

Od Rudolfa do Maksimilijana

Vzpon Habsburžanov
v vzhodnoalpskem prostoru (1273–1526)

From Rudolf to Maximilian

The Rise of the Habsburgs
in the Eastern Alpine Area (1273–1526)



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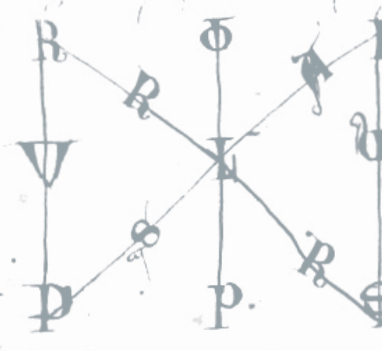
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nunc precibus institerunt quam Principatum sine Ducatu terre Carinthie quo ipse undecim annis antea ducatus
 in electione Romani Regis hinc inuictissime rediit in Augusti in manus nras libere resignatum. Spectabili cum gra-
 de Regali nra clementia dignauerunt. Nos igitur prelati Comites nra gratia quaeque nobis et Imperio Roma-
 niuente ac saltem aduerentes q' crescent numero Imperij Principum Romani vires Imperij sui robore parit et d-
 de Ducatu sine terra Carinthie in manus nras p' filios nros Ducem p'ce libere resignato ad deuocionem ip'z instam
 suis heredibus qui ubi in eodem Ducatu successerint sibi honori & titulo ceterorum Imperij Principum p'ce ascendentis. Et
 Ducatibus sine dominis supradictis et una et tandem omnibus Ducem suos q' successores in Ducatu Carinthie
 Alberto q'm deo eximario de successoribus eadem Imperium talit' p'cedit hoc expresse attestantes q' ei collantur d-
 ut sine successoribus in eodem nullum vis ponant in terris Carniole et Carinthie Sclauonice que vulgo Vindicia
 raris Ducatus. p'cedit de cetero sine p'uenit vnusq' libere apud filium nro p'cedit suis q' successoribus remanant
 ro sine regio sunt collantur. Salus nichilum q' d. filio nro sine q' successoribus vnusq' ceteris. Cuiuslibet p'cipue
 terre Carniole et Carinthie Sclauonice ab olim Principes sine Ducem Carinthie quocumq' ut in titulo possederunt.
 facti respectum habebunt. Ducatus quos sine Carinthie Dux eximario aut sui heredes cum omnibus illis iuris
 Ducem Carinthie Illustris vniuersi Leopoldus et Fredericus Ducem Austriae et hinc tempore possederunt. Et tamen
 Ducem p'cedit Carinthie in terris Carniole et Carinthie supradictis fiat p'missimus reuerentur. salua et integra filio
 tempore sequestrent. In Ducatu quos sine Carinthie omnia illa iura que Leopoldus et Fredericus Principes supradicti
 Austriae et hinc Ducem similit' et pari iure p' omnia possederunt. Quia Dux eximario sine p'cipue
 no grauitur in aliquo contra iustitiam nec dabit nec eadem castra ut possessor eorum quocumq' ad iure possiderent
 die obsidit. Quia lege eadem filium nro p'cedit vice recipiat ut nec ipse uidelicet in Ducatu Carinthie
 spectantur copis p'cedit.

p'm Ducatus Carinthie constanter
 uententes integra sui vni ducatus
 caritate nre sigillo iustimus co-
 lio. Verhardus parauit. Henricus
 Lauantinus Ebdunus Epi. Roconus
 et nobiles cum Verhardus Comes
 Alii quatuor fide digni. Signum



Ludouico p'cedit districte p'cedit
 eadem exhibent assignent. In qua
 manny. Cetero huius rei sunt de
 ranspionem. Tempore Eysterey. Henricus
 Illustris Ludouicus Comes palatinus
 de hinc. Ludouicus et Henricus fide
 Serenissimi d'ni Rudolphi Romani Regis

Anno. M. C. LXX. Sexto. Regni Rob' nri Anno. Tercentesimo.

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PROGRAM / PROGRAMME



ČETRTEK / THURSDAY, 19. oktober / October 19, 2023

9.00 – 9.15 Pozdravni nagovori / Welcome speeches:

- **Prof. dr. Oto Luthar**, direktor ZRC SAZU / Professor Oto Luthar, PhD, Director of the Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts
- **Izr. prof. dr. Petra Svoljšak**, predstojnica Zgodovinskega inštituta Milka Kosa ZRC SAZU / Associate Professor Petra Svoljšak, PhD, Head of the Milko Kos Historical Institute, Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts
- **Izr. prof. dr. Mija Oter Gorenčič**, predstojnica Umetnostnozgodovinskega inštituta Franceta Steleta ZRC SAZU; Univerza v Mariboru, Filozofska fakulteta / Associate Professor Mija Oter Gorenčič, PhD, Head of the France Stele Institute of Art History, Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, and University of Maribor, Faculty of Arts

9.15 – 10.35

Panel / Session 1: Vodja / Moderated by Mija Oter Gorenčič

- **Peter Štih**: THE HABSBURGS AND THE EASTERN ALPS IN THE LATE MIDDLE AGES FROM A SLOVENIAN PERSPECTIVE
- **Martin Bele**: RUDOLF'S VICTORY OVER OTTOKAR AND THE FIRST YEARS OF CONSOLIDATION OF HABSBURG RULE IN THE EASTERN ALPINE AREA
- **Dejan Juhart**: REBELLION AGAINST THE HABSBURGS IN 1292

10.35 – 10.45 Diskusija / Discussion

10.45 – 11.00 Kava / Coffee break

11.00 – 12.20

Panel / Session 2: Vodja / Moderated by Matjaž Bizjak

- **Jaka Banfi**: THE COUNTS OF CILLI AND THE DUKES OF HABSBURG BETWEEN 1308 AND 1396: ALLIES OR RIVALS?
- **Christian Lackner**: LORDSHIP-DUCHY-"LAND". CARNIOLA AND THE HABSBURGS IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY
- **Christina Antenhofer**: VIRIDIS VISCONTI AS A HABSBURGIAN WIDOW. FEMALE AGENCY AND NETWORKS OF HABSBURG PRINCESSES IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

- **Tomaž Lazar:** THE GREAT HABSBURG-CILLI FEUD (1437–1443): FROM POLITICAL ANTAGONISM TO MILITARY CONFLICT

12.20 – 12.35 Diskusija / Discussion

12.35 – 14.00 Kosilo / Lunch break

14.00 – 15.20

Panel / Session 3: Vodja / Moderated by Jaka Banfi

- **Jernej Kotar:** PRINCELY ADMINISTRATION OF DUKE FREDERICK V IN CARNIOLA
- **Christian Domenig:** EMERGING INNER AUSTRIA. THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CILLI LEGACY FOR THE HABSBURGS
- **Daniel Luger:** ON THE IMPORTANCE OF THE LANDS OF CARNIOLA, STYRIA, AND CARINTHIA FOR THE PRINCELY GOVERNMENT OF EMPEROR FREDERICK III (1440–1493)
- **Andrej Nared:** GOOD OLD CUSTOMS, NOBLE PRIVILEGES, *LANDHANDFESTEN*: LEGAL UNIFICATION OF THE INNER AUSTRIAN TERRITORY UNDER THE HABSBURGS

15.20 – 15.35 Diskusija / Discussion

15.35 – 15.50 Kava / Coffee break

15.50 – 16.50

Panel / Session 4: Vodja / Moderated by Gorazd Bence

- **Miha Kosi:** TOWN POLICY OF THE HABSBURGS IN THE SOUTH-EAST OF THE EMPIRE UNTIL THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY
- **Boris Hajdinjak:** THE RISE AND FALL OF THE MEDIEVAL JEWISH SETTLEMENT IN THE SOUTHERN PART OF THE EASTERN ALPINE AREA
- **Katarina Šter:** FREDERICK III AND LITURGICAL MUSIC IN THE SLOVENIAN LANDS

16.50 – 17.00 Diskusija / Discussion

18.00 Večerja / Dinner

PETEK / FRIDAY, 20. oktober/ October 20, 2023

9.00 – 10.20

Panel / Session 5: Vodja / Moderated by Janez Mlinar

- **Mija Oter Gorenčič:** THE COUNTS OF CILLI AND THE HABSBURGS AS SUPPORTERS OF MONASTERIES THROUGH THE PRISM OF THEIR ARTISTIC REPRESENTATION
- **Gorazd Bence:** THE HOUSE OF HABSBURG, THE COUNTS OF CILLI, AND THEIR PATRON SAINTS
- **Igor Sapač:** THE COUNTS OF CILLI, FREDERICK III OF HABSBURG, AND THE LAST NEWLY BUILT MEDIEVAL CASTLES IN THE SLOVENIAN LANDS IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY
- **Jure Volčjak:** "*DAS MAINEN WIR*". CHURCH IN THE FIFTEENTH-CENTURY SLOVENIAN LANDS AND FREDERICK III OF HABSBURG

10.20 – 10.35 Diskusija / Discussion

10.35 – 10.50 Kava / Coffee break

10.50 – 12.10

Panel / Session 6: Vodja / Moderated by Miha Kosi

- **Matjaž Grahornik:** FROM STUBENBERG MINISTERIALS TO LOYAL HABSBURG SUPPORTERS. AN EXAMPLE OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE HERBERSTEIN FAMILY
- **Meta Niederkorn:** IMITATION AND EXPERIMENTS. THE *PROBA CENTUM SCRIPTURARUM* BY LEONHARD WAGNER
- **Marija Wakounig:** BRAIN DRAIN? ON THE INFLUENCE OF SLOVENIAN HUMANISTS AT THE HABSBURG COURT
- **Gregor Antoličič:** "ALL FOR FAITH, HOME, AND EMPEROR!" THE LAST HABSBURGS' VIEWS OF THEIR MEDIEVAL ANCESTORS

12.10 – 12.25 Diskusija / Discussion

13.00 Kosilo / Lunch



Peter Štih

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THE HABSBURGS AND THE EASTERN ALPS IN THE LATE MIDDLE AGES FROM A SLOVENIAN PERSPECTIVE

This lecture examines the importance of the Habsburgs for the late medieval history of the area that Primož Trubar in 1562 described as "*die obere Windische Länder*". By this term, he referred to those regions of the Eastern Alps that were inhabited by a Slovenian-speaking population and the boundaries of which were defined by language. Because the central parts of the "*oberen Windischen Länder*" were in Carniola, Carinthia, and southern Styria, the term overlapped to some extent with another term in use at the time—Inner Austrian territories (*Länder*).

In addition to the focus on the area between the Northern Adriatic and the southern part of the Eastern Alps, part of the Slovenian perspective highlighted in the title places the emphasis on territorial rather than dynastic history. Although the two are closely intertwined, the focus of this perspective is on what Habsburg rule meant for the development of individual Inner Austrian territories, especially Carniola, and not so much on what these territories meant for the Habsburg dynasty. Here, the issue is primarily one of their integration. On the one hand, we have in mind the internal integration of the territories, which was only completed in Carniola and Carinthia in the first third of the sixteenth century. Although their respective territorial estates played an important part in the process, the decisive step was taken with the Habsburg acquisition of the inheritance of the Counts of Cilli, who became extinct in 1456. On the other hand, we have in mind the inter-territorial integration. Although, initially, the territories as independent political units with a strong identity of their own, which was historically most strongly rooted in Carinthia, only had in common the territorial prince (*Landesfürst*) and his court, the first inklings of legal unification occurred very early on, in 1338, when the Styrian territorial law became a subsidiary source for the law in Carinthia and Carniola. The early Habsburgs did not interfere with the essence of the individual territories, which had developed historically and mainly acted in harmony with the interests of the regional nobility. It was only external—primarily Ottoman—threat that from about 1440 onwards accelerated the inter-provincial integration, particularly visible in the joint meetings of the Styrian, Carinthian, and Carniolan territorial estates and in their efforts to mount a joint defence. Nonetheless, the first common, supra-provincial authorities would not be established until the reforms of Maximilian I.

As perhaps the most specific part of the Slovenian perspective mentioned in the title, the lecture will also cover the treatment of the early Habsburgs in Slovenian historiography, especially with regard to the Slovenian history of the Late Middle Ages.

Martin Bele

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RUDOLF'S VICTORY OVER OTTOKAR AND THE FIRST YEARS OF CONSOLIDATION OF HABSBURG RULE IN THE EASTERN ALPINE AREA

During the abovementioned period (and ever since 1246), the petty nobility of The article analyses the events during and after the election of the Habsburg count Rudolf as the German king, his victory over Ottokar II of Bohemia, and his consolidation of power in the Eastern Alpine territories. It covers the period between 1273 and 1282. The political situation in the wider Eastern Alpine region was not entirely peaceful following the death of the Austro-Styrian duke, Frederick II, in 1246. Since that year (and until 1273), nine powerful princes (and princesses) fought over the so-called Babenberg inheritance. While some lasted longer and were more successful than others, none of them managed to permanently secure it for him- or herself. In hindsight, we know, of course, that the Habsburgs eventually succeeded in conclusively asserting themselves as heirs in the former Babenberg-Spanheim territories. However, for the petty nobles of the last quarter of the thirteenth century, it would have been unwise to assume that Rudolf was there to stay. Past experiences had shown that the situation could turn around in a few short years.

Slovenian part of Styria and Carniola had to adapt to constant political changes. When Rudolf was elected king in 1273, many petty nobles reacted with joy. However, they reacted in the same way about thirteen years earlier, when Ottokar of Bohemia managed to push the Hungarian troops out of Styria. Whereas at that moment, he appeared as the rescuer of the downtrodden Styrian nobles, after years of rule, he turned out to be an impulsive autocrat. Who was to say that the situation was not going to turn out the same with Rudolf?

A few local nobles from what are today Slovenian Styria and central Slovenia adapted very successfully and consolidated their political power during the first years of Habsburg rule. Others failed to use the new political reality to their advantage. We can conclude (as far as the sources allow) that different petty noble families took different approaches to securing their families' prosperity. While some took to loudly and officially proclaiming their loyalty to Rudolf, others supported him implicitly. Nearly all nobles who were among the most successful after 1278 helped Rudolf defeat Ottokar in the Battle of Dürnkrut that same year.

Dejan Juhart

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REBELLION AGAINST THE HABSBURGS IN 1292

The paper analyses the events that took place in Styria and Carinthia before, during, and after the rebellion against the Habsburgs in 1292, with a particular focus on the period between 1286 and 1295. After the death of Rudolf I of Habsburg in 1291, his son Albert I found himself in an extremely unenviable situation: the nobles of Styria and Carinthia started rebelling, his territories were being attacked by foreign forces, and Adolf of Nassau was elected as the German king.

Being an autocrat who did not trust the Styrian nobles and instead relied on their Swabian counterparts, Albert was faced with an unfavourable political situation even before Rudolf's death. The most hated executor of the king's will in Styria was Abbot Henry of Admont, whom Albert appointed as the captain of Styria in 1286. Henry implemented a strict financial policy and, following Albert's orders, carried out numerous confiscations and arrests. Even the archbishop of Salzburg expressed his disapproval of Albert, mostly because he kept claiming Salzburg fiefs for himself. The nobility of Carinthia, which came under the rule of Meinhard II of Gorizia-Tyrol in 1286, was dissatisfied as well. Apart from his authoritarian approach making him increasingly unpopular among the nobles, Albert was also involved in an ongoing conflict with the Church.

On 1 January 1292, an alliance against Albert was formed in Deutschlandsberg between the archbishop of Salzburg and the nobles of Styria and Carinthia. The Bohemian king Wenceslaus II Přemyslid and Otto III of Wittelsbach, Duke of Bavaria, both joined the anti-Habsburg alliance, wishing to acquire the lands of Styria and Austria, which they claimed as their rightful inheritance. Adolf of Nassau ascended the throne instead of Albert, who instantly accepted the new king. As a result of the good relations between the two, Adolf did not refuse to grant Albert imperial fiefs.

Through skilful military operations and deliberate diplomatic policies, Albert ultimately succeeded in breaking up all the anti-Habsburg alliances and had completely overpowered all his adversaries by 1295. The rebellion of 1292 is considered to be a significant milestone in the history of the Habsburg territories as the last such event organized by the Styrian nobility against the duke.

Jaka Banfi

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THE COUNTS OF CILLI AND THE DUKES OF HABSBURG BETWEEN 1308 AND 1396: ALLIES OR RIVALS?

The paper will deal with the relations between two noble families of great importance for the Slovenian region and its history in the Middle Ages: the Dukes of Habsburg and the Counts of Cilli between 1308 and 1396, i.e., from the time when the Lords of Sanneck (the ancestors of the Counts of Cilli) became Habsburg vassals until 1396, when the Counts of Cilli found a new ally, supporter and patron in the powerful Sigismund of Luxembourg, the king of Hungary and later the king of Germany and the Holy Roman emperor. The question that the paper aims to answer is: Were the Counts of Cilli and the Dukes of Habsburg allies or rivals in the period under discussion?

The two families went down in history as great rivals due to the notorious Cilli-Habsburg feud between 1437 and 1443, when they stood on opposite sides over Emperor Sigismund's legally disputed elevation of the Counts of Cilli to the rank of imperial princes. The tensions, which never fully subsided since then and could be detected a few years before the actual elevation took place, were not noticeable at first glance in the fourteenth century. Numerous surviving sources are sufficiently eloquent to show regular cooperation between the Counts of Cilli and the Habsburgs, which intensified during the reigns of Herman I and Ulrich I of Cilli in the 1360s. Between 1332 and 1401, the Counts of Cilli periodically served as the captains (*Landeshauptmann*) of Carniola on behalf of the Habsburgs; they also lent them enormous amounts of money and performed military service for them in exchange for numerous manors they received in pledge, thus increasing their own territory and socio-political influence. In short, during the period under discussion, the Counts of Cilli were rising in the shadow of the Habsburgs. Could tensions between the two families flare up from time to time precisely because of the Cillis' growing power? As long as the counts remained the Habsburgs' vassals and above all their (Styrian) *Landmänner*, they did not pose any major threat. They could only seriously threaten the Habsburgs by becoming their princely rivals. Until this condition was fulfilled in the 1430s, their rivalry could not seriously weaken the Habsburgs, and it would only manifest itself as the Cillis' occasional indifference to the law of the land or their disobedience to the princely (Habsburg) authority.

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LORDSHIP-DUCHY-"LAND". CARNIOLA AND THE HABSBURGS IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

When reading the title of this paper, you probably first think of the famous archduke, Rudolf IV, who raised Carniola into a duchy and founded the town of Rudolfswerth (modern Novo Mesto in Lower Carniola). The centuries-long Habsburg history of Carniola began in 1335, with the death of Henry, Duke of Carinthia and Count of Tyrol. However, to be precise, the members of the Habsburg dynasty already assumed the title of *dominus Carniole* some decades earlier, when the Roman king Rudolf I, the great grandfather of the aforementioned Rudolf IV, granted his sons *principatus sive ducatus Austrie, Stirie, Carniole et Marchie* in 1282. And it is just because Carniola had before been given as a pledge to the Counts of Gorizia that the enfeoffment remained without consequences until 1335.

This paper, of course, cannot discuss all topics concerning the history of Carniola in the fourteenth century. The focus will be on the three key words in the title: lordship-duchy-"Land". How did our sources designate Carniola in that time? The Habsburgs styled themselves *domini Carniole* until 1364, when Rudolf IV assumed the title of *Dux Carniole* (Duke of Carniola). What is the model for this "upgrade"? The prince might have somehow learned about the famous kingdom-project for Austria from 1245 that one could read about in the collection of letters by Petrus de Vinea. Anyway, it is important to contextualize Archduke Rudolf's assumption of the title of *Dux Carniole*. And attention should also be paid to the fact that this title, unlike so many others arrogated by Rudolf, was retained by his successors. The elevation of Carniola to the rank of a duchy followed, although not immediately. The Neuberg Treaty of 1379 already referred to Carniola as a duchy.

The third key notion in the title of this lecture is the German term "Land", quite commonly used throughout the fourteenth century in reference to Carniola, among others in the great privilege from 1338, issued by Duke Albert II (*unserm land und unsern leuten ze Chrayn*). It is the source-based term, well-known from the book by Otto Brunner, *Land und Herrschaft* (Land and Lordship). Brunner used the term "Land" to denote a province in which one and the same law applied and the nobles attended its privileged court (*Landschranne*), headed by the lord of the "Land" or his representative. The area of a "Land" in the later Middle Ages depended mainly on the extent of nobles affiliating themselves to the land and its law. This means that the land's borders were fluent and changeable. My point here is that many charters in the fourteenth century referred to the law by a specific formula. In the last decades of

the fourteenth century, this formula (in German *Gewährschaftsformel*) was no longer just a general reference, but it mentioned explicitly the province relevant for the transaction (e.g., *nach landrecht in Krain*). As Othmar Hageneder did for the province of Upper Austria in the later Middle Ages, I shall explore here the validity of the formula in order to describe Carniola as a "Land" in the sense used by Otto Brunner.

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VIRIDIS VISCONTI AS A HABSBURGIAN WIDOW. FEMALE AGENCY AND NETWORKS OF HABSBURG PRINCESSES IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

The Austrian State Archives keeps a single surviving document that has so far been neglected by international research: the inventory of the charters that were found in the house of Duchess Viridis Visconti, the wife of Leopold III of Habsburg, in Ljubljana after her death in 1407. Besides regesta on her marital charters, the inventory lists summaries of documents concerning her pious donations to local monasteries and many financial transactions such as pledges and purchases. These transactions involved a considerable number of local people from different social strata as well as numerous local places, the names of which are stated in the inventory. The document is remarkable as an early inventory of a late medieval archive and even more so as a document on a woman's archive demonstrating that the widow tended to her own personal affairs. In this paper, the inventory will be used to reconstruct the spheres of action, networks, and agency of Viridis as a late medieval princely widow. The results will be compared to the agency of other Habsburg princesses in the fifteenth century with regard to their dowry, economic transactions, and social networks.

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THE GREAT HABSBERG–CILLI FEUD (1437–1443): FROM POLITICAL ANTAGONISM TO MILITARY CONFLICT

Throughout the second quarter of the fifteenth century, the increasingly powerful Cilli dynasty would prove to be arguably the biggest obstacle to the Habsburg expansion into the Slovenian territory. Formerly staunch Habsburg supporters, the Counts of Cilli gradually adopted a policy of close collaboration with Sigismund of Luxembourg since the end of the fourteenth century, extending their foothold further into the Kingdom of Hungary and ultimately attempting to shake off Habsburg suzerainty by uniting their estates into an independent principality. However, their elevation to the rank of imperial princes by Emperor Sigismund on 30 November 1436 was strongly contested by Duke Frederick V of Habsburg, which led to a military showdown.

Curiously enough, the great Habsburg–Cilli feud has so far eluded a truly in-depth historiographical analysis despite its far-reaching impact. What began as a limited proxy war between the supporters of both dynasties in late 1437, gradually escalated into a much more serious conflict that devastated dozens of castles and land estates throughout Lower Styria and Carniola, and also saw major field engagements that involved substantial forces. The Cillis' intervention in the Hungarian succession crisis as well as Frederick V's royal election led to a temporary truce in August 1440, extended until June 1442. The second stage of the war was marked by a highly ambitious offensive led by Ulrich II of Cilli in alliance with Frederick's estranged brother Albert VI. The attacking forces attempted a large-scale manoeuvre and sieges supported by a powerful artillery train. However, Emperor Frederick's side successfully resisted the initial assaults and responded by launching counterattacks which, in addition to less obvious but nevertheless pressing strategic and logistical issues, exhausted the offensive potential of the forces amassed by Ulrich and Albert.

Whereas the timeline of the Habsburg–Cilli feud is to a large extent obscured by the lack of detailed reports, a closer reading of the surviving sources allows us to establish a more accurate chronology of events that also signalled the wholesale introduction of new weapons and tactics into the Slovenian territory. Ultimately, the peace treaty concluded in 1443 set the stage for the future consolidation of Habsburg power after the demise of the House of Cilli in 1456.

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PRINCELY ADMINISTRATION OF DUKE FREDERICK V IN CARNIOLA

The almost six-decades-long reign of Duke Frederick V (1435–1493), since 1440 King of Germany and since 1452 Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III, can be justifiably labelled as one of the key periods in the development of the princely administration in Carniola. The end of the Late Middle Ages was a time of perpetual political crises, economic shocks, and military confrontations; however, it was also a period of significant political and territorial changes in the Eastern Alps. After many decades of rather slow development, Carniola was finally formed into a late medieval territory with operational administration, a system of hereditary offices, and territorial estates. Thanks to the incorporation of newly acquired areas, it obtained a new and larger geographical frame.

During the period of Frederick, princely administration in Carniola was still organized in an entirely medieval manner. This was first of all a consequence of his unwillingness to introduce major reforms. Despite huge political and territorial changes, among others the acquisition of the inheritance of the Counts of Cilli and the Lords of Wallsee, he did not interfere with the established administrative structure. Supreme judicial and military power was in the hands of the captain or his deputy, the territorial administrator, and the territorial vidame took care of the princely property and rights. For matters of regional importance Frederick engaged respective captains and temporary plenipotentiaries, and for local matters he could count on a widespread network of stewards of princely estates.

Only after the acquisition of the inheritance of the Counts of Cilli (1457–1460) and the death of his younger brother Albert VI (1463) was Frederick finally able to consolidate his princely position in Carniola. Since the beginning of the 1460s, he dedicated himself to internal construction of the territory and its integration into his ruling sphere. In the second half of the fifteenth century, members of the Carniolan noble elite gradually took over all key positions in the domestic princely administration, including territorial captaincy, which was until then dominated almost exclusively by foreigners. For the first time, they assumed important positions at the imperial court as well as in other hereditary territories.

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EMERGING INNER AUSTRIA. THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CILLI LEGACY FOR THE HABSBURGS

The Counts of Cilli—named after their residence in the present-day Celje—rose in a remarkable way from freemen to Princes of the Holy Roman Empire. Within the span of 115 years, they expanded their dominion in the duchies of Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola as well as in the Kingdom of Croatia. They married into the ruling central and eastern European dynasties and produced two queens.

When Ulrich II of Cilli was murdered in Belgrade on 9 November 1456, he left behind estates that massively expanded the Habsburg influence on the duchies of Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola. Up to the 1430s, a close alliance existed between the counts and the Habsburgs. However, after their elevation to the rank of princes, the Cillis came into conflict with the young Duke Frederick V, who became king in 1440. Although the reconciliation of 1443 confirmed the family's elevation, they nonetheless had to sign an agreement of inheritance with the king. The agreement ensured that the Cilli inheritance would fall to the Habsburgs. After the War of Cilli Succession, all Cilli estates in the Holy Roman Empire were passed on to Frederick III, who expressed his pride in a specific way. The Cilli legacy was fundamental to the creation of Inner Austria in the sixteenth century.

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ON THE IMPORTANCE OF THE LANDS OF CARNIOLA, STYRIA, AND CARINTHIA FOR THE PRINCELY GOVERNMENT OF EMPEROR FREDERICK III (1440–1493)

The Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III, descended from the Leopoldine line of the Habsburg family, showed a special interest in the political development and administration of Carniola, Styria, and Carinthia. Despite simultaneous foreign and domestic political problems that deeply shook his government in other areas of his hereditary territories, an expansion of the territorial sovereign rights can be noticed in this group of lands, especially in the second half of the fifteenth century.

In this paper, the close, changeful relations between the court of Frederick III and the areas of the Habsburg hereditary territories inhabited by Slovenians will be examined from various perspectives. A special role will be attributed to the outstanding position and importance of nobles from this region, such as the Rauber and Prüschenk families, at the Habsburg court. With different strategies and in different ways, these families achieved significant social and economic advancement in the service of the ruler and wielded considerable influence in the princely administration as well as at the Habsburg court itself.

However, mention should also be made of important humanists and natural scientists such as Bernhard Perger. In addition to shared educational interests, personal and regional connections also played a significant role in his career path.

Finally, with regard to the sovereign administration in Carniola and Lower Styria, the question will be raised as to how the subjects from this region sought to make themselves heard at the supposedly "distant" court of the sovereign.

The abovementioned topics are addressed and contextualized on the basis of concrete, hitherto largely ignored archival sources.

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GOOD OLD CUSTOMS, NOBLE PRIVILEGES, LANDHANDFESTEN: LEGAL UNIFICATION OF THE INNER AUSTRIAN TERRITORY UNDER THE HABSBURGS

When Carinthia and Carniola came under Habsburg rule in 1335, they lagged behind Styria in several respects. In addition to their land being fragmented among several large feudal lords and having a rather weak real basis for the territorial princely authority (especially in Carniola), their lack was also of a legal nature. Apart from a mere mentioning of customary law, both Carinthia and Carniola had yet to produce a written noble (ministerial) law, an achievement that the Styrian nobility had already managed to secure for themselves during the changes of the territorial lords in 1186, 1237, 1277, and 1292.

For the nobility, the dynastic changes in Carinthia and Carniola offered an opportunity to confirm the customary territorial law in writing. Obviously, the recording of such rights was also in the interest of the new territorial prince, Albert II of Habsburg, who in September 1338 issued an identical privilege in Graz to both Carinthians and Carniolans. The privilege codified the existing customary law and amended it with some provisions taken from the Styrian privileged law. The latter was, furthermore, explicitly provided as a subsidiary source of law in both Carinthia and Carniola. This clearly demonstrated the intention to legally unify the three lands. A century later, after the issuance of the golden bulls in 1443, 1444, and 1460, the Leopoldine territories of Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola were fairly unified in terms of their legal system. It could even be said that they established a supra-territorial, Inner Austrian, law, which still allowed for certain particularities of individual territories. In Carniola, for example, the "Gorizia" territorial law was in force for the regions of March and Metlika/Möttling as well as for Istria. This law was formally included in the joint Carniolan *Landhandfesten* by Rudolf II in 1593, although in practice it had merged with the Carniolan law even before that.

The Habsburgs, therefore, created Inner Austria (the term "inner territories" is encountered as early as the fifteenth century) not only through military force and hardy genes but also with their proverbial patience and with the might of a pen gliding over the parchment of privilege charters. The Inner Austrian region underwent a thorough transformation between the time when Rudolf I arrived in the area of the Eastern Alps and the death of Maximilian I. Although it did not give rise to "one nation," as Thomas Ebendorfer wrote, paraphrasing the words of John of Viktring, it did establish a strong supra-territorial identity. This identity was built not only on territory, dynasty, and challenges met within and outside the territorial borders, but also on the related "Inner Austrian" territorial law.

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TOWN POLICY OF THE HABSBURGS IN THE SOUTH-EAST OF THE EMPIRE UNTIL THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

When Rudolf of Habsburg conquered the lands in the south-east of the empire (Styria, Carinthia, Carniola) after defeating King Ottokar in 1276, he encountered an urban landscape already formed. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, various ecclesiastical and secular lords had founded a good third of all medieval urban settlements in this region, including the most important ones (Maribor, Ptuj, Radgona, Ljubljana, Kranj, and Gorizia as well as Villach, Klagenfurt, St. Veit, and Völkermarkt in Carinthia). The Habsburgs' role in urban policy (*Städtepolitik*) was no longer primarily that of founders and took on other dimensions. It could be divided into four different phases.

(1) King Rudolf ceded the territories of Carniola (1277) and Carinthia (1286) to the Counts of Gorizia-Tyrol. Both provinces were ruled by members of this dynasty until 1335. The king's successors thus from 1286 effectively controlled only Styria, with the ducal Maribor/Marchburg as the centre of Lower Styria. They supported the prosperity of the town with numerous privileges, especially against the rival Ptuj/Pettau of the archbishops of Salzburg. After the takeover of Carinthia and Carniola in 1335, the Habsburgs gained an alternative trade link from Vienna to the Adriatic and from Hungary to Venice, including Ljubljana/Laibach, the transport hub and capital of Carniola.

Phase (2) of an aggressive transport and trade policy began, culminating under Rudolf IV (1358–1365). It included the foundation of the new town of Rudolfsverd/Novo Mesto in 1365 as the centre of intermediate trade between Croatia and Italy (the founding privilege also included *Niederlag* and *Straßenzwang*). The second step was the forced acquisition of the Aquileian Slovenj Gradec/Windischgrez (1362) and the hereditary treaty with a branch of the Counts of Gorizia (1364), which brought the Habsburgs the territory of *Graffschaft Möttling* with two border towns (Metlika/Möttling, Črnomelj/Tschernembl) no earlier than 1374, i.e., after Rudolf IV's death. The Habsburg penetration to the sea was crowned by the 1382 acquisition of Trieste, the only Austrian port in the Northern Adriatic. Especially in the fifteenth century, they intensively supported its development against the neighbouring Venetian ports (especially Koper) with privileges (including *Niederlag* and *Straßenzwang* in 1461).

(3) In the last third of the fourteenth and the first third of the fifteenth century, the political reliance on the Counts of Cilli meant that in terms of urban and economic policy in the region the Habsburgs receded into the background. Most urban centres (with the exception of Ljubljana and Maribor) were given in pledge to the Cilli dynasty, which thus controlled

some forty towns and market towns for more than sixty years (the present-day Radkersburg, Slovenska Bistrica, Kranj, Kamnik; from 1418 also Novo Mesto, Metlika, etc.). These urban settlements, with all their revenues, were one of the pillars of the economic prosperity of the Cilli dynasty. It was not until around 1430 that they gave the Habsburgs back a number of their pledged towns. However, the extinction of the counts in 1456 and the Habsburgs inheriting their dominion brought about a new and most intensive phase of *Städtepolitik*.

(4) Through the Cilli inheritance, in 1456 Emperor Frederick III also came into the possession of the former urban centres of the Counts of Ortenburg (Spittal, Radovljica, Ribnica, Kočevje) and many of other provenances (i.e., Celje, Lož, Krško, Dravograd, Rogatec, etc.). He began an intensive economic policy of town privileges (with *Niederlag* and *Strassenzwang*) which were granted to Celje, Slovenska Bistrica, Lož, Radovljica, Trieste, and under his successor Maximilian to Ljubljana (1503). The permanent mark on the urban landscape was made by the emperor's elevation of five market towns to the status of towns in 1471–1478 (Kočevje/Gotschee, Lož/Laas, Krško/Gurkfeld, Radovljica/Radmannsdorf, Višnja Gora/Weichselburg). After the withdrawal of the Hungarians in 1490–1491, the emperor also occupied Ptuj and Brežice/Rann, the towns of the Archbishop of Salzburg, for more than half a century. With the Görz inheritance of the 1500s, Görz/Gorizia also became part of the Habsburg domain. From 1500 onwards, the princes thus *de facto* dominated the entire region in the south-east of the empire in economic and urban terms.

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THE RISE AND FALL OF THE MEDIEVAL JEWISH SETTLEMENT IN THE SOUTHERN PART OF THE EASTERN ALPINE AREA

Until 1276, when Ottokar II Přemysl, the "Iron and Golden" King of Bohemia, relinquished the former Babenberg and Spanheim territories to the Roman-German king Rudolf I of Habsburg, we only know of three places with a permanent Jewish settlement in the southern part of the Eastern Alpine area (i.e., the historical territories of Gorizia, Istria, Carinthia, Carniola, Styria, and Trieste). All these places were in Carinthia: Völkermarkt (first mentioned in 1105/26), Friesach (first mentioned in 1124), and Villach (first mentioned in 1255). Eighty-nine years later, in 1365, after the death of Rudolf IV, Duke of Austria, the great-grandson of the first Habsburg ruler of the Eastern Alpine area, the number of such places in the southern part of the said region increased to twenty-six. The largest number of permanent Jewish settlements, thirteen, were in Styria, ten in Carinthia, and one each in Gorizia/Görz (Gorizia) and Carniola (Ljubljana/Laibach). One was also in Trieste, not yet a Habsburg city at the time. A century and a half later, in 1515, Emperor Maximilian I of Habsburg ordered the expulsion of Jews from the Carniolan capital Ljubljana, leaving Trieste and Rijeka as the only cities with a permanent Jewish population under Habsburg rule in the southern part of the Eastern Alpine area. The first mention of a permanently settled Jew in Rijeka dates as late as 1508. Piran was certainly such a place at that time, perhaps also Koper/Capo d'Istria, Muggia, and Izola/Isola. Jews settled in these Istrian towns under Venetian rule at the end of the fourteenth or early fifteenth century.

It follows from the above that the rise and fall of the medieval Jewish settlement in the southern part of the Eastern Alpine area took place between the time of Rudolf I of Habsburg and Maximilian I of Habsburg. The paper will explain the extent to which this development was actually linked to Habsburg rule.

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FREDERICK III AND LITURGICAL MUSIC IN THE SLOVENIAN LANDS

The time of Frederick III, who was the ruler and co-ruler of the Inner Austrian territories between 1424 and 1493, was also the heyday of liturgical music in Slovenia, according to the number of surviving liturgical music sources and other music-related historical documents. The emperor himself seems to have made an active and decisive contribution to this boom through various founding documents which stipulated the celebration of liturgical services with singing. His most important contribution of this kind was the provisions on singing in the Ljubljana cathedral. For example, at the emperor's behest, the founding charter of the Ljubljana diocese, which was otherwise excluded from the territory of the Aquileian patriarchate, stipulated that the mass and the office there should be celebrated according to the Aquileian rite. By drawing on various sources—mainly chants for the veneration of the Corpus Christi—the paper will present the emperor's musical institutions and their place in the wider context of liturgical music in the fifteenth-century Slovenian lands.

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THE COUNTS OF CILLI AND THE HABSBURGS AS SUPPORTERS OF MONASTERIES THROUGH THE PRISM OF THEIR ARTISTIC REPRESENTATION

The paper at hand will focus on monastic orders as the agents of the artistic propaganda of the Counts of Cilli and the Habsburgs. In the Middle Ages, both noble families were prominent supporters of monasteries in the Slovenian territory. They would help them with donations, establish new monasteries, finance remodelling and new construction projects, commission artworks, and often contract or transmit the finest builders and artists. Historical studies exploring the connections between the Counts of Cilli and the Habsburgs and various monasteries are much more numerous than independent art-historical studies of this topic. The more recent art-historical research provides new insights into certain art commissions as a vital element of visual representation and, hence, political propaganda. The aspect of inspiration drawn from the representation of dynastic interests in the monastic environment, stemming from the mutual influences between the Counts of Cilli and the Habsburgs, is particularly outstanding. Although the members of both dynasties supported various monastic orders in the Middle Ages, it is nevertheless notable that the Counts of Cilli were the most important supporters and patrons of the Carthusians, who were considered to be the strictest Catholic order, and the Habsburgs were prominent supporters of the equally reformist Cistercian Order. The paper aims to shed light on the artistic representation of the Counts of Cilli and the Habsburgs in monasteries on Slovenian soil. To this end, two selected concrete examples of the artistic representation of the Counts of Cilli and the Habsburgs in the fourteenth-century Carniola and Lower Styria will be presented while also paying close attention to the issue of their mutual inspiration.

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THE HOUSE OF HABSBURG, THE COUNTS OF CILLI, AND THEIR PATRON SAINTS

The extremely favourable relations between the early Habsburgs and the Counts of Cilli have long remained unjustifiably obscured by historical inattention. Nonetheless, it is well known that the Cillis began their rise as loyal Styrian vassals of the Habsburg family, with whose consent they were elevated to the rank of counts—first in 1341 and for the second time in 1372. The Counts of Cilli participated firmly in the Habsburgs' military and political ventures, which brought them great territorial gains and an excellent position among the highest nobility. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, however, the situation changed; the Counts of Cilli found a new ally in Sigismund of Luxemburg, and their interests turned distinctly to the Hungarian kingdom. The relations with the Habsburgs deteriorated in 1435, when the Cillis were elevated to the rank of princes of the Holy Roman Empire.

As recent studies increasingly confirm, in the decades when the alliance between the two houses was at its strongest, it was also reflected in their mutual influences in art commissions. Nevertheless, the question of what role (if any) the veneration of their patron saints played in this, has not been examined so far. The dynastic spirituality played an important role among the nobility in the Middle Ages and legitimated the possession of power, as is seen in historiographical, artistic, and sacred representations. The paper will focus on the veneration that several members of both houses addressed to their patron saints, with a special emphasis on mutual influences and intersections which are visible in devotional artistic forms.

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THE COUNTS OF CILLI, FREDERICK III OF HABSBURG, AND THE LAST NEWLY BUILT MEDIEVAL CASTLES IN THE SLOVENIAN LANDS IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

In the fifteenth century, very few new castles were built in Slovenia. In the second quarter of the same century, the Counts of Cilli built the new castles of Fridrihštajn (Friedrichstein), Bela Peč (Weissenfels), and Mokrice (Mokritz) while destroying many older ones, both their own and of others. In the same period, on the initiative of the king and later emperor, Frederick III, extensive construction activity began, bringing the last major newly built medieval castles to the Slovenian territory. The castles in Ljubljana/Laibach, Maribor/Marchburg (the lower city castle), and Trieste show some interesting common features, which can be interpreted correctly, especially in the context of other castle constructions by Frederick III between 1439 and 1493 (most notably those in Graz, Linz, Wiener Neustadt and, Vienna). Particular research problems are posed by the former town castle in Kočevje/Gotschee, which was presumably built after 1471, the former Gothic castle chapel of Klevevž Castle (Klingenfels) in Lower Carniola (modern Dolenjska), which has the inscription *Fridericus rex / AEIOU* and the year 1449 carved on one of its vaults, as well as the links between castle constructions and the construction of the town walls in the period of Frederick III, especially in Ljubljana, Celje/Cilli, Maribor, Slovenj Gradec/Windischgrez, Radovljica/Radmannsdorf, Višnja Gora/Weichselburg, Krško/Gurkfeld, and Kočevje.

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"DAS MAINEN WIR". CHURCH IN THE FIFTEENTH-CENTURY SLOVENIAN LANDS AND FREDERICK III OF HABSBERG

Among the Habsburgs who ruled the Slovenian lands in the fifteenth century, King and Emperor Frederick III (1440/1452–1493) was certainly the one who left the most lasting mark. This applies to the length of his rule, his administrative reforms, his efforts to defend his lands against the Ottoman incursions, and much more. Frederick III was also a deeply pious ruler. Like his mother, Cyburgis of Masovia, he frequently visited various holy places and sought shelter in the quiet of the monasteries to properly prepare for difficult tasks ahead of him. In this respect, he was a complete opposite to his father Ernest the Iron (1406–1424). Because of his piety, Frederick was favourably disposed to churches and monasteries and was a firm advocate of improving Christian worship. "Progressive" measures, such as establishing a better episcopal organisation and adopting decrees on the sacrament of Holy Anointing, made him one of the forerunners of the Enlightenment.

His most important achievement in the ecclesiastical sphere was clearly the establishment of the Diocese of Ljubljana in 1461/1462, a task that he was able to accomplish with the help of his former secretary, Enea Silvio Piccolomini, who at the time was the elected Pope Pius II (1458–1464). By this act, Frederick took a step in the direction towards solving some complex developments that took place in the Patriarchate of Aquileia following the Venetian occupation of Friuli, especially when the city of Udine, the seat of the patriarchate, also passed under the Venetian rule after 1420. Since then, the Patriarchate of Aquileia was de facto divided into two parts; the Venetian part and the imperial part, called "a parte Imperii" in Udine. For a long time, the emperor hoped to reach an agreement with the Venetians regarding the appointment of the patriarch of Aquileia, but such plans never came to fruition. Despite the difficulties that Frederick managed to cope with prior to establishing the Diocese of Ljubljana, this act itself can most definitely be understood as the first step towards settling the ecclesiastical matters in the territory of the Holy Roman Empire south of the Drava River. The process was finally completed three hundred years later, with the abolition of the Patriarchate of Aquileia in 1751 and the establishment of the Archdiocese and the Metropolitan See of Gorizia in 1752. The Habsburgs' long-term dream of having their "own" metropolitan see south of the Danube River finally came true.

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FROM STUBENBERG MINISTERIALS TO LOYAL HABSBERG SUPPORTERS. AN EXAMPLE OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE HERBERSTEIN FAMILY

The paper will present the development of the famous Styrian noble family, named after Aflenz before 1290 and then after its new seat at Herberstein Castle. While originally, its members were Stubenberg ministerials, over time they appeared more and more frequently in the company of the Styrian dukes (or territorial princes) from the ranks of the Habsburg family. Under the Habsburg auspices, they slowly took over important tasks and jobs in the territorial administration, the army, and diplomacy. In 1469, when a disgruntled noble alliance (led by Andreas Baumkircher) declared a feud against the territorial prince Frederick V of Habsburg (Emperor Frederick III), the Stubenbergs sided with the rebels and the Herberstein family sided with the emperor.

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IMITATION AND EXPERIMENTS. THE *PROBA CENTUM SCRIPTURARUM* BY LEONHARD WAGNER

Copia et Imitatio: In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the decision for or against a special type of script was influenced by different reasons. This applies to manuscript, chancery writing, and letterpress printing.

I – With the invention of the printing press, the dissemination of texts was placed on a completely new basis. Nevertheless, the handwritten text remained the primary method of text recording, and this would not change until the invention of the typewriter in the nineteenth century. Monks and nuns, men and women scribes in urban writing studios, transcribers (*scriptores*) in the service of custodians of books (*stationarii*), teachers and students, traders and merchants, scholars, they all wrote and chose a certain script and executed it at different levels, for example by using markup font for headings and font sizes that corresponded to the position of the respective paragraph in the text. The chosen font also corresponded to the textual tradition and the usage scenarios of the finished document. Thus, Humanistic Minuscule, Humanistic Cursive (later Cancellaresca), Chancery Cursive, and Antiqua were chosen just as deliberately as Fraktur and Kurrent were primarily used for German-language texts, especially from the sixteenth century onwards. In any case, chanceries also used specific, significant fonts.

Thus, when Andreas Tryffner, who was a known member of the circle of scholars close to Conrad Peutinger, copied inscriptions, he imitated not only the layout of the source but also the font. Thus, the depicted inscription (and object) was placed in the conceptions of kingship by tradition on the one hand and in the expectations of the recipients on the other.

II – With the *PROBA CENTUM SCRIPTURARUM*, Leonhard Wagner not only presented a handbook of writing landscapes but also inscribed himself in the tradition of the Writing Masters and Writing Manuals. With the dedication and the designations of the scripts ('imperialis' or 'antiqua', etc.), as well as at least with his work on S. Simpert and S. Gallus, he also placed himself in the circle of those who worked in a broader or narrower sense on Emperor Maximilian's Memoria. Finally, in the context of the *PROBA*, it is exciting to see how writing was reproduced in early letterpress printing. This aspect is prominent not only in the context of the Writing Manuals, but also of Script-Imitation in Art, when in pictures we find the depictions of books, text pages, letters and inscriptions, certificates, pronouncements, etc..

III – The protagonist Leonhard Wagner and his work made it clear how the praise of God through 100 fonts (Klaus Graf) could also be reconciled with the habitus of the Melk Reform, which was still alive around 1500, on the one hand, as well as Maximilian's self-staging and the glory of the empire on the other: Script in the service of politics.

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BRAIN DRAIN? ON THE INFLUENCE OF SLOVENIAN HUMANISTS AT THE HABSBURG COURT

At the turn of the sixteenth century, Vienna as a residential and Habsburg university city benefited considerably from the engagement of humanist scholars, who maintained Europe-wide networks (scholarly society). Most humanists who served as patrons to Carniolan and (Lower) Styrian students were themselves from these Habsburg hereditary territories and studied in Padua and/or Bologna (e.g., the first two bishops of Ljubljana, Sigismund Lamberg and Christoph Rauber); they were often clergymen in high positions (Rauber holding the office of captain of Carniola, Paulus Oberstain serving as chancellor and secretary of Maximilian I), versatile scholars (Augustinus Prygl Typferus, Lukas Gutenfelder, Andreas Perlach, etc.) as well as rhetorically and linguistically skilled diplomats (Sigismund Herberstein). Most placed themselves in the service of the Habsburg court. The lecture will aim to determine whether the abovementioned humanist scholars were inspired by the desire to create cultural landscapes from their respective areas of origin and to minimize cultural backwardness or whether their activities on behalf of the Habsburgs benefited them and constituted a brain drain for their lands of origin.

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"ALL FOR FAITH, HOME, AND EMPEROR!" THE LAST HABSBURGS' VIEWS OF THEIR MEDIEVAL ANCESTORS

In the Habsburg Monarchy, the second half of the nineteenth century was marked by the glorification of the ruling dynasty on the one hand and by growing national tensions on the other. Apart from the jubilee celebrations associated with the ruler at the time, i.e., Franz Joseph, the monarchy also commemorated the anniversaries of individual territories passing under Habsburg rule. For example, the year 1882 marked the 500th anniversary of Trieste becoming part of the Habsburg domains and the 600th anniversary of the incorporation of Styria and Carniola into the Habsburg Monarchy. Emperor Franz Joseph naturally took advantage of the three anniversaries to visit both Trieste (1882) and the two provinces (1883). The jubilees provided an opportunity for the ruling dynasty to demonstrate that the said territories were inseparably linked to the Habsburg crown. At least in the case of Trieste, this was more than necessary, since Italian irredentism, after the successes of the Italian army on the battlefields against Austria, was increasingly flirting with the idea of annexing all territories inhabited by Italians to the united Kingdom of Italy. Not surprisingly, then, Franz Joseph used the anniversaries as an opportunity to bind the local population even more tightly to him and to silence the voices of those who wanted to leave the Habsburg sceptre. The newspapers of the time were, of course, full of praise for the prosperity that the abovementioned territories had achieved as a result of Habsburg rule. In September 1882, for example, the newspaper *Edinost* wrote: "[...] the union of Trieste and its surroundings with the land of the mighty Habsburgs was a real stroke of luck for the city. Trieste without Austria is like a fish without water; we cannot imagine it outside Austria, and if Austria were no longer there, Trieste would surely decline step by step until it became an insignificant city". History has shown that Trieste "survived" the dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy without losing any of its significance. The aim of this paper is to show how the Habsburgs of the second half of the nineteenth century remembered their medieval ancestors. We will inquire whether they celebrated their ancestors for their achievements or their importance for the dynasty, or whether they exploited their deeds to build their own mythology. As mentioned at the beginning, the role of the Habsburgs in the tensions between the Slovenians and the Germans will also receive special attention. The analysis will have a particular focus on the question of what kind of dynamics the mythicization and emphasis on the role of the "medieval" Habsburgs brought into the relations between the two nationalities.

