

Andrea Kiss

## A CONTRIBUTION TO RESEARCH ON THE HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE FIRST EXTANT “REAMBULATION” SKETCH FROM THE CARPATHIAN BASIN

Andrea Kiss  
Prirodoslovni fakultet  
Sveučilišta u Segedinu  
Mađarska

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The main aim of this study is to describe, localise and shortly analyse the geographical features, both drawn and written in the first remaining “reambulation” sketch from the Carpathian Basin, never before investigated in a detailed manner. According to the toponyms found on the sketch, and the help of other, contemporary charters and modern maps, the described lands were most probably located in late medieval Slavonia, in the south-eastern part of the medieval county of Križevci.

**Key words:** Slavonia, County of Križevci, reambulation, cartography, the Middle Ages

### Aims and questions

Until now, the first existing original “reambulation”<sup>1</sup> paper-sketch, has been mentioned by several authors in Hungary,<sup>2</sup> without the exact location of the area to which the toponyms of the sketch being pinpointed. In Hungary, the widely accepted view prevailed that the sketch was most probably drawn in 1488, and described an area located somewhere in southern parts of the Carpathian Basin.

However, to date, the sketch has not been presented in detail, and the exact location of the area described in the sketch, has not been clarified yet. In the present study, an attempt is made to provide evidence to the localisation of the first known perambulation sketch of the Carpathian Basin.

(See Fig. 1: The first remaining perambulation sketch from the Carpathian Basin)

<sup>1</sup> I use the word “reambulation” in the meaning of the Latin original term “*reambulatio*”.

<sup>2</sup> See, for example: L. Irmédy-Molnár. Adatok a XVII. századi és a korábbi magyar térkép történetéhez (Data to the Hungarian map history of the seventeenth century and the earlier times). *Földrajzi Közlemények* (1966): 15/2. 267.; Á. Papváry and P. Hrenkó. Magyarország régi térképeken (Hungary on old maps). Budapest: Gondolat-Officina Nova, 1989. 52-53.; I. Joó-F. Raum: A Magyar Földmérés és Térképészet Története (His-

### Late medieval sketches and their practical purpose

In parallel with the growth in quantity of charter-production in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in the Carpathian Basin, the practice of perambulation also increased through the late Middle Ages.<sup>3</sup> From the first decades of the fifteenth century, the first remnants of a useful “product”, a tool of the practice of perambulation appeared including diagram-maps and sketches of boundaries as well as significant details of certain perambulations. In the Hungarian perambulation (or as I term it here, reambulation) charters, the questioned or renewed boundaries were in most cases, described in a very detailed way. These charters were used as official documents to identify exact boundary for centuries. Sketches or diagram maps were produced in order to present the desired amount of precise information about the location of complicated boundaries, landmarks and/or properties of certain lands in a concise manner.

Although we know of the former existence of perambulation maps dating to much earlier times (e.g. 1415)<sup>4</sup> in Hungary in late medieval times, the first extant perambulation sketch was most probably drawn in the second half of the fifteenth century (Fig. 1).<sup>5</sup> This sketch does not contain the main elements of a diagram-map, such as orientation, depiction of rivers, mountains, landmarks or other objects (e.g. signs for castles or villages). On the other hand, the second known diagram map from the Carpathian Basin, made in 1522 (Fig. 2), meets the above-mentioned requirements.

(See Fig. 2: The Podmaniczky family diagram-map from 1522)

Similarly to other Western or East European cases, diagram-maps were widely used throughout late medieval Europe. Examples can be found, for instance, both in England or the Netherlands and Russia (Figs. 3 and 4).<sup>6</sup>

(See Fig. 3 and 4: Late medieval sketches from the Netherlands [1487] and Russia [1530])

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tory of the Hungarian Geodesy and Cartography) Vol. I. Budapest: Földmérési és Távérzékelési Intézet, 1990. 24-25.

<sup>3</sup> For the importance of medieval perambulation practice in the early development of Hungarian geodesy and cartography, see: Joó–Raum, 1990. 8-25. For the Hungarian secondary literature of the practice of perambulation in the Carpathian Basin, see, for example: I. Szabó. *A középkori magyar falu* (The medieval Hungarian village). Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1969.; F. Maksay. *A magyar falu középkori településrendje* (The settling order of the medieval Hungarian village). Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1974.; L. Takács. *Határjelek, határjárás a feudális kor végén Magyarországon* (Landmarks, perambulation in Hungary at the end of the feudal period). Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987.

<sup>4</sup> Irmédy-Molnár, 1966, 267.; The mentioned charter can be found in: Gy. Fejér. *Codex Diplomaticus Hungariae* Tom. X. Vol. V. 639-41. Buda: Typis Regiae Universitatis Hungariae 1842. The charter, written in 1415, was edited by the Székesfehérvár convent of the Knights of St. John. In the text of the charter, the “map” is mentioned as *tabula* in which certain ditches were drawn in a detailed way.

<sup>5</sup> The original sketch can be found in the Medieval Collection of the Hungarian Archives: DL 101050.

<sup>6</sup> For more details, see: Postnikov, A. B. *Karty zemel rossiskikh: ocherk geograficheskovo izuchenija i kartografirovanija nashevo otechestva*. Moscow: Nas dom - L'Age d'Homme, 1996. 11.; P. D. A. Harvey, *The history of Topographical Maps (Symbols, pictures and surveys)*. New York: Thames and Hudson, 1980. 87., 91.

Comparing the diagram-maps and sketches to actual maps from the same time period in Europe, there are two significant differences which should be mentioned. The first difference is that these diagram-maps and sketches – in accordance with their practical purpose – described much smaller areas than, for example, portolans or regional maps.

Secondly, written information played a much more important role in practice, in comparison with the standards of quality and information content of artistic representation, while contemporary maps (e.g. the fifteenth-century Ptolemaios maps), drawings (also in colour) as well as actual depictions had a theoretical and symbolic rather than a functional aspect. Therefore, – as a result of their practical purpose – diagram maps and sketches normally had much lower artistic or even cartographic value than, for example, some late-fifteenth century or especially early sixteenth-century maps (e.g. the Lazarus map of the Carpathian Basin from 1528).<sup>7</sup>

On the basis of the two remaining late medieval “sketches or diagram-maps” of the area, it is not possible to describe the development or underdevelopment of the “cartographical knowledge” or questions of “perspective view” of late medieval “perambulators”, including all the parts of Europe where diagram maps and sketches were used.

### The reambulation sketch: description

Concerning the first known “reambulation” sketch from Slavonia, three “lands” were drawn: *Lathkowyna*, *Mihalowz* (also called as *Rjpnija* on the sketch) and *Kothenya* instead of its former reading (*Kotsenya*).<sup>8</sup> In this case, the landmarks were defined partly as concrete objects such as *tilfa* (oak tree) and *magna via*, and partly as certain geographical features such as beginning of valley (*caput vallis*), certain streams and rivers (*rivuli* or *fluvii*) as well as a (*mons*).

The text content of the sketch is as follows:<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Lazarus: *Tabula Hungariae ad Quatuor Latera*. ... Ingolstadt, 1528. (M: 1:1.200.000) Map Collection of the Archives of Military History, B IX.a 482/8. For the early modern map history and the development of early maps, referring to Hungary and the Carpathian Basin (Slavonia and Croatia are usually included), see also: T. Szathmáry. *Descriptio Hungariae I. / Magyarország és Erdély térképei: 1477-1600* (Maps of Hungary and Transylvania: 1477-1600). Grafiche Morandi Fusignano, 1987.; L. Stegena. *Magyarország térképei a mohácsi vész előtt* (Maps of Hungary before the battle of Mohács, 1526). Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1991.; G. Pálffy. *Európa védelmében. Haditérképészet a Habsburg Birodalom Magyarországi Határvidékén a 16-17. században* (In the defence of Europe. Military cartography at the Hungarian Bordelines of the Habsburg Empire in the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries). Budapest: Magyar Honvédség Térképészeti Hivatala, 1999. For the early map history of Slavonia and Croatia see, for example: M. Marković, *Descriptio Croatiae*, Zagreb: Naprijed, 1993; L. Krmpotić. *Izvjestaji o utvrđivanju granica Hrvatskog Kraljevstva od 16. do 18. stoljeća*. Hannover-Karlobag-Čakovec: Nakladni zavod Hrvatski zapisnik, 1997.

<sup>8</sup> The name of *Kotsenya* was suggested by György Györffy in Papp-Váry and Hrenkó, 1989, 53.

- verso part: “*littere reambulatorie et alie divise ad Mijhalowtz alio nomine Rjpnija cum Kh. (?)*”
- recto part (text content): “*Pribyn Mons / caput vallis / magna via / caput vallis declinat / intrat fluvium Belkow / ostendit ad caput montis / ostendit ad viam magnam / tilfa / alia tilfa / cadit in caput valis (sic!) / declinat in flumen Rypna / Zuhudoly (?) in siloam, (below: campus) per siloam Juxta gredam in fluvium Brezthmyza (below: prata) viam magnam, venit stagnum Jazvijnjk (below: silva) / ad occidentem per siloam / iterum ad Braznyza ubi / cadit in fluvium Mochila / de Mochila Juxta Gredam ad stagnum ... (Rihnou ??) / inde ad fluvium Perhogkaw (?) qua (?) influit (?) ad rivulum Kobilpotok*”

It is worth mentioning that both the *verso* and *recto* parts could be found on the same side of the paper, while the reverse remained blank. The paper was then folded so that the sketch appears on the outside (see Fig. 1). This would, therefore, suggest the idea that the author(s) and the owner of the sketch were not especially interested in the preservation or care of this document or even the sketch itself. It may primarily mean that this particular sketch was most probably made as an auxiliary tool, as a background to the final official charter (or to check the validity of a previous perambulation), describing the landmarks and the boundary as thoroughly as necessary, in order to avoid later disputes.<sup>10</sup>

Lacking any evidence from the charter for which this paper-sketch was most probably made as a contemporary tool, we can only presume that it would have been drawn during the reambulation and that the description in the charter was made after the sketch. This idea is supported by the fact that the sketch was drawn on paper. Even at that time, significant charters were written on parchment in order to preserve them for posterity. In comparison, the more elaborated Podmaniczky diagram-map, including the cardinal directions of the compass, was drawn and depicted on parchment in 1522 (Fig. 2), with the intention of preserving on this map the actual boundary-conditions of the area in the drawings and descriptions of geographical features, symbols for castles etc.<sup>11</sup>

### Location of the described area

The text and the drawings on the sketch describe the boundary between certain lands, *Lathkowyna* and *Myhalowz*, in quite a detailed way. There is no description, however, of the boundary between *Myhalowz* and a certain *Kothenya*, which also appears on the sketch.

<sup>9</sup> The level of uncertainty in transcription is marked by a number of questionmarks.

<sup>10</sup> This idea agrees with the one described (although not in detail) in Papp-Váry and Hrenkó, 1989, 53.

<sup>11</sup> It should be noted that the original diagram-map disappeared in the twentieth century. However, it is published in: I. Lukinich (ed.), *Podmanini Podmaniczky-család oklevéltára* (Archival collection of the Podmaniczky family of Podmanin). III. Vol., Budapest: n. p., 1941. the picture, after p. 48.

Therefore, the sketch must mainly have been drawn to define the boundary between *Lathkowyna and Myhalowz*. Although relatively little information is provided, even the rough morphology of the area can be traced back based on the sketch. Namely, it depicts a hilly area where there are properties situated on the slopes between *Prybin Mons* and the swampy area around numerous rivers in valleys or lowlands, abutted the hills. Many streams and rivers in the area are also mentioned, almost all with unambiguously Slavic names. Although the name of *Pribyn Mons* is also mentioned, the described boundary cannot have been above much ca. 600 m above sea-level, because *tilfa* (oak trees) do not live at much higher altitudes. Moreover, the old Hungarian form (*tilfa*) of the word *tölgyfa* (oak tree), as a frequently used tree landmark suggests the area was, at least officially, bilingual (Slavic-Hungarian).

In the second half of the fifteenth century, this would either have described the southern (or rather the south-western) or some northern parts of the Hungarian Kingdom. However, the great devastation of the southern areas of the Carpathian Basin in the second half of the fifteenth century and the lack of documents from the area from that time, make this identification very difficult. According to the information available,<sup>12</sup> the toponyms<sup>13</sup> of the remaining fifteenth-century charters from the southern territories (today Vojvodina in Yugoslavia) as well as the geographical conditions, it may be presumed that the described area was not located in the southern part of the Hungarian Kingdom.<sup>14</sup>

Purely on the basis of the information content (and the main geographical features) of the sketch, we can also presume that the described area was not situated in the northern part of the Carpathian Basin either (where, in eastern Slovakia another certain *Mihalovce* exists even today). In addition, one likely place might be the medieval area of *Mihalowcz* in *Valco* county.<sup>15</sup> Nevertheless, the other two “properties” and toponyms do

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<sup>12</sup> The most general handbook of the fifteenth-century topography for most parts of Hungary is: D. Csánki. *Magyarország történelmi földrajza a Hunyadiak korában*. (Historical geography of Hungary in the time of the Hunyadis). Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1897.

<sup>13</sup> At the moment, except for Csánki's work, only the settlement reconstruction of Pál Engel on the placenames of the sandsaks of Temesvár and Moldova, based on Turkish dica-collections, is available. P. Engel. *A temesvári és moldovai szandzsák törökkori települései (1554-1579)* (Settlements of the sandsaks of Temesvár and Moldova in Turkish times: 1554-1579). Szeged: Csongrád Megyei Levéltár, 1996.; see also P. Engel. A török dúlások hatása a népességre: Valkó megye példája. (Influence of the Turkish devastations on the population: the example of Valco county). *Századok* 134/2. (2000): 267-321.; and: P. Engel. A Drávántúl középkori topográfiája: a történelmi rekonstrukció problémája. (Medieval topography of the Drávántúl area: problems of historical reconstruction). *Történelmi Szemle* 39/3-4. (1997): 297-312.

<sup>14</sup> According to the mentioned volumes, three *Mihalocz/Mihalovz* (51., 249., 333., 776.) and one *Kutina* (48.) could be found in that area in Csánki II. On the other hand, neither the other toponyms, nor the geographical conditions support the theory of its possible location in these southern areas.

<sup>15</sup> See, for example, DL 38691.

not allude to this area. Geographically the third most “suitable” place, might have been in Slavonia, so that the last remaining area can be found in the southeastern part of late medieval *Comitatus Crisiensis*. Here, in fact, all three property names found on the sketch existed in the late fifteenth century.

One of the properties mentioned in the sketch may be *Kotena/Kutena* (present-day Kutina) situated in the southeastern part of *Comitatus Crisiensis*,<sup>16</sup> where, even in the fifteenth century, we can find the populous *oppidum* of *Kutena* with its castle. In 1494, it was the center of a large land-complex (from the thirteenth century) including several villages (and even another *oppidum*) and properties, it was in the hands of the powerful *Roh(fi)* family, among others.<sup>17</sup>

In the fifteenth century, the territory of the *Latk* family was located farther to the north, together with other new owners. The centre of this land-complex (along with several villages) was the castle of *Mogor* situated in the village of *Sobochina* or *Lathkovina*.<sup>18</sup> In 1490, situation changed, because a new land division was made. After the death of *Michaelis Latk(fi)*, his daughter received some properties as a dowry. This matter was questioned by *Nicolas Vajkfi*. Thus, a new contract soon had to be drawn up in 1491.<sup>19</sup> Moreover, at that time, a property called *Mihalowcz* was located somewhere in area of the present-day *Tomašica* where the two other complexes could be found as well.<sup>20</sup>

These circumstances may suggest that the sketch was probably made in order to describe in detail the boundaries and landmarks of two larger property complexes. This could most likely happen in case of such a lawsuit where

1. because of family-reasons (death-divisions, debts-mortgage, selling, dowry etc.) a new division had to be created or
2. the exact boundaries were being questioned between the landowners.

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<sup>16</sup> For the available published charters of the mentioned settlements see: G. Heller. *Comitatus Crisiensis*. Serie A Band 10. Die historischen Ortsnamen von Ungarn. Veröffentlichungen des Finnish-Ugrischen Seminars an der Universität München. Munich: n.p., 1978. 132-3 (*Kutina*), 136-7 (*Lathkowyna*), 153 (*Mihalowcz*) and for the references: 279-82. While several, non-published charters also exist in the National Archives in Budapest, referring to *Latkovina* (see, for example, DL 100900, 100923, 100998, 101282), very few more documents available for *Mihalowcz* (e.g. DL 105963 or 103960) and *Kutina*. However, they contain some useful information such as toponyms, mentioned in the charters which may support the identification of the sketch.

<sup>17</sup> D. Csánki. “Körös vármegye a XV. században” (*Comitatus Crisiensis* in the 15th century). *Értekezések a történettudományok köréből* 12. (1893): 27.

<sup>18</sup> Csánki, 1897, 28.

<sup>19</sup> Csánki, 1897, 32.

<sup>20</sup> See the *regesta* of the charter, written in 1409, in: E. Mályusz. *Zsigmondkori oklevéltár*. (Archival collection of the Sigismund-Period) Vol. II./2. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1958. 255-56.; DL 105963, written on 20 July 1433; the name of *Mihalowcz* also appears in the area in 1495: J. Adamček and I. Kampuš. “Popisi i obračuni poreza u Hrvatskoj u XV i XVI stoljeću.” *Izvori za hrvatsku povijest* 3. Zagreb: Institut za hrvatsku povijest, 1976.

Thus, supposedly the previous complexity of the three “lands” was not in question and the complexes continued to be treated as undivided units, though Mihalowtz was mentioned together with *Kh.* (*Kothenya?*) in the *verso* part (then *Kothenya* has not been mentioned afterwards).

However, due to the relatively small number of applicable charters, we cannot describe and explain the lawsuit for which the sketch was made since none of the known contemporary charters from the area referred to such a perambulation. On the other hand, the known remaining fourteenth- and fifteenth-century charters from the same area do not provide enough evidence for these three “lands”. Moreover, most of the names of rivers and streams on the sketch cannot be found either in contemporary charters (except for one, written in 1488) or in the early modern maps of area. On the other hand, these names (together) are also not known in any of the other possible areas connected to the Hungarian Crown. Therefore, in order to discover more connections, further detailed analysis of the late medieval topography and historical geography of this area will still be needed.

### Possible parallels

In addition to the sketch, there is a perambulation charter from the same Archives. The charter was written in 1488 and consists of transcriptions of eight earlier charters (with a perambulation over the same area presumably from the 1350s).<sup>21</sup> The two charters (one from 1488 and the reambulation sketch) were catalogued one after the other in the medieval charter collection of the Hungarian National Archives as they were in their previous place of keeping, in the Archives of the Batthyány family in Körmend (Vas county, Hungary).<sup>22</sup> Thus, even more connections may exist between the two charters. On the other hand, the strength and type of this connection is uncertain.

In the transcription of the mid-fourteenth-century charter, included in the charter written in 1488, most characteristic toponyms such as *fluvius Prjbjjn*, *stagnum Mochjla*, *fluvius Belkou*, *arbores Thul/Thywł* or *Theulfa/Thewłfa* (oak tree) in many cases as landmarks, *fluvius Rjpnna*, *Zwhodol*, *fluvius Grethnijcha*, *stagnum Jazwjnnijk*, *fluvius Perhoglaw* (?), *riuvulus Kobjlpotok* etc. are supposedly connected to the same area.<sup>23</sup> In the charter, the reambulation of the mid-fourteenth-century perambulation was ordered, in connection with a legal case in Mihalovce. This fact would strengthen the hypothesis for the direct connection between the sketch and the charter.

<sup>21</sup> See DL 101049. The charter is dated to 2/7/1488, the including transcriptions of charters from 25/7/1413, 16/6/1413, 9/29/1412, 10/7/1409, 19/6/1402, 10/2/1402, 30/11/1400, around 21/9/1350s.

<sup>22</sup> The No. of the sketch – in the Batthyány Archives of Körmend – was: Acta Ant. 4. 8. 290., while in case of the charter, written in 1488, it was: Acta Ant. 4. 8. 289.

However, some major differences could be recognised between the text of the sketch and the mid-fourteenth-century perambulation:

1. Although certainly in both perambulations the same area was detailed in writing, the text of the mid-fourteenth-century perambulation consists of much more information about the boundary than the sketch. The sketch contains only some (though the most important) characteristic features of the boundary. Some geographical names were not included on the sketch, while there is only one proper name, *stagnum Rihnou* (?), on it although no such name appeared in the earlier perambulation. In addition, a few other changes took place in the text, namely that *Pribyn Mons* appears on the sketch at the beginning of the reambulation, but *fluvius Prjbjjn* can be found in the mid-fourteenth-century perambulation.
2. Only one part of the boundary of Mihalovce was depicted on the sketch, while in the mid-fourteenth-century perambulation, the whole boundary of the above-mentioned property was described. The text of the sketch ended with *rivulus Kobilpotok*; however, the mid-fourteenth-century perambulation continued the way and turned back to *fluvius Prjbjjn* and to the first landmark as well.
3. On the sketch, all the tree landmarks were oak; in the mid-fourteenth-century perambulation most of the tree landmarks are *Thul/Theulfa* etc. (with the same meaning as *tilfa*). Nevertheless, in the mid-fourteenth-century perambulation there are some more tree landmarks involving other species (in the same part of the boundary) such as *jegenije* (in Hungarian: *jegenye*, in English: poplar), *Zjl* (in Hungarian: *szil(fa)*, in English: elm) and *Gyerthjanfa* (in Hungarian: *gyertyán(fa)*, in English: hornbeam).

On the basis of the above-mentioned details we can state that the mid-fourteenth-century perambulation took place in the same area, around the same property complex as the reambulation in the sketch. However, there is no direct evidence that would support the hypothesis that the sketch was an auxiliary tool to the charter, written in 1488.<sup>23</sup> In addition, another legal procedure took place around 1490 and 1491 in the area. Although there is no available evidence to prove the idea it may also have affected the boundaries of the above-mentioned area.

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<sup>23</sup> Examination of the text in its entirety reveals strong similarities between this text and that found on the sketch.

<sup>24</sup> In another charter, issued by the chapter of Čazma, in 1489 (DL 103960: dated to 14, August 1489), a description of the ordered perambulation can be found; however, in the report there is no reference to a sketch or any other details which would help the identification.



## Dating problems

The first remaining reambulation sketch was also described as a type of visual presentation of the “itinerary” of a reambulation, dated to around 1488.<sup>25</sup> This date can be found, at least, on the same paper written, in a much later hand. Some early official has also written another year, 1463, on the paper (below the year 1488). Although this date is much fainter than the later one, it is quite uncertain which one is the correct date or whether either of them are correct. However, for the year 1488 charters actually exist while this is much less certain for the 1463 date.

(See Fig. 5: The watermark of the first extant reambulation sketch of the Carpathian Basin)

On the basis of the watermark on the paper (Fig. 5), it was estimated that the charter cannot be earlier than the 1460s.<sup>26</sup> Based on a later addition on the paper of the sketch, this watermark was dated to 1488.<sup>27</sup> Concerning contemporary existing watermarks in the Carpathian Basin, there are three basic types, very similar to each other, which seem to be related to the watermark on the paper-sketch (Fig. 6).

(See Fig. 6: Similar types of watermarks from the second half of the fifteenth century)

Papers marked with the first type were found in Central and East Central Europe in the period between 1455 and 1470. They were also used on the paper of the *Chronica Hungarorum*, printed by Andreas Hess in Buda, in 1473.<sup>28</sup> The other two watermark types appeared on papers published between 1467 and 1501. Moreover, at least some of these watermarks were also found on paper from the first printing house in Buda.<sup>29</sup>

This information allows us to date the paper of the sketch to the period between the late 1450s and the beginning of the 1500s.<sup>30</sup> However, applying the known charter evidence, the exact dating of the sketch is not possible, though on the basis of the above-mentioned information, the sketch may have had connections to one of the two known legal procedures in the late fifteenth century, namely the one from 1488, or the other, which took place in 1490 and 1491. This dating also agrees with data from the localisation of the above-mentioned land property complexes.

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<sup>25</sup> Published in Papp-Váry and Hrenkó, 1989, 52-53.

<sup>26</sup> Papp-Váry and Hrenkó, 1989, 53.

<sup>27</sup> See, for example, Papp-Váry and Hrenkó, 1989, 53.; Joó and Raum, 1990, 24.

<sup>28</sup> The exact years are as follows: 1456-1466 in Vienna, until 1470 in Klagenfurt, 1455 in Prague, 1458 in Bratislava (in Hungarian: Pozsony, in German: Pressburg), Munich and Nuremberg. For further details, see: N. L. Varga, *Vízjegyek (Watermarks)*. Vol. 2. Budapest: Balassi Könyvkiadó, 1995. 33-34.

<sup>29</sup> Varga, 1995, 34-35. Examples of the third type could be found from 1467 and 1469 in Treviso and Bavaria and from 1470 in Hungary. A later one, however, was found in Sibiu (Nagyszeben, Hermanstadt) from the year 1501.

<sup>30</sup> Concerning the watermark of the paper, the same, although not detailed, result was mentioned in Papp-Váry and Hrenkó, 1989, 53. (without references).

### **Conclusion**

In spite of those circumstances which make the localisation and dating of the sketch difficult, the first remaining reambulation sketch from the Carpathian Basin most probably refers to an area composed of three land complexes, situated in the southeastern parts of the late medieval *Comitatus Crisiensis*. Though the exact date of the sketch is still uncertain, it can be presumed on the basis of its watermark and handwriting that it was produced in the second half of the fifteenth or the beginning of the sixteenth centuries. It may have connections to a legal procedure which took place in the second half of the fifteenth century in that area. However, further research is needed to solve the issues and uncertainties raised here.

Andrea Kiss

## Prilog istraživanju historijske geografije najstarije sačuvane reambulacijske skice iz Karpatske kotline

### Sažetak

Da postoji reambulacijska skica s područja Karpatske kotline, koja se datira u kraj XV. st., pa je time najstarija sačuvana, poznato je od šezdesetih godina XX. stoljeća, ali do sada nije utvrđena točna lokacija toponima koji su na njoj. Opće mišljenje povjesničara koji su se njome bavili jest da su toponimi smješteni negdje u južnom dijelu Karpatske kotline te da je crtež najvjerojatnije nastao 1488. godine. Ipak, zemljovid nije do danas bio detaljno predstavljen javnosti niti je rasvijetljeno kada je i gdje načinjen.

Tijekom XIV. stoljeća reambulacija postaje uobičajeni pravni postupak za utvrđivanje granica zemljišnih posjeda u Ugarskoj. Od prvih desetljeća XV. stoljeća spominju se i prve skice na kojima su ucrtavane granice, kao i značajni detalji zapaženi prilikom određene reambulacije. Najstariji podatak o postojanju takve skice nalazi se u jednoj ispravi iz 1415. godine, gdje je spomenut kao *tabula*, ali sama skica nije sačuvana.

Najstarija sačuvana reambulacijska skica čuva se u Mađarskom državnom arhivu u Budimpešti u zbirci Diplomatički arhiv (Diplomatikai levéltár) pod signaturom DL 101050. Prije se nalazila u arhivu grofova Batthyány u Körmendu (sign. *Acta Antiqua*, Arm. 4, Lad. 8, Nr. 289). Prema vanjskim karakteristikama (pismo, papir) najvjerojatnije je nastala u drugoj polovini XV. stoljeća. Na istom papiru upisane su godine 1463. i 1488., ali se ne može utvrditi koja je od njih točna i je li uopće ijedna od njih u vezi sa skicom. Istina, skica je u arhivu smještena iza jednog dokumenta iz 1488. godine (DL 101049, stara sign. körmendskog arhiva: *Acta Antiqua*, Arm. 4, Lad. 8, Nr. 288), ali se ne može sa sigurnošću reći jesu li obje isprave bile povezane i prije ili je to samo rezultat sređivanja arhivske građe.

Na skici su ucrtane tri "zemlje" (posjeda): *Lathkowyna*, *Mihalowcz* (zvan i *R'pn'a*) i *Kothenya*. U crtani orijentiri su dijelom konkretni objekti poput drveta *tilfa* (staromađ. hrast, mađ. *tölgyfa*) i "velike ceste" (*magna via*), a dijelom određene zemljopisne odrednice poput potoka i rijeka (*rivuli* i *fluvii*) i brda (*mons*). Iako skica pruža relativno malo podataka, moguće je na njezinu temelju u grubim crtama očitati morfologiju terena. Radi se o brdovitom području, a navedeni posjedi smješteni su na obroncima između brda *Prybin* i močvarnog područja oko brojnih rijeka u udolinama ili nizinama okruženim brdima. Spominju se mnogi potoci i rijeke, gotovo svi s nepobitno slavenskim imenima. Iako je spomenuto brdo *Prybin*, opisana granica ne može biti na području višem od 600 m nadmorske visine jer drvo hrast ne raste na mnogo većim visinama. Termin za hrast (*tilfa*) navodi na pomisao da se radi o području koje je bilo, barem službeno, dvojezično (slavensko-mađarsko).

U drugoj polovini XV. stoljeća takav opis bi se mogao odnositi na južne (ili bolje rečeno jugozapadne) ili neke sjeverne krajeve Ugarsko-hrvatskog kraljevstva. Velika razaranja južnih

dijelova Karpatske kotline koja su se dogodila u drugoj polovini XV. st. i slaba sačuvanost dokumenata iz tog područja, otežavaju identifikaciju. Najvjerojatnije je da se skica odnosi na područje jugoistočnog dijela kasnosrednjovjekovne Križevačke županije, gdje su u kasnom XV. stoljeću zaista postojala tri posjeda s imenima koja se nalaze na skici (*Kutina, Lathkovina* ili *Sobochina* te *Mihalowcz*).

Okolnosti ucrtane na skici mogu sugerirati da je ona nastala da bi se detaljno opisale granice između dva veća posjedovna kompleksa. To se najvjerojatnije moglo dogoditi u slučaju spora kada je posjed trebao biti podijeljen iz obiteljskih razloga ili su točne granice bile osporene između različitih posjednika. Izgleda da ucrtani posjedi u cjelini nisu bili sporni, nego samo precizna granica između dva od njih (*Latkovine* i *Mihalovca*).

Gore spomenuta isprava iz 1488. godine sastoji se od transkripata osam ranijih dokumenata nastalih u razdoblju od pedesetih godina XIV. stoljeća do 1413. godine. U tim dokumentima spominju se brojni toponimi spomenuti na skici. Najstariji među dokumentima je upravo opis reambulacije iz pedesetih godina XIV. stoljeća koja se odnosila na posjed *Mihalovec*. Dio opisa te reambulacije odnosi se upravo na granicu između *Mihalovca* i *Latkovine*, ali su podaci u ispravi bogatiji od onih na skici. Ipak, što se može smatrati sigurnim jest da se skica i taj opis odnose na isto područje, no nema neposrednog dokaza da je skica nastala baš u vezi sa sporom opisanim u ispravi iz 1488. godine. Na istom području odvijala su se još dva spora 1490. i 1491. godine, ali se sama skica ne može sa sigurnošću povezati niti s njima.

**Ključne riječi:** Slavonija, Križevačka županija, reambulacija, kartografija, srednji vijek

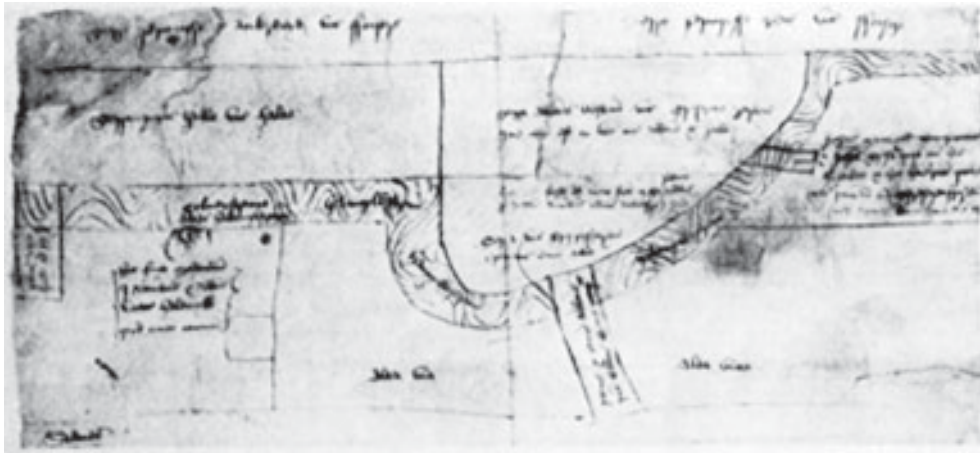


Fig. 1: The first remaining perambulation sketch from the Carpathian Basin

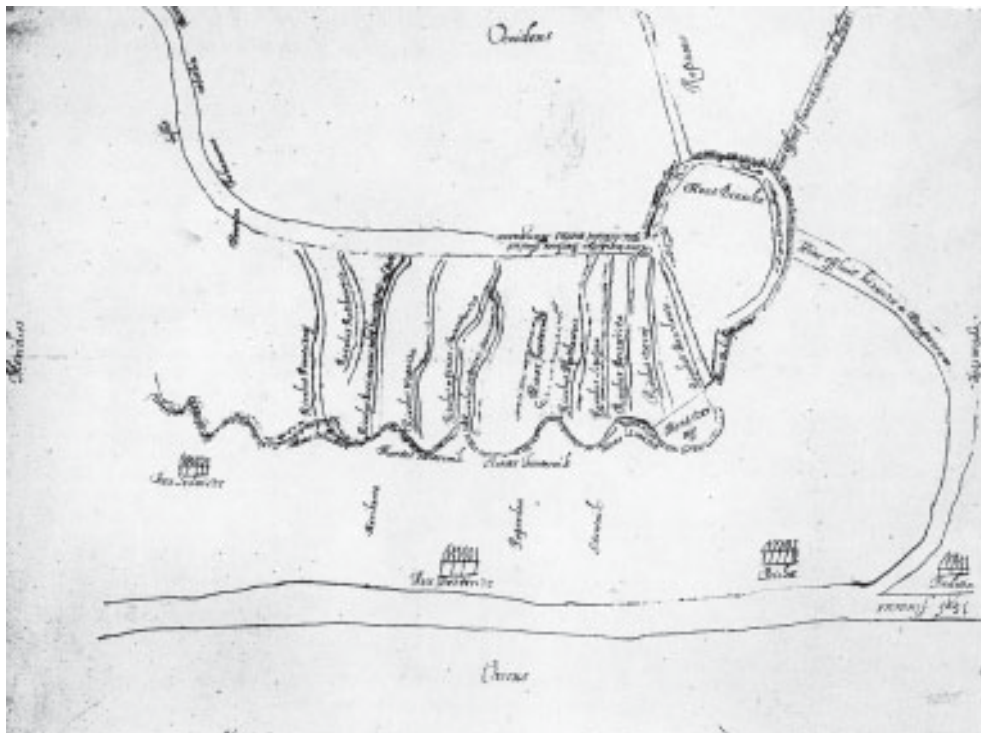


Fig. 2: The Podmaniczky family diagram-map from 1522

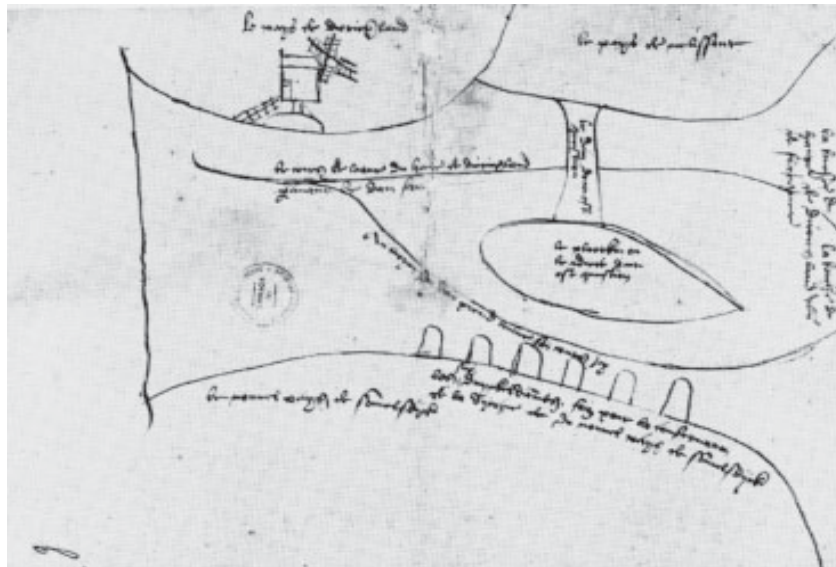


Fig. 3: Late medieval sketch from the Netherlands (1487)

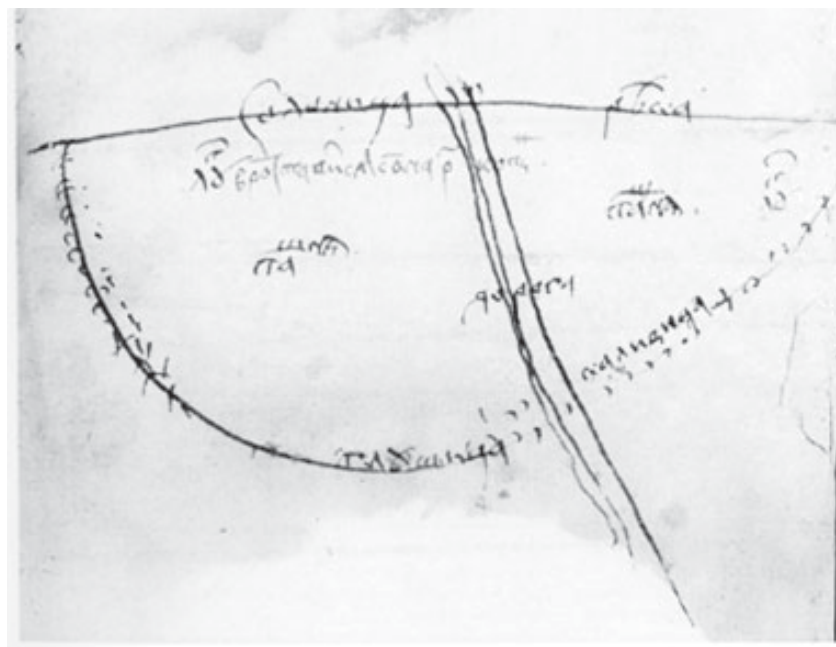
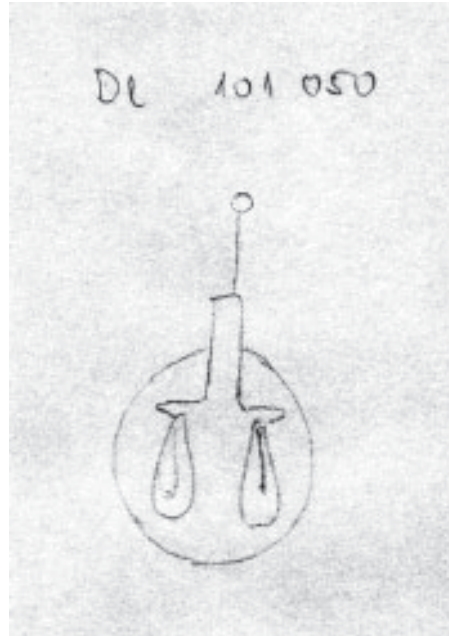
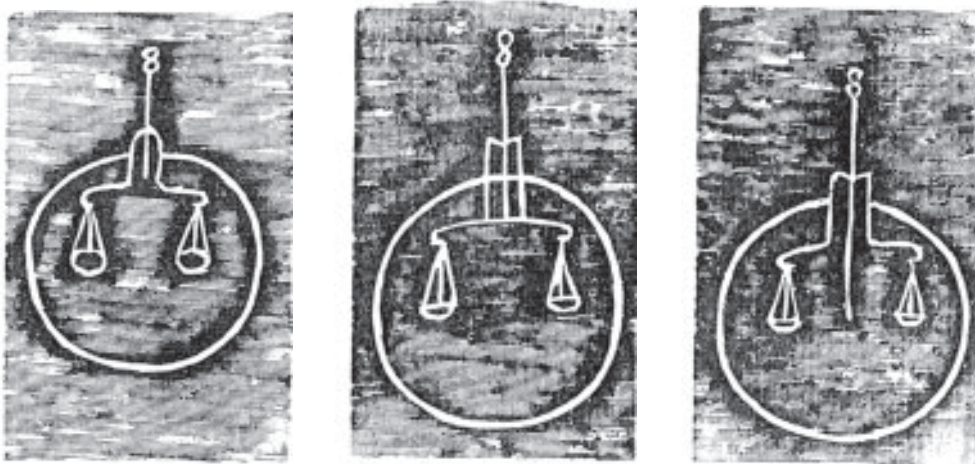


Fig. 4: Late medieval sketch from Russia (1530)



*Fig. 5:* The watermark of the first extant reambulation sketch of the Carpathian Basin



*Fig. 6:* Similar types of watermarks from the second half of the fifteenth century