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***The role of the Counts of Cilli  
in the architectural development  
of the Jurklošter Carthusian  
monastery's great cloister  
and the question of the location  
of Veronika of Desnice's grave***  
*The archaeological method as an aid  
to art-historical interpretation*

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*Abstract:*

The article presents the first attempt at a comprehensive interpretation of the architectural development of the Jurklošter Carthusian monastery's great cloister and its appearance before and after the reconstruction that was financially supported by the Counts of Cilli Frederick II and Ulrich II. The article also refers to several archival sources that have been overlooked to date. These reveal the previously unknown patronage of the cemetery chapel in the cloister's atrium as well as, quite reliably, the location of Veronika of Desnice's grave. They also bring new information about the granting of indulgences, permission to erect an altar in the cemetery chapel, and consecrations. Apart from discovering new archival sources and carrying out a comparative analysis with the relevant medieval Carthusian monasteries elsewhere in Europe, the article is methodologically based on the art-historical analysis of two archaeological georadar recordings, of which one has been published for the first time in this very contribution.

*Keywords:*

Middle Ages, Jurklošter Carthusian monastery, Counts of Cilli, great cloister, Frederick II of Cilli, Veronika of Desnice, cemetery chapel, art patronage, architecture, georadar recording, architectural development

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## Introduction

In the 12<sup>th</sup> century, two monasteries of the Carthusian Order were established in the territory of the today's Slovenia: Žiče/Seitz (founded circa 1151)<sup>1</sup> and Jurklošter/Gairach (first founded circa 1170 or between 1167 and 1173; disbanded in 1199; and founded again on 9 September 1209)<sup>2</sup>. In connection with the Carthusian Order, the literature usually keeps underlining the extraordinary historical importance of the Žiče Charterhouse, as this was the first Carthusian monastery in Central Europe within the borders of the Kingdom of Germany (*Regnum Teutonicum*) in the Holy Roman Empire. Quite unduly, much less attention has been paid to the Jurklošter Carthusian monastery (*Fig. 1*). This monastery was the second Carthusian monastery established in the Central European territory and in the German part of the Empire. In the 11<sup>th</sup> century, the Carthusian Order consisted of two charterhouses (Grande Chartreuse north of Grenoble and Serra San Bruno in Calabria), which were joined by 36 new locations in the 12<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>3</sup> By the year 1151, 17 Carthusian monasteries had been founded in Europe. All except two are located in the territory of the today's France, except for Serra San Bruno in the today's Italy and Oujon in the territory of the today's Switzerland. By 1170, nine further charterhouses belonging to this ascetic order were founded, including Žiče and Jurklošter. Apart from the latter two, which are located in what is nowadays Slovenia, these were established in the territory of the today's France, while one of them was in Denmark, where the Carthusian presence has only been confirmed in

<sup>1</sup> For more information about the founding of the Žiče Charterhouse, see Friedrich Hausmann, "Die Gründungsurkunde und weitere Urkunden für die Ausstattung der Kartause Seitz. Eine wissenschaftsgeschichtliche und kritische Untersuchung", *Archiv für Diplomatik, Schriftgeschichte, Siegel- und Wappenkunde* 53 (2007), 141–142, 156–157. Cf. Jože Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiče in Jurklošter. Žička kartuzija ok. 1160–1782. Jurkloštrska kartuzija ok. 1170–1595* (Maribor, 1991), 41–46.

<sup>2</sup> For more information about the circumstances of the foundation, dissolution, and restoration of the Jurklošter Carthusian monastery, see Sigismund Pusch and Erasmus Froelich, *Diplomataria sacra ducatus Styriae* 2 (Viennae, 1756), No. 1–5 (135–140); Ignaz Orožen, *Das Bisthum und die Diözese Lavant. IV/2: Das Dekanat Tüffer* (Graz, 1881), 272–293; Avguštin Stegenšek, "O početkih jurkloštrske kartuzije", *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje* 8, No. 1 (1911), 1–10; Reiner Puschnig, "Zur Geschichte des untersteirischen Klosters Geirach. Fünf bisher unbekannte Urkunden", *Zeitschrift des historischen Vereines für Steiermark* 34, No. 1 (1941), 14–16, 19–21, 25–28; *Die Kartäuser. Der Orden der schweigenden Mönche*, ed. Marijan Zadnikar in Adam Wienand (Köln, 1983), 303–304; Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiče in Jurklošter*, 109–115, 118–120 (with all the earlier literature and relevant documentation); Miloš Rybář, *800 let Jurkloštra* (Laško, 2000), 21–34, 37–39. The initial foundation charter has not been preserved. We therefore assume that the charterhouse was established in the time of its founder Heinrich I, the Bishop of Gurk – i.e. between 1167 and 1174 or in the period between 1167 until 3 June 1173 or 1174, when the relevant document of Pope Alexander III (the oldest preserved document issued with regard to the Jurklošter Carthusian monastery) was issued.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. James Hogg, "Die Ausbreitung der Kartäuser", in: *Analecta Cartusiana* 89, ed. James Hogg (Salzburg, 1987), 8–9; Gerhard Schlegel, "Übersicht zur Provinzgeschichte", in: *Monasticon Cartusiense* 2, ed. Gerhard Schlegel and James Hogg (Salzburg, 2004; *Analecta Cartusiana*, 185:2), 39.



Fig. 1: Jurklošter, a view of the former monastery from the southern side (Photo: M. Oter Gorenčič)

the period from approximately 1162 to 1169.<sup>4</sup>

In the Middle Ages, the Jurklošter Carthusian monastery was an important spiritual and political centre for the Church as well as for the prominent representatives of the secular noble elite. Between the 12<sup>th</sup> and the 15<sup>th</sup> century, extraordinarily well educated and spiritually influential individuals were among the monks and priors there. In the 12<sup>th</sup> century, Odo of Novara (c. 1105–1198) stood out. He was the prior of the Jurklošter Carthusian monastery between 1189 and 1191, beatified in 1859 because of his saintly life.<sup>5</sup> In the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, Syferidus from Swabia lived in Jurklošter as a monk. He wrote several poems in Latin, among them the most renowned

<sup>4</sup> For the order in which the Carthusian monasteries were founded, see Albert Gruys, *Cartusiana. Un instrument heuristique/A heuristic instrument/Ein heuristischer Apparat. 2: Maisons* (Paris, 1976), 219–222; *Nouvelle bibliographie cartusienne. 3: Maisons de l'Ordre* (Grande Chartreuse, 2005), 22–29. For more information about the Asserbo Charterhouse in Denmark, see Tore Nyberg, "Asserbo", in: *Monasticon Cartusiense 2*, eds. Gerhard Schlegel and James Hogg (Salzburg, 2004; *Analecta Cartusiana*, 185:2), 724–727.

<sup>5</sup> See Stegenšek, "O početkih jurkloštrske kartuzije", 3–4; *Maisons de l'Ordre des Chartreux. Vues et notices 4* (Parkminster, Sussex, 1919), 131; Georgius Schwengel, *Propago Sacri Ordinis Cartusienensis per Germaniam. 1: De Provincia Alemaniae superioris et domibus Poloniae. British Library London Add. Ms. 17086* (Salzburg, 1981; *Analecta Cartusiana*, 90:3), 45–48; Marijan Zadnikar, "Die frühe Baukunst der Kartäuser", in: *Die Kartäuser. Der Orden der schweigenden Mönche*, ed. Marijan Zadnikar and Adam Wienand (Köln, 1983), 53; Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiže in Jurklošter*, 113, 491–492, 550; *Leto svetnikov*, ed. Marijan Smolik (Celje, 1999), 192–193.

*Commendatio celle* as well as *Gesta ducis Leopoldi* about Leopold VI, Duke of Austria and Styria –the member of the House of Babenberg who restored the Jurklošter Carthusian monastery at the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>6</sup> At the turn of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the monastery was headed by the famous Carthusian writer Michael of Prague, the Jurklošter prior between 1391 and 1401.<sup>7</sup> Under Prior Michael, on 20 May 1401, the Jurklošter monk Bernard completed the transcription of the Great Legend (*Legenda maior*) of Saint Catherine of Siena. Bernard received the commission for the transcription of this legend, written by the Master General of the Dominican Order of Roman obedience Raymond of Capua, from the renowned Prior General of the Carthusian order of Roman obedience Stephen Maconi, based in the nearby Žiče Charterhouse. The manuscript, kept in the National and University Library in Ljubljana under the library call number Ms 12, was enriched by Stephen's own notes about the legend that contain valuable and otherwise unknown information about Catherine's life from other sources.<sup>8</sup> In the 15<sup>th</sup> century, one of the most famous and important medieval Carthusian writers, theologians, and philosophers, Nicholas Kempf, was the prior of Jurklošter twice (at least from 1449 to 1451 and from 1467 to 1490).<sup>9</sup> This monastery was also exceedingly important for the Church and

<sup>6</sup> See Milko Kos, "Rimana pesem o ustanovitelju Jurkloštra vojvodu Leopoldu VI.", *Časopis za slovenski jezik, književnost in zgodovino* 6 (1927), 230–241; Franc Ksaver Lukman, "Kartuzijana Sifrida iz Jurkloštra 'Commendacio celle'", *Bogoslovni vestnik* 9 (1929), 97–113; Kajetan Gantar, "Sifridova pesem o vojvodu Leopoldu VI. Gesta ducis Leopoldi", *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje* 47, No. 2 (1976), 231–243; Kajetan Gantar, "Der Kartäuserdichter Syferidus Sweuus aus Jurklošter (XIII. Jhd.). Profanes und religiöses in seiner Dichtung", in: *Kartäuserliturgie und Kartäuserschrifttum* 4, ed. James Hogg (Salzburg, 1989; Analecta Cartusiana, 116: 4), 35–75; Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiče in Jurklošter*, 492; Rafał Witkowski, "Pochwała celi ustami mnicha kartuskiego", in: *Benedyktyńska praca. Studia historyczne ofiarowane Pawłowi Szczanieckiemu OSB*, ed. Zbigniew Wielgosz and Jan Andrzej Spiech (Tyniec-Kraków, 1998), 87–92.

<sup>7</sup> See James Hogg, "Michael of Prague", in: *Die Kartäuser in Österreich* 3, ed. James Hogg (Salzburg, 1981; Analecta Cartusiana, 83: 3), 118–130; *Die Kartäuser. Der Orden der schweigenden Mönche*, ed. Marijan Zadnikar and Adam Wienand (Köln, 1983), 365; Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiče in Jurklošter*, 493–494, 550; Wojciech Iwanczak, "Der Kartäuser Michael aus Prag. Ein Moralist des späten Mittelalters", in: *Bücher, Bibliotheken und Schriftkultur der Kartäuser. Festgabe zum 65. Geburtstag von Edward Potkowski*, ed. Lorenz Sönke (Wiesbaden, 2002; Conturbernium, 59), 83–92. See also the critical editions of Michael's works.

<sup>8</sup> See Milko Kos and France Stele, *Srednjeveški rokopisi v Sloveniji* (Ljubljana, 1931), 79–81; Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiče in Jurklošter*, 165, 494–495; Giovanni Leoncini, "Un certosino del tardo medioevo. Don Stefano Maconi", in: *Die Ausbreitung kartäusischen Lebens und Geistes im Mittelalter* 2, ed. James Hogg (Salzburg, 1991; Analecta Cartusiana, 63), 54–107; David Movrin, "The beloved disciple. Stephen Maconi and St. Catherine of Siena", *Annual of medieval studies at the CEU* 10 (2004), 43–52; David Movrin, "Katarina, dominikanec in kartuzijan. Kartuzijanski generalni prior v Žičah Stefan Maconi in njegova vloga pri kanonizaciji svete Katarine Sienske", *Zgodovinski časopis* 59, No. 3–4 (2005), 341–392.

<sup>9</sup> See Dennis Martin, "The Writings of Nikolaus Kempf of Strassburg (ca. 1437–1468)", in: *Die Kartäuser in Österreich* 1, ed. James Hogg (Salzburg, 1980; Analecta Cartusiana, 83:1), 127–154; *Die Kartäuser. Der Orden der schweigenden Mönche*, 359–360; Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiče in Jurklošter*, 219, 495–496, 550; Dennis Martin, *Fifteenth-Century Carthusian Reform. The World of Nicholas Kempf* (Leyden, 1992; Studies in the History of Christian Thought, 49).



*Fig. 2:* Jurkloster, the former Carthusian church, a view of the interior towards west with the gallery (Photo: M. Oter Gorenčič)

the noble elites: especially for its initial founder Heinrich I (the Bishop of Gurk between 1167 and 1174); in the first quarter of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, for Leopold VI, Duke of Austria and Styria and member of the House of Babenberg; as well as for the Patriarch of Aquileia Berthold of Andechs-Merania and his brother, Bishop Eckbert of Bamberg, which is also reflected, in a particular manner, in the patrocinium of the church, dedicated to St Maurice.<sup>10</sup> As of the second half

<sup>10</sup> About this, see Mija Oter Gorenčič, "Der politische Einfluss der Babenberger und Andechs-Meranier bei der Gründung und Errichtung des Kartäuserklosters Gairach/Jurkloster", in: *Kartäusisches Denken und daraus resultierende Netzwerke vom Mittelalter bis zur Neuzeit*, ed. Meta Niederkorn-Bruck (Salzburg, 2012; *Analecta Cartusiana*, 276), 121–140; Mija Oter Gorenčič, "Kartuzija Jurkloster in Leopold VI. Babenberžan", *Acta Historiae Artis Slovenica* 17, No. 2 (2012), 25–45.

of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the monastery became one of the central spiritual centres for the Lords of Sannegg, who would later receive the title of Counts of Cilli. This dynasty was extremely favourably inclined towards the Carthusians, known, in the Middle Ages, as an elite monastic order due to their ascetic way of life. Among the nobility, providing support to the Carthusians represented a sort of a status symbol and consequently a superb dynastic propaganda strategy. The last prior left the Jurklošter Carthusian monastery soon after 1564, while the 1569 records indicate that after the departure of the last prior, no Carthusians lived in the monastery any longer.<sup>11</sup>

After the free Lords of Sannegg received the title of Counts of Cilli in 1341, followed by their elevation to the rank of Princes of the Holy Roman Empire in 1436, this dynasty rose fiercely among the European elite. Until their extinction in 1456, they had become one of the leading, most influential, and most elite noble dynasties in the Central European territory due to their excellent dynastic policy, and they even belonged among the highest stratum of the Princes of the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>12</sup> In terms of art patronage, the Counts of Cilli stand out very clearly among their noble contemporaries, as their patronage policy was extremely generous.<sup>13</sup> Their favourable disposition towards the Jurklošter

<sup>11</sup> About this, see Orožen, *Das Bisthum und die Diözese Lavant IV/2*, 314–315; Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiže in Jurklošter*, 279–281, 287.

<sup>12</sup> Many articles and books have been written about the Counts of Cilli, yet no scientific monographs dedicated to this dynasty exist to date. For an overview of the older literature, see the article Heinz Dopsch, "Die Grafen von Cilli – Ein Forschungsproblem?", *Südostdeutsches Archiv* 17/18 (1974/75), 9–49. Several quality contributions, also listing further literature, are contained in: *Zbornik mednarodnega simpozija Celjski grofje. Stara tema – nova spoznanja/Sammelband des internationalen Symposiums Die Grafen von Cilli. Altes Thema – neue Erkenntnisse*, ed. Rolanda Fugger Germadnik (Celje, 1999). An overview of the documents of the free Lords of Sannegg was published by Dušan Kos, *Celjska knjiga listin. 1: Listine svobodnih gospodov Žovneških do leta 1341* (Celje, 1996). The documents of the Counts of Cilli have been researched by Christian Domenig, *tuon kunt. Die Grafen von Cilli in ihren Urkunden 1341–1456* (Klagenfurt, 2004; doctoral thesis). Based on the analysis of the preserved skulls, the family connections of the Counts of Cilli have been researched by Zvonka Zupanič Slavec, *Družinska povezanost grofov Celjskih. Identifikacijska in epigenetska raziskava njihovih lobanj/Family Interlinkage of the Counts of Celje. An Identificational and Epigenetic Study on their Skulls* (Ljubljana, 2002). The Counts of Cilli in the narrative sources have been analysed by Janez Mlinar, *Podoba Celjskih grofov v narativnih virih* (Ljubljana, 2005). A popular scientific overview of the history of the Counts of Cilli has been written by Rolanda Fugger Germadnik, *Groffe in knezi Celjski* (Celje, 2014). Two monographs dedicated to the two female representatives of the Celje dynasty were published recently: Maja Lukanc and Rolanda Fugger Germadnik, *Ana Celjska. Celjska grofica na poljskem prestolu/Anna Cylejska. Cylejska hrabianka na polskim tronie* (Celje, 2016); Daniela Dvořáková, *Barbara von Cilli. Die schwarze Königin 1392–1451. Die Lebensgeschichte einer ungarischen, römisch-deutschen und böhmischen Königin* (Frankfurt am Main and Bratislava, 2017); see also Maja Lukanc, "Ana Celjska", *Zgodovinski časopis* 71, No. 1–2 (2017), 30–68. As of the year 2000, numerous discussions have been published in the form of original scientific articles or chapters in monograph publications. Each of these focuses on a certain aspect or event from the activities and lives of the Counts of Cilli. The following authors stand out in this regard: Christian Domenig, Peter Štih, Miha Kosi, Janez Mlinar, Robert Kurelić, Tamás Pálosfalvi and others.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Ignaz Orožen, *Das Bisthum und die Diözese Lavant. III/1: Das Archidiekanat Saumien* (Cilli, 1880), 39. For more information about the art patronage of the Counts of Cilli, see also Karlmann



Fig. 3: Jurkloster, the former Carthusian church with a ridge turret (Photo: M. Oter Gorenčič)

Tangl, "Zwei Votivsteine der Grafen von Cilli an der Pfarrkirche zu Spital in Kärnthen", *Mitteilungen der k.-k. Zentral-Kommission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Kunst- und historischen Denkmale* 6 (1861), 300–303, 325–331; Marijan Zadnikar, *Srednjeveška arhitektura kartuzijanov* (Ljubljana, 1972), passim; Ivan Stopar, "Mojsler Hans Melfrid in Celjska delavnica/Meister Hans Melfrid und die Cillier Werkstätte", in: *Gotika v Sloveniji. Nastajanje kulturnega prostora med Alpami, Panonijo in Jadrantom/Gotik in Slowenien. Vom Werden des Kulturraums zwischen Alpen, Pannonien und Adria*, ed. Janez Höfler (Ljubljana, 1996), 413–426; Janez Höfler, "Die Grafen und Fürsten von Cilli als Mäzene und Förderer der Kunst", in: *Sigismund von Luxemburg. Ein Kaiser in Europa*, ed. Michel Pauly in François Reinert (Mainz am Rhein, 2006), 337–348; Nataša Golob, "Barbara of Celje (Cilli). In search of her image," in: *Art and architecture around 1400. Global and regional perspectives*, ed. Marjeta Ciglianečki in Polona Vidmar (Maribor, 2012), 103–118. The following studies focusing on the patronage of the individual members of the Counts of Cilli dynasty, the particular aspects of their art patronage, or relevant monuments stand out: Zdenko Balog, "Lepoglavsko-ptujskogorska grupa i uloga Hermana Celjskog u difuziji parlerijanske gotike u Hrvatskoj", in: *Zbornik 1. kongresa hrvatskih povjesničara umjetnosti*, ed. Milan Pelc (Zagreb, 2004), 47–59; Robert Peskar, *Arhitektura in arhitekturna plastika okoli leta 1400 v Sloveniji* (Ljubljana, 2005; doctoral thesis), passim; Ivan Srša, "Kasnogotičke zidne slike u crkvi sv. Ivana u Ivaniču Miljanskom," *Peristil. Zbornik radova za povijest umjetnosti* 52/1 (2009), 125–142; Zdenko Balog, *Graditeljska baština Hermana Celjskog i njezini odrazi u 15. stoljeću u zapadnoj Slavoniji* (Zagreb, 2012; doctoral thesis); Gorazd Bence, "die für uns bitten sollen heimlich und öffentlich. Memorialnost timpanona grofov Celjskih", in: *Profano v sakralnem. Študije o vizualizaciji posvetnih teženj in motivov v sakralni umetnosti*, ed. Mija Oter Gorenčič (Ljubljana, 2019), 71–96. See also the art-historical contributions in: *Zbornik mednarodnega simpozija Celjski grofje. Stara tema – nova spoznanja*. The following contributions are currently at the publishing stage: Mija Oter Gorenčič, "Die Grafen von Cilli und die slowenischen Kartäuserklöster", in: *Kartausen und Kartäuser zwischen Gebet und Grundherrschaft*, eds. Coralie Zermatten in Meta Niederkorn (Saint-Etienne, 2020), in print; Mija Oter Gorenčič, "Die monastischen und kunsthistorischen Beziehungen zwischen Gaming und den Kartausen im heutigen Slowenien unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Memoria und der Herrschaftsrepräsentation der Habsburger und der Grafen

monastery has been underlined in the relevant literature more than once. However, the art-historical texts only fleetingly mention – without any in-depth analyses or research – that the Counts of Cilli financially supported the construction of the gallery in the western part of the church (*Fig. 2*) and ensured the construction of the cemetery chapel and the church's ridge turret (*Fig. 3*). The altar that the widow of Hermann I commissioned in the cloister in 1401 and the document detailing the allocation of the Counts of Cilli resources for the reconstruction of the great cloister have been mentioned as well.<sup>14</sup> The spot

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von Cilli", in: *Monastica Historia* 5, ed. Patrick Fiska (St. Pölten, 2020), in print. For information about their heraldic imagery, seals, and depictions of quaternion systems, see Katja Mahnič, "Motiv divje žene v pečatu Ulrika II. Razvoj ikonografskega motiva in njegov prehod v heraldiko", *Zbornik za umetnostno zgodovino* 33 (1997), 95–110; Katja Mahnič, *Pečati grofov Celjskih/Seals of the Counts of Celje* (Ljubljana, 2001); Tomislav Vignjevič, "Shema kvaternijev in Celjski grofje", *Zbornik za umetnostno zgodovino* 37 (2001), 32–52; Robert Kurelič, "Simboli statusa i moči. Kneževski pečati Celjskih grofova", in: *Med Srednjo Evropo in Sredozemljem. Vojetov zbornik*, ed. Sašo Jerše in Darja Mihelič and Peter Štih (Ljubljana, 2006), 61–77; Katja Mahnič, "Pečati gospodov Žovneških in grofov Celjskih. Odrz političnih ambicij plemiške rodbine/Seals of the House of Seuneg and Cilli. A Manifestation of a Noble Family's Political Ambitions", in: *Predmet kot reprezentanca. Okus, ugled, moč/Objects as Manifestations of Taste, Prestige and Power*, ed. Maja Lozar Štamcar (Ljubljana, 2010), 11–87; Robert Kurelič, "Grb Ulrika II. Celjskog u grbovniku Henrika van Heessela. Jedinstven prikaz potpunoga grba u historiografiji grofova Celjskih", *Zgodovinski časopis* 72, No. 1–2 (2018), 104–124.

<sup>14</sup> Jože Curk, *Topografsko gradivo. 9: Sakralni spomeniki na območju občine Laško* (Celje, 1967), 8; Zadnikar, *Srednjeveška arhitektura kartuzijanov*, 270–271, 284–288; Ivan Stopar, "Kartuzija Jurklošter", in: *Kulturna dediščina meniškib redov*, ed. Jerneja Batič (Ljubljana, 1996), 72; Peskar, *Arhitektura in arhitekturna plastika*, 42, 78, 138, 202; Ivan Stopar, *Hrami tišine. Življenje v srednjeveških samostanib na Slovenskem* (Ljubljana, 2009), 64; Katarina Predovnik and Danijela Brišnik and Miha Murko, "Archäologische Forschungen zu Kartausen in Slowenien", in: *Fachgespräch "Archäologie in Kartausen". Fundberichte aus Österreich. Tagungsbände* 4, ed. Martin Krenn and Nikolaus Hofer (Wien, 2016), 75. Regarding the west gallery, Ivan Stopar is the only expert to date to believe that it was in fact the initial rood screen. He based his conclusion on the analogy with the Gothic church in Pleterje and assumed that the supposed rood screen as a choir loft had been moved to the western wall of the Jurklošter church in 1856, when works related to the choir loft have been noted (Stopar, *Hrami tišine*, 64). By all means, this thesis is worth considering, but it will need to be precisely researched in the future studies. At this point we can only state that works in connection to the choir loft definitely took place in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, but they did not necessarily involve the potential relocation of the rood screen. As it happens, the works that took place in 1856 are well known. At that time, the stairway leading to the west gallery was constructed and the church received a new organ (see Orožen, *Das Bisthum und die Diözese Lavant IV/2*, 338; Josef Andreas Janisch, *Topographisch-statistisches Lexikon von Steiermark mit historischen Notizen und Anmerkungen* 3 (Graz, 1885), 1448; Rybář, *800 let Jurkloštra*, 35; Karel Gržan, *Skrivnosti starodavne kartuzije* (Ljubljana and Jurklošter, 2006), 56). As confirmed by the review of Ivan Stopar's notes, (ZRC SAZU, UIFS, typescript notes by Ivan Stopar, Jurklošter, 31 July 2006, 10), such an interpretation was suggested by the rather awkward note in Edo Jelovšek, *Jurklošter nekoč in danes* (Maribor, 1983), 24, stating that in 1856, "a new choir loft was constructed on the western side". All the other literature describes the works that took place in the church at that time as stated above. Moreover, the existence of the west gallery in the Gothic period would not be surprising, as Gothic west galleries, intended for monastery guests, are also known from other Carthusian churches (see Jean-Pierre Aniel, *Les maisons de Chartreux des origines à la Chartreuse de Pavie* (Genève, 1983), 59). The Aggsbach Charterhouse features the coat-of-arms of the monastery's founder, carved into the vault under the west gallery, which indicates that the founders and/or other patrons of the monastery were allowed to be present in the west gallery and attend the church rituals. In the relevant literature, the west gallery of the Aggsbach church is thus referred to precisely as *Stifterempore* (see Clemens Reinberger, *Auszug aus den neuen Forschungsergebnissen zur Architekturbau*



*Fig. 4:* Jurklošter, a view of the area of the former great cloister from the southwestern end (Photo: M. Oter Gorenčič)

where the great cloister that we will focus on in the continuation was located is nowadays a meadow (*Fig. 4*). In his most renowned work on the medieval Carthusian architecture and Slovenian charterhouses, Marijan Zadnikar, the most prominent researcher of the Carthusian monasteries in Slovenia, wrote, with regard to the Jurklošter monastery, that "we do not know anything about the great cloister and its cells or even about the architecture of the small cloister".<sup>15</sup>

The first step towards examining the medieval great cloister was completed in 2008 when a ground-penetrating radar survey was carried out at the aforementioned meadow. However, to date, it has been analysed in literature only once: in 2016, Katarina Predovnik, Danijela Brišnik, and Miha Murko published

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*der aufgebobenen Kartause Portæ Beatæ Marice Virginis zu Aggsbach* (Salzburg, 2006), 59–60). On the other hand, the reconstruction of the Gothic church in Pleterje by Marijan Zadnikar, according to which the west gallery was moved from the western wall, turned around, and set up as a rood screen (Zadnikar, *Srednjeveška arhitektura kartuzijanov*, 347–354), is questionable (see Peskar, *Arhitektura in arhitekturna plastika*, 140). Before Stopar, the opinion that the current choir loft was initially the rood screen can also be found in the popular scientific publication Gržan, *Skrivnosti starodavne kartuzije*, 56.

<sup>15</sup> Zadnikar, *Srednjeveška arhitektura kartuzijanov*, 288. Marijan Zadnikar, *Spomeniki cerkvene arhitekture in umetnosti* (Celje, 1973), 69, states that the great cloister with the monk's cells on the eastern end probably reached as far as the preserved Gothic defensive wall. The same is stated in Zadnikar, *Srednjeveška arhitektura kartuzijanov*, 275.

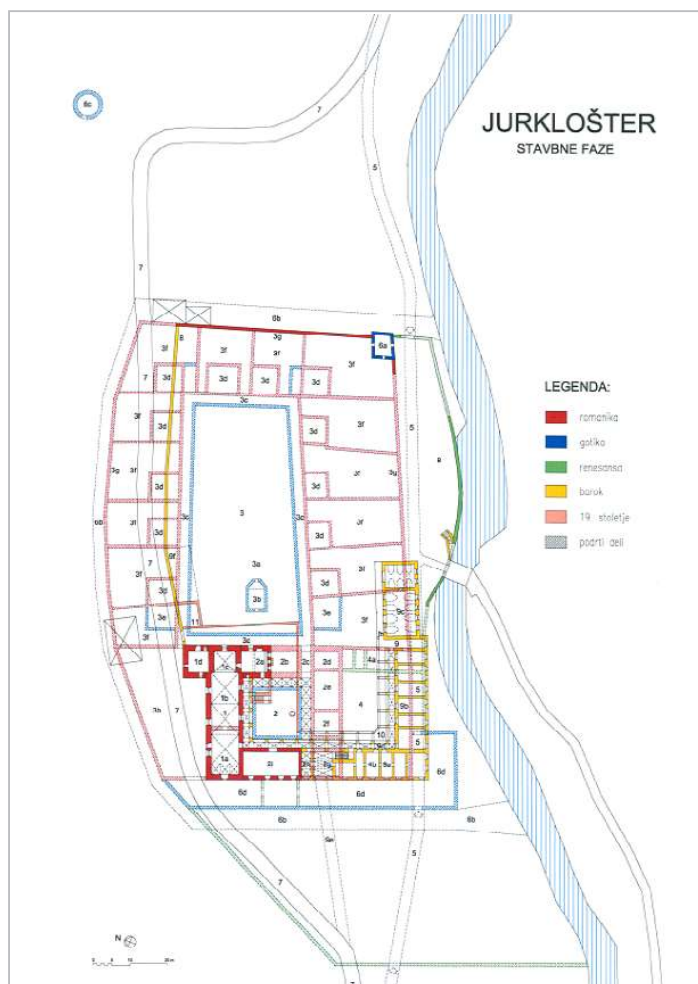
a georadar recording that they commented on briefly. In their analysis, they wrote that the entire area surveyed with ground-penetrating radar contained the remains of buildings from various periods: the remains of a manor from the late 18<sup>th</sup> century are located south of the church, while the great cloister lies towards the east. The georadar recording indicated that the remains of the walls underground begin from 0.2 to 0.3 metres deep (and up to 0.5 metres only in certain places that have been covered with more material). They reach down to the depth of 2.5 and in some places even more than 3 metres, which suggests that the architectural remains are very well preserved. The authors of the article emphasised that the cemetery chapel founded by the Counts of Cilli was discernable from the recordings in the area of the great cloister. It had a square nave, a vaulted chancel made up of five sides of an octagon with buttresses, and visible altar foundations. Other architectural structures in the cloister garth and monk's cells are visible as well. They underlined that the three cells in the eastern and at least five cells in the southern wing were especially clear. The authors also added that each of the monk's cells had an almost square ground plan measuring 6–7.5 x 6–6.5 metres, and they were connected to the garden behind the cells with a side corridor approximately 1.5 to 2 metres wide. They also highlighted that additional walls were discernible in the eastern cells, indicating the internal division of the rooms, and added their measurements of the cloister. The article leaves the transverse and other walls, visible in the atrium of the cloister and south of it, unexplained.<sup>16</sup> In 2009, Igor Sapač prepared a reconstruction of the monastery as the basic material for the studies about the possible manners in which the area of the former monastery complex could be landscaped. His drawing also took into account the results of the georadar research conducted in 2008. In 2017, he further elaborated on his drawing.<sup>17</sup> Igor Sapač drew a reconstruction of the ground floor plan of the medieval monastery and the Baroque manor before the fire and interpreted the phases of construction from the Romanesque style until the 19<sup>th</sup> century (*Fig. 5*). In 2016, another independent attempt at reconstructing the medieval phase of the great cloister was made in the context of the planned revitalisation of the great cloister area.<sup>18</sup> None of these two reconstructions has been published yet. In the continuation, we will take a closer look at the detailed differences between them. A second ground-penetrating radar survey was conducted in

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<sup>16</sup> Predovnik and Brišnik and Murko, "Archäologische Forschungen zu Kartausen in Slowenien", 77.

<sup>17</sup> I would like to sincerely thank Igor Sapač for the information about the existence of this reconstruction in the time when I was concluding the present article, for its communication, as well as for his permission to publish it.

<sup>18</sup> The author of the revitalisation proposal is Valentin Gorenčič. The completion of the medieval phase outline has been subject to consultations with the author of this contribution.



*Fig. 5:* A reconstruction of the ground floor plan of the medieval monastery and Baroque manor with the interpretation of buildings and phases of construction (Drawn and interpreted by I. Sapač, 2009, 2017)

Jurklošter in 2016, which has also not yet been analysed in the literature and which we will include in our research.<sup>19</sup> The basin of the river Gračnica with Jurklošter has also been surveyed with lidar technology. However, these images are not telling enough for our purpose. They have been made for a wider area, which is why they are not detailed enough to analyse the great cloister of Jurklošter and do not reveal what may be hiding under the surface.

<sup>19</sup> The first ground-penetrating radar survey was commissioned by the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage of Slovenia, Celje regional unit (and carried out by Branko Mušič). The additional (second) georadar recording was commissioned in 2016 by the Municipality of Laško (and carried out by Tomaž Verbič).

In the continuation, we therefore wish to present an art-historical analysis of both of these archaeological georadar recordings and interpret the architectural history of the great cloister of Jurklošter in the Middle Ages – i.e. when the Carthusian monastery in fact operated – and especially its gradual development. Furthermore, we wish to focus on the question whether it is possible to define the appearance of the cloister before and after the reconstruction, financed – as the preserved documents indicate – by the Counts of Cilli, who thus played a key role in its architectural development. We also wish to focus on the issue of the location of Veronika of Desnice's grave.<sup>20</sup> The great cloister has, to date, not yet been explored in the relevant literature in this manner. This article thus provides a comprehensive and the most precise attempt at interpreting the architectural development of the great cloister to date. The explanation also includes the walls that are apparent from the georadar recordings, yet have remained unexplained until this moment. All the measurements, stemming from the georadar recordings, have been conducted anew, while the south-western corner building and the section of the monastery wall at the northern end have been defined. The actual floor plan of the small cloister is presented for the first time as well. Apart from the georadar recordings, our interpretation of the medieval phases also makes use of all the available and known archival sources, relevant to the development of the cloister. We also highlight several written sources that have been overlooked to date. The *in situ* analysis of the preserved edifice and its comparison with the relevant Carthusian monasteries elsewhere in Europe – in particular with the early charterhouses in the today's France, Italy, Switzerland, Spain, and England – has been of considerable use as well. The comparative analysis with the great cloisters of the early Carthusian monasteries elsewhere in Europe has allowed us to complete the reconstruction of those parts of the Jurklošter great cloister that are no longer discernible from the georadar image and the preserved medieval structures.

### **The Counts of Cilli and the Jurklošter Carthusian monastery**

The oldest document attesting to the connection between the noble family discussed in this article and the Jurklošter Carthusian monastery dates back to 1209. One of the witnesses mentioned in the monastery's second foundation charter, issued by Leopold VI, Duke of Austria and Styria, on 9 September of

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<sup>20</sup> About the origin of the Veronika family see Engel Pál, "Zsigmond bárói", in: *Művészet Zsigmond király korában 1387–1437*, ed. László Beke and Ernő Marosi and Tünde Wehli (Budapest, 1987), 412.

that year, was Gebhard von Sannegg.<sup>21</sup> The second oldest document dates back to the time of the Lords of Sannegg as well: on 14 May 1262, brothers Leopold III and Ulrich II of Sannegg issued a so-called succession agreement, specifically stipulating what was to happen in case of the death of either of the two brothers. It was agreed that the heir would gift one hundred marks to the place of the dead brother's burial, to be paid in the year of the funeral. Actions to be taken in case of either of the two brothers dying so far away from home that the surviving heir could only transport the body to the family tomb in Gornji Grad Monastery with significant expenses were specified in particular. In this case, the body could also be interred elsewhere, while the stipulated one hundred marks had to be divided in the following manner: fifty marks should go to the Gornji Grad Monastery Benedictines, while the parishes of Braslovče and Ponikva, the women's Dominican convent in Studenice, and the Carthusian monasteries of Žiče and Jurklošter should receive ten marks each.<sup>22</sup> The document issued on 4 July 1278 with regard to Count Ulrich of Huenburg and Countess Neža's gift to the charterhouse, which they confirmed in the year 1282,<sup>23</sup> indirectly attests to the connection between the Sanneggs and the Jurklošter Carthusian monastery. Their two daughters (Margareta and Katharina) were married to the members of the Sannegg family (Leopold III of Sannegg, who died in 1288; and Ulrich II of Sannegg, who died in 1316).<sup>24</sup> On 9 December 1339, Duke Albert I of Habsburg ordered Frederick I of Sannegg as the Provincial Governor of Carniola to protect the monks of the Jurklošter Carthusian

<sup>21</sup> Kos, *Celjska knjiga listin 1*, No. 8. For the overview of the connections between the free Lords of Sannegg or the Counts of Cilli and the Jurklošter Carthusian monastery, see Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiče in Jurklošter*, passim; Jože Mlinarič, "Celjani in njihov odnos do samostanov", in: *Zbornik mednarodnega simpozija Celjski grofje. Stara tema – nova spoznanja/Sammelband des internationalen Symposiums Die Grafen von Cilli. Altes Thema – neue Erkenntnisse Celje*, ed. Rolanda Fugger Germadnik (Celje, 1999), passim; Oter Gorenčič, "Die Grafen von Cilli und die slowenischen Kartäuserklöster", in print (with further literature).

<sup>22</sup> Arhiv Republike Slovenije Ljubljana (= SI\_AS): SI\_AS 1063/4001; Kos, *Celjska knjiga listin*, No. 31. See also Franz Krones, *Die Freien von Saneck und ihre Chronik als Grafen von Cilli* (Graz, 1883), 27–28, 114–115; Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiče in Jurklošter*, 69, 463–464; Mlinarič, "Celjani in njihov odnos do samostanov", 127.

<sup>23</sup> See Zgodovinski arhiv Celje (= SI\_ZAC): SI\_ZAC-0006\_00024-010; Pusch and Froelich, *Diplomataria sacra ducatus Styriae 2*, No. 8 (141), No. 9 (142); Janez Anton Suppantschitsch, *Ausflug von Cilli nach Lichtental* (Cilli, 1818), 68–69; Carl Schmutz, *Historisch-topographisches Lexicon von Steyermark 1* (Graz, 1822), 487–488; Josef Andreas Janisch, *Topographisch-statistisches Lexikon von Steiermark mit historischen Notizen und Anmerkungen 1* (Graz, 1878), 270; Orožen, *Das Bisitum und die Diözese Lavant IV/2*, 296–297; Friedrich Bračič, "Einst und jetzt. Jurklošter – Die Kartause Gairach", *Deutsche Zeitung*, 22. 12. 1935, No. 102–103, 5; Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiče in Jurklošter*, 128, 134; Mlinarič, "Celjani in njihov odnos do samostanov", 127; Jože Mlinarič, *Kartuzija Bistra* (Ljubljana, 2001), 19.

<sup>24</sup> For a genealogical table, see e. g. Therese Meyer, "Die Grafen von Cilli als Erben der Grafen von Ortenburg. Zur Geschichte Kärntens 1377–1524", in: *Zbornik mednarodnega simpozija Celjski grofje. Stara tema – nova spoznanja/Sammelband des internationalen Symposiums Die Grafen von Cilli. Altes Thema – neue Erkenntnisse*, ed. Rolanda Fugger Germadnik (Celje, 1999), 88–89.

monastery and forbade him from interfering with their rights.<sup>25</sup> As the Provincial Governor, Frederick I would often receive similar instructions,<sup>26</sup> while as of 1336, the Counts of Cilli also possessed the estate of Laško/Tüffer in pledge from territorial princes.<sup>27</sup>

The increasing goodwill between the dynasty and the Jurklošter Carthusian monastery can be traced back to the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. On 24 March 1360, the prior of Jurklošter found himself in noble company at Celje Castle, where Duke Rudolf IV, Count Meinhard IV of Gorizia, his son Henry IV, Count Otto of Ortenburg, the Patriarch of Aquileia Lodovico della Torre, Archbishop of Salzburg Ortolf, Lavantine Bishop Peter, Bishop of Seckau Ulrich III, Bishop of Gurk Johann II, the Bishops of Passau, Freising, and Chiemsee, as well as a number of secular noble dignitaries gathered in the company of Counts Ulrich and Hermann of Cilli. On this occasion, Rudolf IV confirmed, to the Jurklošter prior, Leopold VI's document dating back to 1209 regarding the monastery's restoration.<sup>28</sup> On 15 May 1368, Count Hermann I of Cilli gifted the Jurklošter monks several tithes along with 60 marks to use as they saw fit.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> See Pusch and Froelich, *Diplomataria sacra ducatus Styriae* 2, No. 21 (146); Suppantšitsch, *Ausflug von Cilli nach Lichtenwald*, 71; Schmutz, *Historisch-topographisches Lexicon von Steyermark* 1, 488; Ignac Orožen, *Celska kronika* (V Celi, 1854), 24; Janisch, *Topographisch-statistisches Lexikon von Steiermark* 1, 270; Orožen, *Das Bisthum und die Diözese Lavant IV/2*, 300–301; Bračič, "Einst und jetzt", 5; Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiče in Jurklošter*, 131; Kos, *Celjska knjiga listin* 1, No. 193; Mlinarič, "Celjani in njihov odnos do samostanov", 130; Rybář, *800 let Jurkloštra*, 45–46.

<sup>26</sup> See SI\_ZAC-0006\_00024-008; Pusch and Froelich, *Diplomataria sacra ducatus Styriae* 2, No. 24 (147); Suppantšitsch, *Ausflug von Cilli nach Lichtenwald*, 72; Schmutz, *Historisch-topographisches Lexicon von Steyermark* 1, 488; Janisch, *Topographisch-statistisches Lexikon von Steiermark* 1, 270; Orožen, *Das Bisthum und die Diözese Lavant IV/2*, 301; Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiče in Jurklošter*, 131; Rybář, *800 let Jurkloštra*, 46.

<sup>27</sup> See Jože Koropec, "Laško gospostvo v srednjem veku", *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje* 47 (1976), 253–256; Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiče in Jurklošter*, 106, 134.

<sup>28</sup> See SI\_ZAC-0006\_00024-008; SI\_ZAC-0006\_0003-034 ff; Pusch and Froelich, *Diplomataria sacra ducatus Styriae* 2, No. 28 (148–150); Suppantšitsch, *Ausflug von Cilli nach Lichtenwald*, 72; Schmutz, *Historisch-topographisches Lexicon von Steyermark* 1, 488; Orožen, *Celska kronika*, 29–30; Janisch, *Topographisch-statistisches Lexikon von Steiermark* 1, 270; Orožen, *Das Bisthum und die Diözese Lavant IV/2*, 302–303; Bračič, "Einst und jetzt", 5; Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiče in Jurklošter*, 133.

<sup>29</sup> See Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiče in Jurklošter*, 134; Mlinarič, "Celjani in njihov odnos do samostanov", 131. Pusch and Froelich, *Diplomataria sacra ducatus Styriae* 2, No. 29 (150), also refer to the year 1371 apart from 1368. The authors state that Count Hermann I of Cilli gifted the monastery certain tithes for himself, his sons Johann and Hermann II, his father Frederick I. and mother Diemuta, and his dead brother Ulrich I as well as the brother's son William. Suppantšitsch, *Ausflug von Cilli nach Lichtenwald*, 72–73, dates this deed of donation to the year 1371. Schmutz, *Historisch-topographisches Lexicon von Steyermark* 1, 488, only mentions that Hermann I gifted tithes to the monastery in 1371. On the other hand, Janisch, *Topographisch-statistisches Lexikon von Steiermark* 1, 270–271, mentions two deeds of donation: in the year 1368, Hermann I's donation intended to ensure a perpetual anniversary mass for his father Frederick I, mother Diemuta, brother Ulrich I, and his own family; and in the year 1371, the tithes for the repose and salvation of his own soul as well as that of his sons Johann and Hermann II, William (the son of his dead brother Ulrich I), and the other family members. Orožen, *Celska kronika*, 33, states that in 1371, Hermann I gifted tithes to the monastery for himself, his sons Johann and Hermann, William, Ulrich, and both parents. Bračič, "Einst und jetzt", 5, states that



*Fig. 6:* Jurklošter, the Gothic niche in the former small cloister in the wall of the chapterhouse (Photo: M. Oter Gorenčič)

Out of gratitude for the received tithes, on 10 September 1368, the prior of Jurklošter and the local monastic community pledged to hold an anniversary mass with a vigil and thirty requiem masses every year on Saint Mark's Day (*enczichleich nach ain ander complete with all andern gueten sachen die zu einem erberm jartag geboernt*) for Hermann's father Frederick I, who had died in 1360,

in 1371, Hermann I commissioned a chapel in the monastery's cemetery and gifted the monastery several tithes for his own and his family's repose and salvation of the soul.

his mother Diemota of the family Walsee, his brother Ulrich I, who had died in 1368, and for the repose and salvation of the soul of Hermann and his heirs.<sup>30</sup> On 21 September 1372, the prior of Jurklošter and the local monastic community accepted Hermann's wife Catherine into their brotherhood (*pruderschaft vnserm haws vnser vnd aller vnser nachomen*) out of gratitude for her support of the monastery and pledged to hold an anniversary mass and vigil.<sup>31</sup> On 28 April 1373, Hermann I, together with his wife Catherine, once again gifted a tithe and thirty marks to the Jurklošter Carthusian monks for the repose and salvation of his own soul as well as that of his heirs and nephew William.<sup>32</sup> On 2 September 1391, the General Chapter of the Carthusian Order ensured that the great benefactors of all three Carthusian monasteries in the Slovenian territory (Counts Hermann II and his cousin William of Cilli, their parents, wives, and children) would receive a perpetual anniversary mass in all three Slovenian charterhouses (Žiče, Jurklošter, and Bistra) on the day of death of one of the two aforementioned Counts of Cilli that would die first, which would also need to be entered into the monastery's necrology.<sup>33</sup>

The favourable disposition of the Counts of Cilli continued in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. On 2 February 1401, the prior of Jurklošter issued a document announcing that Catherine of the family Kotromanić, the widow of Hermann I, had an altar erected and adorned in the cloister of the Jurklošter Carthusian monastery (*einen neuen altar in vnserm chrewczganck vnd hat auch den selbigen gecziert*) for the repose of the soul of herself, her late husband Hermann I, all her ancestors and descendants, and in particular her son Hermann II. She also gifted the monks a tithe, four farms, as well as money for the preservation of the altar where the Carthusians were supposed to maintain a perpetual light and hold

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<sup>30</sup> See SI\_AS 1063/4246; SI\_ZAC-0006\_00024-010; Georg Göth, "Urkunden-Regesten für die Geschichte von Steiermark vom Jahre 1252 bis zum Jahre 1580", *Mitteilungen des Historischen Vereines für Steiermark* 6 (1855), No. 160 (254); Orožen, *Das Bisthum und die Diözese Lavant IV/2*, 303; Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiče in Jurklošter*, 134, 460; Mlinarič, "Celjani in njihov odnos do samostanov", 131; Domenig, *tuon kunt*, 119, 146 (No. 67).

<sup>31</sup> SI\_ZAC, Regesta of the Counts of Cilli from Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna, No. 254; Janko Orožen, *Zgodovina Celja in okolice. 1: Od začetka do leta 1848* (Celje, 1971), 246; Jože Mlinarič, *Kartuzija Pleterje 1403–1595* (Ljubljana, 1982), 84.

<sup>32</sup> See SI\_ZAC-0006\_00024-010; Pusch and Froelich, *Diplomataria sacra ducatus Styriae* 2, No. 30 (150–151); Janisch, *Topographisch-statistisches Lexikon von Steiermark* 1, 271; Orožen, *Das Bisthum und die Diözese Lavant IV/2*, 304; Mlinarič, *Kartuzija Pleterje*, 84; Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiče in Jurklošter*, 134; Mlinarič, "Celjani in njihov odnos do samostanov", 131.

<sup>33</sup> See ARS, SI\_AS-1063/4378; Georg Göth, "Urkunden-Regesten für die Geschichte von Steiermark vom Jahre 1252 bis zum Jahre 1580", *Mitteilungen des Historischen Vereines für Steiermark* 7 (1857), No. 262 (247–248); Orožen, *Das Bisthum und die Diözese Lavant IV/2*, 305; Zadnikar, *Srednjeveška arhitektura kartuzijanov*, 270; Mlinarič, *Kartuzija Pleterje*, 99; Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiče in Jurklošter*, 175, 460–461; Mlinarič, "Celjani in njihov odnos do samostanov", 134; Domenig, *tuon kunt*, 119, 158 (No. 126).



*Fig. 7:* Jurklošter, the former chapterhouse, the Gothic niche from the interior (Photo: G. Bence)

masses for the Counts of Cilli dynasty.<sup>34</sup> Robert Perkar assumes that this altar could be located in the small cloister and that a Gothic niche (*Fig. 6*) whose fragments have been preserved to date could be a part of it. He places the niche in the time around the year 1400 and associates it with the ambries that are usu-

<sup>34</sup> See SI\_AS 1063/4397; Georg Göth, "Urkunden-Regesten für die Geschichte von Steiermark vom Jahre 1252 bis zum Jahre 1580" (1857), No. 281 (254); Orožen, *Das Bisthum und die Diözese Lavant IV/2*, 306; Bračič, "Einst und jetzt", 5; Zadnikar, *Srednjeveška arhitektura kartuzijanov*, 270; Mlinarič, *Kartuzija Pleterje*, 84; Miloš Rybář, "Zgodovinska podoba kartuzije Jurklošter", in: *Benediktinci, cistercijani, kartuzijani*, ed. France Martin Dolinar (Ljubljana and Kartuzija Pleterje and Cisterca Stična, 1984; Redovništvo na Slovenskem, 1), 154; Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiže in Jurklošter*, 175, 224; Mlinarič, "Celjani in njihov odnos do samostanov", 131; Rybář, *800 let Jurkloštra*, 46; Domenig, *tuon kunt*, 118, 119, 126, 160 (No. 140). Janisch, *Topographisch-statistisches Lexikon von Steiermark 1*, 271, states that Catherine commissioned a Holy Cross altar with a perpetual light. This is a misinterpretation of the cloister altar (rather than a Holy Cross altar).

ally located at the northern side by the altars.<sup>35</sup> The relevant literature contains some disagreements regarding the location of this niche that Peskar places in the exterior western wall of the chapterhouse and which is thus visible from the small cloister.<sup>36</sup> For example, Jože Curk writes that the "small window with a beautifully profiled arch in the form of a stooped donkey's back" is located in the western wall of the sacristy.<sup>37</sup> Quite the opposite, Marijan Zadnikar states that the Gothic niche is in the interior of the chapterhouse and dates it to the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>38</sup> Katarina Predovnik, Danijela Brišnik, and Miha Murko also claim that the Gothic wall niche is in the interior of the chapterhouse.<sup>39</sup> Ivan Stopar also refers to a window that provided light for the altar in the former sacristy.<sup>40</sup> The examination in the field reveals that this is a niche in the exterior of the western wall that separates the chapterhouse from the small cloister. This niche opens into the chapterhouse with a small pointed window or opening, visible from the hall, which was reconstructed as such during the conservation and restoration works in accordance with the conservation and restoration programme, drawn up in 2007 (*Fig. 7*).

Several contacts between Frederick II and the Jurklošter monks are known to have taken place in the first half of the 1430s with regard to the transfer of the patronage of the Chapel of St Giles in the town of Zidani Most.<sup>41</sup> The document of 1 November 1444 attests to the money for the enlargement of the great cloister: with it, the prior of Jurklošter and the monastic community issued a confirmation of receipt to Count Frederick II and his son Ulrich II with regard to their gift of several holdings and fishing rights for the construction of four new monk's cells required for the accommodation of four additional monks.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Peskar, *Arhitektura in arhitekturna plastika*, 78.

<sup>36</sup> Peskar, *Arhitektura in arhitekturna plastika*, 78.

<sup>37</sup> Curk, *Topografsko gradivo*, 7.

<sup>38</sup> Zadnikar, *Srednjeveška arhitektura kartuzijanov*, 282–283, 284.

<sup>39</sup> Predovnik and Brišnik and Murko, "Archäologische Forschungen zu Kartausen in Slowenien", 76.

<sup>40</sup> Stopar, *Hrami tišine*, 65.

<sup>41</sup> About this, see SI\_ZAC-0006\_00024-003; SI\_ZAC-0006\_00024-004; Pusch and Froelich, *Diplomataria sacra ducatus Styriae 2*, No. 57–59 (159–160); Suppantschitsch, *Ausflug von Cilli nach Lichtenwald*, 84; Orožen, *Das Bisthum und die Diözese Lavant IV/2*, 307; Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiče in Jurklošter*, 228–229 (with references); Mlinarič, "Celjani in njihov odnos do samostanov", 139; Rybář, *800 let Jurkloštra*, 51–53.

<sup>42</sup> See SI\_AS 1063/4519; SI\_ZAC-0006\_00024-011; SI\_ZAC-0006\_00024-012; Pusch and Froelich, *Diplomataria sacra ducatus Styriae 2*, No. 40 (153); Suppantschitsch, *Ausflug von Cilli nach Lichtenwald*, 84; Orožen, *Celska kronika*, 69; Schmutz, *Historisch-topographisches Lexikon von Steyermark 1*, 488; Janisch, *Topographisch-statistisches Lexikon von Steiermark 1*, 271; Orožen, *Das Bisthum und die Diözese Lavant IV/2*, 308–309; Bračič, "Einst und jetzt", 5; Fr. Korotanski, "Kartuzija Jurklošter", *Naša doba*, 8. 10. 1937, No. 41, 3; Zadnikar, *Srednjeveška arhitektura kartuzijanov*, 271; Mlinarič, *Kartuzija Pleterje*, 64, 85; Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiče in Jurklošter*, 225, 229; Mlinarič, "Celjani in njihov odnos do samostanov", 139, 140; Rybář, *800 let Jurkloštra*, 53; Domenig, *tuon kunt*, 119, 126, 179 (No. 255).



Fig. 8: Jurklošter, a view of the eastern end of the church with the former chapterhouse and sacristy (Photo: M. Oter Gorenčič)

When Frederick and his son saw that the construction of the four monk's cells was progressing well and witnessed how enthusiastically the prior tackled the project (*vidit dominus diligentiam factam in edificationem 4 cellarum*), Frederick gifted the monks another four farms and an additional fishing right for the same purpose.<sup>43</sup> Frederick II's father Hermann II confirmed several Jurklošter's privileges and rights and renounced quite a few of his feudal rights with regard to the holdings.<sup>44</sup> Several times, Frederick II also renounced his feudal rights and income acquired by the Jurklošter monks, while at the same time issuing a number of deeds of donation as well as confirming the old privileges and granting new ones.<sup>45</sup> Frederick II also gave up all the rights to the house he had constructed opposite of the monastery (*in domo sibi edificata iuxta monasterium*),

<sup>43</sup> See SI\_ZAC-0006\_00024-012; Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiže in Jurklošter*, 225, 229.

<sup>44</sup> See Pusch and Froelich, *Diplomataria sacra ducatus Styriae* 2, No. 36 (152); Suppantschitsch, *Ausflug von Cilli nach Lichtenwald*, 74; Schmutz, *Historisch-topographisches Lexicon von Steyermark I*, 488; Janisch, *Topographisch-statistisches Lexikon von Steiermark I*, 271; Bračič, "Einst und jetzt", 5; Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiže in Jurklošter*, 175, 222–224 (with quotation of sources); Mlinarič, "Celjani in njihov odnos do samostanov", 134.

<sup>45</sup> About this, see Pusch and Froelich, *Diplomataria sacra ducatus Styriae* 2, No. 37–39, 41–47 (153–155); Suppantschitsch, *Ausflug von Cilli nach Lichtenwald*, 83–85; Schmutz, *Historisch-topographisches Lexicon von Steyermark I*, 488; Janisch, *Topographisch-statistisches Lexikon von Steiermark I*, 271; Orožen, *Das Bistum und die Diözese Lavant IV/2*, 307–310; Andreas Gubo, "Graf Friedrich II. von Cilli", *Programm des k. k. Staats-Gymnasiums in Cilli* (1888), 16–17; Bračič, "Einst und jetzt", 5; Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiže in Jurklošter*, 225–226, 228–229 (with references); Mlinarič, "Celjani in njihov odnos do samostanov", 138–139.



Fig. 9: Jurklošter, the retaining wall north of the monastery complex (Photo: M. Oter Gorenčič)

but only after his death.<sup>46</sup> The information that Frederick II built a house for himself in the vicinity of the monastery is very telling, of course. On the other hand, the monastery owned a house in Celje. Frederick II also renounced all claims to this house and demanded nothing for the garden that went with it. He gave suitable instructions to his officials in this regard, and on this holding, the monastery enjoyed the same rights as the citizens.<sup>47</sup> A few privileges related to this house were later issued by Ulrich II as well.<sup>48</sup> On 8 October 1455 – one year after the death of Frederick II – his son Ulrich II confirmed all the rights, privileges, and holdings that his father and grandfather Hermann II had granted to the Jurklošter Carthusian monks.<sup>49</sup> After Ulrich's death in 1456, all of the privileges of Ulrich II and Frederick II with regard to the Jurklošter monastery were also confirmed by Ulrich's widow Catherine of the Branković family.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>46</sup> See SI\_ZAC-0006\_00024-011; Orožen, *Celska kronika*, 84; Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiče in Jurklošter*, 225.

<sup>47</sup> SI\_ZAC-0006\_00024-011; Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiče in Jurklošter*, 226.

<sup>48</sup> SI\_ZAC-0006\_00024-013; Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiče in Jurklošter*, 229; Mlinarič, "Celjani in njihov odnos do samostanov", 140.

<sup>49</sup> SI\_ZAC-0006\_00024-013; Pusch and Froelich, *Diplomataria sacra ducatus Styriae* 2, No. 48 (155–156); Janisch, *Topographisch-statistisches Lexikon von Steiermark* 1, 271; Orožen, *Das Bisthum und die Diözese Lavant IV/2*, 310; Bračič, "Einst und jetzt", 5; Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiče in Jurklošter*, 229; Mlinarič, "Celjani in njihov odnos do samostanov", 140.

<sup>50</sup> SI\_ZAC-0006\_00024-013; Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiče in Jurklošter*, 229; Mlinarič, "Celjani in njihov odnos



*Fig. 10:* Jurklošter, a part of the eastern defensive wall of the monastery complex with the Gothic tower (Photo: M. Oter Gorenčič)

### **The great cloister of the Jurklošter Carthusian monastery**

Nowadays, the preserved part of the monastery's medieval architecture is represented by the church with the chapterhouse and sacristy (*Fig. 8*), refectory, defence tower on the southeastern side, the eastern defensive wall, and a part of the retaining wall on the northern end above the road parallel to the northern side of the auxiliary building above the road. To date, this retaining wall has been completely overlooked by the relevant literature. However, the fact that it was constructed from stones of the same dimensions and without a brick masonry infill indicates that it represents the remains of the original monastery wall (*Fig. 9*). On the contrary, for the current defensive wall on the northern end, we can determine that its construction that did indeed make use of brick masonry infills is not homogeneous. On this basis, we can conclude that it is a more recent structure.

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do samostanov", 141.

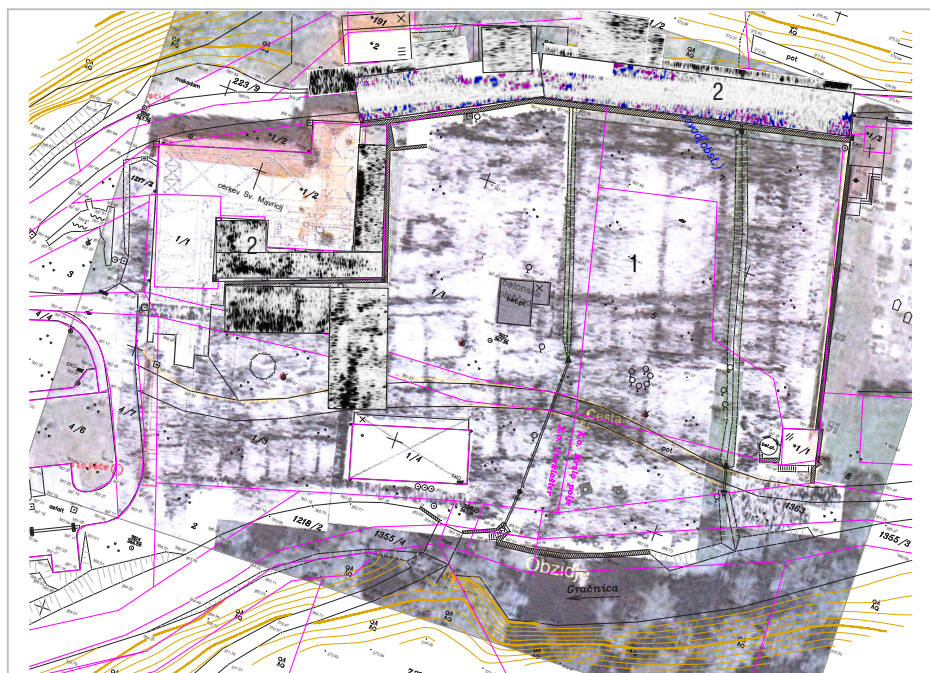


Fig. 11: Georadar images No. 1 and No. 2 superimposed over the geodetic records (Image editing: V. Gorenčič, 2016)

Nowadays, the location of the former great cloister is an empty meadow that covers the rectangle surface between the church, the eastern defensive wall (Fig. 10), the northern defensive wall, and the Gračnica stream. As indicated by the georadar recordings, on this side, the monastery was also protected by a defensive wall running parallel to the still preserved square late Gothic tower in the southeastern corner. The southwestern corner building, called *Pristava*, was constructed later and is not related to the medieval Carthusian monastery or its great cloister. The area of the great and small cloister, surveyed by the two ground-penetrating radar recordings, covers approximately 4000 m<sup>2</sup>. The first recording covered the entire great cloister south of the road, the area to the Gračnica stream, and the location of the mansion ruins. The second recording covered the location of the small cloister and the area behind the northern defensive wall.

If we combine these two georadar images with the geodetic records, we can complete the plan of the existing edifice with the georadar image of the invisible subterranean structures as well as determine the measurements more precisely (Fig. 11). What is revealed is a clear outline of the great cloister with a large atrium that is slightly trapezoid in shape, measuring approximately 62 m

x 31 m – 24.5 m. At the southern end of the monastery complex, the preserved defence tower and the remains of the defensive wall correspond neatly to the georadar recording of the defensive wall running in a straight line to the Pristava building. On the northern end, however, the existing defensive wall that runs in an uneven line from the northeastern corner of the church to the eastern defensive wall defines a structure next to the great cloister, which confirms the supposition that it was built subsequently, due to the anti-erosion reinforcement of the terrain after the monastery had been dissolved. We can also assume that another defence tower, similar to the preserved one in the southeastern corner, used to stand in place of the current mortuary in the northeastern corner of the monastery complex;<sup>51</sup> that the northern defensive wall was organically adapted to the terrain; and that the aforementioned preserved part of the retaining wall was a part of it. In 1935, Friedrich Bračič wrote that at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a tower, similar to the one that is still preserved in the southeastern corner, used to stand on the other side of the street as well, in the spot where the school building was later built. This was supposedly clear from a certain graphic dating back to 1830.<sup>52</sup> The tower Bračič was referring to was most likely the one depicted in the lithography from the series *Lithographirte Ansichten der Stayermarkischen Stadte, Markte und Schlosser*.<sup>53</sup> The tower can also be seen on the graphic published in the work *Maisons de l'Ordre des Chartreux* in 1919.<sup>54</sup> The illustration depicts a round tower, but it stood above the today's road in front of the Carthusian monastery (as seen from the eastern direction). However, it was not in the location of the former school building, but somewhat more to the east of the school and the monastery. As indicated in the relevant cadastres, the aforementioned school was located above the road, north of the great cloister.

At the southern and eastern end, a structure consisting of eight monk's cells can be discerned lining the great cloister – six at the southern end and two at the eastern end. The monk's cells have a square floor plan with the approximate dimensions of 8 m x 8 m.<sup>55</sup> The internal division consisting of three rooms is notable in the first cell of the southern group of cells. The cells are located on

<sup>51</sup> Zadnikar, *Srednjeveška arhitektura kartuzijanov*, 274–275, also assumed that a tower similar to the southeastern one probably stood at the upper side in the immediate vicinity of the today's road between Rimske Toplice and Planina. He also brings the attention to a round tower located further uphill, evident from certain graphic depictions as the remains of the defence structures on that side.

<sup>52</sup> Bračič, "Einst und jetzt", 4.

<sup>53</sup> See Kaiser, Franz Josef, *Lithographirte Ansichten der Stayermarkischen Stadte, Markte und Schlosser*, 1824/33, <https://www.dlib.si/stream/URN:NBN:SI:IMG-CWVVK9TO/6c3e3b35-72ac-4e0b-898c-9018af9dae45/IMAGE> (accessed 30. 6. 2020).

<sup>54</sup> *Maisons de l'Ordre des Chartreux*, 133.

<sup>55</sup> Predovnik and Brišnik and Murko, "Archäologische Forschungen zu Kartausen in Slowenien", 78, state that every monk's cell had a floor plan measuring around 6–7.5 x 6–6.5 metres.

their own building plots with the approximate dimensions of 14 m x 14 m in such a manner that each of them has an L-shaped walled-in atrium. The side corridor connecting every monk's cell with a garden behind it – mentioned, as stated, by the authors of the publication regarding the first georadar recording<sup>56</sup> – may indeed be a frequent feature of the Carthusian architecture, but the georadar image of Jurklošter does not indicate that. The two corner monk's cells, whose floor plans are extended by approximately the width of the cloister wing due to their connection to the great cloister, represent an exception. This width of this corridor was probably not only approximately 1.5 metres:<sup>57</sup> judging from the combination of the georadar image and the geodetic records, it was at least two metres wide. Igor Sapač reconstructed the southwestern and northwestern pair of monk's cells by mirroring them across a party wall. I believe the georadar image indicates that the monk's cells were distributed evenly with some distance between them. The consideration of the appearance of the building volumes supports such a hypothesis as well. The monk's cell roof ridges were most likely perpendicular to the cloister, which means that there was no contact between the cells and that two cells could not stand together. The conclusion regarding the orientation of the roofs can be reached particularly based on the comparisons with the relevant Carthusian monasteries elsewhere in Europe (e.g. Aggsbach and Ittingen). In the Carthusian great cloisters that also feature examples of double monk's cells, the roof ridges are parallel to the cloister, which is especially characteristic of the Mediterranean-influenced charterhouses. On the other hand, roof ridges perpendicular to the cloister are more characteristic of the continental Carthusian monasteries, where the roofs were also steeper. In certain charterhouses, some of the monk's cells with a special function (e.g. the cells for the prior, procurator, sacristan, and the novitiate) could indeed be larger or even positioned in such a manner as to not connect directly to the great cloister.<sup>58</sup> In Jurklošter, however, the georadar image indicates a pattern of typical monk's cells with minor deviations, which, however, do not allow for a well-founded supposition that the building plan of any of the cells with special functions might differ from the others. However, the first cell in the southwestern corner could have belonged to the prior, as it could also have featured a ground floor expansion towards the west. The overview of the European Carthusian great cloisters indicates that even the cells intended for

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<sup>56</sup> Predovnik and Brišnik and Murko, "Archäologische Forschungen zu Kartausen in Slowenien", 77.

<sup>57</sup> Such a dimension is indicated in Predovnik and Brišnik and Murko, "Archäologische Forschungen zu Kartausen in Slowenien", 77.

<sup>58</sup> About this, see Elke Nagel, "Grundrissdispositionen von Kartausen", in: *Fachgespräch "Archäologie in Kartausen". Fundberichte aus Österreich. Tagungsbände 4*, ed. Martin Krenn and Nikolaus Hofer (Wien, 2016), 58–60.

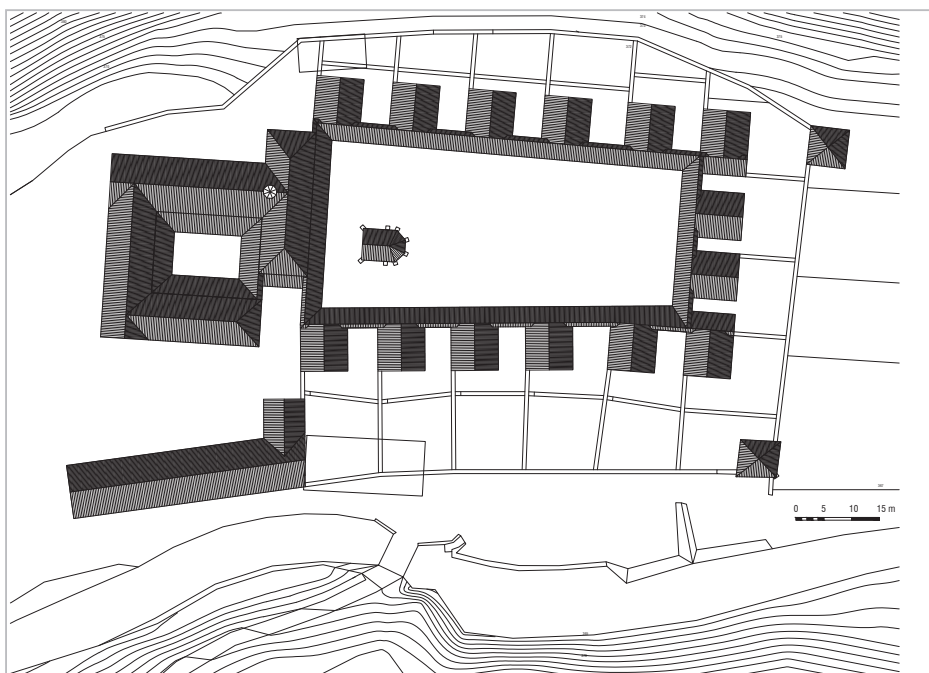


Fig. 12: A top-down view of the ideal reconstruction of the great cloister (Drawn by V. Gorenčič, 2016)

the monks with special functions were mostly the same or only featured minor differences,<sup>59</sup> as it is also evident from the Jurklošter georadar image.<sup>60</sup> Further elaboration will only be possible after the potential archaeological excavations.

Regarding the reconstruction of the great cloister's architectural plan, the information about the number of monks residing in Jurklošter is of key importance, as it can be equated with the number of monk's cells. The great cloister was intended for the monks (*Patres*) exclusively, and it was subject to strictest monastic enclosure: as a rule, access was restricted solely to the group of monks.<sup>61</sup> In 1506, 14 monks and 6 lay brothers resided in the monastery, as described by Carolo Le Couteulx in his Carthusian Order chronicle: *Hæc Domus quatuordecim Monachos cum sex laicis Fratribus aluit usque ad annum 1506*

<sup>59</sup> See Nagel, "Grundrissdispositionen von Kartausen", 53.

<sup>60</sup> Regarding Jurklošter, the sources mention *casa presbiterale* (Giuseppe Vale, *Itinerario di Paolo Santonino in Carintia, Stiria e Carniola negli anni 1485-1487* (Città del Vaticano, 1943; Studi e testi, 103) 60) and *parva stubella prioris* (SI\_ZAC-0006\_00024-004).

<sup>61</sup> Cf. e. g. Nagel, "Grundrissdispositionen von Kartausen", 53.

*quo coepit paulatim deficere in utroque statu.*<sup>62</sup> This leads to the conclusion that in the century of its dissolution – i.e., during its final stage – the Jurklošter Carthusian monastery featured 14 monk's cells (*Fig. 12*). This information represents the foundation for the reconstruction of the great cloister's architectural plan. In 1589, the monk's cells, cloister, and certain other parts of the monastery were already without a roof.<sup>63</sup> We can therefore suppose that at the time when it was at its largest, the great cloister featured 14 monk's cells. The georadar recording supports such an interpretation. The northern wing may not be visible on it, but if we mirror the southern end, we end up with 14 monk's cells precisely.

Does this mean that before 1444, when Frederick II and Ulrich II financed the construction of four new cells, the Jurklošter Carthusian monastery only had ten monk's cells, even though according to the Carthusian rules, a Carthusian monastery consisted of thirteen monks and sixteen lay brothers?<sup>64</sup> An overview of medieval Carthusian monasteries reveals that in reality, the numbers of monks and consequently monk's cells varied significantly. A comparative analysis with similar early charterhouses in the territory of the today's France and Switzerland, established in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, reveals that great cloisters were mostly rectangular in shape and lined, on three sides, with monk's cells whose number was surprisingly often lower or higher than 13.<sup>65</sup> The cells were placed directly next to the great cloister or removed from the cloister and connected to it with a connecting corridor. The reason for the construction of a connecting corridor was that the cells could thus be oriented in the same manner (sun exposure) regardless of their position next to the cloister. Based on the comparison with the relevant examples of early Carthusian monasteries all over Europe, we can therefore suppose that the Jurklošter great cloister was surrounded by a series of six monk's cells at the northern end as well, which, together with the eight cells discovered at the southern and eastern end, amounts to a total of precisely 14 monk's cells (*Fig. 13*). The monk's cells at the northern end were most likely located in the area of the today's road immediately behind the defensive wall. The second georadar survey was conducted with the intention of verifying the existence of monk's cells at the northern

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<sup>62</sup> Carolo Le Couteulx, *Annales Ordinis Cartusienensis ab anno 1084 ad annum 1429. Volumen tertium* (Monstrolii, 1888), 339–340. See tudi *Maisons de l'Ordre des Chartreux*, 132.

<sup>63</sup> See Mlinarič, *Kartuzijski Žiče in Jurklošter*, 520.

<sup>64</sup> *Coutumes de Chartreuse. Consuetudines Cartusiae. Guiges Ier, prieur de Chartreuse. Introd., texte critique, trad. et notes par un chartreux* (Paris, 1984; Sources chrétiennes, 313; Série des textes monastiques d'Occident, 52), 285 ff, chapters 78 in 79.

<sup>65</sup> See Elke Nagel, *Die Klausur der Kartäuser. Typologie und Grundrissorganisation der großen Kreuzgänge im Spannungsverhältnis zwischen Ordensidealen und örtlicher Lage 1* (Salzburg, 2013; *Analecta Cartusiana*, 297), 36, 53–57.



*Fig. 13:* A floor plan of the ideal reconstruction after the expansion of the great cloister in 1444 (Drawn by V. Gorenčič, 2016)

end of the great cloister. Until then, it had not been clear whether the monk's cells had been placed next to the outer end of the building plots by the defensive wall and connected to the cloister with connecting corridors, which would also serve to negotiate the difference in altitude, as the current level of the road behind the defensive wall is one floor higher than the great cloister. In 2016, a georadar survey of the road and terrain on the external side of the northern defensive wall as well as the area of the small cloister by the church, which had not been included in the first georadar recording, was conducted. As this georadar recording did not yield clear and satisfactory results, the survey was repeated at a greater depth in order to verify whether the original structures might in fact be deeper. The repeated recording reveals certain structures that run parallel to the northern wing of the great cloister, which could indicate the structure of the monk's cells. Based on this finding, we can abandon the supposition that the monk's cells at the northern end might have been placed next to the defensive wall, as the visible structures seem to suggest that all the cells were connected to the cloister itself in the same manner, i.e. directly. The lines visible on the georadar recording allow for the mirroring of the series of monk's cells from the southern to the northern wing. The additional structures that are

also visible in the georadar recording north of the monk's cells probably imply a system of retaining walls due to the configuration of the terrain.

On the western end, the enclosed part of the monastery with the monk's cells was most probably delimited by the defensive wall running from the eastern side of the church or sacristy and chapterhouse to the southern defensive wall. This is also indicated by a visible trace in the georadar recording. At the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, a Baroque manor, which was burnt down in 1944, was built in the southwestern corner of the Carthusian monastery. In this spot, the georadar image is therefore dominated by the structure of the Baroque manor, and it is therefore impossible to discern the original medieval structure. Regarding the hypothetical reconstruction of the wing by the Gračnica stream (an auxiliary building) or its southwestern corner, it is possible to elaborate on the findings of archaeological research conducted near the today's Pristava building.<sup>66</sup> At that location, the foundations of the structure of the late Baroque manor have been discovered. Of these, the remains of the foundations of a wall, running parallel to the stream and identified as medieval, stand out. At the far western side – outside of the Baroque manor's floor plan – the remains of an equally-oriented structure are visible on the georadar recording. The traces of this wall are thus parallel with the one excavated by the Pristava building, and they could turn out to be medieval as well. These two reference points can be deemed as the foundations for the reconstruction in the southwestern corner, as they can serve as the basis for a hypothetical determination of the orientation and width of the medieval section by the Gračnica stream. We do not know how the monastery concluded by the entrance (i.e., at its western part), because no relevant information has been preserved.

The information acquired with the archaeological methods has also resulted in a few conclusions regarding the small cloister. Marijan Zadnikar has stated appropriately that the northern wing of the small cloister is defined by the southern wall of the church; the eastern wing is indicated by the chapterhouse building; while in the west, it is delimited by the preserved wing whose external wall represents a continuation of the church's western facade towards the south (the refectory).<sup>67</sup> The final georadar recording of 2016 reveals a strong trace of the small cloister with the adhering southern section. The georadar image suggests that the shape of the small cloister was rectangular rather than square. The preserved longer side, which probably encompassed three window

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<sup>66</sup> For more information about these archaeological works, see Predovnik and Brišnik and Murko, "Archäologische Forschungen zu Kartausen in Slowenien", 77–78.

<sup>67</sup> Zadnikar, *Srednjeveška arhitektura kartuzijanov*, 283–284. In his reconstruction, Igor Sapač defines this room as a Romanesque monastery cellar, while he places the refectory in the southern wing of the small cloister. Such an interpretation is possible, but this part of the monastery has not been preserved. The final answer may perhaps be established by archaeological research.

axes, is located by the church between the refectory<sup>68</sup> and the chapterhouse. The shorter side, however, probably corresponded to the length of the refectory and consisted of two window axes. At the southern side of the chapterhouse, the archaeologists discovered yet another room, next to which the connection or the corridor between the small and great cloister probably ran. The cloister was therefore smaller than indicated by Igor Sapač's reconstruction: the side by the refectory was shorter, and the passage to the great cloister was not located in the corner but rather by the southern wall of the chapterhouse. All further reconstructions and corrections of the existing one will be made possible by the potential future archaeological research.

Can we therefore define the appearance of the cloister before the year 1444 based on the existing recordings and thus determine its architectural development? The initial georadar recording contains visible traces of walls even within the great cloister, which I interpret as the remains of the oldest stage of the cloister at this very spot. In my opinion, the georadar recording very likely reveals the gradual development of the cloister as well. If after the enlargement that took place in 1444 the great cloister encompassed 14 monk's cells, we can certainly conclude that it had been smaller earlier. The georadar recording in fact implies that initially, the great cloister certainly encompassed nine or at most ten monk's cells, which corresponds to the number of monks in several comparable early European Carthusian monasteries (*Fig. 14*). During the enlargement financed by the Counts of Cilli, the eastern wing of the cloister – as we can determine from the georadar recording – was most likely torn down and extended towards the east. Moreover, we can conclude that the great cloister was traversed by two water channels. The eastern channel corresponds approximately to the side of the expanded great cloister, while the second one corresponds roughly to the eastern side of the initial smaller great cloister. On this basis, I believe that the course of both water channels is evidently related to the development of the great cloister. I am referring to the water channel by the defensive wall, as it is still preserved in the Lower House of Grande Chartreuse, the head monastery of the Carthusian order. Meanwhile, the entire system of water channels next to the buildings is nowadays very well preserved in Mount Grace Priory in Yorkshire. If the presented interpretation is true, the enlargement in fact entailed the construction of six new monk's cells (while two of them had to be torn down). The fact that the construction of four new monk's cells required more work than initially envisioned could actually be supported by the existence of the second document of 1444, attesting

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<sup>68</sup> For more information about the refectory, see Janisch, *Topographisch-statistisches Lexikon von Steiermark 1*, 272; Zadnikar, *Srednjeveška arhitektura kartuzijanov*, 284.



Fig. 14: A floor plan of the ideal reconstruction of the great cloister's early construction phase (Drawn by V. Gorenčič, 2016)

to Frederick II and Ulrich II's donation of additional financial resources to the monastery once they witnessed how enthusiastically the monks undertook the project.

As far as the spatial visualisation of the great cloister is concerned, we need to resort to comparisons with similar Carthusian monasteries. According to the georadar image, the walls of the great cloister in Jurklošter appear to be a strong structure, which leads to the conclusion that the cloister was most likely vaulted. In the Central European territory, great cloisters generally featured a steep single-pitched roof that the steep double-pitched roofs of the monk's cells were connected to. These had a relatively standard design: three living quarters on the ground floor with a non-residential first floor (Ittingen, Gaming, Aggsbach, Mauerbach, etc.).<sup>69</sup> all of these are charterhouses historically

<sup>69</sup> For more information about the great cloisters in the stated charterhouses, see Elke Nagel, *Die Klausur der Kartäuser. Typologie und Grundrissorganisation der großen Kreuzgänge im Spannungsverhältnis zwischen Ordensidealen und örtlicher Lage 2* (Salzburg, 2013; *Analecta Cartusiana*, 297), 523–530, 533–558.

closely related to the Slovenian ones) or residential in the Carthusian monasteries where the design was adapted to the terrain (e.g. Grande Chartreuse).<sup>70</sup> Ittingen represents a charterhouse in a non-Mediterranean area that is particularly comparable due to its similar spatial outline. Even though the Carthusians settled in Ittingen as late as in the third quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>71</sup> the design of the great cloister, the size of the building plots and the square design of the monk's cells were similar as in Jurklošter.<sup>72</sup> We can see Ittingen Charterhouse as a "copy" of the "originals" that have not been preserved – i.e. the preceding Carthusian monasteries that the Ittingen Charterhouse was modelled after. From the historical point of view, it has been proved that Slovenian Carthusian monasteries were relatively closely related to Ittingen Charterhouse.<sup>73</sup> Based on the study of comparative monuments, we can therefore suppose that the Jurklošter cloister featured a steep single-pitched roof, to which the steep double-pitched roofs of the monk's cells connected rectangularly (*Fig. 15*). If viewed from the cloister, the monk's cells only differed in terms of the height of the upper halves of their roofs. Furthermore, due to the comparative analysis with the relevant European charterhouses (e.g. Ittingen), we can at least hypothetically specify the great cloister's window openings. Each of the monk's cells had a walled-in atrium. On the southern side, a typical expanded section leading to the defensive walls was added to the atrium, while on the northern side, the atriums featured retaining walls due to the elevation of the terrain. Each of the monk's cells could be accessed directly from the great cloister and featured an exit to the walled-in atrium. From the anteroom, the stairs led to the supposed non-residential floor.

### **The cemetery chapel – the location of Veronika of Desnice's grave**

In the context of the subject of the present contribution, it is very important that the foundations of the cemetery chapel are also visible on the georadar image of the cloister garth. The chapel was not located in the middle of the cloister garth, but instead quite close to the great cloister's western side, oppo-

<sup>70</sup> For more information about the Grande Chartreuse great cloister, see Nagel, *Die Klausur der Kartäuser 2*, 11–18.

<sup>71</sup> Jürg Ganz, "Ittingen", in: *Monasticon Cartusiense 2*, eds. Gerhard Schlegel in James Hogg (Salzburg, 2004; *Analecta Cartusiana*, 185:2), 420.

<sup>72</sup> For more information about the Ittingen Charterhouse great cloister, see Elke Nagel, *Die Klausur der Kartäuser 2*, 523–530.

<sup>73</sup> About this, see Johannes Modelius, *De variis casibus Ittingae. Eine Chronik der Kartause Ittingen*, ed. Margrit Früh (Ittingen, 1985), 123, 124, 126; Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiže in Jurklošter*, 179–180, 189, 209, 307.

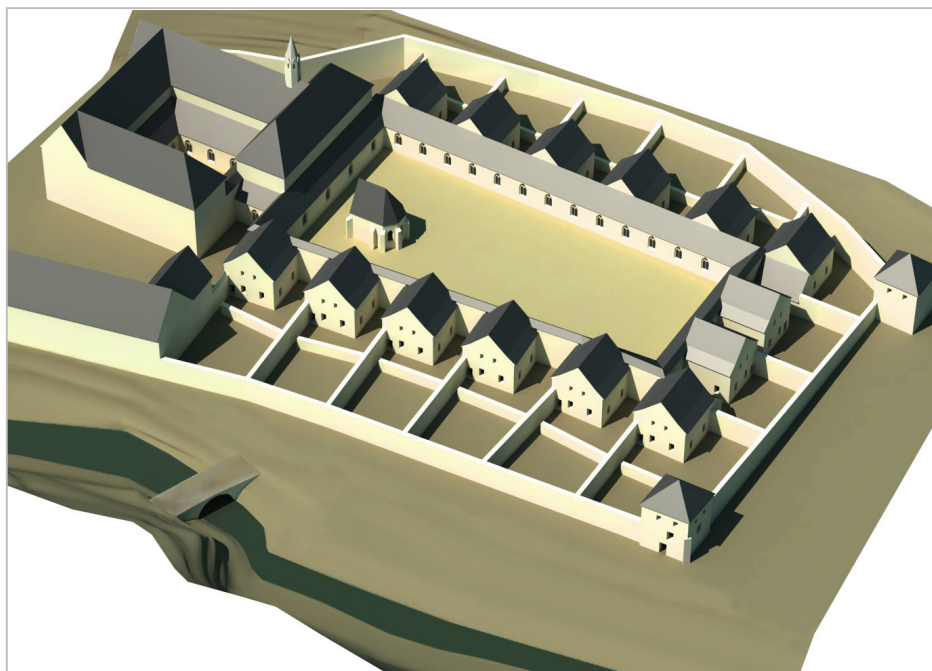


Fig. 15: A visualisation of the ideal reconstruction of the great cloister (Visualisation: D. Hostnik, 2016)

site of the chapterhouse. The ground plan of the single-nave chapel has the approximate dimensions of 7.5 m x 6 m. The chancel with buttresses terminates with five sides of an octagon. On 28 April 1373, the prior of Jurklošter issued a document pledging that he and his monastery would hold a perpetual mass and keep a perpetual light for the repose and salvation of the souls of the Counts of Cilli in their cemetery chapel in exchange for the received tithes, financial resources, kindness, and favours, granted to the Carthusian monastery by Hermann I and Catherine. The document states that the cemetery chapel was founded by the Counts of Cilli (*in der chappelen auf vnserm freithof di der edln herren vnd grafen von Cyli stiftung ist*) and that the monks would hold a perpetual mass in their honour.<sup>74</sup> Judging from the preserved documents, the

<sup>74</sup> See ZRC SAZU, ZIMK, Catalogue of medieval deeds for Slovenian history (typescript by Dr. Božo Otarepec), 1373, April 28.; SI\_ZAC-0006\_00024-010; SI\_ZAC, Regesta of Counts of Cilli from Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna, No. 260; Pusch and Froelich, *Diplomataria sacra ducatus Styriae* 2, No. 30 (150–151); Göth, "Urkunden-Regesten für die Geschichte von Steiermark vom Jahre 1252 bis zum Jahre 1580" (1855), No. 173 (258–259); Janisch, *Topographisch-statistisches Lexikon von Steiermark I*, 271; Mlinarič, *Kartuzija Pleterje*, 84; Rybář, "Zgodovinska podoba kartuzije Jurklošter", 154; Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiče in Jurklošter*, 134, 464; Mlinarič, "Celjani in njihov odnos do samostanov",

Counts of Cilli commissioned the construction of the chapel in the third quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, approximately at the same time as the construction of the preserved ridge turret. Until recently, the turret's construction has been dated to the last quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>75</sup> However, the latest research of the archival and comparative materials as well as the consideration of the comprehensive historical background have demonstrated that it was more likely built already around the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, when – in my opinion – Frederick I, the first Count of Cilli, commissioned its construction.<sup>76</sup> According to the wording of the document from 1373, the cemetery chapel was founded by Hermann I of Cilli, most likely in that same year.<sup>77</sup>

The great cloister represented the heart of the Carthusian monastery as well as the centre of the monastic enclosure and eremitic life of the monks. This is precisely why the fact that the Counts of Cilli enjoyed – as attested to by the documents – access to the great cloister and that they even took advantage of the cloister garth for their own institution is all the more startling. As this was a cemetery chapel located in the atrium, which serves as a graveyard in Carthusian monasteries, the question presents itself whether any Counts of Cilli wished to be buried there. For the 14<sup>th</sup> century, no proof currently exists that any of the Counts of Cilli were buried in the chapel. In my opinion, however, we can state with all certainty that in the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, Veronika of Desnice was indeed buried there.

131; Rybář, *800 let Jurkloštra*, 46; Mlinarič, *Kartuzija Bistra*, 19; Domenig, *tuon kuni*, 119.

<sup>75</sup> Peskar, *Arhitektura in arhitekturna plastika*, 202. Johann Graus, "Die Kirche der Karthause Gairach", *Blätter des christlichen Kunstvereins der Diözese Seckau* 26, No. 7 (1895), 92, dates the ridge turret (and the west gallery) to the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Jože Gregorič, "Srednjeveška cerkvena arhitektura v Sloveniji do leta 1430", *Zbornik za umetnostno zgodovino* n. s. 1 (1951), 16, wrote that the Gothic ridge turret dates back to "at least the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century". Regarding the dating of the ridge turret, Curk, *Topografsko gradivo*, 6, 8, writes that it was constructed in the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century or in the middle of that century at the latest. Rybář, *800 let Jurkloštra*, 36, dates the ridge turret to the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>76</sup> About this, see Oter Gorenčič, "Die monastischen und kunsthistorischen Beziehungen zwischen Gaming und den Kartausen im heutigen Slowenien", in print. A similar dating can only be noted in Karel Gržan, *Skrivnosti starodavne kartuzije* (Ljubljana and Jurklošter, 2006), 54, who claims that the ridge turret was constructed in the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century at the latest but without any art historical or historical argumentation.

<sup>77</sup> Suppantšitsch, *Ausflug von Cilli nach Lichtenwald*, 73; Zadnikar, *Srednjeveška arhitektura kartuzijanov*, 270, also state that the cemetery chapel was founded by Hermann I. Bračić, "Einst und jetzt", 5, states that the cemetery chapel was built by Hermann I in 1371. Zadnikar, *Spomeniki cerkvene arhitekture in umetnosti*, 69, states that the cemetery chapel in the grand cloister was commissioned by the Counts of Cilli in 1373. Rybář, "Zgodovinska podoba kartuzije Jurklošter", 154; Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiže in Jurklošter*, 134, and Mlinarič, "Celjani in njihov odnos do samostanov", 131, state that the chapel was commissioned by the Counts of Cilli. Referring to Orožen, *Celska kronika*, 35; Peskar, *Arhitektura in arhitekturna plastika*, 42, also states that the chapel was founded in 1373 by Hermann I. Predovnik and Brišnik and Murko, "Archäologische Forschungen zu Kartausen in Slowenien", 75, state that the chapel was commissioned by Hermann I before 1373.

The Count of Cilli Frederick II was first married to Elizabeth of Frankopan, whom he murdered or had murdered in 1422. He then married Veronika of Desnice against his father's will. Frederick's father Hermann II had her murdered, supposedly on 17 October 1425.<sup>78</sup> The *Chronicle of Celje* states that a few years later, Frederick II had Veronika exhumed from her grave in Braslovče, transported to Jurklošter, and reinterred there.<sup>79</sup> The relevant literature does not completely agree about the year of Veronika's death. The genealogical table that Franz Krones added to his publication of the *Chronicle of Celje* indicates that she was drowned on 18 October 1427, but with an added question mark.<sup>80</sup> Ignaz Orožen, on the other hand, writes that she was murdered on 17 October 1428.<sup>81</sup> Janez Anton Suppantšitsch also claims that she was murdered on 17 October 1428 and moved to Jurklošter when Frederick came to power, referring to Caesar and the *Chronicle of Celje* (*Cäsar und das Chronicon Celemjanum*) in this regard.<sup>82</sup> Josef Andreas Janisch states that Veronika was buried in Jurklošter in 1428.<sup>83</sup> In 1935, Friedrich Bračič wrote that she had been murdered on 18 October 1428 and buried in Jurklošter in 1435.<sup>84</sup> In 1937, Fr. Korotanski stated in the *Nova doba* newspaper (also without referring to any sources) that Veronika had been interred in the charterhouse in 1428, adding that the monastery had thus been especially honoured.<sup>85</sup> Josip Gruden states that Frederick II had Veronika buried in Jurklošter in 1428 and organised an

<sup>78</sup> For more information about Veronika of Desnice, see Suppantšitsch, *Ausflug von Cilli nach Lichtenwald*, 74–83; Orožen, *Celska kronika*, 49, 50, 53–54, 83; Orožen, *Das Bisthum und die Diözese Lavant IV/2*, 306–307; Krones, *Die Freien von Saneck und ihre Chronik*, 78–80; Bogo Grafenauer, "Veronika Deseniška", in: *Slovenski biografski leksikon* 13, ed. Alfonz Gspan and Jože Munda and Fran Petre (Ljubljana, 1982), 412–413; Mlinarič, *Kartuzija Pleterje*, 64, 125; Franz Otto Roth, "Die 'Hexe' Veronika: Liebeszauber, Adelspolitik und 'Renaissance'-Menschen im steierischen frühen 15. Jahrhundert!", *Mitteilungen des steiermärkischen Landesarchivs* 37 (1987), 57–69; Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiče in Jurklošter*, 224, 464; Mlinarič, *Kartuzija Bistra*, 19, 109, 123, 425; Mojca Kovačič, "Veronika Deseniška: nesrečne ljubezni in prepovedane poroke v srednjem veku", in: *Historični seminar* 6, ed. Katarina Keber and Katarina Šter and Milojka Žalik Huzjan (Ljubljana, 2008), 9–39; Fugger Germadnik, *Großje in knezi Celjski*, 83–84, 86, 89. All with further literature.

<sup>79</sup> Krones, *Die Freien von Saneck und ihre Chronik*, 80: /.../ Die wardt also getrencket und gen Frasslau zu begrebnus gefurt. Darnach uber etlich jabr wardt sy durch graff Friederichen, ihren gemabl, von Frasslau gebebt und gen Geyrau closter gefürt und gelegt. /.../.

<sup>80</sup> Krones, *Die Freien von Saneck und ihre Chronik*, genealogical table in annex 3.

<sup>81</sup> Orožen, *Celska kronika*, 53; Orožen, *Das Bisthum und die Diözese Lavant IV/2*, 306–307.

<sup>82</sup> Suppantšitsch, *Ausflug von Cilli nach Lichtenwald*, 83. Cf. Aquilin Julius Caesar, *Annales Ducatus Styriae* 3, Vienna 1777, 370, 376. Jelovšek, *Jurklošter nekoč in danes*, 20, also states that Veronika was murdered on 17 October 1428 and moved to Jurklošter a few years after Hermann II's death in 1435. Elsewhere (69) it is stated, however, that she was buried in the monastery after 1428. Rybář, *800 let Jurkloštra*, 49, also states that she was (probably) murdered in 1428 and moved to Jurklošter after Hermann's death in 1435.

<sup>83</sup> Janisch, *Topographisch-statistisches Lexikon von Steiermark I*, 271. In the same place, the author adds that Veronika's image is kept in the Joanneum museum in Graz.

<sup>84</sup> Bračič, "Einst und jetzt", 6.

<sup>85</sup> Korotanski, "Kartuzija Jurklošter", 3.

anniversary mass for her.<sup>86</sup> Jože Mlinarič and Rolanda Fugger Germadnik adopt 17 October 1425 as the date of her death.<sup>87</sup> Karel Gržan sums up that she was probably murdered on 17 October 1425 and reinterred in 1428.<sup>88</sup> The date of Veronika's death (17 October) is stated in the necrology of the Bistra Charterhouse, kept in the National and University Library in Ljubljana.<sup>89</sup> The anniversary mass in the Žiče Charterhouse is noted on the same day.<sup>90</sup>

The exact location of Veronika's grave in Jurklošter has been causing a stir for a long time. Even though as early as in 1881, the historian Ignaz Orožen wrote that Veronika was buried either in the cloister or in the chapel,<sup>91</sup> in 1856, under the leadership of Bishop Anton Martin Slomšek (now blessed), as well as in 1937, her grave was sought unsuccessfully in the Jurklošter church.<sup>92</sup> In 1935, Friedrich Bračič stated that Veronika was buried in the Jurklošter monastery's cemetery, assuming that she was most likely interred in the cemetery chapel. He added that the chapel as well as the grave had allegedly been destroyed by the Turks when they had ravaged the monastery in 1471.<sup>93</sup> In relation to Orožen, the historian Miloš Rybář stated that Veronika's grave was either in the cemetery chapel or in the cloister.<sup>94</sup> In this regard, the historian Jože Mlinarič underlined the record from the General Chapter of the Carthusian Order of 1428 that mentioned a certain chapel in the Jurklošter monastery that the monks had written the General Chapter about and for which the General Chapter had given a certain permission.<sup>95</sup> Mlinarič highlighted that every charterhouse had to obtain a special permission from the General Chapter to bury laypersons, especially women. This was why he assumed that Veronika could be buried in

<sup>86</sup> Josip Gruden, *Zgodovina slovenskega naroda* (Celje, 1910), 142.

<sup>87</sup> Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiče in Jurklošter*, 464; Fugger Germadnik, *Groffe in knezi Celjski*, 84.

<sup>88</sup> Gržan, *Skrivnosti starodavne kartuzije*, 85.

<sup>89</sup> NUK, Ms 20, fol. 8r.

<sup>90</sup> SI\_ZAC-0006\_00002-172; Pusch and Froelich, *Diplomataria sacra ducatus Styriae* 2, 332. Gubo, "Graf Friedrich II. von Cilli", 16, states that Frederick II endowed an anniversary mass on 17 October 1429.

<sup>91</sup> Orožen, *Das Bisthum und die Diözese Lavant IV/2*, 307.

<sup>92</sup> See Orožen, *Das Bisthum und die Diözese Lavant IV/2*, 307; Jelovšek, *Jurklošter nekoč in danes*, 20; Rybář, "Zgodovinska podoba kartuzije Jurklošter", 154; Rybář, *800 let Jurkloštra*, 49–50; Gržan, *Skrivnosti starodavne kartuzije*, 89–90; Predovnik and Brišnik and Murko, "Archäologische Forschungen zu Kartausen in Slowenien", 76–77.

<sup>93</sup> Bračič, "Einst und jetzt", 6; Gržan, *Skrivnosti starodavne kartuzije*, 93. For more information about the Turkish raid against the monastery in 1471, see Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiče in Jurklošter*, 190, 496.

<sup>94</sup> Rybář, "Zgodovinska podoba kartuzije Jurklošter", 154; Rybář, *800 let Jurkloštra*, 46, 47, 49–51; the same also in Orožen, *Zgodovina Celja in okolice*, 246.

<sup>95</sup> See SI\_ZAC-0006\_00024-006; Ms. *Grande Chartreuse 1. Cart. 15. Cartae Capituli generalis 1411–1436*, 3, ed. James Hogg (Salzburg, 1986; *Analecta Cartusiana*, 100:9), 14; *Priori domus Sancti Mauriti in girio non fit misericordia, et Capella de qua scribunt placet quod cum gratitudine acceptetur eo modo quo proponunt*; Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiče in Jurklošter*, 224; Mlinarič, "Celjani in njihov odnos do samostanov", 138. See also *The urbanist Charta including the Charta of the Avignon Obedience to 1410. Volume 1: 1380–1393*, ed. John Clark (Salzburg, 1997; *Analecta Cartusiana*, 100:25), 145–146.

the cemetery chapel.<sup>96</sup> In 2006, the Jurklošter priest Karel Gržan published that on 4 November 2005, he had discovered Veronika's grave in the former chapterhouse, which had supposedly been refurbished as a sepulchral chapel after the burial. He believed that he had discovered a catafalque. He supported his thesis with the fact that in 1393, the General Chapter of the Carthusian Order had forbidden the burial of laypersons in monastery cemeteries with the exception of the monasteries' founders and builders of their churches. Only men could be interred elsewhere in the monastery, while reputable women could be buried there only exceptionally, with a special permission from the General Prior or the General Chapter. Gržan deemed the chapterhouse as a room that allowed access to areas outside of the monastery's enclosed part. The entrance to the chapterhouse was in fact on the western side, from the small cloister. However, Gržan states that after the function of the chapterhouse had been changed to a sepulchral chapel, it featured non-enclosed external access over the meadow by the exterior wall of the sacristy past the church chancel to the entrance in the eastern wall of the chapterhouse. At the time, the former window was supposedly converted into an entrance door. The southern wall allegedly featured two tall windows with a tall and narrow belfry between them, which supposedly represents further evidence of this chapel's function. In the chapterhouse, by the entrance from the small cloister, an altar oriented towards the east purportedly stood.<sup>97</sup> In terms of architectural history, such a reconstruction is not well-founded. Furthermore, the decisions of the General Chapter regarding burials, adopted in 1393,<sup>98</sup> do not preclude the possibility that Veronika might have been interred in the cemetery chapel since exceptions were indeed allowed, as stated. Moreover, in 1428, a permission was issued regarding a certain chapel in Jurklošter, which was first underlined by Jože Mlinarič, as mentioned above. Besides, Jurklošter rightfully saw the Counts of Cilli as the "builders of their churches". In the preserved necrology of the Bistra Charterhouse and on the list of anniversary masses of the Žiče Charterhouse for 17 October, Veronika of Desnice is even listed as a Countess of Cilli (*Veronica comitissa Cilice*).<sup>99</sup> Addi-

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<sup>96</sup> Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiče in Jurklošter*, 224, 464; Mlinarič, "Celjani in njihov odnos do samostanov", 131, 138. Referring to Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiče in Jurklošter*, 224, Predovnik and Brišnik and Murko, "Archäologische Forschungen zu Kartausen in Slowenien", 75, also conclude that Veronika was buried in Jurklošter in 1428. In his reconstruction Igor Sapač also states that the cemetery chapel could possibly be the location of Veronika of Desnice's grave. His reconstruction of the chapel does not feature buttresses.

<sup>97</sup> Gržan, *Skrivnosti starodavne kartuzije*, 76, 84–85, 90–93, 99; Karel Gržan, *Friderik in Veronika* (Celje, 2006), 63.

<sup>98</sup> See *The urbanist Charta*, 145–146.

<sup>99</sup> See NUK, Ms 20, fol. 8r; SI\_ZAC-0006\_00002-172; Pusch and Froelich, *Diplomataria sacra ducatus Styriae* 2, 332; Władimir Milkowicz, "Die Nekrologe der Kartause Freudenthal", *Mittheilungen des Musealvereines für Krain* 2 (1889), 51–52, 66. Gubo, "Graf Friedrich II. von Cilli", 12 (n. 47), states that

tionally, an entrance into the chapterhouse from the proposed side was impossible in the middle ages, as the area east of the church was already a part of the great cloister and thus an area of the strictest enclosure. There is also no architectural evidence supporting the alleged two tall windows in the southern wall. The preserved belfry might have been built as a part of the mansion's chapel.<sup>100</sup> Let us also mention the sole record by p. Martinus Bauscher, validly argued against already by Janez Vajkard Valvasor: that Veronika had been buried in the Pleterje Charterhouse.<sup>101</sup>

How can we therefore claim that Frederick II used the Jurklošter chapel for the internment or reburial of his second murdered wife Veronika of Desnice? Apart from the aforementioned arguments made by other authors, one of the two documents that have never been noted in the relevant literature to date – those of 1433 and 1434 – supports this thesis. For 7 May 1433, the Vatican Registers of Supplications made a note indicating that the cemetery chapel in Jurklošter had been dedicated to St Mary and that it received indulgences on that day.<sup>102</sup> The second written source is far more important. For 23 August 1434, it was noted that Frederick II had submitted a supplication for the reception of indulgences related to the Jurklošter St Mary's cemetery chapel in the great cloister. It was stated that the chapel had been founded by the ancestors (*progenitores*) of Frederick II, who wished to be buried there (*quam ipse com. sibi in sepulturam elegit*).<sup>103</sup> This source, completely overlooked until now, and Frederick's seemingly unusual wish can be seen as a reliable argument supporting the thesis that Frederick had Veronika interred in this very chapel in Jurklošter, which is why he also wished to be buried there himself. In the monastery, anniversary masses would be held for Veronika every year on 17 October.<sup>104</sup> Moreover, an entry in the manuscript kept in the Historical Archives Celje states that the Jurklošter Prior Lenart (who held this position between 1426 and 1445)

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the inscription is written in the necrology of Jurklošter Charterhouse.

<sup>100</sup> The mansion was constructed at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. For more information about the mansion, see Ivan Stopar, *Grajske stavbe v vzbojni Sloveniji. 3: Spodnja Savinjska dolina* (Ljubljana, 1992), 50–54. See also Jelovšek, *Jurklošter nekoč in danes*, 25; Jože Maček, *Zgodovina župnije sv. Mavricija v Jurkloštru* (Celje, 2017), 73.

<sup>101</sup> See Johann Weichard Valvasor, *Die Ebre dess Hertzogthums Crain*, XI (Laybach, 1689), 203. The same also in Caesar, *Annales Ducatus Styriae* 3, Viennæ 1777, 376.

<sup>102</sup> *Repertorium Germanicum. Verzeichnis der in den päpstlichen Registern und Kameralakten vorkommenden Personen, Kirchen und Orte des Deutschen Reiches, seiner Diözesen und Territorien vom Beginn des Schismas bis zur Reformation. 5/1: Eugen IV. 1431–1447*, ed. Hermann Diener and Brigide Schwarz (Tübingen, 2004), No. 2302.

<sup>103</sup> *Repertorium Germanicum*, No. 2302. This document refers to two dates: 10 June 1433 and 23 August 1434. Two dates could imply that indulgences were granted twice, but it is more likely that the first date refers to the submission of the supplication for the indulgences while the second one is probably the date when they were in fact granted.

<sup>104</sup> About this, see Orožen, *Das Bisthum und die Diözese Lavant IV/2*, 307; Mlinarič, *Kartuzija Pleterje*, 64.

vowed that he and his successors would always hold anniversary masses for Count Frederick and Veronika (*Prior Leonardus ... promiserunt pro se et sequentibus semper fieri memoriam in missis in basilica antedicta pro comiti Friderico et Veronica conthoralis eius pro beneficiis quibus dam impensis*).<sup>105</sup> Regarding the selection of the place of burial, Jože Mlinarič writes that even though after Veronika's death, Frederick II reconciled with his father after the dispute they had over her, "he did not choose Pleterje Charterhouse as his final resting place, but wished to be buried in the tomb of his other ancestors. Perhaps he intended to be laid to rest with the Dominicans in Novi Klošter but passed away too soon, as that monastery was only in the process of establishment at the time."<sup>106</sup> In light of the source that has been overlooked but is hereby published, the location where the Count of Cilli Frederick II in fact wanted to be buried is now clear and known for the first time. Nothing is known about the possibility whether Frederick might be buried in several places (his heart elsewhere than his head and in some other place than his body), which is a possibility judging from the examples of certain other European charterhouses and their noble founders and/or patrons.

In conclusion, let us also mention certain archival information regarding the great cloister and/or the cemetery chapel that calls for further research. The list of privileges of the Jurklošter Carthusian monastery reveals that the Bishop of Senj Nicholas consecrated or newly consecrated two cemeteries in Jurklošter.<sup>107</sup> The record does not clarify whether the second cemetery might mean the small cloister or some other area in the monastery. Until 1500, we can identify three Bishops of Senj named Nicholas. They held their positions from 1292 to 1312; 1402 to 1405; and 1442 to 1443.<sup>108</sup> The stated archival record most likely pertains to the Nicholas who headed the Diocese of Senj between 1402 and 1405 and was also in charge of confirming the deeds of donation for the monasteries in Jurklošter and Žiče.<sup>109</sup> Why it was necessary to newly consecrate two cemeteries at the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century is a question for further research. The record about the granting of the permission to build an altar in the cemetery chapel, issued by *Bartholomeus episcopus placentinus* and also overlooked to date, probably dates to a decade later.<sup>110</sup> As they did not have a

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<sup>105</sup> SI\_ZAC-0006\_00024-006; Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiče in Jurklošter*, 224.

<sup>106</sup> Mlinarič, "Celjani in njihov odnos do samostanov", 140.

<sup>107</sup> SI\_ZAC-0006\_00024-005.

<sup>108</sup> See Mile Bogovič, "Moji predšasnici biskupi – u Senju, u Senju, Otočcu, Krbavi, Modrušu, Vinodolu i Rijeci", *Senjski zbornik* 42–43 (2015–2016), 36–37, 43, 46.

<sup>109</sup> See Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiče in Jurklošter*, 132, 172.

<sup>110</sup> SI\_ZAC-0006\_00024-005. The reference is most likely to Bartolomeo Caccia. For more information about him, though not related to the stated archival source, see Janez Höfler, *Oglejski generalni vikarji in drugi patriarbovi pooblaščenici na Slovenskem v poznem srednjem veku 1300–1535* (Ljubljana,

"licence", two cemeteries had to be newly consecrated by *Fortunatus episcopus sarcenacensis*,<sup>111</sup> most likely soon after the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>112</sup>

## Conclusion

The determined architectural history and the newly-discovered archival sources do not only represent important historical and art-historical discoveries but also facilitate the scientific basis required for contemplating the revitalisation of this space. By means of the archaeological georadar recordings, comparisons with the relevant Carthusian monasteries elsewhere in Europe, and the preserved edifice, it is thus possible to define the size and the floor plan of the small cloister as well as to hypothesise about the appearance of the great cloister before and after its enlargement in 1444, which was financed by the Counts of Cilli. Furthermore, we also have the floor plan of the cemetery chapel at our disposal, which certainly represents a distinguished architectural achievement. However, based exclusively on the georadar recordings, it is not possible to make an assessment whether the chapel might have been enlarged in the 15<sup>th</sup> century under the patronage of the Counts of Cilli as well, or whether it preserved its High Gothic appearance from the 14<sup>th</sup> century during the last century of the monastery's operation. The impact of the Counts of Cilli on Jurklošter is also attested to by the fact that in 1689, the polymath Janez Vajkard Valvasor stated that the Jurklošter Carthusian monastery had been an institution of the Counts of Cilli, even though it had been initially founded by the Bishop of Gurk and, for the second time, by Leopold VI of Babenberg.<sup>113</sup>

The information that Phillipe, the Cardinal Bishop of Sabina, granted two times seventy days of indulgences to the visitors of the cemetery chapel in Jurklošter attests to the fact that the cemetery chapel, which may be deemed with certainty as the location of Veronika of Desnice's grave, was indeed very special to the Counts of Cilli. It is also meaningful that the chapel's name was not the cemetery or Carthusian/monastery chapel, but the Counts' Chapel

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2018), 16, 21, 56–57, 103. In the stated archival document, the term chapel is mentioned in two other regests. It is not clear, however, whether it refers to the cemetery chapel or to some other monastery chapel.

<sup>111</sup> SI\_ZAC-0006\_00024-006. The reference is most likely to Fortunatus de Pellicanis. For more information about him (though not related to the stated archival document), see Höfler, *Oglejski generalni vikarji in drugi patriarbovi pooblaščenci*, 23, 66–67.

<sup>112</sup> Perhaps on 27 May 1458, when he certified several documents for the Jurklošter Carthusian monastery. About this event, see Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiže in Jurklošter*, 222; Höfler, *Oglejski generalni vikarji in drugi patriarbovi pooblaščenci*, 67. See also SI\_ZAC-0006\_00024-006.

<sup>113</sup> Valvasor, *Die Ebre dess Hertzogthumbs Crain*, XV, 360.

(*capella comitis in cimiterio*).<sup>114</sup> It is even more significant that this information is related to the archival source, which has been overlooked until now and indicates that three cardinals granted indulgences for the Counts' Chapel at the Jurklošter cemetery.<sup>115</sup> According to the subsequent sources, the Count of Cilli Frederick II was later buried in the Minorite Church in Celje. This information was stated in the *Chronicle of Celje*,<sup>116</sup> which was then cited by all the subsequent authors, as well as in all of the contemporary literature. Nevertheless, the information provided by Adreas Fidler that in the chapterhouse in the Carthusian monastery of Žiče *Grabmaal Friedrichs, eines gefürsteten Grafen von Zilli, welcher auch drey Zellen in dem Konvente für Chorgeistliche gebauet und gestiftet hatt* is significant in this context.<sup>117</sup> Even though Avguštin Stegenšek wrote that these cells had been commissioned by Frederick's II putative son,<sup>118</sup> the description, as provided by Fidler, could most likely only refer to Frederick II. In 1414, Frederick II supposedly had three new monk's cells build in Žiče, as the General Chapter allowed the monastery to increase the number of monks to twenty.<sup>119</sup> Marijan Zadnikar avoided the exact identification of the Count of Cilli in question by writing that "Fredrick, Count of Cilli, buried in front of the altar in the chapterhouse, commissioned the construction of three monk's cells" and quoted Avguštin Stegenšek at this point.<sup>120</sup> According to the majority of other authors, the person buried in the chapterhouse of the Carthusian monastery of Žiče in front of the Holy Cross altar was Frederick II of Cilli's son Frederick III, who died in his youth.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> SI\_ZAC-0006\_00024-005; Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiče in Jurklošter*, 224–225.

<sup>115</sup> SI\_ZAC-0006\_00024-006.

<sup>116</sup> See Valvasor, *Die Ebre dess Hertzogthums Crain*, XV, 359; Steiermärkisches Landesarchiv Graz (= StLA), Handschrift 28/1–9, Leopold Stadl, *Ehrenspiegel des Ertzogthums Steyer*, 1731, 195, 196, 217; Ignaz Orožen, *Das Bisthum und die Diözese Lavant. III/2: Das Dekanat Cilli* (Cilli, 1880), 179–180; Krones, *Die Freien von Saneck und ihre Chronik*, 115; Daša Pahor, "Spomeniki na območju Slovenije v risbah Leopolda barona Stadla", *Acta historiae artis Slovenica* 13 (2008), 162–164. See also Zupanič Slavec, *Družinska povezanost grofov Celjskih*, 223–234, 239.

<sup>117</sup> Andreas Fidler, *Geschichte der ganzen österreichischen, weltlichen und klösterlichen Klerisey beyderley Geschlechts. 3/6: Schluß des Innerösterreichs oder das Herzogthum Steyermark* (Wien, 1784; Austria sacra, 6/3), 348–349.

<sup>118</sup> Stegenšek, *Konjiška dekanija*, 195.

<sup>119</sup> About this, see Jakob Maximilian Stepischnegg, *Das Karthäuser-Kloster Seiz* (Marburg, 1884), 47; Mlinarič, *Kartuzija Pleterje*, 85.

<sup>120</sup> Zadnikar, *Srednjeveška arhitektura kartuzijanov*, 151.

<sup>121</sup> For more information about this son, see SI\_ZAC-0006\_00002-003; SI\_ZAC-0006\_00002-007. The genealogical table in annex 3 of Krones, *Die Freien von Saneck und ihre Chronik*, lists Frederick III as a putative son of Frederick II, who was allegedly a Carthusian monk in the Žiče Charterhouse. Jakob Maximilian Stepischnegg, *Das Karthäuser-Kloster Seiz* (Marburg, 1884), 51, also states that the eponymous son of Frederick II was a Carthusian monk in Žiče. Jože Mlinarič (Mlinarič, *Kartuzija Pleterje*, 84, 123; Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiče in Jurklošter*, 464; Mlinarič, "Celjani in njihov odnos do samostanov", 127) refers to Avguštin Stegenšek (Stegenšek, *Konjiška dekanija*, 195) and the quoted entry in the Historical Archives Celje, which states: *In capitulo iacet comes Fredericus filius comitis Cilliae Frederici*,

Frederick II maintained very close connections with the Jurklošter Carthusian monastery, which was not only evident from Veronika's reburial but also from his wish regarding his final resting place. As established by Jože Mlinarič, who studied the historical documentation regarding the Jurklošter monastery, it was precisely Frederick II that gifted more estates, income, and privileges to the Jurklošter monastery than anyone else from the Celje dynasty.<sup>122</sup> In this manner, he took excellent care not only of his dynastic but especially his own political and spiritual propaganda. Did Frederick II deliberately support the Jurklošter Carthusian monastery and enable its economic and architectural development because he saw this institution as his endowment and burial place? Frederick II would surely visit the monastery quite often. He was undoubtedly in Jurklošter on 20 May 1431,<sup>123</sup> 20 April 1439,<sup>124</sup> as well as on 18 April 1444, when the prior of the Žiče Charterhouse was present there as well.<sup>125</sup> The documents also mention Frederick II in the Carthusian monastery's great cloister (*ambitu monasterij*)<sup>126</sup> and in the prior's small room (*in Girio in parva stubella prioris*).<sup>127</sup> Naturally, the large quantity of unpreserved documents or meeting places unspecified in the documents should be taken into account as well. If we also take into account the fact that Frederick had a house built for him next to the Carthusian monastery, we fully realise the extremely favourable relations and ties that he and the Counts of Cilli in general maintained with the Jurklošter Carthusians – which is also attested to by the (un)preserved architecture.<sup>128</sup>

*sub signo crucis. Obiit juvenis absque uxore.* This transcription, which is a part of the so-called first legend of the establishment of the Žiče Charterhouse, written in the 17<sup>th</sup> century (*Miraculosa Seyzycensis Carthusiae fundatio*), is also published in Hausmann, "Die Gründungsurkunde und weitere Urkunden für die Ausstattung der Kartause Seitz", 141, 170. The genealogical table in Meyer, "Die Grafen von Cilli als Erben der Grafen von Ortenburg", 88, lists Frederick III (with a question mark) as the child of Veronika and Frederick II and presents him as a Carthusian in the Žiče Charterhouse. That he was the son of Frederick II and Veronika of Desnice and a Carthusian monk in Žiče is also stated in the genealogical table, published in Miha Kosi, "Grofje Celjski", in: *Slovenski zgodovinski atlas*, ed. Drago Bajt and Marko Vidic (Ljubljana, 2011), 90; cf. Gubo, "Graf Friedrich II. von Cilli", 17. On the contrary, Stegenšek, *Konjiška dekanija*, 195, believes that Frederick III was not a Carthusian, as it would otherwise not be emphasised that he died young and unmarried. The genealogical table in Domenig, *tuon kunt*, 41, however, does not list any children from the marriage of Frederick II and Veronika of Desnice. The genealogical table, published on the inner side of the front cover of Fugger Germadnik, *Grofje in knezi Celjski*, lists Frederick III as the son of Frederick II and an unknown mother, who supposedly died as a child. The given information certainly reveals discrepancies in the literature and the necessity to carry out further genealogical research.

<sup>122</sup> Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiče in Jurklošter*, 222–226, 228–229; Mlinarič, "Celjani in njihov odnos do samostanov", 138–139.

<sup>123</sup> SI\_AS 1063/4863; Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiče in Jurklošter*, 226; Mlinarič, "Celjani in njihov odnos do samostanov", 138; Mlinarič, *Kartuzija Bistra*, 139; Domenig, *tuon kunt*, 173 (No. 219).

<sup>124</sup> StLA, AUR 5635a; Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiče in Jurklošter*, 225.

<sup>125</sup> StLA, AUR 5915; Stepischnegg, *Das Karthäuser-Kloster Seitz*, 52–53; Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiče in Jurklošter*, 198, 461; Mlinarič, "Celjani in njihov odnos do samostanov", 136.

<sup>126</sup> SI\_ZAC-0006\_00024-004; Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiče in Jurklošter*, 229.

<sup>127</sup> SI\_ZAC-0006\_00024-004; Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiče in Jurklošter*, 229.

<sup>128</sup> I wish to most sincerely thank Joseph Bernaer for his invaluable and irreplaceable help with the pro-

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**VLOGA GROFOV CELJSKIH PRI STAVBNEM RAZVOJU  
VELIKEGA KRIŽNEGA HODNIKA KARTUZIJE JURKLOŠTER  
IN VPRAŠANJE LOKACIJE GROBA VERONIKE DESENIŠKE  
Arheološka metoda kot pomoč pri umetnostnozgodovinski  
interpretaciji**

POVZETEK

V srednjem veku je bila kartuzija Jurklošter, iz katere je zadnji kartuzijan odšel leta 1564 ali kmalu za tem, pomembna duhovno-politična točka tako za Cerkev kakor tudi za prominentne predstavnike posvetne plemiške elite. Od druge polovice 13. stoletja dalje je samostan postal eno osrednjih duhovnih središč za gospode Žovneške, poznejše grofe Celjske. Podpiranje kartuzijanov je med plemstvom pomenilo svojevrsten statusni simbol in posledično prvovrstno strategijo za dinastično propagando. Njihova naklonjenost jurkloštrskemu samostanu je bila doslej v literaturi že večkrat izpostavljena, vendar pa je bilo v umetnostnozgodovinskih besedilih le bolj ali manj bežno omenjeno, da so grofje Celjski finančno podprli izgradnjo empore v zahodnem delu cerkve ter poskrbeli za izgradnjo pokopališke kapele in strešnega stolpiča cerkve. Omenjena sta bila tudi oltar, ki ga je v križnem hodniku leta 1401 dala postaviti vdova Hermana I., in listina, s katero so Celjski grofje namenili sredstva za prezdavo velikega križnega hodnika. Na mestu velikega križnega hodnika se danes razteza travnik, na katerem so bile leta 2008 opravljene georadarske raziskave. Te so bile v literaturi doslej analizirane le enkrat. Leta 2016 je bil v Jurkloštru izveden še dodatni georadarski posnetek, ki še ni bil objavljen.

Članek prinaša umetnostnozgodovinsko analizo obeh arheoloških georadarskih posnetkov in interpretacijo stavbne zgodovine jurkloštrskega velikega

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curement of literature that was impossible to acquire anywhere during the general quarantine when this article was written. I would also like to thank the Historical Archives Celje for all their assistance with accessing the relevant documents during the quarantine. For bringing my attention to the document of 1434 and all the inspiring discussions, I give my sincerest thanks to Gorazd Bence. I would like to thank Ana Lavrič and Blaž Resman for their assistance with interpreting certain archival records. I would also like to thank Valentin Gorenčič for all the measurements and sketches of the architectural development of the great cloister and all of our joint visits to various European Carthusian monasteries, which have provided new dimensions to our understanding of the Slovenian charterhouses. The article was written in the context of the Slovenian Artistic Identity in European Context (P6-0061) research programme and the Visual Arts between Censorship and Propaganda from the Middle Ages to the End of World War I (L7-8282) research project, co-financed by the Slovenian Research Agency from the state budget.

križnega hodnika v srednjem veku, torej v času delovanja kartuzije, predvsem njegovo postopno rast. Osrednji namen prispevka je odgovoriti na vprašanje, ali je mogoče definirati izgled križnega hodnika pred in po prezidavi, ki so jo, kot sledi iz ohranjenih listin, finančno podprli Celjski grofje in s tem odigrali ključno vlogo pri njegovem stavbnem razvoju. Prispevek se osredotoča tudi na problematiko lokacije groba Veronike Deseniške. Članek tako nudi celovit in doslej najnatančnejši poskus interpretacije stavbnega razvoja velikega križnega hodnika, ki v razlago vključuje tudi zidove, vidne na prvem georadarskem posnetku, ki so doslej ostali nepojasneni. Na novo so narejene vse izmere, ki izhajajo iz georadarskega posnetka, definirana sta trakt na jugozahodnem vogalu in potek samostanskega obzidja na severni strani. Prvič je predstavljen tudi dejanski tloris malega križnega hodnika.

Pri poskusu rekonstrukcije velikega križnega hodnika se avtorica poslužuje arheološke, zgodovinske in umetnostnozgodovinske metodologije. Poleg natančne analize obeh arheoloških posnetkov so tako v obravnavo pritegnjeni vsi znani arhivski viri, relevantni za razvoj velikega križnega hodnika, med katerimi je tudi nekaj doslej povsem spregledanih. Primerjalna analiza z relevantnimi kartuzijanskimi samostani drugod po Evropi, zlasti z zgodnjimi kartuzijami v današnji Franciji, Italiji, Švici, Španiji in Angliji, je v poskusu interpretacije stavbnega razvoja omogočila dopolnitev tistih delov v rekonstrukciji jurkloštrskega velikega križnega hodnika, ki z georadarske slike in ohranjenih srednjeveških struktur niso več razvidne.

Avtorica v članku tako s pomočjo arheoloških georadarskih posnetkov, arhivskih virov, primerjave z relevantnimi kartuzijanskimi samostani drugod po Evropi in ohranjene stavbne substance postavlja hipotezo o izgledu prvotnega križnega hodnika z devetimi oziroma desetimi celičnimi hišami in nato 14 celičnimi hišami, zgrajenimi po dveh darovnicah Friderika II. in Ulrika II. v letu 1444. Na podlagi tu prvič objavljenega zapisa v vatikanskih arhivih, da je Friderik II. želel biti pokopan v jurkloštrski pokopališki kapeli, sklepa, da je razlog za to v tem, da je bila v pokopališki kapeli pokopana Veronika Deseniška.

Novoodkriti arhivski viri prinašajo pomembna nova spoznanja o pomenu kartuzije Jurklošter in še posebno tamkajšnje pokopališke kapele za grofe Celjske. Razkrivajo svojevrstno duhovno-politično propagando Celjanov, ki je do posebnega izraza prišla prav v njihovem odnosu do samostanov kartuzijanov, ki so v srednjem veku zaradi svojega asketskega načina življenja veljali za elitni in najstrožji monastični red. Umetnostnozgodovinska interpretacija razvoja velikega križnega hodnika prinaša pomembna nova spoznanja o stavbni zgodovini kartuzije Jurklošter, hkrati pa omogoča tudi potrebno znanstveno podlago za razmislek o revitalizaciji tega prostora. V članku predlagani stavbni razvoj bodo lahko ustrezno dopolnila ali korigirala morebitna arheološka izkopavanja, ki se jih nadejamo v prihodnosti.

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*Naslov:* **VLOGA GROFOV CELJSKIH PRI STAVBNEM RAZVOJU VELIKEGA KRIŽNEGA HODNIKA KARTUZIJE JURKLOŠTER IN VPRAŠANJE LOKACIJE GROBA VERONIKE DESENIŠKE**

*Podnaslov:* **Arheološka metoda kot pomoč pri umetnostnozgodovinski interpretaciji**

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*Ključne besede:* srednji vek, kartuzija Jurklošter, grofje Celjski, veliki križni hodnik, Friderik II. Celjski, Veronika Deseniška, pokopališka kapela, umetnostno naročništvo, arhitektura, georadarski posnetek, stavbni razvoj

*Izvleček:* Članek predstavlja prvi poskus celostne interpretacije stavbnega razvoja velikega križnega hodnika kartuzije Jurklošter in njegovega izgleda v času pred in po prezidavi, ki sta jo leta 1444 finančno podprla celjska grofa in kneza Friderik II. in Ulrik II. Prispevek prinaša tudi več do sedaj prezrtih arhivskih virov, ki razkrivajo doslej neznan patrocinij pokopališke kapele v atriju križnega hodnika in precej zanesljivo tudi lokacijo groba Veronike Deseniške. Razkrivajo tudi več novih podatkov o podelitvi odpustkov, dovoljenju za postavitve oltarja v pokopališki kapeli in posvetitvah. Poleg pritegnitve novih arhivskih virov in primerjalne analize z relevantnimi srednjeveškimi kartuzijami drugod po Evropi članek metodološko temelji na umetnostnozgodovinski analizi dveh arheoloških georadarskih posnetkov, od katerih je eden v tem prispevku tudi prvič objavljen.