

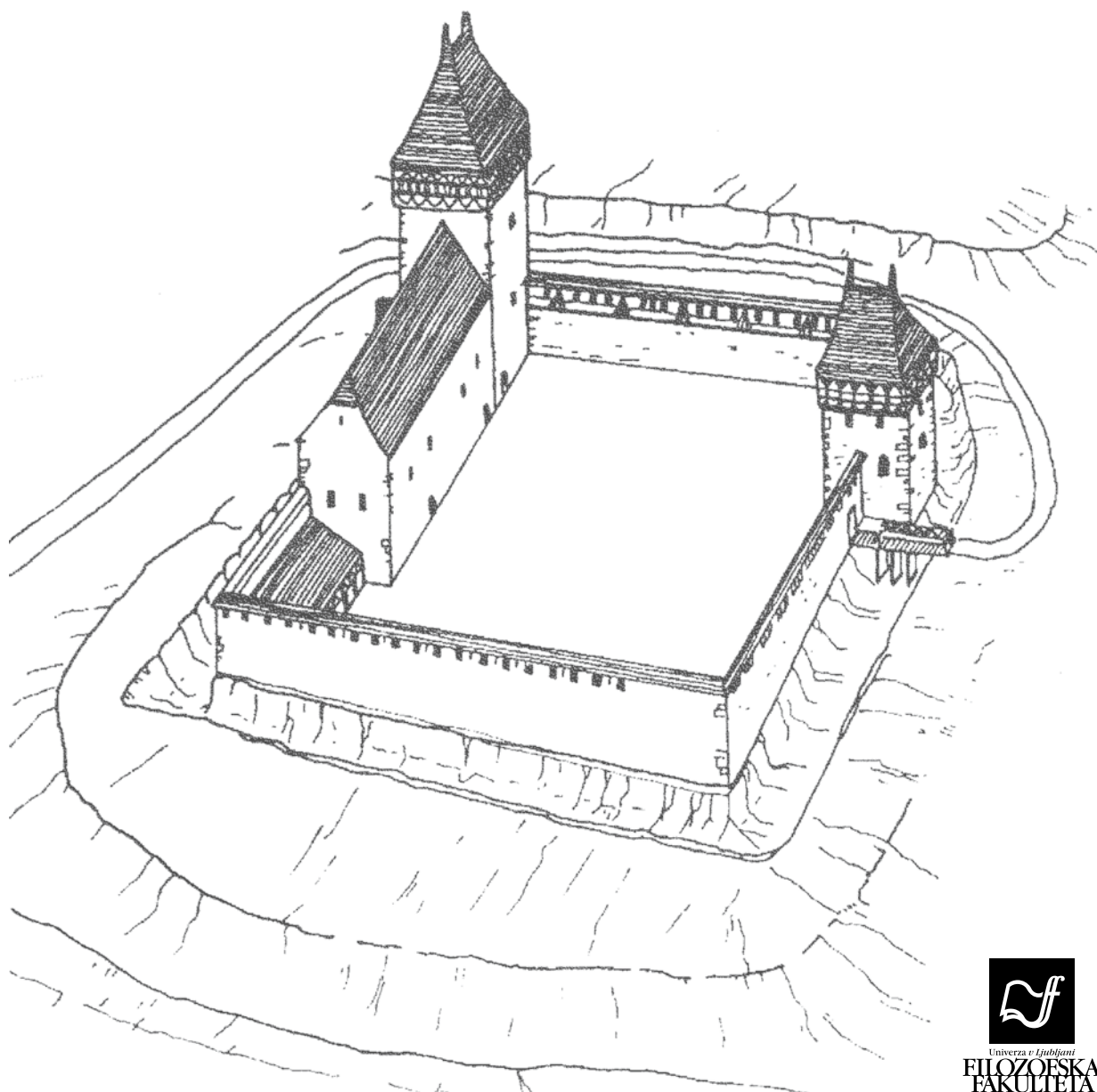
Castrum Bene 12

Ljubljana, 28. 9. – 2. 10. 2011

Book of Abstracts and Fieldtrip Guides

*Zusammenfassungen der Vorträge und
Exkursionsführer*

*Povzetki predavanj in vodnik
po ekskurzijah*



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12th International Castellological Conference

12. Internationale Konferenz für Burgenforschung

12. mednarodna kastelološka konferenca

The Castle as Social Space

Die Burg als sozialer Raum

Grad kot družbeni prostor

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Conference organized by University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts, Department of Archaeology
Organisation der Konferenz Universität Ljubljana, Philosophische Fakultät, Abteilung für Archäologie
Konferenco organizira Univerza v Ljubljani, Filozofska fakulteta, Oddelek za arheologijo

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Conference Programme Programm der Konferenz Program konference

28. 9. 2011 Wednesday / Mittwoch / Sreda

- 16:00–19:00 Arrival and registration / Anreise und Anmeldung / Prihod in prijava
20:30 Meeting of the Permanent Committee / Sitzung des
Comité-Permanent / Zasedanje stalnega odbora

29. 9. 2011 Thursday / Donnerstag / Četrtek

Morning session / Vormittagssektion / Dopoldanska sekcija

Social Interpretation of Material Culture / Gesellschaftliche Deutung der materiellen Kultur / Družbena interpretacija materialne kulture

- 9:00 Wellcome / Begrüssung / Dobrodošlica
9:15 *Patrick SCHICHT (Krems, Österreich):* Die Burg als Spiegel der Gesellschaft –Überlegungen an Hand des Salzburger Erzbistums
9:45 *Christina SCHMID (Krems, Österreich):* Räumliche Analysen archäologischer Funde auf Burgen
10:15 *Tomáš DURDÍK (Praha, Česko):* Aussage der archäologischen Quellen zum Alltag der oberen Burgbewohnerschicht
10:45 *Coffee break / Kaffeepause / Odmor za kavo*
11:15 *Artur BOGUSZEWICZ (Wrocław, Polska):* Auf der Suche nach der Adelskultur. Das Beispiel Burgen in Schlesien
11:45 *Arvi HAAK (Tartu, Eesti), Eve RANNAMÄE (Tartu, Eesti):* Tracing the castellans: Viljandi (Estonia) in the late 13th century
12:15 *Josef HLOŽEK (Plzeň, Česko):* Gesellschaftlicher Kontext und Nutzung der Vorburgareale der mittelalterlichen Burgen in Böhmen

Lunch break / Mittagspause / Odmor za kosilo

Afternoon session / Nachmittagssektion / Popoldanska sekcija

Social Stratification and Castle Architecture / Soziale Schichtung und Burgenarchitektur / Družbena stratifikacija in grajska arhitektura

- 15:00 *Paul MITCHELL (Wien, Österreich):* The Gozzoburg in Krems and the Hofburg in Vienna. Their relevance to the study of social space in medieval architecture
- 15:30 *Günther DONATH (Wilsdruff, Deutschland):* Eine Residenz für zwei Haushaltungen. Das hochkomplexe Raum- und Bauprogramm beim Neubau der Albrechtsburg in Meißen 1470
- 16:00 *Michael RYKL (Praha, Česko):* Die Baugestalt als Spiegel des Wandels des Sozialstatus. Fallbeispiel der Feste Kestřany in Südböhmen in der neueren Forschung
- 16:30 *Radu LUPESCU (Cluj-Napoca, România):* Social stratification and castle architecture in 15th-century Transylvania
- 17:00 *Coffee break / Kaffeepause / Odmor za kavo*

Castle Studies and their Social Context / Burgenforschung und ihr Sozialkontext / Kastelologija in njen družbeni kontekst

- 17:30 *Vytautas VOLUNGEVIČIUS (Vilnius, Lietuva):* The Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the case of the castle: context, problems, perspectives
- 18:00 *Igor SAPAČ (Ljubljana, Slovenija):* Blicke auf Burgen und Schlösser in Slowenien
- 18:30 *Adrian Andrei RUSU (Cluj-Napoca, România):* A critique of the "peasant fortresses" from Romania
- 20:00 *Reception / Empfang / Sprejem*

30. 9. 2011 Friday / Freitag / Petek

Morning session / Vormittagssektion / Dopoldanska sekcija

Living in Castles / Leben auf Burgen / Življenje na gradovih

- 9:00 *Maxim MORDOVIN (Budapest, Hungary):* Civitas or refugium? Life in 10th–11th-century castles in Hungary
- 9:30 *Daniela DVOŘÁKOVÁ (Bratislava, Slovensko):* Die Frau und ihr Leben auf der mittelalterlichen Burg
- 10:00 *Regina JANÍKOVÁ (Plzeň, Česko):* Touch of her hand: the reflection of women in archaeological sources from castle areas
- 10:30 *Coffee break / Kaffeepause / Odmor za kavo*
- 11:00 *Catriona COOPER (Southampton, UK), Gemma MINIHAN (Southampton, UK):* Bodiam, Scotney and Ightham: lived experience in the later Middle Ages

11:30 *Thomas KÜHTREIBER (Krems, Österreich):* Gefahrenstelle Burg. Unfälle auf Burgen als Quellen zur Identifikation von unterschiedlichen sozialen Gruppen auf Adelssitzen des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit

13:00–22:30 Excursion to the region of Štajerska / Exkursion nach Untersteiermark / Ekskurzija na Štajersko

1. 10. 2011 Saturday / Samstag / Sobota

Morning session / Vormittagssektion / Dopoldanska sekcija

Communication and Perception: The Life and Afterlife of Castles and Fortresses / Kommunikation und Wahrnehmung: das Leben und Nachleben der Burgen und Festungen / Komunikacija in percepcija: življenje in »življenje po življenju« gradov in trdnjav

9:00 *Ján BELJAK (Nitra, Slovensko), Pavol MALINIÁK (Banská Bystrica, Slovensko), Noémi PAŽINOVÁ (Nitra, Slovensko), Michal ŠIMKOVIC (Zvolen, Slovensko):* Die Burg Pustý hrad bei Zvolen – eine Zeugin mittelalterlichen Lebens. Differenzierung des Raumes der königlichen Burg auf der Grundlage der archäologischen, architektonischen und historischen Forschung

9:30 *Wendy LANDEWÉ (Enschede, Nederland):* Castles and gender in late medieval Holland

10:00 *Alessandro BRODINI (Roma, Italia):* The fortress as a social space: the 16th–17th-century Venetian Terraferma as a case in point

10:30 *György DOMOKOS (Budapest, Hungary):* Das Zeughaus von Kaschau und seine Verbindungen

11:00 *Coffee break / Kaffeepause / Odmor za kavo*

11:30 *Zsuzsanna KOPECZNY (Timișoara, România):* The castle of Timișoara in the early modern period, as seen by its contemporaries

12:00 *Ileana BURNICHIOIU (Alba Iulia, România), Oana TODA (Cluj-Napoca, România):* Castle after castle in Transylvania: the social and cultural changes (16th–20th centuries)

12:30 *Martin KRENN (Wien, Österreich):* Die Kreuzenstein – späthistoristischer Burgenbau

Lunch break / Mittagspause / Odmor za kosilo

Afternoon session / Nachmittagssektion / Popoldanska sekcija

Castles as Heritage / Burgen als Erbe / Gradovi kot dediščina

14:30 *Wojciech BRILLOWSKI (Toruń, Polska), Arkadiusz KOPERKIEWICZ (Gdańsk, Polska):* The Bąslack castle – a stronghold, a church, a legend

- 15:00 *Barbara POSPIESZNA (Malbork, Polska), Kazimierz POSPIESZNY (Toruń, Polska):* Kloster-Residenzen der „Maria-Diener“ oder Wehrbauten der Kreuzritter in Preußen – zwei Bilder der Deutschordensburgen ehemals und heute
- 15:30 *Jože HUDALES (Ljubljana, Slovenija):* Castles in Slovene folk tradition: some examples from the Šaleška Dolina Valley
- 16:00 *Rajko MURŠIČ (Ljubljana, Slovenija):* Kapralov's Castle and Upper Cmurek (Mureck) Castle as venues of alternative punk rock scene in Trate, Slovenske gorice
- 16:30 *Coffee break / Kaffeepause / Odmor za kavo*
- 17:00 *Vesna MERC (Ptuj, Slovenija):* Back to the future? Heritage-making and castles
- 17:30 *Harald ROSMANITZ (Partenstein, Deutschland):* The castle project in the Spessart – scientists and volunteers explore a cultural landscape
- 18:00 *Silvija PISK (Zagreb, Hrvatska):* Croatian medieval fortifications between academic and pop-scientific approach: selected examples
- 20:00 *Poster session / Poster-Sektion / Posterska sekcija*
František GABRIEL (Česká Lípa, Česko), Lucie KURSOVÁ (Litoměřice, Česko): Die Pflichten der Untertanen und ihre Möglichkeiten in der Burg Helfenburk im 14. Jahrhundert
Arkadiusz KOPERKIEWICZ (Gdańsk, Polska): Kleine Schlösser in kleinen Gesellschaften. Die archäologischen Ausgrabungen in dem Ritterordensschloss Hohenstein
Arkadiusz PRZYBYŁOK (Piekary Śląskie, Polska): Raum der oberschlesischen Burgen. Dienst, Tiere, Versorgung
Kari UOTILA (Kaarina, Suomi): Using a mobile-guide system in medieval castles and fortifications

2. 10. 2011 Sunday / Sonntag / Nedelja

- Morning session / Vormittagssektion / Dopoldanska sekcija*
Castle Biographies / Burgenbiographien / Biografije gradov
- 9:00 *Zsolt CSOK (Zaláu, România):* Castrum Carazna and its domain: a hidden castle and clear social ambient (11th–13th centuries)
- 9:30 *Mira STRMČNIK GULIČ (Maribor, Slovenija), Mateja RAVNIK (Ljubljana, Slovenija):* Marchpurch. The Upper Castle of Maribor
- 10:00 *Tatjana TKALČEC (Zagreb, Hrvatska):* The medieval castle of "Vrbouch" in Klenovec Humski (Northwestern Croatia)
- 10:30 *Coffee break / Kaffeepause / Odmor za kavo*

- 11:00 *Andrej JANEŠ (Zagreb, Hrvatska): A view on life in a feudal castle: finds analysis from the castle of Cesargrad (2008 and 2010 excavation campaigns)*
- 11:30 *Tajana PLEŠE (Zagreb, Hrvatska): Krčingrad and Garić-grad: two castles and their role in the late medieval cultural and historical landscape*
- 12:00 *Final discussion / Schlussdiskussion / Sklepna diskusija*
- 13:30 –19:30 *Excursion to the region of Gorenjska / Exkursion nach Oberkrain / Ekskurzija na Gorenjsko*
or / oder / ali
- 14:30 –17:00 *A tour around Ljubljana / Stadtrundgang in Ljubljana / Ogled Ljubljane*

Paper Abstracts

Zusammenfassungen der Vorträge

Povzetki predavanj

Patrick Schicht **Die Burg als Spiegel der Gesellschaft – Überlegungen an Hand des Salzburger Erzbistums**

Im Rahmen einer umfangreichen Untersuchung zum hochmittelalterlichen Burgenbau der Erzbischöfe von Salzburg (12 Anlagen) gelangen zahlreiche Beobachtungen zur sozialen Staffelung vom Erzbischof über seine Burggrafen zu den Dienstmännern und gewöhnlichen Besuchern. So fanden sich mehrfach Privatkapellen im Kernbereich und größere Kapellen in der Unterburg, direkte Zugänge vom Kernbereich auf die Emporen sowie eine Staffelung der Burgbereiche von außen nach innen. Analog finden sich mehrere und unterschiedliche Küchen, Gesindestuben versus Prunkstuben und unterschiedliche Verteidigungslinien und private Rückzugsorte für die höchsten Kreise. Die soziale Staffelung zeigt im betrachteten Zeitraum des 11. bis 14. Jahrhunderts einige Entwicklungen, die sich auf das jeweilige Hofzeremoniell aber auch auf moderne Strömungen und Anforderungen zurückführen lassen.

Der Vortrag würde diese Hinweise auf gesellschaftliche Staffellungen beleuchten und zur allgemeinen Diskussion stellen.

Christina Schmid **Räumliche Analysen archäologischer Funde auf Burgen**

Wenn aufgrund des schlechten Erhaltungszustandes architektonisch abgegrenzter Räume keine Untersuchungen zu Raumfunktionen wie etwa „*access analysis*“ mehr möglich sind, bleibt die räumliche Verteilung der archäologisch relevanten Hinterlassenschaften die einzige Quelle für eine Lokalisierung von Aktivitäten. Analysen und Interpretationen von „*intrasi-te spatial data*“ wurden bisher in erster Linie in Hinblick auf urgeschichtliche Fundstellen durchgeführt – solches „*patterning*“, also die Verteilung von und die Beziehungen zwischen Artefakten und Befunden im Boden, liefert jedoch auch wichtige Informationen für mittelalterarchäologische Befunde.

Aktivitätszonen als räumlich eingrenzbare Orte, an denen eine bestimmte Tätigkeit von einer oder mehreren Personen durchgeführt wird, können anhand einer Analyse der räumlichen Beziehung von Objekten definiert werden. Dabei bleiben Einzelereignisse immer schwer interpretierbar, zielführender ist es, wiederkehrende Aktivitätsmuster zu identifizieren. Räumliche Verteilungsmuster stellen dabei keine passive und zufällige Reflexion sozialer Praxis dar, räumliche Strukturen sind sowohl Mittel als

auch Resultat menschlicher Aktivität. Raum darf also auch nicht nur als eine Beziehung zwischen Objekten gesehen, und sozialer Raum nicht auf seine physische Beschreibung reduziert werden.

Wichtig für Untersuchungen räumlicher Verteilungsmuster ist die Frage nach der räumlichen Trennung von Aktivitäten. Auf Burgen, wo viele Gebäude aus Stein errichtet wurden, ist der Aufwand für Umbauten sehr groß, Veränderungen sind daher schwierig und arbeitsaufwändig – bei flüchtiger Architektur aus Lehm oder Holz ist eine Einflussnahme auf die architektonische Gestaltung leichter möglich. Ein Gebäude auf einer Burg muss daher in seiner letzten baulichen Ausprägung nicht mehr zwingend die Bedürfnisse der BewohnerInnen widerspiegeln, der Lebensvollzug muss nicht mit der baulich intendierten Funktion übereinstimmen. Die stratigraphisch jüngsten Nutzungsschichten geben allerdings Hinweise auf die auf einer Burg tatsächlich verübten Tätigkeiten.

Räumlich ungebundene Tätigkeiten können an Zonen gebunden sein, der konkrete Ort jedoch kann variieren. Räumlich gebundene Tätigkeiten sind an eine bestimmte Installation gebunden. Solche Aktivitäten mit festgelegtem Aktivitätsort haben eine größere archäologische Sichtbarkeit – zum einen aufgrund der festen Installation, deren Überlieferungswahrscheinlichkeit hoch ist, und zum anderen, da wiederholt immer wieder dieselbe Art von Abfall abgelagert wird. Bei Aktivitäten ohne festgelegten Ort ist eine funktionelle Interpretation zumeist schwierig bis unmöglich. Darüber hinaus muss in Betracht gezogen werden, dass es Tätigkeiten gibt, deren Abläufe Räume miteinander verknüpfen und sich daher nicht in Form einzel-räumlicher Binnenfunktionen fassen lassen.

Eine Lokalisierung von Aktivitätszonen anhand archäologisch fassbarer Belege birgt jedoch auch positivistisches Fehlerpotential: Aktivitäten sind archäologisch nur lokalisierbar, sofern sie mit Materialaufwand und -Verlust verbunden sind. Die Menge an archäologisch fassbaren Überresten, die sich auf einer Oberfläche (Fußboden, Begehungshorizont etc.) beobachten lässt, ist abhängig davon, wie viel Material im Rahmen einer Aktivität benutzt oder erzeugt, und in welcher Form diese Gegenstände auf der Oberfläche belassen oder entsorgt wurden. Wenig materialintensive bzw. wenig abfallerzeugende Tätigkeiten produzieren einen geringeren bis keinen Niederschlag im archäologischen Material und können daher im Zuge solcher Analysen nicht erfasst werden.

Entscheidend für eine Analyse räumlicher Verteilungsmuster sind die Erhaltungsbedingungen: Im archäologischen Befund zeigen sich oft überlagernde Verteilungsmuster. Bei bestimmten Entstehungsformen archäologischer Kontexte darf jedoch davon ausgegangen werden, dass die an diesem Ort durchgeführten Handlungen – etwa durch ein Erdbeben oder ein Schadensfeuer – plötzlich beendet wurden. Das Ende der menschlichen Aktivität an dem betreffenden Platz wurde also durch ein unvermittelt auftretendes Ereignis herbeigeführt. Dadurch stand den handelnden Menschen wenig Zeit zur Verfügung, um die Befundbildung entscheidend zu beeinflussen. Wenn der in diesem Zusammenhang entstandene Niederschlag nach seiner Ablagerung keinen entscheidenden räumlichen Veränderungen – davon vorrangig (mit Ausnahme der Ausgrabung) keiner Manipulation mehr durch den Menschen – unterlag, stellt er eine gute Basis für eine erfolgreiche Analyse räumlicher Verteilungsmuster dar. Es besteht aufgrund der besonderen Depositionsumstände Grund zur Annahme, dass eine „tatsächliche Artefaktpopulation“ in einen archäologischen Kontext

gelangt ist und über die Fundlage der Objekte sowie ihre Vergesellschaftung mit anderen Objekten auf ihre Funktion bzw. Verwendung geschlossen werden kann. Befunde dieser Kategorie dienen als Quellen der vorgestellten Untersuchung.

Im Rahmen dieses Vortrags soll der Frage nachgegangen werden, in wie weit sich Aktivitäten der Burgbewohnerinnen und Burgbewohner im archäologischen Befund niederschlagen und wie in weiterer Folge dieser Niederschlag durch die Archäologie dokumentiert und interpretiert werden kann. In dem Bewusstsein, dass wohl immer ein großer Spalt zwischen komplexen historischen Handlungen und den archäologisch fassbaren Resten dieses Verhaltens klafft, wird versucht, verschiedene Gruppen von BurgbewohnerInnen oder anderer Anwesender anhand der durch sie durchgeführten Aktivitäten im archäologischen Befund sichtbar zu machen.

Tomáš Durdík **Aussage der archäologischen Quellen zum Alltag der oberen Burgbewohnerschicht**

Der Beitrag beschäftigt sich in Form der Bemerkungen mit dem Alltag der oberen Burgbewohnerschicht. Dieses Thema braucht sicher eine breite interdisziplinäre Fassung. Im Rahmen dieses Beitrags werden aus dem breiten, vielseitigen und vielschichtigen Spektrum der aussagefähigen Quellen zum Thema die Möglichkeiten der archäologischen Quellen betrachtet. Diskutiert werden die Belege des Alltags, z. B. Belege aus dem Bereich der Ritterkultur und ihren Satzungen, der Tafelsitten, des Verständnisses von Zeit, der Kultur, des Geldumlaufs, der Jagd, des Freizeitverbleibs usw. Es gibt keine Zweifel darüber, dass das Bild des Alltags der höchsten sozialen Schichten der Burgbewohner im archäologischen Material sehr modifiziert ist und es (wie auch beim gesamten Burgalltag) unbestreitbar einer weit größeren interdisziplinären Bandbreite bedarf, um es zu begreifen. Trotzdem ist das Studium und Auswertung der archäologischen Quellen notwendig und bildet einen wichtigen Bestandteil des Gesamtbildes.

Artur Boguszewicz **Auf der Suche nach der Adelskultur. Das Beispiel Burgen in Schlesien**

Augenscheinlich ist die Burg ein Ort, der das Gepräge der Kultur von mittelalterlichen Adeligen möglichst triftig widerspiegelt. Allerdings werden in der letzten Zeit immer mehr Faktoren sichtbar, die diese Meinung in Frage stellen. Die formale Differenzierung dieser Objekte, Umwandlungen, denen sie in der Geschichte unterlagen, Übereignungen, einschließlich der Übernahme durch kirchliche Institutionen oder Bürgerschaft, machen die Interpretation des Kulturphänomens, welches die Burg war, viel komplizierter. Damit stehen Dilemmas in Verbindung, welche mit der Deutung der auf den Burgen geborgenen Funde zusammenhängen. Nur ausnahmsweise gibt es Artefakte, die mit der ritterlich-höfischen Kultur zu verbinden wären. Die meisten sind hingegen Geräte und Gegenstände, derer

Benutzung unterschiedlichen „nichtadeligen“ Sozialgruppen zugewiesen werden kann, die auf der Burg mannigfaltige Dienste und Wirtschaftstätigkeiten leisteten. Die Zweifel stellen sich auch bei einem Versuch auf, unter den Funden die so genannte adelige Komponente auszusondern, wenn ähnliche archäologische Fundkomplexe auch in den mittelalterlichen Städten entdeckt werden.

Die Ordnung von diesen Fragen sowie Bestimmung von Anzeichen der Adelskultur kann eine Analyse vom breiteren Zusammenhang der Aktivitäten auf der Burg mit Berücksichtigung der Verhältnisse zwischen den verschiedenen Gruppen von Burgbewohnern bringen. In dieser Hinsicht kann die Anwendung der Elemente von der Theorie des Kulturosoziologen Pierre Bourdieu behilflich sein. Laut der letzteren sollte man eine Analyse von Artefakten auf die Bestimmung vom „Habitus“ des Burgherrn konzentrieren, also auf die von ihm angeeigneten Muster von Denken, Verhalten und Geschmäckern. Somit dürfen sich die Untersuchungen dieser Frage auf eine einfache Bestimmung von Funktionen einzelner Gebäude, Einrichtungen und Geräte sowie deren Zuweisung den Vertretern einer gegebenen Sozialgruppe nicht beschränken. Notwendig ist es, jene Elemente im Kontext der Struktur, die von Bourdieu soziales Feld genannt wird, also der Burgbewohner anzubringen, für die die wichtigste Person, der „Akteur“, der Burgbesitzer war. Die Anwendung dieser Forschungsinstrumente lässt das soziale, mit der Adelskultur gleichzusetzende Kapital des Besitzers bestimmen.

Jene Frage wird in Anlehnung an die Fundmaterialien aus den schlesischen Burgen der Zeit zwischen dem 13. und 15. Jh. betrachtet werden, sie wird aber auch auf die in Mittel- und Osteuropa sichtbaren Kulturererscheinungen bezogen werden. Unter den angesprochenen Angelegenheiten finden sich auch die Sachen der Lokalisierung einer Burg, ihrer Form, Ausstattung und Ausschmückung. In Bezug auf die Problematik des Alltagslebens auf der Burg werden die mit dem Lebensstandard der Burgbewohner, dem Umfang ihrer Wirtschaftsaktivitäten und Unterhaltung zusammenhängenden Fragen angeschnitten. Besondere Beachtung sollte auch den gefundenen Waffen und Spuren von Kriegshandlungen auf den Burgen geschenkt werden. In vielen Fällen können die Vergleichsuntersuchungen der in den mittelalterlichen Dörfern und Städten geborgenen archäologischen Fundmaterialien eine Basis für die gezogenen Schlüsse bilden.

Arvi Haak **Tracing the Castellans: Viljandi (Estonia)**
Eve Rannamäe **in the Late 13th Century**

In Estonia, the construction of stone castles started after the conquest of the territory during the early 13th century. In Viljandi, written sources allow the assumption that a fortification was constructed in stone from 1224 on, yet the shape of the first castle is unknown. The earliest archaeological contexts determined so far originate from the last third of the century.

The current presentation concentrates on two contexts of the latter date: one from the town area, and another from the castle. Both of these should have formed before the construction of the castle of a convent house type was begun. The finds and data unearthed are treated as the main source

material, with special attention on the information obtained from animal bones. The analysis of archaeological bone material informs us of the utilization, consumption, and treatment of different animals. The latter reflects cultural features and distinctions in the medieval society. In the case of Viljandi, we concentrate on the variances between the castle and town contexts, and the possible social connotations of the findings. Can we also speak of remarkable dissimilarities within the finds from the castle area? Does the situation alter once the Convent House is built (presumably early 14th century)?

Regarding the significance of archaeological finds for the study of social relations, it should be stressed that life in the castle included several actors, from members of the Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order down to servants and possibly travelling craftsmen. Thus, there is no straightforward way from the finds to the social relations of the inhabitants. The amount of written data that could be used in the case of Viljandi is rather scarce. Still, archaeological and zooarchaeological finds need to be included in the discussion and a comparative analysis will hopefully reflect topics of interest and problems for further study.

Josef Hložek **Gesellschaftlicher Kontext und Nutzung
der Vorburgareale der mittelalterlichen
Burgen in Böhmen**

Hochmittelalterliche Burgen zählen zu den bedeutendsten Quellen der Archäologie und Geschichtswissenschaft und sind wichtige Brennpunkte nicht nur der gegenwärtigen, sondern auch der vergangenen Kulturlandschaft. Die Burgareale stellen eine ungemein wertvolle und bisher bei weitem nicht ausgeschöpfte Quelle dar, die viel über die Wirklichkeit und den Alltag verschiedener Schichten der vielschichtigen mittelalterlichen Gesellschaft aussagt. Die einzelnen Burgteile verfügen jedoch über ein unterschiedliches Maß an Aussagekraft in Hinblick auf verschiedene Lebens- und Funktionsaspekte der mittelalterlichen Burg, und nicht zuletzt auch in Hinblick auf deren gesellschaftlichen Kontext. In den einzelnen europäischen Regionen wurden die Burganlagen durch verschiedene, in vielerlei Hinsicht diametral entgegen gesetzte Entwicklungstendenzen geformt. Diese wurden nicht nur durch das Umfeld und die Person des Bauherren oder dessen gesellschaftliche Position beeinflusst, sondern auch durch weitere regionale politische, wirtschaftliche, betriebliche und gesellschaftliche Zusammenhänge. Trotz dieser bedeutenden regionalen Unterschiede ist es möglich, eine gewisse Ähnlichkeit bei einigen Teilen der Burganlagen festzustellen, und dies sowohl auf der Ebene ihrer formalen Struktur als auch auf der funktionalen und gesellschaftlichen Ebene. Die Vorburgen der Adelsburgen stellen im europäischen Kontext den wandlungsfähigsten Teil der Burganlage dar. In diesem Bereich lässt sich eine Konzentration eines weiten Spektrums besonders von wirtschaftlichen und betrieblichen, aber auch von militärischen und in mancherlei Hinsicht auch demonstrativen Funktionen des Burgorganismus nachvollziehen. Vor allem im Falle von Adelsburgen stellte die Vorburg unter bestimmten Bedingungen einen nur schwer ersetzbaren Wirtschafts- und Betriebsbereich dar, der sehr oft auch als Bindeglied zur Kommunikation zwischen der mittelalterlichen Burg

und ihrem Umland funktionierte. Die Vorburg war jedoch in vielen Fällen ein nicht zu unterschätzendes Kommunikationsbindeglied nicht nur auf wirtschaftlich-betrieblicher, sondern auch auf symbolischer Ebene. Dies erfolgte sowohl durch Sakralbauten mit Pfarrefunktion im Bereich der Vorburg als auch durch verschiedene Elemente demonstrativer Architektur, bzw. durch deren demonstratives Potential. Es ist möglich, auf Grundlage der bisherigen Forschungsergebnisse zu Vorburgarealen die Annahme zu treffen, dass die Vorburg in vielerlei Hinsicht eine Anpassungsform des Burgorganismus an spezifische regionale, gesellschaftliche und wirtschaftliche Bedingungen darstellte. In einigen Fällen wurde die Vorburg, unter Berücksichtigung ihrer Ausstattung, zu einem Kommunikationsmittel mit bestimmten Gruppen im Umland. Die Vorburg der mittelalterlichen Burgen verfügt daher über ungewöhnlich hochwertige Informationen über den Alltag auf der mittelalterlichen Burg und deren gesellschaftlichen Kontext, in Abhängigkeit von dem Qualitätsniveau des entsprechenden Burgobjekts, von dessen funktioneller Ausrichtung und nicht zuletzt von der gesellschaftlichen Position des Eigentümers. Mit archäologischen Methoden lassen sich deshalb sehr verschiedene soziale Kontexte einzelner Burganlagen nachvollziehen, und dies sowohl auf der Grundlage des Spektrums gefundener Artefakte und der Art und Weise der Entstehung der überlagernden Schichten an der Lokalität, als auch durch Analyse der Architektur und weiterer erhaltener Ausstattung in diesem Bereich.

Paul Mitchell **The Gozzoburg in Krems and the Hofburg in Vienna. Their Relevance to the Study of Social Space in Medieval Architecture**

Castles and great houses are shaped by and reflect social structure and ideas, but they also influence behaviour in their turn. Research at two important castle-type sites in eastern Austria, the Gozzoburg in Krems (2005–2007) and the Hofburg in Vienna (2006–ongoing), has shed light on the relationship between social behaviour and architecture.

The Gozzoburg is the extensive palace of the important burgher Gozzo, which was constructed 1250–1280 and taken over by the Hapsburgs after 1320. It consists of a series of buildings and courtyards, including several hall-type rooms and two chapels, and includes several sequences of frescoes. Architecture and decoration were used systematically in the Gozzoburg to communicate ideas and expected social behaviour. The extraordinarily well-preserved character of the complex allows the reconstruction both of “ceremonial access routes” (Eadie) and of utilitarian, “invisible” routes through the complex. A great deal can also be said about the settings in which different groups of men and women experienced the palace.

The Hofburg was a key centre of the Austrian dukes, founded as a quadrangular castle in the second quarter of the 13th century. By the 15th century it had seen several vertical and horizontal additions and was surrounded by gardens, churches and outbuildings. Research has uncovered substantial medieval remains and allowed a reconstruction of the castle in its main phases. Important sources, for example the “partition contract” of 1458 and the poem of the siege of 1462, can now be understood in their archi-

tectural context, making it possible to discuss the castle's spaces as understood by the various people who worked and lived there or visited it.

The talk will be based on a combination of new data and of data presented for the first time in English. The author was/is an active member of both research teams.

Günter Donath **Eine Residenz für zwei Haushaltungen. Das hochkomplexe Raum- und Bauprogramm beim Neubau der Albrechtsburg in Meißen 1470**

1470 beauftragten die beiden Brüder Kurfürst Ernst und Herzog Albrecht den Baumeister Arnold von Westfalen mit dem Neubau eines Residenzschlosses in Meißen. Dazu musste die alte, 929 unter König Heinrich gegründete Markgrafenburg, umgebaut werden. Mit der Wahl des Ortes wollten die beiden Wettiner an die jahrhundertelange Tradition des Wirkens ihrer Familie anknüpfen. Bei Planung und Bau des neuen Schlosses vollzog sich ein Paradigmenwechsel: während in den talseitigen Untergeschossen noch die Wehrfunktionen dominierten, entstanden über einem Erdgeschoß mit Verwaltungsräumen in den darüber liegenden Etagen vor allem Repräsentations- und Wohnräume für die Haushaltungen der beiden Brüder, die ihre gemeinsame Landesregierung auch durch gemeinsames Wohnen dokumentieren wollten. Diese Funktionen alle unter einem Dach unterzubringen bedurfte es hochkomplexer Überlegungen für die Anordnung der verschiedenen Wohn- und Funktionsräume sowie der dazu gehörenden Laufgänge sowohl für die Herrschaft als auch deren Diener. Hochmoderne Abortsysteme runden das Bild der neuen Anlage als Wohnschloss ab. Obwohl das Schloss in Meißen im Spätmittelalter niemals fertiggestellt wurde gilt es doch als „Geburtsort“ für den modernen Schlossbau. 1710 war er Sitz und Produktionsstätte der ersten europäischen Porzellanmanufaktur. Ganz symbolhaft wurde nach der deutschen Wiedervereinigung 1990 in der Meißner Albrechtsburg der Freistaat Sachsen wieder gegründet.

Der Verfasser hat nicht nur nahezu ein Jahrzehnt lang die 2010 abgeschlossenen baulichen Instandsetzungsarbeiten an der Albrechtsburg als Architekt geleitet, sondern auch mit seinem Büro die Bauforschung betrieben.

Michael Rykl **Die Baugestalt als Spiegel des Wandels des Sozialstatus. Fallbeispiel der Feste Kestřany in Südböhmen in der neueren Forschung**

Die Feste Kestřany ist ein gutes Beispiel einer komplizierten Bauentwicklung. Die einzelnen Bauphasen spiegeln den wechselnden Status des Sitzes. Es sind mindestens vier Bauphasen deutlich erkennbar: erste Hälfte des 14. Jhdts., Ende des 14. bis erste Hälfte des 15. Jhdts., Anfang 16. Jhdts. (1517 dendrodatiert) und zweite Hälfte des 16. Jhdts. Anhand der Bauforschungsergebnisse und darauffolgenden Rekonstruktion der Raumanordnung lässt sich die Ausdehnung der Wohn-, Repräsentations- und Verwaltungsgebiete

(der Burggraf) mit gewisser Wahrscheinlichkeit bestimmen und die fehlenden Bestandteile voraussetzen. Interessant ist auch der Bezug der Feste Kestrány zu zwei anderen naheliegenden Festen, welche einmal selbständig waren, später aber zur selben Herrschaft gehörten.

Radu Lupescu **Social Stratification and Castle Architecture in 15th-Century Transylvania**

The main purpose of the presentation is to identify the relationship between the different classes of the Transylvanian nobility and the castle types owned by them. The structure and status of the nobility in Transylvania were basically the same as in the Hungarian Kingdom in general, although there were some minor specific features. The aristocracy, placed on the top of the hierarchy, was quite small in number. More important was the middle class of the nobility, the so-called county nobles. Both of these classes owned different types of residences. The question is whether the castles built by these families have some particular features according to the owners' status or not?

Vytautas Volungevičius **The Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Case of the Castle: Context, Problems, Perspectives**

One of the main problems of the historiography of Lithuania is the issue of social and spatial structures. Soviet historiography was focused only on ideological relations between the nobility and the peasants. This point of view was based on a rather primitive Marxist-Leninist methodological background. Nowadays, that is, in the last twenty years, Lithuanian historiography is renewing and looking for new theoretical approaches and themes which had been forgotten (and had to be forgotten) for about fifty years. In 1982, the main ideologist of Lithuanian Soviet historiography thus expressed the whole situation of Lithuanian historiography, especially the problem of the medieval castle: "...it is not allowed to be interested in castles because it is a 'United Stream'."¹

Almost all articles which have been written about the medieval castles of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (GDL) are factographic and do not analyze the issue of social space which was constituted by the castle and its structure: micro and macro spaces inside (internal) and outside (external) the castle area. On the other hand, it is not clear what has belonged (in the sense of jurisdiction, territory, administration, and household) to a particular castle: which territories, villages, manors. All these problems are related with the local social contingent (i.e. the different categories of nobility and peasants and their duties).

The other set of problems is posed by the heterogeneity of GDL. It involves both social and territorial questions. As far as we know, the situation and position of a castle was determined by the local society. GDL can be devi-

ded in several territories: *Lituania propria* – the core of the state, Samogitia – the west and most archaic part of the state, Ruthenian lands – Kiev, Podolia, Volhynia, Smolensk, Polotsk, Vitebsk, Podlachia. All these regions had a local and specific structure, the so-called *Verfassung*. Because of that all these regions and especially their castles have to be analyzed separately but at the same time in the context of the “classic” feudalism, its transformations and local variations.

Furthermore, the phenomenon castle concerns also the question of territorialisation. What exactly was the policy of the Grand Duke of Lithuania and what role did castles play within it? How can we compare GDL and its castle policies for example with the policies of the Polish king Casimir III the Great or of the Hungarian king Stephen I? On the other hand, the question about the genesis of “the castle” in GDL is still open. We know that in Western Europe the feudal revolution was one of the main factors which caused the rise of local power centres as fortresses. Therefore, this phenomenon is not strictly associated with GDL. This could be a promising way to discuss the comparative history of castles in the whole of Europe or in a few selected regions of the continent.

We can approach the study of castles in GDL from various perspectives and at different levels:

- a particular castle and its inner territory,
- the castle with its constituted external territory and structure,
- regional castle structures (defensive systems, complexes of private castles etc.),
- specific features of castles in the various provinces of the state,
- the distribution of castles in the entire territory of the state.

¹ In Soviet times, the term “United Stream” denoted those historians, or scholars in general, who were blamed of expressing a bourgeois point of view or discussing problems which weren’t relevant etc.

Igor Sapač **Blicke auf Burgen und Schlösser in Slowenien**

Burgen und Schlösser in Slowenien gelten heute, wie auch in den meisten europäischen Ländern, als wichtige Symbole der nationalen und regionalen Identität. Viele wurden vom Staat als Denkmale deklariert und mit Unsummen von Steuergeldern umfassend saniert. Man findet sie auf touristischen Werbeprospekten und auf Briefmarken. Wenn ein Autohändler sein neuestes Modell erfolgreich verkaufen will, fotografiert er es vor einer Burg. Wenn eine Ehe dauerhaft und glücklich sein soll, muss sie in einem Schloss geschlossen werden. Nicht zuletzt wurden Burgen und Schlösser zum beliebten Thema vieler Forscher. Das war nicht immer so. Noch einige Jahrzehnte zurück waren Burgen und Schlösser in Slowenien, anders als in den meisten europäischen Ländern, keine Nationalsymbole. Nach dem ersten und besonders nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg wurden sie fast ausschließlich und nicht nur von der Seite der offiziellen Politik als Symbole der langen Fremdherrschaft und der Ausbeuter des slowenischen Volkes gedeutet. Ihre einstigen Besitzer wurden vertrieben, viele Gebäude wurden vernichtet, die Einrichtungen und Archive weggeschleppt und in alle

Winde zerstreut. Kaum jemand hat sich zur damaligen Zeit gewagt, Burgen und Schlösser in Slowenien zu erforschen.

Mit diesem Beitrag möchte ich zeigen, wie sich die Bedeutung und Deutung der Burgen und Schlösser im heutigen slowenischen Raum durch die Zeit gewandelt haben. Wie sahen die Burgen und Schlösser in Slowenien ihre einstigen Erbauer und Benutzer? Wie sahen sie die ersten Topografen und Geschichtsschreiber wie Paolo Santonino, Johann Weichard Valvasor, Ireneo della Croce oder Simon Rutar? Was bedeuteten sie nach 1848 als sie die Rolle der Feudalherrschaftssitze verloren haben? Wie sahen sie die ersten slowenischen Schriftsteller im 19. Jahrhundert? Wie sahen sie die ersten Forscher und Denkmalpfleger in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts? Wie sahen sie die Revolutionäre während des zweiten Weltkrieges und kurz danach? Wie sahen sie die Denkmalpfleger, Architekten, Kunsthistoriker und Archäologen in der zweiten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts? Manche Blicke auf Burgen und Schlösser in Slowenien sind im europäischen Raum einzigartig. Die verschiedenen Blicke haben bedeutend zu ihrer Erforschung und Erneuerung bzw. Vernichtung beigetragen. Mit einer Analyse der Blicke auf Burgen und Schlösser in Slowenien in der Vergangenheit wird es vielleicht möglich, zu einem breiteren und objektiveren Blick auf ihre heutige Bedeutung zu gelangen. Ich möchte auch darauf aufmerksam machen, dass bisher im slowenischen Raum kaum breit interdisziplinär ausgelegte Forschungen durchgeführt wurden und deshalb viele verschiedene enge Blicke auf das gestern, heute und morgen von Burgen und Schlösser existieren, die aber nur sehr selten zu einem klareren generellen Blick weiter helfen.

Adrian Andrei Rusu **A Critique of the “Peasant Fortresses” from Romania**

The existence of this subject was conditioned by the persistence of some Marxist historiography clichés. No medieval castle in any historic period, not even the so-called “peasant fortresses”, was ever meant for the most humble social classes. We may therefore contend that fortifications belonging exclusively to the “common people” have never actually existed.

With relation to fortified churches, German Transylvanian historiography traditionally uses a term *Bauernburg* (Ger.) which is closely related to the German word meaning “castle” (*Burg*). In that case, the chosen term is not without foundation for two reasons. Firstly, a church as a building is intended for collective usage and represents community wealth (a parish consisting of the total number of believers in a well-defined territory). Secondly, the term *Bauernburg* has always been related to communities of free peasants far from being poor. In this respect, we can only point to one particular approach in which this subject matter has been treated in an overly reductionist manner: the one displayed by the Romanian historian Ștefan Pascu.

Maxim Mordovin **Civitas or Refugium? Life in 10th–11th-Century Castles in Hungary**

Systematic research of early Hungarian castles started only in the late 1960s. Many important localities have been investigated so far but the excavations have concentrated mainly on the fortifications of these sites. However, some traces of the inner structure of castles have also been uncovered and – despite the lacking evaluation of archaeological data – could have been analysed separately.

Most early Hungarian castles have been seriously damaged in the last few centuries, their inner areas especially. In some cases, this has resulted in an almost complete absence of medieval archaeological layers within the fortifications (for example at Szabolcs, Hont, Zemplén etc.). Based on these observations, some scholars interpreted these castles not as permanent regional and royal centres but rather as some kind of *asylia* or *refugia*.

The paper shall review all data available from the published excavations to verify this hypothesis, building mainly on such sites as Borsod, Doboka/Dăbâca, Sopron/Ödenburg, Pozsony/Pressburg/Bratislava etc. All of them present many traces not only of simple houses but also of various workshops. This can be compared with some well-known contemporary castles from the neighbouring regions of Poland and Bohemia. The archaeological excavations of such sites as Prague, Žatec, Chrudim, Kouřim, Levý Hradec, Chełmno, Opole, Szczecin, Wrocław, Kołobrzeg etc. produced indisputable and sometimes spectacular finds proving a permanent use of these places as settlements.

In view of these findings, early Hungarian castles cannot be interpreted as *refugia* or *asylia*. Even if insufficiently researched, traces of their long-lasting use as settlements are clearly visible.

Daniela Dvořáková **Die Frau und ihr Leben auf der mittelalterlichen Burg**

Die mittelalterliche Burg ist in unserer Vorstellung mit der Männerwelt verbunden. Die Burg war der Sitz oder die Residenz des Mannes – des Burgherrn und seiner „Familie“ (das bedeutet nicht nur Blutsverwandten, sondern auch die *familiares*, die Gästen, Beamten, Diener usw.). Obwohl der Burgbesitz das Vorrecht der Könige und Adeliger war, war die Burggemeinschaft eine heterogene Gruppe von Menschen, und zwar erstreckte sie sich von den Aristokraten bis zu den Leibeigenen. Zu jeder von diesen sozialen Gruppen gehörten auch Frauen. Obwohl die schriftlichen Quellen nur geringe Angaben enthalten, können wir doch das Bild der Frauen auf mittelalterlichen Burgen teilweise rekonstruieren. Zwar reden die mittelalterlichen Urkunden sehr selten über Frauen, jedoch waren diese ein wichtiger Teil der Burggemeinschaft. Die wichtigste unter ihnen war selbstverständlich die Burgfrau – die Gemahlin des Burgbesitzers. Es gibt in der mittelalterlichen ungarischen Geschichte auch einige seltene Fälle, wo eine Frau allein als Burgbesitzerin auftrat. Aber das waren eher kurze Episoden. Der vorliegende Beitrag wird unter anderem solchen konkreten Fällen und Gründen, warum dies immer nur ein zeitweiliger Zustand war, gewidmet.

Neben der Burgfrau lebten in der Burg auch ihre Gefährtinnen, die aus den Adels- und Bürgerkreisen rekrutierten Hofdamen. Die Damen bewohnten oft einen separaten Teil der Burg. Die Hauptaufgabe dieser Frauen war es, ihrer Herrin – der Königin oder Burgfrau – beim Zeitvertreib oder Pflichterfüllung Gesellschaft zu leisten und sich mit ihr zusammen den Hand- und anderen „Frauenarbeiten“ widmen (vor allem der Instandhaltung oder Herstellung von Textilien, Kleidungen, Teppichen, Vorhängen usw.). Neben der Gemeinschaft von jungen Frauen (*consortio virginum*), deren Hauptaufgabe den Glanz des Hofes zu erhöhen war, gab es auch andere Frauen von unterschiedlichem Alter und sozialen Kategorien, welche konkrete Pflichten zu erfüllen hatten – z. B. die Ammen, die Erzieherinnen, Verwalterinnen usw. Dies waren nicht nur die Angehörigen einer privilegierten Gesellschaftsschicht, sondern auch verschiedene Dienerinnen, Mägde, Hausgehilfinnen. Das Thema des vorliegenden Beitrags ist es, den Alltag und Lebensbedingungen aller dieser auf den mittelalterlichen ungarischen Burgen lebenden Frauen zu rekonstruieren.

Regina Janíková **Touch of Her Hand: the Reflection of Women in Archaeological Sources from Castle Areas**

The aim of this contribution is to summarize the archaeological finds that can prove the presence of women in the core areas and outer wards of castles. The focus will be on various specific finds discovered during archaeological excavations in castles in the Czech Republic, for example the weaving tablets or loom weights which are specific for textile production. I am going to concentrate on castles and their outer wards in Bohemia only; the region of Moravia is not going to be taken into account.

In Bohemia, several extensive archaeological investigations of castles have been carried out. These excavations have supplied us with a large amount of artefacts and ecofacts of various kinds stretching from militaria to kitchen ware. But can we presume that some of these artefacts were made for women and used by women only or at least prevalingly? I want to focus on an analysis of traditional approaches to the evaluation of women's role in the castle areas. A comparison of written accounts, iconographic and archaeological sources will be carried out in order to try to reveal the approaches of past scholars to researching women's roles and how their opinions influenced the results of their work. I am going to compare their presumptions and results to my own ideas of how women worked and how much, if at all, their work had been appreciated.

The second part of the contribution will focus on the reflection of women's work in the outer wards of the castles investigated. Again, the archaeological finds regarding and reflecting women in the outer wards are going to be analyzed. I am going to use some of the ethnographic examples showing that for instance all procedures of textile production did not necessarily have to be women's work only. I would like to compare the information obtained from the castle cores and from the outer wards. In view of this, the excavated pieces of jewellery from various contexts in castle cores and outer wards are going to be analyzed.

The final part of the presentation shall concentrate on archaeological transformations, their classification and influence on the amount of archaeological sources available.

Catriona Cooper
Gemma Minihan

Bodiam, Scotney and Ightham: Lived Experience in the Later Middle Ages

This paper will focus on the potentials and complexities of exploring the lived experience of medieval castles. The paper presents the initial phases of an interdisciplinary project funded by the UK Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) through the Collaborative Doctoral Awards scheme at the University of Southampton with support from the National Trust. The project will examine the everyday experiences of living, visiting and working in Bodiam, Scotney and Ightham through two different approaches: documentary research and digital media recreation and re-enactment. These three buildings are situated in south-east England and provide a focussed research area in which to begin to explore new ways of looking at buildings and landscape in the later middle ages.

The personal motivations for the men who embarked upon substantial medieval building projects can never be fully known. However, the significance of such projects to the medieval mentality can be illuminated through exploration and analysis of the regional setting and the cultural, social and economic contexts of the three sites at the end of the fourteenth century. In particular, through consideration of the relationships between the manorial buildings in question and outlying property boundaries, religious houses and neighbouring manors, as well as the personal relationships played out against this scenery, a shared grammar of expectation and expression centred upon landscape and building becomes evident.

The buildings at Bodiam, Scotney and Ightham provide a lynchpin for the study of wider issues regarding the ways in which medieval buildings and their landscapes were experienced and utilised by differing members of medieval society. They also allow us to explore what meaning such interactions held, and in what ways the environment both shaped, and was shaped by, a community of practice which lay at the heart of every social relationship and interaction during the late medieval period.

In addition to documentary research relating to the three sites this project also explores the buildings through a series of digital media projects, examining the sites just after their initial construction. Digital media and digital sensory experience enable us to challenge ideas about the experience of the buildings and to explore:

- the atmosphere of the building; how it was decorated and would have 'felt';
- the nature of furnishing, food and material culture;
- how other senses would have had an effect on the experience of encountering the building;
- how the structure and external appearance of the buildings would affect the way space was used and how this affected social interaction.

Through a range of visualization techniques the lives of different members of society who encountered the building are being examined in terms of their experiences as well as their social interactions. It also provides a technique for examining these buildings through the lost or decontextualized material culture from a novel, personalised point of view. This paper presents the first year of work that has been undertaken on this project and how it approaches these buildings as social space.

Thomas Kühtreiber

Gefahrenstelle Burg. Unfälle auf Burgen als Quellen zur Identifikation von unterschiedlichen sozialen Gruppen auf Adelssitzen des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit

Unfälle stellen Sondersituationen im Alltag dar, welche durch ihre bisweilen drastischen Folgen für menschliche Existenzen eine erhöhte Chance auf Überlieferung haben. Zweifellos ist die Überlieferungschance im Kontext der Burgherrenfamilie höher als für Bedienstete, insbesondere wenn der Unfall von den verunfallten Personen, Angehörigen oder einem Chronisten in einen größeren Bedeutungszusammenhang gestellt wurde. Dies gilt zum Beispiel für die Rettung und/oder Genesung einer Person, die als Wundertat Gottes auf Fürbitten eines/r Heiligen gedeutet und als Motiv für die Stiftung von Votivbildern in Wallfahrtsstätten wurde. Auch wenn quellenkritisch die Intention der jeweiligen bildlichen oder schriftlichen Überlieferung eines Unfalls zu hinterfragen ist, so liefern diese Quellen dennoch schlaglichtartig Hinweise auf Aufenthaltsbereiche unterschiedlicher Personengruppen innerhalb einer Burg, wie z. B. Kinder, aber auch Beweggründe für den zum Zeitpunkt des Unfalls von der Person gewählten Aufenthaltsort.

Ján Beljak

Pavol Maliniak

Noémi Pažinová

Michal Šimkovic

Die Burg Pustý hrad bei Zvolen – eine Zeugin mittelalterlichen Lebens. Differenzierung des Raumes der königlichen Burg auf der Grundlage der archäologischen, architektonischen und historischen Forschung

Nur wenige Mauerreste erinnern an die wechselvolle Geschichte des mehr als 4,2 ha großen Burgkomplexes Pustý hrad (Verwüstete Burg) bei Zvolen in der Slowakei, der auf einer 571 m NN hohen Bergkuppe des Javorie Höhenzuges gebaut wurde. Die Burg wurde im 12. Jahrhundert errichtet und urkundlich erstmals zur Zeit der Regierung Andreas II. in der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts erwähnt. Der Burgkomplex besteht aus der Oberen und Unteren Burg. Die Obere Burg scheint laut bisherigen Forschungen älter zu sein, und die Errichtung des Turms der Komitats Burg setzen wir schon in der zweiten Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts voraus.

Die Obere Burg erstreckt sich auf einer Fläche von 3,5 ha. Mit zwei Querwällen ist das Areal in drei Teile gegliedert. Im ersten Teil befinden sich zwei Wohntürme und die Eingangspforte. Im zweiten Teil, der ungefähr 1 ha groß ist, sind Spuren von handwerklichen Aktivitäten entdeckt wor-

den. Zu diesem Teil gehört auch eine Bastion, die mit einem Graben selbstständig geschützt worden ist. Die dichteste Bebauung befindet sich im gotischen Teil der Oberen Burg und zwar in ihrer nördlichen Ecke. Hier befinden sich auf einer Fläche von 0,5 ha der Burgpalast, die Wasserzisterne und weitere Wohn- und wirtschaftliche Objekte. Ungefähr 100 m niedriger erstreckt sich die Untere Burg mit ihrer vorgeschobenen Befestigung.

Die Untere Burg hat eine Fläche von 0,65 ha und die größte Struktur hier ist der Donjon (Wohnturm) mit einem Fundament von 19,8 x 19,8 m. Er gehörte zu den größten Türmen im ehemaligen ungarischen Königreich. Man sieht wie die Pustý hrad Burgruine in landschaftlicher Einsamkeit von der modernen Stadt abgeschirmt immer noch einen gewissen Reiz auf die menschliche Phantasie ausübt. In dem Beitrag konzentrieren wir uns auf die Arpadenzeit, vor allem auf die zweite Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts. Wir versuchen eine Modellierung der Bedingungen auf der Burg, sowie eine Rekonstruktion der nachgewiesenen Aktivitäten und deren räumlichen Äußerung. Nur wenn man die Burg in ihrer historisch-geografischen Umgebung unter Einbeziehung aller soziologischen, politischen, administrativen, militärischen und wirtschaftlich mitwirkenden Kräfte betrachtet, kann sie uns über ihre Funktion Auskunft geben. Leitmotiv der Studie ist der Umbau der Komitats Burg in eine große Befestigungsanlage – Refugium, zusammen mit einer königlichen Residenz – bis die Änderung der Bedeutung der Burg während der Zeit der Oligarchen bzw. des Adelsgeschlechtes der Familie Balassa.

Wendy Landewé **Castles and Gender in Late Medieval Holland**

This paper on castles and gender will explore the ways in which the castle was appropriated by different social groups to convey messages to different audiences about sex, love and marital life in the Middle Ages.

In recent years the question of how to look at medieval castles has become the subject of a lively debate. There are castellologists who have convincingly argued that castles were not foremost built as defensive and/or offensive structures, but as noble residences communicating social status and (political) power.

Yet, medieval castles did not only communicate these cultural messages materially; castles also played a remarkable part in medieval literature and works of art, guiding and educating contemporary audiences. Not only was the castle often used as a symbol because of the widely acknowledged defensive qualities it possessed as an architectural object. It was furthermore a valuable motif in arts and literature for its capacity to testify of the noble background and prosperity of its owners and inhabitants.

Besides these themes, related to the way nobility tried to define itself in relation to other social groups, the castle was involved in conveying social messages of another kind; the way men and women were looked upon by medieval thinkers and writers. Some of them used castles in their creative outings to teach the men and women in medieval society how to live. Others used castles to play with and to comment on these social and moral guidelines.

Many interesting questions can be asked, for instance: in what way exactly were castles used to communicate views considering the role of the noble man and woman in medieval and late medieval marriage and society? Who or which persons directed these messages and which target groups did they have in mind? Which roles are bestowed upon men and women in these literary works or works of art? How far do these roles match the prescribed male or female behaviour? What happens for instance when women in medieval sources undertake military action to defend castles? Or when males are not able to take them?

As it turns out, it seems little has changed over the last 500 to 600 years. We recognize the views on men and women as they were communicated in medieval times. As far as the castle is involved, there are still distant echoes from the past. In modern day movies for instance, there is still the image of the lady in the tower and the noble knight who has to free her, although the medieval tower is nowadays often replaced by a modern apartment building, as we can see in the famous movie *Pretty Woman* (1990), starring Julia Roberts and Richard Gere.

Alessandro Brodini **The Fortress as a Social Space: the 16th–17th-Century Venetian Terraferma as a Case in Point**

The extensive fortification programme enacted by the Republic of Venice between the defeat of Agnadello (1509) and the War of Gradisca (1615) gave rise to important modifications in the organization of the Terraferma, as the Venetian and Lombard territories under the dominion of the Serenissima were called. The strategic planning behind this defence policy and the construction process of the individual fortresses have both been amply treated in the foregoing literature. Less attention has instead been paid to the effects of the process of fortification on the inhabitants of the sites that were being transformed into “war machines” or to the spaces that still remained available to them.

These defence machines were also administered and controlled by means of rectors, that is, Venetian patricians who were sent to the Terraferma and who subsequently were required to prepare a report on the condition of the fortress they had governed. My paper utilizes these reports together with contemporary documentary evidence to assess the impact on the population of the construction of a fortress.

Numerous examples, in particular small-to-medium sized fortresses located along the south-western border of the Republic’s territories (Crema, Orzinuovi, Asola, Peschiera, Legnago) demonstrate that the decision to privilege military functions had heavy repercussions on life in the town that was undergoing fortification. The reinforcement of the city walls led to a closure of the urban structure that was compounded by what was called the “spianata”, that is, the demolition of houses, monasteries and mills, together with the elimination of vineyards and other cultivated areas around the outside perimeter of the walls. Even economic activity was sacrificed to the security of the defence system, so that at Orzinuovi the pasturing of small animals was prevented because it would have ruined the uniformity of the glacis, while in Peschiera fishing was greatly complicated by the

presence of the bastions in the lake. If water was an indispensable resource to the life of a fortress, it could instead become seriously dangerous to the health of its inhabitants when it stagnated in moats, as happened in Crema, where the air became impossible to breathe. In Legnago the freedom of movement fundamental to commerce was severely hampered by the necessary control of the passage of persons and goods within the fortress. Even the very presence of markets could be considered a security risk, so they were moved to sites outside the walls, usually less convenient settings far removed from the urban centre. Crushed by the weight of taxes imposed on them to sustain the huge expense of the construction of the fortifications, the population was forced to negotiate relations with the soldiery (and not infrequently did social tensions emerge), and all “useful” inhabitants were obliged to remain available for emergencies.

Thus, while in the mid-16th century Venice considered its fortresses as “the foundation of the State,” often the only way to escape the many disadvantages incurred by life in such sites was to abandon them and emigrate to a neighbouring city.

György Domokos **Das Zeughaus von Kaschau und seine Verbindungen**

Die Stadt und Festung von Kaschau war das Zentrum von oberungarischer Militärgrenze und in den 1560er Jahren ist dort das größte königliche Zeughaus in Ungarn erbaut worden. Dieses Zeughaus versorgte die in seiner Umgebung liegende Burgen und Städten mit Waffen, Munition und anderen Materialien. Es hat über seine eigene Besatzung verfügt, in welcher Soldaten, Beamten, Handwerksleute und Gesellen gedient haben. Dabei hat das Zeughaus auch viele Handwerker und Kaufleute beschäftigt zur Anschaffung der vielen nötigen Waren, für deren Herstellung das Zeughaus über keine eigenen Kapazitäten verfügt hatte.

Zsuzsanna Kopeczny **The Castle of Timișoara in the Early Modern Period, as Seen by its Contemporaries**

The Castle of Timișoara has a rich historical background. Originally built as a royal residence of temporary use for Charles I of Anjou, it later served as the residence of the Count of Timiș, one of the most important functions during the 15th and 16th centuries. Following the Ottoman conquest in 1552, the city became the centre of the vilayet of Timișoara and the castle continued its existence as residence of the pasha of Timișoara.

However, written documents illustrating the everyday life in the medieval castle of Timișoara are almost nonexistent. Late medieval or early modern descriptions provide precious information regarding the aspect of the castle. These chronicles were written a short time before or during the Ottoman occupation, so they illustrate later realities. One of the earliest descriptions was made in 1551 by General Castaldo, during the refortification of the castle after the first and unsuccessful Ottoman siege. We can

note the General's optimist attitude regarding the resistance of the castle, when he affirms that it is inexpugnable.

Another detailed description comes from a famous Ottoman traveller, Evliya Celebi. In a very plastic way he compares the shape of the castle of Timișoara to a turtle lying in water. Evliya Celebi also underlines the strength and beauty of the fortification.

On the other hand, Heinrich Ottendorf, an Austrian military engineer, observes on the derelict state of the castle and the negligence of the Ottomans regarding the maintenance of the moats. He is filled with consternation in the matter of water source: some of the inhabitants take their water from the moats, while others throw their waste in at the same place.

The most accurate graphic representation made by contemporaries stems from Franciscus Wattay. He could observe the castle of Timișoara during his captivity there.

In all these descriptions we can recognize the importance of the castle in its contemporaries' mentality. The Ottomans had a well-known saying about Timișoara: "Who conquers Buda, conquers a town, but who conquers Timișoara, conquers a country".

*Ileana Burnichioiu
Oana Toda*

Castle after Castle in Transylvania: the Social and Cultural Changes (16th–20th Centuries)

Little scientific interest has been directed towards the study of late medieval castles' afterlife on the territory of Transylvania. Tagging that period as a decaying one from the point of view of their functionality – especially regarding the ownership or strategic means, other castle-related subjects seem to hold a diminished appeal for both the academic environment and general public.

Having this particular research gap in mind, we have decided to question the various data related to these monuments' state from the 16th century onwards, in order to point out the general phenomena, certain patterns or particular developments of their social and cultural image for both the so-called literate milieu and the popular culture.

Therefore, using a comparative method we will gather information related to their owners, recipients, abandonment or functional changes, academic interest and heritage protection, as well as popular culture perceptions.

We will submit all these aspects to specific questioning, such as: When? By and for whom? Why?

By collecting all these information we will be able to synthesize certain conclusions related to the social and cultural role of medieval Transylvanian castles in the 16th–20th centuries, establishing the scale and motives for changes such as the loss of primary functions or abandonment of a specific structure. Moreover, this research aims at offering an overall picture regarding the first tendencies of studying and protecting these old monuments, analyzing the reasons that lead to a general growth of interest in them. Nevertheless, a strong-point would be putting an emphasis on data

that show how the local communities and the general public apprehend these old castles, providing the academic environment with certain clues reflecting the nowadays missing elements of the monuments' former existence.

Martin Krenn **Die Kreuzenstein – späthistoristischer Burgenbau**

Im ausgehenden 19. Jahrhundert wird Österreich, wie auch seine Nachbarländer, von einem sozialen bzw. kulturellen Phänomen erfasst – der Burgenrenaissance. Der Versuch des hohen aber auch höchsten Adels, sich von den in immer höhere soziale Bereiche vordringenden bürgerlichen Strukturen abzugrenzen sowie im Sinne einer standesinternen Konkurrenzsituation auch den eigenen Status neu zu definieren, findet besonders in der Beschäftigung mit dem Mittelalter im allgemeinen, besonders aber mit Burgen seinen Niederschlag.

Ähnlich wie schon zur Entstehungszeit der Anlagen, werden der repräsentative Charakter von Burgen und die daraus abgeleitete Selbstdefinition der Eigentümer herausgestrichen. Die Hohkönigsburg, die Marienburg, Schloss Vaduz oder Schloss Tirol aber auch Neuschwanstein können als hervorragende internationale Beispiele für dieses Phänomen gelten.

Dieser Vortrag widmet sich ausgehend von der Burganlage Kreuzenstein im Besonderen der Situation der Burgenrenaissance in Österreich und versucht die handelnden Personen und ihre Beweggründe näher zu beleuchten.

Graf Hans von Wilczek, Johann Karl von Khevenhüller, Erzherzog Franz Ferdinand oder Franz von Liechtenstein als Besitzer standen gemeinsam mit ihren Architekten und Baumeistern (Carl Gangolf Kaysers oder Humbert Walchers von Moltheim) bedingt durch ihre Ansätze einer (Komplett-)Wiederherstellung in einem hochspannenden, intellektuellen Diskurs mit den ersten Vertretern einer „modernen“ Denkmalpflege (z. B. Aloys Riegel) im deutschsprachigen Raum.

An Hand der Baugeschichten der Kreuzenstein, aber auch anderer österreichischer Anlagen, wie der Lichtenstein oder auch der Hardegg, die in Österreich als hervorragende Beispiele der Burgenrenaissance dienen können, sollen die handelnden Personen und ihre Motive sowie das innere Beziehungsgeflecht vorgestellt und eine Bewertung dieses Phänomens auch für den heutigen Umgang mit Burgen getroffen werden.

Wojciech Brillowski **The Bäslack Castle – a Stronghold, a Church, a Legend**
Arkadiusz Koperkiewicz

The Castle at Bäslack (Bezląwki) remains in constant use for about 540 years now. Built in the late 14th century as a Teutonic Order borderland stronghold, it was converted into a protestant church in the 16th century, and again in the 1980s, into a Roman Catholic church.

What is surprising, bearing in mind the castle's complicated history and changing function, is the fact that its form has been only slightly altered. Another factor is that for all this years, it has been, and still is, a beating heart of the local population. At first, it served as a *refugium* for the peasants and merchants living in the area, but what is even more important, as an administrative centre of the Order built in a region which had been already colonized for about 30 years. At times it played a much greater role as a resting post for a crusade against Lithuania and for a period of two years, as the residence of Prince Swidrigal, one of the major players in Eastern European politics of the time. After the conversion, apart from being a spiritual centre of the village, it remained an economic and administrative one, being the core of the vast estates of the local priest, a major landlord in the region. With a school located nearby, it was also the intellectual and educational centre. Later yet, from 17th century onward, the church has become a kind of honorific burial ground for the elevated members of Prussian and German community born in this region, including a certain army general, as well as a prime minister.

Having all this in mind, it is not surprising to find out that the castle was also a kind of legendary place for the local people. Even in the 20th century there was a legend circling among them, telling the mythical story of how the castle was built by a certain heroic knight fighting the vicious pagans. Today, with the original population nearly extinct and replaced after 1945 with Polish settlers, new myths are told about mysterious tunnels and crypts underneath the castle. In the internet, on the other hand, one can find yet another story about the Holy Grail left here by Swidrigal (indeed there is mention in the sources of him donating a chalice for the local church). He is thought to be the descendant of the pre-Norman English dynasty who found refuge in the Lithuanian forests in late 11th century, carrying away with him the Grail as the most secret of relics...

In fact, we have started our research on the castle attracted by those myths and since then have remained "anthropologically sensitive". Through extensive interdisciplinary research, ongoing since 2008, we were able to reconstruct the original plan of the castle, as well as the architectural form of the manor house. During the last year campaign, we launched digs in the village, where, according to the written sources, the first medieval church was located. Even if we haven't discovered its remains yet, we came across the 14th–15th-century cemetery. In fact it is the very first properly excavated burial ground from the times of the Teutonic Order. Apart from their general importance for the late medieval archaeology of the region, the excavations provided us with artefacts confirming the history of the village as known from written sources. Based on such valuable information from the various disciplinary fields of the humanities, our aim is to present a kind of sociological history of the castle as seen through the eyes of local people across centuries.

Barbara Pospieszna
Kazimierz Pospieszny

Kloster-Residenzen der „Maria-Diener“ oder Wehrbauten der Kreuzritter in Preußen – zwei Bilder der Deutschordensburgen ehemals und heute

Die Kreuzritter übten ihre Territorialherrschaft in Preußen im Namen der Muttergottes Maria, Patronin und Königin aus, gestützt auf die Komtursburgen. Die bauurbanistische Struktur der weitläufigen mehrteiligen Anlagen, die seit Mitte des 13. bis Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts errichtet worden sind, spiegelte ein komplexes Bild der den Ordensregeln unterliegenden, jedoch einer höheren theokratischen Idee untergeordneten Ständegesellschaft wider. Die Burgen dienten auch als Angriffsstützpunkte und Sammelorte für die Kreuzzüge, zuerst gegen die Pruzen, ab dem 14. Jahrhundert gegen die Litauer und ab 1410 im Krieg gegen Polen.

Die Deutschordensburgen stellten, im Licht der kastellologischen Forschungen, fortifizierte Konventhäuser dar, die auf der in mehreren Etagen ausgebauten *vita communis* der Ritter- und Priesterbrüder, Halbbrüder und Diener organisiert worden waren. Dazu zählten die mit ihnen integrierten oder von ihnen abgesonderten Würdenträgerresidenzen mit zentralen Verwaltungs- und Repräsentationsfunktionen. Ergänzt wurden sie durch gewerbedienstliche Fachhöfe auf den Vorburgen (die Ackerbau-, Gestüt- und Viehhöfe stellten sie auch frei im Gelände auf). Das Phänomen der Deutschordensburgen besteht in der mehrschichtigen, hierarchisch geordneten Gesellschaftsstruktur, die einen in sich geschlossenen Organismus bildete. Diese umfangreichen Anlagen wurden mit einem System von meistens zwei Befestigungslinien und dem Verteidigungsgeschoß an der Mauerkrone des Wohnhauses gesichert, jedoch waren sie nicht von den Abwehr- und Wehrfunktionen dominiert. Dies bestätigen die Beispiele der erhaltenen Burgenhäuser oder Burgenfragmente, vor allem Mewe, Thorn, Elbing, Königsberg (bis neulich), Schwetz, Straßburg, Schlochau, Bütow, Marienwerder (Kapitelsburg), mit der Marienburg an der Spitze.

Solch ein aus den kastellologischen Gründen folgendes Bild ist heute keineswegs repräsentativ für die Exposition der Deutschordensburgen. Es dominiert das durch die Forschung und Denkmalpflege des 19. Jahrhunderts eingeführte Interesse für die Wehrfunktionen. Dieses drängt die ehemals an symbolischen Bedeutungen gesättigten, architektonisch reich gestalteten Bauten in die Rolle von ritterlichen „Festungen“ oder Schanzen und sogar massiven Mauerkulissen als Arena für pseudohistorische Schauspieler.

Jože Hudales

Castles in Slovene Folk Tradition: Some Examples from the Šaleška Dolina Valley

The author will analyze some aspects of the extremely rich and vast folk tradition about castles in Slovenia which show that almost every castle or manor-house left some traces in the Slovene folk tradition. One of the most comprehensive books of records on folk traditions about castles was published by Janko Orožen in 1936 under the title "Gradovi in graščine v narodnem izročilu: Gradovi in graščine ob Savinji, Sotli in Savi" (Castles

and Manor-Houses in Folk Tradition: Castles and Manor-Houses along the Savinja, Sotla and Sava Rivers). I will compare these common characteristics of folk tradition about castles in Slovenia with the records about castles in the Šaleška Dolina Valley in central Slovenia. The valley represents a small but well-rounded geographical unit with more than 20 known castles and manor-houses which are well represented in the records of narrative and song tradition, in different journalistic and topographic reports and in other ethnographical material from the 19th and 20th centuries. In Orožen's book the castles from Šaleška Dolina with 15 sites and more than 60 different records are also well represented. Among the narrative motifs the most frequent are the records about Turkish raids on castles, about the "evil lords of the castle" who tortured their serfs, and the records about castle and manor ruins as very special and "dangerous places" where a treasure could be dug out but where you could also meet the bewitched castle dwellers, witches or other mythological creatures. The author will compare these different historical records with the contemporary narratives about castles and try to analyze the various modes of producing and changing narratives about castles as collective memories in the second half of the 20th century and today.

Rajko Muršič **Kapralov's Castle and Upper Cmurek (Mureck) Castle as Venues of Alternative Punk Rock Scene in Trate, Slovenske Gorice**

From the perspectives of historical anthropology, anthropology of popular music and anthropology of space and place, the author will present the role and impact of two castles in the village of Trate in the region of Slovenske Gorice (Slovenia) to the life of its inhabitants.

Between the late 1970s and the early 1990s, an extraordinary creative alternative scene emerged and developed in the Trate Youth Club in Slovenske Gorice. Its emergence was possible only due to the fact that the local youth occupied two rooms in Kapralov's Castle (also named the Upper Castle or New Kinek) in the heart of the village of Trate. Kapralov's Castle was built at the end of the 18th century from the ruins of the defence towers of the older castle of Upper Cmurek (Upper Mureck) and the nunnery in the lower part of the village. The situation in Trate was very specific, since there are not many villages around with two castles and a deserted early industrial mill with vacant space. Even if the youth and rock club moved from the Upper Castle to the mill eventually, both castles played an important role in the emergence and development of the local alternative scene in Trate.

In many different ways both castles influenced life in the village. The oldest interlocutors from the village remembered that the village (well, the castles and the mill) got electricity before WWI, which was more than half a century before the neighbouring villages. After WWII, during the cultural awareness and education campaign led by the Communist party, many public events were organised in the Lower and Upper Castles. These events comprised both entertainment (public festivities, dance parties, etc.) and more formal meetings (local celebrations at national holidays, theatre plays, education lectures, etc.). In the 1950s, the Lower Castle be-

came an old people's home, while a decade later it became a closed psychiatric institution Hrastovec-Trate. In the 2000s, this institution opted for an open treatment of its patients and the castle was again deserted.

Based on the ethnographic material collected during his fieldwork in the 1990s, the author will present a short history of Kapralov's (Upper) Castle and an interesting story of its pre-war owner, a Russian immigrant, physician Serghei Kapralov. The emergence and decline of three consecutive youth clubs in the village after WWII will be presented, all of which were located in the Upper Castle. The author will also present another interesting character from the village, an English entrepreneur Harry Hanson, and his construction of the electric mill, as well as some other events related to the castles in the 20th century.

Finally, the author will touch upon the still unclear destiny of the Lower Castle (Upper Cmurek) after 2004, when the psychiatric institution moved out. The castle originating from the 12th century is much too big for the local community to use and preserve, although they would have some ideas for its new use. Rumours have it that some foreign investors have shown interest in developing the Lower Castle into a hotel or an entertainment centre (perhaps a night club). Perhaps the most challenging idea for its future purpose is the project for the establishment of a national museum of popular music, especially rock music, proposed by some actors of the local alternative rock scene.

Vesna Merc **Back to the Future? Heritage-Making and Castles**

Heritage is a multilayered experience, closely linked to the regulation of social meanings and praxis, intertwined with identity making and as such promptly reflects changes in societies. Heritage concepts disguise cultural processes of identity formation, which are essential for heritage. Previous research has shown that archaeological heritage went through several profound changes in the last decades, as evident in its presentations, representations and interpretations.

Through an analysis of various examples of images and identity readings of castles in the last couple of decades we will attempt to identify the change of heritage regarding castles in south-eastern Europe with special emphasis on Slovenia. The paper will focus on the performative power of castle identities for the national, regional, company, local or personal identities.

Harald Rosmanitz **The Castle Project in the Spessart – Scientists and Volunteers Explore a Cultural Landscape**

In 2004, the Archäologisches Spessartprojekt (ASP – Project for Archaeology of the Spessart-Region), an Institute at the University of Würzburg, introduced a new model for cooperation between archaeologists and interested volunteers whose origins are to be found in the UK: the so-called „Commu-

nal Dig“. With this model, non-professionals get the chance to participate actively in an archaeological excavation alongside experienced archaeologists.

The main goal of the concept is to arouse people's interest in local archaeology and the cultural heritage of their homeland and turn them into ambassadors for the cultural treasures of their vicinity. Since the general awareness of our cultural heritage has gradually declined due to a variety of factors, it is as important as ever to make people aware of the cultural wealth that surrounds them and the significance of archaeology in unearthing and preserving that wealth for future generations, both on a smaller and wider scales.

In parallel, involving and instructing dedicated residents guarantees effective protection and maintenance of the monuments in question. The measures comply with essential requirements of several treaties by the Council of Europe, above all the Convention of Valetta (protection of archaeological heritage) and the Convention of Florence.

More than a ruin – a close bond with the castle:

On closer inspection, one will quickly discover the local population to have a certain, special bond with the castles and ruins that surround them. To many people, those places are almost magical and often tightly linked with their childhood. The stories and myths surrounding these strongholds further serve in making them ever more attractive. Without the fascination connected with these castles, neither the resident population's general interest in the Middle Ages nor the willingness to take action helping the research into such monuments could be duly explained.

Silvija Pisk **Croatian Medieval Fortifications Between Academic and Pop-Scientific Approach: Selected Examples**

Fortifications are a constant subject of interest to the academic population and they also intrigue the general public, but the approaches of both groups, as well as their understanding of the fortifications phenomenon, differ in many ways. This paper will be based on five years' (2007–2011) experience of research and development of a university course entitled "Medieval Fortress in Croatia and Slavonia" at the Department of History, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb, as well as the experience gained during the development of tourist programmes focused on medieval fortresses in Croatia.

The course is based on the study of medieval fortresses from multiple perspectives and though an interdisciplinary approach: history, archeology, art history and literature. The subjects include, for example, the ways of building a fortress, the role of certain parts of a fortress, ways of the siege and defence of fortifications, everyday life and the role of fortifications in the middle ages. Some topics are given more or less attention, depending on the student interest. Also, each student examines the history of a selected fortification (its origin, owners and downfall), as well as its present condition (current situation and possible archaeological research). In addition to working on different types of medieval sources and mandatory visits to fortifications to determine their present conditions, students also

look back at the literary references to the fortifications' history (like old travelogues, folklore tales and legends). Fieldwork has a special role in the study of medieval fortifications.

Itineraries of travel agencies are adapted to users, who are mostly interested in the everyday life and various legends associated with a particular medieval fortification. Legends are the best way to create good tourist itineraries and to attract visitors. A good example of this is the program Secrets of the Black Queen which leads tourists to the castles that were, at some point in time, in possession of the infamous Barbara of Cilli (Celje), the second wife of the Hungarian-Croatian king Sigismund. Through the programme, the visitors get acquainted with the legends and historical facts behind the "Black Queen", as well as with the historical specifics of individual castles, their present degree of preservation and research.

However, both approaches lead to a common goal: the research and popularization of Croatian fortifications. In fact, most of them – especially the ones in continental Croatia – are still insufficiently explored, both historically and archaeologically, neglected and unknown to the public.

Zsolt Csok **Castrum Carazna and its Domain: a Hidden Castle and Clear Social Ambient (11th–13th Centuries)**

First mentioned in the late 11th century, Castrum Carazna, then the centre of Crasna County, still remains a mystery. The exact identification of this maximum interest point was and still is the main purpose of the region's medieval archaeologists. Although its position during the 12th century and later is uncertain, the domain of Carazna developed into an important centre of north-western Transylvania. The first written documents mention all of the social elements a castle needed, though.

The main purpose of the present paper is to present the castles around Castrum Carazna, the hot spots of the county, that later, during the 13th century (1249) became strong trade and military strategic points defining the county's social structure. Also, we raise questions concerning the disappearance of the old *castrum*. Why did the nobles move the centre to Valko? What kind of social factors could have influenced this decision? Is in fact the castle of Somlyo the original Castrum Carazna?

Mira Strmčnik Gulič **Marchpurch. The Upper Castle of Maribor**
Mateja Ravnik

In the presentation we will discuss the results of the 2010/2011 excavations which followed the preliminary probing, conducted in 1985, on the hill named Piramida above the city of Maribor (Marburg). The research took place on the western part of the plateau, comprising the western part of the castle complex and inner ward, along with the outer part of the castle wall. The hill was first settled in prehistory and then again in the late Roman period. Before building work on the castle started, the ground was

levelled and thus prepared for extensive construction. The castle has been occupied until the 18th century when it was demolished and the building material used for construction of other buildings around Maribor. Among the archaeological finds excavated, a broken bronze seal is particularly worth mentioning. It belonged to Ulrich III of Marburg, a Maribor feudal lord who lived in the castle around 1250. Also of interest is a well or a cistern uncovered in the castle courtyard.

The excellent strategic position of the hill overlooking the passage over the river Drava, which had been used already during the Roman period, coupled with a fine view over the Drava Valley were the main reasons for choosing Piramida to build a castle by 1106 at the latest. The Duke of Carinthia, Bernhard of Spanheim, having defeated the Askvinians, acquired vast estates in almost all of the so-called Drau March (the March of Drava), a border county established in 970 after the Hungarians had been pushed back to the Pesnica Valley. With that the conditions were ripe for the founding of Maribor (Marburg) Castle on Piramida, as centre of the march ruled by margraves who performed administrative, military and judicial functions.

Duke Bernhard died in 1147 on a crusade in Asia Minor without any offspring, so his lands were inherited by Ottokar III, a nephew on his wife's side. With Ottokar III Maribor Castle lost its function as residence and became headquarters of the Traungau dominion which was run by its administrators until 1182. In the following year, the so-called Lords of Marburg emerged as provincial-princely serf-knights (*ministeriales*) and administered the seat until 1376. They were brought to this area by Ottokar IV of Traungau and remained the hereditary castle administrators even under the Bambergs who took over the castle in 1192. The Bambergs also reorganized the dominion around 1200, dividing it into the upper and lower parts.

After the Lords of Marburg had died out, the ownership passed through the hands of many families until 1784 when the castle was finally abandoned. Thus the main causes for the decline of Maribor Castle seem to be the dying out of the founding family (namely Bernhard and Kunigunde of Spanheim), the division of the dominion by the Bambergs and, last but not least, the founding of the town of Maribor after the mid-13th century. The town was even named after the castle on Piramida.

Following a very important beginning as the main castle of the border county, signified clearly by its very name – “march purg – the castle in the march, the border castle” –, a period of stagnation set in. Still, in spite of its diminishing importance and all of the additions and improvements to the buildings in the following centuries, the castle complex retained its original design till the very end of its existence.

(Translated by J. Ravnik)

Tatjana Tkalčec **The Medieval Castle of “Vrbouch” in Klenovec Humski (Northwestern Croatia)**

The paper presents the archaeological excavations of the castle of Vrbouch in northwestern part of Croatia, which gave its name to the entire archdeaconry. The castle is mentioned directly or indirectly in historical sources from the period between 1267 and 1497. The archaeological investigations ascertained the polygonal layout of the Romanesque castle, erected perhaps as early as the end of the 12th century and definitely during the first half of the 13th century. It consists of a perimeter wall, a palace in the north with ancillary structures at ground level, a southern keep, a courtyard with a cistern and probably subsidiary timber structures in the southeastern and eastern part of the courtyard; a smaller trapezoidal eastern room was added to the castle core during one of the later phases of the castle's existence, that is, in the latter half of the 15th century. In one of the earliest construction phases, an elongated structure made of stone, perhaps a defended entrance to the castle, was built outside the core area, next to the northeastern section of the perimeter wall. The uncovered remains of a timber tower erected in the 16th century atop the very ruins of the medieval castle confirm the continuation of life on the site in the early modern period.

Based on the archaeological finds from stratigraphically excavated layers, we can envisage the organization of the interior space of the castle, that is, the function of the rooms themselves and the activities taking place in them, both on the ground level and on the (unpreserved) residential and representative first floor of the castle hall. Precious information on the life course of the medieval castle was gained from the excavated finds, as well as from the results of archaeobotanical and zooarchaeological analyses.

Andrej Janež **A View on Life in a Feudal Castle: Finds Analysis from the Castle of Cesargrad (2008 and 2010 Excavation Campaigns)**

The castle of Cesargrad is just one of many old castles and forts in northwestern Croatia. It is located on the west side of the Cesargrad hill, just northwest of the town of Klanjec, from where it overlooks the Sutla River and its gorge of Zelenjak. Today it is situated on the state border between Croatia and Slovenia, near the castle of Kunšperk on the Slovenian side.

Cesargrad was first mentioned in 1399 when it was in possession of the Counts of Cilli (Celje). After the Counts of Cilli died out in 1456, it passed from hand to hand between Styrian and Slavonian nobles, until it became the property of the Erdödy family at the end of the 15th century. January 29th 1573 was an important date in Cesargrad's history, as the castle was destroyed then by the peasant armies during the Great Peasant Revolt. The Erdödys restored Cesargrad, but in the early 17th century the castle was already referred to as a ruin.

In 2008 and 2010 the Croatian Conservation Institute carried out two archaeological research campaigns at Cesargrad. The 2008 campaign

involved the exploration of the interior and surroundings of the square tower “H”, which is located in the northeastern corner of the castle core. In 2010, excavations were carried out in the large room “K” of the south wing of the hall, i.e. the living quarters. Along with archaeological research, conservation and restoration of this valuable late medieval monument has been planned due to the fact that a large part of the preserved standing architecture is in poor condition.

In both campaigns a large quantity of kitchen, table and technical ceramics has been found, among which late Gothic stove-tiles stand out due to their shape. Most of kitchen ceramics consists of coarse pottery with only a small amount of fine tableware. Although the major part of Cesargrad remains unexcavated, some observations about the quality of life and social status of the inhabitants can already be made based on the data obtained.

A distinctively small amount of fine glazed pottery and majolica is surprising, since this has been a feudal lord’s residence. The interpretation of the distribution of finds leads to the conclusion that the excavated areas were used as living and working quarters by the castle’s inhabitants whose activities were associated with preparation of food and drink, as well as their storage. Namely, the ground floor of the tower “H” has accommodated one of Cesargrad’s kitchens, while the excavated part of the hall’s south wing “K” is also located on the ground floor. Although only a small part of the room “K” has been explored, the type of plaster flooring as well as the number and quality of ceramic finds indicate that the room was used for economic purposes and not as a representative area.

Beside the analysis of ceramics and architectural remains, an analysis of the remains of animal bones will be carried out to improve our knowledge of the Cesargrad inhabitants’ eating culture and its quality at the end of the middle ages.

In the coming years we plan to continue the research and conservation which will provide new insights into the past of the Cesargrad castle.

Tajana Pleše **Krčingrad and Garić-Grad: Two Castles and Their Role in the Late Medieval Cultural and Historical Landscape**

This paper will encompass the comparative analysis of Krčingrad and Garić-grad, two late-13th-century castles. Krčingrad (Krčin or Pliš) was built on an elongated peninsula between the lakes of Kozjak and Gradina, in the very heart of the present-day national park of Plitvička Jezera. It would seem that the main determinant in choosing this position was not its geostrategic significance but its esthetic quality. According to the historical data (which is very scarce for the northern part of late medieval region of Lika), it is possible to deduce that this castle was not situated near any of the main communication routes, nor was it possible to control the surrounding area from its tower(s). However, each point of the castle offers a spectacular view of the neighbouring lakes, waterfalls and woods. Fulfilling the idea of the aesthetics of nature, a triangular defence tower was built in the southern part of Krčingrad. With its rare ground plan, this tower of impressive dimensions was, beside having an obvious defensive

role, a symbol of power and social status, accentuating with its form the owners' – most probably, these were the powerful counts of Babonić – significance in the political sphere of the time. Although the complete ground plan of the castle is unknown as yet – the archaeological excavations are still in progress –, it is possible to establish two areas. According to the stratigraphy of the whole plateau and comparative ground plans of other late medieval castles (i.e. Šalek, Košice-Hradova, Boldogkö), it is possible to conclude that the northern part had a residential-economic role. It is also clear that the southern and northern area have been merged into one space with massive defensive walls emphasizing the exclusion of the surrounding areas and integration in times of great peril.

The principle of connecting several parts with different functions by a double line of defensive walls and of isolation from the surroundings was also used in the design of the castle of Garić (Garić-grad). Situated on the slopes of the Moslavina highlands, this castle had pronounced geostrategic qualities. It was built with maximum respect and optimal use of the natural properties of the location resulting in a castle complex comprising several clearly separated parts, each built on a separate plateau. On the central, highest plateau the main tower was built. This position offered the possibility of monitoring the other two plateaus. The main tower was separated by a small, common space (a yard?) from the residential-economic area, situated on the slightly lower-lying, southern plateau. To the north, an accentuated slope divided it from the substantially lower-lying northern plateau that most likely had a military-defensive role.

Both castles share, beside the mentioned settings, a complete lack of information regarding the possible settlement of the outer baileys, as well as concerning their interaction with the surrounding villages.

Poster Abstracts

Zusammenfassungen der Poster

Povzetki plakatov

*František Gabriel
Lucie Kursová*

Die Pflichten der Untertanen und ihre Möglichkeiten in der Burg Helfenburk im 14. Jahrhundert

Die Burg, wie in der Literatur definiert, verstand das Mittelalter nicht nur als einen Bau, sondern gleichzeitig auch als Güter mit Territorium und deren Bewohner. Die Bindung zwischen dem Burgbesitzer und den Bewohnern auf seinen Gütern bildete eine Reihe von Beziehungen, die unter anderem auch die Beziehung zwischen dem Herrn und seinen Untertanen andeutete. Im Allgemeinen bieten die Urbare vereinzelte Informationen über dieses Segment der damals lebenden Kultur an. Die Urbare erfassen nicht nur den Umfang der Burggüter, sondern vor allem die Pflicht der Untertanen gegenüber dem Besitzer des Dominia. Unser Beitrag befasst sich mit der Analyse von 11 Siedlungen und mit den Pflichten deren Bewohner auf den Gütern der Burg Helfenburk (Tschechische Republik, Bezirk Litoměřice, Katastralgebiet Rašovice) laut dem Urbar aus den neunziger Jahren des 14. Jahrhunderts, als die Burg dem Prager Erzbischof angehörte.

Arkadiusz Koperkiewicz

Kleine Schlösser in kleinen Gesellschaften. Die archäologischen Ausgrabungen in dem Ritterordensschloss Hohenstein

Das Poster präsentiert die Ergebnisse und Konsequenzen der archäologischen Forschungen, die in den Jahren 2006–2010 vom Institut für Archäologie der Danziger Universität in Kreuzritterordensschlössern in Olsztynek (Hohenstein) und Beżławki (Bäslack) im ehemaligen Ostpreußen durchgeführt wurden.

Diese Objekte gehören zu einer Kategorie der kleinsten Gebäude des Kreuzritterordens in Preußen, die bisher kaum erforscht wurden. Trotz ihren sich durch die Jahrhunderte verändernden Funktionen bildeten sie immer den Kern lokalen Gemeinschaftslebens.

Aufgrund des Mangels an geschichtlichen Quellen, erlauben ausschließlich archäologische Forschungen neue Daten zum Bau und Funktion dieser Schlösser zu gewinnen. Durch archäologische Arbeiten wird eine Revitalisierung dieser Plätze ermöglicht, als auch eine höhere Anzahl von Touristen gewonnen.

Die Geschichte von Schlössern und Residenzen in Oberschlesien wird leider nicht gut genug untersucht, viel schlechter als die der ähnlichen Objekte in den benachbarten Regionen. Der Hauptgrund dafür ist der schlechte Zustand der zu untersuchenden Substanz sowie der Archivalien.

Viele, wenn nicht die Mehrheit der architektonisch relevanten Objekte in Oberschlesien sind bis heute leider nicht mehr erhalten geblieben. Trotzdem lassen sich drei Hauptbereiche des Schlossraumes unterscheiden: Residenz-, Militär- und Wirtschaftsbereich. Der Militär- und der Residenzbereich wurden am besten untersucht, weil sie bis heute erhalten geblieben sind. Am häufigsten fehlen jedoch die materiellen Überreste des Wirtschaftsbereiches.

Während der archäologischen Untersuchungen des vermeintlichen Platzes des Schlosses in Beuthen/Bytom, O.S. wurden neben den Mauern von unbekannten Bauobjekten wahrscheinlich Schlosskeller aus dem 15. Jh. gefunden, die an frühere Fundamente angebaut wurden. Die Räume waren vermutlich gewölbt und wurden aus lokal auftretendem Dolomit errichtet. Archäologische Untersuchungen sowie knappe geschichtliche Quellen lassen uns jedoch keine konkreten Wirtschaftsbereiche unterscheiden. Wir wissen nur, dass neben einem zweigeschossigen Wohnhaus aus Stein, einem Turm und einem Torgebäude noch Holzbauten und ein Brunnen zu dem Schloss gehörten. Es lässt sich behaupten, dass mit dem in den Quellen erwähnten Begriff *blochwerck* eben Wirtschaftsgebäude gemeint werden. Ende der Blütezeit des Schlosses, im 16. und 18. Jh. wurde das Schloss von dem ein paar hundert Meter entfernten Gutshof mit Dienstleistungen und Produkten versorgt.

Interessant an dem Beuthener Schloss ist eine an ihm liegende Metzgerei, die 1406 errichtet wurde. Sie ist zwar kein Bestandteil des Schlossbereiches, aber das Stadtgericht entschied, dass sie zum festen Element der Schlosslandschaft werden sollte.

Das neuzeitliche Wirtschaftsgebäude ist auf dem Schloss in Tost (Toszek) erhalten geblieben. An die nördliche Randmauer der Gründung wurden im 17. Jh. gewölbte Pferdeställe aus Backstein angebaut. Das lange Gebäude wurde drinnen in Tröge geteilt. Das Objekt ist nur dank der Umwandlung in eine Orangerie, die im 18. Jh. stattfand, erhalten geblieben.

Dank der Umwandlung sind auch zwei Wirtschaftsflügel des Ratiborer (Racibórz) Schlosses bis heute erhalten geblieben. In den im 16. Jh. an die Randmauer angebauten Gebäuden gab es einen Wagenschuppen und eine Mälzerei. Die Mälzerei ist in Form einer Schlossbrauerei bis in das 20. Jh. erhalten geblieben.

Der allgemeine Erhaltungszustand der Schlösser in Oberschlesien, besonders im Vergleich mit benachbarten Niederschlesien, Tschechien und Kleinpolen (Małopolska) erlaubt keine weitgehende Analyse des Wirtschaftsbereiches. Nur vereinzelte Schriftquellen enthalten Angaben über konkrete Personen, Anzahl der gezüchteten Tiere oder Bedarf an Rohstoffe. Dieses Informationsbündel gibt uns zwar ein unvollständiges aber immer noch interessantes Bild von einfachen Menschen, die Knochenarbeit für die Schlosselite leisteten.

Man kann behaupten, dass sich der Wirtschaftsbereich im Mittelalter innerhalb von den Schlossmauern, oft in Form von Holzbauten, befand. In der Neuzeit wurden größere Versorgungsbedürfnisse gedeckt von den benachbarten Gutshöfen oder neuen größeren Gebäuden, die sich um den Schlosshof befanden.

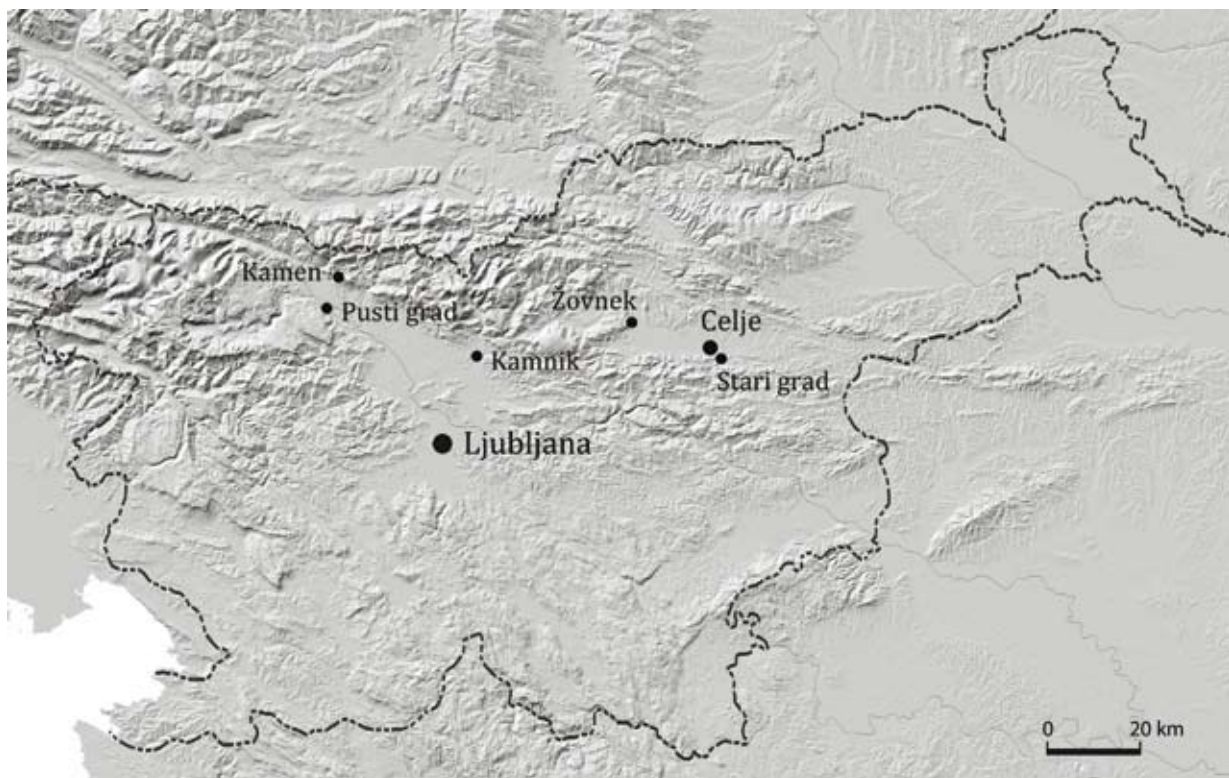
Kari Uotila **Using a Mobile-Guide System in Medieval Castles and Fortifications**

The LAMB Project has been designed with the aim to develop a mobile digital guiding and learning platform. Work started in 2001. The first prototypes were tested in 2002–2003 and the development has been carried on until 2010–2011. The aim of the project has been to provide the potential users with an opportunity to visit cultural (e.g. medieval castles and fortifications) and natural heritage sites using a portable electronic device as a travel guide. The development of the LAMB (fi. PULU) system has continued in cooperation with experts from Muuritutkimus Company, Turku University of Applied Sciences, Åbo Akademi University/Uppsala University, University of Turku and Municipality of Eura. The project has been supported financially by the Finnish National Board of Education.

The current versions of the client system have been built using Java Standard Edition. This platform was chosen because it is well established and available on most platforms including smart phones. Due to portability requirements, the platform uses a minimal device specific interface for accessing GPS data. At the moment, the system is running on mini tablet PC and mini-laptop devices. These provide usable screen size, workable interaction and performance for an affordable price.

The LAMB/PULU platform has proven to be a versatile framework for designing and realizing sightseeing and learning sessions with a specific focus on tourists', students' and researchers' experience and engagement with their environment and its various human dimensions. The variety of functionalities in the client provides the means to develop rich interaction with cultural heritage sites both for individual tourists and groups.

The poster will focus on some examples of Finnish castles and mobile-touring in them.



Fieldtrip guides Exkursionsführer Vodnik po ekskurzijah

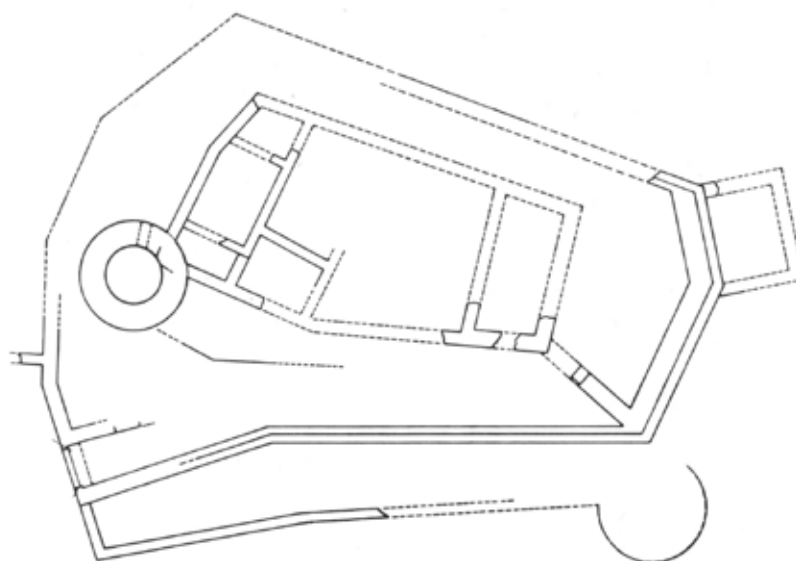
Štajerska

Podvrh near Braslovče

Grad Žovnek / Saneck or Sannegg Castle

In about 1125, a person named Gebhard de Soune appears in written documents. His name was derived from the river Savinja after which the entire county had been named for a while. Similarly, the name of Sounheck (Saneck) derives from the Savinja. This latter name has been used from the 1170s onwards by members of a family of free lords from the Savinja Region, signifying their family residence. Whether the lords of Saneck were of local descent and were related to Gebhard de Soune or they perhaps stemmed from the Bavarian family of the counts of Neuburg-Falkenstein, remains unclear. In any case, by 1139 at the latest, the family resided in the Lower Savinja Valley. The construction of Saneck Castle can be surmised at about the same time. The castle itself was first mentioned directly in 1278. Its position was related to the nearby road connecting Styria with Carniola via Črnivec mountain pass.

The lords of Saneck were held in great esteem among the nobility in the wider region. They resided mostly in their castle at Lemberg/Lengenberg near Poljčane, while Saneck was managed by several knights who co-resided there. In the early 14th century, the lords of Saneck sided with Friedrich Duke of Austria against Heinrich Duke of Carinthia. In 1308, Ulrich



Žovnek / Saneck Castle, general ground-plan (after Stopar 1992, 160).

of Saneck handed over several castles to the Habsburgs, among them Saneck, only to receive them back again as fiefdoms. In return, the Habsburgs entrusted the lords of Saneck with the administration of all of their towns and castles in the Savinja Valley which they had acquired in the above mentioned conflict. In 1322, the Sanecks inherited vast estates around Celje from the Counts of Heunburg (Vovbrški). Presumably in 1333, they moved their residence to Celje and even changed their name as they were raised to the rank of counts in 1339/1341: the Counts of Cilli (Celjski). Since then, Saneck Castle has been managed by various castellans. In 1423 it once more became a freehold. Following the death of the last Count of Cilli, Saneck came into possession of the Habsburgs. It was then managed by several tenants until it was sold to Adam Schrott in the late 16th century. From then on, it has changed owners continually. Since the early 19th century when its owner Jožef Čokl of Ruhethal built a new mansion nearby, Saneck Castle has been decaying rapidly. Only recently, amateur incentive has led to partial conservation and restoration of the ruins.

The castle complex consists of the inner castle core and two baileys separated by a series of deep ditches. In the 12th century, the castle had the layout of an irregular polygonal enclosure but the remains of original buildings inside it are no longer discernible. In the southwestern corner, a massive round tower has been erected. Its walls have a thickness of ca. 2.70 m. Traces of vaulting on the second floor attest to the existence of a castle chapel inside this tower. A water cistern was arranged in the courtyard. Some water pipes are reported to have been uncovered bringing water to the castle from an unidentified water source northwest of the complex. The outer line of defensive walls with towers was also added in the late medieval period. In the Renaissance phase, the inner courtyard was surrounded by several arcaded buildings along the inner perimeter wall.

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Celje

The area at the confluence of the rivers of Savinja and Voglajna has been settled since prehistoric times. The modern name of Celje derives from the Celtic settlement of Keleia and the Roman Municipium Claudium Celeia (since AD 41–54). The Roman town had a regular urban structure and was surrounded by walls with towers. By the 4th century, a Christian bishopric had been established here and several early Christian churches have been excavated inside the town walls, as well as on the hill of Miklavški Hrib just to the south of the town. In the 5th and 6th centuries, Celeia was in decline. The site once more gained strategic importance after 970 as the centre of the Askvinian dynastic estates and later the administrative centre of the County of Savinja (Souna) which they ruled.

Still, the urban development of medieval Celje was rather slow and gradual. It was only with the political rise of the Counts of Cilli in the early 15th century that the centre of their estates prospered economically. In 1451, Count Frederick II of Cilli finally granted it the legal status of a town.

The Church of St. Daniel

The main church of Celje, once the seat of a parish and since 2006 the cathedral of the bishopric of Celje, existed by at least 1229 when its parish priest was mentioned. The present building, a three-aisled basilica with flat wooden ceilings was consecrated in 1306. After 1379, during the long and politically successful rule of Count Hermann I of Cilli, the church was refurbished. The nave received a ribbed vaulting; the belfry and a new, long choir were also built at that time. The vaulted choir was painted with frescoes in the early 15th century. The composition of the Journey and Adoration of the Magi depicted on the northern choir wall is particularly notable.

In the early 15th century, the chapel of St. Mary was constructed to the north of the choir. It was originally dedicated to the Three Kings – a typical knightly dedication – and was probably consecrated in 1413. The walls inside the chapel carry sculpted consoles and baldachins with crockets and finials. Thirteen of twenty consoles are still preserved and they are decorated with several motifs from Physiologus (the Siren, Onocentaurus, Lion, Pelican, Ostrich, and Scylla, or probably Serra), a mask, a human face, St. John the Evangelist, a monk and an extremely rare depiction of the »Woman of Seven Deadly Sins« (Siebenlasterweib). The motifs were explained by inscriptions on stone slabs placed beneath them. Stylistic differences suggest a possible earlier date for the execution of the consoles (ca. 1380).

St. Mary's Chapel also houses a fine painted stone sculpture of Pietà dated to 1410–1415. The vaulted ceiling is decorated with the motif of the Thronus Pietatis, surrounded by angels carrying the Arma Christi, the Evangelists, and the four Church Fathers. These frescoes were probably painted around 1415. Above the entrance to the chapel in the north aisle of the church there is another, badly-preserved fresco from around 1520–1530 depicting the Hortus Conclusus motif.

Commissioned by the Counts of Cilli, St. Mary's Chapel is the only example on Slovenian territory of a private chapel built by a noble ruling family as a sign of their devotion but also as a symbol of their earthly power and prestige. This chapel certainly was one the crucial milestones in the shaping of the Counts' identity and self-representation even as they were aspiring to a princely status, building their own independent dominion within the Holy Roman Empire through dynastic alliance with the ruling families of the time.

In the 16th century, the side aisles of the church were raised to the level of the nave and vaulted. Two chapels were later added on the northern side. The main altar of St. Daniel was made by a Venetian master in 1743 and the side altar of St. Francis by Ferdinand Gallo in 1769. In the mid-19th century, the church was re-Gothicized and restoration with further changes to the interior followed in the mid-20th century.

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Knežji Dvorec / the Prince's Mansion

The princely mansion (Fürstenhof) where the counts of Cilli held their court stood in the southwestern corner of the medieval (market) town of Celje. It had developed from a simple tower-like structure (mentioned in 1323) only to become the largest and most prestigious medieval urban palace on the territory of Slovenia. It was raided in 1457 by the army of Jan Vitovec, one of the key figures in the wars over the Cilli inheritance. As property of provincial rules, the Habsburgs, it was then used for administrative purposes. By the mid-16th century, it was in dire need of repair. The work was completed by 1579. The most radical alterations to the complex were carried out in the years 1748–1750 when it was transformed into military barracks based on an order by the Austrian Empress Maria Theresa. The complex was severely damaged in the fire of 1798. Consequently, in 1803 the curtain wall was pulled down and the defensive ditch filled in. The towers were lowered and some buildings were raised so that the whole complex could be united under one roof. The military has been stationed here until the early 1980s. Research and conservation work started in the early 1990s.

Archaeological excavations carried out by the Celje Institute for Protection of Cultural Heritage in 1992–1996 revealed the well-preserved remains of Roman Celeia underneath the complex. The main decumanus with two residential complexes (*villa urbana*) on both sides was uncovered. The Roman architecture and infrastructure date from the 1st to the 3rd centuries AD. Furthermore, substantial remains of the 4th-century town wall with a gate comprising two square towers were also found.

The medieval mansion has developed from a tower-like structure (a hall?) standing in the western part of an enclosed courtyard. A defensive moat running along the outer perimeter on the northern, eastern and southern side was probably cut out at the very beginning. A smaller tower was then added to the south of the hall and later also the entrance tower in the southeastern corner of the yard. Another defensive tower was added in the northwestern corner of the complex and an entrance hall was added to the main building on its eastern side. Subsequently, the buildings along the western and southern line of the curtain wall were connected into a compact range. On the northern side, a large tower was added standing

on a 7 m wide arch spanning the moat. This tower probably contained living quarters. Its upper floors were accessible from the south by an outer spiral staircase. The main hall contained two or possibly one two-storeyed representative halls, as attested by two rows of Gothic windows which are still partly preserved in the western wall of the building. The hall building was subsequently connected with the northwestern tower and a new gate tower was built to the east of the residential tower, thus opening the complex to the north while the old southeastern entrance gate had been transformed and possibly closed up. Later on, the old moat was filled in and a new line of defensive walls erected along the outer bank of the former moat. A new entrance gate was arranged in the north. Another building was built opposite the hall in the southern part of the courtyard. Radical transformation followed when the complex was rearranged for military purposes in the mid-18th century.

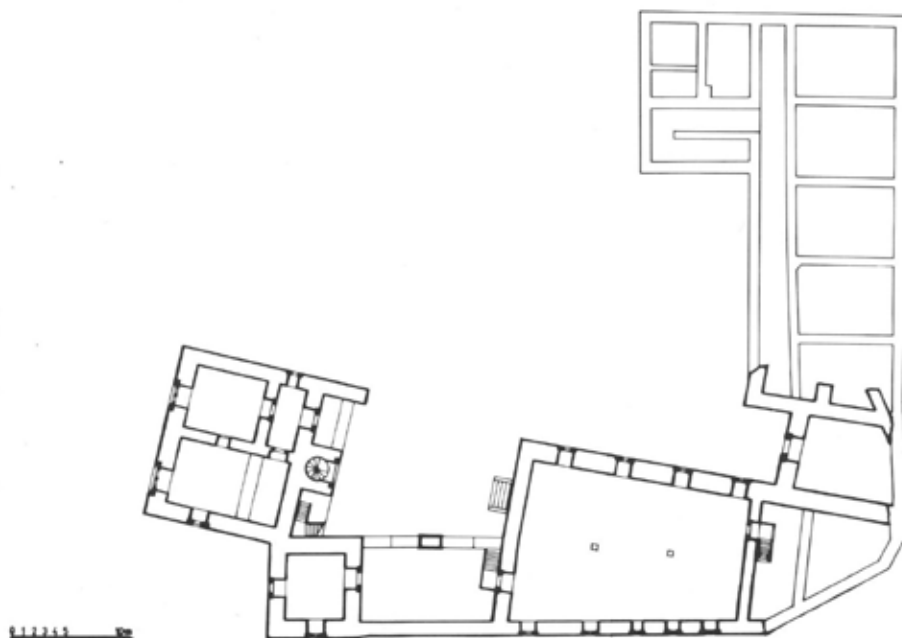
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Knežji Dvorec / the Prince's Mansion in Celje, situation in the early 15th century (after Stopar 1992, 25).

Stari Grad / Upper Cilli Castle

The upper castle of Celje / Cilli (hist. Ober Cilli) is perched on a narrow promontory overlooking the confluence of the Savinja and Voglajna Rivers. Whether the Askvinians, the 11th-century rulers of the county of Savinja (Souna) have built a fortification on the site of Upper Cilli or not, remains unclear. Around 1130, Count Günther from the line of the counts of Heunburg (Vovbrški) acted as Margrave of Savinja and he even named himself occasionally the "Margrave of Celje". The Savinja margraviate was soon abolished and the freehold of Celje fell into the hands of the Heunburg family. These have managed their estates around Celje with the help of their serf-knights and castellans residing at Upper Cilli Castle. The first known direct reference to the castle dates from the year 1323.

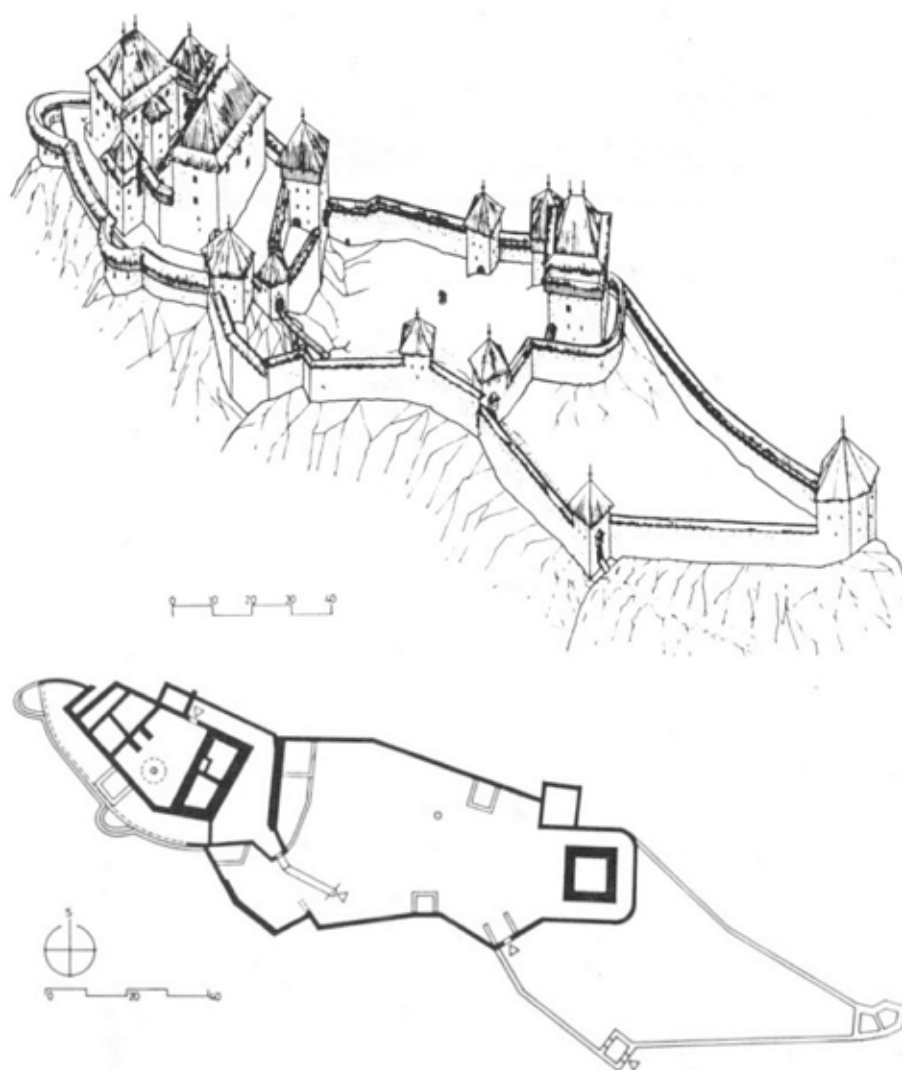
In 1322, the last of the Heunburgs died and the lords of Saneck inherited their estates around Celje. After a decade of fighting for the Heunburg inheritance, the Sanecks finally took hold of Celje in 1333. In 1339/1341, they acquired the status of counts and duly changed their name to the Counts of Cilli (Celjski). The counts built a princely mansion (Knežji dvorec, Fürstenhof) inside their market town of Celje, whilst the Upper Cilli Castle served as a military stronghold and was managed by castellans.

With the extinction of the Cilli dynasty in 1456, Upper Cilli became the property of provincial rulers. Several castellans and custodians have been appointed by the Habsburgs to maintain the fortress. In 1515, it was occupied for a short while by rebellious peasants. The dilapidated complex was thoroughly restored in 1566–1579. In 1748–1750, Upper Cilli Castle was dismantled to provide the necessary building material for the construction of the military barracks inside the former princely mansion in the town of Celje and later also for other buildings. Conservation and restoration of the ruins started in the late 19th century and are still underway. At its largest, Upper Cilli Castle has covered an area of over 7.000 m² which makes it by far the largest castle complex on the territory of Slovenia.

In 1972–1983 and 1986, archaeological excavations were carried out by the Ljubljana Faculty of Arts' Department of Archaeology. The entire castle core and parts of the outer baileys were excavated. The excavators maintained that traces of an early medieval fortified settlement were uncovered underneath the later Gothic hall building, yet this interpretation remains questionable, since the supposed earthen rampart and wooden constructions might easily be ascribed to the earliest phase of the castle and the construction of the protective "shield" wall on this location. The revision of small finds from this area has also failed to confirm the presence of 10th–11th-century pottery. The earliest artefacts from this assemblage are now reliably dated to the 12th and early 13th century.

The most plausible interpretation of the development of the castle complex – based both on the results of archaeological excavations and the structural analysis of standing remains – might be summarised as follows: In the late 12th or early 13th century, an irregular pentagonal area at the end of the promontory was enclosed by a curtain wall. In the far northeastern corner of the enclosure, a rectangular hall was probably built of which no traces remain. The southwestern front of the enclosure on the access side exposed to attack was provided with a shielding, thicker and higher defensive wall carrying a wooden gallery. The entrance to the inner yard

was leading through a simple gate on the ground floor level. West of the gate, an outbuilding with two rooms was erected. A filtering cistern was constructed in the southern part of the castle courtyard. Around 1300, the old core was surrounded by an outer line of defensive walls. At its northern end, a tower was erected. The position and arrangement of the outer gate leading through the outer curtain wall remains uncertain. In the first half of the 14th century, probably when the lords of Saneck came into possession of Upper Cilli, the castle was transformed into a more comfortable residential complex. Against the old shield-wall in the eastern end of the inner yard, a new, larger hall building was erected in Gothic style. On the ground floor, a smoking chamber was arranged for the processing of meat. On the plateau east of the castle, an isolated tower (*propugnaculum*; later called the Frederick's Tower) was built controlling the access route leading to the castle core. Somewhat later, probably in the mid-14th century, the old hall was replaced by a new one in Gothic style. It had an outer staircase tower attached to its eastern front. In order to construct the new western hall, the outbuilding next to the main gate had to be demolished. Around 1400, a new line of crenellated walls complete with two defensive wall towers and a gate (keep) was erected to the east of the castle core enclosing the Frederick's Tower into a large elongated bailey. The outer keep



Stari Grad Celje / Upper Cilli Castle, situation ca. 1500 (after Stopar 1992, 20).

stood north of the Frederick's Tower. In the early 15th century, a second bailey was added on the eastern side. The entrances through the individual lines of walls were secured with the erection of four gate towers. Now the entrance to the inner bailey was moved from the northeast to the south-eastern corner. A massive ditch separating the castle core from the inner bailey was dug out making use of a natural cut in the bedrock. In the late 15th century, the outer perimeter of the castle core was lowered and two semicircular bastions were added to it. Another tower (the so-called Andrew's Tower) was added on the southern side of the castle core. It is supposed to have housed a chapel dedicated to St. Andrew. On the northern side next to the ditch, the so-called Pelikan's Tower was also erected in the early 16th century. The baileys received an additional line of walls on the southern side, adapted to the use of firearms. Inside the inner bailey, the foundations of stables were excavated in the northwestern corner and a forge next to the southern tower, both dated to this period. From 1566 until 1579, extensive repairs took place at the castle. Its battlements were repaired and provided with artillery bastions. Inside the castle core, the buildings were linked into a unified architectural ensemble with three ranges of arcaded balconies giving the castle a then fashionable look of a Renaissance fortress-residence.

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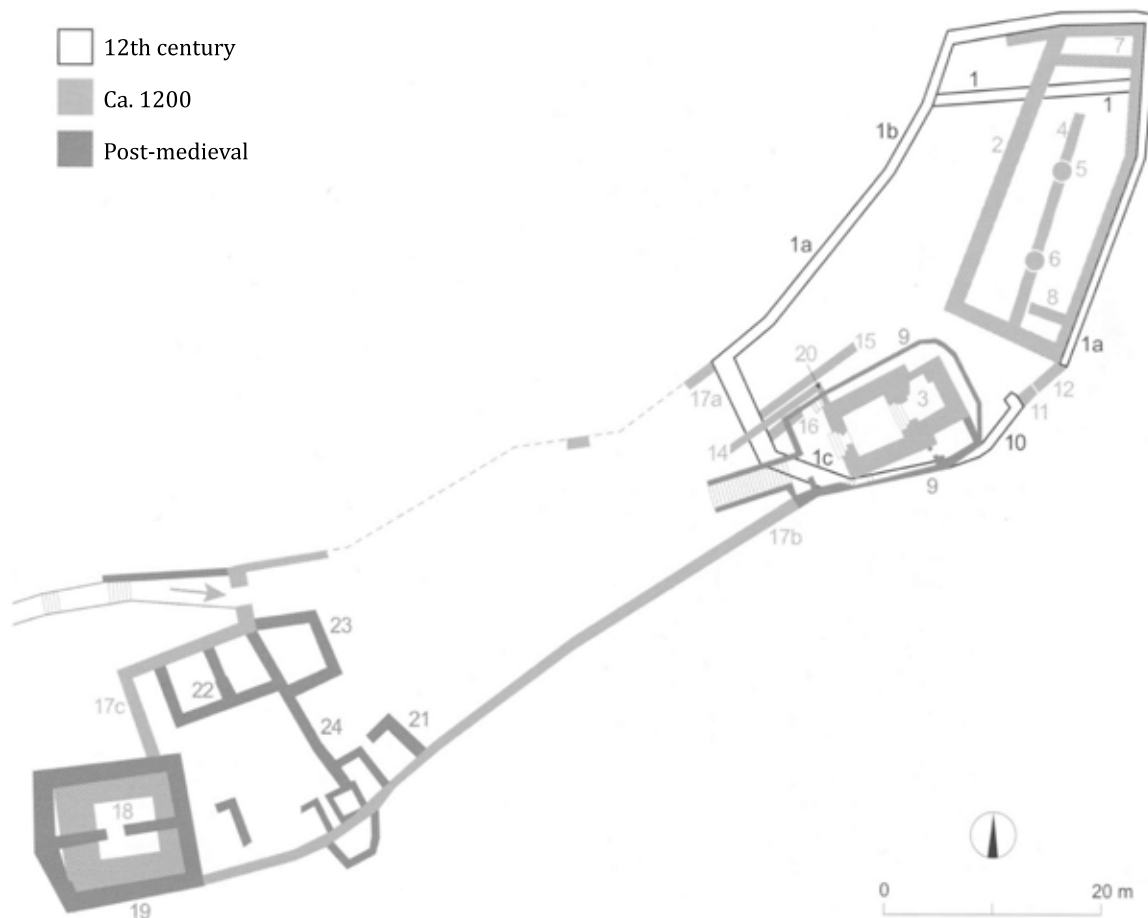
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Gorenjska

Kamnik

Mali Grad / (Lower) Stein Castle

Following the victory of German king Otto I the Great over the Hungarians at Lechfeld in 955, Carniola, one of the previously semi-autonomous Slav regions at the southern borders of the Frankish – and later, German – Empire was turned into a margraviate sometime around the year 1000. The territory was divided up into great estates which the crown then handed over to their loyal clientele among the Bavarian aristocracy and to several church institutions, such as the bishopric of Freising or the archbishopric of Salzburg. Next to the early medieval centre at Kranj, Kamnik/Stein seems to have become one of the central sites in the country as early as the 10th century, but certainly by the early 12th century when it was chosen to be the seat of the mighty Counts of Andechs. These came into possession of margrave's estates in Carniola around 1100 through the inheritance of the former Carniolan Margrave's daughter Sophia of Weimar-Orlamünde who had married Count Berthold II of Andechs. Immediately, this line of the House of Andechs began to invest in their political position in Carniola, forging alliances and acquiring new estates. In the 12th century, Mali Grad was managed by several serf-knights of the Andechs. In 1202, both cas-



Mali Grad / (Lower) Stein Castle in Kamnik, composite plan (after Štular 2009, 59).

tles of Stein were first directly mentioned in the written sources. The Andechs dynasty reached its peak in the early 13th century with Heinrich IV who held the titles of the Margrave of Istria and the Duke of Merania. Heinrich was the most powerful lord in Carniola and practically ruled it, even though the title of Carniolan Margraves was officially held by the Patriarchs of Aquileia. In 1228 Heinrich IV of Andechs died with no male offspring. This opened the way for the rise to power of another feudal dynasty, the Carinthian Dukes of Spanheim who also had vast territorial possessions in Carniola. With this turn, Kamnik lost its political importance. Instead, the Spanheim centre of Ljubljana started to prosper and gradually became the capital city of Carniola.

The importance of Kamnik in the 12th and 13th centuries is aptly illustrated by the existence of two medieval castles belonging to the dominion. They both carried the name of Kamnik/Stein and it is often impossible to attribute the information from medieval documents to either one or the other with any certainty. But there are some documents referring specifically to the upper (nowadays named Stari Grad) or lower (nowadays named Mali Grad) castle of Stein. Archaeological excavations carried out at the site of the lower castle (1974–1995, with intermissions) attest to its early construction and previous importance of the location, whereas the poor state of preservation and lack of research prevent reliable dating of the upper castle.

The lower castle of Stein stands on a cliff above a small gorge cut through the rock by the Kamniška Bistrica River. The upper castle was built on the peak of the mountain just opposite, across the river. Here, the Tuhinjska Valley leading from the heart of the Savinja Alps towards west opens onto the Kamnik Plain. The Tuhinjska Dolina Valley offers access to the Lower Savinja Valley over the mountain pass at Špitalič and this has indeed been the main trade route connecting the regions of Spodnja Štajerska/Untersteiermark and Kranjska/Carniola up until the 17th century when the ancient Roman route via Trojane Pass was reopened.

At the site of Mali Grad some Copper age pottery was found but no prehistoric structures. 27 early medieval burials containing rare grave goods dated to the 10th and early 11th centuries were excavated directly underneath the medieval castle core. Some finds attest to the presence of high status individuals indicating that Kamnik was a central place already prior to the arrival of the Counts of Andechs.

In the second quarter of the 12th century, the first stone castle was built. An irregular polygonal wall enclosed the easternmost part of the plateau. The access side of the wall was thicker and probably higher than the others forming a protective shield-wall. At the far end of the enclosed yard a narrow hall was erected and in the southwestern corner underneath the still standing chapel yet another building, possibly an earlier chapel from which only the tympanum bearing the relief of Agnus Dei is preserved, now placed above the main entrance of the later chapel.

Around 1200, the castle was rebuilt completely. Inside the castle core, a new hall with at least two storeys was erected lying at a right angle to the old one. On the ground floor there was a kitchen and storage rooms. On the first floor, grain supplies were stored. Several heaps of charred wheat, barley, oats, millet and horse bean were found lying on a thin layer of charcoal representing the burnt wooden storey construction. The hall burnt down in the late 13th century. Further changes in the early 13th century included

the erection of a new two-storeyed chapel with a crypt and an outer bailey. At the easternmost corner of the bailey, next to the outer castle gate, a massive square tower (a keep) was erected, possibly a *propugnaculum* at first and only enclosed by the curtain wall at a later date. The separate entrance to the upper storey of the chapel and some other traces in the masonry suggest that a third residential hall existed to the west of the chapel.

The archaeological evidence suggests that the old castle core was abandoned after the fire in the late 13th century. But life at Mali Grad must have continued for more than a century, as attested by the written sources. The castle belonged to the provincial rulers and was managed by castellans, even two or more at a time. By 1444, Mali Grad had been deserted. In the late 15th and 16th centuries, a small burghers' fort was erected on the ruins of the former western keep but even that did not survive for long. Since the late 17th century, the castle chapel remains the only completely preserved building of the former castle complex.

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Begunje

Grad Kamen / Stein Castle

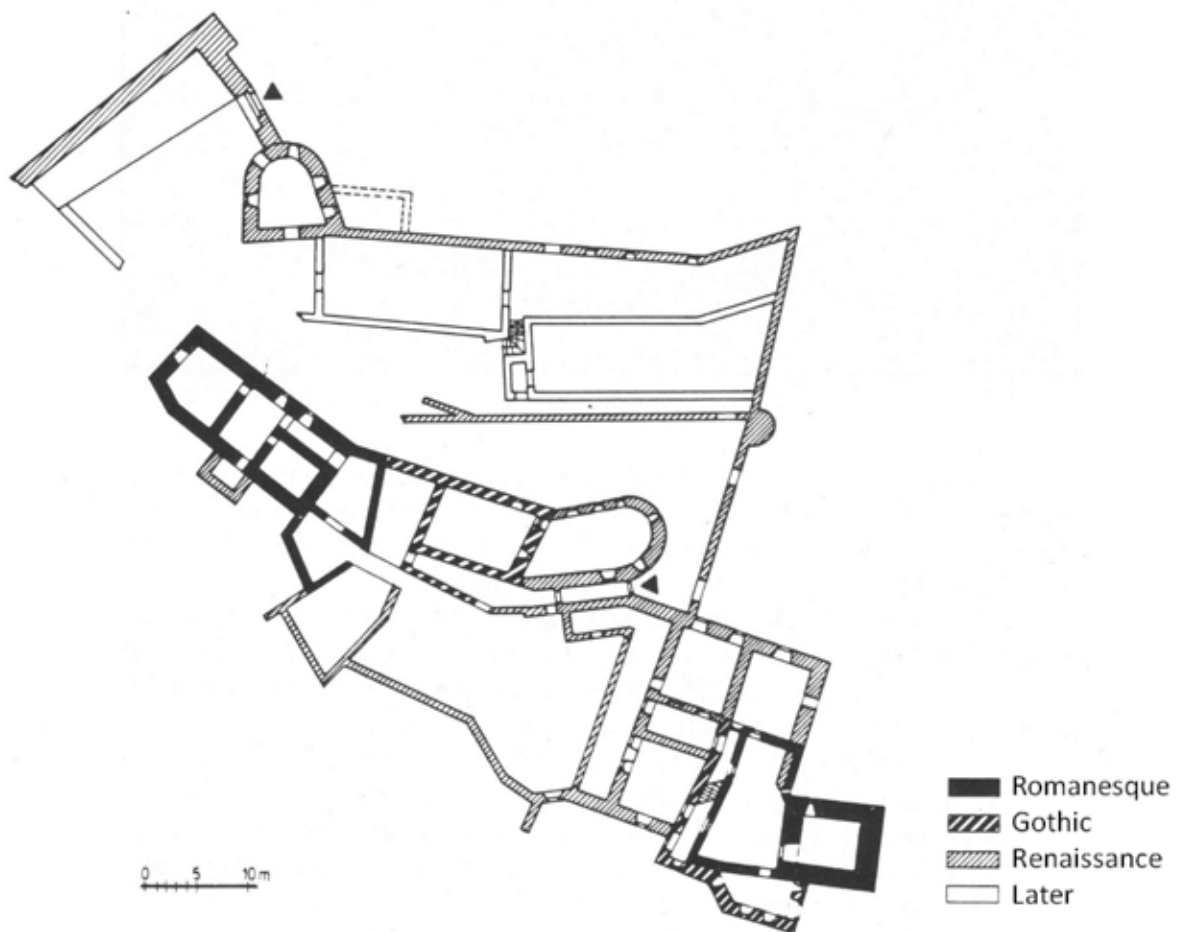
In the early 12th century, the dominion of Kamen/Stein in Upper Carniola (germ. Oberkrain), once owned by the Margraves of Carniola, the Counts of Weimar-Orlamünde, was inherited by the Count Adalbert I of Ortenburg. The earliest known written reference to the castle of Stein itself dates back to the year 1263 (*castrum Lapis*). The castle was then managed by four castellans who all lived there and were serf-knights (lat. *ministeriales*) of the Counts of Ortenburg. In the late 14th century the status of Stein Castle seems to have changed; its castellans then possessed their own castles and only acted as employees of the Ortenburg family. In 1418, following the death of the last of the Ortenburgs, the Counts of Cilli came in possession of Stein Castle. Count Hermann III of Cilli who had lived in nearby Radovljica/Radmanssdorf for a while managing the family's estates in Upper Carniola, died here in 1428 in a fatal riding accident. Upon the death of Count Ulrich II of Cilli in 1456, the Habsburgs inherited the Cilli possessions. Stein Castle was managed by several families, and in 1476 Emperor Friedrich III granted the Stein dominion as fiefdom to the Lamberg family. These have

owned it for centuries. In 1553, Stein Castle underwent a substantial renovation but gradually the Lambergs left it over to decay as they moved to their newly built manor of Kacenštajn/Katzenstein in the nearby village of Begunje. Stein Castle had been completely abandoned by the mid-18th century when its masonry was used for the construction of the new parish church in Begunje and for repairs at Katzenstein.

Stein Castle stands on a steep rocky promontory closing off the valley of the Draga rivulet. An ancient road, once a mere pack animal trail, passes just underneath the castle, leading from Bohinj and the Upper Sava Valley towards Tržič and thence over the mountains via Ljubelj/Loibl Pass to Carinthia. In the medieval and early-modern periods it was particularly important for trade in raw and forged iron.

The oldest building inside the castle core is the old hall standing in the southeastern corner of the promontory where it is naturally protected by cliffs on three sides. The only possible access to the hall was from the northwest where it was controlled by a ditch cut into the bedrock. In the cellar and on the upper floors traces of wooden ceilings and wall panelling are preserved. The hall was probably first built in the 12th century but was raised and changed substantially afterwards.

Around 1200, an exposed tower (*propugnaculum*) was added on the northwestern side of the castle complex, securing it against possible attack from the uprising slopes. This tower is now integrated into the castle core with a later, Renaissance hall standing at its foot. Originally, the tower



Kamen/Stein Castle near Begunje, composite plan (after Stopar 1996, 79).

probably had one or two additional storeys, a crenellated parapet and a wooden defensive gallery. In the 16th century the tower was lowered and Renaissance-style machicolations were added.

The Renaissance hall was built around 1550. It contained several rooms, some of them heated, and a chapel dedicated to St. Valentine. Its outer front was embellished with arcades.

Several late-medieval and particularly 16th-century buildings inside and outside the inner ward, a newly arranged access route with a drawbridge and a lower bailey complete the castle complex. At the foot of the cliff on the southwestern side, a terraced park with a pond was arranged next to the Renaissance outer gate, probably in the 17th century when some of the outbuildings in the bailey were also constructed.

The conservation and partial restoration work on the ruin started in 1959 and was mainly completed by the mid-1970s.

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Jama / De Antro or Lueg Fortified Refuge

This fortification consisted of a natural cave in a rock wall, closed-off by a stone front wall. A small window ensured safe observation of the underlying grounds. It was accessible only with the help of a ladder and was clearly not inhabited permanently but served as a secure and hidden outlook and possible temporary refuge in times of danger.

The refuge was first mentioned in 1185 (*de Antro*). In 1263, when the Ortenburg brothers Friedrich and Heinrich agreed upon a division of their family estates amongst themselves, this refuge was mentioned specifically among the Carniolan estates that were assigned to Heinrich, together with the nearby Stein Castle to which it probably belonged (*Carniole antrum et castrum Lapis cum quattuor castellanis*). In the mid-14th century it was referred to as the fortress of Lueg. It was probably abandoned by the end of the 15th century.

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Zgornja Lipnica near Radovljica

Pusti Grad / Waldenberg Castle

The ruins of Waldenberg Castle (also named Waldenburg or Wallenberg, nowadays Pusti Grad) are stretched along a narrow ridge separating the river valleys of Sava and Lipnica. The castle was probably built in the late 12th century by the Carinthian line of the Counts of Ortenburg who had managed to acquire large parts of the former Margrave's lands in Carniola by 1185. The Ortenburg family ruled its estates in the Upper Sava Valley from two administrative seats built on both banks of the river Sava – the castles of Kamen/Stein to the north and Pusti Grad/Waldenberg to the south of the river. Waldenberg Castle was erected on a steep ridge offering a dominant view of the surroundings from a naturally protected location. The site was chosen carefully, next to a bridge on the Sava and just above the road that runs from the town of Radovljica/Radmannsdorf along the Lipnica Valley towards the medieval town of Škofja Loka/Bischoflack and over the Jelovica mountain plateau, rich in iron ore, towards Železniki. The iron ore mining, smelting and forging were particularly important economic activities developed by the Counts of Ortenburg at least since the 14th century and the tradition continues to this day with the ironworks at Jesenice. Nearby, Radovljica was established by the Ortenburgs as the urban centre of their estates.

In 1263, Waldenberg first appears in written sources in an agreement signed by the Ortenburg brothers Friedrich and Heinrich to divide the family estates between themselves. The dominion of Waldenberg Castle was to be owned by Friedrich, whereas that of Stein Castle on the other bank of the Sava was assigned to Heinrich. The Ortenburg estate was reunited in the early 14th century. Indirectly, the castle was first mentioned in 1228 already. Then and until the late 14th century, it was managed by the Lords of Waldenberg who were serf-knights of the Counts of Ortenburg and lived in the castle itself as their castellans. At times, two or even three castellans, all members of the Waldenberg family, lived in the castle together and this situation clearly explains the symmetrical design of the castle complex comprising two halls.

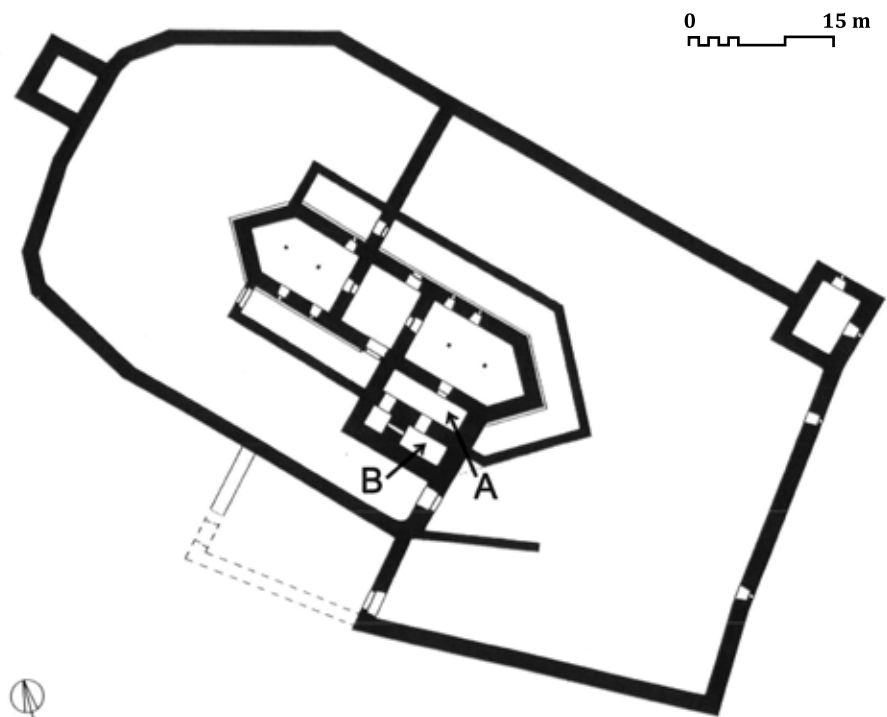
In the late 14th and early 15th centuries, the position of castellans at Waldenberg was held by several members of the lower-ranking nobility as a temporary office. In 1418 (1420), Waldenberg came in the possession of the Counts of Cilli who had inherited the Ortenburg estates. The Counts of Cilli then managed Waldenberg in a similar way, employing several castellans for shorter periods of time. Managing the dominions of Radovljica/Radmannsdorf and Spittal an der Drau, Counts Hermann III and his brother Friedrich II of Cilli resided in Radovljica for a while. Apparently they built a town palace and chose not to reside in Waldenberg.

In 1456 the last Count of Cilli died and the dominions of Waldenberg and Radovljica/Radmannsdorf fell into the hands of the House of Habsburg. Waldenberg was then leased out to tenants acting as keepers for the Habsburgs. In 1616, Count Johann Ambrosius von Thurn bought and united the dominions of Waldenberg and Radovljica/Radmannsdorf. Waldenberg Castle was then probably abandoned to decay. Certainly it had been abandoned prior to the 1680s when the Carniolan erudite Johann Weichard von Valvasor depicted it as a ruin.

The castle complex measures some 90×45 m and comprises the inner ward with two halls and a concentric or rather, spiralling series of outer baileys. On both sides, the ridge is cut through by a transverse ditch preventing easy and direct access. Possibly there were some additional fortifications arranged on the outer sides of these ditches but no traces are visible on the surface. The castle core displays a symmetrical layout of an elongated, 35 m long and 10 m wide hexagon. Its pointed opposite ends are formed by two pentagonal tower-like hall buildings separated by a central courtyard. This compact architectural ensemble was probably created already in the late 12th century but its poor state of preservation and lack of research do not allow for a closer assessment of any later structural changes.

In the south, the base of the perimeter wall was reinforced with a socle ending abruptly at the probable location of the gate leading to the inner courtyard. Surrounding the core area at a distance of about 2.5 m is an outer curtain wall, probably built in the 14th century. This narrow concentric belt was separated into several segments by transverse walls and at least two buildings, one on the northern side and the other in the southeast, next to the presumed inner gate. In this area, archaeological excavations were carried out by Gorenjski Muzej Kranj (the Museum of Gorenjska) in 1993, following an earlier unauthorised dig by an amateur. The excavated buildings consist of at least three rooms. Their purpose and possible reconstruction remain tentative and open to interpretation. The narrow western room (A) was 8.45 m long and 1.88 m wide but it remains unclear whether it was covered with a roof or not. Two walking levels were observed, the later consisting of mortar flooring.

To the south of Room A lies the so-called Room B measuring 4.70×2.05 on the inside. It has massive, up to 1.80 m thick walls which still rise over 4 m high. The cellar and lower part of the first floor of this structure are preserved together with the remains of a massive wooden floor construction.



Pusti Grad / Waldenberg Castle near Zgornja Lipnica, situation in the 14th-century (after Sapač 2004).

The entrance to the cellar was from the northwest and opened through the wall directly underneath the ceiling so that a wooden ladder was needed to reach the cellar floor. The walls of the cellar were plastered. Two further features complicate the picture: in the southwestern corner of Room A, a shaft opens in the wall separating Rooms A and B. The shaft leads diagonally downwards through the thickness of the wall towards Room B (the cellar) but it ended inside the wall and did not have an opening visible from inside the cellar until it was broken open by the excavators. In the same wall, but further north, another diagonal shaft opens inside Room B leading in the opposite direction, sloping downwards towards Room A. Again, there is no connection, since this second shaft ends at a level lower than the floor inside Room A. The excavations produced vast quantities of artefacts; more than 2450 have been recorded so far, dating mostly from the 14th to the 16th centuries. Pottery comprises numerous cooking vessels, oil lamps, simple tableware and also decorative luxury wares, among them imported Italian and Spanish majolica, as well as painted and glazed wares with engraved decoration, presumably of local production. Several fragments of stove tiles and an almost completely preserved figurine of St. Catherine of Alexandria made of pipe clay were also discovered. Glass vessels and coins are rare but other metal objects are numerous, comprising remains of agricultural and other tools, knives and kitchen utensils, window and door trappings, nails, arrow heads, bullets and remains of early firearms, dress accessories and ornaments made of brass etc. Some metal objects show traces of cutting and some could be interpreted as scrap metal though there is no clear evidence of recycling and production of metal objects on site.

Around the castle core spirals a bailey possibly divided in two separate segments by a transverse wall on the northern side. It is enclosed by a polygonal wall with two rectangular towers. In the south it is still preserved almost to its original height. The entrance to the castle was on the western side leading through the bailey gate towards southeast, then turning sharply northwestwards and up an access ramp supported by an escarp towards Room B. The bailey was probably enclosed in the 14th century. In the 16th century, another small bailey was added in front of the 14th-century outer gate, securing the access to the castle even more efficiently. No remains of possible outbuildings are visible inside the baileys.

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Ljubljana

Ljubljana, the capital of Slovenia, lies in a central position at the crossroads of both land and river routes connecting the easternmost outcrops of the Alps to the north and the Pannonian plain to the east with the littoral regions around the Adriatic Sea and the Apennine peninsula to the west. The historic centre of the city stretches along both banks of the river Ljubljanica.

To the south of the city extends a vast wetland area, the Ljubljana Marshes, covering some 160 km². It is there that the earliest traces of settlement in the Ljubljana area have been found, presumably dating from the Mesolithic period (ca. 5000 BC). From the late Neolithic period until the Bronze Age, the edge of Ljubljana Marshes was occupied with pile dwellings. The most important find made in this context is the world's oldest wooden wheel, dating from 3350 to 3100 BC. The pile dwelling nearest to Ljubljana stood at the site of Špica just up the river from the city's historic centre.

During the late Bronze and early Iron Ages, several settlements existed inside the modern city centre. A hillfort was constructed on the castle hill. At its foot, just to the south of the medieval town at the site named Tribuna, a well-organised settlement with a rectangular grid of streets and large wooden houses was laid out. A third settlement core developed at the eastern edge of medieval Ljubljana at Vodnikov Trg. A vast necropolis, contemporaneous with these settlements has been excavated on the opposite, left river bank, in Salendrova and Gosposka Streets and at Kongresni Trg.

In the 1st century BC, a Celtic settlement existed at the foot of the castle hill extending from Stari and Gornji Trg to the site of Tribuna. The locals have had contacts with the Roman traders for some time before the Roman occupation which started in the late Augustan period. Remains of a short-lived wooden Roman army camp from the late 1st century BC and the 1st century AD have been documented south of the Celtic settlement at the site of Tribuna. Soon, construction of a Roman colony started on the left bank of the Ljubljanica. The building of Colonia Iulia Emona was rapid and the town was founded in AD 14/15. The fortified town with a rectangular street grid measured some 520 × 430 m. It was settled with retired soldiers, mostly those who had served in the legions stationed in Illirycum and Pannonia. Emona was erected at an important crossroads where roads to Aquileia (towards Rome), Siscia (towards southern Illyricum and Moesia) and Poetovio (towards Vindobona and the Danube limes) met. Around the walled-in town, suburban settlements developed right next to the cities of the dead along the main roads leading from the town.

Remains of the Roman town and its necropolises are well preserved and have been subject to excavation for over a century. In the 4th century, Emona got its early-Christian centre around the bishop's palace. Internal politi-

cal and military conflicts within the empire and the incursions of the Huns and other barbarian tribes affected the town considerably. In the late Roman period, the town walls and fortifications were renovated and some of the town gates blocked.

Little is known about the settlement of today Ljubljana from the 6th to the 9th/10th centuries. This period witnessed the arrival and settlement of the Slavs. Graves containing typical head ornaments and other grave goods were found at various locations around Ljubljana, most notably at St. Peter's church to the east of the medieval town. Presumably, a church existed at this site in the 10th century already, but no traces of the building have been found so far. St. Peter's was the seat of an extensive parish which included even the town of Ljubljana; the church retained this status until the 15th century when St. Nicholas' church standing inside the town also gained parish status.

Inside the medieval town itself, the earliest traces of settlement are now coming to light on the right bank of the Ljubljanica between Tromostovje (the Three Bridges) and the Čevljarški (Shoemakers') Bridge. Excavations are still underway but it would appear that the earliest medieval settlement in this area started in the 11th century, if not even earlier. Some remains of a fortified settlement (a hillfort?) dating from the 11th–12th century have been uncovered on the castle hill.

Written sources document the existence of the castle of Ljubljana for the time between 1112 and 1125 and then again for the 1140s. The name appears first in its German form Leibach or Laibach, and then in 1146 also in the Slovene form Luwigana. All of these early mentions relate to the castle, then in the hands of the Carinthian Dukes of Spanheim. It was their main outpost in the Holy Roman Empire's border county or March of Carniola where in the course of the 12th and early 13th centuries the Spanheims were building a strong dominion. Upon the death of the last member of the Spanheim dynasty in the late 13th century, Ljubljana, their main urban centre in Carniola, fell into the hands of the Czech king Ottacher II Premysl, then the Counts of Gorizia-Tyrol and finally in 1335, the Habsburgs. Ljubljana became the official seat of Carniolan provincial rulers and thus gained the status which it bears even to this very day as the capital of Slovenia.

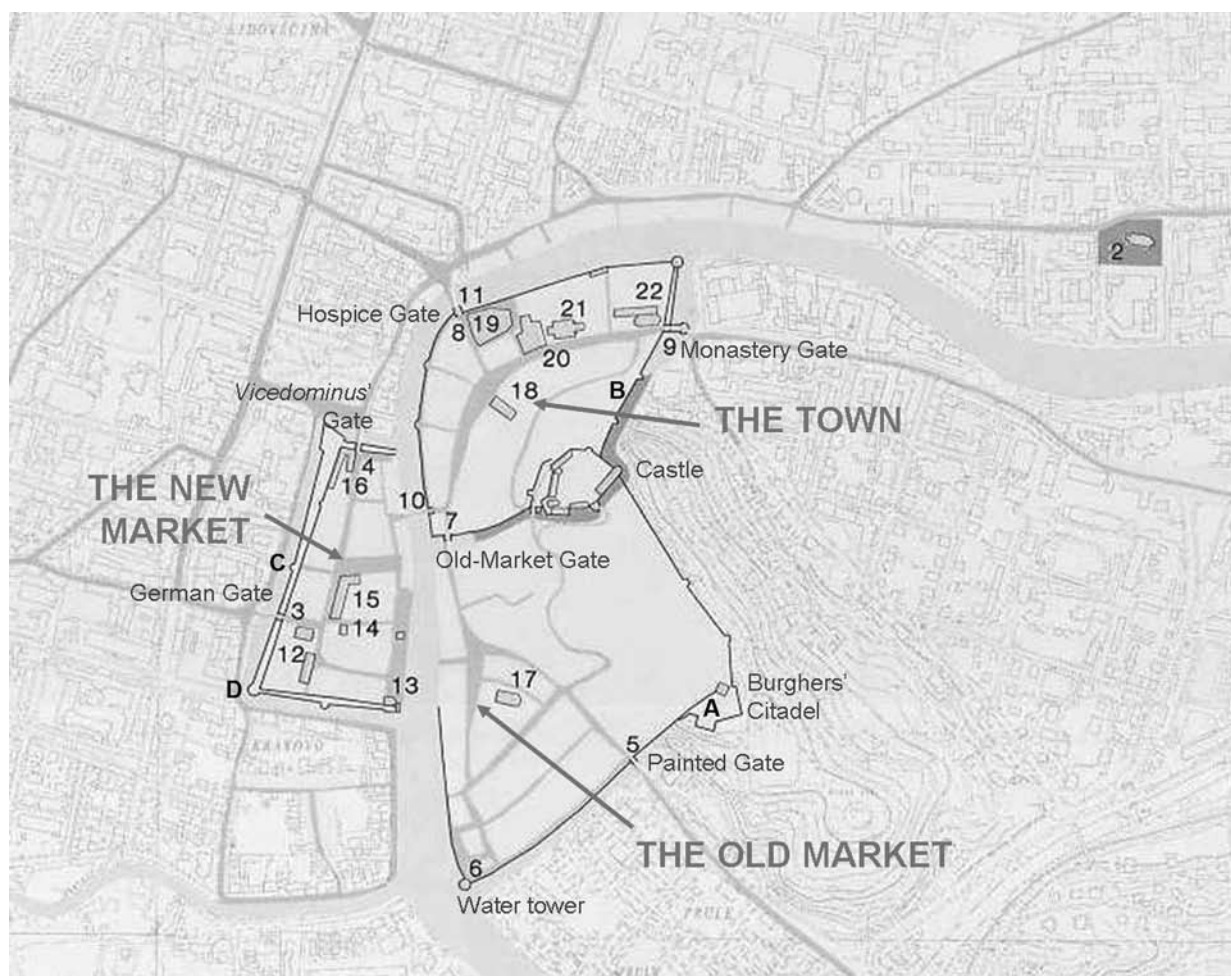
The medieval town was composed of three separate parts, the so-called Town (Mesto), Old Market (Stari Trg) and New Market (Novi Trg). They had formed and developed as separate settlement cores, even though in a legal sense, they constituted a single urban entity. The walls and other defensive structures followed that tripartite scheme and had developed individually for each part of the town.

It is generally supposed that the Old Market was the first to gain market rights and is thus to be understood as the oldest urban core of the later medieval Ljubljana. However, no archaeological finds have been made so far to support this hypothesis. Clearly, it was the Town that was the first to be encircled by a wall with towers and gates connected with the castle, as confirmed by the archaeological findings on the castle hill. The position of a town gate, the so-called Old Market Gate shows that the Town was the first to have been enclosed with defensive walls protecting it even against attack from the Old Market lying to the south-west of it. Access to the Town was also possible from the east through the so-called Monastery Gate and from the north through the Hospital Gate on the river bank opening directly onto the wooden Old or Hospital Bridge (nowadays the Three Bridges).

The role of another, so-called Upper Bridge (nowadays the Shoemakers' Bridge) lying next to the Old-Market Gate was vital as it provided for the internal communication between the Town and the New Market at a point where the three parts of medieval Ljubljana meet.

The city walls were first mentioned in 1243 when Ljubljana was explicitly named a *civitas*. Apparently, sometime before that a new, planned settlement (the Town) has been laid out east of the Old Market with the express intent of its feudal lords, the Counts of Spanheim, to spur urban development and enhance their own economic gains and interests. Recent archaeological findings confirmed this thesis in a rather spectacular way: Inside the Town, remains of a planned settlement were found, preliminarily dated around 1200. The whole area was divided in house lots; streets were planned and laid out at the same time as the buildings were constructed. The houses had low stone foundations on which walls made of wooden logs were resting. The basic street grid and in some cases even the lines of the street fronts have been preserved to this day. This planned settlement replaced an earlier phase of wooden buildings with walls made of horizontal or vertical planks inserted into massive horizontal log-frames. The corners were formed by massive wooden posts.

Archaeological findings show that skin tanning and leather working were highly developed. Until the 13th century, these industries were present in-



Ljubljana and its fortifications in the 16th century (© Mestni Muzej Ljubljana, edited by K. Predovnik).

side the later Town, whereas a late-medieval tannery has been uncovered on the left river bank in the New Market, next to the monastery of the Teutonic Knights. This workshop was demolished by the 15th century when the Carniolan nobles started to build their urban residences in the New Market.

Already in the mid-13th century, several religious orders have settled in Ljubljana, among them the Franciscans on the eastern edge of the Town, Teutonic Knights in the southwestern corner of the New Market and later the Augustinians in the suburbs opposite the Town, on the right riverbank (the site of the present Franciscan friary). In the post-medieval period and until its abolishment in 1783, the Franciscan friary was one of the preferred burial sites for the Ljubljana nobility and prominent burghers.

The New Market was separated from both the Town and the Old Market by the course of the Ljubljanica and thus had to be fortified as a separate unit. It was also protected by the river to the east and possibly by the ruins of the eastern wall of the Roman town of Emona to the west, though the extent to which the Roman architecture was still preserved at the time is impossible to establish. The defences around the New Market were therefore not a dire necessity and were probably only completed around 1307. Two fortified gates allowed access into the New Market, the German or Knights-of-the-Cross' Gate from the west and the Viceroy's Gate from the north. A semi-circular tower and some stretches of the medieval wall are still standing in the Vegova Street today, since they have been incorporated into the later buildings. The foundations of another semi-circular tower have been excavated a little further west. The towers were a later addition to the wall; they were probably built in the early 15th century.

The Old Market was placed at a point well protected by the castle hill to the north, the river to the west and the marshes to the south and east. Thus, the wall around it was the last of the three segments of Ljubljana's fortifications to be built; it was probably completed after 1533 when even the last of the Old Market territory fell under direct jurisdiction of the town.

Due to the incursions of the Turks in the 15th and 16th centuries, it was vital to keep Ljubljana's defences in good order. As the capital of Carniola, Ljubljana was also the military centre of the country and thus its strategic importance demanded a whole-scale modernization and reinforcement of the existing fortifications. In the mid-16th century, a massive semicircular barbican was built outside the Monastery Gate on the eastern side of the Town. Outside the eastern defensive wall and encircling the barbican, a new, wider moat was laid out. At about the same time, the New Market received a new, outer wall running parallel to the medieval one at a few metres distance with a circular artillery fort at the southwestern corner and a large trapezoidal bastion at the northwestern corner. A wide moat filled with water and connected to the river was laid out along this second line of defences.

The development of firearms and military tactics has rendered Ljubljana's fortifications fairly obsolete. In the 17th century plans for a modern system of angular artillery bastions and forts were made but they have never been carried out. The demolition of the town walls started in 1783 and by the early 19th century most of Ljubljana's fortifications have been removed completely. The modern development of the town started with the arrival of the railway in 1849. In 1895, Ljubljana was devastated by an earthquake. In the ensuing reconstruction, a new town with several fine

Art Nouveau (Jugendstil) buildings had developed in the area between the medieval town and the railway station to the north.

Ljubljanski grad / Ljubljana Castle

The castle of Ljubljana was built on the edge of a hill (376 m) rising some 70 m above the settlement below. This low outcrop offers a dominant position overlooking Ljubljana Marshes to the southwest and the Ljubljana Field plain along the river Sava towards north and east.

Archaeological excavations carried out inside and outside the castle complex in the 1960s and then from 1988 until the late 1990s by the Ljubljana Institute for Protection of Cultural Heritage and the Ljubljana City Museum have shown that the site of medieval castle was first settled during the late Bronze Age. Parts of an earthen rampart and a fireplace have been recorded together with some Iron Age artefacts, so this hillfort must have been occupied for several centuries. This corresponds well with the large prehistoric necropolis found on the opposite riverbank of the Ljubljanica in Gosposka and Salendrova Streets but also with the two settlements at the foot of the hill (the sites of Tribuna and Vodnikov Trg). As the crown of the hill has been continually levelled for construction, traces of earlier settlement are but scant and do not allow for any realistic assessment of its extent or form.

A stretch of an earthen rampart with some wooden structures dating from the 11th to the 12th centuries has been excavated on the westernmost edge of the present castle complex. Presumably, some sort of feudal fortification or residence existed here already in the first half of the 12th century when the name of Ljubljana first appears in the written sources. In 1220, the Carinthian Duke Bernard of Spanheim issued a document *in palacio nostro Leibach*. Whether this denotes the castle on the hill or a residence in the underlying urban settlement remains unclear. The first clear written reference to the castle itself appears in 1256 when it is mentioned as the most important castle belonging to the provincial rulers of Carniola (*castrum capitalis ... Laybach*).

The extensive archaeological excavations at Ljubljana Castle have unearthed some, though rather inconclusive, remains of the 12th–13th-century castle. A part of the defensive ditch cut into the bedrock and a stretch of a wall inside the area enclosed by the ditch have been found. The water well in front of the late-medieval castle hall was probably also first dug out in the earlier medieval phase when it was fed with rainwater with the help of a gutter. In the early 16th century, it was enlarged and changed into a so-called filtering cistern.

A little further west, on the outer side of the medieval ditch, a stretch of the medieval southern town wall has been recorded. A gate must have existed nearby, since some 20 m further to the north a medieval pathway leading in a gentle curve towards the castle has also been uncovered. This point of access to the castle remained in use until the end of the Middle Ages. The castle was a central stronghold in the medieval defensive system of Ljubljana. The town was connected to the castle with defensive walls running uphill on both sides of the Town. Foundations of a circular wall-tower

have been excavated next to the curtain wall in the eastern corner of the late-medieval castle complex. To this tower two walls were connected, one running downhill towards the river protecting the town to the east and the other probably connecting the round tower with the castle itself.

Since the late 13th century, Ljubljana Castle was property of the provincial rulers and their representatives (later called Lords Governor or Vicedomini) resided there. Due to its strategic importance for defence of Ljubljana, the castle was rebuilt completely in the late 15th century and later on. The crown of the hill was levelled radically, removing nearly all traces of the medieval castle. Then, a larger area was enclosed by a polygonal curtain wall. An entrance tower was erected at the point of access through the town wall. On the outer (southern) side of the gate there was a ditch, 3 m wide, and the access was controlled by a drawbridge. From this keep, the old medieval path was leading to the castle complex from the north. The path ended at another gate in the so-called Frederic's Tower. This gate was also defended by a shallow ditch and a drawbridge. Until the late 16th century, the area between the two entrance towers was protected by a mere wooden palisade on the side facing the town.

Inside the curtain wall, the chapel of St. George, a residential hall and a water cistern were built in the first phase, whereas other buildings were added on later. The cistern was built on a square ground-plan in the central part of the courtyard. Its vast cubic water-chamber was fed with rainwater through a system of channels and was covered on the inside with a special water-tight plaster containing crushed brick. Nowadays it is empty and visits are possible.

The chapel was built in the late 15th century, by 1489 at the latest. At first, the building was somewhat lower than it is now and had a flat wooden ceiling. Traces of original painted decoration are still preserved inside, displaying ornamental bands with geometric motifs. The main entrance from the inner courtyard was on the southern side, the northern one connected the chapel with the castle hall. A third entrance led directly onto the western wooden gallery from which the Lord Governor, his family and other dignitaries would hear mass secluded from the rest of the congregation. Due to poor maintenance, the chapel was in dire need of repair by the end of the 16th century. The new altar was consecrated in 1597 but construction continued until the mid-17th century. At that time the chapel was raised and vaulted, and new, high and slender windows in late Gothic style were opened in the choir walls. A small belfry was erected to the north of the choir. The western gallery was closed-off with a stone wall and became a private oratory. The southern entrance to the chapel was abandoned, since new buildings had been erected along the curtain wall to the south of the chapel and the walking level of the courtyard around the chapel had been raised considerably. In 1747, the interior was painted by Abraham Kaltschmied with coats-of-arms of the various Governors of Carniola who had held the office from 1221 until 1742. During the French occupation (1809–1813) and from 1815 onwards, when the castle was serving as a prison, the chapel was badly neglected. A wooden floor was inserted separating the interior in two storeys. The choir part of the lower storey (cellar) was used as a morgue while the upper storey still served as prison chapel. Further changes were made around 1849, as the wooden storey was replaced with a vaulted construction and the oratory wall was demolished and replaced with a wooden gallery. The ceiling was painted over with provincial coats-of-arms of the Duchy of Carniola, the so-called Wind-

ischmark (Slovenian March) and the March of Istria. In the early 1990s, the chapel was restored presenting the interior as it might have been in the mid-17th century but including both earlier and later wall paintings and architectural elements (e.g. original windows).

In 1496, a tower named Padav was built on the castle hill east of the castle complex as an outpost overlooking the main route of the approaching Turkish armies. In 1543, a large burghers' citadel was built at the same location. It was incorporated into the fortification belt by a wall connecting it with the castle curtain wall on one side and with the wall protecting the Old Market on the other side. The communication routes on the castle hill were rearranged radically and a new entrance to the castle complex was needed. On the eastern stretch of the castle curtain wall a massive pentagonal entrance tower was erected in the early 16th century. A huge moat was dug in front of it, cutting across the width of the hill more than 8 m deep and 11.90 m wide at the top. The material from the moat was used to form an artificial mound, the so-called Lipnik, in the area between the citadel and the entrance tower. From Lipnik, a bridge spanning the distance of some 25 m and supported by two massive stone pillars stretched across the moat to the pentagonal tower with the gate controlled by a drawbridge. In 1544, the former outer entrance tower was rebuilt and enlarged in order to serve as the municipal fire guard station (the so-called Piper's Tower).

Other buildings have been erected inside the castle courtyard from the 16th to the 18th century. The Lords Governor, acting on behalf of the Dukes of Carniola, lived in Ljubljana Castle until the mid-17th century when they moved to a more comfortable town palace. The central provincial armoury and a military garrison remained at the castle. During the Napoleonic wars, the French occupied Ljubljana Castle shortly in 1797 and again from 1809 until 1813. They used the castle as military barracks, prison and hospital. Once more in Austrian hands, the castle served as penitentiary from 1815 till 1849, then as military barracks, and finally as penitentiary again from 1868 until the earthquake of 1895. It was then bought by Ljubljana municipality. Conservation and restoration of the complex started in the 1930s and continued – with longer intermissions – until the end of the 20th century.

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