

## ENVIRONMENTAL MICRO-HISTORY OF A MULTIPLE BORDERLAND: PODRAVINA'S TORČEC IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 18TH CENTURY *ODNOS ČOVJEKA I OKOLIŠA NA VIŠEGRANIČJU: TORČANSKA PODRAVINA TIJEKOM DRUGE POLOVICE 18. STOLJEĆA*

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### SUMMARY

*The paper was based on a land survey of the village of Torčec (a village in northwestern Croatia) made between 1775 and 1780 and preserved in Croatian National Archives (in Zagreb) as well as on other numerous sources. The document provides detailed information on all inhabitants of Torčec, including their old names and a detailed description of their landed property. Based on these facts a land possession and land cultivation analysis was produced, using quantitative methods. The terminology used in describing the parcelling of land was also examined. Torčec was at the time inhabited by freed serfs, freeman. Their status of freeman was a consequence of their colonization. Landlords and large estate owners offered and provided freedom to serfs in order to populate empty lands and to attract new labour. These ex-serfs from Slavonnica and other parts of Croatia in majority declined to move and work without personal freedom. Besides, for landlords the ever present danger was that serfs could easily flee to Military Border and join the Military Border as frontier guards. In order to precisely determine the land territory of Torčec in 1778, there had been a feudal regulation, ordered by the Queen Maria Theresa on 24 September 1773. By the regulation the borders of the main arable lands of the region were delineated and increased in length. This increased the number of plowlands, meadows and homesteads. More intensified processing of land, and increase of arable lands, helped a spatial expansion of Torčec. During 18th century Torčec expanded and number with the Triplex Confinium area as a case study. It was situated on Koprivnica (one of four main fortresses of the Slavonnian Military Border) and it was part of the 3Drnje County District and Drnje Parish (two kilometres from Torčec). It belonged at times to the Military Border and at other times to Civil Croatia. This analysis could also denote a beginning of eco-historical research in the Podravina (Drava Region).*

**Key words:** river of Drava, environmental history, village of Torčec, Drava river Region (Podravina), 18th century

**Ključne riječi:** rijeka Drava, povijest okoliša, selo Torčec, Podravina, 18. stoljeće

In the second half of 18th century, the village of Torčec had been located 9 km northeast from the town of Koprivnica (one of four main fortresses of the Slavonian Military Border), in Podravina (Drava river) Region (northwestern Croatia).<sup>1</sup> The village was a part of Drnje Parish, Drnje itself some 2 km away. The characteristics of Torčec location was its unique location on a three-border point,<sup>2</sup> inbetween Military Border (Vojna krajina), county of Križevci and Hungarian counties Zala and Somogy. During the late 18th century, Torčec had been a part of Križevci county, under the manor estate Kuzminec. Hungarian border was going alongside River Drava (the old river stream flow, that changed in 1710), a kilometer away towards the north. Military Border was towards the east and south, all the way to the border with Hungary, being only 2 km away from Torčec. The village Torčec had its only contact with Križevci county on the west.<sup>3</sup>

## NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

Geomorphology or **relief** of the area seems rather steady and even. However, 2 relief entities can be located here: 1) flood-incurred alluvial plains in the north; 2) Holocene terraces in the south. Torčec area nearby is characterized by meanders, river lakes, dead-end backwaters and small river islets. Terraces in the south lie on a little higher ground from alluvial plains, so they escaped flood waves. Torčec is situated on such a terrace, so no flooding of Drava River touched it. Since a creek called Gliboki runs virtually through the village center, high water level (in early Spring and early Summer) sometimes used to cause flooding to a part of the village, on the left north banks of the creek.<sup>4</sup>

Village altitude (elevation) is 128 m, with the surrounding area at somewhat higher altitude. The nearby river Drava is also at a higher altitude, since its alluvial mud piled up over the years. This prevents smaller affluent streams from the south to pour directly into Drava River. In the west of Torčec, Gliboki creek receives minor streams of Segovina (from the north) and Vratnec (from the south).<sup>5</sup> **Water streams** on the entire area of Torčec made typical physical-geographic elements of swamped marshland. Grounds in Torčec surrounding area directly depend on petrographic basis, erosion caused by Drava River and other tributaries, but mostly depend on human activities. Alongside River Drava we find less valuable grounds, not too easily arable, which need additional fertilization. However, drained grounds on terraces are of better quality, loose and easier for cultivation.<sup>6</sup> **Climate** of this part of Podravina region is a distinctive continental climate.<sup>7</sup> The climate somewhat defines the structure of agricultural production here. As Torčec vicinity has an elevation between 128 and 133 m above sea level, this 5 m altitude difference isn't much. However, in a relatively small area it does have great hydrologic and pedologic influence, thus exerting significant influence on all living organisms. The lowest parts

<sup>1</sup> H. Petrić, Opća povijest Torčeca, in: Povijest Torčeca, Torčec 2000., 75-81.

<sup>2</sup> D. Roksandić, Triplex Confinium ili o granicama i regijama hrvatske povijesti 1500. - 1800., Zagreb 2003.

<sup>3</sup> H. Petrić, Općina i župa Drnje, Povijesno-geografska monografija, Drnje 2000.

<sup>4</sup> D. Feletar, Geografski položaj i geomorfološko-pedološka osnovica naseljenosti Podravine do kraja srednjeg vijeka, Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva, 14, Zagreb 1990., 11-19; isti, D. Feletar, Podravina I - Općine Koprivnica, Đurđevac i Ludbreg u prošlosti i sadašnjosti, Koprivnica 1988.

<sup>5</sup> D. Feletar, H. Petrić, Prirodnogeografske i demografske značajke Torčeca, in: Povijest Torčeca, Torčec 2000., 19-30.

<sup>6</sup> P. Kurtek, Gornja hrvatska Podravina, Zagreb 1966., 18.

<sup>7</sup> I. Penzar, B. Penzar, Geofizičko-meteorološke i fenološke prilike u Prekodravlju, Podravski zbornik, 19-20, Koprivnica 1994., 250-251.

of the area have an increased humidity, with the possibility for flooding. Depending on microrelief and humidity of the ground, human activity- as well as vegetation- varies here. In the central part, and alongside the Vratnec creek, as the area with highest humidity, there is a variety of vegetation. Field ash and black alder trees are highly represented here, along with poplar-trees and willows. More elevated ground had vegetation of common oak and hornbeam, so typical for forested surrounding lowlands. The interesting thing (in a vegetative and floral sense) was the presence of rare beech trees by Segovina creek, as well as common elms, which had been very rare in Podravina region.<sup>8</sup>

## ECONOMY

As for the importance in traffic or geography, the place of Torčec was insignificant and peripheral. The first macadam roads had been precisely determined during 18th century. Basically, the roads here were heading the same direction field pathways followed land plots and their boundaries. Due to honouring the field plot boundaries so strictly and rigidly, we had numerous road curves and turns on a very flat terrain. Since in 1777 there had been a well-defined trading road that led from Veliki Otok (via Đelekovec and Torčec) to Drnje, it is quite understandable that in 1780 there was the first bridge over Gliboki creek. In relation to this, the local archives have documents witnessing tithe (one-tenth) collection and giving labour to build a bridge in Torčec, on the estate of Kuzminec.<sup>9</sup> Building of a bridge enabled a quick and easy access and transport of agricultural farming products from the estates north of Torčec, and facilitated the sale of farm products on western markets. All this helped a more intensive growth and production on arable land here. In 18th century, before the water regulation, there had been much more of marshland and lower meadows. According to old maps, all up to 1710 River Drava had flown right next to the village. Afterwards, it meandered and withdrew further north, where it is today. The river withdrawal did not move the state border with Hungary, even if it originally followed the river bed. This enabled the inhabitants of Torčec to legally own land in Hungary too (in fact, a few km from the village), as well as in the Military Border.

The shifting of Drava River flow and Gliboki creek in 1710 influenced the Torčec population to move to a new location in the southeast. The old village center, a chapel and the manor house now were outside the village, up to the northwest from the remaining village population. In 1731, a canonic visit registered a wooden chapel of St. Stjepan the King, existing in Torčec. Around it, there was a local graveyard, built in an isolated area. This fact indicates, that the population moved out to a new location in the vicinity. The church authorities suggested, that the chapel be moved to a new village center of Torčec, south of Gliboki creek, which was eventually done in 1733.<sup>10</sup> At the same time the old manor, built from bricks, stopped being used. By the end of 18th century, it already turned into ruins. In 1795 a villager, named Mijo Fonjak, was building a new farmhouse, using the old bricks from the manor ruins. This is the first-ever example of home building by use of solid hard materials (brocks).<sup>11</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Geografija SR Hrvatske, 1-2, Zagreb 1974.

<sup>9</sup> Hrvatski državni arhiv Zagreb - Croatian State Archives Zagreb (CSAZ), Križevačka županija - Križevci County (KC), 40-LX-150; 81-V-23.

<sup>10</sup> Nadbiskupski arhiv Zagreb - Archiepiscopal Archives Zagreb, Kanonske vizitacije - Canonical visitation (AAZ, CV), Prot. 178-II-403; 93-V-41; 94-VI-277.

<sup>11</sup> V. Lakuš, Povijest sela Torčeca od 1334. do 1952, manuscript, Torčec 1952, Museum of Torčec.

Križevci county records for the year 1780 show a dispute between Đelekovec and Torčec over some land, as the final demarcation on land boundaries had not been done before.<sup>12</sup> The roots of a dispute lie in the fact, that during 18th century both Đelekovec and Torčec had **significant increase in population**. From early 18th century, up to 1780, population of Đelekovec almost doubled, while Torčec increased by half. Increase in population stressed out the need for more food. This in turn caused an intensified processing and use of land, clearance of unused land and its turning into arable land. This is why occasionally Đelekovec and Torčec inhabitants had disputes over their new land demarcation. Namely, a part of their newly cleared land plots, both villages claiming as their own, was bordering with the other.<sup>13</sup>

As an interesting example of this, there is a record dating from 1727, in which Torčec inhabitants filed a complaint with the Croatian-Slavonian Diet (Hrvatsko-slavonski sabor) that they virtually had no land in civil Croatia- as their arable lands were either in territory of Military Border, or in Hungary now.<sup>14</sup> Until that year, they had paid no taxes Possible taxes were avoided by threatening to move out to Military Border collectively. Since they never did, the Croatian-Slavonian Diet in 1736 decreed, that the village of Torčec is to pay 18 Rhine florins (gulden) of hearth tax, which burdened the residents there immensely.<sup>15</sup> In late 17th century Drnje administration had pleaded with Varaždin-based general Souches, requesting that Torčec be annexed again to Military Border. Drnje claimed that Torčec indeed had belonged to the Military Border before.<sup>16</sup> However, after the restoration, Torčec in the end was assigned to a civil component of Croatian-Slavonionian Kingdom.

Torčec of that era had freed serfs, now **freemen**. Their status of free men was a consequence of their colonization. Landlords and large estate owners, in order to populate empty lands and to attract new labour, offered and provided freedom to serfs. These ex serfs from Slavonnia and other parts of Croatia in majority declined to move and work without personal freedom. Besides, for landlords the ever present danger was that serfs could easily flee to Military Border and join the Military Border as frontier guards. Freed men in most of the estates had a similar position.<sup>17</sup>

All places of residence included a high money tax of 4 to 5 florins. On the other hand, many villages paid a total tax in a lump sum. Freed men did not have to provide free work of vilainage service. Their main service was a military one in a manor banderium. As in 18th century, there were no big war campaigns any longer, so feudal masters gradually forced freed men into performing other duties, such as sentry guard, delivering manor mail, taking part in hunting parties and many other tasks. In order to attract new labour, landlords still offered some privileges. Freed men did not have to work for free. Thus, the freed men were in a much better position than serfs. However, freed men were no part of a separate category of farmers. In neighbouring freemen villages of Botovo and Đelekovec, individuals mostly occupied small plots of land. Their elementary duty was a military service in the manor banderium.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>12</sup> CSAZ, KC, 51-LXXVIII-6.

<sup>13</sup> S. Krivošić, Stanovništvo i demografske prilike u sjeverozapadnoj Hrvatskoj u XVIII. i prvoj polovici XIX. stoljeća, Varaždin 1991.; S. Krivošić, Stanovništvo Podravine 1659. - 1859., Podravski zbornik, 9, Koprivnica 1983., 158-163.

<sup>14</sup> Kaptolski arhiv Zagreb - Captol Archives Zagreb, Acta Capituli saec. XVIII, 10-20; 8-33; Arhiv HAZU Zagreb - Archives HAZU Zagreb, Documenta, C XIV-64.

<sup>15</sup> Zaključci Hrvatskog sabora, 4, Zagreb 1964., 41.

<sup>16</sup> Arhiv HAZU Zagreb - Archives HAZU Zagreb, Documenta, D-LXXVII-210.

<sup>17</sup> J. Adamček, Agrarni odnosi u Hrvatskoj od sredine XV do kraja XVII stoljeća, Zagreb 1980.

<sup>18</sup> J. Adamček, Ludbreg i njegova okolica u doba feudalizma, Ludbreg, Ludbreg 1984., 99-114.

**More intensified processing of land, and increase of arable lands,** helped a spatial expansion of Torčec.<sup>19</sup> During 18th century Torčec expanded and number of newly built houses increased. Number of households (families) increased from 69 (year 1700) to 110 (in 1733), while the number of houses jumped from 67 (in 1680) to 105 (in 1771). In 1783 Torčec had 113 houses, in 1787 a total of 111 houses. From the beginning to the end of the 18th century, a number of new houses increased by 68%, or more than two thirds. In 1771 a house had an average of 7 inhabitants, thus, we estimate the population of Torčec around the year 1700 at some 480 inhabitants. During 18th century along with stabilized political situation, there was an increase in food production. All this resulted in growth of settlements, building of new houses and increase in population. In 1771 it came up to 732, in 1789 to 748. We estimate, that in the period 1700-1783 the population of Torčec increased by 56%, or more than a half.<sup>20</sup>

In 18th century, there was a regulation of River Drava<sup>21</sup> and its tributaries. Croatian state archives keep a document from Military general commands of Karlovac and Varaždin from the year 1777: it shows that there had existed a water regulation of Drava and its tributaries nearby the villages of Botovo, Đelekovec and Torčec. This in turn witnessed that the region was taken care and run by the Military Border, with a constant help by Croatian counties.<sup>22</sup>

In order to precisely determine the land territory of Torčec in 1778, there had been a feudal regulation, ordered by the Queen Maria Theresa on 24 September, 1773. The regulation had well-defined and increased in length the main arable lands of the region. This increased the number of plowlands, meadows and homesteads. In 1778 Torčec had 11,25 homesteads, plowlands increased from 253 (in 1779) to 260 (in 1778); meadows increased from 134,8 reapers (in 1774) to 181 (in 1778), homesteads from 79,87 truck-loads (in 1774) to 84,62 truck-loads of wheat (1778). It seems that feudal or homestead estates in most cases were enlarged by taking up cleared, rented or deserted lands and joining them together. All these categories of land were held by local farmers too, only as lands of separate category.<sup>23</sup>

Another document from the State archives Zagreb plays an important role in learning more of history of Torčec: it's a listing of 114 land owners in Torčec, dating from 1770.<sup>24</sup> It is a valuable source of information to all. The same archive keeps another interesting document, needed for history research of environment. It's the first geometry-based land survey of cleared land (owned by freemen and serfs) in Kuzminec estate, in the period 1775-1780. This is a detailed list of all lands for the following settlements: Kuzminec, Koledinec, Grbaševac, Rasinja, Kutnjak, Antolovec, Zablatje, Selnica Veliki Otok, Martinić - and Torčec as well. It is interesting that in Torčec land was owned by inhabitants of other settlements too, like Drnje, Ivanec, Botovo and Peteranec. The same document has a mention of a chapel and the village own judge, who rendered his services for usufructus or the use of part of the land.<sup>25</sup>

According to geometric land survey, it is obvious that estates varied from 0,06 to 12,2 hectares. Provisionally, we could divide land plots in Torčec area in the following manner: up to

<sup>19</sup> S. Krivošić, Stanovništvo Podravine, 158-163.

<sup>20</sup> AAZ, CV, Prot. 91/III (1700.), Prot. 93/V i 94/VI (1733.), Prot. 95/VIIIa i Prot. 211, (1771.), Prot. 97/IX (1782.) i Prot. 99/XI (1787.).

<sup>21</sup> About regulation of River Drava - M. Slukan Altić, Hidroregulacije Drave i njezini utjecaji na transformaciju prirodnog i kulturnog pejzaža Podravine, Podravina, vol. 2, br. 2, Koprivnica 2002., 128-152.

<sup>22</sup> CSAZ, Generalkomanda, kut. 10; Register No. 81, A-Z, 1777.

<sup>23</sup> J. Adamček, Ludbreg i njegova okolica u doba feudalizma, 114.

<sup>24</sup> CSAZ, Vlastelinstvo Rasinja, kut. 8.

<sup>25</sup> H. Petrić, Općina i župa Drnje, 90.



3 ha = a very small estate; 3-6 ha = a small estate; 6-9 ha = a medium-size estate; exceeding 9 ha = a large estate. Majority of proprietors (60) had very small estates (up to 3 ha). 50 of them had small estates (3-6 ha); 9 land owners had medium-size estates (6-9 ha); 3 land owners had big plots (exceeding 9 ha).<sup>26</sup>

As at the time Torčec had 114 households,<sup>27</sup> an average land was 3,34 ha by each household. Also, in late 18th century Torčec had an average of 6,5 inhabitants per household, thus, each inhabitant had some ½ ha of land. In Torčec area we had 131 land proprietors, thus, the average land plot size was 2,94 ha by individual owner. Some of the Torčec area land was owned by non-residents, or residents of other settlements: Kuzminec, Peteranec, Ivanec, Drnje and Botovo. While residents owned majority of land (97,7%), non-resident owned some 2,3% of the land here.

The total surveyed land around Torčec was 381,4 ha: plowlands (intensively used land) 241,4 ha or 63,4%; meadows and pastures (extensively used land) occupied 111,2 ha or 29,2%; forests<sup>28</sup> owned by farmers were scarce- only 1,6 ha or 0,4%; homestead (with adjoining backyards, gardens and orchards)- 26,5 ha or 7% of the total land.<sup>29</sup>

## SYMBOLS

Torčec had a main street, south of Gliboki creek; a side street north of the creek; another side street on the outskirts, towards Drnje, on the east. The main street had 2 rows of houses: the southern fork of it was uninterrupted single line of houses, while the northern one was situated on the creek banks, consisting of 2 separate parts. A side street north of the creek, had only 1 row of houses and was called “Prečni kraj”, meaning the area across Gliboki creek. It was connected by 2 bridges: one on the west side (towards Đelekovec), the other on the east (towards Drnje). On the east side there was a side street of only a handful of houses, lining up in 2 rows towards south (and/or Peteranec). The east side of the main street was called “Dolnji kraj”, meaning downward on the south side in the local dialect. The former village center was upwards north. However, the west side of the street was called “Krakovo”, meaning a branch-like or a fork-like spreading.

The names here surely come from the position, or the way it looks in the environment. The fields, or land plots around Torčec were named after: 1) Predominant vegetation, ie. “Jasenovec” named after ash-trees; “Jašlevičje” after alder-trees; “Šafranice” after saffron flowers, etc. 2) Area characteristics, ie. “Kotarec” (meaning a field, spreading like a corner, an angle); “Međurić” (inbetween 2 creeks); “Gliboki”, “Široki berek” (meaning deep, or wide flooded area), etc. 3) Area characteristics from the past, ie. “Gradić” (burg); “Cirkvišće” (church). 4) Patronimic character, ie. “Đurkino grmlje” (George’s bushes or shrubs), “Galov krč” (land cleared by someone named Gal), “Sočeve sinokoše” (judge’s hayfields) etc.

In the second half of 18th century houses were built of wicker and hard packed earth, wooden beams and straw roof. This was a local, native material of these plains, available to every builder. In Podravina region, Torčec had a longitudinal (along the longer side) type of buildings. This means, that a ground-plan of a house looked like this: house was stretched through its backyard,

<sup>26</sup> CSAZ, Vlastelinstvo Rasinja, kut. 1.

<sup>27</sup> A. Kovač, Gospodarstvo Torčeca - nekad i danas, in: Povijest Torčeca, Torčec 2000., 167-170.

<sup>28</sup> About forests - R. Kranjčev, Neke prirodoslovno-ekološke značajke okolice Torčeca, in: Povijest Torčeca, Torčec 2000., 31-36.

<sup>29</sup> CSAZ, Vlastelinstvo Rasinja, kut. 1.

with quarters or rooms following one after the other. A house would start right from the street: bedroom first, followed by a kitchen, then a fireplace for cooking meals, a stable, a pigsty and storage room. A typical Torčec house had its long history: developing from one-room living quarters to the most common type of this house: first and last rooms, kitchens, open hallway alongside the entire house. A typical old house with an open hallway was covered by a high and relatively steep roof, made of straw.

The roof supporting beams and construction were usually made of oak wood, often with carvings. The open hallway was separated from the backyard by a wooden beam, which led to a roofed porch, then into the first room, kitchen next and the last room at the end. The front part of the open hallway in most cases had a low picket fence. The flooring in the entire house was made of hard packed earth. The furniture was simple, but solid and firm. Most of the old houses did not have a chimney: smoke was released into the attic area for smoked dried meat

Each year around Christmas farmers would slaughter a pig, occasionally a cow. Despite this, household members did not eat meat too often. Main food were beans, cabbage, gruel, buckwheat porridge, sour and sweet turnip and beet- meat was on the menu for Sundays and holidays only. Meals were served for all household members in 1 big bowl- no plates were available. Men would sit around the table, while their wives would stand behind their men. If any had a baby, she would hold it on her left arm, while the right one would be used for feeding herself or the baby, taking spoonfuls over her husband's shoulder. Wine-growing hillslopes around Koprivnica, or across Drava river (in Hungary) were the source of wine. If a family would have chicken for a meal, they would usually take 2 or 3 for the whole family: men would get best parts, women-only wings, and children even worse- chicken legs. If in autumn there would be no more grease, women would go to fields to pick up pumpkin seeds to make substitute oil.<sup>30</sup>

According to all the above facts, it is obvious that during late 18th century people of Torčec lived in correlation and deeply connected to their environment. It had an influence on Torčec population, who in turn influenced the environment. More inhabitants worked the land more intensively now, to secure sufficient food. The biggest impact was by water flows, which caused the entire village to move and re-settle. Correlation is best seen in intensified field exploitation, but also in traditional building, using available natural materials, in food habits and in every day's life of local population.

## SAŽETAK

Članak se temelji na istraživanju okoliša sela Torčeca u današnjoj sjeverozapadnoj Hrvatskoj, i to na dokumentaciji koja se čuva u Hrvatskom državnom arhivu u Zagrebu, a nastala je između 1775. i 1780. godine. U Torčecu su živjeli slobodnjaci. Njihov postanak je vezan uz naseljavanje. U težnji da u pusta sela svojih posjeda privuku nove seljake feudali su im nudili i davali slobodnjačke povlastice. Ti preseljenici iz Slavonije ili iz drugih dijelova Hrvatske u većini se slučajeva nisu htjeli naseliti kao kmetovi, a uvijek je postojala mogućnost da prebjegnu u Vojnu krajinu i ondje postanu krajišnici. Položaj slobodnjaka se po pojedinim naseljima neznatno razlikovao. Da bi se precizno odredio teritorij zemljišta Torčeca 1778. godine provedena je urbarijalna regulacija koja je počela nalogom kraljice Marije Terezije od 24. rujna 1773. godine.

<sup>30</sup> Knjižnica HAZU, Zagreb - Library HAZU, Zagreb, S. Kovač, Godišnji običaji - Torčec kod Drnja, manuscript, Zagreb 1938./39.; V. Lakuš, Povijest sela Torčeca od 1334. do 1952.

Regulacijom su definirane i povećane osnovne poljoprivredne površine. Tako je povećan broj oranica, livada i okućnica. U 18. stoljeću je došlo i do porasta broja stanovnika Torčeca. Selo je bilo u sastavu župe Drnje čije sjedište je udaljeno od Torčeca oko dva kilometra. Karakteristika položaja Torčeca je što se selo smjestilo na tromeđi područja Vojne krajine, Križevačke županije i ugarskih županija (Zaladske i Šomođske). Tijekom druge polovice 18. stoljeća Torčec se nalazio u sastavu Križevačke županije, a spadao je pod vlastelinstvo Kuzminec. Granica mađarske protezala se uz stari tok rijeke Drave (kuda je tekla riječna matica do 1710. godine), udaljenim od Torčeca oko jedan kilometar prema sjeveru. Vojna krajina je zaokruživala prostor Torčeca na istoku i jugu nadovezujući se na granicu Ugarske. Ova kratka analiza predstavlja prilog početku ekohistorijskih istraživanja podravske regije.

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