend the provincial diet, but because of the distance he tended to pass that obligation on to his administrator. Blaznik, *Urbarji*, 59–60.

¹⁹ The use of the title *capitaneus* or *hauptmann* by officials of the Škofja Loka estate was strictly forbidden by Archduke Ferdinand in 1548 (probably because the same title was borne by his representative in Carniola). Blaznik, *Urbarji*, 59; Idem, *Škofja Loka*, 171.

²⁰ Blaznik, *Škofja Loka*, 48–31; Idem, *Urbarji*, 211, 315; Pavle Blaznik, "Kolonizacija in kmetsko podložništvo na Sorškem polju" (The colonization and peasant subjects in the Sora plain), in *Razprave 2* (Dissertations, vol. 2), ed. France Stele (Ljubljana: SAZU, 1953), 175–87; Pavle Blaznik, "Zemljiška gospodstva na besniškem ozemlju" (The estates in the Besnica territory), in *Razprave 2*, 250–56.

The second position in the estate, in terms of importance, belonged to the granary keeper (*granator/kastner*). Under the jurisdiction of the granary office (*kastenambt*) fell the entire economic activity of the estate: starting with running the settlement, resettling fallow hides, gathering the peasants' dues as well as ducal taxes, up to storing and selling gathered goods. The *granator* was obliged to keep documentation regarding this activity and, at least until the mid-fifteenth century, report about it directly to Freising in the form of annual accounts.²¹ This shows some degree of independence, which was later, as the administrator took over the care of estate account books, much diminished.²² At a later date the link between the granary keeper and the central administration was abolished and the former became entirely subordinate to the administrator, to whom he reported annually about his office. In spite of this, it is very likely that he kept control of the estate treasury.²³ As both of the offices were quite often granted to the same person,²⁴ it is not always possible to distinguish between the functions of each official. The situation was more or less stabilized by the administrative reform of 1491, which at least for some thirty years reestablished the "normal" state of affairs: namely division of responsibility.²⁵

The third rank of the administration was mainly involved in defense. The defensive system of the Škofja Loka estate consisted of three castles: The main one, the Loka castle, in sources usually referred to as *nider vest* or just *vest/castrum*, was placed on a slightly raised position above the town. It was probably built sometime during the thirteenth century, before 1270, when it took over the leading position from an older fortress, located on the hill above. The function of the latter, originally the seat of the estate administration and afterwards called *turris antiqua super castrum* or simply *oberen turm*, was limited to defense in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The same is true for the third castle, today known as *stari*, but in the language of the sources called *Wildenlack*, located in a distant high position, facing the entrance to the Selce valley. The reports about this castle are quite late and the facts about its origin unknown; however Pavle Blaznik does not exclude the possibility that it could have

²¹ Blaznik, *Urbarji*, 60–1.

²² This kind of practice is documented from 1488 onward. Accounting Revision of the Škofja Loka Estate Granary Office, 1488–1490, BayHStA, HL 3, Rep. 53, Fasz. 295, Nr. 4, fol. 1 ss.

²³ This is indicated in a confirmation attached to one of the few preserved granary keeper's registers, which shows that the administrator was receiving money from the former: "*Ich, Iacob Lamberger* [the administrator], *bekenn mit diser meiner handtgeschriff, das ich von meinem gueten frewndt Iorigen Sigesdorffer* [the granary keeper], *al[le]s das empfangen hab das in dem register* [of expenses] *stett vnd sol im in der rayttung abgezogen werden.*" Register of the Škofja Loka Estate Granary Office, Feb.–June 1491, AEM, Heck., 164, fol. 29'.

²⁴ In the periods of 1349–1367, 1437–1440, and 1455–1488. Blaznik, *Škofja Loka*, 450–4; Acc. B. Freising, 1437–1450, BayHStA, HL Freising, Nr. 70, fol. 7, 47, 54.

²⁵ Blaznik, *Škofja Loka*, 170–4; Idem, *Urbarji*, 63, 364–6.

already existed in the time when the estate was founded and was incorporated into its defensive system.²⁶

Each of these castles was protected by a small garrison, whose command was entrusted to the castellan (*castellanus/purchgraf*). Before the mid-fourteenth century there was only one, after that (first in the 1360s) two separate castellans were appointed to the upper tower and *Wildenlack*. It seems as if the leading position in the main Loka castle was from its beginnings reserved for the administrator.²⁷ The number of guards assigned to the castle is hard to establish. From the end of the fourteenth century account books along with the *purckhut/custodia* of the three castles regularly mention payment for four guards and the gate-keeper, who are, according to Blaznik, to be found in the main castle.²⁸ Besides that, a separate expense for guards in *Wildenlack* appears from 1437 on; considering the amount, we may assume that there were three of them. However, this was probably not the complete number; because if so, the upper tower would have remained empty. Therefore, it is very likely that the castellans were obliged to maintain a part of their squad from their own expenses.²⁹

Besides these high-ranking officials, the estate administration engaged also a number of lesser employees, needed for successful management and keeping order. Some of them, such as scribes, were regularly paid, but mostly the functions (of messengers, foresters, hunters, and fishermen) were given to the common subjects who received some privileges, mainly exemption from their dues, in exchange.³⁰

Not the entire land was joined however under the estate administration. Already in the earliest periods the bishop followed the practice of recompensing his officials by giving them land in fief. The oldest land register from 1160 mentions twelve of them.³¹ Their number increased considerably during the thirteenth century due to the extension of the administrative

²⁶ Blaznik, *Škofja Loka*, 41–3; Idem, *Urbarji*, 27.

²⁷ Pavle Blaznik, "Zgornji stolp na Kranclju in Stari grad pod Lubnikom ter njuni gradiščani" (The upper tower in Krancelj and the old castle under the Lubnik with their castellans), *Loški razgledi* 3 (1956): 82–5; Idem, *Škofja Loka*, 44.

²⁸ Blaznik, *Urbarji*, 64.

²⁹ Acc. B. Freising, 1395–1401 and 1437–1450, BayHStA, HL Freising, Nr. 69, fol. 12; Nr. 70, fol. 9.

³⁰ Blaznik, *Škofja Loka*, 47, 49; E.g.: regarding the fisherman: "*In Drasich villa sunt quatuor hube. Quarum vnam habet Iaⁿklinus piscator, qui presente domino episcopo tenetur seruire diebus cum piscibus, . . . cum autem dictus Iaenclinus amouerentur a piscacione huiusmodi, eadem sua huba seruiet cum residuis 3 hubis censum . . .*;" regarding the forester: "*In villa Saefnitz sunt 36 hube soluentes censum . . . exceptis duabus hu^ebis, quas habent venatores, qui non soluunt tagwerch phenning, nec seruiunt ad coquinam cum carnibus.*" Blaznik, *Urbarji*, 130, 131.

³¹ "*Absque his restant duodecim beneficia, que diuisa sunt inter diuersos officiales . . .*" Blaznik, *Urbarji*, 128.

structure, but then it by and large stabilized. According to the later land registers, in 1291 ninety-eight hides had been conveyed from the estate; this number had decreased to ninety-two in 1318 and did not change until 1501.³² Some of them were donated to the parish churches and the monasteries or pawned to burghers and peasants (usually split into small pieces);³³ however, according to a fief register from the 1420s, sixty-one hides were enfeoffed to estate officials (see *TAB. I*).³⁴

THE GURK BISHOPRIC'S ESTATES IN MARCHIA

The bishopric of Gurk was founded in 1072 by Gebhard, archbishop of Salzburg, on the economic basis of a recently dissolved nunnery. The latter had been founded and generously donated in 1042 by Countess Emma of Seunia, who died without a surviving heir.³⁵ Most of the land was situated in the bordering county of Seunia, later divided between Carniola and Lower Styria, but still existing as a purely geographical conception under the name of *Marchia* throughout the Middle Ages. The possessions, which in the fifteenth century still belonged to the bishopric, were donated—in a way similar to Freising's Carniolian land—to Emma's husband and son, Counts William I and II, by the Ottonian emperors in 980, 1016, and 1025.³⁶

This quite extensive territory, which can be observed in the Gurk sources, included nine relatively large and seventeen small estates; however, more than half of this property was given in fief. For most of the fifteenth century only four of the former (Vitanje/Weitenstein, Podčetrtek/Landsberg, Bizelsko/Wisell, and Mokronog/Nassenfuß) and three of the latter (Anderburg, Pilštanj/Peilnstein, and Lušperk/Luschberg) were under the bishopric's direct administration. Except for two of them, the estates were located next to each other along the River Sotla on the Styrian-Croatian border; Vitanje lay some thirty kilometers to the north-west; Mokronog, however, was about fifty kilometers to the south-west, just across the Carniolan border.

³² Blaznik, *Škofja Loka*, 53, 408–29.

³³ Blaznik, "Kolonizacija," 187–202.

³⁴ Blaznik, *Urbarji*, 222–40; Idem, "Kolonizacija," 175–87.

³⁵ Hans Pirchegger, "Die Herrschaften des Bistums Gurk in der ehemaligen Südsteiermark," *Archiv für vaterländische Geschichte und Topographie* 49 (1956): 6; Wiessner, *Urbare*, xxxii–iii.

³⁶ MGH DD O II, no. 235, p. 264; H II, no. 346, p. 440; K II, no. 32, p. 35.

The pre-estate social organization can hardly be reconstructed; the appropriate sources are quite late;³⁷ however, we must also assume that some modifications were made by the previous owner. At the beginning of the fifteenth century the typical organizational form in the Sotla region, as well as around Mokronog, was a rather small settlement, whose leader, *župan*, possessed a double hide, which was, due to his functions in the estate administration,³⁸ burdened less than was usual. In some cases we can find even two *župan* holdings in a village that had only one or two additional hides.³⁹ This is usually explained by the joining of two or three settlements into one after a large number of hides in each one was abandoned.⁴⁰ Also, other evidence—the considerably high number of uninhabited hides and frequently practiced cultivation of an additional hide besides the tenant's own (*adcultura*); both observed in the 1404 land register⁴¹—shows that population in this region was in decline, chiefly as a result of over-clearing.⁴²

Several settlements together formed an estate, called *predium* or *officium*. The head of each estate was a castellan with the title *burggraf et officialis*, whose functions were administrative as well as defensive. His seat was a castle, which also served both aims. The defensive system was in rare cases supported by an auxiliary tower on a raised position,⁴³ moreover, in cases of very small estates the castle was usually incorporated in the defensive system of a neighboring, larger one.⁴⁴ In Anderburg, for example, during the second half of the fifteenth century there was no fortress at all; after it was ruined in 1439, the estate was administered from the nearby town.⁴⁵ The number of paid guards varied from two to four, not

³⁷ The earliest land register is preserved from 1404, Wiessner, *Urbare*, 241–333.

³⁸ “*Propter officium quod tenet*,” Wiessner, *Urbare*, 274.

³⁹ On the estate called Vitanje estate the size of settlements is similar, however there is no trace of any *župan*. Wiessner, *Urbare*, 241–72.

⁴⁰ Wiessner, *Urbare*, lvii; Vilfan, “Soseske,” 37.

⁴¹ I was not able to establish the exact percentage of desolated hides. According to Wiessner, “dieser Siedlungsrückgang beträgt mancherorts 50 und mehr Prozent,” despite 5,4% of desolated hides regarding the complete territory, which can be deduced from his table. However, it is clear that he did not use all the available information; e.g. “*18 hubas desolatas . . . , quarum nullam colitur*” in *officium* Podčetrtek that he quotes in another place, Wiessner, *Urbare*, lxx, cxxii–iii, 288.

⁴² Wiessner, *Urbare*, lxx; Milko Kos, “Kolonizacija in populacija v srednjem veku” (Colonization and population in the Middle Ages), in *Gospodarska in družbena zgodovina Slovencev: Zgodovina agrarnih panog 1. Agrarno gospodarstvo* (Economic and social history of Slovenians: History of agriculture, vol. 1, Agrarian economy), ed. Pavle Blaznik, Bogo Grafenauer, and Milko Kos (Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije for SAZU, 1970), 88.

⁴³ In Landsperg “*burkhut auf den obern turn*” is regularly mentioned, e.g. Acc. B. Gurk, 1438–1452, DAK, HS 122, fol. 50’.

⁴⁴ E.g.: “*Friderici Surich, burggrauui in Weitenstain et officialis in Lusperg*,” Acc. B. Gurk, 1438–1452, DAK, HS 122, fol. 113’.

⁴⁵ The Anderburg castle was ruined during the war between the counts of Celje/Cilli and Duke Frederick of Habsburg and after that probably never rebuilt, Pirchegger, “Südsteiermark,” 13; Dušan Kos, *Med gradom in Mestom: Odnos kransjkega, slovenještajerskega in koroškega plemstva do gradov in meščanskih naselij do začetka 15. stoletja*

taking into account the additional gate-keeper. Regarding the administration, the castellan collected, stored, and sold the peasants' dues, maintained the buildings, and managed the financial as well as material resources according to the bishop's orders. He was obliged to report about his economic activity to the central administration in the form of annual accounts. Although we know about the existence of some lower officials (*amptleut*) who held some hides in fief, there is no information about their responsibilities.⁴⁶

TABLE 2. *Number of Hides in Gurk's Estates in "Marchia" in the Fifteenth Century*⁴⁷

Estate	Number of Hides	
	<i>Direct Administration</i>	<i>Fiefs</i>
Vitanje	227	130
Lušperk	52	—
Anderburg	92	20
Podčetrtek	209	51 + 1 village
Bizeljsko	125	—
Pilštanj	64	27
Mokronog	208	3 villages
<i>Total</i>	977	228 + 4 villages

The size of the property can be determined by the number of hides in the single estate (see TAB. 2). In addition to about one thousand hides in the seven estates under the bishopric's immediate administration, there was another group of possessions constantly given in fief. The greater part among them represented five so-called *feuda principalia* (Rogatec/Rohitsch, Lemberg/Lengenberg, Planina/Montpreis, Podsreda/Hörberg, and Kunšperk/Königsberg), which had a strictly defensive character in the beginning. These larger estates, surrounding the core of the allodial possessions in the bordering Sotla region, were enfeoffed to powerful vassals. The second part consisted of a number of small estates, which were originally administered by Gurk's *ministeriales*, who became vassals by the early fourteenth century. In time, all the fiefs became hereditary and the bishopric ended up with nothing more than

(Between the castle and town: Relations of the Carniolian, Lower Styrian, and Carinthian nobility to the civic settlements until the beginning of the fifteenth century), Zbirka ZRC 1 (Ljubljana: ZRC SAZU, 1994), 60.

⁴⁶ E.g.: "Das sind di guter die mein herr anderlein amptman ze Nassenfus geurlaubt hat . . .," Fief Reg. Gurk, 1403–1404, KLA, GFK, HS 2/8, fol. 219; "Item ainen hof ze Weitenstain da mein ambtman auf siczt," Fief Reg. Gurk, 1412, KLA, GFK, HS 2/8, fol. 79'.

⁴⁷ Anderburg and Lušperk in first column, Pirchegger, "Südsteiermark," 22–32; the rest, Wiessner, *Urbare*, cxxii–iii; second column, Fief Reg. Gurk, 1403–1404, KLA, GFK, HS 2/8, fol. 212–42.

formal authority over them. In the economic sense they were lost.⁴⁸ On top of this, more than 230 hides in the form of small fiefs, held by officials in exchange for their position in estate administration, must be added (see *TAB. 2*). Concerns about such a situation can be observed in the activity of several bishops during the fifteenth century: between 1404 and 1425 two smaller estates (Anderburg and Lušperk) were reincorporated under the bishopric's administration, and between 1452 and 1467 Kunšperk and Rogatec, both among the bishopric's "major fiefs," were as well.⁴⁹

* * *

It is clear that the structures of the discussed landed properties of the two bishoprics were quite different at the end of the fourteenth century; while Freising possessed a large single territorial unit, the lands of Gurk were divided into smaller units. This situation was not caused however merely by the donations in the tenth and eleventh century, but is to a greater extent a result of the bishoprics' administrative policies conditioned by a broader political situation. While Gurk was forced to give major complexes of land in fief for defensive reasons, and because it decided upon a decentralized administration (partly encouraged by the incoherence of its lands) whose consequence was a larger number of families of *ministeriales* holding numerous minor fiefs, in the course of time it lost control of approximately half of its property. Not having these kinds of problems and insisting on centralization, Freising, however, managed to keep its land almost unchanged.

The inner structure of the estates was on the one hand determined by previous social relations, which seem to have had a different development in both regions, but on the other may very well be a result of administrative (re)arrangements. Also in this point Gurk's estates show a certain level of disintegration, which was intensified by settlement, that was not entirely successful. In general, officials in Škofja Loka estate had control over a wider territory than their colleagues of approximately the same rank in the Gurk lands, which, in the case of the former, also enabled a higher degree of specialization.

⁴⁸ Kos, *Med gradom in mestom*, 129–30, 151–2.

⁴⁹ The first two are excluded from the land register, but appear in the account book. Acc. B. Gurk, 1425–1437, DAK, HS 106, fol. 1', 4; The second two are first listed in a later account book. Acc. B. Gurk, 1467–1472, KLA, GFK, HS 2/9, fol. ii'.

Summarizing, in both territories during the fifteenth century we find comparable administrative structures, which varied in terms of their size. This fact must have, in some way, affected the managing practice and its efficiency.

2.2. *The Modes of Transfer of Revenue*

In an economic sense, the estate was a source of material resources. The owner's primary interest was to profit as much as possible from it and to find the most rational ways of transferring means gained to the places where they were needed (not necessarily to the residential and administrative center). In the case of remote property, whose main potential was agricultural production, the latter was highly important. The transport of victuals, which was, according to Gertrud Thoma, practiced during the early centuries,⁵⁰ was by the period under investigation replaced more and more by the transfer of money, which was on the one hand acquired through the sale of goods, undertaken by the local management, and on the other, increasingly provided by the peasants, who entered the market themselves and were able to pay their rents. Both the Freising and Gurk episcopal administrations sought the best solutions of utilizing estate profits; however, the results reflected their needs and possibilities. My intention is to offer a few examples based on estate accounts. Here, the discussion is limited to realization of the profit; the problems of maintenance and operational costs are left aside, as they are fully discussed elsewhere.

THE FREISING BISHOPRIC'S ŠKOFJA LOKA ESTATE

Besides the obligation of bearing expenses for the accommodation of the bishop and his retinue during their visits and supplying the bishop's court with limited quantities of food—in the case of Škofja Loka estate this was restricted to the supply of the good quality wine bought in Istria—the collection of money was the most usual way of exploitation of the estate resources.

To some extent the delivery of the yearly profit was attached to the rendering of the annual accounts, however it was not simply about paying up the balance. Until the mid-

⁵⁰ Gertrud Thoma, "Räumliche Mobilität als Folge von mittelalterlichem Streubesitz: Die Beziehungen des Bistums Freising zu seinen alpinen Besitzungen," in *Räumliche Mobilität und Grenzen*, ed. Thomas Busset and Jon Mathieu, *Geschichte der Alpen* 1998/3 (Zürich: Chronos, 1998), 153.

fifteenth century these financial acts took place before the bishop in person.⁵¹ The granary keeper took a certain sum of money along with his accounts, but this was only the last installment of the yearly delivery. The surplus (when the balance of the estate accounts was positive) was usually transferred into the next accounting period to cover current expenses. These sums were not very high (between one and three hundred marks) and their greater part consisted of goods which still had to be sold. The main influx into the bishop's treasury was however frequent, carried out by several remittances of money during the accounting period. The first preserved accounts (1396–1400) do not give detailed information on this; they only distinguish between the expenses covered through the receipts issued by or in the name of the bishop (*litterae domini*) and sums which were delivered by the officials together with their accounts. However, those from the late 1430s and early forties reveal the transfer of money very clearly. Most of the yearly profit was sent to the bishop's Viennese residence in several installments. Although the delivery could have been entrusted to any reliable employee (the transfers were probably initiated on the bishop's request⁵²), a few persons were regularly involved in these affairs. As far as can be judged on the basis of the considerably short period (1437–1441), they belonged to the middle strata of the estate officials. In these years most of the deliveries were completed by the town judge Frederick: besides him, the scribe George and a certain Peter Mayer are frequently mentioned.⁵³ Sometimes they had to carry the money all the way to Vienna, but their usual destination was Villach/Beljak in Carinthia. There they turned over the money to John of Škofja Loka, one of the bishops *ministeriales*, who resided there and who arranged the further transfer to Vienna.

By the mid-seventies this practice had changed. The changes went along with the new policy concerning the rendering of accounts. In the second half of the fifteenth century the financial supervision was no longer done by the bishop himself; every year a mission was sent to all the bishopric's estates to audit the accounts. Among the expenses listed in contemporary accounts of Škofja Loka not a single trace of remittance can be found. On the

⁵¹ Whenever the bishop paid a visit to his Škofja Loka residence—which at least at the end of the fourteenth century occurred quite often—it was most natural to use this occasion; otherwise, the granary keeper carried his accounts to the nearest residence, used by the bishop at the given time. Among the annual accounts of the Škofja Loka estate from the period of 1396–1448 eight were rendered in Vienna and three in Škofja Loka. Acc. B. Freising, 1437–1450, BayHStA, HL Freising, Nr. 69, fol. 10', 34, 81', 94, 146; Nr. 70, fol. 7, 47, 54, 68, 122, 140'.

⁵² They certainly did not occur on a regular basis; the number of deliveries varied from three to six, the terms were not fixed, and the amounts of money were also very different. Acc. B. Freising, 1437–1450, BayHStA, HL Freising, Nr. 70, fol. 11–11', 52', 58, 72'–73, 124'.

⁵³ Acc. B. Freising, 1437–1450, BayHStA, HL Freising, Nr. 70, fol. 9', 11', 50, 56', 73.

other hand, there exists strong proof for the auditing commission being entrusted with the entire transfer of money from the estate. In 1493, for example, the balance showed a surplus of 1089 guilders. One thousand of them was delivered in cash to the commission after rendering the account, for the rest the granary keeper gave them a promissory note. Along with that they took to Freising eighty-five guilders of the arrears from 1492.⁵⁴ But things did not always go that smoothly. In 1486 the commission managed to collect only 8,5 gld. 15,5 sol. of the annual profit from the previous business year, while the 1150 guilders remained unpaid. The reason for this peculiarity lay in the arrears, that Jacob Lamberger, the administrator and granary keeper in one person, carried over from previous years; a sum of 1469 guilders was delivered on account of these huge debts.⁵⁵ These commissions proceeded following the bishop's instructions and represented his authority; according to the instructions from 1487 they were given the power to remove Lamberger from his position in case he would not be able to pay his old debts, which actually happened in 1491.⁵⁶

By the end of the fourteenth century, only an insignificant part of the yield was still delivered in kind. In fact it was not even a product of the estate's land, but an imported commodity. The only thing that was still worthy of a long distance transport was good quality wine. Every year a caravan with approximately ten horses left for Triest to buy *rebula* (*rainfall/rybollio*); white wine from the Istrian coast. The shipment was reloaded in Škofja Loka and sent further, usually as far as Oberwölz in Upper Styria, the center of another estate of the bishopric, where further transport was taken over by the local authorities. The wine was transported by the peasants as their due and the costs of the whole campaign ranged between twenty-five and forty-five marks per year.⁵⁷

A more important part in the division of the profit were the resources, spent by the bishop and his retinue during their stay in Škofja Loka. Theoretically speaking, this was probably one of the most efficient ways of making use of the estate's profit, as all the problems and costs of the transfer were avoided. However, the image of the bishop's court traveling around and proportionally burdening all parts of the property with its presence

⁵⁴ Ann. Acc. Škofja Loka, 1493, BayHStA, HL 3, Rep. 53, Fasz. 295, Nr. 7, fol. 16'.

⁵⁵ "Dy rät so zw Lakch sein gebesen, haben eingenomen alte schuld von pfleger facit iiii^c lxxviii ducaten sol. 32 item von der neuen schuld ducaten viii^z sol. xvi^z, . . . item dy schuld Iacob Lamberger macht xi^z ducaten." Ann. Acc. Škofja Loka, 1485, BayHStA, HL 4, Fasz. 36, Nr. 194, fol. 6'.

⁵⁶ Pavle Blaznik, "Sixtova pisma" (Letters of Sixtus, bishop of Freising), manuscript, p. 18, 39, Rokopisna zapuščina dr. Pavleta Blaznika, ZAL, Enota Škofja Loka.

⁵⁷ Elaborated entries concerning the wine purchase are part of every annual account. E.g. Acc. B. Freising, 1437–1450, BayHStA, HL Freising, Nr. 70, fol. 9'–10, 51', 56', 71', 124; c.f. Blaznik, "Stare prometne povezave," 50–2.

would be quite misleading. The use of the secondary residences was predominantly a result of the bishop's administrative activity;⁵⁸ thus its frequency changed along with the current episcopal administrative policy. Once the auditing missions to all estates on a regular annual basis were introduced, the mobility of the bishop's court was considerably reduced. In the years between 1396 and 1400 the bishop of Freising paid five visits to Škofja Loka, of which three took place in 1400. In the previous year his retinue stayed there for sixteen days, spent 142 m 53 sol., and consumed 152 wheels of cheese, 63 *mut* of wheat and rye, and 466 *mut* of oats (the value of the goods equaled approximately 122 marks⁵⁹), which was close to one quarter of the annual estate profit. From the mid-fifteenth century onward these visits became quite rare; four of them are recorded between 1449 and 1475,⁶⁰ but not a single one from the last quarter of the century. Instead of this, accounts of the mentioned period list expenses made by the auditing commission, which were much lower: recognizable expenses varied between 10 and 13 guilders plus 24 to 44 *mut* of oats.⁶¹

THE GURK BISHOPRIC'S ESTATES IN MARCHIA

Similarly to the Freising administration, that of the Gurk bishopric also realized most of its profit through the transfer of money. In the 1420s and 1430s cash was delivered from a single estate to the bishop's treasury in Straßburg, Carinthia; either to the bishop himself during his usual yearly round to his estates in Lower Styria, or via certain trustees, who received it in exchange for a receipt.⁶² In the accounts of several estates between 1424 and 1426 we find receipts "*zu meins herren handen*" under the name of William Wiesendorfer.⁶³ In the following two years his place was taken by Captain Wallendorfer⁶⁴ and then (1429–

⁵⁸ Thoma, "Räumliche Mobilität," 151–5.

⁵⁹ The prices can be found in Acc. B. Freising, 1395–1401, BayHStA, HL Freising, Nr. 69, fol. 94'–96.

⁶⁰ The only proof are the charters, issued by the bishop in Škofja Loka: BayHStA, Fr. U, 1449, April 22; 1454, June 26; 1458, October 16; 1475, June 28.

⁶¹ Only some of the later accounts specify this type of expenses: Ann. Acc. Škofja Loka, 1485, BayHStA, HL 4, Fasz. 36, Nr. 194, fol. 2; Ann. Acc. Škofja Loka, 1487, BayHStA, HL 3, Rep. 53, Fasz. 259, Nr. 2, fol. 2; Ann. Acc. Škofja Loka, 1493, BayHStA, HL 3, Rep. 53, Fasz. 259, Nr. 7, fol. 8, 16; Ann. Acc. Škofja Loka, 1494, BayHStA, HL Freising, Nr. 516, fol. 8, 15'.

⁶² From this point of view Gurk sources are much more stingy than those of Freising; we can hardly ever find anything else than "*per vnam literam domini, die mein herr selbst ingenomen hat lxx gulden.*" Acc. B. Gurk, 1424–1437, DAK, HS 106, fol. 27.

⁶³ Acc. B. Gurk, 1424–1437, DAK, HS 106, fol. 8, 10', 24.

⁶⁴ Acc. B. Gurk, 1424–1437, DAK, HS 106, fol. 27, 29, 31', 32, 34', 42, 49'.

1433) by the scribe Martin Wagner.⁶⁵ After that even two *vicedomini*—the highest officials of the bishopric’s central financial administration—are mentioned in this position: Heinrich Treubekch 1434–1435⁶⁶ and a certain Stawdacher 1442.⁶⁷ According to their titles it may be assumed that this job was usually entrusted to officials from the bishop’s court.⁶⁸

But the trend was slowly changing. Already in the 1430s certain sums of money from different estates were sent to Vitanje, which was the most important Gurk-owned center in Lower Styria, where, for example, most of the bishopric’s fiefs were granted. In the 1440s however, it attained an exclusive financial primacy among the Marchian estates; its administrator controlled the largest part of the money transfer from this area. In his annual accounts from the years between 1443 and 1450 there is a special entry “*Percepta von anderen ambtleuten an der Marich*”⁶⁹ or “*Annder sein innemen zu meins herren hannden*,”⁷⁰ where all the deliveries covered by receipts of the other estates’ officials are recorded. The accumulated money was further transferred to Straßburg, but not all of it, just as the financial ability of the other estates was not entirely paralyzed; every single one of them still functioned as a part of a network of treasury branches, used for different purposes. In the case of Vitanje, most of the profit was directly delivered to the bishop, the rest invested in cattle purchases for the needs of the bishop’s court, paid to certain people conducting the bishop’s business, or spent for his accommodation during his stay.⁷¹ However, the rest of the estates covered mainly expenses of the bishop’s accomodation in case of his visit or provided means for some minor affairs carried out by the bishop’s trustees.

In contrast to the Škofja Loka estate, where the transport of goods to Freising was almost abolished by the beginning of the fifteenth century, in the Gurk bishopric this kind of transfer represented a quite usual type of supply from Marchian property. In this case it was possible because of the reasonable distance between the Marchian estates and the bishop’s seat. Again Vitanje played the role of a dispatching center; definitely not by chance. Apart

⁶⁵ Acc. B. Gurk, 1424–1437, DAK, HS 106, fol. 52’, 54’, 58, 60’, 61, 62’, 64’, 66, 70, 87’.

⁶⁶ Acc. B. Gurk, 1424–1437, DAK, HS 106, fol. 94, 104, 106.

⁶⁷ Acc. B. Gurk, 1438–1452, DAK, HS 122, fol. 34, 37’, 40’.

⁶⁸ There can be no doubt as far as *vicedomini* are concerned (see Wiessner, *Urbare*, liv); there is also one later mention (from 1447) of “*Iorgen Silberberger, haubtman zu Starsburg*,” in a similar situation. Acc. B. Gurk, 1438–1452, DAK, HS 122, fol. 120.

⁶⁹ Acc. B. Gurk, 1438–1452, DAK, HS 122, fol. 52.

⁷⁰ Acc. B. Gurk, 1438–1452, DAK, HS 122, fol. 124’.

⁷¹ E.g. the year 1446: “*Item er hat geben meinem herren auf sechs sein quittungen ccc lxxxiii lb. d.; Item vmb xxxi oxsen, die er meinem herren zu Pettau vnd zu Cili gekhaufft hat gestennt mit czerung vnd botenlon c gulden xv lb. liii d.; Item herren Achaczzen Perger nach meins herren geschefft auf ain sein quittung xii lb. d.; Item meins herren czerung zu dem ersten mal, . . .*” Acc. B. Gurk, 1438–1452, DAK, HS 122, fol. 104–5’.

from the fact, that it was the largest and most profitable among the episcopal estates, the roads that led from other estates to Straßburg crossed there.⁷² The estate accounts give a clear insight into the transport activity. Wine, mainly grown in Bizeljsko, but also around Vevče/Weutsch (estate Vitanje) and cheese, a product of Vitanje, were transported to Straßburg on a regular basis, together with oxen and swine, bought usually in the markets of Ptuj/Pettau and Celje.⁷³ Occasionally wax, a peasants' due in Bizeljsko, along with chestnuts, venison, and grapes were loaded and transported as well.⁷⁴

According to Dušan Kos, up to the end of the fourteenth century the bishops of Gurk made their tours across their Lower Styrian property regularly every year. Their usual residences were supposed to be Mokronog, Podčetrtek, and Vitanje and their purpose was administrative inspection and seignorial courts.⁷⁵ Whether this practice was maintained during the fifteenth century is hard to say. As far as the account books are concerned, we depend on a certain trend in Gurk bookkeeping, used between 1446 and 1452; namely, only accounts of this period record costs of the bishop's retinues separately. They show a slightly different pattern: in 1446 the bishop came to Vitanje on September 14 and left on October 1 to visit four other estates (Podčetrtek, Pilštanj, Bizeljsko, and Mokronog). On the way back he stopped in Vitanje again and spent another fifteen days until November 31, when he returned to Straßburg.⁷⁶ This exceptional situation can be probably ascribed to the relatively long absence, caused by the war between Duke Frederick of Habsburg and the counts of Celje in 1437–1443, which was waged in Lower Styria.⁷⁷ In the next few years, when things went back to normal, the bishop's presence is traceable in one or two Marchian estates, if not annually at least every second year for a period of one or two weeks, while in some other places his delegates (*dieneren, gesellen*) appeared.⁷⁸ That was apparently enough to satisfy the current administrative needs. Although the bishops of Gurk's visits seem to be more frequent than those of their Freising counterparts, their usual costs were reasonably lower; even in his

⁷² Miha Kosi, *Potujoči srednji vek: Cesta, popotnik in promet na Slovenskem med antiko in 16. stoletjem* (The traveling Middle Ages: Roads, travelers and traffic in Slovenian territory from antiquity to the sixteenth century), Zbirka ZRC 20 (Ljubljana: ZRC SAZU, 1998), 259–60 and the map "Prometno omrežje na Slovenskem okrog leta 1400."

⁷³ E.g. Acc. B. Gurk, 1438–1452, DAK, HS 122, fol. 34, 69', 99', 104, 111', 119, 149–149'.

⁷⁴ E.g. Acc. B. Gurk, 1438–1452, DAK, HS 122, fol. 44', 53, 69'.

⁷⁵ Kos, *Med gradom in mestom*, 103.

⁷⁶ Acc. B. Gurk, 1438–1452, DAK, HS 122, fol. 86', 90–90', 96', 99', 104'–5.

⁷⁷ Miko Kos, *Zgodovina Slovencev od naselitve do reformacije* (The history of the Slovenes from the arrival to the Reformation), (Ljubljana: Jugoslovanska knjigarna, 1933), 217. It looks as if the situation was not entirely clear until 1445; namely, in account books of Mokronog along with the *burghut* additional sum of money was being paid *von kriegs wegen* until that date. Acc. B. Gurk, 1438–1452, DAK, HS 122, fol. 48, 63, 76.

⁷⁸ E.g. Acc. B. Gurk, 1438–1452, DAK, HS 122, fol. 128', 131, 134', 161, 172, 173', 188.

two and a half month long Marchian tour in 1446 Bishop John of Gurk spent no more than 185 pounds, which is less than an average annual expenditure of the bishop of Freising in Škofja Loka, or, in other terms, about a quarter of the sum, that was delivered from other estates to Vitanje that year.⁷⁹

Another type of financial operation, which was widely practiced by the Gurk episcopal administration, was disbursement of money by the local treasury branches against the bishop's warrant (*geschëfftbrief*). Different people, mostly involved in the bishopric's purchases, were instructed to withdraw the necessary cash in one of the estate treasuries along their way; partly, to avoid unnecessary costs of transfer and partly perhaps to minimize the risk of being robbed on the way. Probably the best example concerning these transactions is recorded in a 1469 estate account of Podčetrtek. It is stated there, that the bishop gave the castellan on account of the entire yearly yield a receipt for seven hundred guilders, which he did not receive, but that were disbursed according to his orders.⁸⁰ Because of the way expenses are listed, it is impossible to trace that sum of money exactly; however, more than 1130 guilders of expenses are defined as "*auf meins herren geschëfftbrief*" or "*nach geschëfft meins herren*."⁸¹ This is again an exceptional case, but smaller amounts of money could be regularly disbursed in a similar way by any Gurk episcopal estate treasury in Marchia.

* * *

As we can see, in both cases the transfer of money from the given estate or region to the administrative center exceeded all the other ways of utilization of the profit on the local or micro-regional level. The transport of goods, either produced on the estates or purchased in local markets, which for the Marchian estates—because of the not too great distances from Gurk and Straßburg—still played a notable role, was on the route Škofja Loka–Freising reduced to a minimum. The same factor—the distance—was crucial also concerning the use of the estate's facilities as a residence by the bishop and his retinue. From the 1430s bishops of Freising used this possibility in Škofja Loka quite rarely, while they seem to have completely lost their interest in residing there in the last quarter of the fifteenth century. On

⁷⁹ Acc. B. Gurk, 1438–1452, DAK, HS 122, fol. 102'–3.

⁸⁰ "*Percepta de anno etc. lxi^o: Per omnia vt de anno etc. lxxviii^{mo} vnd dar zu hat im meins herrn gnad seliger ainem geltbrief geben vmb guldein vii^e, die er dann meinem herren seligen nicht geantwurt, sunder die auf sein beuelhen ausgehen hat . . .*" Acc. B. Gurk, 1467–1471, KLA, GFK, HS 2/9, fol. 40'.

⁸¹ Acc. B. Gurk, 1467–1471, KLA, GFK, HS 2/9, fol. 41–41'.

the contrary, bishops of Gurk were able to maintain their presence in Marchian property at least on a biennial basis.

Returning to the cash-transfer, both of the episcopal administrations insisted on using the existing network of estates, which in the case of the connection between Freising and Škofja Loka worked as a sort of relay-type of transfer; for the Gurk Marchian territory this resulted in the emergence of a dispatching center in Vitanje, where money from other estates was accumulated and dispatched. Along with that, also higher, central officials were engaged in cash-delivery; either in coexistence with the former system, as is characteristic for the Gurk type of administration, or as a separate feature replacing the former one, which was the case in Freising. The differences were clearly determined by the distance of the given property from its administrative center and the administrative structure; it would be senseless to send enormous numbers of small deliveries from all parts of Marchia to Straßburg, just as it would not be reasonable to send collectors from Freising to Škofja Loka several times a year. In the course of the one century under investigation both systems were subject to changes. After attempting to improve and economize its financial administration practically overnight, Freising had to face the side-effects in the form of arrears, while in Gurk changes occurred more naturally, over the long run. The economic center in Vitanje, which emerged in the forties and prospered in the fifties, lost its importance in the late sixties, when, in consequence of the reincorporation of the newly released *feuda principalia*, Kunšperk and Rogatec, the center of gravity was moved toward the east, to Podčetrtek, apparently to consolidate the administration.

3. ESTATE ECONOMICS

3.1. General Development of Income and Expenditure

THE FREISING BISHOPRIC'S ŠKOFJA LOKA ESTATE

A) *The Income*

The economic potential of the Škofja Loka estate was based mainly on crop-production and livestock-breeding, in which the latter—as far as it can be determined on the basis of the rents—presented a less important part. Production was almost exclusively organized in the form of individual tenant holdings, which might have paid approximately one third of their yield to their lord.⁸² As already discussed, the tenants delivered most of their rents in the form of money, moreover, the share of delivery of rents in kind decreased over the course of time. By the end of the fourteenth century the estate collected about two thirds of its income in cash, 18% in grains, and 16% in cheese, however the latter began to be completely replaced by cash already in the first half of the fifteenth century. Thus, the share of money rose to three quarters in the period of 1437–1500. A detailed analysis shows, that the actual growth must have occurred between 1400 and 1437,⁸³ while the share of goods decreased proportionally (see *FIG. 3/a, b*). However, the rise of grains in this period (25%) is due to the growth of prices, especially in the last decade of the century (see *FIG. 2/a* and *FIG. 4*).

Up to the end of the fourteenth century the total income was probably constantly growing; mainly due to an on-going process of settlement and, partially, on account of the rise of the rents and higher prices.⁸⁴ In the 1390s it reached the highest level of approximately

⁸² Although it is impossible to investigate the estate production beyond the rents, according to some opinions ca. one third would be an acceptable proportion. Pavle Blaznik, "Podložniške obveznosti do zemljiškega gospostva" (Tenants' dues), *Gospodarska in družbena zgodovina Slovencev* 2.2, 257.

⁸³ No compatible sources are available for the period between 1400 and 1437, but the situation is noticeable from 1437 onward.

⁸⁴ On the basis of existing sources it is extremely hard to give reliable conclusions before the 1390s. As far as settlement is concerned, remarkable changes can be noticed between the land registers of 1160, 1291, and 1318. Blaznik, *Urbarji*, 127–67, 179–218. The only more or less complete pre-1390s list of annual income, which is preserved from 1309, records a total to the tune of 918 marks 106 pence. Zahn, *Codex Austriaco-Frisingensis*,

1800 marks, which was never attained again until 1500 (with the only exception of 1495). A slight, but steady drop of income occurred throughout the fifteenth century (following an average 1660 marks at the end of the thirties [1437–1441], 1620 in the late seventies [1476–1477], and 1470 marks at the end of the eighties [1485–1490]), however the economic growth is noticeable again in the last decade, when the total income reached around 1700 marks per annum (see *FIG. 3/a*).

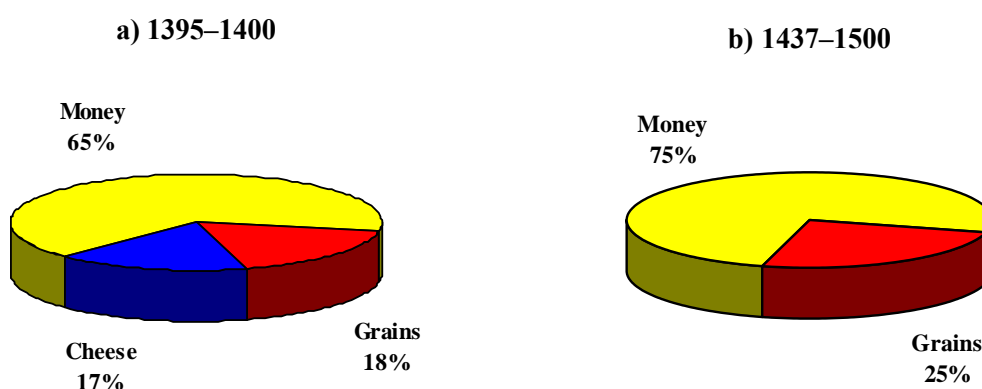


FIGURE 2. Division of income for the Škofja Loka estate 1395–1500.

Searching for the causes of this decline, it must first be pointed out, that the settlement, one of the major stimuli to the economic growth of an estate, was completed roughly by the mid-fourteenth century, which excludes any delayed positive effect on the income in the period under investigation; however, decisive factors can be found outside the estate. They should be searched for in the chain of the events that affected the estate, both directly and indirectly. A brief look at its chronology is quite illustrative:

1) In 1417 the Škofja Loka estate was pawned to the counts of Celje for the period of four years in exchange for a huge loan of ten thousand guilders.

2) During the war between Duke Frederick of Habsburg and the counts of Celje 1437–1443 the estate was exposed to fighting, especially in 1439, when it raged around Škofja Loka, while the inhabitants of Dovje complained about the violence done by the garrison of the neighboring Celje castle Bela Peč/Weissenfels.

36, 127–8. According to Blaznik, a growth of almost 50% in the next eighty-seven years is due to all three above mentioned factors. Blaznik, *Urbarji*, 111–3.

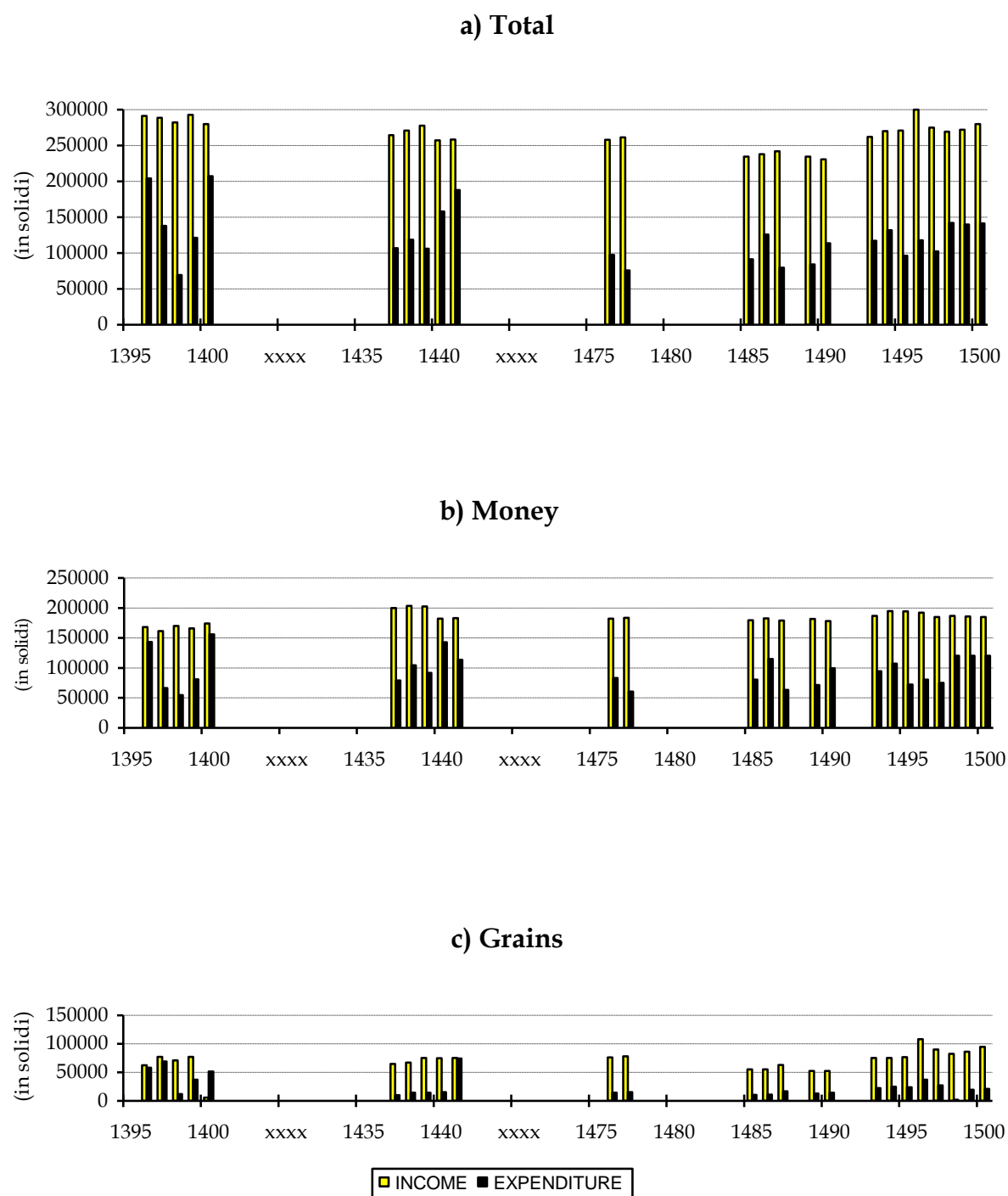


FIGURE 3. Yearly distribution of the income and expenditure in Škofja Loka estate 1395–1500.

3) A similar situation reoccurred some twenty years later, when Carniola became a scene of the struggle over the inheritance of the counts of Celje, who died out in 1456; a year later Škofja Loka was demolished and some villages in the *officium* of Bitnje were seriously damaged.

4) In 1476 sixty hides in the Poljane valley were burned down as a result of two Turkish attacks,⁸⁵ and finally,

5) the peasant uprising, mostly initiated by the unreasonable increase of provincial taxes, broke out in 1488.⁸⁶

The above mentioned disturbances resulted in two types of consequences: The first type immediately followed the event and was probably abolished in a few years; a 1477 account records a loss because of the burned hides to the tune of 13,5 m. 16 sol. that was not even subtracted from the incomes, but listed among the expenses.⁸⁷ However, of far greater importance were those affecting the estate economy over the long run. A reduction of one of the tenants' rents called *stewra annalis* or later *stewr(a) extraneorum* (to distinguish it from the town tax), because of the gap in sources first noticeable in 1437,⁸⁸ which cut 75 marks out of the annual estate income, can be put in connection with the discontinuity of authority between 1417 and 1421. It was never raised to the previous level again until 1500 at least. However, this does not explain the further decline of income after 1441 and its rise in the early 1490s. A separate inspection of the fluctuation of the different shares in the yearly income from 1476 onward shows exactly the same trend with even greater proportion for the grains and a rather stable situation in the case of money (see *FIG. 3/b, c*). In fact, these results match quite well the change of the prices for the most important sorts of grains. In comparison to 1477, in 1485 prices of wheat fell 18%, those of oats 26% and those of rye 38% and the trend was carried on in 1489. A shift occurred in the early 1490s; in comparison to the period of 1485–1490, the 1493–1500 average of the prices of wheat and rye grew 61%, while that of oats as much as 73% (see *FIG. 4*). The slight variations in the share of money are due to the fluid parts of income of minor importance, such as judicial penalties, *sterbrecht*,

⁸⁵ A list of burned hides is included in the annual account. Ann. Acc. Škofja Loka, 1476, BayHStA, HL 4, Fasz. 36, Nr. 194, fol. 5'–6,

⁸⁶ Blaznik, *Urbarji*, 29–32.

⁸⁷ Ann. Acc. Škofja Loka, 1477, BayHStA, HL 4, Fasz. 36, Nr. 194, fol. 4.

⁸⁸ Cf. lists of income in Acc. B., Freising, 1395–1401, BayHStA, HL Freising, Nr. 69, fol. 145' and 1437–1450, *ibid.*, Nr. 70, fol. 7'.

and *kawffrecht*, or rents paid every third year, for example *poklon* (*sbaigelt*), used for frequent vitalization of the flocks of sheep.⁸⁹

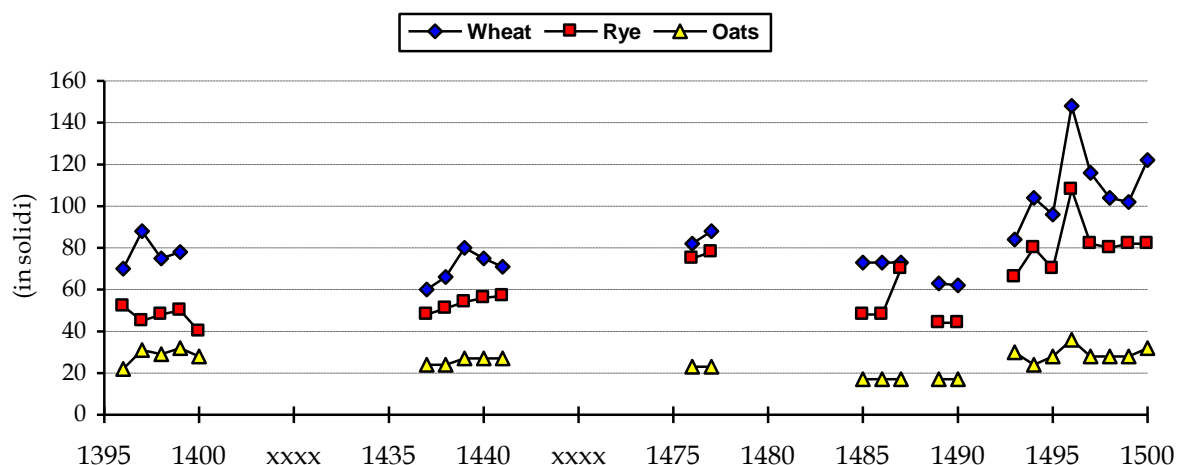


FIGURE 4. Fluctuation of the prices of grain per mut in the Škofja Loka estate 1395–1500.

B) The Expenditure

If it was hard to say anything reliable with regard to the estate income before the end of fourteenth century, as far as expenditure is concerned, nothing can be said at all.⁹⁰ According to the oldest preserved account books, in the period of 1396–1400, 74% of the total was expended in cash, 25% in grains, and only 1% in cheese (see FIG. 5). The significant difference in comparison to the corresponding shares regarding the income, where cheese and grains were balanced, is due to the fact, that almost the entire cheese supply was sold, which was not always the case with grains. On average, 24% of it was still used for paying wages to estate officials, providing workers performing their duty of villeinage with food, or hosting the bishop's retinue and their horses during their stay.⁹¹ This changed slightly during the fifteenth century, according to the account books, mostly because of the bishop's absence. The share of grains dropped to 17% on account of the increased sale, which resulted in the higher share of money (83%; see FIG. 5).

⁸⁹ Cf. e.g. Ann. Acc. Škofja Loka, 1494, BayHStA, HL Freising, Nr. 516, fol. 3–3' and 1495, BayHStA, HL 3, Rep. 53, Fasz. 295, Nr. 8, fol. 5–5'.

⁹⁰ Apart from some sporadic information on costs for *custodia castri* or wine purchases (e.g. Zahn, *Codex Austriaco-Frisingensis*, 36, 126), there is no data available.

⁹¹ E.g. Acc. B., Freising, 1395–1401, BayHStA, HL Freising, Nr. 69, fol. 146'–7'.

In the years 1396–1400 the total of expenses oscillated between 434 and 1296 marks per annum. A reasonably lower variation is noticeable in the period of 1437–1441 (668–1174 marks), while in the rest of the century a gradual increase of expenditure can be observed, as far as the average values of the documented periods are concerned: 540 marks between 1476 and 1477, 618 in 1485–1490, and 771 marks in 1493–1500. A very high level of annual expenditure in several years of the first two periods is due to exceptional situations in which the estate found itself at the time.

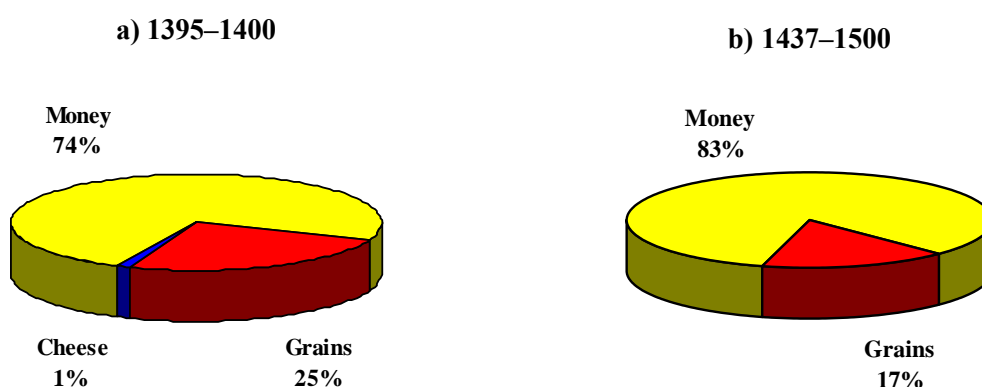


FIGURE 5. Division of expenditure for the Škofja Loka estate 1395–1500.

At the end of the fourteenth century a major project of improvement of the town walls was in progress. As far as we know, the town was surrounded by walls as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century.⁹² After almost one hundred years they might have become obsolete, required a thorough renewal, or perhaps became too confined for the growing settlement. Whatever the reason might have been, it resulted in a construction activity of such dimensions that it cannot be compared with any other documented medieval period in Škofja Loka. The total amount of construction expenses in five years equals over one thousand marks. The highest effort was put into the works in 1400, when more than 451 marks or 43,5% of total, as far as construction is concerned, were invested (see TAB. 3).

As already discussed, in the period between 1437 and 1441 the estate was witness to warfare. In the first four years this is noticeable in the accounts only through increased activity of the messengers⁹³ and an enlarged amount of losses (between 50 and 100 marks),

⁹² Bishop Konrad III invested 156 marks in improving the walls in 1314. Pavle Blaznik, "Loško mestno obzidje" (The town walls of Škofja Loka), *Loški razgledi* 4 (1957): 15.

⁹³ Acc. B., Freising, 1437–1450, BayHStA, HL Freising, Nr. 70, fol. 9–9', 49–49', 56, 70'.

explained sometimes also as *von prunst wegen*.⁹⁴ It was not until 1441, that Škofja Loka had to support a squad of mercenaries. In one year they cost the estate about 286 m. 6 gld. and 240 *mut* of oats (= 40.5 marks),⁹⁵ which explains the higher level of expenses in the given year (see *FIG. 3/a*).

*TABLE 3. The Expenses for the Town Fortification in the Period 1397–1401*⁹⁶

Year	1397	1398	1399	1400	1401	Total
Value	140 m. 103 sol.	100 m.	131 m. 39 sol.	451 m. 33 sol.	213 m. 82 sol.	1036 m.97 sol.
Share Concerning the Five-Year Construction	13,6%	9,6%	12,7%	43,5%	20,6%	100%
Share Concerning the Annual Expenditure	13%	23%	17,3%	34,8%	?	

After 1476 no significant unusual expenses can be found in the account books. The gradual growth of expenditure should therefore be ascribed to the growing operational costs of the estate, going along with general trends, which can be observed also through the fluctuation of prices of grains (see *FIG. 4*). This is probably most efficiently illustrated by the expenses listed under the title of *potenlon et zerung*, which covers the costs for messengers, different business trips, guests, and similar expenses. They constantly increased during the given period (see *TAB. 4*).

*TABLE 4. The Expenses for Potenlon et Zerung in the Period 1476–1490*⁹⁷

Year	1476	1477	1485	1486	1487	1489	1490
Value	4,5 m.	9 m. 57 sol.	29 m.111 sol.	28 m.	43 m.126 sol.	50 m. 31 sol.	151 m.58 sol.

⁹⁴ Acc. B., Freising, 1437–1450, BayHStA, HL Freising, Nr. 70, fol. 11, 52', 57', 72'.

⁹⁵ Acc. B., Freising, 1437–1450, BayHStA, HL Freising, Nr. 70, fol. 123', 127'.

⁹⁶ The extension of the time-span in this particular case up to 1401 is due to the fact, that separate accounts were held for the construction in this period. Acc. B., Freising, 1437–1450, BayHStA, HL Freising, Nr. 69, fol. 85–6', 97–8, 148'–9.

⁹⁷ The last decade of the fifteenth century is left aside, because the accounts from 1493 onwards do not specify this classification. Ann. Acc., Škofja Loka: 1476, AEM, Heck. 142, p. 229; 1477, BayHStA, HL 4, Fasz. 36, Nr. 194, fol. 2'; 1485, BayHStA, HL 4, Fasz. 36, Nr. 194, fol. 4'–5; 1486, BayHStA, HL 3, Rep. 53, Fasz. 295, Nr. 1, fol. 3'–5; 1487, BayHStA, HL 3, Rep. 53, Fasz. 295, Nr. 2, fol. 3'–4; 1489, BayHStA, HL 3, Rep. 53, Fasz. 295, Nr. 4, fol. 5'–6; 1490, BayHStA, HL 3, Rep. 53, Fasz. 295, Nr. 4, fol. 12'–16.

Concerning comparison of the expenditure, the general flow is fully characterized by the expenses in cash, which is in light of a high predominance of the latter not a surprise. In the few years, when grain expenditure noticeably affected the total—1396, 1397, 14500, and 1441—this is always due to enlarged consumption of oats, either by the horses belonging to the episcopal retinue, or those serving military purposes (see *FIG. 3/c*).⁹⁸

THE GURK BISHOPRIC'S ESTATES IN THE MARCHIA

A) The Income

In most general terms, the economic basis of the Gurk property in Lower Styria and Lower Carniola did not differ essentially from the one that can be observed in the Škofja Loka estate. The predominant role of arable land in production and individual tenancy of holdings are the main characteristics of this area as well. However, the transformation of rents from kind into cash occurred at a slower pace. In the second quarter of the fifteenth century 30% of the Gurk Marchian property income was delivered in grains, 18% in wine, and 1% in cheese, while the rents in cash represented one half of the total (see *FIG. 6/a*). The inspection into the period of 1467–1471 even gives an impression of a reverse process—the share of money dropped to 42% (see *FIG. 6/b*)—which would make sense in light of the growth of prices (see *FIG. 8*). In fact the medieval estate management was far from capable of such a fast reaction; that change in proportion appeared entirely on account of two newly incorporated estates (former *feuda principalia*), Kunšperk and Rogatec,⁹⁹ where the ratio between rents was considerably in favor of grains.¹⁰⁰ The complete situation matches very well the above observations done on the transfer of profit; the development observed in Škofja Loka was here slowed down on account of geographical conditions.¹⁰¹

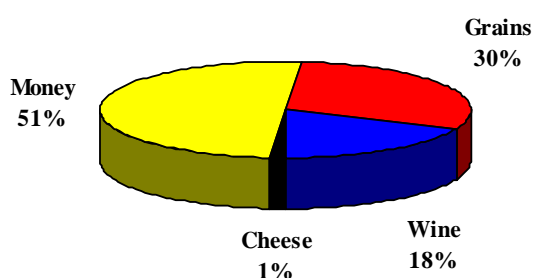
⁹⁸ E.g. Acc. B. Freising, 1395–1401, BayHStA, HL Freising, Nr. 69, fol. 14, 147; Acc. B. Freising, 1437–1450, BayHStA, HL, Freising, Nr. 70, fol. 127'.

⁹⁹ See p. 14.

¹⁰⁰ Regarding both estates together the share of grains represented 52% of the average annual income for the five-year period of 1467–1471.

¹⁰¹ See p. 20.

a) 1424–1452



b) 1467–1471

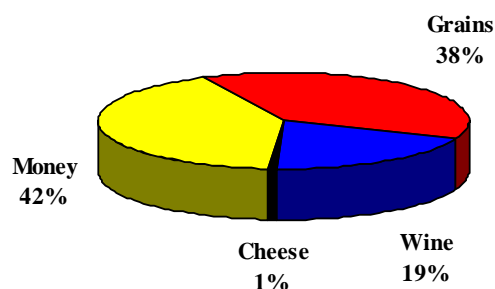


FIGURE 6. Division of income for the Gurk Marchian estates 1424–1471.

Not much can be said about the previous development. A very limited comparison of rents, which can be made between the 1404 land register and the first preserved annual accounts from 1425 (see *TAB. 5*), shows that the situation was still not stable in the first half of the fifteenth century; it might be assumed, that the drop of the estate sums concerning certain rents (Podčetrtek, Bizeljško) is to a great extent a result of the abandonment of hides.¹⁰²

TABLE 5. Comparison of Rents in Bizeljško, Pilštanj, in Podčetrtek between 1404 and 1425.

Value	Bizeljško		Pilštanj		Podčetrtek	
	1404	1425	1404	1425	1404	1425
Money	28 m. 28 d.	17 m. 101 d.	11 m. 44 d.	12 m. 120 d.	45 m. 98 d.	23 m. 3 d.
Wheat	99,3 mut	110,7 mut	84,2 mut	92,5 mut	191,8 mut	151 mut
Oats	117,3 mut	91,4 mut	81,5 mut	97,5 mut	200,5 mut	153,3 mut

However, once the rents appear in the accounts, they are already fixed; no considerable changes are recorded until 1471. In spite of this, the total income was inconstant between 1424 and 1452. Partly this is due to the changes in prices of grains. Namely the trend of the grains' income—except the higher variation, which was neutralized in the total—was very similar to the general (total) one (see *FIG. 7/a, c*) and it can be at least to some extent explained by the fluctuation of prices (see *FIG. 8*, especially the prices of wheat for Mokronog and those of wheat and rye for Anderburg). On the other hand, the fluctuation of income of

¹⁰² Cf. p. 12.

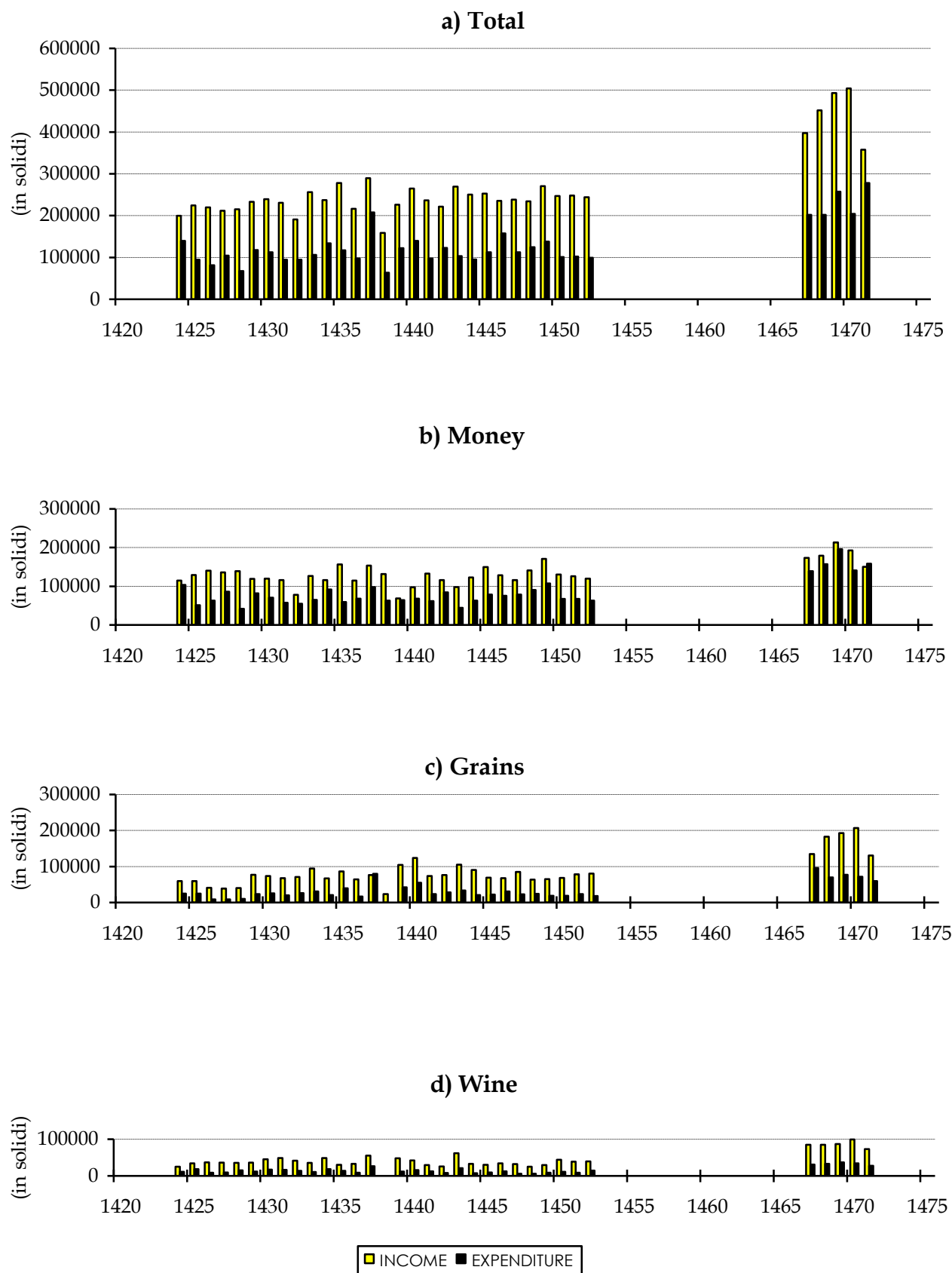


FIGURE 7. Yearly distribution of the income and expenditure in Gurk Marchian estates 1425–1471.

money (FIG. 7/b) can be explained by the variable part of rents in cash, the “tax” (*stewr*).¹⁰³ The third reason, affecting both parts of income, lay in the incoherence of the Gurk episcopal property. As mentioned before, a number of hides were conveyed from the estate in the form of small fiefs held by functioning or formal officials,¹⁰⁴ but they were usually dissolved after a vassal’s death, or in some cases, repurchased. The land was reincorporated into the estate and its rents increased the income.¹⁰⁵

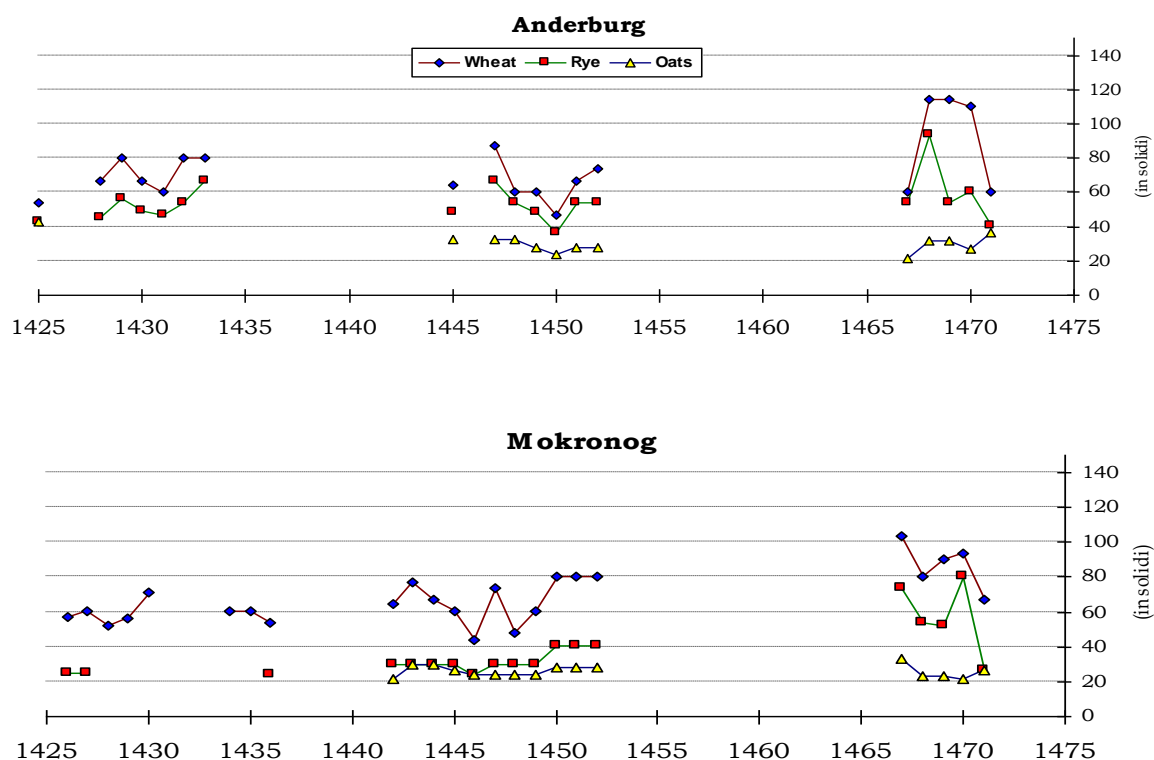


FIGURE 8. Fluctuation of prices of grains per mut for estates Anderburg and Mokronog 1424–1471.

¹⁰³ According to the formulations in the accounts, the value of the so called “tax” was apparently determined annually (“*Stewr im vrbar hoc anno. . .*,” or “*Im markht dicz iars stewr. . .*”). In Mokronog, e.g., it reached 133 lb. 80 d. in 1426, but only 89 pounds in 1447. Acc. B. Gurk, 1438–1452, DAK, HS 122, fol. 121’.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. p. 14 and TAB. 2.

¹⁰⁵ In account books the rents of these dissolved fiefs were recorded separately, usually under the name of the former vassal. E.g., along with the usual *Sand Iorigen phenning*, there is an entry of *Von des Kinperger güter* listed constantly in the annual accounts of Podčetrtek from 1425 up to 1451, when it is mentioned for the last time. Acc. B. Gurk, 1424–1437, DAK, HS 106, fol. 6; 1438–1452, DAK, HS 122, fol. 177, 178’. In addition to this in 1431 an income entry of “*Von des . . . hueben, die mein herr bischof Ernst von dem Schencken kauft hat*” appeared, which was replaced by the “*Von des Schencken vnd Trackenberger gueter*” in 1434. Acc. B. Gurk, 1424–1437, DAK, HS 106, fol. 68, 105’.

The same process continued in the second half of the fifteenth century even more intensively¹⁰⁶ and raised—together with the fluctuation of prices (cf. FIG. 8)—the variation in income between 1467 and 1471, but the major reason for the remarkable growth was the reincorporation of Rogatec and Kunšperk. Their 35% share in the production of the episcopal Marchian property (see. FIG. 9) increased the average total of income from 1456 marks in the years 1424–1452 to 2755 marks in the period of 1467–1471 (see FIG. 6/a). Finally, it is worth mentioning, that the Mokronog estate management made a significant profit to the tune of 67 lb. 7 s. 13 d. only on account of the changed ratio between the Aquileia-Venetian *solidus* and Viennese penny. The relation between these two units of account—2 *solidi* : 3 pence—which was maintained from at least the fourteenth century onward, changed as a consequence of the 1458–1460 financial breakdown in Vienna.¹⁰⁷ The new ratio was 1 *solidus* : 2 pence, but the tenants of Mokronog, the only place among Gurk episcopal territory where the *solidus* was in circulation, were still charged the old one at least until 1471.¹⁰⁸

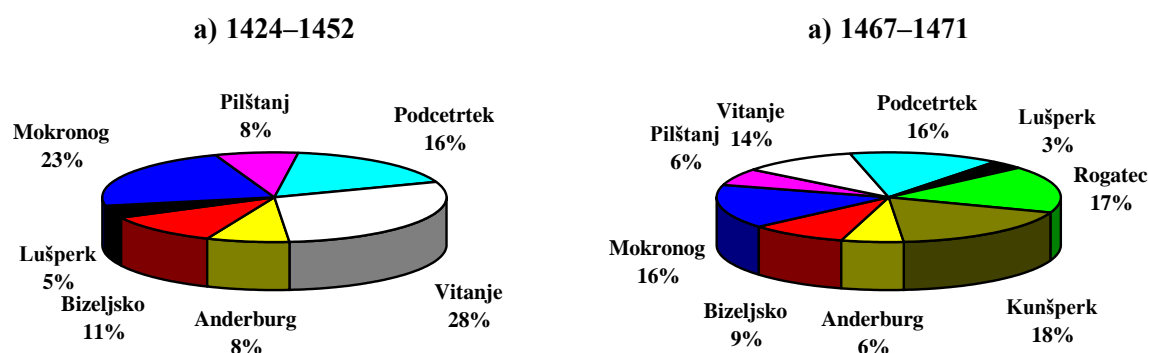


FIGURE 9. Shares of separate estates in the total income of Gurk Marchian property 1424–1471.

¹⁰⁶ E.g. Acc. B. Gurk, 1467–1471, KLA, GFK, HS 2/9, fol. 17', 24', 29', 36', 39', 43', 47', 54', 68', 72.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Alfred Francis Pribram, Rudolf Geyer, and Franz Koran, *Materialien zur Geschichte der Preise und Löhne in Österreich 1*, Veröffentlichungen des internationalen wissenschaftlichen Komitees für die Geschichte der Preise und Löhne 1 (Vienna: Carl Ueberreuters Verlag, 1938), 7–8.

¹⁰⁸ As far as we know, this new entry appeared in the estate accounts in 1467: "Vbermass auf zynns vnd stewr von der agler wegen, so die leut dinen sullen, die im vrbar mir per iii obuli gerait sein auf ain lb. lxxx d. facit lxxvii lb. vii s. xiii d." Acc. B. Gurk, 1467–1471, KLA, GFK, HS 2/9, fol. v.

B) The Expenditure

The predominance of expenditure in cash was in the case of the Marchian estates not as great as it was in Škofja Loka. Between 1424 and 1452 money represented 64% of the average annual expenses, while the share of grains was 23%, that of wine was 11%, and the share of cheese 2%. These victuals were commonly used for officials' wages and satisfied current needs of the estates, such as costs of travel and accommodation. In the second half of the century the situation did not change much; the slight growth of grains' share on account of money is due to the different proportions characteristic for Kunšperk and Rogatec. The larger share of money in comparison to the income, is explainable by sale; the surplus of grains and wine represented the only trading products of the Gurk episcopal Marchian property. Presumably they were sold on the local markets for the needs of the urban population (see FIG. 10).

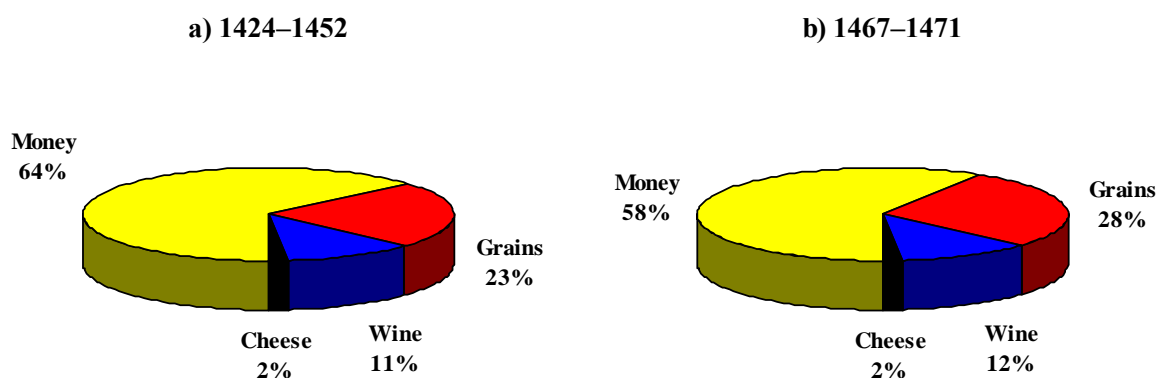


FIGURE 10. Division of expenditure for the Gurk Marchian estates 1424–1471.

One of the characteristics concerning expenses in the period of 1424–1452 is a considerably large variation between the annual totals. The phenomenon can be observed in all separate parts of expenditure (see FIG. 7) and was most probably a result of various factors. One of them was the instability in the bishopric's estate administrative structure. In Vitanje for example, the expenses for *burckhut*, which contained the castellan's salary and costs of maintaining the castle garrison, could vary from 39 pounds (in 1447) up to 100 (in 1448), not even taking into consideration the part recompensed in kind.¹⁰⁹ Secondly, the estates still fought their battle with depopulation. The accounts of practically every estate

¹⁰⁹ Acc. B. Gurk, 1438–1452, DAK, HS 122, fol. 110', 125.

continuously record various sums on account of losses because of the abandoned hides. These defects were in some cases accompanied by reductions of rents caused by floods, hail, or fire.¹¹⁰ The contribution of the 1437–1443 war—which actually started with the seizure of several castles belonging to the bishop of Gurk, Vitanje and Anderburg among others¹¹¹—to that situation was not as important as one would expect. Although throughout this five-year period the war is constantly present in the accounts, its effects on the total expenditure are only perceptible in 1437. A detailed analysis shows, that the increased expenses of that year, which exceed the average almost two times (1297 marks), are due to reconstruction of demolished buildings,¹¹² reduction of rents because of devastation,¹¹³ and above all, due to increased consumption of grains—wheat to the tune of 275 marks and oats to the tune of 184 marks.

The increased expenditure in the period of 1468–1471 is mainly a result of expansion of administered territory. The share of the newly incorporated estates, Kunšperk and Rogatec, which contributed 35% to the total income (see *FIG. 9*), was 40%. However, this was not the only reason. The annual average of the total expenses with regard to the old core property grew nearly 20% (from 703 marks in 1424–1452 to 842 marks in 1467–1471). Although considerable amounts of cash were spent for military purposes, mainly in 1469¹¹⁴—which explains the extreme value of cash expenditure in that year (see *FIG. 7/b*)—the general rise can be explained by the growth of prices of grains (cf. *FIG. 8*).

* * *

Comparing the two properties, whose average annual income is of approximately the same rank (the situation was slightly changed in Gurk Marchian property's favor after the reincorporation of new estates), certain conclusions can be made. First, while the income of the Škofja Loka estate was more or less stable throughout the fifteenth century and was

¹¹⁰ E.g. Acc. B. Gurk, 1424–1437, DAK, HS 106, fol. 101, or Acc. B. Gurk, 1438–1452, DAK, HS 122, fol. 45, 46'.

¹¹¹ Cf. Josip Gruden, *Zgodovina slovenskega naroda* (The history of the Slovenian nation) (Celje: Mohorjeva Družba, 1910–1916; reprint, Celje: Mohorjeva Družba, 1992), 263. (page citations are to the reprint edition).

¹¹² Acc. B. Gurk, 1438–1452, DAK, HS 122, fol. 126'.

¹¹³ Acc. B. Gurk, 1438–1452, DAK, HS 122, fol. 136.

¹¹⁴ The account of Bizeljsko records an amazing sum of 1022 gld. 15 lb. spent on mercenaries, which was mainly covered by the resources transferred from the other episcopal estates (Anderburg, Mokronog, Pilštanj, Podčetrtek, and Rogatec). Acc. B. Gurk, 1467–1471, KLA, GFK, HS 2/9, fol. 47', 49'. Although the Turkish plundering affected Lower Styria in that year, to my belief this should rather be understood in connection to the

subject only to slight and slow changes initiated by external factors, that of the Gurk Marchian property oscillated annually as a result of unsteadiness, be it in the settlement, possession of land, or in the administrative structure. This was even intensified by the fact that the transformation of rents in kind into money was quite slow (especially in Kunšperk and Rogatec), which increased the level of the estate economy's dependence on fluctuation of prices. That actually turned out to be an advantage at the end of fifteenth century, when the prices of grains considerably grew. As far as expenditure is concerned, the variations in Škofja Loka in the first half of the fifteenth century are quite explainable by the exceptional situations, while in the rest of the time expenses slowly grew on account of expanding administration. Unlike this, the yearly oscillation of the Gurk Marchian property's expenses was simply a result of the usual management. Both aspects of management show a certain stability in the administration of the Freising Škofja Loka estate and, to some extent, an unstable situation in the Gurk Marchian property.

revolt of mercenaries under the leadership of Andrew Baumkircher. Cf. Kos, *Zgodovina Slovencev*, 224; Gruden, *Zgodovina*, 278–9, 338–9.

3.2. Comparison of Balance and Types of Expenditure

The annual balance, which can be considered as the estate profit, reached, generally speaking, in both cases a level close to one half of income. The bishop of Freising made on account of the Škofja Loka estate on average 870 marks a year or 48% of the total income for that estate in the period of 1395–1400, 814 marks or 49% between 1437–1441, 1084 marks or 77% between 1476–1477, 856 marks or 58% between 1485–1490, and 946 marks or 55% in the years of 1493–1500. Similarly the average yearly profit of the Marchian estates, collected by the episcopal seat of Gurk, made up 753 marks or 48% of the income between 1425–1452 and 1326 marks or 52% in the period of 1468–1471. The direct comparison between the two properties, which can to some extent eliminate the possible different external influences, can be made only for a small time-span from 1437 to 1441. Both Carniola and Lower Styria were sharing the same fate at that time, being a scene of war.

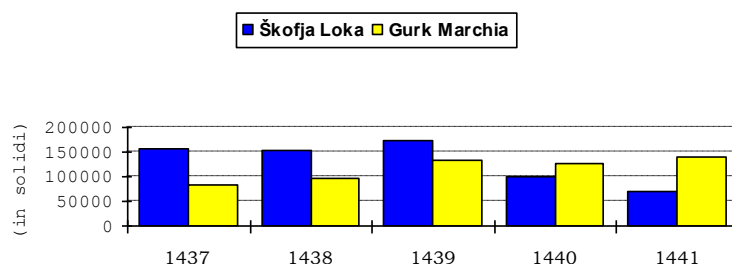


FIGURE 11. Comparison of the balance between Škofja Loka and Gurk Marchian estates 1437–1441.

The analysis of the annual balance shows very similar responses to the situation. In 1437, when the military activity reached its highest point in Marchia, the profit of the Gurk episcopal estates was 512 marks, which represented only 28% of the total income. Škofja Loka found itself in a comparable situation in 1441, when the balance showed 440 marks or 27% of the income made that year (see FIG. 11). Slight disturbances are noticeable in the year before (Škofja Loka) and the year after (Marchia) the major event, while in the rest of the

period the balance is on the usual level, which resulted in both cases in an average of 49% of the annual income (814 marks in Škofja Loka and 718 marks on Gurk Marchian estates).

Thus the takings to the approximate amount of half of the total annual income should be considered a more or less common feature of estate economy as far as the fifteenth century Freising and Gurk episcopal properties in Carniola and Lower Styria are concerned. In fact this kind of approach shows in a sense the economy of an estate, or a group of estates, as a whole, not offering much of an insight into the actual sphere of management below that level. To understand this, requires on to inspect the other half of income, the one that stood at the disposal of the local administration.

Following (or having been led by) the structure of the account books, these operational costs can be divided into four general groups. The first one covers wages of the entire sphere of officials and employees, commonly described in accounts as *burchut*, as well as other expenses on any kind of paid labor in connection to the estate economic activity. The second group consist of all the costs concerning the official mobility: business trips, taken by the members of estate administration, as well as the accommodation provided for the official guests arriving to the estate. The third part of expenses represent the resources spent on construction; be it on the major projects such as building of the town walls or the regular maintenance works. Into the last category all kind of losses are placed, chiefly those caused by depopulation, but also others, results of natural disasters or military incidents.

In Škofja Loka the wages represented around one third of the total expenditure, 7% was spent on communication with the outside world, while the building costs, as well as the losses, reached 13% of total. The situation in Gurk Marchian property was quite different. Opposed to the comparable share of the communicational costs (8%), the expenses for maintenance of buildings were considerably lower (8%), the proportion of losses was slightly higher (13%), while the officials' wages represented 60% of total expenses, almost twice as large a share as in Škofja Loka (see *FIG. 12*).

The major part of this dissimilarity can be explained by the differences in administrative structure, based on geographical conditions discussed above.¹¹⁵ While in the case of the Škofja Loka estate the one hierarchically organized administration was sufficient for managing the entire property, in Gurk's Marchia every single estate required a separate management. Instead of concentration of local government in one large and solid center, the

¹¹⁵ See p. 14.

power was divided between seven (later nine) centers of various importance, however each of them covering the basic administrative functions. This kind of decentralization of administration resulted in increased number of officials and employees, whose maintenance ranged very high in the total expenditure of the property. Along with that, the internal fluctuation of people and goods was accompanied by additional costs, but these were, compared to the Škofja Loka estate, neutralized by lower costs of communication with the episcopal seat on account of the considerably smaller distance.

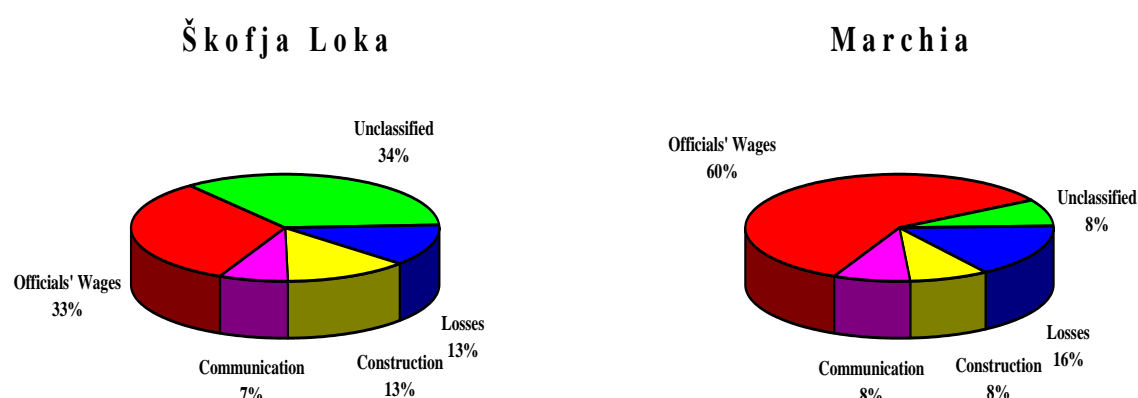


FIGURE 12. Comparison of types of expenditure between Škofja Loka and Gurk Marchian estates in fifteenth century.

Lower percentage of losses in Škofja Loka estate is a result of greater consolidation of inhabited area than can be observed in the Marchian estates. While in Škofja Loka the average annual value of circa 92 marks was exceeded considerably only in 1476—in the year of Turkish plunder, when the losses reached the sum of 157 marks¹¹⁶—the value in the Gurk Marchian estates varied a great deal annually. Opposed to the highest level of 375 marks in 1467—which does not even coincide with any major disturbance—in some other years (1424, 1426–1428, and 1441) the sum was lower than 50 marks.

A more favorable division of expenditure in Škofja Loka is partly proved by the greater proportion of resources invested in construction. Considering the incomparably larger built infrastructure on the territory covered by Gurk Marchian estates—seven (later nine) main fortifications and several semi-urban settlements—the investment must have been limited to the most basic maintenance works. However, the major advantage of the Škofja

Loka administration was a very high percentage of “unclassified” expenses. This group covers the exceptional expenses such as wages and accommodation of troops during wartime as well as costs, not directly connected to the management. Among the latter, accounts regularly record: the chaplain’s salary,¹¹⁷ expenses for wax and oil necessary for the lighting of the chapels,¹¹⁸ as well as other church equipment (e.g. missal),¹¹⁹ purchases of furs and textiles,¹²⁰ riding horses,¹²¹ etc. The low percentage of this kind of costs in the Gurk Marchian accounts does not necessarily imply the lack of prestige or worse living conditions; it is quite possible, that the accounting system for some reason excluded this type of expenses. However, this would not change the situation; if so-called non-administrative costs would have been subtracted from the Škofja Loka accounts, the shares of other expenses would have risen, but on the other hand the total would have decreased. Proceeding from either one of the interpretations, it is possible to conclude, that the strictly administrative expenses of Škofja Loka estate were proportionally lower than those of Gurk Marchian property.

* * *

The comparison of balance shows in general a very similar picture concerning both properties; in Škofja Loka as well as in Marchia the general trend of profit was growing slightly, although the average share of the balance in income is insignificantly higher regarding the former (53% in case of Škofja Loka estate and 51% in case of the Marchian property). However, the inspection into the operational costs reveals the real effectiveness of the given administrative structures. In comparison to the Gurk Marchian administrative organization, the management of Škofja Loka was able to run the property of comparable proportions on nearly 30% lower costs on account of the higher degree of centralization and restricted bureaucracy.

¹¹⁶ In precise terms: 128, 5 m. 52 sol. 3 gld., 7,5 *mut* of wheat, 14,5 *mut* of rye, and 104 *mut* of oats. Ann. Acc., Škofja Loka: 1476, AEM, Heck. 142, p. 226–7, 233–4.

¹¹⁷ E.g. Acc. B. Freising, 1395–1401, BayHStA, HL Freising, Nr. 69, fol. 12, 35’, 84’, 97; Acc. B. Freising, 1437–1450, BayHStA, HL Freising, Nr. 70, fol. 9, 49, 55’, 70, 123.

¹¹⁸ E.g. Acc. B. Freising, 1395–1401, BayHStA, HL Freising, Nr. 69, fol. 12, 35’, 84’, 97. Acc. B. Freising, 1437–1450, BayHStA, HL Freising, Nr. 7, fol. 9, 49, 55’, 70, 123.

¹¹⁹ Acc. B. Freising, 1395–1401, BayHStA, HL Freising, Nr. 69, fol. 97.

¹²⁰ E.g. Acc. B. Freising, 1437–1450, BayHStA, HL Freising, Nr. 70, fol. 10, 57, 71; Ann. Acc. Škofja Loka, 1494, BayHStA, HL Freising, Nr. 516, fol. 10’; Ann. Acc. Škofja Loka, 1495, BayHStA, HL 3, Rep. 53, Fasz. 295, Nr. 8, fol. 10.

¹²¹ E.g. Acc. B. Freising, 1395–1401, BayHStA, HL Freising, Nr. 69, fol. 96’; Acc. B. Gurk, 1438–1452, DAK, HS 122, fol. 69’, 80’.

4. CONCLUSIONS

According to expectations, the Freising and Gurk episcopal administrations did not prove to be entirely different in the basic questions of the estate management. Moreover, in the two estates inspected—comparable regarding the size, as well as the economic potential and structure of the productive basis—quite similar patterns of production, transfer of revenue, and government can be found. However, entering the sphere of the spatial relations, we come across two crucial factors, which to a great extent dictated the development and functioning of the existing administrative structures. The first one was the distance of the given piece of land from the central seat of government; both properties were extra-territorial possessions of the bishoprics, but the Gurk Marchian property was more than three times closer to its episcopal seat as was the Škofja Loka estate to Freising. The second factor represented the structure of the possessed property; while the Freising bishopric succeeded to maintain the possession in Upper Carniola in the form of one large and cohesive territory, the Gurk Marchian property was divided into several smaller pieces scattered across a wider area, partly on account of land donation, partly because of the episcopal administrative policy.

Their effect on the estate management can be observed through several of the issues of this investigation:

1) The administrative structure, which firmly developed in the period before the fifteenth century, took, in the case of Škofja Loka, the form of one central hierarchic organized body, while the Marchian territory was divided in several estates managed separately, which resulted in generally more, but less structured bureaucracy.

2) The transfer of revenue from the given property to its administrative center in the fifteenth century, which exceeded all the other ways of utilization of the profit on the local or micro-regional level, was in case of the Škofja Loka estate almost entirely realized through transactions of money, while the Marchian estates still took part in supplying Straßburg with victuals. The improvement of transfer regardless to its substance, which can be observed in the last part of the century, was from the side of the Freising bishopric realized by sending the collectors to Škofja Loka on an annual basis, while in Gurk's Marchia resulted in the emergence of a dispatching center in Vitanje.

3) The solid administrative structure of Škofja Loka can be linked to the stable economy of the estate, while the unsteadiness of the Gurk Marchian administrative system resulted in annual oscillation of their income and expenditure.

4) The centralized management of Škofja Loka succeeded in running the estate at costs lower by approximately one third than those which the Gurk Marchian administration took to manage their scattered property.

Proceeding from these conclusions and preserving the restricted point of view—that is the one focused on the estates—the structure of the possessed property seemed to have played a more decisive role in the organization and functioning of the administration of the Freising and Gurk episcopal estates in Upper Carniola and Lower Styria in the fifteenth century, measuring it in terms of economic effectiveness.

STATISTICAL DATA¹²²

TABLE 6.*
DIVISION OF INCOME AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE ŠKOFJA LOKA ESTATE
1396–1500

<i>Period</i>	MONEY			GRAINS			CHEESE	
	Incomes	Expenses		Incomes	Expenses		Incomes	Expenses
1396–1400	167 949	100 237		68 745	45 415		46 650	2 517
1437–1500	178 432	95 656		73 881	20 962		—	—

* Cf. FIG. 2 and 5.

TABLE 7.**
YEARLY DISTRIBUTION OF THE INCOME AND EXPENDITURE IN ŠKOFJA LOKA
ESTATE 1396–1500

<i>Year</i>	TOTAL			MONEY			GRAINS	
	Incomes	Expenses		Incomes	Expenses		Incomes	Expenses
1396	291 172	204 269		168 126	143 136		62 390	57 915
1397	288 488	137 715		161 257	66 500		77 310	68 967
1398	282 008	69 464		170 142	54 606		71 066	11 940
1399	292 786	121 057		165 970	80 870		77 128	36 985
1400	280 082	207 364		174 250	156 071		55 832	51 291
1437	264 345	106 964		199 655	97 134		64 689	9 830
1438	270 916	118 454		203 624	104 267		67 273	14 187
1439	277 825	105 897		202 745	91 787		75 079	14 110
1440	257 063	158 047		182 099	142 974		74 964	15 100
1441	258 277	187 826		183 212	113 466		75 065	74 359
1476	258 022	97 204		182 045	82 989		75 977	14 251
1477	261 728	75 574		183 736	60 549		77 991	15 025
1485	234 443	91 233		179 333	80 521		55 109	10 712
1486	237 943	125 799		182 833	114 875		55 109	10 924
1487	241 861	79 645		179 020	63 192		62 841	16 462
1489	234 468	84 169		181 875	71 462		52 593	12 706
1490	230 713	113 590		178 295	99 381		52 418	14 209
1493	262 079	116 913		186 723	94 680		75 347	22 233
1494	270 069	131 822		194 898	107 226		75 171	24 596
1495	270 832	96 111		194 171	72 507		76 660	23 604
1496	299 923	117 701		192 046	80 333		107 877	37 368
1497	274 897	102 199		184 961	75 135		89 936	27 069
1498	269 274	142 042		186 777	120 106		82 479	21 936
1499	271 869	139 881		185 784	120 278		86 085	19 603
1500	279 725	141 242		184 805	120 278		94 954	20 963

**Cf. FIG. 3.

¹²² All the values in the tables are given in Aquileia–Venetian *solidi*.

TABLE 8.*
FLUCTUATION OF PRICES OF GRAIN PER MUT IN THE ŠKOFJA LOKA ESTATE
1396–1500

<i>Year</i>	WHEAT		RYE		OATS
1396	70		52		22
1397	88		45,3		30,7
1398	75,8		48		38,7
1399	78		50		32
1400	—		40		28
1437	60		48		24
1438	66		51		24
1439	80		54		27
1440	75		55,5		27
1441	70,5		57		27
1476	82		75		23
1477	88		78		23
1485	72,5		47,5		17
1486	72,5		47,5		17
1487	72,5		70		17
1489	62,5		43,5		17
1490	61,5		43,5		17
1493	84		66		30
1494	104		80		24
1495	96		70		28
1496	148		108		36
1497	116		82		28
1498	104		80		28
1499	102		82		28
1500	122		82		32

* Cf. FIG. 4.

TABLE 9.**
DIVISION OF INCOME AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE GURK MARCHIAN ESTATES
1424–1471

<i>Period</i>	MONEY		GRAINS		WINE		CHEESE	
	Incomes	Expenses	Incomes	Expenses	Incomes	Expenses	Incomes	Expenses
1424–1452	120 367	71 276	72 086	26 429	44 364	12 573	3 450	2 795
1467–1471	181 836	158 286	169 530	74 941	85 693	32 499	3 591	4 290

** Cf. FIG. 6 and 10.

TABLE 10.*
YEARLY DISTRIBUTION OF THE INCOME AND EXPENDITURE IN GURK
MARCHIAN ESTATES 1424–1471

	TOTAL		MONEY		GRAINS		WINE	
<i>Year</i>	Incomes	Expenses	Incomes	Expenses	Incomes	Expenses	Incomes	Expenses
1424	199 562	139 352	114 885	103 527	59 733	24 635	24 944	11 190
1425	224 221	94 397	129 096	51 128	59 733	24 635	34 427	18 165
1426	219 600	81 120	140 570	63 279	40 952	8 764	37 113	8 371
1427	211 637	104 258	136 026	86 239	38 711	8 550	35 935	8 984
1428	215 134	67 757	138 807	41 648	40 115	10 329	35 247	15 311
1429	233 357	117 961	119 338	81 638	76 745	23 601	36 309	11 815
1430	239 334	112 723	120 025	70 442	73 629	25 320	45 680	16 961
1431	230 987	94 644	115 936	57 484	67 468	19 973	48 618	16 718
1432	190 960	94 558	78 250	54 687	71 075	25 804	41 635	14 067
1433	256 309	106 416	126 487	64 833	94 381	30 829	35 441	10 745
1434	236 936	133 641	116 304	91 415	67 140	20 535	48 896	18 408
1435	277 874	117 199	156 506	59 273	86 287	39 399	30 385	13 851
1436	216 556	97 705	114 709	67 794	64 324	16 965	32 927	8 772
1437	289 342	207 468	153 740	97 680	76 063	79 427	54 943	26 369
1438	158 738	63 544	131 619	63 008	23 488	—	—	—
1439	225 952	122 303	68 586	64 019	104 783	42 130	47 987	11 657
1440	264 594	139 415	97 557	68 159	123 751	54 900	42 321	15 526
1441	236 281	97 565	132 886	61 459	73 687	23 569	29 708	12 537
1442	221 356	123 085	115 955	84 216	76 166	27 817	25 604	7 970
1443	269 342	103 008	97 720	44 276	104 931	33 366	61 559	21 107
1444	250 404	95 272	122 576	63 188	90 222	20 926	33 010	7 138
1445	252 590	112 736	149 390	78 623	69 229	22 004	30 340	9 062
1446	235 097	157 526	128 786	75 579	67 396	30 632	34 051	12 471
1447	238 410	112 444	116 240	78 524	85 248	22 732	32 326	6 138
1448	234 037	124 619	140 691	90 474	63 838	24 325	24 912	6 197
1449	270 371	137 774	171 154	107 073	64 980	18 811	29 641	8 265
1450	246 872	100 782	130 287	67 144	68 053	18 646	43 936	11 477
1451	247 970	102 390	126 183	67 451	78 103	23 103	39 133	8 285
1452	243 867	99 259	119 850	62 749	80 268	18 291	39 153	14 500
1467	397 402	201 670	173 473	139 258	134 475	96 015	84 850	30 599
1468	451 583	201 857	178 889	157 407	183 064	69 934	84 804	32 653
1469	493 112	257 560	213 281	195 567	193 026	77 338	86 805	36 951
1470	504 332	204 188	192 975	141 051	206 768	71 881	99 142	34 422
1471	357 410	278 006	150 564	158 146	130 319	59 539	72 866	27 912

*Cf. FIG. 7.

TABLE 11.*
FLUCTUATION OF PRICES OF GRAINS PER MUT FOR ESTATES ANDERBURG AND
MOKRONOG 1396–1500

<i>Year</i>	WHEAT			RYE			OATS	
	Anderburg	Mokronog		Anderburg	Mokronog		Anderburg	Mokronog
1425	53,6	—		42,9	—		42,9	—
1426	—	57		—	24,5		—	—
1427	—	60,3		—	24,5		—	—
1428	67	52,3		45,6	—		—	—
1429	80	56,3		56,3	—		—	—
1430	67	71,4		49,6	—		—	—
1431	60,3	—		46,9	—		—	—
1432	80,4	—		53,6	—		—	—
1433	107,2	—		67	—		—	—
1434	—	60,3		—	—		—	—
1435	—	60,3		—	—		—	—
1436	—	53,6		—	24,1		—	—
1437	—	—		—	—		—	—
1438	—	—		—	—		—	—
1439	—	—		—	—		—	—
1440	—	—		—	—		—	—
1441	—	—		—	—		—	—
1442	—	64,3		—	30,2		—	21,4
1443	—	77,1		—	30,2		—	30,2
1444	—	67		—	30,2		—	30,2
1445	64,3	60,3		48,2	30,2		32,2	26,8
1446	—	44,2		—	24,1		—	24,1
1447	87,1	73,7		67	30,2		32,2	24,1
1448	60,3	48,2		53,6	30,2		32,2	24,1
1449	60,3	60,3		48,2	30,2		28,1	24,1
1450	46,9	80,4		36,2	40,2		24,1	28,1
1451	67	80,4		53,6	40,2		28,1	28,1
1452	73,7	80,4		53,6	40,2		28,1	28,1
1467	60,3	103,9		53,6	72,7		21,4	33,5
1468	113,9	80,4		93,8	53,6		32,2	23,5
1469	113,9	90,5		53,6	53,6		32,2	23,5
1470	110,6	93,8		60,3	80,4		26,8	21,4
1471	60,3	67		40,2	26,8		36,9	26,8

* Cf. FIG. 8.

TABLE 12.*
SHARES OF SEPARATE ESTATES IN THE TOTAL INCOME OF GURK MARCHIAN
PROPERTY 1424–1471.

<i>Estate</i>	1424–1452	1467–1471
ANDERBURG	18 273	27 296
BIZELJSKO	25 129	40 475
LUŠPERK	10 429	11 091
MOKRONOG	52 026	68 793
PILŠTANJ	17 878	25 853
PODČETRTEK	39 531	46 829
VITANJE	66 431	60 963
KUNŠPERK	—	80 773
ROGATEC	—	79 080

* Cf. FIG. 9.

TABLE 13.**
COMPARISON OF THE BALANCE BETWEEN ŠKOFJA LOKA AND MARCHIAN
ESTATES 1437–1441

<i>Year</i>	Škofja Loka	Marchia
1437	175 399	81 874
1438	152 461	95 194
1439	171 928	133 649
1440	99 016	125 179
1441	70 451	138 716

** Cf. FIG. 11.

TABLE 14.***
COMPARISON OF TYPES OF EXPENDITURE BETWEEN ŠKOFJA LOKA AND GURK
MARCHIAN ESTATES 1437–1441

<i>Type</i>	Škofja Loka	Marchia
OFFICIALS' WAGES	38 593	68 812
COMMUNICATION	8 268	9 197
CONSTRUCTION	15 538	9 720
LOSSES	14 816	18 422
UNCLASSIFIED	41 154	9 577

*** Cf. FIG. 12.

APPENDIX B

MEASUREMENTS OF CAPACITY USED¹²³*G r a i n*
Relations

Škofja Loka:	<i>1 mut</i> = 4 <i>quart [qr]</i> = 6 <i>mesel [msl]</i>	Kunšperk:	<i>1 mes</i> = 4 <i>scheffl [sch]</i> (<i>hafen</i>)
Anderburg:	<i>1 mut</i> = 6 <i>scheffl [sch]</i>	Lušperk, Rogatec:	<i>1 mut</i> = 4 <i>scheffl [sch]</i>
Bizeljsko, Pilštanj, Podčtrtek, Vitanje:	<i>1 mut</i> = 6 <i>mes</i>	Mokronog:	<i>1 mut</i> = 4 <i>mes</i> = 6 <i>mes</i>

Metric Value

Anderburg <i>mut</i>	=	ca. 76 liter	Pilštanj <i>mut</i>	=	ca. 60 liter
Bizeljsko <i>mut</i>	=	ca. 172 liter	Podčtrtek <i>mut</i>	=	ca. 100 liter
Kunšperk <i>mut</i>	=	?	Rogatec <i>mut</i>	=	?
Lušperk <i>mut</i>	=	ca. 112 liter	Škofja Loka <i>mut</i>	=	ca. 123 liter
Mokronog <i>mut</i>	=	?	Vitanje <i>mut</i>	=	ca. 60 liter

W i n e
Relations

Škofja Loka:	<i>1 uren</i> ≅ 1,5 <i>emper</i>	Vitanje:	<i>1 redemper</i> ≅ 4,8 <i>Vellser emper</i> = 4 <i>wasseremper</i>
Anderburg, Pilštanj, Mokronog, Rogatec:	<i>emper</i>	Kunšperk:	<i>1 emper</i> = 1,1 <i>markhemper</i> = 4 <i>quart [qr]</i>
Bizeljsko, Podčtrtek:	<i>1 emper</i> = 4 <i>viertel</i>		

Metric Value

Škofja Loka <i>uren</i>	=	ca. 48 liter	Marchia <i>emper</i>	=	?
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¹²³ The relations between the measurements are taken from the used sources, while the metric value is established with the help of literature. Baravalle, "Steirische Maße," 54–75; Blaznik, *Urbarji*, 90–9; Vilfan, "Prispevki," 48.

MONEY USED

(Units of Account)

ŠKOFJA LOKA

(Aquileia-Venetian system)

1 mark (m.) = 160 *solidi* (sol.)
 = 320 *obuli* (ob.)

MARCHIA

(Viennese system)

1 pound (lb.) = 8 shilling (s.) = 240 pence (d.)
 1 shilling = 30 pence
 (1 mark = 160 pence)

Relations

Until ca. 1467:*

1 *solidus* = 1 1/2 of a penny
 1 mark *solidi* = 1 pound of pence

After ca. 1467:*

1 *solidus* = 2 pence
 1 mark *solidi* = 1 1/3 of a pound of pence

* The change in ratio must have occurred before; here the dating is given according to the used sources.

Annual Exchange Rates of Hungarian Guilder (gld.) in *Solidi*

(on the basis of used sources)

1396 86	1438 127	1469 130–135
1397 88–90	1439 130	1470 135
1398 89–93	1440 130	1471 135
1399 88–92	1441 131,5	
	1442 140	1477 124
1425 119–120	1443 132–140	
1426 117	1444 140	1485 128
1427 117–118	1445 140	1486 126
1428 117	1446 125	
1429 117		1490 128
1430 117–123	1448 140	
		1493 128
1432 120–124	1450 150	1494 128
1433 120		1495 129,5
1434 124	1452 147	1496 130
	1467 128–150	1497 131
1437 127	1468 124–135	1500 133

GAZETTEER OF GEOGRAPHICAL TERMS

Present-Day Official Form ¹²⁴	Other Existing Slovenian/German Form	Form(s) Predominately Appearing in Used Sources
Aquileia (I)	Oglej	Aglay
Bitnje	Feichting	Veytting
Bizeljsko	Wisell	Vysell
Brode	Wrodech	Furtten
Celje	Cilli	Cili
Dovje	Lengenfeld	Lengenfeld
Freising (G)	—	Freising
Fusine(I)	Bela Peč	Weissenfels
Gurk (A)	Krka	Gurkch
Hlevni vrh	—	Klenovrch
Hotavlje	—	Kattaull
Javorje	Afriach	Affriach
Kunšperk	Königsberg	Kunigsperg
Lemberg	Lengenberg	Lengenburch
Lušperk	Luschberg	Lusperg
Mokronog	Nassenfuß	Nassenfus
Oberwölz (A)	—	Welcz, Weltz
Pilštanj	Peilnstein	Peilnstain
Planina	Montpreis	Muntpreis
Podčetrtek	Windishlandsberg	Landsperg
Poljane	Pölland	Polan
Poljšica	—	Poglasitz
Podsreda	Hörberg	Herberg
Ptuj	Pettau	Pettau, Pettaw
Rogatec	Rohitsch	Rohatsch
Rudno	—	Ruden
Selce	Selzach	Seltzach
Sora	Zeier	Zewr
Sorica	Zarz	Czewritz
Straßburg (A)	—	Strasburg
Stražišče	—	Drasich
Stripnik	Stribnih	Stripnek
Strmica	—	Stermetz
Škofja Loka	Bischofslack	Lack, Laakh, Lagkh
Vevče	Weutsch	Vells
Villach (A)	Beljak	Villach
Vitanje	Weitenstein	Weytenstain
Wörthersee (A)	Vrbsko jezero	—
Žabnica	Safnitz	Saefnitz
Žiri	Sairach	Seyrach

¹²⁴ Except the marked places—(**A**) for Austria, (**G**) for Germany, and (**I**) for Italy—all the others are situated in Slovenia.

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