

visokosrednjeveški grad v Kamniku
high medieval castle in Kamnik

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**MALI GRAD
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1. UVOD

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. KAMNIK IN NJEGOVA GRADOVA

Kamniško mesto je zelo staro, v poganskih časih pa so bili (tod) trije gradovi, mesta pa ni bilo; na kraju, kjer je danes mesto, je bilo veliko jezero, ki se je raztezalo od Kamnika do okoliških hribov. Od omenjenih gradov pa je bil eden na večjem, drugi na manjšem hribu nad mestom, tretji pa na mengeškem hribu. V njih so prebivali trije malikovalski bratje, ki niso bili nikoli složni: vedno so se

1.1. KAMNIK AND ITS TWO CASTLES

The town of Kamnik is very old. In pagan times the area was inhabited by three castles, yet it lacked a town; the area upon which the town stands today was covered by a large lake that stretched from Kamnik all the way to the surrounding hills. The three castles were positioned as follows: one was on the higher and one on the lower hill that overlook the town, whilst the third was located on the Mengeš



Sl. 1.1: Pečat mesta Kamnika iz sredine 15. stoletja po odtisu izgubljenega pečatnika v Arhivu Slovenije (po Otorepec 1988, 55).

Fig. 1.1: The official mid 15th century seal of the town of Kamnik; made from the print of the lost seal in the Slovene Archive (from Otorepec 1988, 55).

klali in spopadali med seboj. Končno se je v tem kraju zakotil zmaj, ki se je tako močno premikal, da je razbil razvotljeno goro, ki je zadrževala jezero in to se je razlilo po polju okoli hriba, zmaj pa, ki mu je zmanjkalo vode, je na polju poginil. Nato je na mestu, kjer je bilo jezero, nastal lep in prijazen kraj, kjer so zgradili mesto, in ko so prišli učenci sv. Mohorja in Fortunata, so spreobrnilo tamošnje prebivalce h krščanski veri. Ko so ti videli lepi čudež, so po vzoru mesta Berita izbrali za zavetnico sv. Marjeto, da bi bili rešeni zmaja; še danes ima mesto v grbu sv. Marjeto. - Še je videti ostanke teh gradov; dva še stojita, tretji, Mengeški grad, pa je do tal porušen. Mali grad, ki je danes v mestu, je poln obokov in votlin in mnogih zakladov. V času pa, ko se je razlilo jezero, je ostalo v tem gradu le eno dekle z imenom Veronika, ker je hlepela po zakladu in se je bala očetovih bratov, je rekla takole: "Raje se kakor kača plazim s trebuhom po tleh, kakor da bi zapustila zaklade." In z božjim privoljenjem se ji je zgodilo, kot je želela, in postala je v zgornji polovici dekleta, v spodnji pa kača ter se je tiste dni mnogokrat prikazala.

Tako se glasi najstarejši zapis znamenite pripovedi o Veroniki, ki je bil leta 1684 pripravljen za polihistorja Janeza Vajkarda Valvazorja (Cevc 1958, 14). Pripoved je že stoletja tako tesno povezana z mestom Kamnik, da sta Veronika in zmaj postala zaščitni znak mesta (*sl. 1.1*). Vendar je pripoved starejša od tega zapisa in tudi od najstarejšega mestnega grba. Sodi v skupino izročil o zgodovini poselitve prostora. Kot je pokazal Ivan M. Hrovatin (2007), gre za lokalno različico izročila o vesoljnem potopu in ponovni obnovitvi sveta. Izročilo o jezeru, ki je bilo pred naselbino, je spomin na ustanovitev naselbine. V knjigi, ki je pred vami, bomo skušali s teh spominov odstrti nekaj tančic.

Kamnik leži v osrednji Sloveniji severno od Ljubljane (*sl. 1.2*), ob sotočju Kamniške Bistrice in Nevljice, ki sta zaradi svojega snežno-dežnega rečnega režima večkrat poplavlili bregove. Kamniška Bistrica je bila od Kamnika dalje dovolj močna, da je poganjala številne mline. Južno od Kamnika se razprostira kamniška ravnina, ki je zaradi rendzinskih prsti razmeroma rodovitna. Zato na njej prevladujejo njive (Pak 2001), ki so najpozneje v rimski dobi (glej dalje) izpodrinile naravno rastje.

Severno od Kamnika se dvigujejo Kamniško-Savinjske Alpe, poleg Julijskih Alp najbolj visokogorska pokrajina v Sloveniji. Dandanes pretežno iglasti gozdovi so šele v zadnjih stoletjih izpodrinili naravne gozdove, med katerimi so prevladovali bukovi in bukovo-jelovi (Kladnik 2001, 108–115).

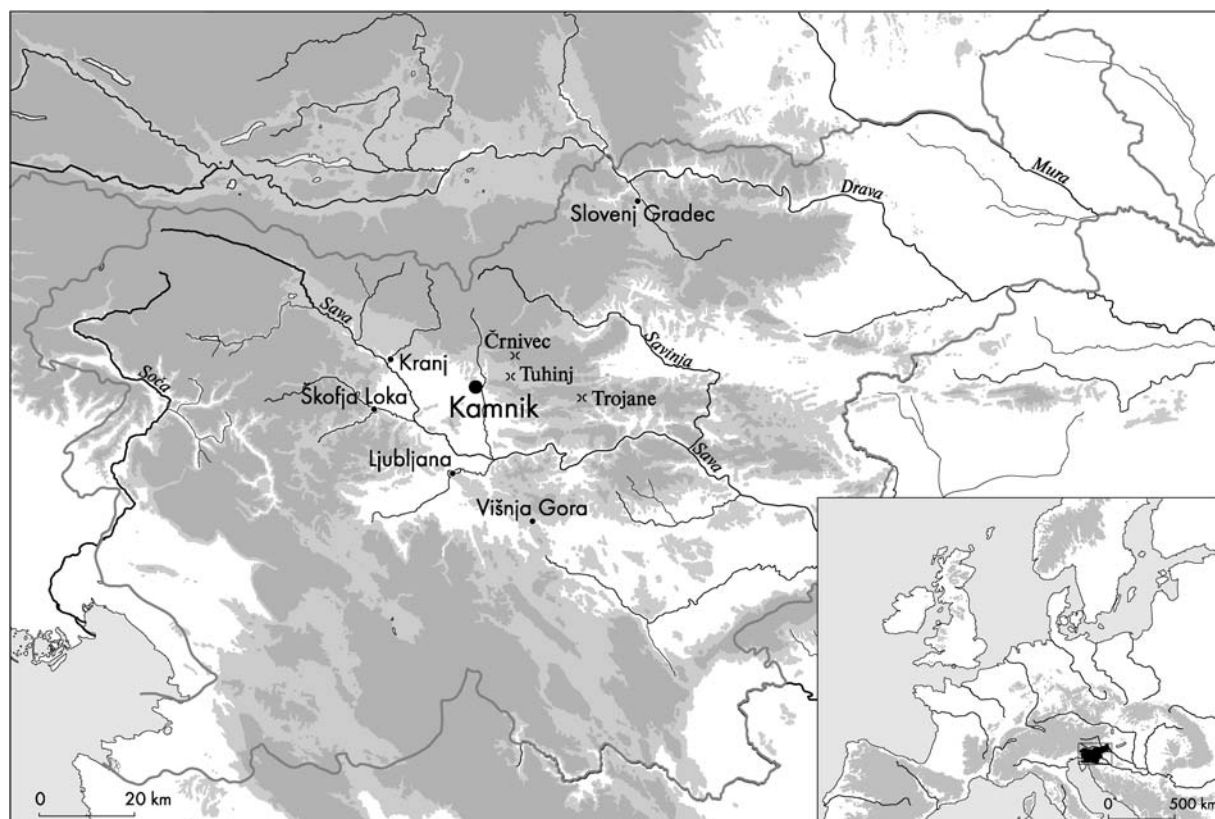
Prometno je Kamnik od juga lahko dostopen iz vseh smeri, tako iz Kranja, Škofje Loke in Ljubljane. Toda severno od Kamnika vodita poleg težko prehodnih gorskih poti in prelazov le dve poti, obe proti severovzhodu v Savinjsko dolino. Severnejša vodi čez prelaz Črnivec in Gornji Grad, nekoliko južnejša je znamenita tuhinjska pot. Obe sta bili pomembni predvsem v visokem in po-

hill. The castles were inhabited by three pagan brothers who could never agree on anything: they constantly fought and disputed one another. And then a dragon appeared. He moved so vigorously that he cracked the hollow mountain that held the lake and the lake spilled across the fields surrounding the hill. As the water ran out the dragon died in the middle of the field. After this the area that used to be covered by the lake became pleasant and friendly and a town was built upon it. When the disciples of St. Mohor and St. Fortunat arrived they converted the townspeople to Christianity. When they saw the beautiful miracle they decided that St. Margaret should be the town's patron saint (they modelled themselves on the mythical town of Berito) for she could protect the town from the dragon; St. Margaret remains within the town's coat-of-arms even today. The remains of the three castles can also be seen today; two are still standing, while the third - the Mengeš castle - has been flattened to the ground. Mali grad (that is today surrounded by the town of Kamnik) is full of vaults, caves and treasures. When the lake spilled across the plains a single girl - Veronika - was left in the castle; as she had a strong desire to own the treasure and was afraid of her uncles she said: 'I prefer to sneak around on my belly like a snake rather than leave the treasures.' With God's permission her wish was granted and she became half girl (top), half snake (bottom) - a creature that was often seen in those times.

This is the story as written in the oldest record on Veronika, the notes that were prepared in 1684 for the polymath Janez Vajkard Valvazor (Cevc 1958, 14). The story has been closely linked to the town of Kamnik for centuries, which is why Veronika and the dragon became the town protectors (*fig. 1.1*). However, the story reaches even further into history and predates the first town coat-of-arms. The story is one of the many that depict the settlement of the area. As shown by Ivan M. Hrovatin (2007) this is a local variation of the story of the great flood and the resurrection of the world. The story of the lake that covered the area prior to its settlement is a memory of the settlement foundation. The book that you are holding in your hands will try to uncover some of the veils from these memories.

Kamnik lies at the confluence of the Kamniška Bistrica and Nevljica rivers (*fig. 1.2*). Due to their snow-rain river regime both have been known to flood their banks. Downstream of Kamnik, Kamniška Bistrica was strong enough to power numerous water mills. The relatively fertile plain to the south of Kamnik is covered in rendzine soil, which is why it is mainly covered by fields (Pak 2001). These replaced the natural vegetation during the Roman times, if not earlier (see text ahead).

The high mountainous region called the Kamnik or Savinja Alps rises to the north of Kamnik. They are covered in coniferous forests that substituted the natural forests only during the last few centuries, for before there



Sl. 1.2: Lega Kamnika in pomembnih krajev, omenjenih v besedilu (vir za relief: DMV 12,5, november 2005 © Geodetska uprava Republike Slovenije).

Fig. 1.2: The map of important places mentioned in the text (sources: DMV 12,5, November 2005, © Geodetska uprava Republike Slovenije).

znem srednjem veku. Glavne rimskodobne poti so tako kot danes vodile južno od Kamnika, čez Trojane. Katere poti so bile pomembnejše v prazgodovini in zgodnjem srednjem veku, ostaja neraziskano. Z vprašanjem, ali je tuhinjska pot nastala zaradi pomena Kamnika ali ravno nasprotno, se spopadamo v zaključku.

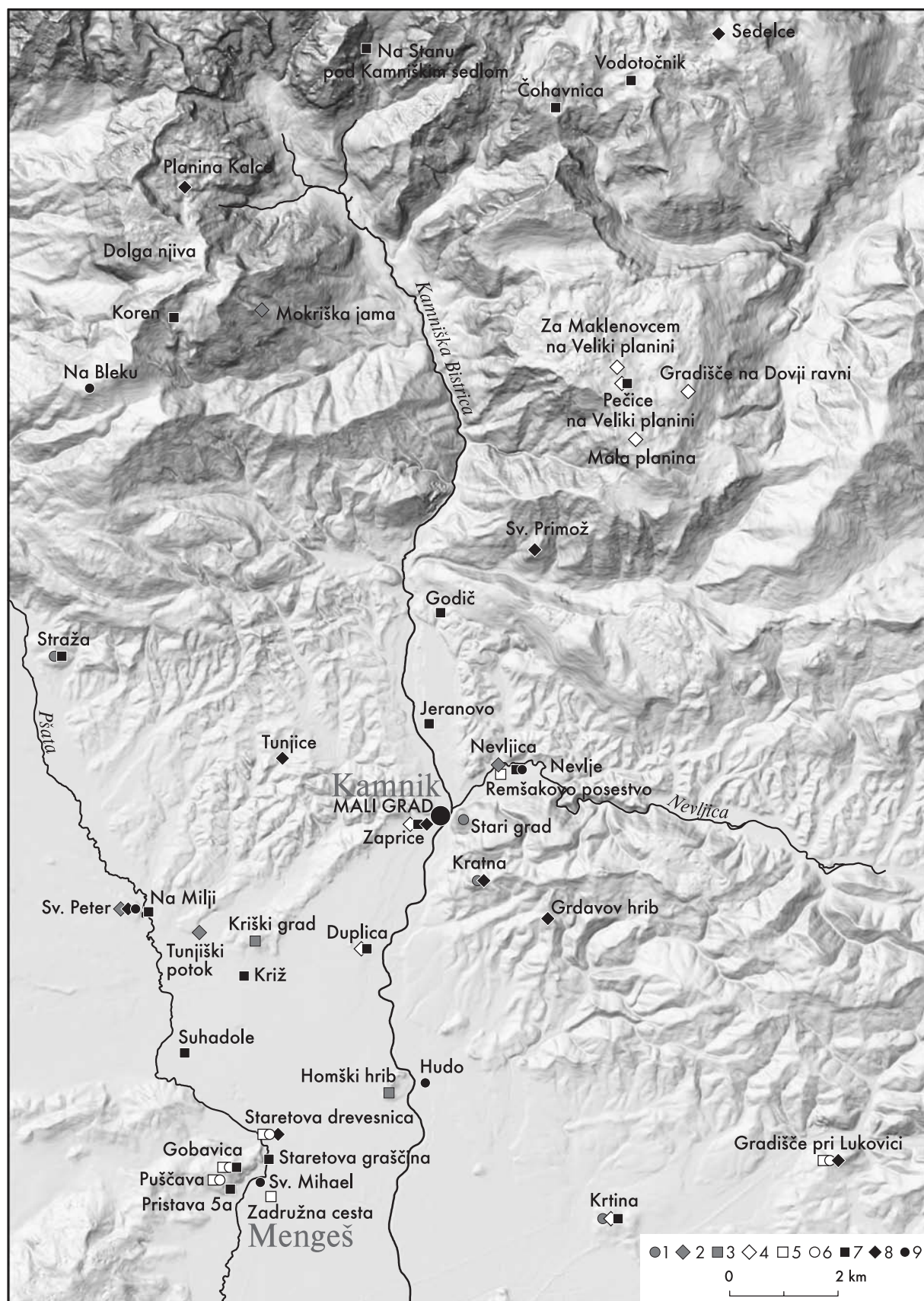
Kakšen je bil Kamnik pred več kot 30.000 leti, ko so ledenodobni lovci obiskovali Potočko zijalko in Mokriško jamo v Kamniško-Savinjskih Alpah (Odar 2006b, 60–62), ne vemo. Posamezne najdbe kažejo na prisotnost ljudi v dolini že v kameni dobi (sl. 1.3). Najstarejše arheološke najdbe iz samega Kamnika so bakrenodobne najdbe z Malega gradu (Sagadin 1996, 111–114).

Iz kovinskih obdobj, okvirno drugo in prvo tisočletje pred našim štetjem, poznamo zgolj najdbe posameznih predmetov. Predvsem v znameniti Sadnikarjevi zbirki se je ohranilo več bronastodobnih predmetov, ki pričajo o zanimivih, verjetno ritualnih dejanjih. Bolj neposredno pričevanje o prazgodovinski preteklosti je grob bojvnika s čelado negovskega tipa, ki so ga odkopali na Remšakovem posestvu in izvira s konca starejše železne dobe (prim. Perko, Štibernik 2006, 217–219; glej tam navedeno literaturo).

were mainly covered in beech and mixed beech and alder forests (Kladnik 2001, 108–115).

The Kamnik area is easily accessible from the south, whether from Kranj, Škofja Loka or Ljubljana. The mountain roads and passes to the north of Kamnik are hard to pass, thus only two manageable roads lead to the north-east, into the Savinja Valley. One crosses the mountain pass Črnivec and leads into the town Gornji Grad, while the other one is known as the Tuhinje route. Both were important in the High and Late Medieval periods. In the conclusion to this book we will deal with the issue whether the Tuhinje route appeared due to the importance of Kamnik or vice versa. The main Roman routes lead south of Kamnik across Trojane, as does the modern transport road. So far no research was performed on the important routes in the prehistoric times or in the early medieval period.

The appearance of Kamnik 30.000 years ago, when the ice age hunters visited the Potočka Zijalka and Mokriška Jama caves in the Kamnik Alps (Odar 2006b, 60–62) is unknown. Individual finds show that the plain was inhabited by people already in the Stone Age (fig. 1.3). The oldest archaeological finds from Kamnik itself (Sagadin 1996, 111–114) date back to the Eneolithic.



2. PISNI VIRI

2.1. PRVI PROLOG: BAVARSKI MODEL POSTAVLJANJA GRADOV V PROSTOR

Novi gospodarji Kranjske so sredi 10. stoletja prihajali pretežno z Bavarske (glej dalje). Zato je pomembno poznati njihove predstave o urejanju prostora, t. i. mentalni model poselitve (za izraz glej Štular 2005d, 87–88), oziroma, če si sposodimo besede Mihe Kosija (2005b, 104), “gospodje ... so lahko pridobili obilo izkušenj in vzorov ... že v drugih nemških (...) pokrajinah”. Kakorkoli ta dejavnik imenujemo, je imel pomemben vpliv na nadaljnji razvoj poselitve.

Zato moramo najprej poznati način umeščanja zgodnjih bavarskih gradov v prostor (Ettel 2001, 195–242; Ettel 2006). Začeti moramo s prikazom zgodnj srednjeveške poselitve. Prvo stopnjo srednjeveških utrjenih naselij prepoznamo v utrjenih centrih frankovske države v 7. stoletju. V drugi polovici 8. stoletja so po vladarjevem naročilu nastale številne nove velike utrjene naselbine. V prvi polovici 9. stoletja, v času Karla Velikega, je dokumentiran nov val gradenj, ki hkrati priča o širjenju frankovskega imperija proti vzhodu. Poleg velikih utrjenih naselbin se prvič pojavijo tudi manjše utrdbe pravilnega tlorisa. V prvi polovici 10. stoletja je nastalo večje število utrdb z zemljenimi nasipi. Te so verjetno nastale kot odgovor na številne madžarske vpade v tem času. V 11. stoletju pa so velike utrjene naselbine postajale vedno manj pomembne ali pa so spremenile vlogo. Prevladujoča oblika utrjene naselbine so postali manjši gradovi, bodisi kot ministerialni sedeži bodisi kot vojaške utrdbe in pozneje kot upravni sedeži (npr. Karlbürg, Oberammerthal). Gradove so postavljali na naravno zaščitene mestih. Kjer so naravne danosti to omogočale, so jih postavili na vrhu hriba. V 11. stoletju so nekatera nastajajoča mesta prerastla predgradja in počasi prevzemala administrativne naloge, ki so bile sicer v domeni gradov. Nasplošje mesta v tem času postajala vse pomembnejša in so bila vse pogostejše tudi utrjena. Tako Würzburg že okoli leta 900, Karlbürg pa verjetno v 10. stoletju.

Hkrati je potekala agrarna kolonizacija novih zemljišč, in to na dva načina. Prvi je t. i. notranja koloniza-

2. WRITTEN SOURCES

2.1. THE FIRST PROLOGUE: BAVARIAN MODEL OF PLACING CASTLES INTO THE LANDSCAPE

In the mid 10th century most of the new rulers of margraviate *Carniola* arrived from Bavaria (see further), which is why we should be aware of their ideas on spatial planning, i.e. the cognitive map of the landscape (for expression cf. Štular 2005d, 87–88), or if we borrow the words of Miha Kosi (2005, 104), “the gentry ... could obtain plenty of experience and influence ... already in other German (...) lands”. Whatever we call this factor it had an important influence on the further development of the settling process.

This is why an introduction as to how the early Bavarian castles were placed into the landscape (Ettel 2001, 195–242; Ettel 2006) is needed. At first the Early Medieval settlement pattern will be presented. The first medieval fortified settlements can be found in the 7th century fortified centres of the Frankish state. In the second half of the 8th century the emperor ordered a number of large new fortified settlements to be built. In the Carolingian period (first half of the 9th century) a new wave of building that accompanied the Frankish state expansion towards the east can be observed. Apart from the large fortified settlements, smaller forts with a rectangular ground plan appeared for the first time. In the first half of the 10th century a number of forts surrounded by earth dykes emerged. These were most likely a response to the numerous Hungarian raids that dominated the period. In the 11th century large fortified settlements lost on their importance and some of them changed their role. Smaller castles became the main form of fortified settlements: some were ministerial headquarters, others military forts and later on some developed into administrative headquarters (for instance Karlbürg, Oberammerthal). The castles were positioned on naturally protected locations. If the natural characteristics permitted they were placed on top of hills. In the 11th century some emerging towns grew out of the outer castle baileys and slowly took over the administrative tasks that previously belonged under the jurisdiction of castles. As a rule towns were growing

kot zadnji Bertold V., oglejski patriarh. Zadnja oseba, ki je nosila ime Andeških, *domina Carniolae* Agnes, nečakinja Henrika IV. in žena Ulrika III. Spanheima, je umrla leta 1263.

2.3. NASTANEK IN RAZVOJ KRANJSKE

Za razumevanje vloge rodbine Andeških na Kranjskem v visokem srednjem veku je treba poznati tudi nastanek in razvoj Kranjske, kot je to obdobje poimenoval Ljudmil Hauptman (1929).

Mejna grofija Kranjska se je izoblikovala po zmagi Otona I. nad Madžari v bitki na Leškem polju pri Augsburgu leta 955. Najprej velja pojasniti dvojnost poimenovanja. Ime *Carniola*, mala Karnija, izvira iz poimenovanja antičnega ljudstva Karnov in Karnije, njihove domovine. Iz istega korena izvira tudi keltsko-romansko krajevno ime *Carnium*, katerega slovenjena oblika je Kranj. Ime *Creina* pa je slovanskega izvora, od izraza "krajina", še posebej v pomenu mejna pokrajina, kar je Kranjska v 10. stoletju bila. Poimenovanje *Creina marcha* je torej tavnološko, saj je *marcha* germanska sopomenka slovanski *Creina*, krajina. V visokem srednjem veku je prevladala slovenska oblika poimenovanja po središču, Kranjska. Krajina - Kranj - Kranjska torej. Nemci so slovansko Krajino ponemčili v Krain (Štih 1996; Hauptman 1999). Formulacija, zapisana v darovnici cesarja Otona II. iz leta 973, razkriva zapletenost nastanka visokosrednjeveške Kranjske: ... *quod Carniola vocatur et quod vulgo Creina marcha appellatur* ...¹ Zapis vsebuje staroselsko, slovansko in nemško poimenovanje. Tavnologija slovansko-nemškega zapisa nosi sporočilo: kaže, kdo v prostor vstopa in kdo v njem predstavlja 'ljudstvo'.

Morda se lahko ognemo zgodnjersrednjeveškemu uvodu (npr. Bratož 2000; Štih 1995) in izhajamo iz navedenih listin. Gre za listino cesarja Otona II., s katero je škofija v Freisingu dobila obsežno zemljiško posest s poznejšo Škofjo Loko. To je najstarejši ohranjeni vir, ki dokumentira Kranjsko kot posebno grofijo bavarskega oziroma koroškega vojvode (Štih 1996, 13; Štih 2005, 41–43).

Otonska Kranjska je sprva obsegala Gorenjsko, Ljubljansko kotlino in vzhodno Notranjsko. Še izpred konca 10. stoletja sta nam znana dva mejna grofa, Popon in Waltilo. Na prelomu tisočletja je bila Kranjska, prej podrejena Koroškemu vojvodi, povzdignjena v državno marko. Tako je med letoma 1004 in 1011 na Kranjsko kot mejni grof prišel potomec zelo ugledne južnonemške plemiške družine Ulrik Sempt-Ebersberg. Pod njegovim sinom in naslednikom Eberhardom se je marka razširila še na prej samostojno Savinjsko marko. Funkcijo mejnega grofa je nasledil Ulrik Weimar-Orlamünde, ki je najpozne-

2001). This played a great role in the future events in Bavaria, but did not influence the events in *Carniola*. On the contrary! In 1209 Heinrich IV of Andechs married the duchess Sophia of Višnja Gora, with which he expanded his estate greatly (Komac 2006, 81). In *Carniola* Heinrich managed to overcome the decade of excommunication (that was silently brought to an end in 1218 with the election of Berthold V of Andechs to the post of the Patriarch of Aquileia) by leaning on a solidly organised regional executorial power, his faithful ministerials. During this period he controlled his *Alpine homeland* (Schütz 1993, 89) *Carniola* from the centre of the estate in Kamnik (Komac 2006, 259). Regardless of the excommunication he ruled in *Carniola* for ten years and then continued his political career which was ended by his sudden death (without any male offspring) in Slovenj Gradec in 1228 (Kos 2001, 27–30).

The remaining male descendents of Berthold IV also died without any male offspring, the last of them being Berthold V, the Patriarch of Aquileia. The last person to carry the Andechs name was the *domina Carniolae* Agnes, the niece of Heinrich IV and wife of Ulrik III of Spanheim. She died in 1263.

2.3. THE ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF *CARNIOLA*

In order to understand the role of the Andechs family in *Carniola* during the High Medieval period, one has to be acquainted with the origin and evolution of *Carniola* in the 10th and 11th centuries (Hauptman 1929).

The margraviate *Carniola* was formed following the victory of Otto I over the Hungarians in the battle of Lechfeld at Augsburg in 955. At first the duality of the name should be explained. The name *Carniola*, small Carnia, originates from the name of the pre-Roman period people of Carn and Carnia - their homeland. The Celtic-Roman local name *Carnium* (Kranj in Slovenian) is derived from same root. The name *Creina* is of Slavonic origin, derived from the expression 'krajina' (region), especially in the meaning of a border region - which *Carniola* was in the 10th century. The name *Creina marcha* is therefore a tautology, for *marcha* is the German word for a border region.

In the High Medieval period Kranjska, the Slovenian version of the name prevailed, Krajina - Kranj - Kranjska (Region, Kranj, *Carniola*). Later the Germanised version of the Slavonic Krajina - Krain was used (Štih 1996; Hauptman 1999). The formulation written in the deed of gift signed by Emperor Otto II (dating to 973) reveal the complexity of the origin of High Medieval *Carniola*: '... *quod Carniola vocatur et quod vulgo Creina marcha appellatur* ...'¹ The record includes the pre-Slavonic as well

¹ Kos 1906, št 444.

¹ Kos 1906, No. 444.

je leta 1061 postal tudi istrski mejni grof. Leta 1093 se kot mejni grof omenja Ulrikov sin Popo, oče Sofije, žene Bertolda II. Andeškega. Z dedovanjem preko Sofije so zatem Andeški za dobro stoletje prišli do najpomembnejših vzvodov moči na Kranjskem, največje sklenjene zemljiške posesti na Kranjskem (Štih 2001, 17–35; Hauptman 1999, 49–78; prim. Kos 2001, 186–188).

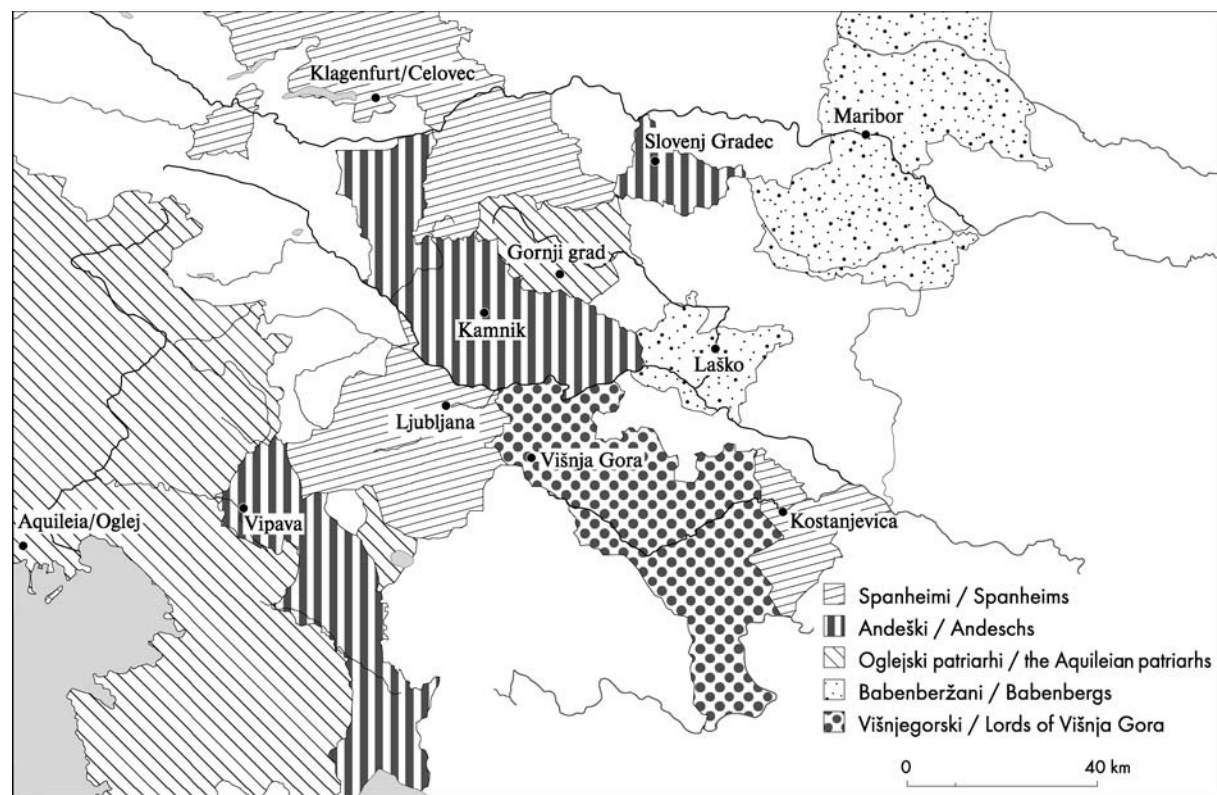
Razumevanje razvoja Kranjske v drugi polovici 12. in predvsem v 13. stoletju, ki je temeljilo predvsem na Hauptmanovi (1929; nazadnje Štih 2001) interpretaciji t. i. *Cremonske listine*, se je v zadnjem času močno spremenilo (Komac 2006).

Do začetka 12. stoletja so se na ozemlju Kranjske razvila velika teritorialna gospostva, ki so drugo poleg drugega delovala povsem samostojno in neodvisno od formalnega kranjskega mejnega grofa, oglejskega patriarha. Eno pomembnejših je bilo gospostvo Andeških (sl. 2.3). Tem je naziv istrskih mejnih grofov in vojvod meranskih pomagal, da so lažje širili svoj vpliv. Posesti je Henrik IV. z dediščino po Višnjegorskih močno povečal leta 1209, pri čemer je verjetno stremel k zaokroževanju svojih posesti med Alpami in Jadranom. Tako je prišel do dobrega izhodišča za razvoj neodvisne dinastične tvorbe. Ob ugodnem razpletu bi imela ta tvorba lahko status mejne grofije. Toda zgodnja smrt Henrika IV. leta

as the Slavonic and German name. The tautology of the Slavonic-German name carries a message: it shows who is new to the region and who represents the 'nation'.

Following the Early Medieval period (e.g. Bratož 2000; Štih 1995,) the oldest preserved written document was issued on behalf of Emperor Otto II. This document transferred vast territories (including what was later to become Škofja Loka) to the diocese in Freising. This is the oldest preserved source that documents *Carniola* as a special duchy of the Bavarian or Carinthian Duke, margraviate *Carniola* (Štih 1996, 13; Štih 2005, 41–43).

In Ottonian times *Carniola* consisted of today's Gorenjska region, the Ljubljana basin and the Eastern Notranjska region. The two Margraves - Popon and Waltilo - were known before the end of the 10th century. At the break of the millennia, Carniola - previously under the Carinthian duke - was given the status of a *Marcha*, thus making it margraviate *Carniola*. Between 1004 and 1011 Ulrik Sempt-Ebersberg, the son of a highly respected south German noble family, arrived to *Carniola* as the Margrave. Under his son and heir Eberhard the country spread to include the previously independent Savinja *Marcha*. The function of the Margrave was inherited by Ulrik Weimar-Orlamünde, who by 1061 (at the latest) became also the Margrave of Istria. In 1093 Ulrik's son Poppo was mentioned as the



Sl. 2.3. Posesti najpomembnejših dinastov Kranjske na začetku 13. stoletja (vir: Komac 2006, zemljevid 2 – avtor M. Kosi; vir za relief: DMV 12,5, november 2005 © Geodetska uprava Republike Slovenije).

Fig.2.3. Estates of the most important dynasties of Carniola at the beginning of the 13th century (sources: Komac 2006, map 2 by M. Kosi; DMV 12,5, November 2005, © Geodetska uprava Republike Slovenije).

1228 je preprečila združevanje ozemelj na jugovzhodu cesarstva in morebitnega oblikovanja lastne dežele (Komac 2006, 259–261).

Po smrti Henrika IV. Andeškega leta 1228 se je vnel boj tako za dediščino kot tudi za politično premoč na Kranjskem. Gospostvo nad andeškimi posestvi od Jadrana do Alp so s poroko sina avstrijskega vojvode Leopolda VI. Friderika II. s Henrikovo nečakinjo in dedinjo Agnes prevzeli Babenberžani. Opirajoč se na to posest si je Friderik II. kot prvi nadel naslov gospod Kranjske, *dominus Carniole*. Kot kaže, je s svojo nedejavnostjo v to tiho privolil formalni mejni grof Kranjske, oglejski patriarh Bertold V. Andeški. Boj za prevlado nad ozemljem nekdanje mejne grofije Kranjske se je nadaljeval do sredine 13. stoletja. Leta 1251 je umrl zadnji moški predstavnik Andeških, leta 1263 pa tudi zadnja svoje rodbine Agnes Andeška (prim. Hauptman 1999, 49–78; Štih 2001, 17–35; Kos 2001, 186–188; Komac 2006, 81–144).

Odločilno za nastanek dežele Kranjske kot ustavno-teritorialne enote ter integracijo deželnega plemstva je bilo politično podjetje koroškega vojvode Ulrika III. Spanheima v tretji četrtini 13. stoletja. Ta se je poročil z že omenjeno Agnes Andeško, ki se je ločila od Friderika II., in leta 1250 sklenil vojaški sporazum z oglejskim patriarhom Bertoldom V. Andeškim. Sporazum je bil sklenjen v Mengšu, listina pa je bila spisana v zgornji kapeli spodnjega gradu v Kamniku. Ulrik III. je naslovu gospoda Kranjske dodal še naslov gospoda marke, *dominus Carniole et Marchie*. Najpomembnejše za Ulrikov uspeh je bilo, da je znal pridobiti in integrirati različne skupine ministerialnega plemstva v homogeno deželno plemstvo, ki je predstavljalo glavni dejavnik moči v regiji. Do konca šestdesetih let 13. stoletja so vsi v deželi naslavljali Ulrika kot gospoda Kranjske. Ulrikova (+1269) politika je bila uspešna in je pripeljala do oblikovanja dežele Kranjske (Komac 2006, 264–265).

2.4. ANDEŠKE POSESTI Z MINISTERIALI NA KRANJSKEM

Šele ko poznamo Andeške in imamo pregled na visokosrednjeveško zgodovino Kranjske, lahko razumemo razvoj teritorialnega zemljiškega gospostva Andeških na Kranjskem.

Osrednja oblast Andeških je bila osredotočena med Tržiško Bistrico, Savo, Limberkom in Tuhinjem ter na Slovenj Gradec. Andeški grofje so ob prihodu z Bavarske pripeljali s seboj nekaj ministerialnih družin, pozneje pa so vzpostavili odnose tudi z 'domačimi', prej weimar-orlamündskimi ministeriali (Kos 2001, 188–190). Slednji so v 11. in 12. stoletju živeli na območju najstarejše fevdalne kolonizacije, v večjih vaseh ob cestah severno in vzhodno od Kranja (Kos 1960, 57 in 60), in so postali podložni andeškimi skupaj z zemljo.

Margrave; he was the father of Sophia, the wife of Berthold II of Andechs. Through Sophia's inheritance the Andechs acquired the most important sources of power in *Carniola*, the largest estates in *Carniola* that they managed to maintain for over a century (Štih 2001, 17–35; Hauptman 1999, 49–78; cf. Kos 2001, 186–188).

The understanding of the development of the margraviate *Carniola* during the second half of the 12th and especially in the 13th century was predominantly based on Hauptman's (1929; the last Štih 2001) interpretation of the so-called *Cremona document* - until recently, when it changed dramatically (Komac 2006).

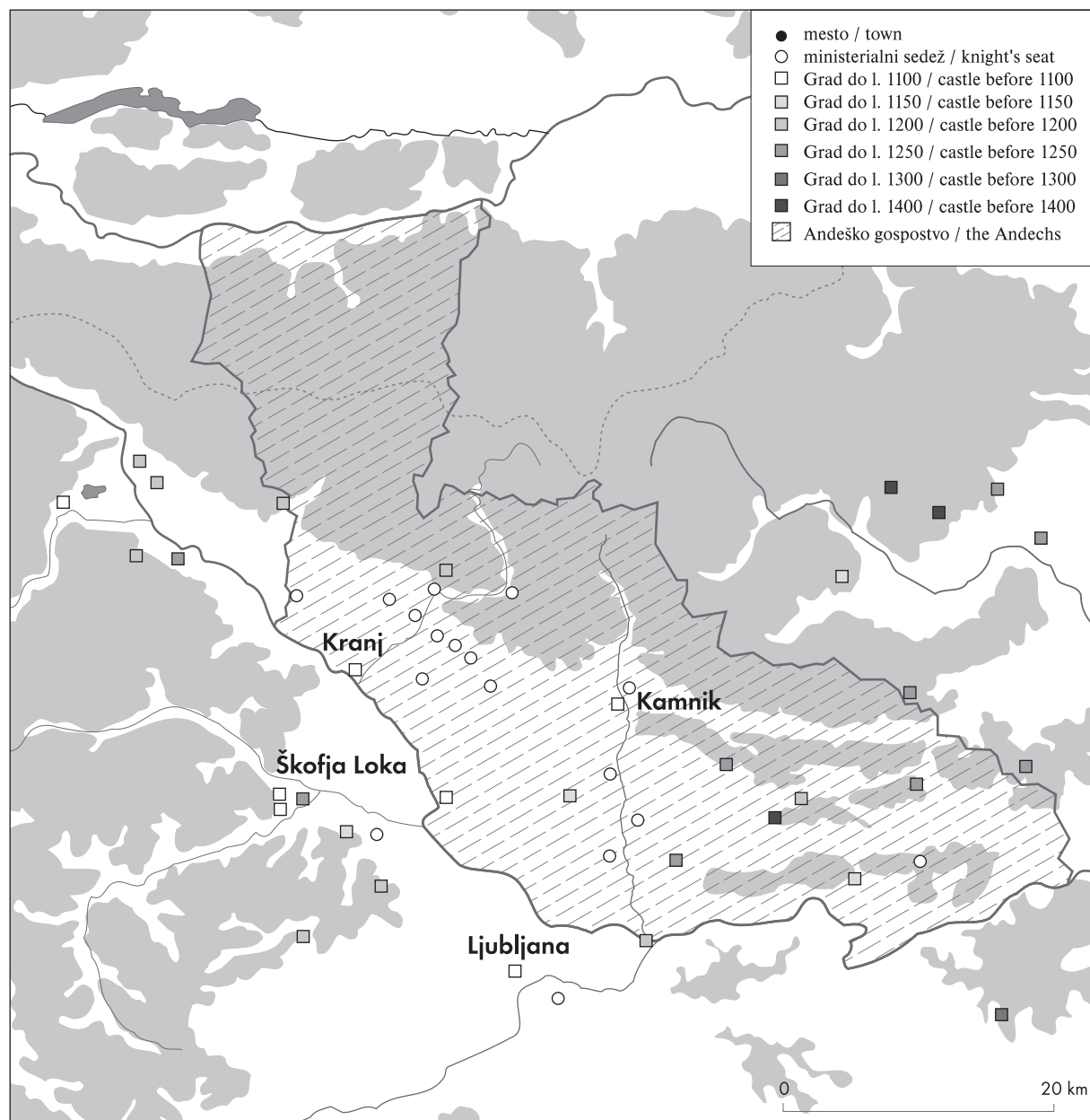
Up to the beginning of the 12th century large territorial estates in *Carniola* were developed by a few dynasties of noble families. These noble families functioned independently from each other and the formal Margrave of *Carniola*, the Aquileia Patriarch. One of the most important families was the Andechs family (fig. 2.3). The titles of the Margrave of Istria and the Duke of *Merania* helped them spread their influence. The Andechs family estate spread immensely when Heinrich IV inherited the estates of the lords of Višnja gora (Weichselburg) in 1209. It is likely that Heinrich IV wished to join his estates between the Alps and the Adriatic. The annexation of the mentioned estates gave him a good starting point for developing an independent dynasty. However, his premature death (and lack of male offspring) in 1228 prevented the territories in the south-east of the Empire to be merged and with this all dreams of an independent country disappeared (Komac 2006, 259–261).

The death of Heinrich IV triggered the battle for the inheritance and political domination in *Carniola*. Through the marriage of Friderik II, the son of the Austrian Duke Leopold VI, to Heinrich's niece and heiress Agnes, the estates between the Adriatic and the Alps were taken over by the Babenberg family. As the ruler of these lands Friderik II was the first to give himself the title of *dominus Carniole*. The silence of the formal Margrave of *Carniola*, the Aquileia Patriarch Berthold V of Andechs, gave the impression that he agreed to this turn of events. The struggle for the domination over the territories of the former margraviate *Carniola* continued until the middle of the 13th century. In 1251 the last male representative of the Andechs family died and as the last of her family Agnes Andechs passed away in 1263 (see Hauptman 1999, 49–78; Štih 2001, 17–35; Kos 2001, 186–188; Komac 2006, 81–144).

The political operations of the Carinthian Duke Ulrik III of Spanheim in the third quarter of the 13th century were decisive for the establishment of *Carniola* as an administrative-territorial unit as well as for the integration of the local lower status gentry. He married the previously mentioned Agnes of Andechs, who divorced Friderik II. In 1250 he signed a military contract with the patriarch of Aquileia, Berthold V Andechs. A concord was reached in Mengeš and the document was

Pri tem je opazna razlika med andeškimi ministeriali zahodno in vzhodno od Kamniške Bistrice (*sl.* 2.4). Ministerialnih družin je bilo več zahodno od te in se večkrat pojavljajo v virih že v 12. stoletju. Vendar so ministeriali vzhodnih posesti, ki se omenjajo od 13. stoletja dalje, pogostejše posedovali trdnjeha grajska poslopja. Slednji so večinoma pripadali družinam, ki so jih Andeški po bavarski tradiciji naselili v središču zemljiškega gospostva. Te so se pozneje premišljeno razdelile na tesno povezane veje. Najzgodnejša omemba zanesljivo andeških ministerialov se tako nanaša na Viljema iz Mekinj in Karla

written in the upper chapel of Mali grad in Kamnik. Ulrik III was thus not merely the Lord of *Carniola* but also the Lord of the margraviate, *dominus Carniole et Marchie*. The most important for Ulrik's success was that he knew how to gain and integrate various groups of the ministerial gentry into unified country gentry that represented the main power in the region. Until the end of the 1260s everybody in the land addressed Ulrik as the Lord of *Carniola*. Ulrik's (+1269) politics were successful and led to the formation of the land of *Carniola* (Komac 2006, 264–265).



Sl. 2.4. Andeško gospostvo na Gorenjskem v prvi polovici 13. stoletja (vir: Komac 2006, zemljevid 4 avtorja M. Kosi; vir za relief: DMV 12,5, november 2005 © Geodetska uprava Republike Slovenije).

Fig. 2.4. The Andechs' family estate in Carniola during the first half of the 13th century (sources: Komac 2006, map 4 by M. Kosi; DMV 12,5, November 2005, © Geodetska uprava Republike Slovenije).

je gre za prostor neznanih dejavnosti, ki so zahtevale uporabo kurišča.

Poleg zidov je najoprijemljivejša stratigrafska enota faze 4a estrih (SE 1986/09) v prostoru prvega palacija (sl. 4.13: A). Tam je bil estrih ohranjen pod ostanki line v zidu 1, tako da je stratigrafski odnos do zidu znan. Omenjena lina je vhod, zidove pa je prekrivalo pet centimetrov ilovice, naphane na starejšo ruševinsko plast (SE 1986/02). Obstoje estriha v notranjosti stavbe v fazi 4a torej ni sporen.

Izkopavalčev opis "ilovice, naphane na starejšo ruševinsko plast", priča o izravnavi terena za gradnje faze 4b, na podlagi katerih je bila določena stratigrafska ločnica med fazama 4a in 4b.

4.2.4. ZIDANI OBJEKTI VISOKOSREDNJEVEŠKE FAZE 4B

Najpomembnejši objekt te faze je bil pozidan znotraj grajskega jedra. Podolgovato stavbo, široko 10 do 12 metrov in dolgo 28 do 33 metrov, imenujemo mlajši oziroma drugi palacij. Vhod v palacij je bil skozi zahodno pročelje, približno na tretjini razdalje od jugozahodnega vogala. Zid 2 drugega palacija je dvodelen, grajen iz lomljenecv in debel približno 1,8 metra, ter prislone na starejše obzidje (zid 1). Hkrati tudi seka južno steno prvega palacija.

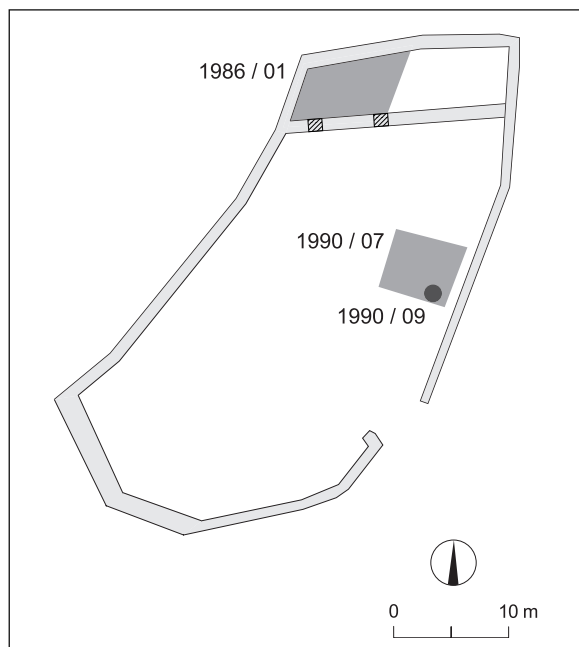
Drugi palacij deli po dolžini na dvoje zid 4, ki v severni tretjini stavbe ni ohranjen. Podporno vlogo tega zidu sta pozneje prevzela okrogla zidana podpornika, zidova 5 in 6. Zidana sta bila do višine enega metra in predstavljata bazo, najverjetneje za lesena stebra oziroma pokončna tramova. Zid 4, ki sta ga nadomestila podpornika, zid 5 in zid 6 torej pričajo o dveh gradbenih podfazah v času faze 4b. Ker pa te delitve nismo dokumentirali nikjer drugje, je nismo posebej poudarili. Zdi se, da ta dejavnost kaže le na manjšo preureditev pritličja drugega palacija.

Na severni strani palacij prečno predeljuje zid 7, katerega namembnost ni jasna. Od opisanih zidov so bili ohranjeni le temelji, tako da jih ne moremo natančneje opredeliti.

Na južnem delu drugega palacija leži zid 8 (sl. 4.14), grajen v suhozidni tehniki. Tlakovan prostor med zidovma 8 in 2 je omejen na polovico širine drugega palacija (SE 1991/03; sl. 4.11).

Vzporedno z zahodnim obzidjem 1a poteka kratek in slabo grajen zid 13 iz neobdelanih kamnov, ki je bil postavljen na estrih (SE 1986/10 ...). Zidec neznane namembnosti je nastal v zvezi s popravili ob podporu (glej dalje).

Znotraj grajskega jedra je bila urejena tudi grajska kapela, ki jo omejuje zid 3. Položaj malograjske kapele v grajskem jedru je pričakovano, saj je takšna umestitev značilna kar za 82 odstotkov grajskih kapel v vzorcu 4.000 gradov v visokosrednjeveškem Svetem cesarstvu. Toda le v 6 odstotkih primerov je grajska kapela zasnovana kot



Sl. 4.13: Mali grad, stratigrafske enote faze 4a.

Fig. 4.13: Mali grad, phase 4a stratigraphic units.

burnt clay roughcast or a fireplace. Due to insufficient data and since the roughcast interpretation was ruled out it can only be said that this is a place of unknown activities that demanded the use of fire.

The best documented stratigraphic unit in phase 4a (apart from the walls) is the mortar-paved layer (SU 1986/09) within the first palatium (fig. 4.13: A). This layer was preserved under the remains of the opening in wall 1, thus making the stratigraphic relation with the wall clear. The mentioned opening is an entrance, and the walls were covered by five centimetres of clay flattened over the older layer of ruins (SU 1986/02). The existence of the paved layer in the interior of the phase 4a building is therefore indisputable.

The excavator's description 'clay, flattened over the older layer of ruins', shows that the terrain was levelled for construction in phase 4b, which enabled us to determine the stratigraphic division between phases 4a and 4b.

4.2.4. BUILDINGS FROM THE HIGH MEDIEVAL PHASE 4B

In this phase the most important structure was built within the castle core. In the continuation of the text we will call the longitudinal building, 10 to 12 metres wide and 28 to 33 metres long, the younger or second palatium. The entrance into the palatium leads through the western front, approximately at one third of the distance from the southwest corner. Wall 2 that belonged to the second palatium is a one face wall, built from roughly worked stone, approximately 1.8 meters thick, leaning



Sl. 4.14: Mali grad, izkopavanja leta 1991, pogled na vzhodni del obzidja (zidovi 2, 12, 11, 10) in objekt faze 4b (zid 8) v južnem delu drugega palacija, pogled proti jugovzhodu (dokumentacija ZVKDS, OE Kranj, fotografija M. Sagadin).

Fig.4.14: Mali grad, excavations in 1991, view towards the eastern part of the fortification (walls 2, 12, 11, 10) and the structure from phase 4b (wall 8) in the southern part of the second palatium, view towards the southeast (documentation from ZVKDS OE Kranj, photograph by M. Sagadin).

samostojna stavba (Krahe 2002a, 60–61). Dvonadstropna kapela na Malem gradu ima v spodnjem nadstropju pravokotno apsidno, kar je značilno za 10 odstotkov grajskih kapel. V zgornjem nadstropju ima kapela tloris s polkrožno apsidno, ki je zastopana pri četrtini raziskanih grajskih kapel (prim. Krahe 2002a, Abb. 101).

Redka je dvonadstropnost kapele. Oter Gorenčičeva (2007, 186) za nadstropnost grajske kapele navaja primerjave iz avstrijskoštajerskega Göstinga, avstrijskokoroškega Liebenfelsa, češkega Egra in bavarskega Nürnberga. Zgornje nadstropje naj bi služilo grajskemu gospodu in njegovi družini, spodnje pa ostalim prebivalcem gradu. V pritličju je kripta. Arhitektura torej poudarja družbene razlike med prebivalci gradu (prim. Krahe 2002a, 62).

Kapela je bila zgrajena iz lomljencev v tehniki plastene zidave s črtnim fugiranjem (sl. 4.15; rekonstrukcija na sl. 4.16). Nevezan stik zidu kapele 3 z obzidjem, zidom 10, kaže, da nista bila grajena hkrati (sl. 4.17). Ostanki pravih kvadratnih odprtih v zidu kažejo na leseni mostovž, speljan v dveh nadstropjih okoli kapele (Sagadin 1997b, 32).

Najstarejša arhitekturna člena v kapeli sta timpanon vhodnega portala in kapitel stebrov slavloloka med ladjo in prezbitერიem spodnje kapele, ki sta romanska. Timpanon je nastal konec 11. ali v prvi polovici 12. stoletja in je

on the older wall 1. It also cuts the southern wall 1b of the first palatium.

In the northern third of the building, the second palatium was longitudinally divided in two by wall 4. The supportive role of this wall was later on adopted by the round supports, walls 5 and 6. At their highest they measured one metre and they represented a base, most likely for wooden pillars or vertical beams. Wall 4 that was substituted by walls 5 and 6 therefore clearly shows two sub-phases within phase 4b. Because this division has not been documented anywhere else, it was not especially emphasised. It seems that this activity points merely to minor rearrangements of the second palatium's ground floor.

On the northern side the palatium is divided by wall 7, the purpose of which is not clear. Only the foundations of these walls remain, thus they can not be defined more precisely.

Wall 8 (fig. 4.14), built in the dry wall technique, stands on the southern part of the second palatium. The area between walls 8 and 2, paved with mortar, is limited to half the width of the second palatium (SU 1991/03; fig. 4.11).

Parallel to the western wall 1a runs the short and poorly constructed fieldstone wall 13 that was built on the



Sl. 4.15: Mali grad, kapela, podrobnost zidave zidu 3 iz delno obdelanih peščenjakovih lomljencev v tehniki plastene zidave s črtnim fugiranjem (dokumentacija ZVKDS, OE Kranj, fotografija N. Leben).

Fig. 4.15: Mali grad, chapel, detail of wall 3; constructed in layers of roughly worked sandstone with line fuges (documentation ZVKDS OE Kranj, photograph by N. Leben).

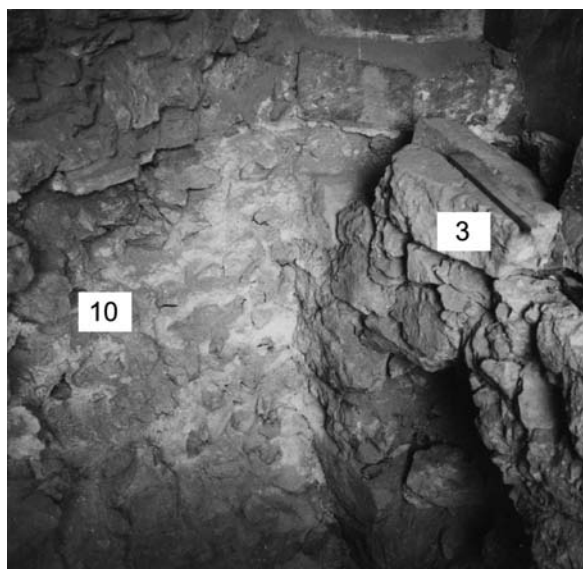


Sl. 4.16: Mali grad, portal malograjske kapele (fotografija M. Oter Gorenčič).

Fig. 4.16: Mali grad, chapel, entrance portal (photograph by M. Oter Gorenčič).

bil bodisi ponovno uporabljen ob gradnji mlajše kapele bodisi je ostal *in situ* ob prezidavi (prim. Oter Gorenčič 2007, 184–186; Cevc 1985, 67; Sagadin 1997b, 32, 33).

Kar nekaj romanskih arhitekturnih členov označuje čas izgradnje kapele. Stavba dvonadstropne kapele je



Sl. 4.17: Mali grad, stik zidu kapele (3) in obzidja (10) (dokumentacija ZVKDS, OE Kranj, fotografija M. Sagadin).

Fig. 4.17: Mali grad, the joint of the chapel wall (3) and the fortification wall (10) (documentation ZVKDS OE Kranj, photograph by M. Sagadin).

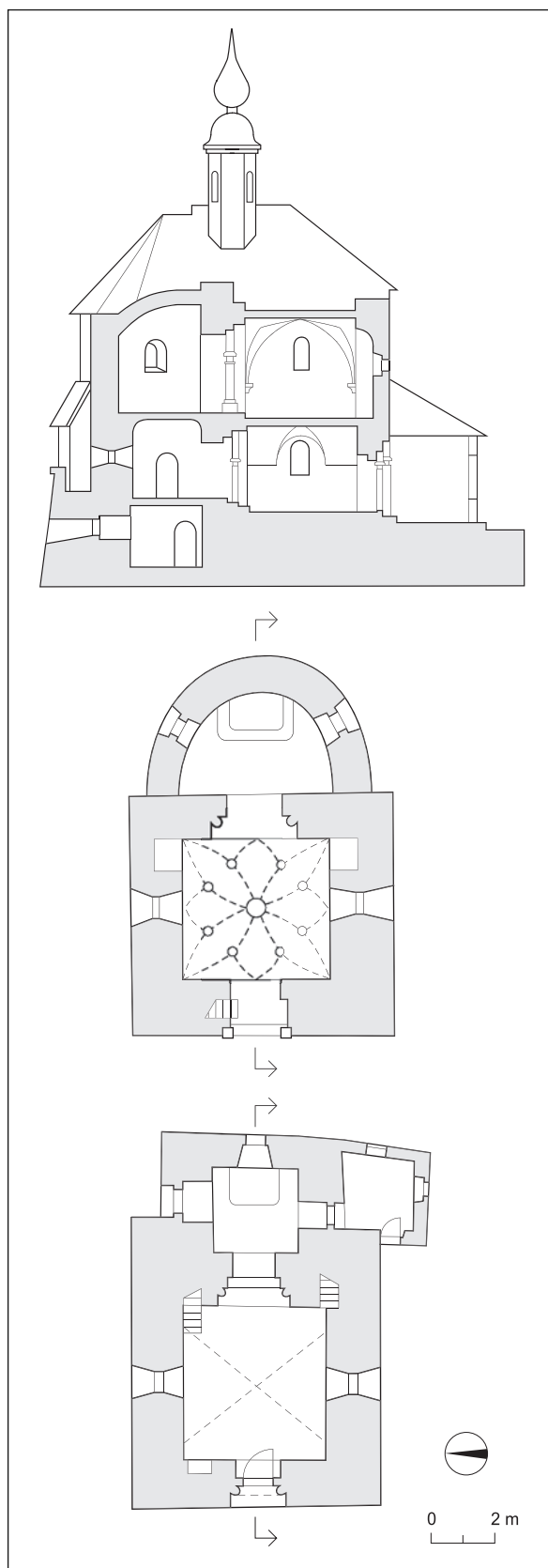


Sl. 4.18: Mali grad, kapela, romanski kapitel v zgornjem nadstropju kapele pred restavriranjem (dokumentacija ZVKDS, OE Kranj, fotografija N. Leben).

Fig. 4.18: Mali grad, chapel, Romanesque base in the upper storey of the chapel, prior to restoration (documentation ZVKDS OE Kranj, photograph by N. Leben).

paved level (SU 1986/10...). This small wall was probably a part of the repairs carried out when the foundation of the original wall collapsed (see below).

The castle chapel, limited by wall 3, also stood within the castle core. The position of the Mali grad chapel within the castle core is expected, for such placement is typical for as many as 82 percent of the castle chapels at the 4,000 observed castles in the High Medieval Holy Empire. However, the castle chapel was built as an independent building in a mere 6 percent of all cases (Krahe 2002a, 60–61). The two storey chapel at Mali grad has a rectangular apse in the lower floor,



bila zgrajena naenkrat. Portal vhoda v spodnjo kapelo je sestavljen iz omenjenega timpanona, ki mu je dodan notranji par stebrov romanskega sloga in zunanji par

Sl. 4.19: Mali grad, kapela. Zgoraj, prerez, rekonstrukcija podobe iz konca 12. ali začetka 13. stoletja po Milanu Sagadinu (1997b, 31). Sredina, tlorisni načrt zgornjega nadstropja. Spodaj, tlorisni načrt spodnjega nadstropja (vir: dokumentacija ZVKDS, OE Kranj).

Fig. 4.19: Mali grad, chapel. Above: the cross sections from the end of the 12th century or beginning of the 13th century as seen by Milan Sagadin (1997b, 31). Centre: ground plan of the upper level. Below: ground plan of the lower level (source: documentation ZVKDS OE Kranj).

which is typical for 10 percent of castle chapels. In the upper floor the chapel has a semi-circular apse, which is representative for three quarters of the researched chapels (cf. Krahe 2002a, Abb. 101).

Two storey chapels are rare. Oter Gorenčič (2007, 186) mentions the following examples of two storey chapels: Gösting in Austrian Styria, Liebenfels in Austrian Carinthia, Eger in the Czech Republic and Nürnberg in Bavaria. The upper storey was supposedly used by the Lord of the castle and his family, while the lower was for the remaining castle residents. The ground floor also includes a crypt. The architecture therefore emphasises the social differences between the castle inhabitants (cf. Krahe 2002a, 62).

The chapel was built with roughly worked stone, onto which roughcast was applied and line fugues were used (fig. 4.15; reconstruction on fig. 4.16) in order to obtain the appearance of dressed blocks. The chapel's wall 3 is not joined with wall 10 of the fortification (fig. 4.17). This points towards the fact that the chapel was built later than the oldest castle wall. The remains of the regular square holes in the wall point towards a wooden gallery that led around the chapel on both levels (Sagadin 1997b, 32).

The oldest architectural elements in the chapel are the tympanum at the entrance portal and the column base of the arch that separates the nave and the presbytery in the lower chapel, both of which belong to the Romanesque period. The tympanum was made at the end of the 11th or in the first half of the 12th century and was either reused during the construction of the later chapel or remained *in situ* when the chapel was rebuilt (cf. Oter Gorenčič 2007, 184–186; Cevc 1985, 67; Sagadin 1997b, 32–33).

Numerous architectural elements of the Romanesque style denote the period in which the chapel was erected. The two stories of the chapel were built at the same time. The entrance portal into the lower chapel includes the aforementioned tympanum and an inner pair of columns in the Romanesque style as well as an outer pair in the Early Gothic style. The windows in the lower chapel are not preserved in their original form; only one side of the original Romanesque style windows is preserved. In the upper chapel two original windows are preserved, both in the Romanesque style. The ceiling was originally made from wood. The Romanesque style portal

5. KOVINSKI PREDMETI

5. METAL OBJECTS

5.1. KUHINJSKA OPREMA, KRESILO, NOŽI IN BRITEV

Med malograjskimi drobnimi najdbami jih nekaj lahko pripišemo kuhinjski opremi. Zelo pomemben je *mehanizem za obešanje kotla*. Ti so bili v srednjem veku običajno tridelni, sestavljeni iz zgornjega (enojni ali dvojni kavelj), srednjega (veriga) in spodnjega dela (enojni kavelj s ploščato kovanim ukrivljenim delom). Zgornji del je bil pritrjen na napo, običajno obešen na drog. Na Malem gradu sta ohranjena zgornji in srednji del, kavelj in veriga. Kavelj zgornjega dela mehanizma (*t. 1: 2*) je dvojni, a je bil en zavihek odlomljen. Očitno je ostal v uporabi, saj je bil najden na mestu uporabe. Šlo je torej za enostaven mehanizem, kakršnega poznamo s srednjeveških upodobitev (*sl. 5.1*). Ohranjeni kavelj je bil z ukrivljenim delom obešen na drog nape, na za to prilagojeno ušesce pa je bila pritrjena veriga (glej spodaj). Uporabe prvotnega dvojnega kavlja ne znamo razložiti. Tudi tega bi bilo sicer mogoče uporabiti na enak način, a drugi ukrivljeni del ne bi bil uporaben. Glede na obliko ušesca, prilagojeno verižnim členkom, bi bilo mogoče, da je bil zgornji del mehanizma dvodelen, kakršne poznamo iz antike (npr. Božič 2005, Abb. 58: 3). V tem primeru bi oba kavlja zgornjega dela spajala veriga, enaka ohranjeni, dvojni kavelj pa bi bil spodnji kavelj zgornjega dela mehanizma. Drugi ukrivljen del bi tako služil za krajšanje verige. Vendar takšnih mehanizmov iz srednjega veka v Sloveniji ne poznamo (prim. Horvat et al. 1995, 3.1.37).

Srednji del mehanizma predstavlja železna veriga z okroglimi členki, s premerom okoli 9 centimetrov (*t. 1: 1*). Ti na eni strani zagotavljajo stabilnost, na drugi pa je njihova velikost prilagojena natančnosti nameščanja kotla. S pretikanjem vmesnega kavlja, kakršnega prikazuje tudi slika (*sl. 5.2*), je bilo mogoče spuščati ali dvigovati kotel po posameznih členkih in s tem uravnavati temperaturo. Podoben je mehanizem za obešanje kotla s Kranclja pri Škofji Loki, katerega členki so nekoliko manjši in kvadratnega prereza (Horvat et al. 1995, 3.1.37).

Kot kažejo nekatere slovenske zakladne najdbe, so bili zelo podobni mehanizmi sestavni del opreme

5.1. KITCHEN UTENSILS, TINDER, KNIVES AND RAZOR

Two small finds from Mali grad could be categorised as kitchen utensils, both a part of the *mechanism for hanging the cauldron*. In the Middle Ages these mechanisms usually consisted of three parts: the upper (single or double hook), central (chain) and lower part (single flat forged hook). The upper part was attached to the hood of the fireplace, which usually hung from a rod. At Mali grad the upper and central part (the hook and the chain) are preserved. The upper hook (*t. 1: 2*) used to be a double, but one hook has broken off. Regardless of this it is obvious that the mechanism remained in use, for it was found at the place of use. It was a simple mechanism, such as depicted in medieval times (*fig. 5.1*). The preserved hook hung from the pole that was located under the hood, and the chain was attached to the perforation in the hook that was made especially for this purpose (see below). The use of the original double hook can not be explained. It could have been used in the same way, but in this case the second hook did not add to the functionality. Taking into account the perforation in the hook it could be possible that the upper part of the mechanism was double, as seen in examples from Antiquity (e.g. Božič 2005, Abb. 58: 3). In this case both upper hooks would be joined by a chain (similar to the preserved one), and the double hook would represent the lower hook of the upper part of the mechanism. The second hook could therefore serve as a length regulator on the chain. However, there are no similar examples of such mechanisms in Medieval Slovenia (cf. Horvat et al. 1995, 3.1.37).

The central part of the mechanism consists of an iron chain with circular loops, each of which measures approximately 9 centimetres in diameter (*t. 1: 1*). Apart from providing stability the size and shape of the loops is designed so that the cauldron can be placed at a desired height. By switching the hook in the middle (as shown in *fig. 5.2*), it was possible to lower or rise the cauldron by individual loops, which in turn regulated the temperature. A similar mechanism was found on Krancelj



Sl. 5.1: Zahodni portal trogirске katedrale (Hrvaška), Radovanov portal (ok. l. 1240): alegorična upodobitev meseca februarja (foto E. Lozić).

Fig. 5.1: Western portal of the Trogir cathedral (Croatia), Radovan's portal (approx. 1240): allegorical depiction of the month of February (Photograph by E. Lozić).

ognjišča že v poznorimskem obdobju (Božič 2005, 356 in Abb. 58: 1). Po drugi strani takšno verigo najdemo v uporabi še sredi 20. stoletja (*sl. 5.2*). Najdbe podobnih mehanizmov iz visokega in poznega srednjega veka so sicer razmeroma redke (npr. Friedrich et al. 1993, Abb. 26; Horvat et al. 1995, 3.1.37; Wild 1997, 102, nr. 77). Krauskopf (2005, 69–70, in Taf. 14: 4) v svoji študiji švicarskih, avstrijskih in nemških gradov ugotavlja, da so bile s takšnimi mehanizmi v 13. stoletju opremljene le kuhinje t. i. grofovskih gradov, v 14. stoletju pa so postali običajna oprema vseh grajskih kuhinj.

Poznosrednjeveške in zgodnjenovoveške upodobitve kuhinj navadno prikazujejo bolj zapletene mehanizme obešanja kotlov nad ognjiščem. Upodobitev tridelnega mehanizma z verigo z okroglimi členki najdemo na primer na Radovanovem portalu trogirске katedrale, izklesanem okoli leta 1240. Pri tem velja poudariti, da je



Sl. 5.2: Železen lonec, obešen na verigo z okroglimi členki, ki je bil v uporabi do sredine 20. stoletja (Etnografski muzej Tonina hiša, Sv. Peter, Slovenija; foto A. Pleterski, risarska rekonstrukcija T. Korošec).

Fig. 5.2: Metal cauldron, hanging from a chain with circular loops, in use until the mid 20th century (Ethnographic museum Tonina hiša, Sv. Peter, Slovenia; Photograph by A. Pleterski, reconstruction sketch by T. Korošec).

close to Škofja Loka. However, this one had somewhat smaller loops with a square cross-section. (Horvat et al. 1995, 3.1.37).

On one hand certain finds in Slovenia show that similar mechanisms could be found in fireplaces already during the late Roman period (Božič 2005, 356 and Abb. 58: 1). On the other hand such a chain was found in use as late as the mid 20th century (*fig. 5.2*). Similar mechanisms from the High and Late Medieval period are relatively rare archaeological finds (e.g. Friedrich et al. 1993, Abb. 26; Horvat et al. 1995, 3.1.37; Wild 1997, 102, No. 77). In his study of Swiss, Austrian and German castles, Krauskopf (2005, 69–70, and Taf. 14: 4) concluded that only kitchens in castles owned by counts were equipped with such mechanisms in the 13th century, while in the

za kiparja Radovana značilno realistično upodabljanje, nastalo na podlagi skrbne študije predmetov v naravi (sl. 5.1; Stošić 1994, 68–69 in 71).

Oba kovinska predmeta malograjske kuhinje sta torej po namembnosti tipična za srednjeveško kaminsko kuhinjo. Časovno pa gre za predmeta, kakršni so bili v uporabi več stoletij.

Na Malem gradu sta predmeta stratigrafsko opredeljena v fazo 4b.

Naslednji predmet je *lečasto kresilo* na verigi (t. 1: 3; sl. 5.3: a). Gre za pogosto srednjeveško obliko kresila, ki je lahko bolj ali manj izbočena. Kresila imajo poleg praktičnega tudi simbolni pomen. Pri južnih Slovanih, na primer, kresilnik simbolizira nebo, kresilo zemljo, ogenj, ki nastane kot rezultat, pa je simbol posrednika med nebom in zemljo (Čausidis 1994, 218–228). Zato ne preseneča, da tovrstna kresila najdemo kot pridatek v grobovih. Domnevno najstarejšo primerjavo smo našli na zgodnesrednjeveškem gobišču Knin-Plavno (Jelovina 1976, t. 72: 8), vendar kresilo nima zanesljivega konteksta. Prostorsko je najbližja primerjava iz groba mlajšega pokojnika, pokopanega v srednjeveški cerkvi v Fijerogi pri Pomjanu (sl. 5.3: c; Knific 1986, sl. 5: 17). Kresilo s srbskega grobišča Trnjane, ki je datirano v 11. in 12. stoletje, ima kot malograjsko ohranjen tudi povezovalen členek. Lečasta kresila občasno najdemo v visoko-srednjeveških grobovih na območju Rusije, Bolgarije, Madžarske, Romunije in Poljske (Marjanović-Vujović 1984, 101–102, Tab. 27: 6; glej tam navedeno literaturo) ter na severovzhodnonemških slovanskih grobiščih (Pol-

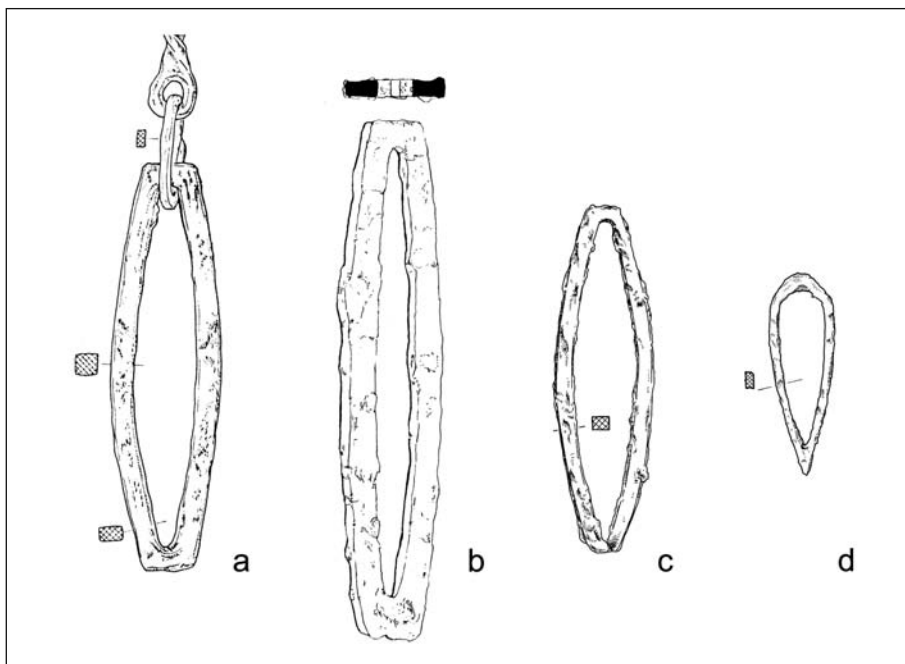
14th century they became the standard equipment in all castle kitchens.

The Late Medieval and Early Post-medieval depictions of kitchens usually show complex mechanisms for hanging cauldrons over fireplaces. A depiction of a three-part mechanism with a chain consisting of circular loops can be found on Radovan's portal (around 1240) in the cathedral of Trogir. At this it should be emphasised that the sculptor Radovan was known for his realistic depiction based on his careful study of objects in nature (fig. 5.1; Stošić 1994, 68–69 and 71).

Both metal objects from the Mali grad kitchen are - in their function - typical of a Medieval open fireplace kitchen. However, such objects were used in kitchens over centuries.

The described objects found at Mali grad were stratigraphically placed into phase 4b.

The next object is the biconcave or *lenticular tinder* on a chain (t. 1: 3; fig. 5.3: a). This is a common medieval form of tinder that can be of a more or less convex shape. Apart from its practical use tinder also has a symbolic meaning. For instance the South Slavs believed that the flint stone symbolised the sky, the tinder symbolised the Earth and the fire that emerged as a result of the two was the mediator between the sky and the Earth (Čausidis 1994, 218–228). Thus it does not come as a surprise that such tinder is often found in graves. Presumably the oldest analogy for the Mali grad tinder was discovered at the Early Medieval burial site Knin-Plavno (Jelovina 1976, t. 72: 8), however the tinder can not be placed into



Sl. 5.3: Lečasta kresila z (a) Malega gradu, (b) Otoka pri Dobravi (Šribar 1979, 7: 1) in (c) Fijeroge pri Pomjanu (Knific 1986, sl. 5: 17) ter (d) kapljčasto kresilo s Kreplnovega hriba nad Hosto pri Škofji Loki.

Sl. 5.3: Lenticular tinder from (a) Mali grad, (b) Otok near Dobrava (Šribar 1979, 7: 1) and (c) Fijeroga near Pomjan (Knific 1986, fig. 5: 17) and (d) teardrop tinder from Kreplnov hrib above Hosta near Škofja Loka.

9. RAZPRAVA O ŽIVLJENJU NA MALOGRAJSKEM GRIČU

9. LIFE ON THE MALI GRAD HILL: A DISCUSSION

9.1. MALI GRAD V PROSTORU

Razumevanje preteklosti skozi prizmo preteklih pokrajin je pogosta tema historičnih ved. V arheologiji trenutno najbolj izpostavljeni pogledi temeljijo bodisi na procesni bodisi na poprocesni arheologiji. Prvi na bogati zgodovini raziskav predvsem t. i. mediteranske arheologije in ameriške nove arheologije, drugi na britansko-skandinavskem fenomenološkem pristopu. Pri tem se moramo zavedati, da je malone toliko pogledov na pretekle pokrajine, kot je raziskovalcev (Launaro 2004; prim. Novaković 2003, 191–202; Olsen 2002, 63–64).

Na tem mestu ne želimo ponavljati razprav o odnosu med človekom in prostorom ter GIS-orodjih, s katerimi lahko te odnose preučujemo (za pregled do 2000 glej Kvamme et al. 1997; Church et al. 2000; za pregled novejših študij glej Doerr, Sarris 2003; Fischer Ausserer 2004). Uporabili smo le nekaj osnovnih metod. S tem smo na eni strani dobili odgovor na konkretna vprašanja, na drugi pa smo želeli pokazati zmožnosti tovrstnih študij pri preučevanju gradov.

Z analizo vidnosti z GIS-orodji določimo prostor, viden iz opazovalnega mesta. Skupek vseh celic, ki so v liniji vidnosti, imenujemo vidno polje (angl. *Viewshed*; prim. McCoy idr. 2001, 160). Ta metoda je bila že zgodaj uporabljena v arheologiji (Gaffney, Stančič 1991, 75–78). Z njo bomo modelirali prostor, iz katerega je bil viden grad, ali prostor, ki je bil viden z gradu.

Druga metoda, ki smo jo uporabili, je izračun gospodarskega zaledja (ang. *site catchment analysis*; za termin

9.1. MALI GRAD WITHIN THE LANDSCAPE

Understanding the past through the research of past landscapes is a reoccurring theme in historic research. The most common approaches used in archaeology nowadays are based on either processual or post-processual archaeology. The first draws from the abundant research in Mediterranean or New American Archaeology, while the latter relies mostly upon the British-Scandinavian phenomenological approach. However, one must be aware that there is almost as many views of past landscapes as there are researchers (Launaro 2004; cf. Novaković 2003, 191–202; Olsen 2002, 63–64).

At this stage we will not enter the somewhat lively discussion on the relationship man - landscape and the GIS tools used to interpret this relationship (for an overview see Kvamme et al. 1997; Church et al. 2000; Doerr, Sarris 2003; Fischer Ausserer 2004) since only a few basic methods were used in this research. The twofold aim of this excursus is to obtain some concrete answers and show the possibilities offered to castle research when such an approach is used.

Viewshed analysis (cf. McCoy et al. 2001, 160) is a basic GIS tool that is used to determine the area visible from an observation point or a polygon. This method was among the first GIS applications used in archaeology (Gaffney, Stančič 1991, 75–78). In this study it will be used to model the area visible from the castle walls as well as area from which the castle was visible.

glej Dular, Tecco Hvala 2007; prim. Stančič, Gaffney 1991, 51; Novaković 2003, 117–118). Model so v 70. letih 20. stoletja vzpostavili predstavniki t. i. paleoekonomske šole iz Cambridgea. Gospodarsko zaledje je definirano kot območje, znotraj katerega je izkoriščanje naravnih virov ekonomsko upravičeno (Vita-Finzi, Higgs 1970). Še v istem desetletju so ameriški arheologi z empiričnimi preizkusi prvotno območje zaledja, 5 kilometrov oziroma uro hoda za poljedelske skupnosti, prepолоvili (Novaković 2003, 117–118; glej tam navedeno literaturo). Konec 80. let preteklega stoletja so zamudno hojo v presekih nadomestile GIS-analize (npr. Stančič, Gaffney 1991, 51–60). Za spodnjo GIS-analizo smo uporabili lasten algoritem (Štular 2006a).

Izdelali smo tudi vektorske podatkovne sloje – pot, polje in meja – andeškega teritorialnega gospostva.

Kot izhodišče za pripravo sloja pot smo vzeli rekonstrukcijo poti v 14. stoletju (Kosi 1998, Priloga). Ker je ta izdelana v zelo velikem merilu, smo jo na odseku, ki nas zanima, nekoliko prilagodili. Na odseku od Save do Mengša smo pot prilagodili tako, da se izogiba poplavnemu območju Pšate in Kamniške Bistrice (prim. Štular 2002, 94–103 in sl. 24; glej tam navedeno literaturo). Od Mengša dalje smo sledili poti, kot je načrtovana na franciscejskem katastru in jožefinskem vojaškem zemljevidu (Rajšp 1998, sekciji 176 in 177). Pri tem smo sledili izkušnjam retrogradne analize franciscejskega katastra v Blejskem kotu, ki kažejo, da se trasa poti v novem veku do sredine 19. stoletja skorajda ni spreminjala (Pleterski 1986, 119–122).

Kot polje smo označili sklenjene poljske površine, ki so na franciscejskem katastru označene kot najboljša kategorija. V ta namen je bilo treba zemljevid franciscejskega katastra uskladiti z uporabljenimi modernimi kartografskimi sloji, torej umestiti v prostor in razpaciiti (prim. McCoy idr. 2001, 78–87). Teh sklenjenih poljskih površin najboljša kategorije ne smemo enačiti z rezultatom retrogradne analize franciscejskega katastra. Toda retrogradna analiza franciscejskega katastra Blejskega kota je pokazala, da so najstarejša srednjeveška polja brez izjeme nastajala na sklenjenih površinah zemlje najboljša kategorije (Pleterski 1986). Naš rezultat se ujema tudi z rezultatom metode kartiranja toponimov (Štular, Poglajen 2002), saj imata obe tako določeni poljski površini ledinsko ime polje. Mejo andeškega teritorialnega gospostva smo povzeli po Kosiju (Komac 2006, zemljevid 4).

Najprej nas je zanimalo vidno polje z Malega gradu v fazah 4a in 4b. Za opazovalno mesto smo za fazo 4a izbrali celotno obzidje, visoko 10 metrov. Nobena izmed znanih rekonstrukcij sicer ne predvideva obzidnega hodnika na celotnem obzidju. Toda za naš namen to ni pomembno, saj je razlika med opazovanjem z nekaj dobro izbranih mest ali s celotnega oboda obzidja v konkretnem primeru Malega gradu zanemarljiva. Tudi izbrana višina 10 metrov bi bila lahko sporna (prim. Krahe 2002a, 24–26), a na rezultat zaradi lege na malograjskem griču nima velikega vpliva.

The second method used was the *site catchment* calculation (cf. Stančič, Gaffney 1991, 51; Novaković 2003, 117–118). The theoretical model for this analysis was built in the 1970s by the members of the so called paleo-economical school from Cambridge. Site catchment is defined as an area within which the use of natural resources is economically justified (Vita-Finzi, Higgs 1970). Soon after the original study American archaeologists started to empirically test the hypothesis and the area of 5 kilometres (or one hour of walking) was cut in half for agricultural societies (Novaković 2003, 117–118; see cited literature). In the late 1980s the time consuming method of measuring the site catchment area by walking in straight lines was replaced by the GIS analysis (e.g. Stančič, Gaffney 1991, 51–60).

For the analysis showed in the continuation a new algorithm for calculating the distance walked within a given amount of time was developed (Štular 2006a).

Besides the geomorphologic data the somewhat self explanatory vector layers *paths*, *field* and *border* were also produced for the area. The first is based on a map of reconstructed 14th century paths (Kosi 1998, Priloga). Since this map is produced in a rather large scale the section of interest was slightly altered: the path between the river Sava and the town Mengeš was altered so that it avoids the floodplain (cf. Štular 2002, 94–103 and sl. 24; see cited literature). The path between Mengeš and Mali grad was altered so that it follows the roads as seen on the historical maps from the 18th and 19th century (Rajšp 1998, sections 176 in 177). This was based on the retro-analysis of the historical maps combined with historical and archaeological sources from the nearby Blejski kot. It seems that the paths there have not altered between Medieval times and the 19th century (Pleterski 1986, 119–122).

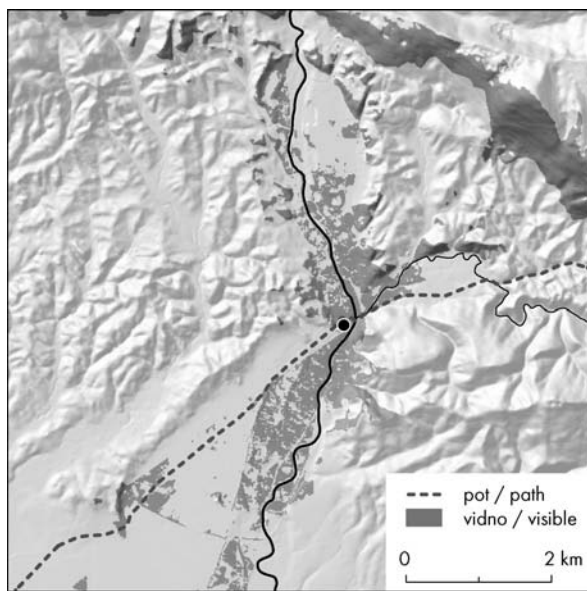
The vector layer *field* denotes all patches of fields categorised as *the best* arable land in the historical cadastre from the mid 19th century. The cadastral maps were georeferenced with this in mind (cf. McCoy idr. 2001, 78–87). This category is an approximation and not a precise representation of medieval fields. However, the above mentioned retro-analysis showed that the oldest medieval fields were placed into sizable patches of land categorized as *the best* in the historical cadastres (Pleterski 1986). The layer *field* corresponds to the results of another method, i.e. charting place-names (Štular, Poglajen 2002).

The layer *border* was adopted from the map of the Andechs' territory (Komac 2006, zemljevid 4).

The first analysis is the viewshed from Mali grad castle in phases 4a and 4b. The viewshed for phase 4a was calculated as seen from the entire castle walls at a height of 10 metres. None of the castle walls reconstruction shows walking ledges that would run along the entire wall. This is negligible as in this case the viewshed from a few well selected observation platforms was almost the same as from

Kot opazovalno mesto za izračun vidnega polja v fazi 4b smo izbrali stolp ob upoštevanju višine 15 metrov. Za to smo se odločili, ker je potek grajskega obzidja na območju gradu faze 4a v fazi 4b ostal nespremenjen. Torej vidno polje v fazi 4b ni nikjer manjše kot v fazi 4a. Povečanje pa smo pričakovali predvsem pri opazovanju z omenjenega stolpa, ki je bil zgrajen v fazi 4b.

Takoj je opazna razlika med vidnostjo v fazi 4a in fazi 4b (*sl. 9.1*; *sl. 9.3*). Vidnost severno od gradu je zaradi naštetih vzrokov nespremenjena. Razliko opazimo na jugu. Še posebej se zdi pomenljivo izključevanje vidnega polja faze 4a in poti južno od gradu, torej v smeri takratnih bližnjih poselitvenih središč Škofje Loke, Kranja in Ljubljane.



Sl. 9.1: Mali grad, vidno polje z obzidja faze 4a (vir za senčen relief: DMV 12,5, november 2005 © Geodetska uprava Republike Slovenije).

Fig. 9.1: Mali grad, viewshed from the phase 4a wall (source for the shaded relief: DMV 12,5, November 2005 © Geodetska uprava Republike Slovenije).

Grad je torej v fazi 4a vizualno komuniciral predvsem z območjem proti severu. Ta vtis postane še močnejši, če upoštevamo samo vidnost prestižno grajenega dela zidu (*sl. 9.2*), ki je navzven kazal premožnost graditeljev (glej poglavji 4.2.1 in 4.2.3). Območje, na katerem je stalo v 17. stoletju obzidano mestno jedro (prim. *sl. 3.1*), je znotraj tega polja vidnosti. Tudi eden od dveh sklopov poljskih površin (*sl. 9.5*) je znotraj tega polja vidnosti. Takšen položaj gradu podpira domnevo o naselbini, sočasni fazi 4a na območju, ki je bilo pozneje varovano z mestnim obzidjem (za nasprotno mnenje prim. Šumi 1994, 103).

Zanimiva je tudi zmožnost gradu, da neposredno nadzira prostor s strelnim orožjem. Običajno se za uporabni doseg loka in samostrela navaja razdalja od 100 do 200 metrov (Odar 2003, 16–17; glej tam navedeno literaturo). Če merimo doseg 200 metrov s severovzho-

the entire length of the wall. The height is also a matter of debate, since 10 metres represents the maximum expected height (cf. Krahe 2002a, 24–26). Again, due to the specific geomorphology changes of several metres showed almost no impact on the resulting viewshed.

The viewshed in phase 4b was calculated from a southern tower at a supposed height of 15 metres. Since the northern castle walls have not changed during phase 4b the view towards the North remained unchanged. A significantly larger viewshed was expected in the South – primarily due to the tower that was built in phase 4b.

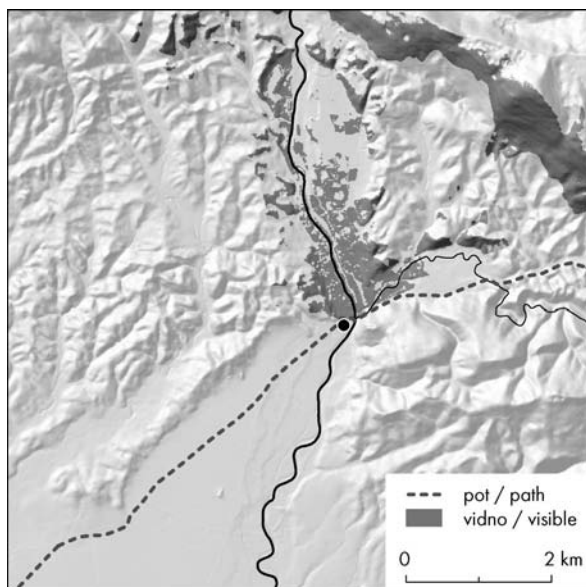
The difference between phases 4a and 4b is indeed noticeable (*fig. 9.1*; *fig. 9.3*). As expected there is no difference in the north part of the castle, but there is a significant difference in the south part of the castle. The exclusion of the southern viewshed in phase 4a and the reconstructed path that leads towards the regional centres of the time (Škofja Loka, Kranj, Ljubljana) seems especially meaningful.

In phase 4a the visual communication of the castle was concentrated in the north. This is even more accentuated when only the visibility of the prestigious parts of the castle walls with a special symbolic meaning (cf. chapters 4.2.1 and 4.2.3) is calculated (*fig. 9.2*). The entire area of the 17th century walled town (*fig. 3.1*) is located within this viewshed as are one or two field patches (*fig. 9.5*). The described situation is supportive of the hypothesis that the settlement area in phase 4a was already in the same place as the much latter walled town (for a different opinion see Šumi 1994, 103).

The possibility of controlling the same area with bows or cross-bows also seems interesting. These weapons are most commonly quoted to have a range spanning between 100 and 200 metres (Odar 2003, 16–17; see cited literature). Using the 200 metres mark reveals that not only the entire area of the 17th century walled town, but also the location of the oldest known bridge (*fig. 3.1*; *fig. 9.3*) would be within reach of the castle's arms. According to the 17th century description by Valvasor the Kamniška Bistrica river could be crossed without the use of a bridge a few kilometres south (1984, 250). Regardless of the chosen river crossing the Kamnik gorge ensured that the path towards the Tuhinje valley was within reach of the castle's arms at some point. The potential reach of the castle's arms was modelled using the 200 metre reach and the viewshed from the castle (*fig. 9.4*).

As mentioned, the newly erected phase 4b tower significantly changed the viewshed in the southern direction. The tower guard could maintain visual contact with a traveller from Kranj or Ljubljana a full hour before the traveller reached Kamnik (*fig. 9.3*; compare *fig. 9.5*).

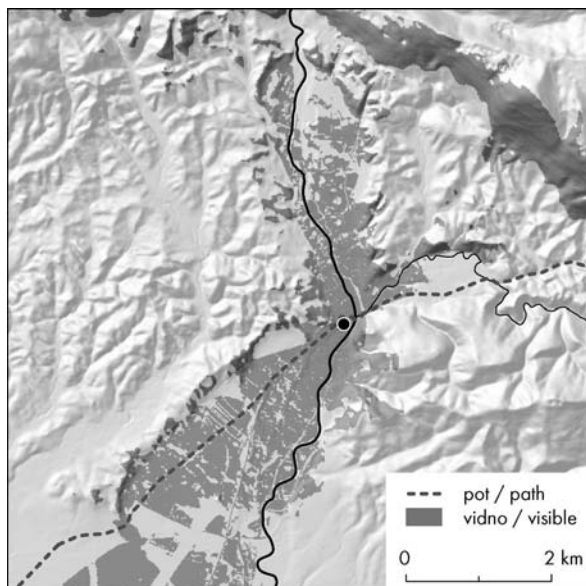
It seems that the defensive role was not the tower's primary function. The area west of the castle is slightly hilly and far from impassable. The enemies approaching from this direction could remain hidden from the potential tower guards, especially as the terrain was likely to be



Sl. 9.2: Mali grad, vidno polje z dela obzidja, grajenega iz kvadrov, faze 4a (zid 1a) (vir za senčen relief: DMV 12,5, november 2005 © Geodetska uprava Republike Slovenije).

Fig. 9.2: Mali grad, viewshed from the part of the wall built from blocks, phase 4a (wall 1a) (source for the shaded relief: DMV 12,5, November 2005 © Geodetska uprava Republike Slovenije).

dnega vogala Malega gradu, vidimo, da je znotraj dosega ves prostor pozneje obzidanega mesta in tudi kraj, kjer je vsaj od 17. stoletja dalje (sl. 3.1) stal most čez Kamniško Bistrico (sl. 9.3). Naravni prehod čez Kamniško Bistrico



Sl. 9.3: Mali grad, vidno polje s stolpa faze 4b (vir za senčen relief: DMV 12,5, november 2005 © Geodetska uprava Republike Slovenije).

Fig. 9.3: Mali grad, viewshed from the phase 4b tower (source for the shaded relief: DMV 12,5, November 2005 © Geodetska uprava Republike Slovenije).

covered in forest. It therefore seems that visual communication with the travellers on the road played an important role for the tower from the beginning. These travellers included merchants with wagons. The prestigious building technique of the tower thus gains an additional use. At the same time this tower also visually dominated the town. It is worth noting that the older - prestigiously built part of the castle walls - visually dominated Stari trg (Old Market) whereas the tower dominated Glavni trg (Main square). However it seems that the visual impression of the tower was intended mainly for travellers. Thus Zeune's (1996) claim that the castle is foremost a symbol of power seems to be a righteous one in this case.

The oldest known name of the larger of the two fields (fig. 9.5) is Zapriško polje (the Zaprice field). It is likely that this was originally a part of the Mali grad estate as the Zaprice castle is probably the successor of Mali grad. The smaller field system north of the castle - named simply Polje (field) - could therefore originally belong to the settlers and later to the townspeople of Kamnik. All of these fields are located within the half hour site catchment area and are therefore in sync with the theoretical model of the half hour site catchment area for agricultural societies (cf. Štular 2006a, 206–209).

9.2. STEIN (12TH CENTURY)

The Mali grad Early Medieval cemetery (Sagadin 2001; Štular 2007b) indicates the presence of the pre-feudal aristocracy in the late 10th and early 11th century. Whatever the interpretation the cemetery indicates the presence of a settlement on the Mali grad hill or in its close proximity.

At that time (see chapter 2) Mali grad was ruled from Kranj by the border dukes from the Bavarian Sempt-Ebersberg family. Around 1036 the territory of Savinjska Marka was annexed to *Carniola*. As a result of the Bavarian noble families moving their administration and military centres from larger fortified settlements to castles, Mali grad became a crucial connection at the narrowest possible point. The new castles were often strategically located on the borders between the old and the newly colonised territories.

The importance of Mali grad in the 11th century is obvious. Therefore the replacement of the old ruler of the Mali grad hill (most likely a Slavic nobleman carrying the name of Velmož and his family) with direct noble subjects of the border duke was merely a question of time. Unfortunately, the question of time remains.

The *terminus post quem* for the earliest castle is represented by the youngest Early Medieval graves found on the Mali grad hill. These are dated into the early 11th century.

A series of architectural elements define the earliest Romanesque castle on the northern part. The tympanum

