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# ***Gottscheers a Half of Millennia Ago***

*Gottschee Germans and Slavs  
in the Years 1494 and 1498*

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*Abstract:*

Land-Prince's Urbarium for Upper Office of Gottschee (1494) is put into the limelight because it was considered lost for a long time after the officials of those times committed their grave error. The document is compared with the similar Urbariums for the Gottschee back-land (Hinterland) office of (Gottschee) Rieg (1498) and for manor Kostel (1494), which were already taken into account of Slovenian and Gottscheers' historians.

*Keywords:*

Gottschee, 15<sup>th</sup> century, Reformation, Ziegelfest, Praunspurger

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## Introduction

In 1493 Frederick III died after he ruled for 41 years; his son and heir, the new ruler Maximilian I (\* 1459; † 1519), immediately ordered the completion of Urbariums (*Urbariums*) for his Carniolan manors. The administration of personal names, family names, hides, and taxes of his subjects from the Duchy of Carniola took almost a decade. The very first Urbariums with taxes, names, and partly existing family names of the subjects from Land-Prince's Properties of Carniola were finally accomplished during the early reign of Maximilian I. Between the years 1494–1498 the Land-Prince's officials noted the south part of the middle Carniola with Gottscheerland and Kostel included. They did not list the Gottscheerland in one piece, but they listed the Upper Office of Gottscheerland together with Kostel in 1494, and (Gottscheer) Rieg Office only four years later in 1498, after the death of the pledge holder Gasper von Ravbar. The time when they accomplished the Urbarium of Lower Gottscheerland Office containing the area between Cvišlerji (Zwischlern) and Črmošnjice (Tschermoschnitz, Mosche) is not known because that Urbarium is not found yet.

After they finished their rides and notes, the administrators of Inner Austrian Camera looked after the transcriptions.<sup>1</sup> The copying took considerable time and was postponed until the early 16<sup>th</sup> century. There was certainly a huge amount of notes and the copying was certainly not an easy task, therefore also the mistakes were unavoidable. But there was hardly any error of the amount which took place in Gottscheerland.

The Urbarium for the *Hinterland* Office of (Gottscheer) Rieg was associated with the Urbarium for Žumberak (Sichelberg, Žumberk) which was a part of Carniola in that time. In that way the (Gottscheer) Rieg was not tied with other two parts of Gottscheerland. That occasion was pretty strange, because other Carniolan manors were not treated in that manner but officials have usually bound the Urbariums of whole manors in common paper. The happy occasion was that the copyist in the case of (Gottscheer) Rieg Office knew what he was up to and therefore separated the data from Office of (Gottscheer) Rieg from those for Žumberak (Sichelberg, Žumberk) with special titles. In that way he clearly referred the readers of the incoming centuries how to treat that Urbarium.

In the case of other two thirds of Urbariums for Gottscheerland the awkwardness even intensified. Considering the manuscript, the copyist of the Upper Office of Gottscheerland was not identical with the copyist of the four years younger Urbarium for (Gottscheer) Rieg Office or with the copyist of the

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. Boris Golec's message in March 2011.

Urbarium for neighboring manor of Kostel accomplished in 1494. The distracted copyist continued the data of Upper Office of Gottscheerland Urbarium with Urbarium of Inner Carniola manor of Prem in such a way that none of the treated dominion lands did not get any separate title which could refer the later reader! Although the Upper Office of Gottscheerland Urbarium was listed in a book as the first before the Prem Urbarium, the copyist or one of his official collaborators figured that all book should be shelved under the title of Prem Manor. That erroneous classification remained for a half of millennium until Dr. Boris Golec in his Ph.D. work on the end of the second millennia noticed the grave error and later passed the information to his wife and to the author of those lines!<sup>2</sup> The Gottscheerland and Prem were connected just by their common Habsburg owner and therefore it is hard to understand why those Urbariums were united without any demarcation line. According to the opinion of Dr. Boris Golec communicated on March 3, 2011 the wrong binding was produced in Inner Austrian Camera where the copyist of the Vice-royal Office of Ljubljana committed the mistake. It is certainly the high time to repair that grave error committed against the unsuspecting grandchildren of the primary Gottscheerland settlers and to treat the Upper Office of Gottscheerland Urbarium with modern historiography tools.

### Mixing of Gottscheerland with Prem

Besides the Urbarium mixed with the Upper Office of Gottscheerland in the same box of Archive of Slovenian Republic we could find two other Urbariums for Prem manor, both dated before the year 1501. Next there is the Urbarium for Prem Manor dated in 1548, and after it the Reformed Urbarium for Prem Manor dated in 1574. Between the Urbariums we could find several Vice-Royal letters considering the Prem Manor. It is sorry to say that none of those documents had the addition Lower Office of Gottscheerland Urbarium which we are still searching for.

The Urbarium for Upper Office of Gottscheerland ended on the pages 8<sup>v</sup>–9<sup>r</sup>, that means just on one of the three binding points of the document made each time with four leather straps just before the middle binding on the

<sup>2</sup> Boris Golec, *Družba v mestih in trgih trgih Dolenjske in Notranjske od poznega srednjega veka do srede 18. century*, doktorska disertacija (Ljubljana: Filozofska fakulteta, 1999) (hereinafter: Golec, *Družba v mestih in trgih trgih*); Boris Golec, "Senožeče in Prem – nenavadni trški naselbini na t. i. Kraških gospostvih", *Kronika* 54 (2006): 365–384, 380 (hereinafter: Golec, "Senožeče in Prem"); Lilijana Žnidaršič Golec, Danijela Čargo Juričič, *Vodnik po urbarjih Arhiva Republike Slovenije* (Ljubljana: Arhiv Republike Slovenije, 2009), 123, 124, 224 (hereinafter: Žnidaršič Golec, Čargo Juričič, *Vodnik po urbarjih ARS*).

pages 10<sup>v</sup>–11<sup>r</sup> and the similar binding on the pages 14<sup>v</sup>–15<sup>r</sup>. Therefore the folio with the Urbariums for Upper Office of Gottscheerland on the page 8<sup>v</sup> just continues under the binding into the folio with a page 13<sup>r</sup> containing the last taxes of the Prem Manor subjects from the village *Petellinach* (Petelinje). The village of Petelinje of those times had 13 hides in 1494 and 1498 on the North of Pivka (Šempeter on Kras, St. Peter in Karst), which was considerably smaller in that era.<sup>3</sup> The copyist continued the listing of taxes of Prem Manor subjects towards the South up to the village *Körittnik* (Koritnice) with the single hide belonging to the Prem Manor.<sup>4</sup> The notes on the page 9<sup>r</sup> is similar as the continuation of the handwriting on the page 8<sup>v</sup> considering the ink, handwriting, and contents. On the page 9<sup>r</sup> the copyist just listed the tenants of the gardens and fields which were common for a town like Gottschee. The page 13<sup>r</sup> continues with the somewhat intended records on Prem Manor Subject Taxes. As the continuation it is different enough of the previous listings of the subjects from the village *Petellinach* (Petelinje) with the piles of listed duties 5–7 lines long which ended with the listings of Money Taxes because in the continuation it has 3 shorter notes written in 3 and 2 lines.

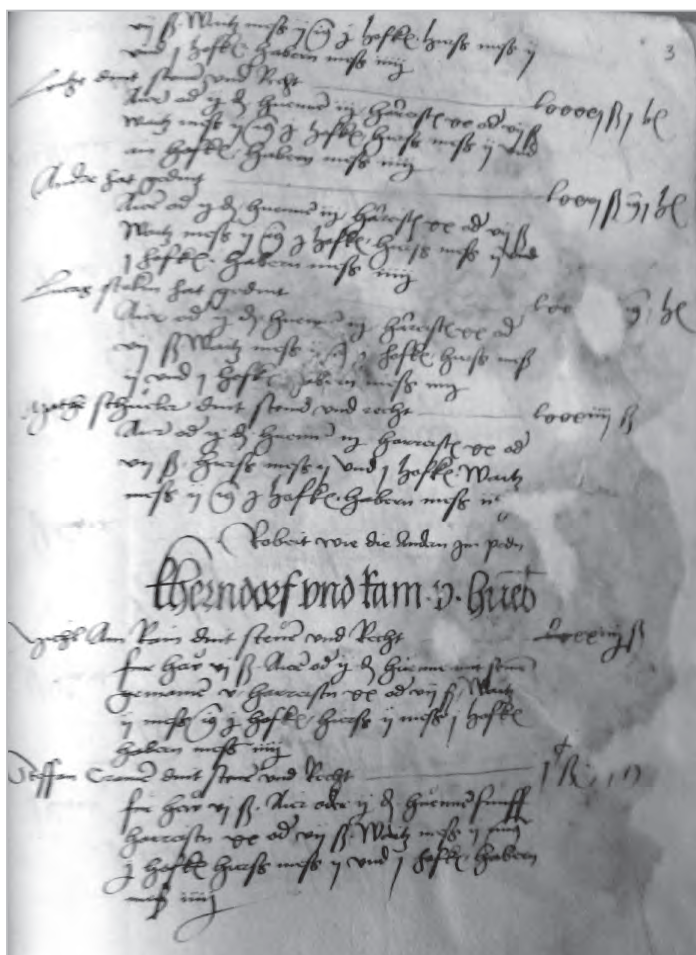
The listing of the last 7 Gottschee Town tax payers and their field and garden rents continues in the eight lines on the page 9<sup>r</sup>. Next on the same page we read the data of the four mills *auff Grosser Wasser* in five lines. After that the Urbarium without any warning continues with the Urbariums for the Prem Manor village *Palitschbach* (Palčje on the East of Pivka in those times called Šempeter na Krasu, that is St. Peter on Karst), the greatest settlement besides Gottschee Town listed in that book. The village of *Palitschbach* (Palčje) had a half of hide more four years later. In *Palitschbach* (Palčje) and in villages listed in the continuation the subjects mostly did not have their family names noted until the sole hide of the village *Körittnik* (Koritnice) belonging to the Prem Manor.<sup>5</sup> All those places were identical with the villages belonging to the Prem Manor which partly covered several square kilometers around the today town of Ilirska Bistrica.<sup>6</sup> Ilirska Bistrica (*Fewstricz*) was documented for the first time in 1300, and already in the first half of 15<sup>th</sup> century it hosted several saws and

<sup>3</sup> Milko Kos, *Srednjeveški urbarji za Slovenijo*, Urbarji Slovenskega primorja (Ljubljana: Akademija znanosti in umetnosti, 1954), 92, 204, 242 (hereinafter: Kos, *Srednjeveški urbarji za Slovenijo*); [www2.arnes.si/~ospivka/Krpan/Petel.htm](http://www2.arnes.si/~ospivka/Krpan/Petel.htm)

<sup>4</sup> Arhiv Republike Slovenije / Archives of the Republic of Slovenia (hereinafter: ARS), Urbarium Prem 1494, AS 1, Viceroy Office for Carniola, box 102, fasc. I/58, Litera P – VI, 1a, 14v.

<sup>5</sup> ARS, Urbarium Prem 1494, ibidem, 14v; Kos, *Srednjeveški urbarji za Slovenijo*, Urbarji slovenskega primorja, 241, 247.

<sup>6</sup> In 1498, Ilirska Bistrica (*Fewstricz*) with 10.5 hides belonged to the Postojna Manor, as did the other 8 hides of the village Koritnice (*Koritnigleb*), villages Bača, Zarečice, Zemona, and Vrbovo in Mayoralty of Knežak on Upper Pivka River (*Grauen Prunn supp*) which had 22.5 hides (Kos, *Srednjeveški urbarji za Slovenijo*, Urbarji slovenskega primorja, 235–236).



Fifth page of Gottsche Urbarium (Urbariums for Upper Office of Gottscheerland 1494, folio 3r)

mils. After 1472 the Prem Manor was a Habsburg property of the pledged lords von Raunach.

The water seal of the Gottscheerland-Prem Urbarium is clearly observable on 20<sup>th</sup> folio with a number 20 noted just on a lower part of the sheet of paper which begins with a note about the Gottscheerland village *Mitterdorff* (Stara Cerkev) on the very beginning of the Urbarium. The page 20 in vertically parted with water lines into 7 parts. The ultimate left part is somewhat shorter, but the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> parts are broader with the watermark of anchor turned upside down. The anchored watermarks were very common for the papers of Venice provenience in those times when the Italian paper covered most of the needs on

the South of the lands using German writing.<sup>7</sup> Below the surrounded anchor there was a six-pointed star with four time smaller radius. It is obvious that all other folios had the same watermarks although it is harder to recognize them under the manuscript except the 19<sup>th</sup> folio which was recorded just on one side down to two thirds and shows the anchor very clearly. It is obvious that the Urbariums for Upper Office of Gottscheerland and Prem were not wrongly bind, but the scribe or his copyist from the years 1494–1501 committed the error while letting one Urbarium to continue into another. The Urbariums for Upper Office of Gottscheerland was obviously put somewhere else beyond our present knowledge.

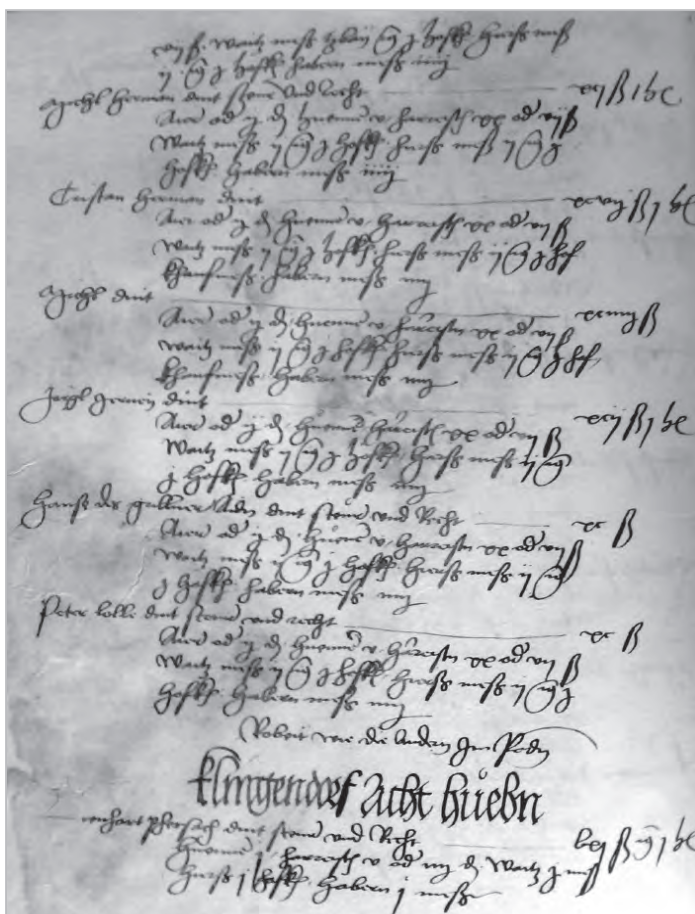
### **Family Names in Urbarium for Upper Office of Gottscheerland in 1494**

The only family names common for Urbariums of Upper Office of Gottscheerland (1494) and the (Gottschée) Rieg Office (1498) were those connected with professions as: Suppan, Schuester, Schneider, Schmidt, Kramer, or Hueter (Huetter, Klobučar). On the other hand in the Urbariums for Upper Office of Gottscheerland we could not find the family name Žagarjev (*Sagar*) meaning Saw-Worker, probably because of the lack of the waters suitable for powering of saws in the area of Upper Office of Gottscheerland. Those craftsman, traders, and officials were not necessary related to each other, and there is no indication that the inner migrations of the half of a century ago settled Gottscheers mostly did not began yet during the early years of the separate rule of Maximilian I. Only the landlord Georg Turn (Thurn) and most of all his son-in-law Johann (Ivan) Ungnad began to settle less attractive parts of Gottscheerland with the inner migrations to make the manor more profitable.

Before 1494 in just proclaimed city of Gottschée one Italian was settled according to his last name, but among the citizens of those times nobody wear the family names Slovenian (*Windish*), Serbian, or Croatian (*Hrovat*). On the other side, there was a subject called *Windish* in Kerndorf (Mlaka), *Vlab* in (Gottschée) Rieg, and *Krabat* in Morobitz (Borovec). The Knight-*Kosezi* hides noted in Urbarium for Prem manor in 1498 in the villages Petelinje, Šempeter (today Pivka) and other villages of Prem manor were not listed in Gottscheerland, and in Gottscheerland there were no settlers called Turk, Skok, Hrovatin or Bezjak (Besiagk, Bosiagkh) from the group who escaped to Habsburg mon-

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<sup>7</sup> Matjaž Bizjak, *Ratio facta est. Gospodarska struktura in poslovanje poznosrednjeveških gospodstev na Slovenskem* (Ljubljana: Zgodovinski inštitut Milka Kosa ZRC SAZU, 2003), 281 (hereinafter: Bizjak, *Ratio facta est*).



Tenth page of Gottschee Tax Register (Tax Register of Upper Gottscheerland 1494, folio 5<sup>v</sup>)

archy after the fall of Bosnia in 1465. In the Gottscheerland there was certainly nobody called Kotschewer or Gottschewer although the people with such family names were noted in Zagorje on Pivka River or in Rakek.<sup>8</sup>

In both Gottscheerland offices, (Gottscheer) Rieg and Upper Gottscheerland Office, the half-hides prevailed and they were just occasionally inhabited with more than single family. Besides the part of hide in (Gottscheer) Rieg office also the taxes were listed. The comparable data are now also available from the Urbariums of Upper Gottscheerland Office, which makes the data comparable with each other. Some interesting economic comparison is expected to follow between Gottscheerland and nearby manors.

<sup>8</sup> Kos, *Srednjeveški urbarji za Slovenijo*, Urbarji slovenskega primorja, 92–93, 96–97, 248.

In 1494, fifty-three persons (and their families) paid taxes for rented fields and/or gardens in the town of Gottschee. Also some nobles were among them including Michl Preinperger, the lord of the castle Kostel and proposed brother of the Ljubljana Mayor. In Gottschee Town also Hanss Gruber and the ancestor of later Lutheran Preachers Ziegelfest rented some land. The Marolt family of those times lived in villages Kleč and Stari Log few kilometers North of Gottschee Town.<sup>9</sup> Several other later famous families farmed in 1494 and 1498 the rural part of Gottscheerland, among them the pioneers of Ljubljana brewery Kostlers in (Gottschee) Rieg, Nieder Tieffenbach (Dolenja Briga), and Morobitz (Borovec), and Sweigl's in Mrauen (Morava), and Handlern (Primoži). Verderbers, the ancestors of later barons Erberg, were in 1574 still in Graflinden (Knežja Lipa)<sup>10</sup> which belonged to the Lower Gottscheerland Office, but the Urbarium for that part of Gottscheerland for the late 15<sup>th</sup> century is not yet on record.

Table 1: Family Tree of Praunspergers (Pranberger, Braunsberger)<sup>11</sup>

Lenart Praunsperger († before 1512), wholesaler of citrus fruit, fish, and cloth from the Friuli Noble family called after the castle Prampero (Pramberg)<sup>12</sup>; Ljubljana City Judge 1497/98, 1500 with a preserved silver seal in City Museum of Ljubljana; mayor 1506/07  
& Ana († after December 24, 1519)  
↓  
1. Franz († 1519) merchant  
3. Georg (Jurij, † 1553), canon in Ljubljana 1505–1534  
4. Sigismund?  
5. Katarina & (January/February 1508) Francisek de Lanthieri  
6. Wilhelm Praunsperger (\* before 1499; † late March /early April 1589), between the years 1581–1587 he defended the Protestants in Carniolan Diet. Ljubljana mayor between St. Margaret's day 1588 and St. Margaret's day 1589, Viceroy, lord of the castles Mala vas, Novi grad in Peščenik (Turn near Višnja gora), and Ponoviče. In his library he had Plutarch, Homer, Horace, Luther's Fasted, and the Slovene Gospel with interpretation of Sebastijan Krejč.  
&& (1587) Estera Baroness Egkh 1. (1) Krištof, lord of the castle Mala vas (1562); (2) Barbara & Feliks Nikolič from Kozljak (Waxenstein) in Istra, the son of Josef or Philip and the noble Wernegkh  
2. Mihael Pranberger (Michl, \* around 1470; † before 1528) & Helena (\* around 1470; † 1500) the daughter of Martin Schnitzenbaum, the landlord of Ig, and the widow of Janez Matschrolla (Macarola) who owned Matschrolla Manor near today Ivančna gorica  
↓  
Walpurga & Jois von Matschrolla of Matschrolla Manor  
&& (around 1514) Mang Langenmantl (\* around 1490; † 1538)

<sup>9</sup> In Urbarium the Vipava Manor (1499) we find Benedikh, Jacob, and Venedikh Marolt in Zemoni near Vipava who were renting grassland in Vipava Market. In 1523 Vurban Marolt paid 54 schilling of hunting tax to the Gorica Manor for a village Gojače in Supp Batuje in Vipava Volley. Pawl Maroltitsch farmed in a hide of Matenja Vas South of Postojna according to Postojna Urbarium issued around 1400. In 1498 Jacob Marallt farmed of former mayor's hide in Knežak belonging to Postojna Manor (Kos, *Srednjeveški urbarji za Slovenijo*, Urbarji slovenskega primorja, 191, 199, 235, 259, 264–265).

<sup>10</sup> Peter Wolsegger, "Das Urbarium der Herrschaft Gottschee vom Jahre 1574", *MMK* 3 (1890), 140–183 & *MMK* 4 (1891), 13–45 (hereinafter: Wolsegger, "Das Urbarium der Herrschaft Gottschee").

<sup>11</sup> Majda Smole, *Graščine na nekdanjem Kranjskem* (Ljubljana: DZS, 1982), 237, 283, 328, 663 (hereinafter: Smole, *Graščine*).

<sup>12</sup> In hung of cannabis.



On three hide of the (Gottscheer) Rieg Office several widows without family names farmed in 1498. They were the only Gottscheerins known with their Christian names before 16th century. If we add the Upper Gottscheerland Office we got altogether five Gottscheerland farms managed by widows (Mala gora, Gottenitz (Gotenica), Gorenje (*Obrer*), two in Gottschen (Koče)) or the sons of widows (two in (Gottscheer) Rieg). That is almost all we know about the Gottscheerins from the late 15th century. They were called Nesa, which meant Agnes from Obrer (Gorenje), Nesa from Gottenitz (Gotenice), and Nesa and Gratha (Greta, Margareta) from Gottschen (Koče). Compared with the baptisms in Kostel in 18th century with the Christian name Maria prevailing, the Northern Kostelian neighbors, Gottscheerins obviously used much broader range of Christian names. Most of all they loved to be Nesa. Gottscheer way of shortening the Christian names was not far from the Slovenian one.

In the late 15th century the set of family names of two offices of Gottschee Manor lists many still recognizable families. The most frequent "family names" were four titles of their *pater familias* activities: Suppan (11 families), Schuester (9), Schmidt (5), and Kramar (4). In Upper Gottscheer Office the scribe noted just one Suppan which took place in Mitterdorf (Stara Cerkv), but in (Gottscheer) Rieg Office there were 9 mayors listed and their official duty was probably also their family name. Just one of mayors carried the separate Family Name (*Gsell*) in Gerovo in 1498. The other branches of *Gsell*'s family lived in the area of Nesseltall (Koprivnik) and Puchl (Hriba) in Tschermoschnitz (Mosche, Črmošnjice) area in 1574. In Altlag (Stari Log) the scribe noted the old mayor who was probably previously in charge.

Among the family names which certainly survived next centuries Plesse (6 times, *Pleše*), Stamphel (5 times), and Zappa (*Zappe*, 3) prevailed in 1494/1498. The families Plesse and Stamphel are still very frequent around, including the Croatian side of Kolpa River. In 1498 the frequency of the family name Plesse in the area of (Gottscheer) Rieg office don't surprise us when we know how important that family name became in Delnice town and other in Gorski Kotar in next generations. In 1494/1498 the Zappa (*Zappe*, *Zapa*) family lived in (Gottscheer) Rieg, in Gottschee town, and as much as three families in Klindorf. In 1564<sup>13</sup> Mathe Zappe was still in (Gottscheer) Rieg, and in 1574 Amtbman Zape who had a son in Gottenitz replaced Mathe. In 1574 we find Peter Zappa v Gottschee. Later the Family name Zappa disappeared from Gottscheerland and therefore the modern Gottscheers do not mention it among their Family Names. The family Zappa did not live in nearby areas of Polland Valley on Kolpa

<sup>13</sup> ARS, AS 1, Viceroy Office for Carniola, fasc. I/46, lit. G, V/5, box 80, Urbarium Gottscheer 1564 = Urbarium manors Gottschee for the year 1564; ARS, AS 1, Viceroy Office for Carniola, fasc. I/46, lit. G, V/5, box 80, Urbarium of domain Gottschee for 1564.

river banks, Bela Krajina, Kostel, or Croatia.

Three Gottscheerland families had the Family Names: Heferle, Hueter (Slovene variant Kolobučar), Kren (*Kbren*), Mavrin, Speckl, *Surga* (*Žurga*), Osterman, and Kump.

Two families got today reckonable family names: Činkl (*Tschinkl*), Thunkl (Činkl?), Losar, Janež (*Janes*), Kostler, Schneider, Durr(der), Plasman, Labi, Lagklsen-Lagker, Marolt, Kohamsth, Korcherlin, Losar, Herman, Sager, Schallauener, Pether, Schillshnen, Schilistreder, Schneider, Tomac (*Tbomec*), Valler, Veber (Weber), and Činkole (*Zingkale*). Besides them there are several examples with two supposed relatives working on the same farm with the same family names Mentl, Muhič (*Mubitz*), Rabe, or Wetstk/Westh. Among 228 subjects of (Gottscheer) Rieg Office in 1498, the scribe noted nine of them with roommates. Just in one case the roommates had different family names, but were probably related by marriage.

In 1494 Plasman rented the field and mill near Gottschee Town. In 1526 the Gottscheer vicar Nikolaj Plasman and town judge Leonard Graff mailed to Ljubljana the goods gathered for defense against Turks.<sup>14</sup> In 1650 after the death of Matheus Plasman his heritage was noted, and besides the Pusti Gradec manor near Dragatuš he also owned the house in his native Gottschee town. Before he became noble von Ostwindberg in 1630 his activities were not documented. Between the years 1641–1643 he rented the Gottscheer Viceroy Customs Office and he had many debtors.<sup>15</sup> His sons Franc and Heinrich Plasman fought in Croatia and Styrian poet Johann von Kalchberg (\* 1765; † 1827) wrote a poem praising them. In spite of their Gottscheer origin Franc Anton von Breckersfeld (\* 1740; † 1806) described brothers Plasman as Croatian nobles<sup>16</sup> which mirrors the relativity of Gottscheerland Germanisation.

Among the single Family names of 1494–1498 several families are still recognizable in Gottscheerland and surroundings: Bezgar (Besgar), Bauer, Blažević (*Blasewitsch*), Černe (*2 Tschernne, 1 Tschein*), Grdina (*Gerrdina*), Janež-Janeš, Juraj, Jurman (Jurmann), Knaus (*Knaws*), Hrovat (*Krabat*), Lenc-Lenac (*Lenntze*), Mandl, Mrle (*Merrle*), Muhič, Nikl, Nojman (Noyman), Ogrižek (*Ogrisark*), Ožanič (*Osan*), Osmak (*Ossmack*), Osterlin, Osmak, Osterman, Pogorelc (*Pogarilitsch*), Preklar, Kvaternik (*Quaternick*), Rupe, Žagar (*Sager*),

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<sup>14</sup> *Izvestja muzejskega društva za Kranjsko* (1895), 246–248.

<sup>15</sup> Boris Golec, "Trgi, ki jih ni bilo? Prezrta trška naselja Bele Krajine in njen nikoli obstoječi trg", *Kronika* 58 (2010), No. 3, 593–630, 615 (hereinafter: Golec, "Trgi, ki jih ni bilo?").

<sup>16</sup> ARS, AS 730, Manor Lusthall (Dol), fasc. 123, Topography of Carniola I, pag. 215; Janez Vajkard Valvasor, *Die Ebre deß Herzogthums Crain* (Laybach, 1689), 11: 430–431; Golec, "Trgi, ki jih ni bilo?", 616; Boris Golec, *Nedokončana kroatizacija delov Vzhodne Slovenije* (Ljubljana: ZRC ZAZU, 2012), 22; Heinrich Georg Hoff, *Historisch-statistisch-topographisches Gemaelde von Herzogthume Krain, und demselben einverleibten Istrien*, Zweyter Theil (Laibach: Johann Retzer, 1808), 105–106.

Zbašnik (*Swasthniekh*), Šubic (*Shubiz*), Žnidar (*Schneider*), Turk (*Turgk*), Činkelj (*Thunckl*), Vec (Veck, *Wetz*), Volf (*Wolffl*), Butina (*Wittani*), Vukovič (*Wuckowetsch*) and Vukošič (*Wukostbitz*).

In 1498 the scribe of (Gottscheer) Rieg Office noted just 42 subjects just with their Christian names without family names. That was much less compared to Kostel in 1494, when almost three thirds of Kostel Manor subjects did not have family names noted. In 1498 the scribe noted other 9 subjects of (Gottscheer) Rieg Office just as the sons of a person noted just with Christian Names without family names. There was one single abandoned farm in (Gottscheer) Rieg Office and in Upper Gottscheerland Office. The scribe noted family name Plesse six times and in one single case for two subjects on the same farm. The family name *Schuester* was noted five times in Nieder Tieffenbach (Dolenja Briga) and most of all in Rieg. Four family names were noted three times (Schmidt, Štamfelj (*Stampfl*), Žurga (*Surga*), and other 6 two times (Huet(er), Kosler, Losar, Speck(l), Tömec-Tomac (*Thomec*, *Thomel*), Weber). Today quite frequent family names Marin(č) (two times), Marun (single), and Mavrin (single) could be of similar origin in Gottenitz (Gotenica) and Belica of the (Gottscheer) Rieg Office. In 1498 all (Gottscheer) Rieg Office had different family names:

Almost half of them (54) were still there in 1564, 1574, and even today. Among them are easily recognizable family names Ahac, Bezgar, Bauer, Blaževič, Černe (*Cherne*), Grdina (*Gerrdina*), Janež-Janeš, Juraj, Jurman, Knavs (*Knavs*), Hrovat (*Krabat*), Lenc-Lenac (*Lenntze*), Mandl, Mrle (*Merrle*), Muhič, Nikl, Nojman, Ogrizek, Osan(ič), Osterlin, Osmak, Osterman, Pogorelc (*Pogarilitsch*), Preklar, Kvaternik, Rupe, Žagar (*Sager*), Zbašnik (*Swasthniekh*), Šubic (*Shubiz*), Žnidar (*Schneider*), Turk (*Turgk*), Činkelj (*Thunckl*), Čermelj (*Tschermel*), Vec (Veck, *Wetz*), Volf (*Wolffl*), Wittani, Vukovič (*Wuckowetsch*), Vukošič (*Wukostbitz*), and Činkole-Cingerle (*Zungkale*). Among the later most important family names in those areas in 1498 and 1574 Štimac/Štimec family was not noted and we could trace them only in Delnice town in 1649. Štimac later among others lived in Mirtoviči and in neighboring upriver village Grintovec in tight relation with their neighbors Kovačs and Gottscheers Stampfls. Štimac/Štimec kept their farm in Grintovec from 19<sup>th</sup> century until today.

## Spoken Language

What do the Urbariums from the late 15<sup>th</sup> century tell us about the language use in their time Gottscheerland? The oldest documents about Gottscheerlander were issued in the time when the Counts of Ortenburg from the castle Ortenburg by Spittal in Carintia owned the Gottscheerland. The ascent of the Count of Ortenburg was straightforward after 12<sup>th</sup> century when one of them beca-

me the Aquileia Patriarch. In the year 1247 the Aquileia Patriarch Bertold gave the land between Ribnico and Kolpa River where previously Conrad Auersperg ruled to the father-in-law of Conrad. Conrad just passed away and his father-in-law was the independent landlord Count Herman II of Ortenburg (\* 1192; † 1256). In 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> century the Ortenburgs had the huge feudal domains in Carinthia and Carniola. They enlarged their property from Gottscheerland in the direction of Kolpa River.<sup>17</sup> In the year 1263 the property was divided among the young Herman's sons Heinrich IV (\* 1254; † 1271) and Friedrich I (\* 1254; † 1304), when the woody and scarcely populated Gottscheerland devolved to Friedrich.<sup>18</sup> It was certainly ton completely unpopulated, but there was such a huge need for the working hands that Friedrich's sons Meinhardt I and Otto V of Ortenburg (\* 1292; † 1343) began to populate the Gottscheerland with their subjects from northern areas. After them Meinhardt's son Herman IV continued their efforts.<sup>19</sup> Between the years 1339–1363 and even later in 15<sup>th</sup> century Otto V and his nephew Otto VI settled German and may be even some Slavic speaking subjects. They began to gather them from their manors in Carinthia and East Tyrol, and later from Bavaria and partly from Frankish area, Swabia,<sup>20</sup> or even from Bohemia.<sup>21</sup> Many Bohemians settled the economically prosperous neighborhood of Gottscheers up to the Carolina Road in Gorski Kotar.<sup>22</sup> Between the years 1349–1400 the Counts of Ortenburg transported to Gottscheerland the rebellious subjects from Thüringen who were defeated in their war against the Emperor. Therefore just the very last Count of Ortenburg Friedrich III finished the colonization of poem of Gottscheerland. The Gottscheer

<sup>17</sup> Georg Widmer, *Gottschee 1406–1627 Feudal Domain on the Frontier of Empire* (Denver: Gottscheer Heritage and Genealogy Association, 2001), 3 (hereinafter: Widmer, *Gottschee 1406–1627*).

<sup>18</sup> Ivan Simonič, "Zgodovina mesta Kočevje in Kočevske", in: *500 let mesta Kočevje* (Kočevje, 1971), 5–51, 7; Adam Lucijan, "Donesek k zgodovini Ortenburžanov na Dolenjskem", *Kronika* 43 (1995), No. 3, 7–13, 8 (hereinafter: Lucijan, "Donesek k zgodovini Ortenburžanov na Dolenjskem"); France Martin Dolinar, Mitja Ferenc, Blaž Resman, Helena Seražin, Gojko Zupan, *Sakralna dediščina na Kočevskem* (Gottschee: Pokrajinski muzej, 2006), 28 (hereinafter: Dolinar, Ferenc, Resman, Seražin, Zupan, *Sakralna dediščina*); Josef Erker, "Geschichtliche Daten über die Stadt Gottschee", in: *Jubiläum-Festbuch der Gottscheer 600-Jahrfester* (Gottschee, 1930), 248–254 ( hereinafter: Erker, "Geschichtliche Daten"); *Gottscheer Kalender* (Gottschee, 1930), 98.

<sup>19</sup> Marija Makarovič, *Črmošnjiško-poljanska dolina in njeni ljudje Kočevjarji staroselci in Slovenci iz preteklosti v sedanjost* (Ljubljana: ZRC SAZU, 2005), 23 (hereinafter: Makarovič, *Črmošnjiško-poljanska dolina*).

<sup>20</sup> Matjaž Ambrožič, "Pozabljena preteklost župnije Kočevska Reka v očeh njenih duhovnih pastirjev", in: *V objemu centurij*, ed. Matjaž Ambrožič, Mitja Ferenc, Gojko Zupan (Ljubljana: Družina, 2007), 9–177, 11 (hereinafter: Ambrožič, "Pozabljena preteklost župnije Kočevska Reka"); Ludwig Kren, "Heimat Gottschee", in: *Gottschee 1330–1941. Die ehemalige deutsche Sprachinsel* (Weilheim: Oberbayern, 1990), 143–166, 152.

<sup>21</sup> Kamnik and later Tschermoschnitz-Polland family name Dralka originated from Bohemia (Makarovič, *Črmošnjiško-poljanska dolina*, 308, 358).

<sup>22</sup> Anton Burič, *Povijesna antroponimija Gorskog kotara u Hrvatskoj. Goranska prezimena kroz povijest* (Rijeka: Društvo za zaštitu prirodnekulturne in povijesne baštine Gorskog Kotara, 1979), 28.

Counts Khisli attracted several better educated foreigners to Gottscheerland during the Thirty Years War when Carniola was a kind of peaceful asylum against the murdering in German Lands. Dr. Zmaga Kumer recognized in Slovenian variant of Margetica joined to the king Mathias the echo of the German ballade *Geburt in Walde*, which Gottscheerland colonists of Otto V and Otto VI of 14<sup>th</sup> century to today Slovene Lands.<sup>23</sup>

The Counts of Ortenburg preferred to bring to Kolpa River banks the farmers from Croatian and Slovenian settlement areas. The German colonists also settled the feuds of German Order of Knights, but far less in Kostel or Polland. The mills on the banks of Kolpa river in Žlebe, Grglji, or Bilpa were a part of German settlement in the area of the parish Mösel or her later succursal in Oberskrill (Zdihovo).

Ivan Simonič (\* July 7, 1905 Vinji vrh by Semič 5 km north of Črnomelj; † January 8, 1979 Ljubljana) on one side and Josef Obergföll (\* 1853; † 1922)<sup>24</sup> on opposite side loved to count the Gottscheerland family names, certainly mostly on the basis of Urbarium issued in the year 1574. They wished to find out which part of the population could have Slavic or Germanic origin. Their antagonism was certainly not without political arrow. With the analysis of Urbariums from the years 1494–1498 we are much closer to the primary migrations of Gottscheers on the Ortenburg property because in the notes of those years we could even deal with some older subject who was a kid during the migration itself. In any case the Urbariums 1494/1498 brings the listings about grandchildren of the people whom Ortenburgs moved to Gottscheerland in the last two thirds of 14<sup>th</sup> century. The spirit of migration was therefore still alive in both Urbariums for the years 1494/98, and also tío Kostel Urbarium for the year 1494. It could be probably felt also in Polland Urbarium or the Urbarium for Lower Office Gottscheerland from that era if we will find them somewhere in future. With those new data, how could we solve the old puzzle about the linguistic tendencies during the early Ortenburg mixing of subjects in Gottscheerland?

In 1494 Fifty-five families of Gottschee town certainly did not confess exclusively German pedigree although even there the German-like Gottscheerland dialect slowly became the common use, the *lingua franca*. There were also several Slavic and not German families settled in Southwest part of the Office of (Gottscheer) Rieg, mostly in supp Gerovo or Osilnica. Even there we find the Germanic family names as Plesse or Stampfel, but German speaking population probably never prevailed on the banks of Kolpa or Čabranka River. That

<sup>23</sup> Zmaga Kumer, *Slovenska ljudska pesem* (Ljubljana: Slovenska matica, 2002), 148.

<sup>24</sup> Josef Obergföll, *Die Gottscheer Familiennamen, Festgabe zur Feier des 10jährl. Bestandes des k.k. Staatsgymnasiums zu Gottschee am 28. Oktober 1882* (Gottschee, 1882); Ivan Simonič, "Migracije na Kočevskem v luči priimkov", in: *Srpski etnografski zbornik* (Ljubljana, 1934), 106–135.

fact probably means that future Gottscheers did not migrate from the banks of the bigger or medium size rivers on the north. Therefore they did not like to settle on the banks of Kolpa River until they were forced to do so because they needed the mill and saws on the banks of Kolpa River.

### **Manager of Fridrihstein Piers, and the Early Attacks of the Hereditary Enemy Turks**

Habsburgs kept Polland together with Gottscheerland for a century and a half as loaned Land-Prince manors. In the year 1457 the Emperor Friedrich III of Habsburg appointed Piers (*Niklas Pyrsch*) as lifelong manager of Fridrihstein to take care about the fortress. Niklas was Cilli feudal lord<sup>25</sup> of Katarina, the widow of Principal-Count Ulrich of Cilli. On February 18, 1458 the Emperor gave Gottschee with the toll-office to the priest of the Styrian town of Laško (*Tüffer*) and Cilli Viceroy Georg Denstra. A half of a year later (November 24, 1459) the Emperor politely paid to the widow Katarina 100 Pound denarius for handling over the manor Gottschee. The Laško (*Tüffer*) priest was probably already in those times Friedrich Apprecher (*Aprsch*). On Wednesday October 22, 1466 the Emperor Friedrich III granted to the Cilli Viceroy Friedrich Apprecher (*Aprsch*) the acceptance of all three offices of Gottscheerland manors. A year and a half later on February 16, 1468 he wrote to the Möttling Governor General Andreas Hohenwart about the managers of Gottschee Hans and Niklas Apprecher (*Aprsch*), and in the same time about Frösch as the manager of (Gottscheer) Rieg.<sup>26</sup>

On October 20, 1468 the Emperor Frederick III from Graz ordered to his Gottscheerland manager Petritz to mail 200 fl to pay for the Habsburg castle Mehovo which Ludvik von Kozjak managed in 1472. On June 28, 1476 the Emperor in Viennese Neusadt gave to Caspar, Jörg, and Malchior Petritz the mining iron managing in Kostel, Osilnici, Osilnica waters, and other places. He allowed them to consolidate forges and blast-furnaces to guard them. He also allowed them to use forests, woods, stones, waters, bridges, and iron selling. The Emperor certainly planned to get some taxes from them later. Caspar Petritz eventually did not dig the fortune with ironworks because on April 2, 1479 he sold to the Emperor his house in Gottschee.<sup>27</sup> After the sale Petritz' family

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<sup>25</sup> Ivan Jakič, *Sto gradov na Slovenskem* (Ljubljana: Prešernova družba, 2001), 46 (hereinafter: Jakič, *Sto gradov na Slovenskem*).

<sup>26</sup> Widmer, *Gottschee 1406–1627*, 5, 33–35.

<sup>27</sup> Ibidem, 5, 34–36; Slavko Malnar, *Povijest čabarskog kraja* (Čabar: Matica Hrvatska ogranak Čabar, 2007), 44 (hereinafter: Malnar, *Povijest čabarskog kraja*).

was not very important in Gottscheerland. In the Upper Gottscheerland Urbarium for the year 1494 the scribe wrote *der Petritze Hoffstat* with the rent for a land amounting 26  $\beta$  in Gottschee town.<sup>28</sup> From that note it is not quite clear if the land called Petritz' was still rented to one of Petritz, but it is highly probable. In any case the manufacture of Petrič (*Petritz*) reflects the beginning of the organized ironworks in Gottscheerland, on Kolpa and Čabranka Rivers banks. The Baron Ungnad later continued Petritz' ironworks business and the enterprise was on its peak during the Čabar ironworks of Zrinjski in 17<sup>th</sup> century. On January 14, 1614 the subjects of Mösel in their request for the Zieglfest's commission mentioned the "Peterlein's mine" near the hill called *Alble* (Aibel).<sup>29</sup> The village Ajbelj in Kostel on the border with the Office of (Gottscheer) Rieg was certainly other location because Mösel belonged to the Lower Office of Gottscheerland.

In 1469 the Turks followed the battle cries of 80 years old "Wolf of the Christians", the Bosnian Pasha Weih-beg. They attacked Gottscheerland for the first time, ribbed the Market and deserted the surroundings.<sup>30</sup> Therefore the Gottscheers build and fortified Gottschee on the safer right bank of Rinse (Rinža) River and added a canal to the meander.<sup>31</sup> The Emperor Friedrich III already on Friday after Easter in the year 1471 elevated the area court of Friedrichstein into the oldest Carniolan town of the new (military) type<sup>32</sup> for three years with a fee of 32 ducats per year. The Emperor confirmed the decision in 1493.<sup>33</sup> The elevation did not help a lot because Turks as much as three times attacked Gottschee in 1471. On January 15, 1479 the well-natured Emperor Friedrich III exempted from tolls and customs the Gottschee City to within a radius of six miles.<sup>34</sup> After Gottschee in 1470-s the new military cities became Krško, Lož (March 8, 1477), Višnja gora, and Radovljica. Besides those the Carniolan and Littoral urban rights had old Istria towns, Novo mesto after the year 1365; Kranj (1050/1065), Ljubljana (1112/1125), Stara Loka (973), and Gorica (1001).<sup>35</sup>

<sup>28</sup> ARS, AS 1, Viceroy Office for Carniola, box 102, fasc. I/58, Litera P – VI, 1a, 8<sup>v</sup>, Urbarium Gottscheer Upper Office 1494.

<sup>29</sup> Widmer, *Gottschee 1406–1627*, 159.

<sup>30</sup> Milko Kos, *Srednjeveški rokopisi v Sloveniji v Sloveniji* (Ljubljana: Umetnostno-zgodovinsko društvo, 1931), 42.

<sup>31</sup> Erker, "Geschichtliche Daten", 98.

<sup>32</sup> Andrej Nared, *Dežela – knez – stanovi: oblikovanje kranjskih deželnih stanov in zborov do in the years 1518* (Ljubljana: ARS & ZRC SAZU, 2009), 171 (hereinafter: Nared, *Dežela – knez – stanovi*).

<sup>33</sup> Ivan Simonič, "Kočevsko ozemlje (zemljepis in zgodovina)", in: *Kočevski zbornik. Razprave o Kočevski in njenih ljudeh*, ed. Ivan Simonič (Ljubljana: Vodstvo Družbe sv. Cirila in Metoda, 1939), 70 (hereinafter: Simonič, "Kočevsko ozemlje"; Widmer, *Gottschee 1406–1627*, 6.

<sup>34</sup> Ambrožič, "Pozabljena preteklost župnije Kočevska Reka", 17.

<sup>35</sup> Andrej Nared, "Recenzija: Miha Kosi: Zgodnja zgodovina srednjeveških mest na Slovenskem. Primerjalna študija o neagrarnih naselbinskih središčih od zgodnjega srednjega veka do 13. stoletja (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC SAZU, 2009), 176 strani", *Kronika* 57 (2009), No. 3, 563–566, 564; Miha Kosi,

Martolosen were a constant treat for the subjects on the banks of Kolpa River and in Gottscheerland. The Martolosen even gave their name to a place in Gottscheerland.<sup>36</sup> In the year 1501 the city of Gottschee for the sake of poverty still had only half-built city walls. Therefore the Emperor Maximilian missed their payment obligations for one year.<sup>37</sup> In the year 1532, the authorities ordered to fire the bonfire warnings in places where they shoot mortars. Both means of signaling over Turkish threads since then have not been spatially separated in the castle of Friedrichstein.

To meet the urgent needs of heavy circumstances the Emperor Friedrich III Habsburg issued the order on October 23, 1492 in Linz. He let all his subjects from Gottscheerland Land Office to trade freely in Croatia and elsewhere. Until the withdrawal they were allowed to sell their stock, canvas, and other items which they plant and grow themselves. With the conformation of the years 1571, 1596, 1774 in 1780 that nice measure became the basis for the small trade also in Ribnica and Kostel where the clever tradesman pretender to be more or less Gottscheers and in that way they even compete with the citizens of Gottschee.<sup>38</sup>

Under the Emperor Friedrich III the manager of (Gottscheer) Rieg Office, Gottscheerland manor, Pollan, and Planina was Balthasar Wagen. During Wagen's managing of the Office (Gottscheer) Rieg on April 30, 1478 the Emperor acquitted the Office (Gottscheer) Rieg of all taxes due to bad times.<sup>39</sup> That situation was like modern "recession", but the modern rulers do not copy the customs of nice Emperor. In the same year the Emperor sharply wrote to the Gottscheerland judge and his counsel to pay annual taxes in the amount of 1700 gld.

Gottscheers supposedly badly reproached the Emperor's Trieste captain Nikolas Ravbar who came to tax receivables. The Gottscheer judge did not pay his debts anyway, therefore he was dismissed and Piers got his job. For that high office he was willing to pay 32 Hungarian golden coins. The problems with tax payment ceased and in 1478 the Emperor ordered the Carniolan Viceroy to deliver the powder to Gottscheers for their defiance against the dangerous Ivan

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*Zgodnja zgodovina srednjeveških mest na Slovenskem. Primerjalna študija o neagrarnih naselbinskih središčih od zgodnjega srednjega veka do 13. stoletja* (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC SAZU, 2009), 64.

<sup>36</sup> Anton Prelesnik, *Vodni viri na Kočevskem* (Ljubljana: Društvo Kočevarjev staroselcev, 2007).

<sup>37</sup> Nared, *Dežela – knez – stanovi*, 176; Golec, *Družba v mestih in trgih*, 144.

<sup>38</sup> Adolf Hauffen, *Die deutsche Sprachinsel Gottschee* (Graz: k.k. Universitäts-Buchdruckerei und Verlags-Buchhandlung "Styria", 1895), 28; Jože Šorn, *Začetki industrije na Slovenskem* (Maribor: Obzorja, 1984), 41; Božo Otorepec, "Doneski k zgodovini Ribnice in okolice v srednjem veku", *Kronika* 30 (1982): 79–86, 83; Anton Skubic, *Zgodovina Ribnice in Ribniške pokrajine* (Buenos Aires, 1976) (hereinafter: Skubic, *Zgodovina Ribnice*); Simonič, "Kočevsko ozemlje", 70 with errors.

<sup>39</sup> Simonič, "Kočevsko ozemlje", 68, 69; Widmer, *Gottschee 1406–1627*, 5, 36.



Frankopan.<sup>40</sup> On May 30, 1478 Nikolas's nephew Sigmund Piers became the manager of Friedrichstein and he even got a post of Gottscheerland provincial judge. In the same year he became the leaseholder of provincial court in the Office of (Gottscheer) Rieg for 60 Pound denarius, Governor General of Mötting, and the landlord of Ribnica together with his son Johann. Between the years 1478–1493 he leased the Ribnica manor to the Cilli Governor General Andreas von Hohenwart.<sup>41</sup> On August 25, 1503 the king Maximilian allowed the oldest Sigmund's son Michael Piers to become the manager of Friedrichstein. Michael shared his power with his elderly father who lived at last for next three years.<sup>42</sup>

Differently from the nearby manor of Kostel and usual habits in Carniola the Habsburgs sometimes leased the Friedrichstein separately from the other parts of the manor Gottschee. In the times where the Urbariums of the years 1494 and 1498 were issued, the leaseholder of Friedrichstein was Michael von Piers († after 1506) after the year 1475/78. In those times the leaseholder of Gottscheerland was the Governor General of Trieste, Postojna, Duino, and Fiume-Rijeka Gasper von Ravbar (Rauber, Raubar, † 1497) between the years 1491–1497. In the same time he was the landlord in Postojna after the year 1490 and the leaseholder of Kostel after the year 1493. After Gasper's death his sons Johann, Erasmus, and the Trieste captain Nikolas inherited the pledge assets.<sup>43</sup>

Erasmus von Ravbar was an Uskok captain in the year 1531. He was the leaseholder of Planina by Rakek in the year 1556.<sup>44</sup> In the years 1466 and 1491 the Ravbar passed the leasehold right of Gottscheerland to Friedrich von Apprecher,<sup>45</sup> and in the year 1497 to Wilhelm von Auersperg ("the wealthy", † October 10, 1506), the Imperial adviser, Carniola Governor General (January 14, 1483–1501), and Land in provincial viceroy (1489–1497) who managed the Land-Prince's properties.<sup>46</sup> In that way the Auersperg family ruled the Gottscheerland in three intervals: before the Counts of Ortenburg and before Thurn

<sup>40</sup> Peter Wolsegger, "Zur Geschichte der Stadt Gottschee bis zum Jahre 1493", *G. Kal.* (1923): 29–39, 36; Viktor Steska, "Kočevje", *Dom in svet* 9 (1896): 116–119, 182–184, 210–213, 243–245, 278–282, 183 (hereinafter: Steska, "Kočevje").

<sup>41</sup> Smole, *Graščine*, 421.

<sup>42</sup> Widmer, *Gottschee 1406–1627*, 5, 39, 161–162; Georg Widmer, "Bausteine zur Geschichte des Gottscheerländchens", in: *Gottscheer Kalender* (Gottschee, 1934), 43–54 (hereinafter: Widmer, "Bausteine zur Geschichte des Gottscheerländchens").

<sup>43</sup> Skubic, *Zgodovina Ribnice*, 343; Simonič, "Kočevsko ozemlje", 75.

<sup>44</sup> Nared, *Dežela – knez – stanovci*, 162.

<sup>45</sup> Simonič, "Kočevsko ozemlje", 69.

<sup>46</sup> Jakič, *Sto gradov na Slovenskem*, 46; Widmer, *Gottschee 1406–1627*, 5.

<sup>46</sup> Miha Preinfalk, *Auerspergi po sledeh mogočnega tura* (Ljubljana: Zgodovinski inštitut Milka Kosa ZRC SAZU, 2005), 74, 509; Simonič, "Kočevsko ozemlje", 75.

as leaseholders, and in three centuries before the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War as owners.

The managers of Gottscheerland during the early independent reign of Maximilian I are unknown. Later manager was Georg (Jurij) Stržen, who certainly managed it pretty bad considering the violent death he and the landlord Thurn suffered from the Gottscheerland subjects in the year 1515.<sup>47</sup>

## Church Regulations under Habsburgs

The early Gottscheerland parishes belonged to the archdeaconry of Slovenian Mark or Krajina (Carniola). The oldest Ortenburg parish south of Ljubljana was in Ribnica as the longtime centre for secular and ecclesiastical supply of all Province. On September 1, 1339 the Aquileia Patriarch Bernard permitted Otto V of Ortenburg (\* 1292; † 1343), the son of Friedrich I, to install a priest in *Mooswald* chapel of St. Bartholomew in the area of later Gottschee. On May 1, 1363 the Aquileia Patriarch Ludwig II della Torre (\* 1338; † 1365) in Udine let the Otto's nephew Otto VI of Ortenburg (\* 1338; † January 29, 1374), the husband of Ana of Cilly, to propose for approval by the superior clergy priest in Ribnica in the Churches of *Mooswald* in Gottschee, Polland (Poljane), Kostel, Osilnica, and (Gottscheer) Rieg called Gottenitz in the document.<sup>48</sup> The permit was not the document about the establishment of those parishes and certainly not on the erecting of their churches. In Stari trg near Polland the church worked at least a century before the issued document. Nesseltal (Koprivnik) got the parish in the year 1400, but Osilnica only in the year 1509. The parish of Gotenica was established only in the year 1845 and before the year 1786 it had no priest. Therefore Ludwig II certainly had in mind the nearby parish of (Gottschee) Rieg where the priest Johannes Zink (*Zengg*, \* Memmingen; † 1415), the former scribe Margaret Teck, tended the souls after the former priest Melchior left sometimes between the years 1375 and 1377.<sup>49</sup> Zink had several children,<sup>50</sup> but he was not involved in the famous Margaret's half of the apple because

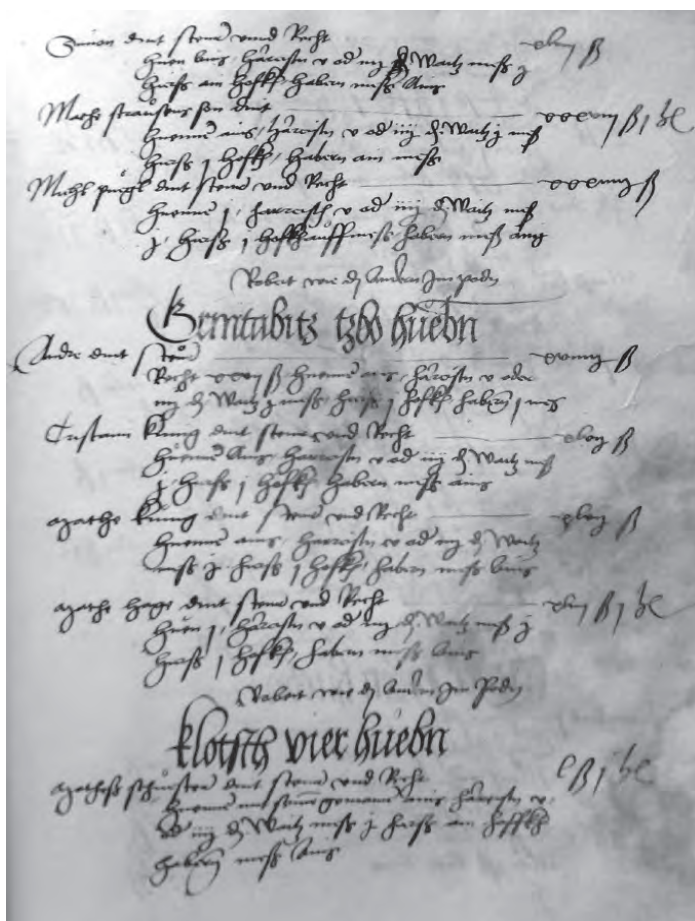
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<sup>47</sup> <http://sl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gottschee>

<sup>48</sup> Franc Schumi, "Die Ansiedlung in Gottschee", *Archiv für Heimatskunde* (1882): 30–31, 31; Steska, "Kočevje", 117–118; Jože Ožura, "Osilnica in dolina v preteklosti", *Osilniška dolina* (1995), No. 4, 9–11; (1995), No. 5, 11–12; (1996), No. 6, 10–11, 9; Widmer, *Gottschee 1406–1627*, 15; Ambrožič, "Pozabljena preteklost župnije Kočevska Reka", 12–13, 15–16; Lucijan, "Donesek k zgodovini Ortenburžanov na Dolenjskem", 12 (Otton VI of Ortenburg noted as Otto VII).

<sup>49</sup> Zdravko Troha, *Kočevski Nemci – partizani* (Ljubljana: Slovensko kočevsko društvo Peter Kosler, 2004) 17; Karl Julius Schröer, *Wörterbuch der Mundart von Gottschee* (Wien: kk. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1870), 16–17 (hereinafter: Schröer, *Wörterbuch*); Theodor Elze, "Gotschee und die Gotschewer", *Jahresheft für Krainischen Landesmuseums* 3 (1862): 1–66, 8.

<sup>50</sup> Ambrožič, "Pozabljena preteklost župnije Kočevska Reka", 26; Steska, "Kočevje", 118–119; Skubic, *Zgodovina Ribnice*, 52, 632–633.



13<sup>th</sup> page of Gottschee Urbariums of 1494 (Urbariums of Upper Gottscheerland 1494, folio 7<sup>o</sup>).

Zink died 3 years earlier. Zink's supposed great grandson Clement Zingkale was noted among the last subjects in (Gottscheer) Rieg where he cultivated a half of hide in 1498.<sup>51</sup> Peter Zingkh had similar family name and farmed in the village of Reichenau (Rajhenau) of Upper Gottscheerland Office in 1494.

Johannes Zink was almost the only one of the primary Swabian group of Gottscheer migrants whose destiny we could follow. Zink's nephew Burkard Zink (\* 1396 Memmingen; † 1474/75 Augsburg) described Johannes' life. Burkard escaped from his stepmother's regime to his uncle in the year 1407,

<sup>51</sup> ARS, AS 13, Commission for feudal affairs, box 23, 9, Urbarium for (Gottschee) Rieg and Sichelberg issued in year 1498=Urbarium Register des amts Riegkh vnd Sichelberg geborund, so von ro. ko. mt. reformieren vnd raten beritten vnd verschriben worden ist, anno etc. collationiert LXXXXVIII.

and studied in Reifnitz (Ribnica) for eight years.<sup>52</sup>

After the establishment of Ljubljana Diocese in the year 1461 the Gottscheerland parishes even formally became a part of the Reifnitz (Ribnica) archdiocese,<sup>53</sup> which worked until the year 1787. In the year 1751 the Pope abolished Aquileia patriarchate and its area inside the Habsburg heritage lands was traded to the Gorica Diocese with Gottscheerland parishes inside the Reifnitz (Ribnica) archdiocese.<sup>54</sup>

### **Urbarium of Land-Prince's Manor Gottschee for the Upper Office (1494)**

In 1498 the (Gottscheer) Rieg Office also included Osilnica and Gerovo, although the later went to Thurn's brother-in-law Croatian count Frankopan and later to Zrinjski. In Urbarium for the Office (Gottscheer) Rieg (1498) they later bound simultaneously made Urbarium for Sichelberg (Žumberk) which belonged to Carniola in those times. The same hand probably wrote both Urbariums before the year 1501 although Dušan Kos stated that they were not necessary written simultaneously. The Urbarium for other two offices of Gottscheerland's manors were considered lost for a long time although they were written in at least two copies.<sup>55</sup> In Ph.D. dissertation of Dr. Boris Golec (1999) and again in 2009 during the restoration of Urbarium it was discovered that the Urbarium for Upper Gottscheer Office was written four years earlier (in 1494) together with the Urbarium for neighboring manor Kostel. The Urbarium for Upper Office Gottscheerland was erroneously put into the fascicles of manor Prem in such a way that the first 8 pages and the beginning of 9<sup>th</sup> noted Gottscheerland and the continuation up to page 37 listed the villages of the manor Prem. In that way the most of the book dealt with Prem Manor.

On the first eight partly damaged pages the scribe listed Gottscheerland settlements beginning with *Mitterdorf* (Stara Cerkev) through Klindorf (Klinjivas) and other villages of Upper Gottscheerland Office up to the town of Gottschee.<sup>56</sup> In 1494 among the villages we miss most of all Mooswald (Mahovnik),

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<sup>52</sup> Ambrožič, "Pozabljena preteklost župnije Kočevska Reka", 26; Schröer, *Wörterbuch*, 18.

<sup>53</sup> Skubic, *Zgodovina Ribnice*, 97, 92; Ambrožič, "Pozabljena preteklost župnije Kočevska Reka", 18.

<sup>54</sup> Dolinar, Ferenc, Resman, Seražin, Zupan, *Sakralna dediščina*, 11.

<sup>55</sup> Ema Umek, "Reformirani urbarji deželnoknežjih gospostev na Kranjskem", *Zgodovinski časopis* 36 (1982): 311–320, 312, 313 (hereinafter: Umek, "Reformirani urbarji"); Dušan Kos, *Urbarji za Belo krajino in Žumberk* (Ljubljana: SAZU, 1991), 20, 87 (hereinafter: Kos, *Urbarji za Belo krajino*).

<sup>56</sup> Znidaršič Golec, Čargo Juričič, *Vodnik po urbarjih ARS*, 123, 124, 224; Golec, *Družba v mestih in trgih*; DR Boris Golec's email dated March 7, 2011; Golec, "Senožeče in Prem": 280; Kos, *Srednjeveški urbarji za Slovenijo*, Urbarji Slovenskega Primorja, 240–250 (Prem).

which in 1574 had as much as 10 hides which made it the biggest village of Upper Office Gottscheerland.<sup>57</sup> It is not very probable that Mooswald (Mahovnik) village was not settled yet in 1494. There is some possibility that the taxes of subjects in Mooswald belonged to the parish and not to the manor, as was the case with the villages of Fara, Lipovac, and Sela inside Kostel Manor up to the late 17<sup>th</sup> century. There are also some chances that the *Mooswald* settlement, which was also the primary name of the location of church of Gottschee town in 14<sup>th</sup> century, was still noted as the part of city Gottschee settlement in 1494.

The mills of manor Prem were listed only on page 18<sup>r</sup>,<sup>58</sup> where just before that in the paragraph of Wine Rights (*Weinrecht*) the scribes directly stated that his listing considers the Manor Prem on the lower part of page 17<sup>v</sup>. On the page 18<sup>r</sup> three mills were listed, and on the page 9<sup>r</sup> four of them under the somewhat Gottscheer-sounding names of the fields and gardens renters. Therefore and because of the smooth continuation from the renters in the town of Gottschee we could fairly suggest that page 9<sup>r</sup> describes the mills on the Rieg rivedr which was named *Grosser Wasser* there. The Urbarium for Lower Office of manor Gottschee in 1494/98 z Khrapfenfeld (Dolga vas), Lienfeld (Livold), Zwisslern (Cvišlerji), Schalkendorf (Šalka vas), Mösel (Mozelj), and villages around Tschermoschnitz (Mosche, Črmošnjice) and Pollan (Poljan) on the other side of Horn (Rog) are not in the evidence yet.

### **Urbarium of Land-Prince's Manor Gottschee's Office (Gottscheer) Rieg (1498)<sup>59</sup>**

The preserved Urbarium for Gottscheerland (1498) was written in German Gothic. The scribe used Roman numbers with a special annotation for ½ which was in noted nearly as the + sign in Gottscheer Urbariums for the years 1498 in 1568.<sup>60</sup>

The scribe used a paper of Italian provenience with a watermark with the encircled balance with radius of 4 cm. Urbarium of (Gottscheer) Rieg began with the folio 2 and runs up to the folio 25 which means the ending page 49.

<sup>57</sup> Wolsegger, "Das Urbarium der Herrschaft Gottschee".

<sup>58</sup> Kos, *Srednjeveški Urbarji za Slovenijo*, Urbarji Slovenskega primorja, 249.

<sup>59</sup> ARS, AS 13, Commission for Feudal affairs, box 23, Urbarium Gottscheer Rieg 1498 = Urbarium Register des amts Riegkh vnd Sichelberg (last two worlds noted with the different hand!) gehorund, so von ro.ko.mt.reformieren vnd raten beritten vnd verschriben worden ist, anno etc.collationiert LXXXXVIII.

<sup>60</sup> ARS, Viceroy Office for Carniola, fasc. I/46, lit. G, V, box 80, Urbarium Gottscheer 1568 = Urbarium of manor Gottschee for the year 1568; cited in Umek, "Reformirani urbarji", 313–314, 316, and Makarovič, *Črmošnjiško-poljanska dolina*, 27–31).

Folios were sewn together and later they were connected to the Urbarium of manor Sichelberg (Žumberk) with 14 folios (seven sheets) with a different watermark showing anchor with two horns in a circle of radius 2 cm similar to a watermark paper surveyed for the Urbariums of Upper Gottscheerland. The cover of the booklet have been preserved in the same size as the foil, but the binding is already abated.

The black ink title on the cover reads: "Rieck vnd Sichelberg, No 2". Before the first film there are two narrow disks where around the year 1500 the different hand with brighter ink specifically aggregated incomes of (Gottscheer) Rieg Office and separately for Sichelberg (Žumberk). Next they inserted the sheet with the rates of cash and cereals:

- 1 great measure (of wheat?) we could get in Möttling for 20 ß
- 1 ß (sold) is worth 2 Black Schillings (denarius)
- 120 ß is 1 lb (Venetian Libre)
- Rye is calculated at 3 denarius
- Oats is billing the half of the rye (that is 1.5 denarius).

The millet bucket was 4 denarius worth in the Office of (Gottscheer) Rieg but the Malgarn (Mala Gora) in the Upper Office of Gottscheerland had unknown quantity of Millet per 6 ß,<sup>61</sup> that was 12 Black Denarius. The Malgarn (Mala Gora) subjects probably paid 2 pouring of Millet per year if the Millet of the Malgarn (Mala Gora) was not better compared to the one of Rieg. In the year 1494 the Duty in Millet was completely converted into cash which probably means that the Malgarn (Mala Gora) subjects sowed the millet less and traded more on the basis of license of the Emperor Friedrich III issued on October 23, 1492 just before the Urbarium (1494). In the Upper Office of the Gottscheerland the lowered tow was worth 7/20 ß because 20 lowered tows appreciated 7 ß in Mitterdorf (Stara Cerkev) or Gottnitz (Gotenica). Tree chickens in (Gottscheer) Rieg allied two ß, as did 16 eggs or one lowered tow. Apparently ß went for 2/3 pennies because a penny was 3 black denarius worth.

Let us add that the original entire hide in Gottscheer Polland inside the Lower Office of Gottscheerland measured around 50 ha.<sup>62</sup> In Kotschen (Koče) inside the Office of (Gottscheer) Rieg the entire hide had 61.4 ha.<sup>63</sup> According to other sources the entire hide comprised 17 acres, and just a half of it or even

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<sup>61</sup> Urbarium Gottscheer Upper Office 1494, 4<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>62</sup> Makarovič, *Črnošnjiško-poljanska dolina*, 25, 413.

<sup>63</sup> Ivan Kordiš, Irena Škufca, Vasilij Melik, *Peter Kozler in prvi zemljevid Slovenian ozemlja: "Po bribib, po dolib razširjen njib rod"* (Gottschee: Muzej, 1996), 13 /hereinafter. Kordiš, Škufca, Melik, *Peter Kozler*).

just 3.5 ha were fields.<sup>64</sup> The later is certainly too low account and may have been realized to the forest area. The Gottscheerland hides could not measure just 1 to 6 acres. The size broke were used by Austrian rate (*Tagbau*, 0.57554 ha), Bavarian rate (0.34 ha), English measures (0.40477 ha), or other. So scarce metered area was certainly too small to survive on Gottscheerland hide which in the year 1574 nourished at an average of eighteen people.

The few abbreviations were specific for the Land Registry Office of (Gottscheer) Reka. The Winds up on the left f the word meant the ending "er", a straight line over the work meant "e" or "n". Urbarium for (Gottscheer) Rieg for the year 1498 was firstly published in its entirety from the pen of the writer of these lines in the year 2009. Malnar,<sup>65</sup> Simonič,<sup>66</sup> Kos,<sup>67</sup> and Makarovič<sup>68</sup> processed the individual surnames noted in the year 1498.

### **The Taxes in (Gottscheer) Rieg (*Hinterland*) and Upper (*Ober*) Gottscheerland Office**

We could compare the economy of Gottscheerland's manors for the years 1494/1499 with the simultaneous economies of the similar Carniolan German settlers in Feichting (Bitnje) inside the Freising manor of Škofja Loka,<sup>69</sup> the economy of other Carniolan Manors,<sup>70</sup> or the economy of Habsburg monarchy as a whole,<sup>71</sup> or even other parts of Europe.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>64</sup> Widmer, "Bausteine zur Geschichte des Gottscheerländchens", 48, 49, 54.

<sup>65</sup> Stanislav Južnič, *Dvig iz pragozda in zaton vanj: Razvoj Kočevske in sosednjih dolin (Osilniška, Dragarska, Poljanska) (1498–2009)* (Fara, 2009); Malnar, *Povijest čabarskog kraja*, 25.

<sup>66</sup> Simonič, "Kočevsko ozemlje", 71.

<sup>67</sup> Kos, *Urbarji za Belo krajino*, 20–21; Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv Wien (hereinafter: HHStA), FAA VIII. Gottschee A 15/nr. 28–48 fach 2: 21 Gottschee Urbariums 1550–1757: No. 28/1550, 29/1574, 30/1580, 32/1582, 33/1582, 34/1595, 36/1596.

<sup>68</sup> Makarovič, *Črmošnjiško-poljanska dolina*, 25.

<sup>69</sup> Bizjak, *Ratio facta est*, 179.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibidem*, 259.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibidem*, 261.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibidem*, 263.

Table 2: Values of agricultural products in grams of silver according to Dušan Kos<sup>73</sup>

| Article              | Grams of silver |
|----------------------|-----------------|
| 100 litters of wheat | 49              |
| 100 litters Oats     | 24              |
| 100 litters Millet   | 36              |
| Sheep                | 15.5            |
| Chicken              | 3.4             |
| 100 eggs             | 3               |
| Kilograms of Tow     | 4.4             |

Table 3: Taxes of Kostelians and Gottscheers in the years 1494 and 1498

| TAXES                           | Kostel<br>1494 | Kostel<br>1570 <sup>74</sup> | Gottscheer<br>1494/98 | Upper Office<br>Gottscheerland<br>1494 | Rieg<br>1498 |
|---------------------------------|----------------|------------------------------|-----------------------|--|--------------|
| Black Schillings                | 15076          | 17782                        |                       |  |              |
| gld.kr.den                      |                | 92:54:0                      | 48:20669:160          | 47:19320:128                           | 1:1349:32    |
| Contribution                    | 0              | 0                            | 0                     | 0                                      | 0            |
| Pigs                            | 62             | 66                           | 12                    | 0                                      | 12           |
| Sheep                           | 62             | 66                           | 0                     | 0                                      | 0            |
| Barrels of wine <sup>75</sup>   | 66             | 67                           | 0                     | 0                                      | 0            |
| Buckets of millet <sup>76</sup> | 198            | 246                          | 118.6+169 ₰           | 169 ₰                                  | 118.6        |
| Buckets of grain (wheat)        | 0              | 0                            | 229.6                 | 156                                    | 73.6         |
| Buckets of oats                 | 0              | 0                            | 500.6                 | 414                                    | 86.6         |
| Eggs                            | 610            | 726                          | 825                   | 106                                    | 719          |
| Chickens <sup>77</sup>          | 0              | 0                            | 619                   | 353                                    | 266          |

<sup>73</sup> Kos, *Urbarji za Belo krajino*, 21. The forint and of the agricultural products worth in grams of silver were considerably lower in contemporaneous researches compared to Kos values (Bizjak, *Ratio facta est*, 89, 267–269).

<sup>74</sup> (ARS, Viceroy Office for Carniola, fasc. I/48, lit.G. XVI/3, box 83, Graffenweriher vel Costler Urbariumialia, Rubrica Cammerale et Urbariumiale, 1570. 77 pages of unpagged Urbarium and the listing of documents collection on 13 ages.

<sup>75</sup> Small bucket with a volume of 56.6 liters.

<sup>76</sup> Buckets with a volume of 60.56 liters.



|                   |    |     |      |      |     |
|-------------------|----|-----|------|------|-----|
| Cargos of woods   | 0  | 880 | 0    | 0    | 0   |
| Tow <sup>78</sup> | 0  | 0   | 2701 | 2120 | 581 |
| Beehives          | 0  | 0   | 0    | 0    | 0   |
| Cargos of hay     | 19 | 0   | 0    | 0    | 0   |

Table 4: Sum of Taxes for All Manor Kostel in the year 1494 according to Kos' valuations<sup>79</sup>

| Duty                                     | Quantity          | g of silver for piece | Together g silver |
|--|-------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| ALL TOGETHER 7538 ß-7740 ß <sup>80</sup> | (8841)            | 0.309                 | 2410–2329         |
| Pigs 62–67                               | (66)              | 15.5                  | 961–1038          |
| Sheep 62–67 <sup>81</sup>                | (66)              | 15.5                  | 961–1038          |
| Millet 198 buckets <sup>82</sup>         | (246)             | 0.36 g/l              | 5494–4317         |
| 610 eggs <sup>83</sup>                   | (634)             | 0.03                  | 18.3              |
| Suma 94 (tithe Jakšiči) <sup>84</sup>    |                   | 0.7                   | 65.8              |
| 27 FanfHand <sup>85</sup>                |                   | 0.7                   | 18.9              |
| Fishing (Stelnik)                        | 400 <sup>12</sup> | 0.7                   | 140               |
| TOGETHER "TITHE"                         | 311               |                       | 224.7             |
| Cargos of hay                            | 19 <sup>13</sup>  | 8                     | 152               |
| TOGETHER                                 |                   |                       | 10121–10294       |

<sup>77</sup> In the years 1467 the chicken on the property of Krka was valued 3 dw (of Viennese currency: Bizjak, *Ratio facta est*, 89, 104) or 0.375 g of silver. In Bled in the year 1464 chicken was paid two or three Aquileia ß, and 10 eggs went for one Aquileia ß. The sheep was 14 ß in the Škofja Loka manor in the year 1476 (Bizjak, *Ratio facta est*, 104), and 28 Aquileia ß in the year 1464 (Matjaž Bizjak, *Urbarji briksenske škofije. Srednjeveški urbarji za Slovenijo 5* (Ljubljana: Zgodovinski inštitut Milka Kosa ZRC SAZU, 2006), 74 (hereinafter: Bizjak, *Urbarji briksenske škofije*)). Lowered Tow was sold for 26 g of silver. 4.4 g of silver was a bill for 1 kg of tow because the Lowered Tow had 28 g and čehulja 280 g as the usual way of linking. The pound had a mass of 560 g (Kos, *Urbarji za Belo krajino*, 175; Bizjak, *Urbarji briksenske škofije*, 70). 0.5 gld was a price for 100 liters of wheat (Bizjak, *Ratio facta est*, 103), therefore 0.14 g of silver was paid for 1 liter of wheat. The bucket had 60.56 liters, but kobal and quarters were used in Sichelberg (Žumberk) in the year 1498 and in Möttling manor (Kos, *Urbarji za Belo krajino*, 171). 0.36 g of silver was paid for 1 liter of millet, and on the other side 0.2 gld was a price for 100 liters of Oats of Millet between the years 1493–1500 in Škofja Loka manor (Bizjak, *Ratio facta est*, 103). In the year 1494 13 ß had around 4 g of silver, and in the year 1578 nearly 50% less (Kos, *Urbarji za Belo krajino*, 167). In the year 1484 they began to coin goldinars which were in 1517 already very rare for the price 1 gld = 60 kr = 240 white denarius, and 1 gld = 90 ß = 180 Black Denarius; 1 lb = 120 ß = 240 Black Denarius. In 1494, the Viennese white denarius was worth 0.00313 fl, and in the years 1498 just 0.00303 fl (Bizjak, *Ratio facta est*, 84, 267–269). The Carniolian value was used after the year 1460 for: 1 ß North Italian = 2 black denarius = 2.36 Viennese white denarius. In the late 15th century 1 ß was over 2.6 Viennese white denarius (Bizjak, *Ratio facta est*, 84, 267).

<sup>78</sup> In hung of cannabis.

<sup>79</sup> Duty quantities of Kostelian subjects in the years 1494 were tabled in grams of silver. Where ever it was possible the prices for particular duties were taken from Urbarium of the nearby manor of Polland issued in the year 1576 (Kos, *Urbarji za Belo krajino*, 142–143, 167). In most cases of Urbarium of manor Kostel (1494) the cash units for tithe, freight, customs, or wine taxes (*Weinfart*) were noted in  $\text{ß}$ , but they also used other units: 1 mark  $\text{ß}$  = 160  $\text{ß}$  (two times in Banja Loka (Urbarium Kostel 1494 = Vermercht das Urbarium Register zum Costel, num.2, 1494 (*AS I*, Viceroy Office for Carniola, fasc.I/48, lit.G. XVI/4)./ *Vermercht das Vrbar register zum Costel, num. 2* 1494. *AS I*, Viceroy Office for Carniola, fasc.I/48, lit.G. XVI/4, p.13) and Vrh, on single occasion in Zapuže and for Tithe (Urbarium Kostel 1494, 24); 1 lb  $\text{ß}$  (pound  $\text{ß}$ ) = 120  $\text{ß}$  (Potok, Vrh); gld (goldinar) and mark schilling (mark denarius) on listing of customs (Urbarium Kostel 1494, 18).

After the reforms of the Emperor Maximilian they used the following system: 1 goldinar (*Sib gld* (silver  $\text{fl}$ ) = 60 *kreuzers* (*kr*) = 180 black *den* (*pfennig*, *dinar*, *denarius*) = 240 *white den*. They also used other units:

1 libra (Venetian *libernik*, *pfund*) = 13.33 *kr* Carniolan value (crainische wehrung); 1 *sold* ( $\text{ß}$ , *solidus*, *schilling*) = 2 black denarius (*pfennig*); 1 libra (*libernik*) = 19.995  $\text{ß}$ ; 1 *thaler* (*tl*) = Pound *sold* = 240  $\text{ß}$  = 480 black denarius (*pfennig*); Rheinisch gulden (*rb fl*); Italian *Lira*; *crown* (= 2  $\text{fl}$ ); *groß*=*Groschen* (= 12 *kr*) and *Golden ducat* (= 2 *gld* 40 *kr*). 1  $\text{ß}$  = 2/3 *kr*; 90  $\text{ß}$  = 1 *gld* (Bizjak, *Urbarji briksenske škofije*, 72, 91; Kos, *Urbarji za Belo krajino*, 165 put it somewhat different: 1 goldinar (gulden)= 96 solds). The bucket of Millet could be probably measured in Ljubljana unit from the early 16<sup>th</sup> century (40 l) or with a Möttling unit from the years 1594 (60.56 l, Kos, *Urbarji za Belo krajino*, 168, 170). In calculating for Urbarium of manor Kostel (1494) we used the later Möttling unit. We were unable to use some special duties: "Suma 94 Furl" in the village Jakšiči, "27 FanfHand" in Banja Loka. While converting those numbers into grams of silver we added those duties to the tithe.

<sup>80</sup> Besides duties for farms and mills also all the freighting was added. Zins (lawsuit cash, Tithe) was lb denarius worth (Kos, *Urbarji za Belo krajino*, 165) in 98  $\text{ß}$  (solds, Urbarium Kostel 1494, 25). Altogether it was noted 7538 solds, but the exact sum was for 3% higher: 6570 solds Tithe + 1170 solds freight = 7740 solds = 64 lb den and 60  $\text{ß}$ . The tithe also contained 128  $\text{ß}$  of duties of eleven mills, but four of them did not have noted duties in the Urbarium. The "Wine Tax" worth altogether 60  $\text{ß}$  was paid just in Kostel villages Kaptol, Briga, and Puc.

<sup>81</sup> The right sum was 67.

<sup>82</sup> The right sum was 252 of buckets with a volumes of 60.56 l (Kos, *Urbarji za Belo krajino*, 168).

<sup>83</sup> 600 eggs and 10 eggs, therefore altogether 610 eggs. One of the rare exact calculations in Urbarium of Kostel in 1494.

<sup>84</sup> Suma 94 "furl" (Urbarium Kostel 1494, p.25); the tithe was noted with the similar sign on all 19 pages of listing. Just in the village Am Pergt (Jakšiči) with 3 Mills it had 94 units also noted in the final sum. The duty was noted on the main page of the Urbarium near the notes on mills (Urbarium Kostel 1494, 7).

<sup>85</sup> The number 27 was in Urbarium noted just without unit as "FanfHand", noted just for the last farm in Banja Loka (Urbarium Kostel 1494, 13), where the extra salary of 12  $\text{ß}$  for the guide (Suma HuetterFass) was noted, also for chickens ("HendelFuss") 12  $\text{ß}$ .

<sup>86</sup> The Urbarium summed just 200 fishes, but the millers in Stelnik village had alone 400 fishes (Urbarium Kostel 1494, 17, 18).

<sup>87</sup> 9 cargoes were noted in villages of Naverchy, probably the modern village Gotenc. Other hay for manors were collected in villages: Hrib, Jakšiči, Potok, Tišempolj, Padovo, and Dren (2 cargoes). One harnesses cart carried 220 kg, and two harnesses cart twice as much (Urbarium Kostel 1494; Kos, *Urbarji za Belo krajino*, 175).

Table 5: Taxes of Gottscheers in 2 of altogether 3 offices in the years 1494 and 1498

| Duty  | Number of units | g of silver for unit | Together g of silver  |
|---|-----------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| ALL TOGETHER in cash (gld:ß:den)                | 48:20669:160    | 0,309 <sup>88</sup>  | 8191.281(lb je 120 ß) |
| Sheep   | 12              | 15.5                 | 186                   |
| Oats  | 30316.336       | 0.24                 | 7275.92               |
| Wheat in liters                                 | 13904.576       | 0.49                 | 6813.24               |
| Millet in liters and ß                          | 7182.416+169 ß  | 0.36                 | 2637.891              |
| Eggs  | 825             | 0.03                 | 24.75                 |
| Tow in kg (26 g; 4.4 g of silver for kg of Tow) | 70.226          | 4.4                  | 309                   |
| Chickens  | 619             | 3.4                  | 2104.6                |
| ALL TOGETHER                                    |                 |                      | 27542.682             |

Together cash Taxes Gottschee town (gld:ß:den) 47: 1762: 15 2289.5355 (lb je 120 ß)

Together cash Taxes: both offices without the town Gottschee 1:18907:145 5901.7455

Together cash Taxes of office (Gottscheer) Rieg 1: 1349: 32 458.865

Table 6: Taxes of the subjects of Office (Gottscheer) Rieg in the years 1498

| Duty  | Number of units | g of silver for unit | Together g of silver |
|---|-----------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| ALL TOGETHER in cash (gld:ß:den)                          | 1:1349:32       | 0,309                | 458.865              |
| Pigs  | 0               | 0                    | 0                    |
| Sheep   | 12              | 15.5                 | 186                  |
| Oats  | 5244.496        | 0.24                 | 1258.68              |
| Wheat in liters   | 4457.216        | 0.49                 | 2184.036             |
| Millet in liters & ß                                      | 7182.416        | 0.36                 | 2585.67              |
| Eggs  | 190             | 0.03                 | 5.7                  |
| Tow in kg (Lowered = 26 g; 4.4 g of silver for kg of Tow) | 15.106266       | 4.4                  | 66.47                |
| Chickens  | 266             | 3.4                  | 904.4                |
| ALL TOGETHER  |                 |                      | 7649.821             |

<sup>88</sup> Value of unit in grams of silver: 0,309 g of silver za ß; 1 gld = 90 ß = 180 Black Denarius; 1 lb = 120 ß = 240 Black Denarius. Med letoma 1472–1518 je 1 ß veljal 2 črna denariča (Kos, Urbarji za Belo krajino, 167). For manors Sichelberg (Žumberk) (1498), Kamnik (1477–1494), Auersperg=Turjak (1485–1510), or NVR (German Knight Order, 1490) was stated: 1 tl, or lb den = 120 sold (Kos, Urbarji za Belo krajino, 165).

Table 7: Comparison with neighboring manors of the same era<sup>89</sup>

| MANOR                         | Kostel | Sichelberg        | Rieg & Upper Office Gottsc.           | Upper Gotts. | Gottscheer Rieg          | Kostel                | Kostel | Polland   |
|-------------------------------|--------|-------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|--------|-----------|
|                               | 1494   | 1498              | 1494/98                               | 1494         | 1498                     | 1528/38 <sup>15</sup> | 1570   | 1576      |
| All Cash income (g of silver) | 2329   | 303               | 8191.281                              |              | 458.865                  |                       | 2732   | 2859      |
| wheat (l)                     | 0      | 2543              | 229.6*60.56=<br>13904.576             |              | 73.6*60.56=<br>4457.216  |                       | 848    | 3226      |
| Millet (l)                    | 11991  | 2543              | 169<br>ß+118.6*60.56=<br>7182.4+169 ß |              | 118.6*60.56=<br>7182.416 |                       | 14898  | 3531      |
| Oats (l)                      | 0      | 2786              | 500.6*60.56=<br>30316.336             |              | 86.6*60.56=<br>5244.496  |                       | 295    | 11416     |
| Sheep                         | 1038   | 0                 | 12                                    |              | 12                       |                       | 934    | 0         |
| pigs                          | 1038   | 15                |                                       |              |                          |                       | 66     | 14        |
| Other cattle                  | 0      | 0                 |                                       |              |                          |                       | 581    | 2         |
| Wine (l)                      | 0      | 197–262           |                                       |              |                          |                       | 1340   | 23847     |
| Eggs                          | 610    | 108               | 825                                   |              | 190                      |                       | 634    | 190       |
| Tithe (days per hide)         | 321    | 0                 |                                       |              |                          |                       | 0      | 746       |
| Freight                       | 1170 ß | 0                 |                                       |              |                          |                       | 0      | 746       |
| Hay wagons                    | 19     | 0                 |                                       |              |                          |                       | 0      | 112       |
| Firewood carts                | 0      | 0                 |                                       |              |                          |                       | 880    | 0         |
| Tow (kg)                      | ?      | 0                 | 2701*0.026 g=<br>70.226               |              | 581*0.026 g=<br>15.106   |                       | 2.5    | 22        |
| Chickens                      | 0      | 80                | 619                                   |              | 266                      |                       | 15     | 365.5     |
| Others                        |        | 242 ryc .40 cakes |                                       |              |                          |                       |        | 162 cakes |
| Together kg of silver         | 10.1   |                   | 27.5                                  | 19.9         | 7.6                      | 10.7                  | 10.6   |           |

<sup>89</sup> Kos, *Urbarji za Belo krajino*, 158–159. Škofja Loka manor had in the year 1464 the whole income of 10.9 kg of silver, and the Provost's manor in the year 1458 just 2.3 kg of silver (Bizjak, *Urbarji briksenske Škofije*, 89, 176). The realized Urbarium incomes of Auersperg manor per year in the years 1503/1504 were approximately 960 Pound or 700 ducats. The yearly income of Freising Škofja Loka manor with nearly 1200 hides was 2115 Ducats (83.5 kg of silver) the end of 15<sup>th</sup> century. From around 1000 hides of Gornji Grad manor the Diocese of Ljubljana got 1750 Ducats (69.1 kg of silver) per year. From the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century until the end of 15<sup>th</sup> century the Ducat contained 3.52 g of gold which was 39.49 g of silver because the gold was 11.22 times more expensive compared to silver (Bizjak, *Urbarji briksenske Škofije*, 145; Bizjak, *Ratio facta est*, 93).

<sup>90</sup> (ARS, Vic. box 75, fasc.I/43, Lit. C, Urbarium zur Costel Geraut Graffenwardt an der Kullp Mang Langemantl. Urbarium for Kostel from first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, later wrongly dated with the year 1603.

Table 8: Comparison with the incomes of manors Škofja Loka per hide in the years 1494<sup>91</sup>

| MANOR                                       | Together          | hub       | g of silver per hide |
|---|-------------------|-----------|----------------------|
| Škofja Loka 1494                            | 83 kg of silver   | near 1200 | 70                   |
| Kostel 1494                                 | 10.1 kg of silver | 74        | 136                  |
| Upper Office<br>Gottschee 1494              | 7.6 kg of silver  | 61+town   |                      |
| Town Gottschee<br>1494                      | 2.3 kg of silver  |           |                      |
| Upper Office Gottschee<br>without town 1494 | 5.3 kg of silver  | 61        | 87                   |
| (Gottscheer) Rieg<br>1498                   | 19.9 kg of silver | 154.5     | 129                  |
| All Gottscheerland<br>in the year 1786      |                   |           | 542.4 <sup>92</sup>  |

The manor Škofja Loka brought to its feudal lords considerably less income per hide compared to Gottscheerland or even compared to Kostel Manor. That fact does not necessary mean that the Škofja Loka subjects were poorer. It is more probably to consider that the owners of Škofja Loka did not exploit their subjects that much. The income of Škofja Loka manor was almost twice lower per hide, which nicely illustrates the troubles of Gottscheerlander and Kostelian subjects. The exploration of Kostelian and Gottscheerland subjects did not lower in next centuries and stimulated the revolts in that era.

Table 9: The contents of (Gottscheer) Rieg Office in the year 1498

| Supp     | Settlements | Hides | Double hides | Single hides | Half hides |
|----------|-------------|-------|--------------|--------------|------------|
| Rieg     | 20          | 98.5  | 0            | 19           | 159        |
| Osilnica | 11          | 32    | 1            | 27           | 6          |
| Gerovo   | 7           | 24    | 0            | 20           | 8          |
| TOGETHER | 38          | 154.5 | 1            | 66           | 173        |

<sup>91</sup> Bizjak, *Ratio facta est*, 84, 276.

<sup>92</sup> Smole, Graščine, 221.

For transparency and performance of the modern reader we translated the Taxes into the grams of silver.<sup>93</sup> In 1498 the Supp (Gottscheer) Rieg had already much more divided hides compared to considerably smaller supp along the Kolpa river inside the same Rieg Office in supp Gerovo and Osilnica. That probably means that the feudal division of the Office (Gottscheer) Rieg began few generations earlier. In the years 1574 the circumstances also changed in Osilnica area where subjects kept whole hides just in smaller villages as were Bezgovica or Grintovec. Although the Office of (Gottscheer) Rieg had twice as much hides compared to Upper Office of Gottscheerland, the Upper Office Gottscheerland gave to the landlord's treasury four times more cash or tow. The differences in duties in oats were even greater, but in the other kinds of grain the Upper Office Gottscheerland subjects gave "just" twice as much as their neighbors from the office of (Gottscheer) Reka. The only duties, which was harder for the Office of (Gottscheer) Rieg compared to Upper Office Gottscheerland were eggs and sheep.

The main part of duties in cash charged the renters of fields and gardens in the city of Gottschee. They paid for them much more than other Gottscheers for their whole hides. The ground in town areas was obviously more expensive compared to the rural ones even centuries ago. It is also fair to suppose that some fields and gardens in Gottschee City were not small at all.

Table 10: Supp (Gottscheer) Rieg in the years 1498

| village, hides<br>(1498/1574),<br>page, subject | Hub | Tithe<br>(ß:den) | Chickens          | Eggs | Lowered<br>tow | Buckets of |      |        |
|---|-----|------------------|-------------------|------|----------------|------------|------|--------|
|   |     |                  | (equivalent in ß) |      |                | Wheat      | Oats | Millet |
| Reka (Riegkh 14/14)                             |     |                  |                   |      |                |            |      |        |
| 3 Mathe Kramer                                  | 0.5 | 132:1            | 3(2)              | 8(1) | 1(2)           | 0          | 0    | 1      |
| Petter Blew                                     | 0.5 | 132:1            | 3(2)              | 8(1) | 1(2)           | 0          | 0    | 1      |
| Steffann Lesar                                  | 0.5 | 132:1            | 3(2)              | 8(1) | 1(2)           | 0          | 0    | 1      |
| 4 Caspar Tschine<br>(Černe?)                    | 0.5 | 132:1            | 3(2)              | 8(1) | 1(2)           | 0          | 0    | 1      |
| Peter son of Paul                               | 0.5 | 132:1            | 3(2)              | 8(1) | 1(2)           | 0          | 0    | 1      |
| Maras Blesche                                   | 0.5 | 132:1            | 3(2)              | 8(1) | 1(2)           | 0          | 0    | 1      |

<sup>93</sup> 1 Slb gld (silver goldinar) = 60 kr = 19.4 g of silver (Kos, *Urbarji za Belo krajino*, 167). The value of measure *Weinfart* is not quite clear. In the Kostel Urbarium for the year 1494 it was noted in ß, and in the years 1570 just without the measure. It could be a bucket of wine with a value of several tens of l.

|                               |     |            |      |      |      |   |   |    |
|-------------------------------|-----|------------|------|------|------|---|---|----|
| Caspar Kecherlin              | 0.5 | 132:1      | 3(2) | 8(1) | 1(2) | 0 | 0 | 1  |
| 5 Cristann Speckl             | 0.5 | 132:1      | 3(2) | 8(1) | 1(2) | 0 | 0 | 1  |
| Mathe Kocherlin               | 0.5 | 132:1      | 3(2) | 8(1) | 1(2) | 0 | 0 | 1  |
| Steffann Heberlin             | 0.5 | 132:1      | 3(2) | 8(1) | 1(2) | 0 | 0 | 1  |
| Thomas Jurman                 | 0.5 | 132:1      | 3(2) | 8(1) | 1(2) | 0 | 0 | 1  |
| 6 Michel Schuester            | 0.5 | 132:1      | 3(2) | 8(1) | 1(2) | 0 | 0 | 1  |
| Son of Caspar Frawenn         | 0.5 | 132:1      | 3(2) | 8(1) | 1(2) | 0 | 0 | 1  |
| Peter Tschape                 | 0.5 | 132:1      | 3(2) | 8(1) | 1(2) | 0 | 0 | 1  |
| Mathe Schuester               | 0.5 | 132:1      | 3(2) | 8(1) | 1(2) | 0 | 0 | 1  |
| 7 Veidl Schuester             | 0.5 | 132:1      | 3(2) | 8(1) | 1(2) | 0 | 0 | 1  |
| Thome Schuester               | 0.5 | 132:1      | 3(2) | 8(1) | 1(2) | 0 | 0 | 1  |
| Brogsche Thomel               | 0.5 | 132:1      | 3(2) | 8(1) | 1(2) | 0 | 0 | 1  |
| Hannse Sweiger                | 0.5 | 132:1      | 3(2) | 8(1) | 1(2) | 0 | 0 | 1  |
| 8 Melcher Frostl              | 0.5 | 132:1      | 3(2) | 8(1) | 1(2) | 0 | 0 | 1  |
| Maxl Weber                    | 0.5 | 132:1      | 3(2) | 8(1) | 1(2) | 0 | 0 | 1  |
| Hannss Gosler<br>(Kostler)    | 0.5 | 132:1      | 3(2) | 8(1) | 1(2) | 0 | 0 | 1  |
| Michel Paelj (Bauer)          | 0.5 | 132:1      | 3(2) | 8(1) | 1(2) | 0 | 0 | 1  |
| 9 Cristann's son widow        | 0.5 | 132:1      | 3(2) | 8(1) | 1(2) | 0 | 0 | 1  |
| Jury Speck                    | 0.5 | 132:1      | 3(2) | 8(1) | 1(2) | 0 | 0 | 1  |
| Clement Zingkale<br>(Činkale) | 0.5 | 132:1      | 3(2) | 8(1) | 1(2) | 0 | 0 | 1  |
| Steffann Losar                | 0.5 | 132:1      | 3(2) | 8(1) | 1(2) | 0 | 0 | 1  |
| 10 Steffann Hass              | 0.5 | 132:1      | 3(2) | 8(1) | 1(2) | 0 | 0 | 1  |
| SUM                           | 14  | 19 tl 30 B | 70   | 210  | 14   |   |   | 28 |

Table 11: Gottenitz (Gotenica) in 1498<sup>94</sup>

| Village, hides (1498/1574),<br>page, subject | Hub | Tithe<br>(£:den) | Chickens                    | Eggs | Lowered<br>tow | B u c k e t o f |       |        |
|--|-----|------------------|-----------------------------|------|----------------|-----------------|-------|--------|
|  |     |                  | (equivalent in £ per piece) |      |                | Wheat           | Oats  | Millet |
| Gotenica (Gotinz 12/12)                      |     |                  |                             |      |                |                 |       |        |
| 11 Jacob Suppann (mayor)                     | 0,5 | 149:1            | 3(2)                        | 8(1) | 20(8)          | 2:0             | 3:1   | 2:1    |
| Jurij Marun                                  | 0,5 | 149:1            | 3(2)                        | 8(1) | 20(8)          | 2:0             | 3:1   | 2:1    |
| Gregor Knaws ( <i>Knaus</i> )                | 0,5 | 149:1            | 3(2)                        | 8(1) | 20(8)          | 2:0             | 3:1   | 2:1    |
| Gregor Lagkliner                             | 0,5 | 149:1            | 3(2)                        | 8(1) | 20(8)          | 2:0             | 3:1   | 2:1    |
| Jacob Schuester                              | 0,5 | 149:1            | 3(2)                        | 8(1) | 20(8)          | 2:0             | 3:1   | 2:1    |
| Paul by creek ( <i>Beum Prumm</i> )          | 0,5 | 149:1            | 3(2)                        | 8(1) | 20(8)          | 2:0             | 3:1   | 2:1    |
| Caspar by Liettl                             | 0,5 | 149:1            | 3(2)                        | 8(1) | 20(8)          | 2:0             | 3:1   | 2:1    |
| Jurij Marin                                  | 0,5 | 149:1            | 3(2)                        | 8(1) | 20(8)          | 2:0             | 3:1   | 2:1    |
| Hannse Speckl                                | 0,5 | 149:1            | 3(2)                        | 8(1) | 20(8)          | 2:0             | 3:1   | 2:1    |
| Thomas Rek                                   | 0,5 | 149:1            | 3(2)                        | 8(1) | 20(8)          | 2:0             | 3:1   | 2:1    |
| Thoman Hueter                                | 0,5 | 149:1            | 3(2)                        | 8(1) | 20(8)          | 2:0             | 3:1   | 2:1    |
| Michitsch Jorigl                             | 0,5 | 149:1            | 3(2)                        | 8(1) | 20(8)          | 2:0             | 3:1   | 2:1    |
| Jacob Marin                                  | 0,5 | 149:1            | 3(2)                        | 8(1) | 20(8)          | 2:0             | 3:1   | 2:1    |
| Stefann Schmidt (Kovač)                      | 0,5 | 149:1            | 3(2)                        | 8(1) | 20(8)          | 2:0             | 3:1   | 2:1    |
| Petter son of Steffan                        | 0,5 | 149:1            | 3(2)                        | 8(1) | 20(8)          | 2:0             | 3:1   | 2:1    |
| Crisl Markitzenn                             | 0,5 | 149:1            | 3(2)                        | 8(1) | 20(8)          | 2:0             | 3:1   | 2:1    |
| Anndre Kramer                                | 0,5 | 149:1            | 3(2)                        | 8(1) | 20(8)          | 2:0             | 3:1   | 2:1    |
| Jury son of Jacob                            | 0,5 | 149:1            | 3(2)                        | 8(1) | 20(8)          | 2:0             | 3:1   | 2:1    |
| Michel son of Primos                         | 0,5 | 149:1            | 3(2)                        | 8(1) | 20(8)          | 2:0             | 3:1   | 2:1    |
| Andre Turgko                                 | 0,5 | 149:1            | 3(2)                        | 8(1) | 20(8)          | 2:0             | 3:1   | 2:1    |
| Andre son of Mätla                           | 0,5 | 149:1            | 3(2)                        | 8(1) | 20(8)          | 2:0             | 3:1   | 2:1    |
| Nesa widow                                   | 0,5 | 149:1            | 3(2)                        | 8(1) | 20(8)          | 2:0             | 3:1   | 2:1    |
| Mathis Swärschnickh                          | 0,5 | 149:1            | 3(2)                        | 8(1) | 20(8)          | 2:0             | 3:1   | 2:1    |
| Matheus Schuester                            | 0,5 | 149:1            | 3(2)                        | 8(1) | 20(8)          | 2:0             | 3:1   | 2:1    |
| SUM  | 12  | 19 tl 96 s       | 60                          | 180  | 480            | 48              | 72:24 | 44:24  |

<sup>94</sup> Each hide in Gottenitz (Gotenica) gives (also) 4 measure of the hide Tithe (Urbarium (Gottscheer) Rieg 1498, page 11).



Table 12: Koče 1498<sup>95</sup>

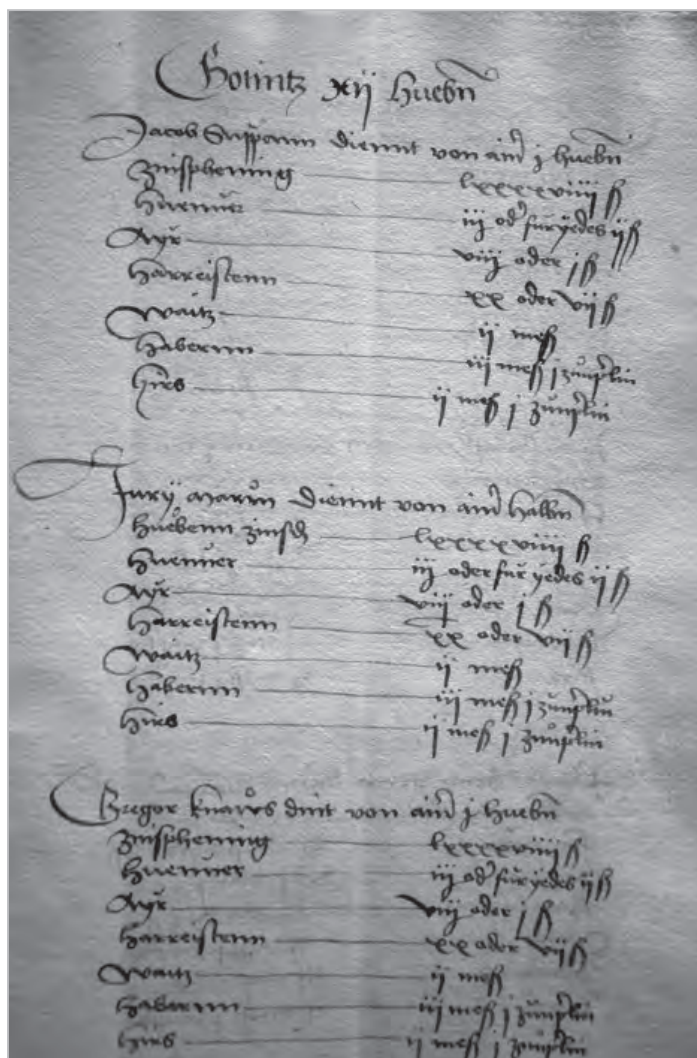
| Village, hides (1498/1574), subject | Hides | Tithe in ₰ | Page |
|-------------------------------------|-------|------------|------|
| Kötschen (Koče 5/5)                 |       |            |      |
| Micko                               | 1,0   | 23         | 19   |
| Nesa, widow                         | 0,5   | 23         |      |
| Hanse Kräl                          | 0,5   | 23         |      |
| Jacob                               | 0,5   | 23         |      |
| Mert Sibe                           | 0,5   | 23         |      |
| Nicklaws Sweiger (Švajger)          | 0,5   | 23         |      |
| Anndre Kolianitsch                  | 0,5   | 23         |      |
| Casp, son of the one noted above    | 0,5   | 23         |      |
| Gregor Klingk                       | 0,5   | 23         |      |
| Gratha, widow                       | 0,5   | 23         |      |
| SUM                                 | 5     | 1 tl 105 ₰ |      |

## Conclusion

The Urbariums for the years 1494 and 1498 are the oldest preserved notes on the common subjects of Gottscheerland because there is just a little hope to find the data about the century and a half older migrations of particular Gottscheers. Therefore the notes of the years 1494 and 1498 are the keys for understanding of the genesis of German minority in modern Slovenia where the Gottscheers lived for more than six centuries and their preserved traces are of optimal importance for the modern descendants of Germans in Slovenia.

Both considered documents tell us about the migrations which began to cause misunderstandings on German and on Slovene side after the Spring of Nations and Viennese March Revolution in the second half of 19<sup>th</sup> century. Under Hitler's pressure those frictions all but invalidated the German minority in Gottscheerland. Soon after the Gottscheers' settlement just before the here considered Urbariums, the fate brought a bad luck for the Princely Counts of

<sup>95</sup> Kordiš, Škufca, Melik, *Peter Kozler*, 13.



The beginning of tax records for Gotenica village in 1498 (Urbarium for (Gottschee) Rieg and Sichelberg issued in year 1498=Urbarium Register des amts Riegkb und Sichelberg geborund, so von ro. ko. mt. reformieren und raten beritten und verscriben worden ist, anno etc.collationiert LXXXXVIII (ARS, AS 13, Commission for feudal affairs, box 23).

Cilly. The modern Gottscheers in Slovenia nearly faced the similar sorrow during the Second World War: Yesterday, today, and never again!

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**Stanislav Južnič**

**KOČEVARJI PRED POL TISOČLETJA**  
**Kočevski Nemci in Slovenci leta 1494 in 1498**

POVZETEK

Predstavljen je deželno-knežji urbar Kočevskega zgornjega urada iz leta 1494, ki smo ga vse predolgo imeli za izgubljenega zavoljo napake uradnikov, zagrešene pred polovico stoletja. Dokument je podan v primerjavi s podobnima urbarjema za Urad Kočevska reka (1498) in za gospostvo Kostel (1494), ki sta zgodovinopiscem že dobro znana.

Upoštewane so bile tudi ekonomske razmere v Kočevju v poznem 15. stoletju. Družinska imena nekdanjih Kočevarjev je avtor, medtem ko je skušal ugotoviti, do katere mere je bilo zgodnje naseljevanje Kočevja s strani nemškega ali vsaj delno slovanskega ljudstva, povezal s kasnejšimi družinami iz tega in okoliških krajev. Prvi urbar za tretji del nekdanjega Kočevja, torej nižje-kočevskega urada, še danes ni odkrit. Zaradi tega je slika zgodnjega Kočevja še danes nepopolna, ampak nam ta raziskava nudi velik korak naprej v primerjavi z raziskavami, ki so bile osnovane predvsem na reformiranem urbarju iz 1574.

Podatki o Kočevju v letu 1494 in zlasti urbar o prebivalcih Kočevja, ki so tedaj prejeli pravice mesta, nam omogočajo, da raziščemo nastajanje vojaških mest na turški meji tik pred začetkom protestantizma. Sočasno nam urbarji med leti 1494 in 1498 nudijo možnost raziskovati začetke reformacije, ki je enega izmed svojih centrov razvilo ravno v Kočevju pod vodstvom barona Ivana Ungnada. Kočevska reformacija je bila pogosto zanemarjena zaradi predloga nacionalističnih vidikov kranjskega protestantizma. Sočasno je urbar iz leta 1494 zrcalo ekonomskega položaja Kočevja tik pred začetkom velikega upora, ko je bil ustreljen Ungnadov tast, kočevski zemljiški gospod Thurn.