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## Some Very Old Sanctuaries and the Emergence of Zagreb's Cultural Landscape

*Key Words:* Croatia, Zagreb, Prigorje, Medvednica, Cultural Landscape, the Slavs, sanctuaries

*Ključne riječi:* Hrvatska, Zagreb, Prigorje, Medvednica, Kulturni pejzaž, Slaveni, svetišta

*The objective of this paper is to provide initial evidence of the pre-Christian, in particular early Slavic stratum of the cultural landscape in the Zagreb Prigorje (Cismontana) area. Following upon the research of Croatian linguists (R. Katičić) and cultural anthropologists (V. Belaj) the authors propose several sites, and structured associations thereof, which, in their opinion, played an important role as the foundations to the cultural landscape of Zagreb and the Zagreb Prigorje area, as we can at least partly reconstruct it today. These sites, located along the line St. Jakob-Medvedgrad-St. Marko, within the Remete »hoof,« along the line the Rog-the Stari Kip-Gradec (Zagreb), and those linked to St. Barbara are just initial examples of what might be achieved by a systematic continuous research. The paper also discusses methodology involved in studying cultural landscape, its significance for the history of the visual arts, and the importance for contemporary interventions in our environment.*

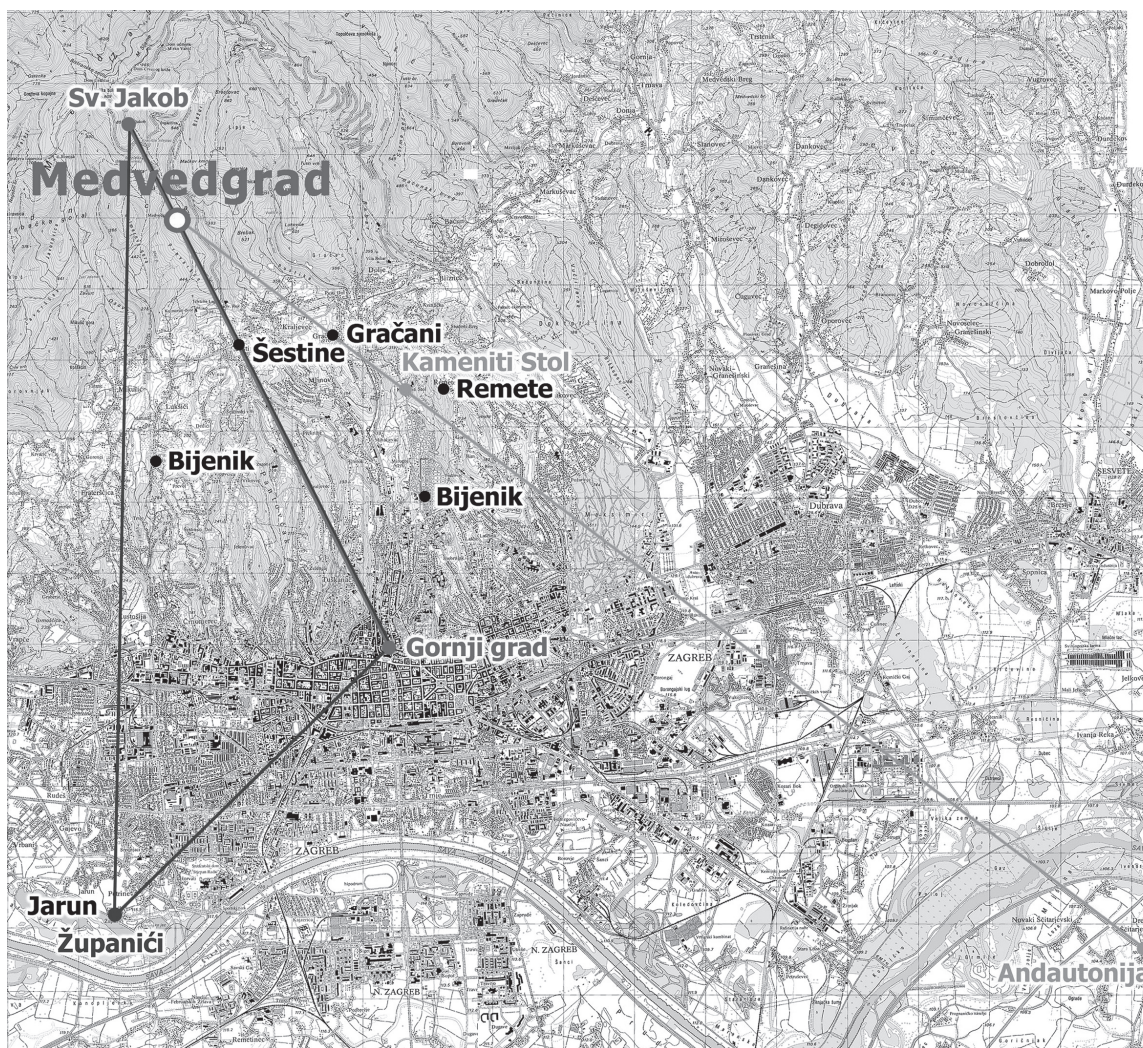
The Croatian writer Antun Gustav Matoš (1873-1914) has written that Zagreb is a »forest city.« Although the tree cover of Zagreb has been reduced, and is daily being further reduced by human greed and stupidity, the fact remains that Zagreb, as we conceive of it today, i.e., from Podsused to Sesvete, is a long series of forested Mountain spurs penetrating as far as the main east – west thoroughfare (Ilica st. – Vlaška/Maksimirska st. and their extensions). These mountain offshoots are separated by creeks descending the Medvednica Mountain's flank, today unfortunately almost without exception regulated and covered by concrete.

The wise city planners of the 19<sup>th</sup> century seem to have fully understood what the forest means for the character and visual attractiveness of Zagreb.<sup>1</sup> Thus the greenery was allowed to enter the regular blocks of the Lower City, and the famous »green hoof« was formed, one of the greatest assets of the entire Zagreb. This tradition was even carried on by the new building after 1945. Only today do the newest blocks built in the eastern (Dubrava, etc.) and southern (Remetinec) suburbs break that tradition being conceived as dismal ghettos of concrete strips and boxes.

Zagreb and the Zagreb Prigorje (Croatia Cismontana) indeed owe a lot to the Mountain. If one looks up to it through its main urban access, the Ribnjak, Medveščak, Ksaver axis, pointing to the central, highest, Sljeme ma-

ssif, the Medvednica Mountain, in spite of its modest height (1035)<sup>2</sup>, appears as a mighty shield giving the city, in addition to real protection from harsh northerly winds, a visual background, and along with it a sense of security and firm roots in the landscape not many a major city can boast of. As the Medvednica rises from Podsused toward the highest peaks just opposite to the centers of the city, and then declines toward the east, to Sesvete, so do symmetrically the density of population and the level of urbanization increase and decrease. This is true even today, in spite of tremendous demographic and urban structure changes. The Sava is near, but Zagreb has never been a river city. In fact, throughout its history the inhabitants of the Zagreb Prigorje have done their best to stay away from the treacherous water. The nature had obliged providing all those handy promontories on which one could settle with reasonable safety, having also, by the means of their ridges, an easy and unimpeded access to the mountain which, in many periods of history, was the main source of the necessities of life – food, water, clothing, fuel, building material, ores, medicines, fresh air – and, not the least, safety in case of a major emergency.<sup>3</sup> As the local history teaches us, the Zagreb Mountain was a coveted asset worth quarreling and fighting for<sup>4</sup>. A definitive history of that relationship will not be written for a long time to come, as Zagreb (and its





1. Zagreb Sacred Triangle (V. Belaj) as elaborated by Tea Gudek/Zagrebački sveti trokut (V. Belaj), proširila Tea Gudek.

surroundings) is a very poorly investigated place in terms of archeology, art history or cultural anthropology. Yet we know that the Mountain and its southern slopes have been inhabited since times immemorial, and, bar the Roman period, the Cismontana was always one of the hubs of the political, cultural, religious and economic life of the southwestern corner of the Pannonian plain – Pannonia Savia<sup>5</sup>. It is still so today. Without the security, real and emotional, provided by the Medvednica's sturdy back, Zagreb would not have become the capital of a European country.

It is logical to assume that settlers have always been trying out the best places to build their homes, plant their crops and set their shops and offices, weighing, as anywhere else, the factors of security against those of entrepreneurship. Or, equally important, looked for the best houses for their gods, the places of their worship, and for the mortals' best eternal resting places<sup>6</sup>. As this latter group is likely to leave the most durable imprint on the landscape, it is the identification of the sacred spots, sanctuaries, temples, and cemeteries what

constitutes the first step in any search for spatial orientation points, spots that determine not only an environment's practical, but also its spiritual and poetic quality.

The study of the cultural landscape is for art history, and so also for the fine (visual) arts history, both a relatively new and a very old phenomenon. Reading Pausanias one is struck by the sheer number of places touched by the human spirit. There is hardly a tree, rock, puddle, bush or crossroad that did not witness a human presence, or that was not transformed by the human spirit and hand – from simple name-giving to creating complex human landscapes<sup>7</sup>.

Human beings obviously cannot live in an environment unless they endow it with their spirit bringing together the creative efforts of both humans and nature. Such total art includes the aspects we routinely recognize as key to human creativity – the image, sound, and movement, as well as those in which the nature plays a more prominent role – smell, taste, touch, and the sense of space. Beginning with the Renaissance which introduced the history of art, as well





2. St. Jakob and Medvedgrad from Zagreb-Gradec/Sv. Jakob i Medvedgrad s Gradeca (foto: V. Goss)

3. St. Jakob, Medvedgrad and St. Marko/Sv. Jakob, Medvedgrad i Sv. Marko (foto: V. Goss)

4. St. Jakob from Medvedgrad/ Sv. Jakob s Medvedgrada (foto: V. Goss)

5. Medvedgrad (foto: T. Gudek)

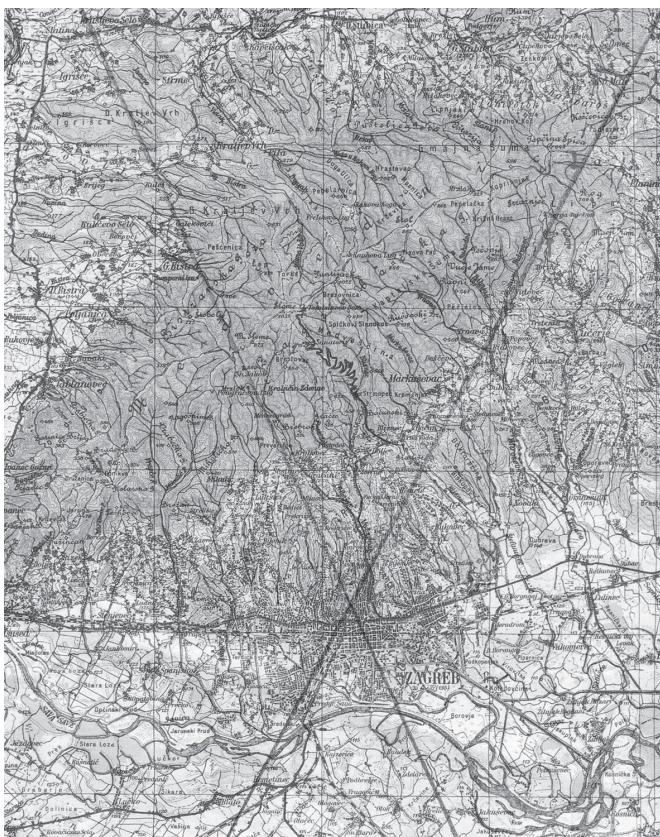






6. Medvednica from Pleso Airport/Medvednica iz zračne luke Pleso (foto: V. Jukić)

8. Extension of «Belaj's Axis», and the «Rog Axis.» Crosses mark positions of the taller Rog (748) and the Stari kip / Produženje «Belajeve osovine» i «osovina Roga» (V. Goss). Strelice označuju položaj višeg Roga (748) i Starog kipa



as histories of arts, as humanistic discipline, that totality of experience has been disappearing, and thus we have ended up having histories of literature, music, dance, fine arts (the latter usually claiming the title of «the history of art»). An integrated approach, which must take into consideration also the activities of the viewer, has been coming back over last few decades, partly stimulated by the issue of growing destruction of the environment and, of course, of the need of its preservation. Cultural ecology is inseparable from the natural one. So we are returning to the old «Pausanian» view of a creative cooperation between human beings and nature, breaking down the boundaries between the arts, but also such distinctions as »high« and »low«, »cosmopolitan« and »folk,« or »western« and »primitive« art.

This article is a brief and very incomplete account of some old sacred spots in and around Zagreb, as a step toward a hard and serious work on establishing the key organizational patterns of the Zagreb and Zagreb Prigorje cultural landscape, and its emergence and developments through long millennia of its history. The choice of examples is random, i.e., it involves locations which for some reason or another





7. Medvedgrad and St. Jakob from Mirogoj in Zagreb / Medvedgrad i Sv. Jakob s Mirogoja (V. Goss)

9. Hermann Bolle, Mirogoj Arcades / Hermann Bolle, Mirogojske arkade (V. Goss)

have been at least recognized and somewhat researched. Call it a collection of examples or models which may inspire future more systematic investigation.

#### *The Medvedgrad Axis*

Among sacred Early Slavic triangles that Vitomir Belaj has proposed on the territory of Croatia, there is one covering the Zagreb Cismontana (fig. 1). It involves the peak of St. Jakob (St. James) at the western end of the Central Medvednica massif (Perun), the village of Županići in the Jarun area (Veles), and the site of St. Mark's, the parish church of Zagreb's historical upper town, the royal free borough of Gradec (Mokoš)<sup>8</sup>. Belaj's points are well taken, and his proposal is convincing. It is only natural that Zagreb should have a major »sacred triangle« of its own, as the area has, as we have already stated, been attractive for settlers since prehistoric times. What makes Belaj's discovery especially important is that the line drawn from St. Jakob to St. Mark's runs through one of the most important monuments of Croatian visual arts and political history, the castle of Medvedgrad (figs. 1, 3)<sup>9</sup>.







12. View from Gradište toward South/Pogled s Gradišta prema jugu (foto: V. Goss)

10. Gradište in Remete/Gradište u Remetama (foto: V. Goss)



The peak of St. Jakob (869m) is a venerable pilgrimage spot of a venerable saint who took over the court of the Slavic Thunderer. The peak, viewed from central Zagreb appears rounded with some irregularities around the top, but when viewed from Medvedgrad, and from various Prigorje spots to its east, it assumes a more regular pyramidal shape (fig. 4). The fact which has been simultaneously established both by professor Belaj and one of the authors, was that the hill of Medvedgrad (587m) is called Mali Plazur, and that of St. Jakob, Veliki Plazur (small and big crawling place), thus making a direct reference to the crawling of Veles the

Snake, trying to reach the throne of Perun the Thunderer. Also, as well-known, one of Veles's incarnations is the snake with a bear's head, which fits well with the name of the castle, reinforcing the name of the mountain itself – the Bear Mountain (Medvednica)<sup>10</sup>.

At the peak of St. Jakob there is a stone chapel, many times rebuilt and remade, even recently, thus at the present state of our knowledge difficult to date. There used to be a wooden home next to the church, where the owner sold simple food and beverages to hikers and pilgrims, but the owner did not reside there permanently. The house is long gone





11. Gračani with the church of St. Michael with the Remetski Kamenjak in the Background / Gračani i Sv. Mihalj; Remetski Kamenjak u pozadini (foto: V. Goss)

14. Remete. Zone of the Kameniti stol, Remetski Kamenjak and Pustoselina. Green area is the Crematorium gardens / Remete. Područje Kameniti Stol, Remetski Kamenjak i Pustoselina. Zeleno: krematorijsko groblje (foto: V. Jukić)



(more than 50 years ago), and thus the top of the mountain was returned to the ownership of supernatural powers.

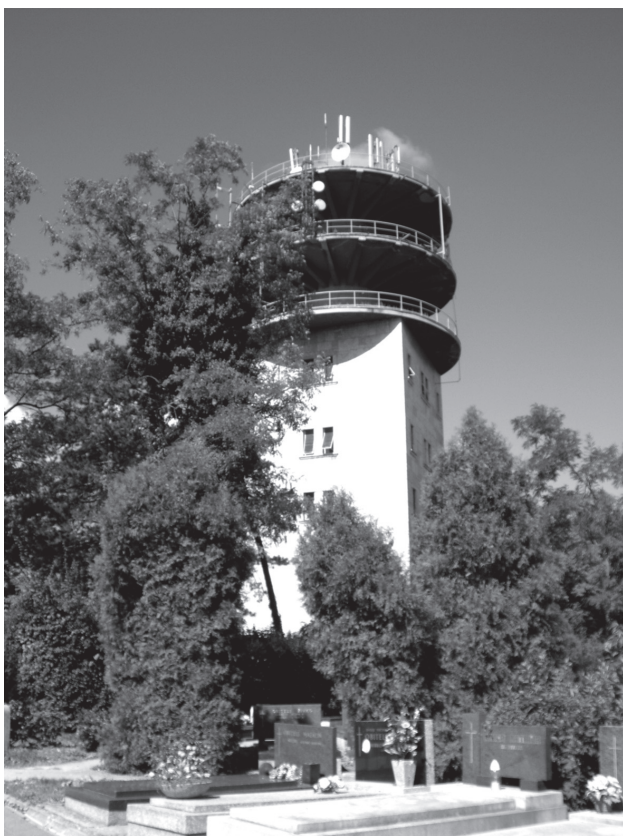
The entire hill is in fact separated from the main massif, standing a little in front (to the south) of its main ridge. The undulating ridge issuing forth from the Sava at Podused and climbing up eastwards to St. James (with an abrupt steep section at the end) mimics the snake's crawling up toward the top, and the steep section seems to prohibit it from reaching that goal (fig. 6). This is the picture one gathers if viewing the mountain from the heart of the city, which is still today in the area of its two key medieval set-

tlements of Kaptol (Bishop's city) and Gradec (King's free borough). If viewed in profile, i.e., from the Cismontana villages to the east and west, another line of crawling makes its appearance – up the Gradec hill from the river floodplain, and then northwards through the Cmrok heights, up to the Gornje Prekrižje (The Upper Crossroads) down to the village of Šestine (also known as the Lower Crossroads – Donje Prekrižje), and then in two big leaps to Medvedgrad, and to St. Jakob's (fig. 7). The ultimate segment is again prohibitively steep as any hiker who has tried the unmarked trail leading from Medvedgrad to St. Jakob's can testify. This second approach underlined by rocky outcrops may be in fact Veles's main line of attack which goes all along the axis of St. Marko – Medvedgrad – St. Jakob<sup>11</sup>.

The top of the hill of St. Jakob is separated from the main massif by a saddle, which, inspected closely, may indicate that its central part was deepened by human hands making the top less accessible. Also, there seem to be traces of a circle of terraces still visible on the southwestern and western side. Are they human-made or a freak of nature is difficult to tell.

The view from St. Jakob's, although nowadays marred by trees, is phenomenal. The only directions blocked by the main massif, and the spurs projecting toward the south is east and northeast. Just to point out a few major spots: Plešivica (The Bald Mountain, the witches' mountain) to the west, the heart of the city of Zagreb with the Cathedral and St. Mark's to the south, and the distant (ca. 100 km) western promontories of the Papuk including the Petrov vrh and Pogani vrh (St. Peter's and Pagan Peak), themsel-





13. Mirogoj, Communication Tower/Mirogoj, komunikacijski toranj (foto: V. Goss)



15. Crematorium. Eternal Fire/Krematorij. Vječna vatra (foto: V. Goss)

ves parts of a major central Slavonian sacred triangle. As we are going to see, St. Jakob is visible from every major sacred spot within its view, albeit some of them (e. g., Đurđić in Tremna near Križevci, Đurđička rudina near Daruvar) are of rather low height (barely over 200m), and over fifty kilometers away. By linking up to the Western Papuk, Perun at St. Jakob's could indirectly »see« also another paramount house of Gods of Northwestern Croatia, the Ivanščica hiding behind the Medvednica's main massif<sup>12</sup>.

In spite of the trees it is possible to at least get some idea of what S. Jakob sees in the Zagorje (Transmontana) area behind the mountain. Recognizing the tremendous importance of the St. Jakob-Medvedgrad-St. Marko axis, we decided to extend it, first across the Sava river. There it goes through the village of Jakuševac (Jakob's place) which in the middle ages housed a parish of St. Marko(!). Then we extended it into the Zagorje area. Here, it runs through the village of Jakovlje (Jakob's village) and the village and hill called Igrišće (the place of dances, i.e., the place of rituals). Having limited our interest to the Zagreb Cismontana, we did not go any further, but some one in the future should (fig. 8)<sup>13</sup>.

Could we draw any conclusions relevant for the history of visual arts, subsection: cultural landscape, from the above? We may suggest a few.

The axis defined by Belay played an important role in setting up the main spatial orientation points in the Zagreb Prigorje, subsection: the central, most settled and politically, economically and culturally most important area. The people who lived thousands of years ago on the current Kaptol and Gradec did not select the highest peaks right due north, but chose a formally more expressive, more individualized hill as the head of the hub of their physical, visual and emotional environment. That hill was given to Gods, one of which could be identified with some certainty, the Perun of the early Slavic settlers. As the axis goes to St. Mark's in the Gradec area known to have been fortified by the 7<sup>th</sup> century (the stone's throw away, the Kaptol area was inhabited by the Slavic immigrants by the 8<sup>th</sup> ct.) here we have a link between the house of the Gods and »our house«<sup>14</sup>. What about Medvedgrad?

Medvedgrad is exactly what it visually claims to be: a place in between (fig. 2, 5, 7).

Gods are self-sufficient, they do not need food, shelter, health care or companionship. Thus they can comfortably live where nobody else could thrive. Moreover, their seats are often taboo, where human presence is strictly forbidden. Gods have no objections to humans finding themselves good places to live balancing the needs of safety, availability





16. Crematorium / Krematorij (foto: V. Goss)

of resources and the means of exchanging them. No God has yet punished human race for inventing air-condition. What a God's seat means to a human landscape is that it gives it its orientation, which also means divine, spiritual protection. Just take a look at all those church spires in the middle of a village or on a hill all around the world. They are all artificial orienting points reinforcing natural ones. God's place must be inaccessible but viewable. As long as we see the Gods, and they see us, we are protected. People settle first, then look for divine protection in the landscape. Or, when told by their priests, seers, and divine or semi-divine leaders to settle »right here,« it most likely means that the seer had already established that the chosen place is both convenient and would also benefit from divine protection. When choosing among several good living places, human beings may select the one which also has a viable »sacred spot.« Bar some extreme hermits, people are not asked by Gods to shun reasonable comfort. Even the Cistercians, when leaving the busy world chose spots which were beautiful, safe, and productive.

It is also necessary to establish points from where at least some of the members of the community may view and address the Gods – sanctuaries, temples. Viewed under that light, Medvedgrad is an ideal dwelling place for those who are closer to the divine power than the rest.

Unfortunately, little is known about the early history of the Medvedgrad hill<sup>15</sup>. It was inhabited in the prehistoric times, but those who lived there must, as the later, medieval owners, have walked downhill for thirty minutes to get to places where with some effort enough arable land could be wrestled from the forest.

Its somewhat more abundant medieval and post medieval history paints Medvedgrad as a seat of either secular or religious gentry, thus people closer to the Lord than the ordinary folks (fig. 5)<sup>16</sup>. Its fantastic position, in spite of a rather modest height (587 m, thus one third less than St. Jakob's), allows us to see it from tens of kilometers away, and the hill itself is clearly profiled within the sky line of the Mountain from even larger distances (fig. 2, 7). In addition to supervising a large tract of the land around an important medieval capital, Medvedgrad can see the land, or the borders, of the Kingdoms of Slavonia, Croatia, Bosnia, Dalmatia and Hungary, and the Holy Roman Empire!

Medvedgrad's position within its micro-zone is also significant. It has overlooked the best old trail over the Mountain, either through the Rudarsko sedlo (The Miners Gap), or by the western ridges down to the Sava at Podused. It controlled access to the best ore deposits behind the peak of St. Jakob, it stood among the richest chestnut





17. Gračani. Mons Isce/Gračani. Mons Isce (foto: V. Goss)

19. Gračani. St. Michael/Gračani. Sv. Mihalj (foto: V. Goss)



forests, was close to good water, and only 45 minutes of climbing away from the arable land. Visually, Medvedgrad features a position which seems to have been favored by landscape planners in many periods of the past. That is, a well-protected hill, surrounded by a chain of higher hills providing both a real and visual protective cocoon – a sort of an 180 degrees foil, something like one half of a pot. This is a favorite positioning of old castles and seats of power in medieval Croatia (Žumberak, Bijela stijena, Blaguša, Moravčak, etc., or, in a truly dramatic and monumental form, Imotski).

Values both practical, emotional and esthetic of such a position were surely not invented only in the Middle Ages, as the remains of a prehistoric settlement at Medvedgrad testifies, which seems to be reinforced by fine studies by Professor Bedenko<sup>17</sup>. One could imagine the Medvedgrad hill as an old fortified settlement serving also as a point of addressing the Gods at St. Jakob's. If the archeological investigations are ever continued we may even find a proof.

Here may lay an answer to a lingering question. Why the inhabitants of the »Central Zagreb« did not put their gods at the highest, Sljeme, peak of the Mountain? Why they did not follow the meridian, but, rather, selected an axis meeting the meridian under a sharp angle? Because in the first case there is no such excellent, controlling in-between place as Medvedgrad (fig. 3). The case of eastern Medvednica, to be addressed shortly may reinforce this assumption.

Finally, as the extension of the axis, still to be seriously researched, indicates, even the people on the southern bank of the Sava, and those behind the Mountain, wanted to be connected to the »Major Zagreb«, by following the Medvedgrad axis, and referring to it by naming and aligning their homesteads and sanctuaries (fig. 8).

#### *The Sacred Hoof of Remete*

Until about thirty years ago the charming village of Remete at the northern end of the Mirogoj hill was one of the best kept secrets of the Zagreb Prigorje (fig. 1). Then it was discovered by the affluent and the powerful of the previous and the current regime, and was horribly overbuilt in a taste revealing the worst type of the »new class« mentality.

The serenity of the plateau to become known as Mirogoj was well sensed by the city fathers of Zagreb who decided to set there the main Zagreb cemetery, and by the architect who built the main structures, Hermann Bolle (fig. 9). By selecting Mirogoj they were absolutely in line with ancient history. The 20<sup>th</sup> century Zagreb city fathers were even better. By building the complex of the Crematorium to the north of the ever expanding cemetery, they may have sat on top of a very old sacred spot itself.

The village of Remete used to rise on a gentle terraced slope above a small creek (today mostly sent underground).





18. Lipa-Rog from Remetski Kamenjak / Lipa-Rog s Remetskog Kamenjaka (foto: V. Goss)

This enclave of peace and security is surrounded on all the sides, except for the south, by a hoof-formed ridge pointing northwards – Remetski Kamenjak (The Stone Ridge of Remete) (fig. 11). The ridge falls precipitously down toward the Gračani Creek to its west and toward the narrow valley of Dolje between the foot of the Mountain and the Remete-Mirogoj Plateau. At the ridge's northeastern point there is a short extension toward the east-northeast, culminating in a hill of Gradište (Hillfort), probably a prehistoric site continuing into the Middle Ages (fig. 10). The site is totally unexplored, and will remain so as it is densely covered by new and offensively ugly multistoried homes for the rich. The view from the southern flank over the Sava plain is fantastic rivaling that from Medvedgrad or St. Jacob's. To the south, at the foot of the Gradište hill a beautiful valley opens up and in its middle there is the famous monastery of the Paulinian monks where a year ago traces of a large medieval church have been discovered next to and partly underneath the Gothic (rebuilt) monastery church (fig. 12)<sup>18</sup>.

Mirogoj-Remete did not attract only those looking for earthly and everlasting peace. A communication tower had been built in the fifties just to the south of the Crematorium (not yet in existence), on the highest and northernmost spot of the Mirogoj cemetery area. It is a strange building recalling a Romanesque keep, and it »controls« a transversal gap separating the Mirogoj area from the hoof

of Remete (fig. 13). The view from the »keep« is again wonderful: Medvedgrad and St. Jakob from a side (fig. 7), central Zagreb area and beyond. I truly admire the architect's intuition as he may have built his tower at the best spot to protect the access to the hoof of Remete, and we are quite convinced that some protective structure and/or observation point stood there thousands of years ago.

And now, finally, let me introduce the element which stands behind this entire story. The area within the hoof of Remete, along the former creek's bed within the Fučekov jarek (Fuček's hollow), i.e., the large section of the Crematorium's memorial gardens is marked on maps as Kameniti stol.

Kameniti stol means Stone Table, and is a literal translation of the Celtic word dolmen (dol – table, men – of stone). We know very well what a dolmen is. So somewhere within the area of Crematorium, or closely nearby, there was an old, Celtic, cult place with a dolmen, most likely shielding a tomb. It must have been an impressive structure as it gave name also to the road running from the Crematorium to Remete, and even beyond, up the defunct creek ending in dirt and cheap shrubbery in an uninhabited area called Pustoselina (Deserted Village), possibly the core of the old Remete settlement, and practically at the heart of the Remete hoof (fig. 14).

There are no records that I would know of concerning any archeological discoveries in or around the Cremato-



rium area. Inside the gardens, in the Fučekov jarek, there is an isolated hill with an altar and a ciborium sheltering the eternal fire. It would be pleasant to speculate that the architects have placed that modern sacred monument at the place of the old Kameniti stol (fig. 15, 16)!

Unfortunately, this is where the story ends, hopefully just for the time being.

However, one should also consider the place of the Kameniti stol and its surroundings within the larger picture of the Zagreb cultural landscape. As one travels along the narrow edge of the precipice of Remetski Kamenjak, wonderful vistas open up of Medvedgrad and St. Jakob's, and of the ridges and villages in between, especially of the village of Gračani with the slim white tower of St. Michael's (fig. 11). From the Kamenjak St. Jakob's assumes a silhouette more compatible with those associated with the Holy Mountain, i.e., close to an ideal pyramid. If we look onward the northeast, we see the end of the Central Medvednica massif, the heights of the Lipa-Rog, and its drop-off toward the important gap of Laz (fig. 18). An unavoidable question imposes itself: is the Lipa-Rog complex in a way an equivalent to St. Jakob's at the western end of the Central Massif? And if so, is the Remete hoof, or, more precisely, the Građište hill a relay point as Lipa-Rog cannot be seen directly from either St. Jakob's or Medvedgrad (fig. 10)?

Before approaching this issue, we decided to draw a line from Medvedgrad through the Kameniti stol area (fig. 1). What became evident is that the line runs exactly through the church at Gračani and then continues across the Sava to pass through the area of the ancient Roman Andautonia, today the village of Ščitarjevo!<sup>19</sup>

Gračani is also an old sacred spot. Its medieval name, Mons Isce (The Witch's Mountain), has been retained by the name of the main street running along the ridge of a narrow hill bearing the church and the old settlement – an ideal prehistoric and medieval site – confirming that there used to be a pagan sanctuary which was tamed by building a church of the Archangel (fig. 17). The church itself, a fine, small, aisles building with an elongated rounded apse, and a handsome façade with an adjacent tower has never been explored (fig. 19). The facade with a side tower is a rather sumptuous Renaissance-Baroque affair, and the position of the tower reveals a hand of a Paulinian architect, most likely a monk from the neighboring monastery at Remete<sup>20</sup>. The plan may indicate late Romanesque background but serious investigations would be needed to confirm such an assumption. However, the fact that an ancient sanctuary used to be at the Mons Isce, tied within the network of other old holy places, seems quite certain.

The fact that the area of the Roman Andautonia appears to be within the same network is also quite interesting, but at this point indicative, rather than conclusive. Still, the fact



20. St. Mary of Snow / Sv. Marija Snežna (foto: V. Goss)

that succeeding settlements seem to have followed old sacred schemes within the landscape seems to be confirmed also in this case, with a more research in depth needed and pending.

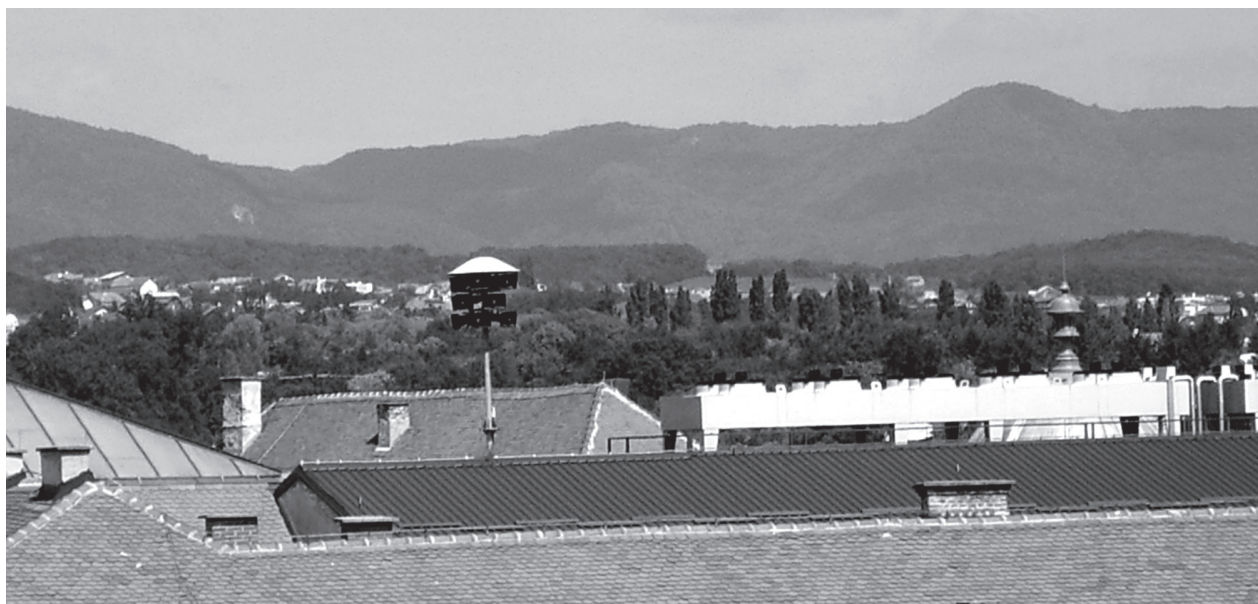
#### *Lipa-Rog and the Stari Kip*

One of the most famous pilgrimage places in Croatia is Marija Bistrica, at the northern end of the narrow gap linking up the Cismontana and Transmontana from the dawn of history. An important Roman, medieval and modern road passes through the gap, marked by a mountain village of Laz<sup>21</sup>.

Marija Bistrica (Mary on the Clear Creek) is separated from the Zagreb Cismontana by the last heights of the Central Medvednica. This eastern section of the central massif is also known as »Eastern Medvednica,« although the Eastern Medvednica proper is the stretch of hills to the east of the Laz gap. Most prominent within this section is the massif of the Lipa-Rog (Linden and Horn). Marija Bistrica is overlooked also by a lower, elongated hill known as the Tepčina Špica (642m), another mysterious place hiding traces of an old settlement, possibly a fort and a church, of course, never explored<sup>22</sup>.

The church at Marija Bistrica may go back to the 13<sup>th</sup> ct., and in 1334 the parish of S. Peter was recorded there. A miraculous statue of a Black Virgin (datable ca. 1500) was discovered in 1684 (in the wake of a great Liberation war which moved the Turkish border hundreds of kilometers to the East!), and at that point Marija Bistrica became a pilgrimage spot of choice and is so still today. As of 1731 the





21. Lipa/Rog from Loterščak in Zagreb. Stari kip is the sloping ridge in the middle beneath the Lipa-Rog massif /Lipa i Rog s Loterščaka. Stari kip je blago silazni hrbat u sredini ispod masiva (foto: V. Goss)

church has been dedicated to St. Mary of the Snow<sup>23</sup>.

Several pilgrimage trails lead through the eastern parts of the Medvednica, the road through the Laz gap, but also trails through the Lipa-Rog group from the villages of Markuševac, Vidovec, Čučerje, Vugrovec, and Planina Gornja using various secondary gaps from Gorščica on the West to those inside the Lipa-Rog massif. One such road, or more exactly two, interests us here. One issues forth from Vidovec and joins the other, issuing forth from Čučerje a few meters south of a tiny chapel of St. Mary of the Snow, a resting place on the pilgrimage trail next to a fine, cool mountain spring (fig. 20). Just south of the spot where the two trails meet there is a hill called Stari Kip (The Old Statue)<sup>24</sup>.

The hill, which slopes rather gently toward the north and east, and falls more steeply toward the south and particularly the west, consists of two peaks. The northern one is steeper and more prominent and its top is covered by rocks which form several small terraces on the southwestern side. The central rocky plateau, a few meters wide, could have provided a good base for the »Old Statue.«

The other peak, some fifty meters to the south is less steep and nicely rounded with a circular hollow at the top. Again, something may have been done there by human hands, maybe the base for the »Old Statue.« Well, have your pick. The northern hill may appear more prominent, but the southern commands a fascinating view, down the ever widening channel of the Čučerje valley, and then, as in the case of Medvedgrad and St. Jakob's, or the Gradište at Remete, over the entire Zagreb area, western Bosnia and central Slavonia.

The Stari kip can be identified as a gentle ridge offset against the flank of the Lipa-Rog from the viewing terrace at the top of the medieval Loterščak tower in Gradec in Zagreb (fig 21). Although it is only 519 m high it is by its position »featured« much better than surrounding taller hills. In fact, its positioning is very close to that of Medvedgrad, a prominent spot within a »half pot,« only Medvedgrad is more dramatic and prominent. To its left stands a more dramatic elevation of the Stražnjec, a rocky and inhospitable peak (627 m). One might claim that by its pyramidal form clearly visible from the Loterščak, and its prominence, the Stražnjec should carry more weight than the Stari kip, but the latter has an advantage of being accessible and clearly visible. One could hardly imagine a human settlement on the Stari kip, or any kind of fort. But as a platform for an »old statue« it is quite convenient.

The Lipa-Rog massif offers some problems, and also some attractive possibilities. Problems are of cartographic nature and have to do with nomenclature. The massif has two slightly pointed peaks (749 and 709), the western one taller, and the maps disagree as to their names (fig. 22). Some call the Rog the lower, some the higher peak. The lower one is also known as the Strmina. Sometime one peak is called Rog, the other Lipa, the name otherwise reserved for the entire massif. One of the best experts on Croatian mountains, Professor Poljak, claims that both of the horns are called Rog, which seems logical<sup>25</sup>. The mountain of Lipa has an image of a horned creature.

According to a letter by Professor Pleterski, places named Rog, Rogla, Rogatec, etc., are usually dedicated to Veles, and in Christianity to the devil. However, Pleterski





22. Lipa with two Rogs/ Lipa s dva Roga (foto: V. Goss)

also warns us that »the heavenly bull has horns, too.« Lipa could be seen as the »axis mundi,« as one of the holy trinity of trees: oak, beech, linden. Linden has excellent characteristics. It produces honey, medicinal tea, its wood is never attacked by worms, no mouse can bite through it. »Symbolically, the entire complex may represent the Lipa as a wife of the Rog.«<sup>26</sup>

This confirms our assumptions that the massif of the Lipa-Rog is in a way an equivalent to St. Jakob's on the other end of the central massif. So we have drawn a line from Marija Bistrica, through the higher of the two Rogs and the line went straight through the Stari kip (Fig. 8). We seem to have a segment of an axis linking up, just like the pilgrimage trails, the two sides of the mountain. That the linkage is intended is further confirmed by the dedication of the small chapel mentioned above to Our Lady of the Snow<sup>27</sup>.

The chapel (Fig. 20), in fact a kind of a solo standing apse of some two meters depth, is a rather recent affair. It was described in 1924 by Gušić as a favorite pilgrimage spot of the people of Čučerje (about 1h30m hike). Gušić goes on to state that the old chapel was »somewhat lower on the other side of the road, and its traces could still be seen.« It is not at all clear whether Gušić meant that the chapel was at a spot lower than the present-day building, or that it stood somewhat lower down the road, i.e., toward the south<sup>28</sup>. Either way it is hard to accommodate it as the ground falls off steeply on the other side of the road. There is a small widening just across the road from the chapel, and there is another somewhat more elaborate plateau some 30 meter to the south. One of these was most likely the location

of the old chapel. If it was built of stone, the material was almost certainly reused in the new chapel, which is heavily plastered over. It may have also been a wooden structure on permanent material foundations. Standing some 100+ meters to the north of the closer of the two Stari kip peaks, it definitely confirms the area as sacred and as belonging to the world of Our Lady of the Snow. The fact that the Stari kip is just above the intersection of two important trails linking two neighboring villages with the trail to the Transmontana, further reinforces the sacredness of the area, as intersections usually do. Something standing on the Stari kip, possibly not so heavily forested in the past, could have been seen from as far as Gradec in Zagreb, and certainly from the peak of the Rog!

If we continue our line, indeed, it passes through the Gradište in Remete, the eastern flank of the Fučekov jarek at Crematorium, and somewhat to the north of the center of Gradec and St. Mark's! (fig. 8). One may feel very jubilant about this, but one should temper one's enthusiasm. Namely, the late date of the pilgrimage to Marija Bistrica would speak for a late date of the underlying »sacred landscape.« Yet, while tempering our enthusiasm, we would like to point out that Marija Bistrica, on a well-protected hill right at the northern entrance to the Laz gap, must have served as an important observation and fortification point ever since people started to move from one side of the mountain to another, i.e., since time immemorial!<sup>29</sup> As such it certainly had an aura of holiness, too. We have at least two documented instances of Veles being succeeded by St. Peter, at Velešovec near Sisak (St. Peter's parish and church) and at the





23. Kamenjak. Presumed position of St. Barbara/Kamenjak/Predpostavljeni položaj Sv. Barbare na Kamenjaku

Petrov vrh on Papuk<sup>30</sup>. It is just possible that the original medieval settlement of Bistrica had its church dedicated to St. Peter to annul the impact of its snakelike predecessor. While leaving to the better versed to work out the details of the underlying myths, we seem to have indeed identified two backbones of the territorial organization of the Zagreb Prigorje going back to a fairly distant past.

#### *Barbara*

Having decided to leave further exploration for a future time, and even for a different group of investigators, we might have ceased at this point. However, it is worth its while adding at least a few notes on another denizen of our Prigorje hills – Barbara.

Barbara (+306) was born in either Heliopolis in Egypt or in Nicomedia in Asia Minor. As she was extremely beautiful, her father, the rich Dioscuros, locked her up in a tower to insure her intactness. Solitude breeds idle thought so Barbara somehow learned about Christianity, got in touch with the outstanding Christian writer, Origenes, who sent her a priest called Valentius. Barbara accepted the Cross, tricked her father into opening a third window to her tower in the honor of the Holy Trinity, and into building her a bath in which she was secretly baptized. When she informed her father about the train of events, he got very mad, turned her over to the officials, and, after a long torture, cut her head off himself. On his way home the cruel father was killed by a lightning. Barbara is a among other things protector of miners and mines, architects, stonecutters, blacksmiths, bell-makers, bellmen, firemen,

graveyards, prisoners, artillery, gunmen, canons, forts, and soldiers. She helps against fire, storms, fever, and plague, i.e., phenomena mostly linked to thunderstorms, fire, loud noise, and building, in most cases also associated with high places (sky, towers, bells). Her most typical attribute is a three-windowed tower. Her company is the Holy Virgins, St. Catherine and St. Margaret<sup>31</sup>.

She could appear se one of the powerful female Saints that succeed Mokoš, as has been definitely demonstrated in the case of St. Margaret. Whereas this association is not ruled out, it is not surprising that Barbara may have her sanctuaries on steep hills. In the Zagreb and Kalnik Prigorje there are at least four instances of such associations. It is an attractive thought that Barbara, a female Saint associated with the thunder (her father was killed by the lightning of the Lord, in the same way as Perun used to hit Veles), has replaced the Slavic macho Thunderer, Perun, at some of his holy peaks.

Until a few decades ago, according to local informants, a chapel of St. Barbara stood on a steep 361m hill to the southeast of Čučerje<sup>32</sup>. It was torn down by the owners of the land, and the stone was sold as building material. Thus in front of our eyes went another venerable old monument, known to history, but apparently never even visited by an art historian or archeologist. Today, there is a place at the northern end of a small plateau where there are traces of broken rock and mortar, possibly the site of the chapel (fig. 23).

Again, all that remains is a spectacular view including St. Jakob's, Medvedgrad peaking behind the Kraljevec ridge,





24. Barbarišče and the View toward Northeast/Barbarišče i pogled prema sjeveroistoku (foto: V. Goss)

and everything else we already spoke of many times so far – to the southwest, south, east, and northeast. The hill was most likely a part of a sacred landscape, and the Christian patron had an immediate function of protecting the valley of Čučerje from violent thunderstorms and hail.

Another Barbarišče stands above the village and the pass of Prepolno watching over an important road from Komin toward Konjščina in the Transmontana in the Eastern Medvednica proper<sup>33</sup>. The hill featuring meager traces of the old chapel is of modest height but the view again is fantastic (fig. 24): all of the Transmontana mountains, in particular the holy Ivanščica, Kalnik, the backbone of the Medvednica, even Pohorje in Slovenia. Given that some recent and yet unpublished research argues that the center of the old Moravce county (župa) was along the creek Moravčak whose spring is just below the Prepolno pass on the Cismontana side (sites of the Moravčak hill and Trem), and that there is another important, unexplored complex above Žitimir at the northern approaches to the gap, St. Barbara may have succeeded Perun at what may have been the core pre-Christian sanctuary of the county<sup>34</sup>.

The troglodytic castle of Mali Kalnik, on a vertiginous hill at the western end of the Kalnik mountain is known by the locals as »Pusta Barbara« (Deserted Barbara). Apparently, a church of the Saint stood at the bottom of the lofty rock where the castle is situated<sup>35</sup>. The refuge at the Mali Kalnik was most certainly used long before somebody built the Romanesque keep in the 12<sup>th</sup> or 13<sup>th</sup> ct.

The Barbarica is the name of a hill in the Glogovnica area,

to the south of the Kalnik and to the north of the city of Križevci. The hill is locally famous as the alleged place of origin of the well-know sculptures of the Cannons of the Holy Sepulcher in Glogovnica, what may indeed be true for the enthroned crusader in the undercroft of the storage hut at Gornja Glogovnica No. 61.<sup>36</sup>

This entire »Barbara complex« is here just sketched out with a hope it may attract an eager student of archeology and cultural anthropology.

\* \* \*

We have suggested some, we believe, important features for a study of the historical and cultural landscape of the Zagreb Prigorje. Further research may confirm, reject or most hopefully widen the scope of the investigation. Regardless of that, one may ask the question: is this art (fine art, visual art) and, thus, is it art history?

The question in that many words was asked by the distinguished Professors Branimir Bratanić and Duje Rendić-Miočević at the defense the M.A. thesis by Vladimir Gvozdanović, a.k.a, Vladimir Peter Goss, *Vinodolski teritorij i njegova prostorna organizacija* (*The Vinodol Territory and its Spatial Organization*) in June 1968. They said: »This is nice. But is it Art History«?

The mentor and thesis director, Professor Milan Prelog answered in a very serious tone: »Yes, this is Art History.«

Our answer is the same. As a painter uses his canvass, a sculptor a piece of stone or wood, an architect his vision of space, so the artist of the (cultural) landscape uses the envi-



ronment as the vehicle of his expression. He appropriates a huge object trouvé provided by nature (and most likely also by his predecessors in the art of the landscape) and transforms it by his intervention. This act of creativity need not assume only the aspects of visual arts. The artist may satisfy himself by just identifying and naming some spots in the landscape having recognized their expressive potentials. Or he may transform it, from building a rudimentary »stone man« to remaking a natural hill into an entire city. He may introduce the factor of dramatic narrative and movement, as he displays his achievement to the public. In that process the public would probably move through the »work of art,« and its trajectory and reactions would become a constituent part of the art experience, while the Mother Nature would become a worthy creative associate. In that process, too, the public would experience smells, touch (heat and cold, wind), taste (imagined but very real – what did your taste buds tell you when you last time passed by a grill with a steak on?), and the sense of space. As »something« keeps happening in our environment all the time, the old layers of cultural landscape are not easy to recognize and reconstruct. Our efforts sketched out above are an eloquent witness to that.

Yet we must recognize the existence of this all-embracing form of art, as it is not only the richest, most complex and also most democratic and accessible form of esthetic experience, but as it has crucial bearing on our well-being and our survival as human race. One may go through life without ever seeing a Rembrandt or hearing a Beethoven, but one's own street, a row of houses interspersed with trees, shrubs and flowers may supply the minimum required to keep the art instinct alive, something that is nowadays slowly being recognized as something very old and inherent in the human nature, a constituent part of the process of the evolution<sup>37</sup>. *Mens sana et corpus sanum in vicinitate sana!* By what we have been doing to our natural environment we are poisoning our bodies. By what we have been doing to our cultural environment we are poisoning our souls. As the two are inseparable, by poisoning our total environment we are writing down our death sentence as a human race. One day »people« may be made to order, their bodies and intellect calibrated according to specifications. This of course would not be the human, but post-human race. It may have no art instinct, and thus no use for humanities and arts. We have no desire to speculate what the »post-humanities« may be. The thrust of this study was history, not futurism.

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*We remember with fondness and appreciation the great investigators of the culture and the nature of our Cismon-tana – Lelja Dobronić, Branimir Gušić, Sena Gvozdanović Sekulić and Nada Klaić.*

#### NOTES

1 See for example fine studies by SNJEŠKA KNEŽEVIĆ such as *Zagrebačka zelena potkova*, Zagreb, 1996.

2 As named already in the charter issued by King Andrew II to the Chapter of Zagreb in 1221, where it is named »Cacumen magni montis«, which is exact translation of the word Sljeme. See LELJA DOBRONIĆ, *Topografija zemljišnih posjeda zagrebačkog kaptola prema izvorima XIII i XIV stoljeća*, »Rad JAZU«, 286, 1952, p. 224. The charter of King Charles I of 1328 tells us in so many words that »cacumen Montis magni« is »vulgo Stelemen« (i.e., Sljeme), *ibid.*, p. 227.

3 VLADIMIR P. GOSS, *Two Models of Romanesque Territorial Organization in Continental Croatia*, »Hortus artium medievalium«, 12, 2006, 221-228.

4 NADA KLAIĆ, *Medvedgrad i njegovi gospodari*, Zagreb, 1987.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 19. MARINA ŠIMEK, ed. *Registar arheoloških nalaza i nalazišta sjeverozapadne Hrvatske*, Zagreb, 1997, map: Prapovijest. DUBRAVKA BALEN-LETUNIĆ et al., ed., *40 godina arheoloških istraživanja u sjeverozapadnoj Hrvatskoj*, Zagreb, 1986, pp. 6, 85, 104, 110, map on page 12.

6 VLADIMIR P. GOSS, *The Church and the Palace in the Southern Section of Pannonia between the 9th and the 13th century, in Medioevo: La chiesa e il palazzo*, Parma, 2007, 136-141, especially pp. 136-138.

7 PAUZANIJA, *Vodič po Heladi*, UROŠ PASINI, ed. and transl., Split, 2008.

8 VITOMIR BELAJ, *Sacred Tripartite Structures in Croatia*, in MIRJAM MENCEJ, ed., *Space and Time in Europe*, Ljubljana, 2008, pp. 305-320. Also, VITOMIR BELAJ, *Hod kroz godinu*, Zagreb, 2007, pp. 420-424. For an application to the history of visual arts, VLADIMIR P. GOSS, *Two St. Georges and the Earliest Slavic Cultural Landscape Between the Sava and the Drava Rivers*, »Peristil,« 2008, LI, 7-27.

9 As a reinforcement of Belaj's analysis, we may add that the line from Žpanići to St. Jakob goes through the hamlet of Bijenik



(in the area of the Šestine Valley), the place where Perun hit Veles (from biti=to hit). For a profound and inspired linguistic and mythological analysis relevant for our investigations see RADO-SLAV KATIČIĆ, *Božanski boj*, Zagreb, 2008.

10 VLADIMIR P. GOSS, Hiding in: *Veles the Snake in the Landscape of Medieval Slavonia*, «Ikon.» 2, 2008, 263-270.

11 See previous note.

12 V. P. GOSS (see note 8), pp. 17-22.

13 There is another Igrišće to the west of the Veliki Kalnik castle on the Kalnik mountain. It contains what may be a sacred circle, traces of which stand in front of a rectangular building known as St. Martin. Given the name and the circle, serious excavations would be in order.

14 ŽELJKO DEMO, *Opatovina*, Zagreb, 2007.

15 N. KLAIĆ (see note 4), p. 19.

16 Ibid., passim.

17 E. g., VLADIMIR BEDENKO, *Mons Gradyz iuxta Zagrabiam*, «Historijski zbornik» XLIV, 1992, 3-17.

18 No archeological sites are listed in Remete in any of the above mentioned repertories (see note 5). There are however Roman sites as listed by Gregl. Please see, ZORAN GREGL, *Rimljani u Zagrebu*, Zagreb, 1991, list of sites, pp. 70-73, nos. 39 (Gradišće – Gregl suggests that there had been a prehistoric settlement at Gradišće, and traces of a Roman building were found at its foot), 65 (Mirogoj – a coin of Emperor Trajan), and 66 (Mirogojska cesta, No. 16 – the famous Agnus Dei lamp of ca. 400). We thank Ms. Tajana Pleše of the Restoration Institute of the Republic of Croatia for showing us her impressive excavations at the Paulinian monastery in Remete.

19 Z. GREGL (see previous note), pp. 15-19. Another attractive suggestions concerning the name »Kameniti stol« has been put forward by Professor Andrej Pleterski, i.e., that the word »stol« had the original meaning of »chair« giving thus »the stone shair«, a stone throne, as Pleterski says, we may speculate, of »a God, Perun, a Croatian 'župan' or of someone else«. We thank Professor Pleterski for his insightful observation.

20 LELJA DOBRONIĆ, *Vijenac starih sela oko Zagreba*, Zagreb, 2003, pp. 79-86.

21 LELJA DOBRONIĆ, *Po starom Moravču*, Zagreb, 1979, pp. 45-46.

22 BRANIMIR GUŠIĆ, *Medvednica*, Zagreb, 1924, p. 253, 256ff, map: »Skupina Drenove.«

23 LJ. DOBRONIĆ (see note 21), p. 45; IVANKA REBERSKI, ed., *Krapinsko-zagorska županija*, Zagreb, 2008, p. 436.

24 B. GUŠIĆ (see note 22), Section III, Skupina Goršćice, pp. 208-255.

25 ŽELJKO POLJAK, *50 najljepših planinarskih izleta u Hrvatskoj*, Zagreb, 2004, p. 14. It is worth noting that the *Registar arheoloških nalaza i nalazišta sjeverozapadne Hrvatske*, Zagreb 1997, 2nd ed., p. 58, lists traces of old (prehistoric) fortifications of undetermined date between the two Lipa-Rog peaks.

26 We thank Professor Pleterski for his kind e-mail communication.

27 B. GUŠIĆ (see note 22), p. 239.

28 Ibid.

29 See note 23.

30 Professor Vitomir Belaj's lecture at the Art History Department of the University of Rijeka on March 13, 2009. See also works by Goss mentioned in notes 8 and 10.

31 ANĐELKO BADURINA, ed., *Leksikon ikonografije, liturgike i simbolike zapadnog kršćanstva*, Zagreb, 1979, p. 138; ERHARD GORYS, *Leksikon svetaca*, Jastrebarsko, 2004, pp. 67-69.

32 The hill was originally called Kamenjak, see LJ. DOBRONIĆ (note 2), p. 252.

33 LELJA DOBRONIĆ (see note 21), pp. 33-37. A fragment from the chapel may have been built into the wall of the Baroque chapel of Our Lady of Sorrows, but if so, it is today covered by plaster. Judging from a picture in the book just quoted, the fragment was Gothic (?) (ibid., pl. 10).

34 Recent initial investigations by Mladen Houška, Director of the Muzej Sv. Ivan Zelina. We thank Mr. Houška for our continuous splendid cooperation.

35 ŽARKO DOMLJAN, ed., *Križevci – grad i okolina*, Zagreb, 1993, pp. 327-328.

36 VLADIMIR P. GOSS, et.al., *Stotinu kamenčića izgubljenog raja*, Zagreb, pp. 30-34. For help with research in the Kalnik area we thank Mr. Zoran Homen, Director of the Gradski Muzej Križevci, his associate, Ms. Lana Okroša Rožić, and Mr. Vladimir Palošika, amateur-historian. Another Barbara on a hill is the site of a rounded chapel, so far not explored, at Crkvišće near Dragovanščak on Plešivica. See ŽELJKO TOMIČIĆ, *Panonski periplus*, Zagreb, 1999, p. 41.

37 DENIS DUTTON, *The Art Instinct*, New York, 2009.



## Sažetak

Vladimir P. Goss

*Neka vrlo stara svetišta i nastanak zagrebačkog kulturnog pejzaža*

Proučavanje kulturnog pejzaža je za povijest umjetnosti, pa tako i za povijest likovnih umjetnosti razmjerno nedavna, ali i vrlo stara pojava. Čitamo li Pauzanija, začudit će nas broj oduhovljenih točaka u okolišu – od jednostavnog imenovanja do stvaranja kompleksnih ljudskih pejzaža. Čovjek očito nije mogao živjeti u okolišu koji nije osmislio svojim duhom, odnosno gdje se nije spojilo stvaralaštvo ljudskog roda i prirode. Takva totalna umjetnost uključuje kako one vidove koje danas prepoznajemo kao ključne oblike ljudskog stvaralaštva – sliku, zvuk i pokret, tako i one u kojim veću ulogu ima doprinos prirode – miris, okus, opip i osjećaj prostora. Od renesanse, kad su stvarane povijest umjetnosti i povijesti umjetnosti kao kritičko-humanističke discipline, ta se totalnost doživljaja izgubila, i tako smo dobili povijest književnosti, glazbe, plesa, likovnih oblika (ova obično pod imenom »povijest umjetnosti«). Zaštite opće ekologije nema bez zaštite i prirodne i kulturne ekologije. U biti, one su neodvojive. Takvo shvaćanje vodi do jednog novog, odnosno starog, »pauzanijevskog«, shvaćanja stvaralačke suradnje čovjeka i prirode. Velika je zasluga disciplina poput lingvistike i kulturne antropologije pri otvaranju novih mogućnosti za studije likovnih umjetnosti.

Imajući navedeno u vidu, autori predlažu nekoliko uzoraka povijesnog kulturnog pejzaža, za koje vjeruju da su uvelike odredili kulturni pejzaž Zagreba i Zagrebačkog prigorja. Riječ je prvenstveno o mogućim starim svetim točkama, među kojima su neke do danas zadržale svoju važnost ili svetost. Naglašavamo da je riječ tek o prvom koraku u vrlo složenu ali i važnu problematiku, prvenstveno u svjetlu katastrofalne devaluacije zagrebačkog prirodnog i kulturnog okoliša.

### Medvedgradska os

Slijedeći istraživanja Vitomira Belaja koji je predložio sveti trokut na području Zagreba s točkama na Sv. Jakobu (Perun) na Medvednici, Sv. Marku na Gradecu (Mokoš) i u Županićima na Jarunu (Veles), te Belajevo otkriće da se Sv. Jakob, Medvedgrad i Sv. Marko nalaze na istoj crti, pokušali smo produžiti tu »Medvedgradsku os« preko Save i u Zagorje. Rezultati su iznenađujući. S onu stranu Save os prolazi kroz selo Jakuševac s crkvom sv. Marka. U Zagorju pak prolazi kroz Jakovlje i Igrišće, naziv koji se veže uz poganske rituale. Što to znači i da li se os i dalje može produžavati treba još detaljno istražiti, no očito je da je riječ o »svetom potezu« koji ima veliku ulogu u osmišljavanju položaja ljudskih nastambi u pejzažu. Posebno se u tom smislu valorizira položaj Medvedgrada (Mali Plazur) za koji je već Belaj pokazao da se može povezati s ulogom Velesa u ranoslavenskoj mitologiji. Za sada se svakako može zaključiti da produžetak »Medvedgradske osi« pokazuje da su i ljudi na južnoj obali Save i u Zagorju željeli biti povezani sa »Središnjim Zagrebom«, vežući se na os i imenujućiu svoje domove i svetišta u skladu s njom.

### Remetska potkova

Remete, nekoć jedno od najljepših prigorskih sela, danas je potpuno uništeno novom izgradnjom. Ipak se mogu očitati temeljni potezi starog kulturnog pejzaža. Remete se



skutririlo unutar zaštitnog potkovastog ovoja visokog i strmog hrbta, Remetskog Kamenjaka. U srcu potkove, u šikari, je položaj Pustoseline, što je vjerojatno središte starog naselja. Na području Krematorija nalazio se Kameniti stol, dolmen (keltski dol=stol, men=od kamena), dakle groblje. I «romanički» Telekomov toranj nad Krematorijem, smješten je zacijelo na brežuljku na kojem je neko prastaro utvrđenje nadziralo prilaz Remetskoj potkovi s juga. Kamenjak i Gradišće, koje se kao kula nadovezuje na Kamenjakov sjeveroistočni dio, bio je vjerojatno «relejna točka» između «Medvedgradskog sustava» na zapadu i «sustava Lipa-Rog» na istoku. Povučemo li crtu iz Medvedgrada na Kameniti stol, ona prolazi kroz Gračane (Mons Isce – Vještije brdo, dakle još jedno pogansko svetište), a produžimo li je preko Save ona prolazi područjem Andautonije. Znakovito da su nedavni graditelji Krematorija i Telekomovog tornja osjetili bit starog pejzaža i svojim ostavrenjima dali mu novu kvalitetu.

#### *Lipa-Rog i Stari kip*

Masif Lipe s dva Roga na istoku središnjeg dijela Medvednice (ponovno mitološke asocijacije) možda je manje monumentalan pandan «sustavu Medvedgrad» na zapadu. Pažnju privlači ime brda Stari kip neposredno uz kapelu Sv. Marije Snežne iznad Čučerja na starom hodočasničkom putu u Mariju Bisticu. Brežuljak s sastoji od dvije lijepo piramidalne glavice a vidi se s Lotrščaka. Crta koja se može povući kroz viši Rog i Stari kip prolazi kroz Gradišće u Remetama, istočni bok Fučekovog jarka kod Krematorija i Gradec nešto sjeverno od Markovog trga! U Zagorju prolazi kroz Mariju Bisticu, što vjerojatno signalizira da je i taj sveti položaj daleko stariji od marijanskog hodočašća koje se uvodi 1684. Na jednom od dva vrška Starog kipa stajao je neki idol koji se u davniini sigurno vidio iz daleka i markirao kao orijentir raskršće dvaju važnih puteva kroz goru.

#### *Barbara*

U Zagrebačkom i Kalničkom Prigorju znamo za četiri položaja vezana uz Sv. Barbaru, sveticu koja asocira pucnjavu, prasak, utvrde i sl. Njen poganski otac, koji ju je ubio vlastitom rukom, poginuo je od groma. Nije čudo da se sv. Barbara u Zagrebačkom Prigorju javlja na Kamenjaku iznad Čučerja, te na Barbarišću iznad Moravčaka na istočnoj Medvednici. Treba ispitati mogućnost da li se ovdje kršćanska svetica smješta na položaj Peruna Gromovnika.

Kao što slikar koristi kist, kipar dlijeto, a graditelj svoj prostorni zor, tako umjetnik kulturnog pejzaža koristi okoliš kao golemi object trouvé u ostvarivanju svog izraza. Naš gore izneseni pokušaj skiciranja nekih davnih odrednica kulturnog pejzaža Zagrebačkog Prigorja svjedok je toga procesa.