**Studia lexicographica**. 16(2022) 30, STR. 39–59 **Dubravka Latinčić:** Historical-geographical understanding of the development of settlements and roads in the Southeastern Zagreb Foothills from the 13<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup> century

Original scientific paper

Received: 2. III. 2022.

UDK 911.374(497.521.5)"12/15" 911.37:656.02](497.521.5)"12/15" Accepted: 9. V. 2022. https://doi.org/10.33604/sl.16.30.3

# Historical-geographical understanding of the development of settlements and roads in the Southeastern Zagreb Foothills from the 13<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup> century<sup>1</sup>

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**ABSTRACT:** This paper describes the development of settlements and roads in the Southeastern Zagreb Foothills from the 13<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The Foothills are a microregion bordered by the river Sava in the south, Zagreb in the west, the Medvednica in the north, and the Zelina Foothills in the east. In the High and Late Middle Ages and the early modern period, this microregion was located in the eastern parts of the Zagreb County and did not have any specific name, unlike today, when it is colloquially known as the Sesvete Foothills, the Foothills, or the Sesvete Area, after the Sesvete district of Zagreb. Today, it is the most densely inhabited area where the foothills meet the Sava plain, while its central hilly parts, with numerous mountain stream valleys and their tributaries, were the most densely populated area in the High and Late Middle Ages and the early modern period. The first settlements in this area developed below fortresses or seats of parishes in the 13<sup>th</sup> century in the hilly parts of the Zagreb Foothills, but later settlements, in the late 15<sup>th</sup> and early 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, developed mostly along the main plains roads. These roads connected the Austro-German lands in the west with the Slavonian and Hungarian counties in the Sava-Drava interfluve and the Podunavlje to the east, and the central parts of the Kingdom of Hungary with the eastern Adriatic ports. All settlements were part of four large estates, which encompassed almost the entire Southeastern Zagreb Foothills area.

**Keywords:** Southern Zagreb Foothills; settlement typology; roads; Middle Ages; early modern era

### 1. Introduction

The Southeastern Zagreb Foothills (*Prigorje*) are a compact geographical area or microregion to the southeast of Zagreb. They are fully located within the bounda-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This paper is based on the presentation held at the University workshop 'Anachronism in History: Space and Time', for PhD students of History in the academic year 2020/2021 at the Croatian Catholic University on 29 June 2021.

ries of today's Sesvete District of Zagreb, while some long-time residents, certain researchers, the official webpages of the City of Zagreb, and other internet platforms refer to it as the Sesvete Foothills, the Foothills, or the Sesvete Area.<sup>2</sup>

Even though this microregion forms a compact geographical unit, it has so far not been studied as an integral whole, i.e., within its natural boundaries. Instead, individual researchers touched upon this topic while researching the broader Zagreb area or the area of the former Moravče Županate, or other topics, such as individual estates, knightly orders, noble landholdings, or noble families and lineages who held larger or smaller properties in this area.<sup>3</sup>

Therefore, this paper shall concern itself with the social and natural elements of the mentioned area through several groups of questions, i.e. research topics. The first research topic is limited to strictly geographically defining the researched space and its links, especially traffic links, with the neighbouring regions. The next research topic is the development of roads in the researched area and studying their directions of spreading in regard to the relief in the period from the 13<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup> century. In other words, an attempt shall be made to show to which extent the relief influenced the development of roads in the Southeastern Zagreb Foothills area. The third research topic is the formation of a network of settlements in the Southeastern Zagreb Foothills area and the establishment of a hierarchy of importance among them in the researched period. Afterwards, the ownership and property relations in the researched area will be examined as the fourth research topic. The fifth, and final, research topic shall determine, as far as sources allow, the physical appearance of the Southeastern Zagreb Foothills area from the 13<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

Finally, the paper shall offer a brief overview of the anachronisms that developed in the scholarly and public discourse during the research of the history of the eastern Zagreb Foothills area from the current-day perspective.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Mladen Nadu, Naselja i sela sesvetskog prigorja u srednjem vijeku (13 – 15 stoljeće), *Muzejski vjesnik*, 15 (1992): pp. 91–95; Ibid., *Sesvete i Prigorje u pisanim povijesnim izvorima (1201 - 1936)* (Sesvete: Muzej Prigorja Sesvete, 1997): pp. 3–4; Ivan Klaić, *Po kašinskom i vugrovečkom kraju* (Samobor: Hrvatski zemljopis, 2002): pp. 7–11; https://aktivnosti.zagreb.hr/sesvete/163, accessed 6 June 2021; https://www.zgportal.com/o-zagrebu/grad-zagreb-cetvrti/sesvete/, accessed 6 June 2021.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Juraj Ćuk, Zagrebačka županija oko XII. stoljeća: na godišnjicu uzpostave nezavisne Države Hrvatske (Zagreb: Gaj 1942); L. Dobronić, Topografija zemljišnih posjeda Zagrebačkog kaptola prema izvorima XIII. i XIV. stoljeća, Rad JAZU, 3 (1952): pp. 171–256; Radovan Gajer, Posjedi zagrebačkog kaptola oko Zagreba u prvoj polovici 14. st., Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskoga fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 1 (1978): pp. 5–102; Lelja Dobornić, Po starom Moravču. Pokušaj povijesne topografije (Zagreb: Povijesni muzej Hrvatske, 1979); Josip Adamček, Agrarni odnosi u Hrvatskoj (Zagreb: JAZU, Sveučilište u Zagrebu-Centar za povijesne znanosti. Odjel za hrvatsku povijest i Sveučilišna naklada Liber, 1980); Lelja Dobronić, Posjedi i sjedišta templara, ivanovaca i sepulkralaca u Hrvatskoj, Rad JAZU, 11 (1984) 406: pp. 7–149; Nadu, Naselja i sela sesvetskog prigorja: pp. 91–95; Leja Dobronić, Sesvete i Prigorje u pisanim povijesnim izvorima: pp. 3–4.

# 2. Space

The Southeastern Zagreb Foothills are a geographical microregion. From the northern side, the region is bordered by the ridge of Mount Medvednica, from the south by the River Sava, from the west side by Mount Medvednica and its foothills, and from the east by the Zelina Foothills.<sup>4</sup> It is today named after its largest settlement, Sesvete, but in the Middle Ages it did not have a specific name and was considered part of the broader Zagreb area, defined according to the original borders of the Zagreb County.<sup>5</sup>

The space of the Southeastern Zagreb Foothills is almost identical to Zagreb's Sesvete District area, which consists of 37 neighbourhoods.<sup>6</sup> This smallish natural area takes up around 165 square kilometres and, according to the 2011 census, contains some 73,000 inhabitants, making it one of the most densely populated parts of Croatia. The studied space is located completely within the borders of the contemporary Sesvete District, while the long-time inhabitants, certain researchers, the official webpages of the City of Zagreb, and other internet platforms refer to it as the Sesvete Foothills, the Foothills, or the Sesvete Area.

The Southeastern Zagreb Foothills consist of three smaller relief areas. These are the floodplain or alluvial plain of the River Sava, which gradually gives way to the foothills in the broader Sesvete area, and finally the tall mountain massif of the eastern part of central Medvednica.<sup>7</sup>

While the area of Medvednica was sparsely inhabited in the High and Late Middle Ages and the early modern period due to the mountain climate and thick forests, as was the Sava plain due to frequent floods, the main inhabited area of the Southeastern Zagreb Foothills were the central hilly parts with numerous mountain stream valleys and their tributaries, the largest among them being Kašina, Vugrovec, Glavničica, Goranec, Kostajnec, and Blaguša.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Gajer, Posjedi zagrebačkog kaptola: 8; Zagreb na geodetsko-katastarskim zemljovidima i u zemljišnim knjigama, ed. P. Lovrić (Zagreb: umjetnički paviljon, 1994).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Dobronić, *Po starom Moravču*, pp. 9–12; Borislav Grgin, Županije u razvijenom i kasnom srednjem vijeku, *Hrvatske županije kroz stoljeća*, ed. Franko Mirošević (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1996): pp. 24-25; Lelja Dobronić, Zelina i Moravče u srednjem vijeku, *Sveti Ivan Zelina i zelinski kraj u prošlosti* (Zbornik radova sa znanstvenog skupa održanog 15. prosinca 2000. godine u Sv. Ivanu Zelini) (Zagreb: HAZU-Grad Sveti Ivan Zelina, 2003): pp. 7–21; Hrvoje Strukić, Komitat Moravče, *Sveti Ivan Zelina i zelinski kraj u prošlosti* (Zbornik radova sa znanstvenog skupa održanog 15. prosinca 2000. godine u Sv. Ivanu Zelini) (Zagreb: HAZU-Grad Sveti Ivan Zelina, 2003): pp. 33–44.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Statut Grada Zagreba, *Službeni glasnik Grada Zagreba/Službeni list Grada Zagreba*, 14 December (1999): pp. 356.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Ivan Jelen, Zagrebačka urbana regija, *Geografija SR Hrvatske*, vol. 2 (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1974): pp. 15–17.

Our knowledge about the appearance of the Southeastern Zagreb Foothills area in the period from the 13<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup> century comes from a small number of royal documents, tax surveys and accounts, and other legal documents.

Of the forests in the East Zagreb Foothills area, the documents mention the one bordering the Vugrovec estate (1201), Kraljevečki Lug in the Donja Kašina estate (1217; today the Sesvete area), and the forests near Resnički Gaj (1328); in addition, the Posavečka Forest along the Sava has been preserved until today.<sup>8</sup>

The modern regulation of the River Sava in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century caused significant changes in the relief compared to the studied period. Namely, the Sava originally flowed more to the north than it does today, and this old course has been preserved in a series of city plans from the 19<sup>th</sup> and first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The area alongside it was frequently flooded and remained uninhabited save for a few villages, such as Ivanja Reka, which was built on beams next to the river.<sup>9</sup>

Although toponyms in the studied area appear as early as 1201—in a document issued by Hungarian-Croatian King Emeric I,<sup>10</sup> which confirmed the estates of the bishop of Zagreb in the Sava-Drava interfluve area, then in a document issued by King Andrew II in 1209,<sup>11</sup> through which he confirmed the Ača noble family's ownership of the estates on the northwestern slopes of the Medvednica, the Western Zagreb Foothills, and the Prisavlje region, then in a document issued by King Andrew II in 1217,<sup>12</sup> through which he, at the behest of the Zagreb canons, confirmed the ownership of the Zagreb Chapter over their estates, and finally in the *status* of the Zagreb Chapter of 1334<sup>13</sup>—the greatest number of the today recognisable toponyms in the researched area is found only in the tax surveys and accounts of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, especially the survey of 1598, which, apart from a list of

<sup>12</sup> CD, vol. III: pp. 150–157.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Codex diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae (CD), vol. III, ed. T. Smičiklas (Zagreb: jugoslavenska akademija znaosti i umjetnosti, 1905): pp. 150–157; CD, vol. IX: pp. 405–407; Gajer, Posjedi zagrebačkog kaptola, pp. 9–10; Georg Heller, *Comitatus Zagrabiensis M-Z*, Serie A, Band 11/2 (München: Veröffentlichungen des Finnisch-Ugrischen Seminar an der Universität München: 1980), p. 172.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Gajer, Posjedi zagrebačkog kaptola: p. 8; Zagreb na geodetsko-katastarskim zemljovidima.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Codex diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae (CD), vol. III, ed. T. Smičiklas (Zagreb: jugoslavenska akademija znaosti i umjetnosti, 1905): pp. 7–13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> CD, vol. III: pp. 91–95; Alojz Jembrih, Povelja Andrije II. (1209.) – prvi spomen toponima Stubica, *Osamsto godina pisanog spomena Stubice (1209. – 2009.)*, Zbornik radova sa znanstvenoga skupa *Osamsto godina Stubice* održanog 28. svibnja 2009. (Donja Stubica: Kajkaviana, 2011): pp. 11–25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Monumenta historica episcopatus zagrabiensis, vol. II., ed. I. K. Tkalčić (Zagreb: tiskom Karla Albrechta, 1874): p. 69; Lelja Dobronić, Topografija zemljišnih posjeda zagrebačkog kaptola prema izvorima XIII. i XIV. stoljeća, *Rad JAZU*, 3 (1952): pp. 230–232.

villages and hamlets, contains the lower administrative-territorial structure of individual estates and noble landholdings.<sup>14</sup>

In the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, the studied area was at first the contact zone of the Zagreb and Moravče Counties, administrative-territorial units of the Kingdom of Slavonia,<sup>15</sup> but, during the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, through numerous royal and other charters, their territory gradually became the property of the Church in Zagreb, i.e. the Zagreb Chapter and bishop, as well as knightly orders and numerous nobles, some of whom, such as the Bradač Ladomerački family, became wealthy and influential late medieval feudal families during the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>16</sup>

This process eventually led to the complete disintegration of the Zagreb County and partial disintegration of the Moračve County in the eastern Zagreb Foothills area, and reached its peak during the reign of the Hungarian-Croatian king Louis I in the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century, when the entire area became part of the newly established Zagreb County, of which it remained part until 1848, when noble counties were abolished and replaced with modern administrative-territorial units.<sup>17</sup>

### 3. Roads

The creation and development of settlements in the Eastern Zagreb Foothills in the High and Late Middle Ages were directly linked to the routes that crossed that area. These are divided into local and intercity routes.

Local routes were minor roads. They are not mentioned in literature and some of the sources that have been analysed thus far because they were simple villa-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Josip Adamček and Ivan Kampuš, *Popisi i obračuni poreza u Hrvatskoj u XV. i XV. stoljeću* (Zagreb: Sveučilišna naklada Liber, 1976): pp. 392–399.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Dobronić, *Po starom Moravču*: pp. 9–12; Grgin, Županije u razvijenom i kasnom srednjem vijeku: pp. 24–25; Dobronić, Zelina i Moravče u srednjem vijeku, pp. 7–21; Strukić, Komitat Moravče: pp. 33–44.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Lelja Dobronić, Topografija zemljišnih posjeda zagrebačkih biskupa prema ispravi kralja Emerika iz god. 1201., *Rad JAZU*, 2 (1951): pp. 245–318; Ibid., Topografija zemljišnih posjeda zagrebačkog kaptola: pp. 171–256; Adamček and Kampuš, *Popisi i obračuni poreza u Hrvatskoj*: pp. 392–399; Dobronić, Posjedi i sjedišta templara: pp. 27–30, 44–46; Gajer, Posjedi zagrebačkog kaptola: pp. 5–102; Danica Pinterović, Bradač, *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, vol. II (Zagreb: Jugoslavenski Leksikografski zavod »Miroslav Krleža«, 1989): pp. 248–249; Hrvoje Kekez, Grbovnice i grbovi plemstva zelinskoga kraja, *Sveti Ivan Zelina. Povijest i kultura* (zbornik radova sa znanstvenoga skupa održanog 30. studenoga i 1. prosinca 2006. u Sv. Ivanu Zelini) (Zagreb-Sv. Ivan Zelina: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Razred za društvene znanosti, Odsjek za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti, 2010): pp. 137–138; Krešimir Regan, Bradač, *Enciklopedija Hrvatskog zagorja* (Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2017): p. 99.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Grgin, Županije u razvijenom i kasnom srednjem vijeku: pp. 24–26; Upravno-teritorijalni ustroj Hrvatske kroz povijest, *Hrvatski povijesni atlas*, eds. V. Dugački, K. Regan (Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2018): pp. 339–340, 358–362, 366–369.

ge trails, which likely corresponded to the road network of the Sesvete District today, and were conditioned by the relief and followed the left tributaries of the Sava, i.e. the Medvednica streams Kašina, Blaguša, Čumbain, Glavničica, Moravče, Duboki Jarak, Dobrodol, Vugrovec, Goranec, Čučerje, Srednjak, etc.

Intercity routes were major roads, and were hierarchically divided into two basic groups: royal and military roads. According to the research of Magdolna Szilágyji,<sup>18</sup> royal roads were roads 'under the special protection of the king; on these roads, the ruler guaranteed peace, and any transgressions were punished directly by the king', and their routes mostly those of roads from Classical Antiquity.<sup>19</sup> In contrast, military roads 'connected fortifications and important strategic positions in the Kingdom of Hungary.<sup>20</sup>

The wider Zagreb area, which we can roughly describe as an irregular triangle bordered by the Medvednica to the northwest, the Sava to the south, and today's Sesvete District to the east, is today traversed by nine basic intercity routes, which generally coincide with former medieval, ancient, and likely prehistoric routes. This is due to the fact that all traffic routes in the Zagreb area and the western part of the Sava-Drava interfluve are conditioned by the relief.<sup>21</sup> However, in the Middle Ages there was another route towards the sea, which went down the Una river valley, deep into the heart of the Croatian kingdom, and further to the Dalmatian ports on the eastern Adriatic coast. Of these ten routes, four passed through the Southeastern Zagreb Foothills, and they intersected in Sesvete.

The first was the Great Road. It went from Sesvete to the north and over the Medvednica, through the eastern Croatian Zagorje to Varaždin, from which it forked towards Styria and western Hungary. In the studied area, it was first mentioned in documents in 1209, called the Great Road, that is, the Hard Trail/Road *(magnam viam, que dictur Torda via)*,<sup>22</sup> and only the Great Road in 1217 *(magna strata per fluuium Casina)*. Its path is identical to today's *Podravina Route*.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Dujmović, Cesta kralja Kolomana: p. 248.

<sup>21</sup> The contemporary routes in the Zagreb microregion are: the Northern Posavina Route, Southern Posavina Route, Sava Route, Krk Route, Adriatic Route, Pannonian Route, Podravina Route, Krapina Route, and Sutla Route. Stanko Žujić, Prostor i elementi njegova središnjeg značenja, *Geografija SR Hrvatske* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1974): pp. 31–33.

<sup>22</sup> Monumenta historica episcopatus zagrabiensis, saec. XII & XIII., ed. I. K. Tkalčić (Zagreb: tiskom Karla Albrechta, 1873): p. 19; CD, vol. III.: p. 93.

<sup>23</sup> CD, vol. III.: p. 153.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Magdolne Szilágyi, On the Road: the History and Archaeology of Medieval Communication Networks in East-Central Europe (Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2014): pp. 101–103; Danko Dujmović, Cesta kralja Kolomana u zapadnom međurječju Save i Drave, Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 1 (2016): pp. 247–248.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Dujmović, Cesta kralja Kolomana: p. 247.

According to research by Gajer and Dujmović, a branch of this road was a part of the Military Road that went from Székesfehérvár.<sup>24</sup> Thanks to contemporary roadbuilding technology, this route today completely bypasses the Medvednica from the east and leads down the Lonja river valley towards a natural passage between the foothills of the Ivančica and Kalnička Gora near Breznički Hum. There it enters the Varaždin Podravina and leads directly to western Hungary via the Međimurje.

However, in the High and Late Middle Ages and the early modern era, it mostly followed the route of the former ancient road, the so-called Podravina Highway, which directly linked the provincial centre of Siscia (Sisak) with Poetovio (Ptuj) via Andautonia (Šćitarjevo), today's Sesvete and the pass through eastern Medvednica near Kuzelin with Aqua Viva (Vinica/Petrijanec).<sup>25</sup> In the Sesvete area in the High and Late Middle Ages, that road had two routes: eastern and western.

The eastern route was the older one and it closely followed the route of the Roman road. It went through Sesvete to Moravče, and then to the eastern Croatian Zagorje, through a pass protected by the fortress Kuzolin.<sup>26</sup> Already in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the western branch of this route appeared, leading over Kašina to the Laz pass, and then to today's Marija Bistrica.

Continuing southwards to the Podravina route, there is another road called the *Southern Posavina Route*, which today leads to Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, in the Middle Ages it was called the *Southern Adriatic Route*, and led from Sesvete across Turopolje, the Sisak Posavina and the Pounje deep into medieval Croatia, through its capital Knin, and on to the ports on the eastern Adriatic coast.<sup>27</sup>

A third road originated from Sesvete, and formed the beginning of the *Northern Posavina Route*. It led from Sesvete to today's Dugo Selo, Ivanić-Grad, and Čazma, i.e. the Moslavina and western Slavonia, the Brod and Županja Posavinas, and finally the Podunavlje near Vukovar. Some of the literature also calls it the Military Road.<sup>28</sup> This road followed the same route as today's pan-European Corridor X

<sup>27</sup> Žujić, Prostor i elementi njegova: pp. 31–32.

<sup>28</sup> Lovorka Čoralić, Izvori i literatura o povijesti cesta i puteva u srednjovjekovnim hrvatskim zemljama i Bosni, *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu*, 1 (1991):

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Gajer, Posjedi Zagrebačkog kaptola: pp. 12–13; Dujmović, Cesta kralja Kolomana: p. 248.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Žujić, Prostor i elementi njegova središnjeg značenja: p. 33; Hrvoje Gračanin, Rimske prometnice i komunikacije u kasnoantičkoj južnoj Panoniji, *Scrinia Slavonica*, 10 (2010): pp. 19–27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Vladimir Sokol, *Rimski metal s Kuzelina (iskapnja 1990. – 1997.). Roman metalwork from Kuzelin* (Sesvete-Zagreb: Muzej Prigorja, 1998): pp. 7–18; Vladimir Sokol, Kuzelin – Late antique Castrum near Zagreb, Fortifications, defence systems, structures and features in the past. Proceedings of the 4<sup>th</sup> International Scientific Conference on Mediaeval Archaeology of the Institute of Archaeology, *Zbornik Instituta za arheologiju / Serta Instituti Archaeologici*, vol. 13, (Zagreb: Institut za arheologiju, 2019): pp. 101–102.

and is considered one of the most important roads in Europe and the world, linking together 11 countries.<sup>29</sup>

The fourth is the *Pannonian Route*, which links today's Zagreb region with the Pannonian area via the Medvednica-Kalnik foothills, the Bilogora, and the Koprivnica-Virovitica Podravina, i.e. the core of the former Kingdom of Slavonia and the core of the Kingdom of Hungary.<sup>30</sup> In documents, this route was variously called the Great, King's, and/or Military Road (*Magna strata, Via exercitualis*),<sup>31</sup> while some authors even identify it with one of the two branches of Koloman's Road.<sup>32</sup>

In the Southeastern Zagreb Foothills, this road was first mentioned as the Great Road in 1217, in the same document as the Great Road on the Podravina route.<sup>33</sup> It was the road leading from Zagreb to Sesvete, from where it turned to the northeast, and led to Koprivnica via Sveti Ivan Zelina, Rakovac, and Križevci. The route then turned east towards Virovitica, then north and led further into the central parts of medieval Hungary.<sup>34</sup>

In the Southeastern Zagreb Foothills, this road first followed the route of the old Roman road on the so-called Podravina Highway, from Sesvete to Belovar.<sup>35</sup> At the latest in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, this route was changed because a new stretch from Belovar to Sesvete had formed, cutting across the plain. As the new stretch of this road went diagonally in relation to the old stretch, its opening significantly shortened the route in the Southeastern Zagreb Foothills area. Then the Great Road tur-

<sup>30</sup> Žujić, Prostor i elementi: p. 32.

<sup>31</sup> Dobronić, Topografija zemljišnih posjeda zagrebačkog kaptola: pp. 190–191; Gajer, Posjedi zagrebačkog kaptola oko Zagreba: 35; Danko Dujmović, Cesta kralja Kolomana u zapadnom međurječju Save i Drave, *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu*, 1 (2016): pp. 252–257.

<sup>32</sup> Franjo Pajur, Rakovečka trasa "vojničke" ili Kolomanove ceste, Zbornik odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti HAZU, 29 (2011): pp. 23–37; Dujmović, Cesta kralja Kolomana: p. 257; Ranko Pavleš, Cesta kralja Kolomana, Podravina: časopis za multidisciplinarna istraživanja, 13 (2008): pp. 65–75.

<sup>33</sup> CD, vol. III: p. 153.

<sup>34</sup> For information on the Pannonian Route in the Middle Ages, see: Hrvoje Petrić, Srednjovjekovni putevi u Podravini, *Podravski zbornik*, vol. 18 (Koprivnica: Muzej grada Koprivnice, 1992): pp. 41–46; Hrvoje Petrić, Prilog poznavanju srednjovjekovnih puteva u središnjoj Hrvatskoj, *Radovi zavoda za hrvatsku povijest*, 26 (1993): pp. 17–26.

<sup>35</sup> Gračanin, Rimske prometnice i komunikacije: pp. 19–27.

pp. 23–40; Ibid., *Put, putnici, putovanja. Ceste i putovi u srednjovjekovnim hrvatskim zemljama* (Zagreb: AGM, 1997): pp. 53–54, 206 (karta 1. Zapadna Slavonija i sjeverozapadna Hrvatska); Szilágyi, *On the Road*: pp. 85–91.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Čoralić, Izvori i literatura o povijesti cesta i puteva: pp. 31–32; Miroslav Sić, Paneuropski prometni koridori i razvoj Osječke regije, *Hrvatski geografski glasnik*, 2 (2012): p. 54.

ned south near Sesvete, where it crossed the Sava at Brod Gubavaca *(transitus leprosorum)*,<sup>36</sup> and then passed beside the ruins of the former Roman town of Andautonia, continuing down the so-called Southern Posavina, i.e. Southern Adriatic, Route in the direction of today's Banovina. There, near Hrastovica, it forked in two directions, one going through the Pounje towards the eastern Adriatic coast, and the other entering the Lower Slavonian counties, and then into Bosnia.<sup>37</sup>

## 4. Property relations in the Eastern Zagreb Foothills area

There were several territorially large estates in the Southeastern Zagreb Foothills area in the period from the 13<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

The largest of them was held by the Zagreb Chapter from the 13<sup>th</sup> century. This estate was not an independent unit, but a collection of several noble landholdings, which formed the central and eastern group of the Zagreb Chapter's landholdings in the Zagreb County area.<sup>38</sup> The central group of landholdings included the Baranova Zemlja *(terra Braten)* in the area of today's Sopnica, Resnik, Čulinec, and Trnava, and the Kašina land *(terra Casina)* on the lower course of the identically named stream, in an area that is today mostly part of Sesvete.<sup>39</sup> The eastern group of Chapter landholdings in the Zagreb area included Kašina and Blaguša *(terra Cassina cum Blagusa)*, the Vuk land *(terra Vlk)*, Kašina *(terra Casna)*, Kuzolin *(terra Cozolyn)*, and the Vražji Laz *(Wrazilaz)*.<sup>40</sup>

After the Zagreb Chapter, the largest landowner in the Eastern Zagreb Foothills area was the Bishop of Zagreb. From the late 12<sup>th</sup> century, he was the owner of the noble estates Čučerje and Vugrovec, which in the 16<sup>th</sup> century formed one administrative whole, centred in Vugrovec, where a fortress was later built.<sup>41</sup> These landholdings were described as early as 1201 in a document of King Emeric, while the exact number of villages and hamlets that formed this estate in the 16<sup>th</sup> century is found in the tax survey and account of 1598.<sup>42</sup> At first, the Vugrovec noble estate

- <sup>38</sup> Gajer, Posjedi zagrebačkog kaptola: p. 26.
- <sup>39</sup> Gajer, Posjedi zagrebačkog kaptola: pp. 26–27.
- <sup>40</sup> Gajer, Posjedi zagrebačkog kaptola: pp. 27, 55–56.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Gajer, Posjedi zagrebačkog kaptola: pp. 11–13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> The road that went down the River Una was the 'main traffic link of the Pannonian area and the eastern Adriatic coast'. Hrvoje Kekez, Krešimir Regan, *Zrin. Srednjovjekovno sijelo knezova Babonića i Zrinskih* (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2020): pp. 40–41.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Dobronić, Topografija zemljišnih posjeda zagrebačkih biskupa: pp. 253–255; Klaić, *Po kašinskom i vugrovečkom kraju*: p. 74.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> CD, vol. III: pp. 7–13; Adamček, Kampuš, *Popisi i obračuni poreza*: pp. 392–399.

was located exclusively on the slopes of the Medvednica but, at the latest in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century, it expanded into the Sava valley up to the estate of the Zrinskis in the Božjakovina, to the area between the stream Kašina and the river Lonja, which was at first held by the Templars of Božjakovina.<sup>43</sup>

Thanks to this expansion, the Vugrovec estate lay on both the main roads in the Eastern Medvednica Foothills, which on the one hand brought significant profit to its owner, and on the other hand prompted the bishop's subjects to develop trade and crafts, especially in the Vugrovec market area. The Bishop of Zagreb also owned the Blaguša landholding, which had been previously the property of the Zagreb Chapter. When the bishop took it over from the Chapter, he had a fortress *(castrum)* built there in 1290.<sup>44</sup>

The Bradač Ladomerački noble family also held some of the landholdings in the eastern parts of the Southeastern Zagreb Foothills, on the eastern border of the Zagreb County. Even though large parts of this estate were located in the Zelina Foothills, its fortified centres were in the Southeastern Zagreb Foothills, in Ladomer near today's village Laktec, and in Belovar.<sup>45</sup>

Among the remaining owners, the knightly Order of the Holy Sepulchre is prominent; they held the estate Planina on the southeastern slopes of the Medvednica from 1242,<sup>46</sup> then the Templars, in whose hands lay the far eastern parts of the Southeastern Zagreb Foothills, centred in Božjakovina near today's Dugo Selo,<sup>47</sup> and the Ača noble family, who held the landholdings Kuzolin and Vražji Laz on the ridge of the Medvednica.<sup>48</sup> Of the smaller landholders, one can mention the various castle serfs of the Zagreb fortress, whose descendants held the Sopnica noble landholding until the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Gajer, Posjedi zagrebačkog kaptola: p. 26; Lelja Dobronić, Posjedi srednjovjekovnih viteških redova u okolici Zagreba. Poseban otisak iz *Gunjačinog zbornika: u povodu sedamdesete godine života i četrdeset i pete godine znanstvenog rada*) (Zagreb: SIZ za kulturu SR Hrvatske, Općina Sinj, IRO Školska knjiga, 1980): pp. 191–199.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> CD, vol. VI: p. 693; Dobronić, Topografija zemljišnih posjeda zagrebačkog kaptola: p. 192.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Pinterović, Bradač: pp. 248–249; Kekez, Grbovnice i grbovi plemstva: pp. 137–138; Regan, Bradač: p. 99.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Dobronić, Posjedi srednjovjekovnih viteških redova u okolici Zagreba: pp. 204–207; Ibid., Posjedi i sjedišta templara, ivanovaca i sepulkralaca: p. 44.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Dobronić, Posjedi srednjovjekovnih viteških redova u okolici Zagreba: pp. 191–199, 204–207.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Adamček, Kampuš, *Popisi i obračuni poreza u Hrvatskoj*: pp. 392–399; Dobronić, Posjedi i sjedišta templara, ivanovaca i sepulkralaca: pp. 27–30, 44–46; Gajer, Posjedi zagrebačkog kaptola: pp. 5–102; Pinterović, Bradač: pp. 248–249; Kekez, Grbovnice i grbovi plemstva: pp. 137–138; Regan, Bradač: p. 99.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Nadu, Sesvete i Prigorje: pp. 32–33.

## 5. The creation and development of settlements

The layout of the roads and ownership structures in the Southeastern Zagreb Foothills greatly influenced the creation and layout of settlements. Through analogy with the development of settlements in neighbouring Croatian Zagorje, Slavonia, or the former Zrinskis' part of the Banovina, we can determine their creation according to time of establishment, legal status, and geographical position.<sup>50</sup>

They can be divided into several groups. The first includes settlements that, in the 13<sup>th</sup> century at the latest, formed outside the walls of fortifications and contained parish churches.<sup>51</sup> These include Glavnica, in which the parish church of the Holy Trinity (1334) was located, Moravče, where the parish church of St John (1334) was situated, Vugrovec, in which the parish church of St Michael (between 1334 and 1343) was built, and Planina with its parish church of St George (after 1334).<sup>52</sup> The settlement beneath the Blaguša fortress was likely also formed in this time.<sup>53</sup>

The second group of settlements in the Southeastern Zagreb Foothills includes those that developed along the Military and Great Roads in the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century at the latest. In the researched area, this was Sesvete, with the parish All Saints Church. It was first mentioned in 1314,<sup>54</sup> then in a document of the Székesfehérvár Chapter in 1328, which, according to the order of King Charles I Robert, visited the border of the Zagreb Diocese landholdings in the Zagreb area,<sup>55</sup> then as a parish centre on the Great Road *(Item ecclesia sanctorum omnium circa*)

<sup>52</sup> Franjo Rački, Popis župa Zagrebačke biskupije 1334 i 1501 godine, *Starine*, 4 (1872): p. 209; Josip Buturac, *Popis župa zagrebačke biskupije od god. 1334*. (posebni otisak iz *Zbornika zagrebačke biskupije 1094*. – *1944*) (Zagreb: 1944): pp. 18, 20–21; Metod Hrg, Ubikacija nekih župa Zagrebačke biskupije iz XIV. stoljeća, *Croatica Christiana periodica*, 1(1977): p. 49; L. Dobronić, *Po starom Moravču*: pp. 38–40, 73–75, 86.

<sup>53</sup> L. Dobronić, Posjedi i sjedišta templara, ivanovaca i sepulkralaca: pp. 44–47; L. Dobronić, *Postarom Moravču*: pp. 41–43, 75, 82–84.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> For more information about the creation and development of settlements and the hierarchy in medieval Slavonia and southern Hungary, i.e. the Sava-Drava interfluve, see: Nada Klaić, Prilog pitanju postanka slavonskih varoši, Zbornik radova Filozofskog fakulteta, 3 (1955): pp. 41–59; Neven Budak, *Gradovi Varaždinske županije u srednjem vijeku* (Zagreb-Koprivnica: Nakladnička kuća »dr. Feletar«, 1994): pp. 20–28; Tomislav Raukar, *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovlje: prostor, ljudi, ideje* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1997): pp. 143–148; Ranko Pavleš, Procjena centraliteta naselja Podravine u kasnom srednjem vijeku, *Podravina*, 16 (2009): pp. 29–40; Danijel Jelaš, *Rekonstrukcija srednjovjekovne urbane mreže Vukovske županije na temelju analize centralnih funkcija* (PhD thesis) (Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2018): pp. 21–71; Kekez, Regan, *Zrin*: pp. 113–119.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Većeslav Heneberg, Gradine i gradišta po Medvednici, *Narodna starina*, 20 (1929): pp. 129– 136; Krešimir Regan, Srednjovjekovni gradovi i utvrde na obroncima Medvednice, *Kaj, časopis za književnost, umjetnost i kulturu*, 3/4 (2000): pp. 67–95.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Heller, Comitatus Zagrabiensis M-Z: pp. 110–111.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> CD, vol. IX., doc. 335: pp. 405–407.

*mangam via*) in 1334,<sup>56</sup> and finally in the chapter statutes in the same year as a village next to the All Saints Church (*villam apud ecclesiam omnium sanctorum*).<sup>57</sup>

Along with Sesvete, this group of settlements includes Kašina, which developed on the Great Road. It was first mentioned as a village in the chapter statutes in 1334 *(villam Casina)*, on a landholding that also included the land Kozolin.<sup>58</sup> Belovar is another settlement belonging to the group that developed along important roads. It was first mentioned only in 1412, in the nobiliary particle of Ladislav, son of Lodomer of Belovar.<sup>59</sup>

The third group of settlements includes the villages that can be divided into highland and lowland settlements. The mentioned document of the Székesfehérvár Chapter of 1328 mentions the chapter villages Dankovec (*Donkouch*), Vukodol (*Wlkodolia*), Brestje (*Brezth*), Retkovec (*Retcouch*), ?Čulinec (*Chihne*), Sopnica near the All Saints Church (*Scepniche apud ecclesiam omnium sanctorum*), Dolos, Leznek, Preseka, Marcizlouch, and Resnički Gaj (*Gay*).<sup>60</sup>

Some of the other rural settlements are found only in the tax surveys and accounts from the late 15<sup>th</sup> century and the 16<sup>th</sup> century as villages within the frame of individual vesnicates, especially in the surveys of 1598, which are the most detailed.<sup>61</sup> Fortresses were raised in some of them in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century (Belovar, Ladomer in Laktec, Brokunjevac in Blaškovec).<sup>62</sup>

Apart from the time of their creation, the settlements in the Southeastern Zagreb Foothills area can also be divided according to legal status. The first group are privileged settlements. The most important among them is Vugrovec, which received the status of free settlement *(libera nostra villa de Vgra)* in the late 13<sup>th</sup> or early 14<sup>th</sup> century, at the time of Bishop Michael (1295–1303).<sup>63</sup> The second settle-

<sup>61</sup> Vesnicates are 'the basic administrative units of noble landholdings and estates, with economic, judicial, and administrative functions, led by a *vesnik*'. Pavleš, Procjena centraliteta naselja Podravine: pp. 34–35.

62 Dobornić, Po starom Moravču: pp. 111-113.

<sup>63</sup> CD, vol. VII: pp. 217–218; Nada Klaić, *Izvori za hrvatsku povijest do 1526. godine* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1972): pp. 173–174; Adamček, *Agrarni odnosi u Hrvatskoj*: pp. 184, 188–189; Heller, *Comita*-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Buturac, *Popis župa zagrebačke biskupije od god. 1334.*: p. 18; Hrg, Ubikacija nekih župa Zagrebačke biskupije: p. 49.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Monumenta historica episcopatus zagrabiensis, vol. II: p. 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Monumenta historica episcopatus zagrabiensis, vol. II: p. 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> CD, vol. VIII: 388–390; Rački, Popis župa Zagrebačke biskupije: p. 209; Hrg, Ubikacija nekih župa Zagrebačke biskupije: p. 49; Goran Jakovljević, Bjelovar u srednjovjekovnim vrelima, *Radovi Za*voda za znanstvenoistraživački rad u Bjelovaru, 2 (2008): pp. 188–189.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> CD, vol. IX: pp. 405–407.

ment is Planina, which received privileges from its owners, the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre, in 1425.<sup>64</sup> Moravče, the county centre from the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>65</sup> could also be included in this group, as could Sesvete, which was granted the right to hold three annual fairs and a weekly market by King Matthias Corvinus in 1475.<sup>66</sup>

The second group includes all other non-privileged settlements, i.e. villages. They can be divided according to importance into fortified centres of estates (Ladomer in today's Laktec, Belovar, Brokunjevec), centres of vesnicates, judicates, and parishes, centres of judicates only, and, finally, ordinary villages.

The settlements in the Southeastern Zagreb Foothills can also be divided into to basic groups according to their geographical position. The first includes highland settlements, raised in the 13<sup>th</sup> century on the hilly southeastern slopes of the Medvednica. Some of them were located along major roads (Morovače, Glavnica, Kašina), while others were located very near them (Čučerje, Vugrovec, Planina, Brokunjevec, Dankovec, Vukodol, Brestje, Retkovec, Čulinec, Sopnica near the All Saints Church, etc.).<sup>67</sup>

The second group comprises lowland settlements. The largest and most important among them is Sesvete, which developed during the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century at the latest, as the seat of a parish at an important crossroads. The importance of the settlement's position can be seen from the fact that *Ban* Mikac set up a tollbooth there in 1343,<sup>68</sup> while the Zagreb Chapter was granted the right to raise a tollbooth in Sesvete by King Matthias Corvinus in 1458.<sup>69</sup> Due to the Ottoman threat, the Zagreb Chapter erected a castle for the protection of its subjects in Sesvete in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century.

The next settlement according to importance in the lowland part of the Southeastern Zagreb Foothills was Belovar, which also developed in a place where the medieval and late medieval traffic corridors met on the Podravina and Posavina Routes, and where another fortress was erected in the late 15<sup>th</sup> or early 16<sup>th</sup> century.

68 CD, vol. XI: pp. 47-48.

*tus Zagrabiensis M-Z*: p. 172; Klaić, *Po kašinskom i vugrovečkom kraju*: p. 74; Lelja Dobronić, Stari »vijenac« sela oko Zagreba (Zagreb: Muzej Grada Zagreba, 2003): p. 25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Dobronić, Posjedi srednjovjekovnih viteških redova u okolici Zagreba: p. 205; Dobronić, Posjedi i sjedišta templara, ivanovaca i sepulkralaca: p. 44.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> Dobronić, *Po starom Moravču*: pp. 9–12, 73–74; Dobronić, Zelina i Moravče u srednjem vijeku: pp. 7–21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> Adamček, Agrarni odnosi u Hrvatskoj: p. 454.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> CD, vol. IX: pp. 405–407.

<sup>69</sup> Admaček, Agrarni odnosi u Hrvatskoj: p. 327.

No less important was Ladomer in today's Laktec, where a castle was built as the fortified seat of the large estate of the Bradač family.

Other lowland settlements include villages. Already in 1328, the following are mentioned: Brestje (*Brezth*), Retkovec (*Retcouch*), ?Čulinec (*Chihne*), Sopnica near the All Saints Church (*Scepniche apud ecclesiam omnium sanctorum*), Dolos, Leznek, Preseka, Marcizlouch, and Resnički gaj (*Gay*).<sup>70</sup> Further settlements are mentioned in the tax account and survey of 1598.<sup>71</sup>

# 6. Anachronisms in historical depictions of the Southeastern Zagreb Foothills

During research regarding the Southeastern Zagreb Foothills, anachronisms were noted in the depictions of this area or in the treatment of certain topics from the history of this area by some authors. This primarily refers to the anachronistic use of the name Sesvete Foothills (and its variants) as a historiographical *terminus technicus* for the researched area. While the Southeastern Zagreb Foothills did not have a specific name in the period from the 13<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup> century, they were systematically called the Sesvete Foothills in some of the literature, after the most significant and largest settlement in the area.<sup>72</sup> Although this name has a logical basis due to the importance of Sesvete for the late early modern era and the modern era, it is not acceptable for the period from the 13<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup> century because it imposes a modern geographical-urbanistic terminology upon the medieval and early modern organisation of space.

Another anachronism in the studied area concerns the directions of the roads, i.e. their routes. Although they have been conditioned by the natural surroundings of the broader Zagreb area since the prehistoric era through nine basic routes, four of which cross the Southeastern Zagreb Foothills, contemporary road communications do not match the road network of the period from the 13<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup> century, neither in their exact routes nor in their traffic significance.

Namely, while road communications towards the Podravina today completely bypass the Medvednica from the eastern side, and go north through the Lonja river valley, entering the Podravina over the Varaždin Breg and going further through the Međimurje, across Lake Balaton to Budapest, in the High and Late Middle Ages and the early modern era they crossed over the Medvednica and led to

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> CD, vol. IX: pp. 405–407.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> CD, vol. IX: pp. 405-407; Adamček, Kampuš, Popisi i obračuni poreza u Hrvatskoj: pp. 392-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Nadu, Naselja i sela sesvetskog prigorja u srednjem vijeku: pp. 91–95.

Varaždin. However, unlike today, the main route did not lead from Varaždin to Budapest, but through the Drava river valley and into Styria, and then to Vienna.

In the period from the 13<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the road towards Budapest was located on today's Pannonian Route, i.e. the route that connected the Southeastern Zagreb Foothills with the central parts of the former Kingdom of Hungary via Sveti Ivan Zelina, Križevci, Koprivnica, and Virovitica. In the researched period, this route had the greatest traffic and military significance in the Hungarian-Croatian Kingdom, which is why it was called the Military Road.

The third anachronism concerns the physical contents of the space itself today and in the past. Today, this space was seen as exceptionally densely populated, especially its lowland parts, where most of the population was concentrated. However, in the High and Late Middle Ages and the early modern era, it was relatively sparsely populated, and the landscape of the Southeastern Zagreb Foothills was dominated by thick forests, which stretched continuously from the River Sava in the south to the ridge of the Medvednica in the north, with small breaks in certain parts of the foothills, where vineyards were located.

### 7. Conclusion

The Southeastern Zagreb Foothills are a compact geographical whole or microregion, which is today located fully within the borders of the contemporary Sesvete District of Zagreb. It is bordered by the ridge of Mount Medvednica to the north, by the River Sava to the south, by the central parts of Zagreb to the west, and by the Zelina Foothills to the east. Today, it is named after its largest settlement, Sesvete, but in the Middle Ages it did not have a specific name and was considered part of the broader Zagreb area, defined by the original borders of the Zagreb County. In the geographical sense, it is divided into the floodplain or alluvial plain of the River Sava, which in the broader Sesvete area gradually gives way to the foothills, and finally the tall mountain massif of the eastern part of central Medvednica.

Although it is today the most densely populated area where the foothills meet the Sava plain, in the High and Late Middle Ages and the early modern era the main zone of settlement in the Southeastern Zagreb Foothills were the central hilly parts with numerous valleys of mountain streams and their tributaries. Therefore, it is no surprise that the creation and development of settlements in the Southeastern Zagreb Foothills in the High and Late Middle Ages was directly linked to the directions in which the roads in this area spread.

Most smaller settlements in the studied area were linked to each other through local roads, i.e. village trails. Although there are no records about them in

documents, they likely followed the same routes as the road network of the Sesvete District today, which was conditioned by the relief and followed the flows of the Medvednica streams.

In contrast, we have much more data about the intercity roads. They were divided into royal and military roads, and for the most part followed the same routes as the roads of the ancient world. Several of the ten or so basic intercity routes in the broader Zagreb area from the 12<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup> century passed through the South-eastern Zagreb Foothills area.

These were the Great or Hard Road (Sesvete–Varaždin–Ptuj), which was first mentioned in the Southeastern Zagreb Foothills area in 1209. To the south, this road led to the heart of medieval Croatia and through its capital Knin towards the ports on the eastern Adriatic coast.

The next intercity road was the one leading from Sesvete towards today's Slavonia. In some of the literature, this road is also called the Military Road.

The final intercity road was the Great Road, which was first mentioned in the studied area in 1217, and it linked Zagreb with Križevci and Koprivnica via Sesvete, and continued further into the former core of the Kingdom of Hungary. It, too, is called the Great Road in documents, though certain sources also call it the King's and/or Military Road (Magna strata, Via exercitualis). Some authors have claimed that it was one of the two branches of Koloman's Road.

The mentioned roads in the period from the 13<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup> century passed through several large estates. The largest among them was held by the Zagreb Chapter since the 13<sup>th</sup> century. The largest landowner in the Southeastern Zagreb Foothills area after the Zagreb Chapter was the Bishop of Zagreb, whose estates, centred in Vugrovec and Blaguša, were almost completely surrounded by the holdings of the Chapter. The Bradač Ladomerički noble family also had a large landholding in the researched area. Although large parts of this estate were located in the Zelina Foothills, its fortified seats (Ladomer, Belovar) were in the Southeastern Zagreb Foothills area.

Of the other prominent landholders, one can mention the knightly Order of the Holy Sepulchre, which owned the Planina landholding on the southeastern slope of the Medvednica from 1242, the Templars, which held the far eastern parts of the Southeastern Zagreb Foothills, centred in Božjakovina near today's Dugo Selo, and finally the Ača noble family, which owned the landholdings Kuzolin and Vražji Laz on the ridge of the Medvednica.

The ownership relations and distribution of roads in the Southeastern Zagreb Foothills greatly influenced the creation and distribution of settlements. According to their creation, we can divide them into several groups. The first includes the settlements that, in the 13<sup>th</sup> century at the latest, developed as settlements outside the walls of feudal fortifications (Glavnica, Moravče, Vugrovec, Planina, and Blaguša). The second group consists of settlements that grew along the Military and Great Roads. In the researched area, these are Sesvete, Kašina, and Belovar. The third group consists exclusively of villages.

Apart from their time of establishment, the settlements in the Southeastern Zagreb Foothills can also be divided according to their legal status. The first group consists of the privileged settlements Vugrovec (around 1300), Planina (1425), and Sesvete (1475). The second group comprises all other non-privileged settlements, i.e. villages. According to their importance, they can be divided into fortified seats of estates (Ladomer in today's Laktec, Belovac, Brokunjevec), seats of vesnicates, judicates, and parishes, seats of judicates only, and finally ordinary villages.

The settlements in the Southeastern Zagreb Foothills region can also be divided according to their geographical position into two basic groups. The first consists of highland settlements raised on the southeastern slopes of the Medvednica in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Some of them were located along major roads (Morovače, Glavnica, Kašina), while others were located very near to them. The second group consists of lowland settlements. They began to significantly grow and develop only in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The largest and most important of them were Sesvete, Belovar, and Ladomer in today's Laktec.

Finally, a few words about the deeply-rooted anachronisms that appear in literature about the Southeastern Zagreb Foothills. The first is the anachronistic use of the name Sesvete Foothills and its variations. Although this name, due to the importance of Sesvete, is applicable to the period from the 16<sup>th</sup> century until today, this name is not appropriate when talking about the High and Late Middle Ages because Sesvete was in no way distinct from the neighbouring settlements in the area, and there is therefore no reason to name the entire area after it. The second anachronism in the studied area is the reconstruction of the medieval road network on the basis of contemporary road routes, which is completely erroneous because, unlike today, the medieval roads completely avoided the floodplains of the rivers Sava and Lonja. The third anachronism are the physical contents of the space today and in the past. While the Southeastern Zagreb Foothills are almost completely urbanised in the contemporary era, and the forests have mostly been cut down, in the medieval era it was the opposite. The entire landscape was dominated by thick forests, which stretched continuously from the River Sava in the south to the ridge of the Medvednica to the north, with small breaks in certain parts of the foothills, where vineyards were located.

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### HISTORIJSKO-GEOGRAFSKO RAZUMIJEVANJE RAZVOJA NASELJA I PROMETNICA U JUGOISTOČNOM ZAGREBAČKOM PRIGORJU OD XIII. DO XVI. ST.

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**SAŽETAK:** U radu se prikazuje razvoj naselja i prometnica na prostoru Jugoistočnoga zagrebačkog prigorja od XIII. do XVI. st. Riječ je mikroregiji omeđenoj rijekom Savom na jugu, Zagrebom na zapadu, Medvednicom na sjeverozapadu te zelinskim prigorjem na istoku. U razvijenom i kasnom srednjem vijeku te u ranom novom vijeku ova se mikroregija nalazila u istočnim dijelovima Zagrebačke županije te nije imala nikakvo posebno ime, za razliku od danas, kada se prema zagrebačkoj Gradskoj četvrti Sesvete kolokvijalno naziva Sesvetsko prigorje, Prigorje i Sesvetski kraj. Danas je najgušće naseljen prostor kontakta brežuljkastog prigorja i savske nizine, dok je u razvijenom i kasnom srednjem vijeku te u ranom novom vijeku glavna zona naseljenosti bili središnji brežuljkasti dijelovi s brojnim udolinama planinskih potoka i njihovih pritoka. Prva naselja na tom prostoru razvila su se u XIII. na brežuljkastim dijelovima jugoistočnog zagrebačkog prigorja kao podgrađa utvrda ili kao sjedišta crkvenih župa, da bi se krajem XV. i početkom XVI. st. ona pomaknula u nizinu na glavne prometnice, koje su upravo preko istraživanoga prostora povezivale austrijsko-njemačke zemlje na zapadu sa slavonskim i ugarskim županijama u savsko-dravskom međuriječju i Podunavlju na istoku, te središnje dijelove Ugarskoga Kraljevstva s lukama na istočnoj obali Jadrana. Sva naselja bila su u sklopu četiri velika vlastelinstva, u sklopu kojih se nalazilo gotovo čitavo Jugoistočno zagrebačko prigorje.

Ključne riječi: Južno zagrebačko prigorje; tipologija naselja; prometnice; srednji vijek; rani novi vijek



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