THE TERRITORY ON THE RIGHT BANK OF THE DRAVA BETWEEN MARIBOR AND PTUJ IN MISCELLANEOUS SOURCES FROM THE 17TH AND 18TH CENTURY

OZEMLJE NA DESNEM DRAVSKEM BREGU MED MARIBOROM IN PTUJEM PO PIS(A)NIH VIRIH IZ 17. IN 18. STOLETJA

Matjaž GRAHORNIK

mag. znanosti s področja zgodovine mladi raziskovalec na Zgodovinskem inštitutu Milka Kosa ZRC SAZU, Ljubljana UI. Franca Vreša 9, SI-2204 Miklavž matjaz.grahornik@zrc-sazu.si Received / Primljeno: 16. 6. 2017. Accepted / Prihvaćeno: 12. 12. 2017. Original scientific paper / Izvorni znanstveni rad

UDK / UDC: 502.51(282.24Drava) 629.512(282.24Drava) 930.2(497.4)"16/17"

SINOPSIS

V prispevku je predstavljeno ozemlje med mestoma Mariborom in Ptujem na desnem dravskem bregu tik ob reki, in sicer v času od (poznega) 17. do konca 18. stoletja. Med uporabljenimi viri mu dodatno težo dajejo podatki, pridobljeni iz najstarejših ohranjenih matičnih knjig župnij iz ozemlja Dravskega polja (tj. za župnije Hoče, Slivnica, Hajdina in Spodnja Polskava) ter mariborske mestne župnije, vse iz 17. stoletja. Prispevek se dotakne (začetkov) splavarstva na reki Dravi in (s tem povezanega?) števila nezakonskih otrok v teh krajih. Reka je v tem delu predstavljala mejo med gospostvoma Vurberk in Ravno polje. Drava je vse do vasi Zlatoličje veljala za divjo reko, tukaj pa je polagoma umirila svoj tok in pričela odlagati drobir in pesek. Omenjena vas je ime dobila po zlatu, ki so ga ljudje v tem delu stoletja dolgo (in vse do srede 20. stoletja) izpirali iz naplavljenega oz. odloženega rečnega materiala. Do Zlatoličja je reka s poplavami nenehno spreminjala svoj tok, tako da so nastajali vedno novi rečni rokavi in otoki. Dogovori med gospostvi, sklenjeni v nekem obdobju, so lahko zaradi premaknjene dravske struge kaj kmalu postali nični. Tudi obdelovanje zemlje v bližini rek je na obeh straneh terjalo posebne ukrepe, brez ustreznih dogovorov lastnikov pa so nastali ugodni pogoji za vedno pogostejše spore. Ti se še posebej zrcalijo v uboju vurberškega zemljiškega gospoda Jurija Günterja grofa Herbersteina, ki so ga ravnopoljski podložniki ubili 31. maja 1677, potem ko je ta s svojimi podložniki želel odstraniti ravnopoljski jez na Loškem potoku, saj naj bi mu ta kratil pravice pri (ribo)lovu.

Ključne besede: Drava, Dravsko polje, matične knjige, splavarstvo.

Keywords: Drava river, Drava field, parish registers, rafting, Herberstein(s). **Ključne riječi:** rijeka Drava, Dravsko polje, registari, splavarenje, Herberstein(i).

Author of the article will try to point out some aspects of the territory on the right bank of the river Drava between Maribor and Ptuj during the 17th and 18th century. At that time this territory represented a small piece of Styria province, which formed a part of the Habsburg monarchy.

1. RAFTING BETWEEN MARIBOR AND PTUJ1

Firstly, we need to present a few facts about rafting on the river Drava. Rafting can be set far into the past, after all, the river was already an important traffic route in Roman times. A special meaning was given to it by the Roman settlement *Petoviona* (modern Ptuj) which had military headquarters

¹ The chapter was in slightly modified form published in periodical *Kronika* (vol. 58, no. 2, p. 322).

and its own river fleet.² In year 796, even before the first (preserved) mention of rafting on the river in written sources, the Italian king Pepin, son of Charlemagne, who was on a military march with his army against the Avars, determined the river Drava as the ecclesiastic border between Salzburg and Aquileia in Pannonia. Charlemagne, the Frankish king, confirmed his son's decision in the year 811.³ The first mention of rafting on the river Drava was around the year 1290 when Viktring Monastery was exempt from paying the toll in Völkermarkt for rafts, which were used for shipping empty wine barrels to Maribor. Transporting wood down the river was already relatively well-developed during the Middle Ages. Sources from that time do not describe how rafts were built. We can assume that they used the vine to bind wooden logs together in the shape of a rectangle, and paddles were placed in the front and in the back. Before the hydroelectric power plants were built (in the 20th century), Drava was a wild river, full of rapids, dangerous rocks and narrow passes. We can assume that they mostly used rafts when the current was calm, and for reaching shorter distances.⁴

In the first half of the 16th century, the trade between Villach and Ptuj started to boom. The majority of goods, mainly wine, iron products, oil, exotic fruits and textile, were transported by rafts. Ptuj was the most important trade centre in Styria during the 16th century. It could be compared to Villach, also due to its well-developed raft traffic on Drava, while Maribor was (still) lagging behind, although it also had its own river harbour. Ptuj harbour was the most important harbour on Drava in Styria between the 15th and 18th century. Later it was supplanted by the harbour in Maribor. It must be mentioned that rafting on Drava did not reach its full boom until the 19th century.⁵

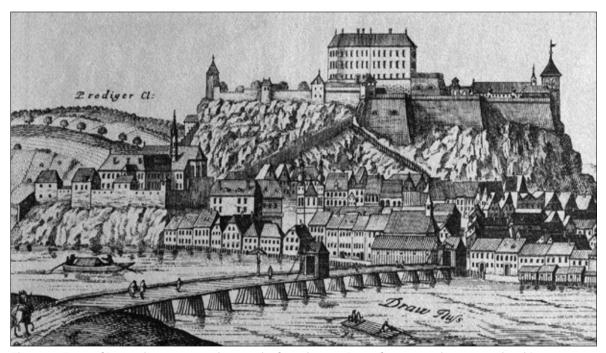


Figure 1: Town of Ptuj with a prominent boat and raft on the river Drava from around year 1687, detail (source: Vischer 2006, pict. 80). About this graphics being produced by Vischer around the year 1687 (and not in 1681), see Stopar 2006b, pp. 23–24.

² Kosi 1998, pp. 154–155; Kanop 2000, p. 156; Radovanovič 2000, p. 82; Grahornik 2010, p. 322.

³ Štih 1996, p. 538; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pepin_of_Italy; https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Drau. The river then represented the ecclesiastic border between Salzburg's diocese and patriarchy of Aquileia for almost a millennium, until the reforms of Maria Theresa.

⁴ Kosi 1998, pp. 154–155; Radovanovič 2000, pp. 82–83; Grahornik 2010, p. 322.

⁵ Radovanovič 2000, pp. 83–84, 87 and 90; Kosi 1998, pp. 155–156; Kanop 2000, pp. 156–157.

In Styria, the river (and its river transport) was the emperor's monopoly. Regulations regarding voyages on the river were published by the owners of those dominions who had estates along the river or on their borders. On behalf of the owners, rules were provided, fees and salaries regulated, and the offence-makers punished. The emperor or his representative (provincial governor) ordained resolutions only when he was approached explicitly, usually in case of many disputes.⁶ These disputes occurred, as we shall see later in this article, also in this part of the Drava stream.

Let us shortly address the rafting on the river Drava between Maribor and Ptuj. Villages Zrkovci, Dogoše, Miklavž and Starše are commonly known as important harbours for rafts in the past. The German name for Dogoše is, for example, *Lendorf* and the church in Miklavž is dedicated to St. Nicholas, known as the patron of raftsmen and sailors. The church is one of the oldest in the Dravsko polje/Drava field area, firstly mentioned in the written sources at the end of the 14th century. Depending on the above written facts, it was reasonable to expect the mentions of raftsmen in the earliest preserved parish registers from Dravsko polje (from the 17th century). This especially applies to the parishes Hoče, Hajdina and Maribor, since they all bordered the river, once a traffic route for ferries, rafts and chaikas.

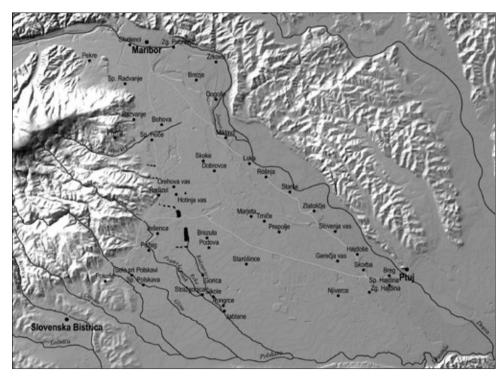


Figure 2: Area of Dravsko polje with the inscribed sites according to Joseph's military maps from the late 18th century (author of the map: dr. Igor Žiberna; published in: Grahornik 2015, p. 74).

There were (only) two such entries. An entry from the death register of the Maribor parish from 22 February 1691, gives us a full name of a raftsman (*floßer*) coming from Ribnica na Pohorju (*Reifnigg*).⁸ The date of the death or the burial of Thomas Erholdt implies that he lived in Maribor or possibly owned a house in the town. An entry from the baptismal register of the Hajdina parish from 9 March 1697, mentions a raftsman Jacob, who had a son with his mistress named Sophia Predič (*Predizh*), baptised as Gregor. Raftsman Jacob, whose last name is unknown, apparently had an affair with a local prostitute and unintentionally ended up in the historical source.⁹

⁶ Kanop 2000, p. 159; Grahornik 2010, p. 322.

⁷ Grahornik 2010, p. 322.

⁸ ABAM, Maribor-St. John the Baptist parish, DRB 1664–1762, fol. 131. Published in: Grahornik 2015, pp. 168–169 and 185.

Eodem die bap[tiza]tus e[st] filius illegitimus Gregorius. Patris Jacobus NN floßer, et meritricis Sophiae Predizhin. Patrini sunt Georgius Rogina, et Catharina Zethin, per me ut supra (ABAM, Hajdina parish, BRB 1683–1718, fol. 113; published in: Grahornik 2015, pp. 168–169 and 185).

2. THE MENTIONED TERRITORY ON JOSEPH'S MILITARY MAPS

First fairly accurate outline and listing of the complete territory on the right bank of Drava between Maribor and Ptuj was made during the Joseph's military surveys from 1763 to 1787. All settlements on what is now known as Dravsko polje/Drava field (in the past, the territory was named Zgornje Ptujsko polje/Das Ober Pettauer Feld) were located on more or less steep Drava terraces, formed through the ages by the river changing its stream. The terraces protected the settlements in case of the floods. In **Studenci** (Brunndorf), now a district in Maribor, the south river bank reached the height of approximately 7.6 m (4 fathoms)¹¹ and 3.8 m (up to 2 fathoms) in the north. The Drava's stream in this area used to be very fast and rapid. Its stream gradually slowed down after reaching the village of Zlatoličje. At **Kamnica** (Gams) the river was 91 to 136 m wide (from 120 to 180 steps). In town **Maribor** (Marburg) it reached the width of almost 152 m (from 180 to 200 steps) and it was more than 11 m (6 fathoms) deep. The river bottom was rocky. The usual means of transport on the river were rafts. The wooden bridge located in Maribor was approximately 144 m (190 steps) long and 9 m (12 steps) wide. The bridge was well maintained and in good condition because of its great importance. It withstood the crossings of all types of heavy carts. Is

Below **Pobrežje** (*Povrs*), a ferry (see *uberfuhr*) suitable only for carrying people was sailing between **Zrkovci** (*Zvettendorf*) on the right bank and Malečnik (*St. Peter*) on the left bank. One could reach the distance between the two villages in approximately 15 minutes.

At **Dogoše** (*Lendorf*), Drava had partly sandy and partly rocky bottom. An average high water mark was 2.2 m (7 feet). When the water level was low, the river accumulated many new sandbanks, which

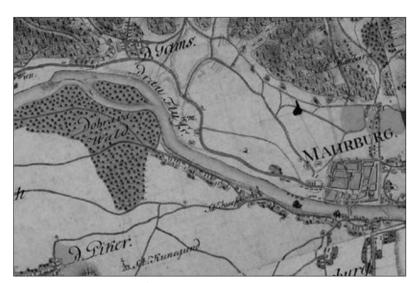


Figure 3: Drava's stream from Kamnica to Maribor (source: Rajšp 2000, section 146).

made the river impassable for rafts, chaikas and boats from time to time. A small brook Jezero sprang near Dogoše. It widened when it reached **Miklavž** (St. Nicolai) and formed two small ponds. After Miklavž, the stream was 1.3-1.6 m (4 to 5 feet) wide and up to 63 cm (2 feet) deep, flowing into the Drava river. The mill on this brook was an ordinary farmer's mill. The so-called Long or St. Nicholas's meadows (Nicloski Wie β en; an area alongside the river stretching from Dogoše to Loka) were frequently flooded and swampy, except in the summer when the area

was completely dry. Tall pine trees, fir trees and oaks prevailed in the *Rastie* forest. Below Dogoše, where the river got narrower, a ferry transporting people was sailing to the left bank near Zgornji Duplek,.

Several islands were also located below **Loka** (*Lakdorf*) and **Rošnja** (*Rasdorf*). The biggest one was Berlek (on the map as *Lokski Berl*, close by the village Loka). All islands on the river Drava were

¹⁰ Rajšp and Kološa 2000; (Chief Ed.) Rajšp 2000, sections 146, 165, 166 and 171.

Fathom = old measure for length, approximately 1.896 m or six Viennese feet per 31.6 cm. Austrian post mile was 4,000 Viennese fathoms in length, i. e. 7,584 m (Vilfan 1961, pp. 59 and 65).

 $^{^{12}}$ Step = old measure for length, approximately 76 cm or 0.76 m (Kopal 1844, pp. 38–39).

¹³ Rajšp and Kološa 2000, pp. 92–93, 112–113 and 116; Rajšp 2000, sections 146, 166 and 171.



Figure 4: River's stream from Pobrežje to Dogoše (source: Rajšp 2000, section 166).

densely overgrown with shrubs and some tall trees.¹⁴

River branches at **Starše** (*Altendorf*) were up to 95 cm (3 feet) deep, varying in width and passable with smaller vessels. Near Starše there was also a ferry, sailing to the left bank to Dvorjane. The ferry was composed out of two smaller boats and could transport only people.

Village **Zlatoličje** (*Golldorf*) was named after the gold collected from the river's accumulated materials by the local people for centuries (until the mid-20th century). This was possible because of the river's stream which gradually slowed down at this point and began to accumulate gravel and sand; the river bottom was thereby sandy. The average depth of the river stretched from 3.8 to 5.7 m (from 2 to

3 fathoms). The river was separated to numerous ditches, some of them being completely shallow. The river got narrower below Zlatoličje, measuring approximately 76 m (40 fathoms). In other parts it reached approximately 152 m (80 fathoms) in width. The Drava islands here were overgrown with shrubs and low to medium-tall forest.

At **Slovenja vas** (*Windischdorf*), the river continued to measure approximately 3.8 to 5.7 m in depth, but it could also be completely shallow in some parts. At certain areas, the river remained rapid and could reach the villages when flooding.

The village **Hajdoše** (Siebendorf) was situated nearby Drava's stream, so the water could reach the

village when the river flooded. River banks were approximately 1.3 m (4 feet) high. Numerous springs under the village **Skorba** formed around 11.4 m (6 fathoms) wide swamp. The small swamp was pretty deep and completely impassable. River banks and islands in the area were covered with tall and low forest with dense shrubs.¹⁵

According to the Maria Theresa's census, eight subjects from Skorba belonged to the estate of Zgornje Radvanje (Ober Radwein). Johann Kummer enjoyed a special status on a three-quarter 'huba' (i.e. farm), since he had one subject serving on a quarter 'huba' and other six subjects with a status of a cottager. A large number of the cottagers in this area could mean



Figure 5: Drava's stream from Miklavž to Zlatoličje (source: Rajšp 2000. section 166).

¹⁴ Rajšp and Kološa 2000, pp. 116–118 and 126; Rajšp 2000, section 166.

¹⁵ Rajšp and Kološa 2000, pp. 118 and 184–185; Rajšp 2000, sections 166 and 171.

¹⁶ NB: dise 7 bemerckte unterthanen dienen obbemelten h(errn) Kummer, selber aber vor alle anhero (StLA, Häuserzählung, CK, cardb.



Figure 6: River's stream from Slovenja vas to the town of Ptuj (source: Rajšp 2000, section 171).

that the local subjects were working as carriers or had some other professions connected to rafting or its services.

Breg (*Randorf*) is located on the edge of today's Dravsko polje/Drava field and represents a part of town Ptuj; however, in the past, it represented the outskirts of Ptuj. From (t)here it was possible to cross the nearest river branch with a cart when the water level was low. A wooden bridge across the river, more than 227 m (300 steps) long and nearly 7.6 m (10 steps) wide, led to Ptuj. Not far from the village was the land road leading towards towns Maribor and Slovenska Bistrica. Medium-tall and low forest with some tall trees grew on the riverbanks and on the islands of Drava. 18

3. DISPUTES BETWEEN DOMINIONS VURBERK AND RAVNO POLJE AND THE CULMINATION OF THE DISPUTES – MANSLAUGHTER OF COUNT GEORG GÜNTHER HERBERSTEIN IN 1677

From so far written it is clear that Drava was a lot wilder in the past. The river frequently flooded and changed its stream, especially in Dravsko polje due to the unstable, gravelly soil. The river constantly formed new river branches and small islands. Arrangements between the dominions, concluded in certain period of time, could soon became invalid due to the continual changes of the riverbed. Cultivation of the soil near the river required special agreements on both sides, however, the lack of proper arrangements between the landowners generated favourable conditions for increasing disputes.¹⁹

Throughout the second half of the 17th century there were increasing disputes between the owner of the dominion Vurberk (*Wurmberg*) on the left bank and the owner of the dominion Ravno polje (*Ebensfeld*) on the right bank regarding fishing rights in the river and its tributaries, regarding the rights to exploit low bushes, scrubs and trees on the gravel islands and riverbanks, where the subjects of both dominions pastured the livestock and grabbed strewing, and regarding building protective embankments (*währ*)²⁰ between the

^{19,} fsc. 72, register no. 165, Gueth Rottwein (dorff Scorba)).

From the map can clearly be seen that only half the length of the bridge was extending over the river, while the remaining part was made at or above the nearby Drava's island. Compare with the Vischer's graphics of town Ptuj from around the year 1687, published at the beginning of this article.

¹⁸ Rajšp and Kološa 2000, pp. 185 and 188–189; Rajšp 2000, section 171.

¹⁹ Radovanovič and Vidmar 2002, p. 75.

²⁰ On that topic see Zwitter 2017, pp. 2 and 13.

villages Dogoše and Zlatoličje.²¹ In 1662, the baron Johann Christian Galler,22 seignior of dominion Ravno polje, and count Georg Günther Herberstein,23 seignior of dominion Vurberk, thus reached a settlement, which was also signed and sealed by counts Erasmus Friedrich and Johann Ferdinand Herberstein, and baron Johann Sebastian Schäzl. This settlement meant only temporary calmness.24 It seems that a serious disagreement occurred after 1669, when Johann Christian Galler died, and Georg Günther tried to take advantage of the situation around the elderly widow and her minor children.25 Subsequently, the conflict only escalated. The tragic death of





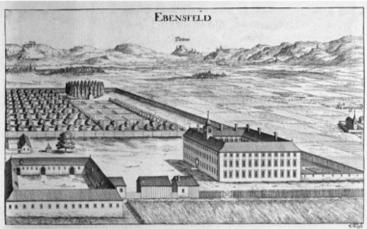


Figure 7 and 8: Castle Vurberk (above) and manor Ravno polje (below) from around 1700, the seats of same-called dominions (source: Vischer 2006, pict. 132 and 90). The author of both graphics above was not Vischer but his engraver Andreas Trost (Stopar 2006a, pp. 12–13). In the graphics of manor Ravno polje, the Vurberk castle, which is situated above the village Šentjanž (S. Johans), on the hill on the left bank of the river Drava is also evident. From Vurberk there was/is possible to see the major part of the Dravsko polje.

- On 16 October 1651 in church of St. Blood (*Hl. Blut*) in Graz, Johann Christian Galler married the widow Maria Theresa Mauritsch, born as baroness Breuner. In this marriage were born: Anna Maria (18. VII. 1652), Johann Maximilian (22. VII. 1653), Maria Theresa (20. VII. 1654), Maria Klara (23. VIII. 1655), Johann Wilhelm (2. XI. 1656), Johann Otto (16. XII. 1657), Johann Sigmund (3. IX. 1659), Johann Ernest (1. XI. 1660), Johann Franz (18. X. 1662), Johann Richard (2. IV. 1664), Johann Seifried (26. IX. 1666), Maria Rebecca (8. II. 1668) and Johann Carl (10. VI. 1669). All were baptized in St. Blood's church in Graz (Schiviz 1909, pp. 62–75 and 206).
- Georg Günther was (probably oldest) son of baron Günther Herberstein († 1655) from the Hrastovec (*Gutenhaag*) family branch. The latter was married with the countess Eva Regina Starhemberg. In this marriage, sons Heinrich Wilhelm (5. II. 1630), Erasmus Friedrich (19. VI. 1631), Sigmund Adam (8. VIII. 1632), Heinrich Julius (19. II. 1636), Constantine (17. III. 1637) and Johann Christian (25. IV. 1638), and daughters Eva Elisabeth, Sabina Elisabeth, Constantia (16. XI. 1628), Polixena (17. III. 1637), Johanna Eusebia (23. VIII. 1639) and Maria Juliana (9. XI. 1641) were also born (in Graz). Günter bought the dominion Vurberk in 1639. After his death, his son Erasmus Friedrich inherited a larger and richer dominion Hrastovec and Georg Günther the dominion Vurberk. Georg Günther must have married countess Anna Maria (Charlotte) Wolkenstein at least in 1654, as she had given birth to a son on 16 April 1655, who was in Graz–St. Blood's church baptized as Franz Günther (SI_ZAP /0009/001, Herberstein archive–dominion Gornji Ptuj, Genealogical tree; Graz–St. Blood parish, BRB 1651–1659, fol. 256; Schiviz 1909, pp. 52–57, 64–65 and 206–207; Vidmar 2005, pp. 80–81).
- ²⁴ Radovanovič and Vidmar 2002, pp. 22–24.
- Johann Christian served in the imperial army. For example, at the baptism of his daughter Maria Anna (1652), he was mentioned as a lieutenant colonel. Later, his family was raised to the status of counts, but Johann Christian alone became a member of the regional military- and secret council, and shortly before his death even the president of the imperial war council (Schiviz 1909, p. 62; Radovanovič and Vidmar 2002, p. 24). On 18 September 1669 in Graz–St. Blood's church he was

count Georg Günther at the protective embankment at Loka creek below the settlement Loka at the end of May 1677 represents the culmination of disputes between the two before-mentioned dominions. Count Georg Günther intensified the pressure on dominion Ravno polje over all reasonable limits. After successful demolition of several protective embankments on the right riverbank, on 31 May 1677, he and his subjects tried to demolish another one of the remaining embankments, belonging to Ravno polje. He managed to provoke the subjects of Ravno polje to the point where they started a fight with the subjects of Vurberk and killed the count.²⁶

The outcome of the tragic event was as follows. From the beginning of the judicial process, i.e. since June 1677, Nicholas Metličar, Martin Nachberger, Lucas Šof, Georg Tavčer, Bartholomew Plan(i) šek, Andreas Zupanič (also known as Regal), Georg Rek (alias Kreušl) and since summer 1678 Matthias Golob shared a cell in iron cuffs in the prison of town hall in Graz. Two of them were released in the spring of 1680 after the high bail was paid. After the final verdict in 1681, all who were involved in the killing of the count were exiled from the Styria province for three months. Andreas Zupančič, who wounded the count with several blows with a sword, died in prison during the summer of 1680 due to plague, which raged across Styria at that time. Georg Rek, who stabbed the count with halberd, was sentenced to three-hour stand under the gallows at the crime scene, and was afterwards expelled from the province for life. Matthias Golob, former administrator of Ravno polje's manor house Šentjanž, who set the subjects against the count, was sentenced to one year expulsion from Styria.²⁷

The widow Maria Theresa, at that time already countess Galler, had owned the dominion Ravno polje until her death in 1684, and the dominion was inherited by the eldest son count Johann Maximilian Galler.²⁸ Only two years later, in 1686, he sold the dominion to count Georg Friedrich Sauer, seignior of Borl (*Ankenstein*). The reasons for selling were probably the significant difficulties caused by seigniors of Vurberk and their subjects.²⁹ The Ravno polje dominion was in the hands of family Sauer until 1801.³⁰

Disputes between the owners of Vurberk and Ravno polje continued even when the dominion Ravno polje was owned by the counts Sauer. Especially difficult was in 1688, when Drava strongly flooded and created a new riverbed. To prevent another bloody combat, the office of provincial governor general of Styria decided to send a commissioner to investigate the complaints on the location and to come up with the proposition on how to solve the dispute. Count Johann Maximilian Galler was chosen for the commissioner on 14 April 1689.³¹ The commissioner reviewed the disputable locations on 13 and 14 October 1689, and wrote his judgment in the report. He believed that the disputes between the dominions would not stop until Vurberk gave the fishing rights to the dominion Ravno polje in all the existing and future branches on the right bank of Drava for the proper financial compensation.³² Johann Georg

a godfather to Christian Friedrich, son of count Erasmus Friedrich Herberstein and his wife Anna Regina, born as baroness Breuner. Galler died two months later, on 17 November 1669 in Graz (Graz–St. Blood parish, WRB 1651–1659, fol. 301; Schiviz 1909, pp. 76 and 273; Radovanovič and Vidmar 2002, p. 24).

²⁶ Radovanovič and Vidmar 2002, pp. 25–29 and 50–51; Hernja Masten 2004, pp. 51–52.

²⁷ Radovanovič and Vidmar 2002, pp. 61, 69 and 73; Hernja Masten 2004, pp. 57–58; Vidmar 2005, p. 81.

He was born in July 1653 so at that time he was approximately 31 years old. In 1662 he was listed as one of the pupils that went to Latin school in nearby Ruše (*Maria Rast*) as: *Galler Joannes Maximilianus comes* (Schiviz 1909, p. 63; Mlinarič 1985, p. 145).

On 10 February 1656, count Georg Friedrich Sauer married countess Maria Barbara Trauttmansdorff. In this marriage Franz Anton was certainly born. On 25 May 1696, he married the countess Maria Anna Gaschin and succeeded the father as the owner of dominion Borl somehow in the early 18th century. In 1706, there was a fire in castle Borl that possibly killed his son Franz Anton jr., who died that year on 8 January. His death is recorded in book of Graz–St. Blood parish; he was buried in the capuchin tomb (probably in Ptuj). His father Franz Anton died on 12 September 1723 and was certainly buried in the capuchin tomb in Ptuj. Inheritance after him took the son Franz Joseph (Graz–St. Blood parish, DRB 1705–1722, fol. 27; Ibidem, DRB 1723–1742, fol. 37; Schiviz 1909, pp. 207 and 281; Zadravec 2005, pp. 81–82; Radovanovič and Vidmar 2002, p. 19).

³⁰ Zadravec 2005, p. 82.

³¹ Until 1686, he was the owner of dominion Ravno polje, so he knew everything about the disputes between the two dominions.

³² Radovanovič 2004, pp. 63–65.



Figure 9: Johann Georg Flexner: Disputed lands between Dogoše and Starše in 1689, detail (source: Radovanovič 2004, added map btw. p. 64 and 65). Under no. 12, the old riverbed before the Drava's floods in 1688 is presented, and under no. 13 there is the new riverbed (lbidem, p. 66). No. 10 represents the pond in Miklavž, owned by count Khisl. No. 15 is village Loka, no. 16 Loka's creek and no. 17 village Rošnja. On the left riverbank, no. 18 marks the village Spodnji Duplek and no. 19. the church of St. Barbara. No. 14 represents the meadow of Spodnji Duplek which, after the flood and transformation of the riverbed, switched to the right side of the river. On the spot marked with no. 11, an embankment for protection of estates of dominion Ravno polje was provided (Ibidem, p. 66).

Flexner, the military carpenter master, outlined the map of the disputable territory between Dogoše and Starše for the commissioner.³³ This map is (for now) the oldest outline of that area.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude to Aleksandra Petković, who improved my English translation, and to Katja Krope, lecturer of English for Specific Purposes at Higher Education Centre Novo mesto (Na Loko 2, 8000 Novo mesto), who has proofread the article.

4. SOURCES AND LITERATURE CITED

4.1 Archival sources

- 1. Steiermärkisches Landesarchiv in Graz (= StLA):
 - fond: Landschaftliches Archiv-Antiquum (= LAA), Häuserzählung 1754/55, Cillier Kreis (= CK), cardboard (= cardb.) 19, fascicle (= fsc.) 72, register no. 165, Gueth Rottwein.
 - fond: Altes Landrecht (= LR), cardb. 390, Herberstein Gräfliche Familie (15).
- 2. Archbishopric archive in Maribor (= ABAM):
 - fond: Hoče parish, register books: baptismal or birth register book (= BRB) 1639-1662 (in the same book also wedding entries (= WRB) 1640-1659), 1662-1677, 1677-1692 and 1692-1723; WRB 1668-1707.
 - fond: Slivnica parish: BRB 1683-1703.
 - fond: Hajdina parish, register books: BRB 1665–1682 (in the same book also WRB 1665–1683 and dead register book (= DRB) 1665–1683), 1682-1717; WRB 1683-1724 and DRB 1688-1718.

³³ Ibidem, p. 64.

- fond: Graz-St. Blood parish: BRB 1651–1659; DRB 1705–1722, 1723–1742 (access to digitalized register books of Seckau diocese is also possible here: matriken.graz-seckau.at/de (lastly accessed on 10 March 2017).
- 3. Historical archive in Ptuj:
 - SI_ZAP/0009/001, Herberstein archive dominion Gornji Ptuj, Genealogical tree of the noble family of Herberstein.

4.2 Published sources

- FRANK, K. F. v., 1970. Standeserhebungen und Gnadenakte für das Deutsche Reich und die Österreichischen Erblande bis 1806 sowie kaiserlich österreichische bis 1823; mit einigen Nachträgen zum »Alt-Österreichischen Adels-Lexicon« 1823–1918. 2. Band (F-J), 1970. Schloss Senftenegg: published by the author.
- 2. MLINARIČ, J., 2003. *Gradivo za zgodovino Maribora* (= *GZM*). Register books of Maribor–St. John the Baptist parish: *zvezek XXVIII*, *Mrliška knjiga 1664–1762*. Maribor, Pokrajinski arhiv Maribor (= PAM).
- 3. MLINARIČ, J., 1987. Zbirka listin: 1246–1865. Viri 3. Maribor, PAM.
- 4. RAJŠP, V. and KOLOŠA, V., 2000. *Slovenija na vojaškem zemljevidu 1763–1787. Opisi*, 6. zvezek. Ljubljana, Znanstvenoraziskovalni center Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti (= ZRC SAZU) in Arhiv republike Slovenije (= ARS).
- 5. RAJŠP, V. (Chief Ed.), 2000. Slovenija na vojaškem zemljevidu 1763–1787, Karte, 6. zvezek. Ljubljana, ZRC SAZU and ARS.
- 6. SCHIVIZ V. SCHIVIZHOFFEN, L., 1909. Der Adel in den Matriken der Stadt Graz. Graz, Lydia Schiviz von Schivizhoffen.
- 7. VISCHER, G. M., 2006. *Topographia Ducatus Stiriae* (izbor) [bibliophile edition (copy no. 338) with a small reprint of Vischer's map of province Styria in 1678]. Maribor, Umetniški kabinet Primož Premzl.

4.3 Literature

- 1. CURK, J. and PREMZL, P., 2004. Mariborske vedute. Maribor, Umetniški kabinet Primož Premzl.
- 2. GRAHORNIK, M., 2015. Demografska in zemljiškoposestna podoba Dravskega polja v drugi polovici 17. stoletja. Master's thesis. Maribor.
- 3. GRAHORNIK, M., 2010. Prispevki k starejši zgodovini Miklavža na Dravskem polju do konca 16. stoletja. In: *Kronika*, vol. 58, no. 2, Ljubljana, pp. 313–330.
- 4. HERNJA MASTEN, M., 2004. Kungota in Ravno polje. In: Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje (= ČZN), vol. 75 (new row 40), no. 1, Maribor, pp. 41–59.
- 5. HOZJAN, A., 2002. Mariborsko prebivalstvo do srede 18. stoletja. In: *Studia Historica Slovenica* (= *SHS*), vol. 2, no. 1, Maribor, pp. 11–41.
- 6. KANOP, M., 2000. Drava–nekdaj plovna reka. In: *Drava nekoč in danes. Zemljepisne, zgodovinske in etnološke značilnosti sveta ob Dravi*; *splavarstvo in energetika* (Ed. Board Macuh P. ... [et al.]). Maribor, Založba Obzorja, pp. 155–196.
- 7. KOPAL, B., 1844. Andeutungen über militärische Aufnahme. Zum Gebrauche für Cadetten-Schulen. Gratz, C. Tanzer.
- 8. KOSI, M., 1998. Potujoči srednji vek. Cesta, popotnik in promet na Slovenskem med antiko in 16. stoletjem. Ljubljana, ZRC SAZU.
- 9. KUMAR, J. A., 1817. Geschichte der Burg und Familie Herberstein. 3. Theil Die jüngeren, von Andreas von Herberstein und Ursulen von Teufenbach entsprossen, Linien. Wien, Carl Gerold.
- 10. MERKÙ, P., 1993. Svetniki v slovenskem imenoslovju. Trst, Mladika.
- 11. MLINARIČ, J. 1985. Seznam imen iz latinske kronike. In: *Ruška kronika* (Ed. Teržan, J.). Ruše: Krajevna skupnost.
- 12. MLINARIČ, J. and OŽINGER, A., 1982. Župnija in dekanija Hoče (1146–1945). Inventarji I. Maribor, PAM.
- 13. OROŽEN, I., 1875. Das Bisthum und die Diözese Lavant. Theil I. Das Bithum, das Domkapitel und die Dekanate: Marburg, Mahrenberg, Jaring, St. Leonhard in W. B., Kötsch und Zirkoviz. Marburg, Verlag des F. V. Lavant. Ordinariates.
- 14. PIRCHEGGER, H., 1962. Die Untersteiermark in der Geschichte ihrer Herrschaften und Gülten, Städte und Märkte. München, R. Oldenburg.
- 15. RADOVANOVIČ, S. and VIDMAR, P., 2002. Starše, 31. maj 1677. Maribor, Kapital.
- 16. RADOVANOVIČ, S., 2004. Karta sporne posesti ob Dravi med gospoščino Ravno polje in Vurberk iz leta 1690. In: ČZN, vol. 75 (new row 40), no. 1, Maribor, pp. 61–67.

- 17. RADOVANOVIČ, S., 2000. Svet ob reki Dravi. In: *Drava nekoč in danes*. *Zemljepisne*, *zgodovinske in etnološke značilnosti sveta ob Dravi*; *splavarstvo in energetika* (Ed. Board Macuh P. ... [et al.]). Maribor, Založba Obzorja, pp. 66–122.
- 18. SAPAČ, I., 2002. In memoriam dvorec Ravno polje. In: *Zbornik za umetnostno zgodovino*, vol. 38, Ljubljana, Slovensko umetnostnozgodovinsko društvo, pp. 200–226.
- 19. SLEKOVEC, M., 1893. Sekelji. Rodoslovna in životopisna razprava. Ljubljana: published by the author.
- 20. Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika 2 (= SSKJ 2), 2014. Ljubljana, Državna založba Slovenije.
- 21. STOPAR, I. and PREMZL, P., 2006a. Popis upodobitev. In: VISCHER, G. M., *Topographia Ducatus Stiriae* (izbor). Maribor, Umetniški kabinet Primož Premzl, pp. 51–87.
- 22. STOPAR, I. and PREMZL, P., 2006b. Seznam lastnikov. In: VISCHER, G. M., *Topographia Ducatus Stiriae* (izbor). Maribor, Umetniški kabinet Primož Premzl, pp. 94–96.
- 23. STOPAR, I., 2006a. Vischerjevi sodelavci. In: VISCHER, G. M., *Topographia Ducatus Stiriae* (izbor). Maribor, Umetniški kabinet Primož Premzl, pp. 12–19.
- 24. STOPAR, I., 2006b. Topografija vojvodine Štajerske. V: VISCHER, G. M., *Topographia Ducatus Stiriae* (izbor). Maribor, Umetniški kabinet Primož Premzl, pp. 20–33.
- 25. STOPAR, I, 1990. *Grajske stavbe v vzhodni Sloveniji. Prva knjiga: območje Maribora in Ptuja*. Ljubljana, Partizanska knjiga.
- 26. ŠTIH, P. and SIMONITI, V., 2010. Na stičišču svetov. Slovenska zgodovina od prazgodovinskih kultur do konca 18. stoletja. Ljubljana, Modrijan.
- 27. ŠTIH, P., 1996. Salzburg, Ptuj in nastanek štajersko-madžarske meje v današnji Sloveniji. In: *Zgodovinski časopis*, vol. 50, no. 4 (105), Ljubljana, pp. 535–544.
- 28. VIDMAR, P., 2005. Pogum, moč, lepota in razkošje: Vurberška galerija slik 17. stoletja. In: *Podoba Turkov v Evropi 17. stoletja* (catalogue of the exibition). Istanbul, Univerza Sabanci in Muzej Sakipa Sabancija, pp. 78–112.
- 29. VILFAN, S., 1954. Prispevki k zgodovini mer na Slovenskem s posebnim ozirom na ljubljansko mero (16.–19. stoletje). In: *Zgodovinski časopis*, vol. 8. Ljubljana, pp. 27–86.
- 30. ZADRAVEC, D., 2005. Gospostvo Borl od nastanka do leta 1801. In: *Cirkulane: svet Belanov* (Chief Ed. Prašnički, M.). Cirkulane, Halo d. o. o., pp. 67–82.
- 31. ZWITTER, Ž., 2017. Historično prilagajanje ekstremnim okoljskim situacijam na Slovenskem s poudarkom na 16. in 17. stoletju: z nauki za prihodnost. In: *Ljudje in okoljske spremembe skozi čas* (Ed. Lampič B. and Ogrin D.). *GeograFF*, vol. 21. Ljubljana, Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete, pp. 1–13 [in print].

4.4 Internet sources

- 1. https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Drau (about river Drava; retrieved 5 March 2017).
- 2. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pepin_of_Italy (about Pepin, son of Charlemagne; retrieved 5 March 2017).

SUMMARY

The paper presents the area between two towns, Maribor and Ptuj, located on the right bank of the river Drava during the (late) 17th century until the end of the 18th century. Data obtained from the oldest preserved parish registers of the Dravsko polje area (i.e. parishes Hoče, Slivnica, Hajdina and Spodnja Polskava) and Maribor town parish give the paper an added value. All registers are from the 17th century. The paper addresses (the beginnings of) rafting on the Drava river and also the (interrelated?) number of illegitimate children in the area. This part of the Drava stream used to represent the boundary between the dominions Vurberk (Wurmberg; on the left bank) and Ravno polje (Ebensfeld; on the right bank). Drava's stream was a lot wilder in the past. After it reached the village of Zlatoličje (Goldorf), its stream gradually slowed down and began to accumulate gravel and sand. However, the river frequently flooded the area up to Zlatoličje, which caused the constant change of its stream, formation of lethargies and new small islands of land. Arrangements between the dominions, concluded in a certain period, soon became invalid due to the constant changes of the riverbed. Cultivation of the soil near the river required special agreements on both sides. The lack of proper arrangements among the owners of the land soon led to the increasing disputes. These are particularly reflected in the murder of the Vurberk landowner count Georg Günther Herberstein. The peasants of dominion Ravno polje killed him on 31 May 1677. The murder happened after count Georg and his subjects wanted to remove the dyke of Loka creek because it supposedly limited his rights for fishing and hunting.

Ekonomska i ekohistorija Economic- and Ecohistory

Časopis za gospodarsku povijest i povijest okoliša

Journal for Economic History and Environmental History

Tema broja / Topic

Iz povijesti okoliša rijeke Drave From the Drava River's Environmental History

Nakladnici / Publishers:

Društvo za hrvatsku ekonomsku povijest i ekohistoriju *Society for Croatian Economic History and Environmental History* Ivana Lučića 3, HR - 10000 Zagreb tel.: +385/1/4092-148, fax: +385/1/4092-879 sites.google.com/site/ekoekohist/

Izdavačka kuća Meridijani p.p. 132, 10430 Samobor

tel.: 01/33-62-367, faks: 01/33-60-321 e-mail: meridijani@meridijani.com

www.meridijani.com

Glavni i odgovorni urednik / Editor-in-chief:

Hrvoje Petrić

Uredništvo / Editorial Staff:

Dragutin Feletar, Željko Holjevac, Mira Kolar-Dimitrijević, Dubravka Mlinarić, Nenad Moačanin, Hrvoje Petrić, Drago Roksandić, Mirela Slukan Altić, Ivica Šute

Međunarodno uredničko vijeće / International Editorial Board:

Drago Roksandić - president/predsjednik (Zagreb), Daniel Barić (Le Havre-Pariz, Francuska), Slaven Bertoša (Pula), Zrinka Blažević (Zagreb), Tatjana Buklijaš (Auckland, New Zealand), Ljiljana Dobrovšak (Zagreb), Goran Đurđević (Požega), Josip Faričić (Zadar), Borna Fürst Bjeliš (Zagreb), Boris Golec (Ljubljana, Slovenija), Hrvoje Gračanin (Zagreb), Paul Hirt (Tempe, SAD), Andrej Hozjan (Maribor, Slovenija), Egidio Ivetic (Padova, Italija), Silvije Jerčinović (Križevci), Karl Kaser (Graz, Austrija), Isao Koshimura (Tokio, Japan), Marino Manin (Zagreb), Christof Mauch (München, Njemačka), Kristina Milković (Zagreb), Ivan Mirnik (Zagreb), Mirjana Morosini Dominick (Washington D.C., SAD), Géza Pálffy (Budimpešta, Mađarska), Daniel Patafta (Zagreb), Hrvoje Petrić (Zagreb), Lajos Rácz (Szeged, Mađarska), Gordan Ravančić (Zagreb), Marko Šarić (Zagreb), Mladen Tomorad (Zagreb), Jaroslav Vencalek (Ostrava, Češka), Milan Vrbanus (Slavonski Brod, Zagreb), Frank Zelko (Burlington, VT, SAD), Zlata Živaković Kerže (Osijek), Ivana Žebec Šilj (Zagreb)

UDK oznake članaka / Article's UDC markups:

Ivica Zvonar

Prijelom / Layout: Saša Bogadi

Za nakladnike / Journal directors:

Petra Somek, Hrvoje Petrić

ISSN 1849-0190 (Online) ISSN 1845-5867 (Tisak)

Tisak / Print by:

Bogadigrafika, Koprivnica 2017.

Adresa uredništva / Mailing adresses:

Hrvoje Petrić (editor/ureďnik) Odsjek za povijest, Filozofski fakultet Ivana Lučića 3, HR-10000 Zagreb e-mail: hrvoje.petric@ffzg.hr ili Vinka Vošickog 5, HR-48000 Koprivnica

Tiskano uz potporu Ministarstva znanosti i obrazovanja RH Print supported by Ministry of science and education of Republic of Croatia

Na naslovnici / Cover:

Veduta Ptuja, foto Nataša Kolar

Ekonomsku i ekohistoriju referiraju:

CAB Abstracts
HISTORICAL ABSTRACTS, ABC CLIO Library, Santa Barbara, California, USA
AMERICA: HISTORY AND LIFE, Washington, USA
JOURNAL OF ECONOMIC LITERATURE (JEL), Pittsburgh, USA
CENTRAL AND EASTERN ONLINE LIBRARY, Frankfurt am Main, Deutschland
ECONLIT - AMERICAN ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION, Nashville, USA

