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THE KOSTELEC ROAD TO DUBÁ. THE TESTIMONY OF OLD ROADS

Keywords

Kostelec Road
historical roads
Kokořín region
Kostelec
Dubá
Pustý zámek
Nové Osinalice

Abstract

This article discusses mutual relations between roads and settlements over a long period, specifically the Kostelec road winding along the rocky ridges high above the Kokořín valley that connected the Elbe banks near Liběchov with Dubá and probably the more distant Česká Lípa. After a significant period in the High Middle Ages, when the medieval road led through unsettled area in the hinterland of noble domains, we can observe the second, Early Modern period, when it became part of the plan of new colonization and agricultural use of the landscape. The Kostelec road, named for its starting point in the area of the deserted village of Kostelec near Tupadly, is a model example because of rather the well proven dating of its creation as well as the documentation of its decline and disappearance.

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Introduction

The Kokořín region with its specific landscape of forested rock formations in the north of today's Central Bohemian region is an interesting area for historical geography. Contrary to other types of landscape, it offers a specific kind of monuments, which are the remains of human activities cut into the rock. These monuments, the later ones often accompanied by the years of their creation, represent great potential for the study of old roads, among other topics. In today's landscape between Tupadly and Dubá, we can find the remains of old roads that are still used today, especially in the southern part of the region. Besides the sections in forests and fields that are not different from other roads, these are roads with deep hollow way accompanied by others following a parallel track, and some have been cut into the rock. Although their abandonment creates a feeling of antiquity, most of these roads are only some 200 years old. Before and partly parallel to the research of this road, a field survey of the old roads between Mšeno and Dubá was carried out, tracing the remains of the medieval connection of these two settlements. Its aim was mainly to clarify the form of the assumed road and its relation to the modern roads cut into the rock massif in some sections. One of the many results of the survey was the confirmation of the continuity of old 'naturally rutted' roads and 'roads cut into the bedrock'. In rare cases the superposition of these two types was also found. The survey also provided irrefutable evidence that none of the identified cut paths were created in their current form before the 18th century. This allowed for the identification of roads from before the Baroque period and the form of their relics was documented.¹

This information was then used to map the Kostelec road and identify its chronologically different parts. The Kostelec road does not exist in the sources. The name is artificial and created for the needs of this work. The road running through western Kokořín region from north to south was named only in its northern part and only on the basis of deeply cut sections on the eastern slopes of the Kout nad Deštnou hill. In Matoušek's tourist map from 1932 it is marked here (for the first time) as Steinweg (on the other side above Tupadly as Königsweg).² The deeply cut sections of the road, complemented by a number of hollow ways, indicate a long-used route. Its trac-

¹ Survey P. Nový – M. Mráz 2021–2023. In the surveyed area no traces of older than Baroque roads created by cutting into the terrain, traces of cutting or adjustments were found. This confirms earlier findings about the age of such roads – Kamil PODROUŽEK, Ebelova cesta. Konfrontace písemných a hmotných pramenů při studiu barokních a klasicistních komunikací na pískovcích, *Časopis Společnosti přátel starožitností* 108 (Muzejní a vlastivědná práce 38), 2000, pp. 106–110. The summary results of the survey of old roads in the vicinity of Mšeno and between Mšeno and Dubá will be published in the journal *Confluens* 14 in 2025, partial findings will be presented at special seminars and conferences.

² Josef MATOUSCHEK, *Spezial-Karte vom Daubaer Bergland*, 1932, available online: <https://www.chartae-antiquae.cz/cs/maps/85817> [accessed on 14. 11. 2023].

ing revealed a virtually unbroken route connecting the Elbe right bank with the wider territory of Česká Lípa region. The existence of this road became one of the factors influencing the development of the settlement in this part of the region. The continuation of the road beyond Dubá was not the subject of research. Its character corresponds to the so-called 'dry route' of the road passing through elevated terrain outside ravines and watercourse valleys, typical especially for the oldest medieval roads.³

The Kostelec Road

Despite the name, the road does not start in Kostelec, which no longer exists and was replaced at the end of the 19th century by the complex of unfinished Slavín art centre.⁴ Its beginning, if such a point can be set for a road winding through a landscape, should be searched for in Liběchov on the banks of the Elbe. From here, several roads fan out, including roads that lead north in order to pass through the Kokořín rock town as easily as possible. Among them there is also a road heading along the right bank of the Liběchovka to Tupadly, where it crosses the stream and starts a climb to the top of the hill stretching between Liběchovka and Vidimský důl, then continuing to Osinalice. Today, the main route is a local paved road cut through the rock, replacing all older routes, the location and form of which is no longer possible due to the dense cottage built-up area and fencing. Beyond Slavín, the road turns into an unpaved road, accompanied by the disappearing hollow way of its predecessor. After more than a kilometre, it enters the Království forest where it crosses the local peak of Královka. In this area the terrain is deformed by the construction of the 1936–1938 fortification line. After another kilometre it comes to a crossroads of forest paths, from where the road runs parallel to the cadastral border of Osinalice and Chudolazy. This section of the road leads to Nové Osinalice and passes through the centre of the village. Beyond Osinalice, it continues along the cadastral border of Osinalice and Medonosy. Before coming to Brusný Hill, on the western side of which it goes around the peak without any significant sunken parts towards the Osinalice saddle, it crosses a sharp transverse rock ridge through a shallow hollow way. Older shallow hollow ways can be seen on the right crossing the barrier in an arc. The route continuing further to the north can again be traced along the cadastral boundary, this time of Osinalice and Zakšín, with the first small climb again branching off into several hollow ways. In the form of a forest path, accompanied by a more or less noticeable hollow way (or border ditch), the path continues to the Panenský ridge above Deštná.

Behind the crossroads with a shelter, the roads coming from Zakšín and Deštná cross, heading to Nedvězí and Dražejov. the most complicated section of the route for

³ Dušan CENDELÍN, *Staré komunikace*, Vizovice 1999, pp. 24–29.

⁴ ANONYM, Antonín Veith a jeho český Slavín, *Světovzor* 8, 1908, pp. 782–784.

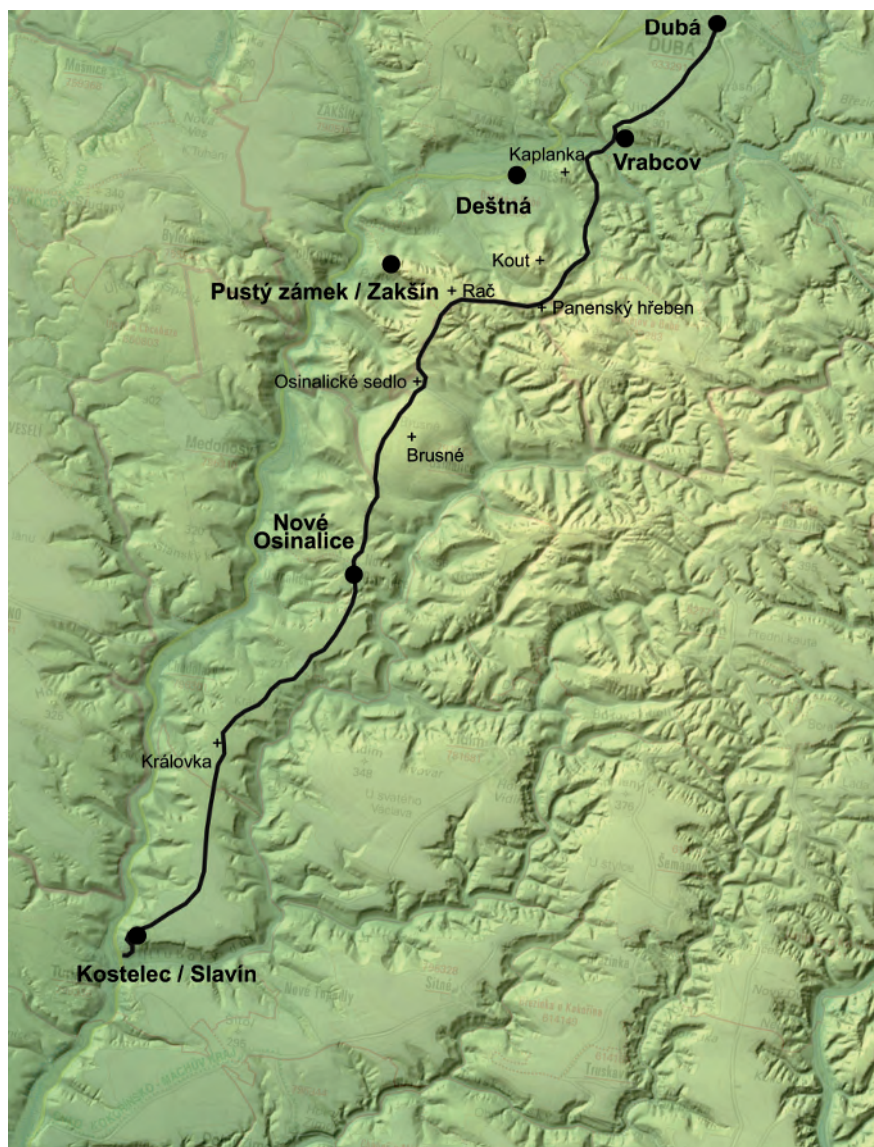


Fig. no. 1. The route of the Kostelec road with the locations mentioned in the text. – Source: <https://geoportal.cuzk.cz>; with the author's cartographic annotations.

former travellers begins. This was the most complicated section for the travellers in the past, but from today's perspective it is also the most interesting. Already at the cadastre of Deštná, a system of hollow ways begins here, converging to the Kaplanka hill, giving the impression of an intensively used old road. In addition, there are several hollow ways and a path passing through two rock sections, cut in two levels of rocks. Thanks to engraved years, we can date their cutting to the 18th and 19th centuries. The group of hollow ways heads to the lowest northern edge of the slope. The depth of the hollow ways gradually decreases and the width of the band narrows to a bottleneck, which was levelled in the Early Modern period. A shallowly cut remains of probably two paths in use at that time can still be seen here. From the bottleneck, the roads diverge in two directions. One of them leads north towards a former orchard, which is part of the landscape that has been significantly changed by agriculture. Although the terrain slopes down quite steeply, no traces of traffic can be observed here. From the point of view of the whole site it can also be evaluated as evidence of the low frequency of the road created in the Early Modern period. The other road continues to the north-west. Its route was again modified in Early Modern period by cutting that it was possible to bypass the nameless conical hill on the right, which forms a natural obstacle in the direct way forward. The narrowing of the terrain over the centuries has resulted in the formation of two main very deep hollow ways. In their north-western part there are two stone boundary markers showing the 18th century boundary of the forest. Apart from this main direction, a short branch was probably created beyond the lower cut section in the 19th century, which bypassed the deep section described above higher up the slope.

Further continuation of the road is unclear in the terrain. It is possible to follow the modern road along the edge of the forest towards Deštná. The northern continuation over Kaplanka hill has been erased by intensive agricultural use and there are again overgrown remains of orchards. Over the nameless hill into the valley between Kaplanka hill and Zelený hill it is possible to follow a road cut into the rock, which leads to the Liběchovka valley, opposite to the former isolated settlement of Vrabcov with a mill. It is probable that a road branched off to the south of Kaplanka in the direction of the deserted village of Rozprechtice, but evidence of its traffic has disappeared. Our road to Dubá continued slightly obliquely across the Liběchovka stream to the west of the Vrabcov mill. The bedrock rises to the surface here, which prevented the formation of the usual hollow ways. Today's few relics of rutted roads above the recreation centre area may or may not be remains of a road older than the modern era. One of the roads is still used today. The forest path largely follows the route of the modern road and climbs in a right-hand curve up to the level of the terrain above the Liběchovka valley. The original route of the road probably smoothly continued to Dubá, but since at least the 19th century the road surpasses the terrain's sharp edge by means of a sharp right turn. On the basis of a map research, it is possible to locate the surface quarry in these places, the area of which the road must avoid. If that was not the case, the road



Fig. no. 2. Dubá. View of the town from south-east. A photograph from 1929 showing the deep hollow way of the Kostelec road towards Dubá. – Source: <https://www.deutschefotothek.de/>.

from Dubá would lead further north so as to avoid the quarry and not have to avoid it with difficulty. The actual road to Dubá no longer exists on the surface and can only be observed on aerial maps. A valuable testimony to the intensity of the local traffic (which was also farmland traffic) is provided by a photograph from the early 20th century, showing a crossroads at the edge of the town. The hollow way of this road is several metres wide and deep.⁵

The Development and Changes in the Landscape and Settlements Around the Kostelec Road

The Middle Ages. The rocky centre of today's Kokořín region remained stood aside from colonization interests until the 13th century. Prehistoric and Early medieval settlement is located mainly on the southern and south-eastern edge of the area. After the abandonment of the early medieval Hradsko hillfort, the centre of the settlement area

⁵ The estimate is about 10 metres, but there is another interesting detail – only one carriage could pass through the hollow way and it was impossible to avoid it in the tight space. It must have been a one-way road.

moved to the area of today's Mšeno, where the continuity of settlement can be traced from the 11th century. The colonization from the eastern direction bypassed the territory in an arc, the imaginary border of the territory was significantly crossed only by the foundation of Houska Castle, occupying a dominant position overlooking the Podbezdězsko region.⁶ A settlement located in the wider surroundings of Mělník continued as far as to the early medieval hillfort at Bosyně on the right bank of the Pšovka stream.⁷ The most recent publication *Staré cesty v krajině středních Čech* deals with the settlement of this area in several chapters.⁸ The western edge of the area crosses the Liběchovka stream and the rocky area fades away in an imaginary north-south line west of Štětí. An imaginary wedge enters this line in the area of Tuhaň, where settlement is assumed to date back to the 13th century. On the south-western edge of the Kokořín region, in the wider area of today's Dubá, there is a settlement enclave where, there is an evidence of both prehistoric and early medieval settlement. Similarly to Mšeno, Dubá has been settled since the 11th century. At the latest in the 13th century, the settlement expanded into the surrounding area and advanced southwards to the Liběchovka valley (Rozprechtice) and beyond. An interesting locality is the early medieval Deštná with an originally Romanesque church southwest of Dubá. In general, isolated attempts at partial penetrations into the rock area can be observed in the 13th century, the deepest of which were fortified settlements. Halfway from Houska to Dubá there is a castle, even closer to Dubá a castle of unknown name near Kluk, and another smaller settlement at Nedamov.⁹ Probably the largest fortified settlement in this part of Kokořín region is a castle with an unknown name, today called **Zakšín or Pustý zámek**. The origins of the rock castle are dated by archaeological finds to the first half of the 13th century, the castle in its older phase existed throughout the 13th cen-

⁶ Josef ŽEMLIČKA, Bezdězsko – „královské území“ Přemysla Otakara II., *Československý časopis historický* 28, 1980, pp. 726–751.

⁷ Petr MEDUNA, Mělnicko kolem roku 1400, in: *Civitas & villa. Miasto i wieś w średniowiecznej Europie środkowej*, eds. Cezary Buško – Jan Klápště – Lech Leciejewicz – Sławomir Mozdziuch, Wrocław – Praha 2002, pp. 347–352; IDEM, Hrádek u Bosyně, kraj Pšov a svatá Ludmila, *Confluens. Sborník historických a vlastivědných prací z Mělnicka* 1, 2005, pp. 116–127; IDEM, Provincia Melnicensis. Das Mělník-Gebiet im Frühmittelalter. Bemerkungen zur Rekonstruktion einer Region, in: *Das wirtschaftliche Hinterland der frühmittelalterlichen Zentren*, ed. Lumír Poláček, Brno 2008, pp. 139–144.

⁸ Pavel BOLINA – Tomáš KLIMEK – Václav CÍLEK, *Staré cesty v krajině středních Čech*, Praha 2018, 5.2.1 Hrad Houska, 6.3.2 Hrad Kamenec a Kamenická provincie, 6.3.8 Stará mělnická cesta.

⁹ František GABRIEL – Jaroslav PANÁČEK, Bezejmenný hrad u Kluku, *Castellologica Bohemica* 3, 1993, pp. 329–336. This castle seems to have controlled the road passing through Kokořín region from east to west. This road crossed the Kostelecká road on the Panenský hřeben (Petr RANDUS – Miroslav DOSTÁL, Nález opevněné lokality u Dubé na katastru obce Korce, *Castellologica Bohemica* 4, 1994, pp. 355–362).

ture. As an anonymous locality in an area where written sources do not speak of any owner, there are two possible variants. In the first case, it is possible that the castle was located at the southern end of the Ronov domain, within sight of Tuhaň, which is associated with the origins of the family. The other option is that this could have been a construction project by the Načepluk family (Načeplukovici) that controlled nearby Dubsbo.¹⁰ For the construction of the castle, a distinctive rugged inselberg was chosen, allowing distant views, enabling a visual connection with the inhabited sites in the vicinity, but the most important factor for the selection of the site was a **rare water source**, located about 800 meters away. In the Kokořín region, until the introduction of the water supply system, the quality of life and the very existence of the inhabitants depended on available drinking water. The second important factor was the road, whether the road needed for convenient access to the castle or the road that was to be protected or controlled by the castle. In the case of Pustý zámek, these two functions were combined in the Kostelec road; access to the castle was provided by a branch road in a section passing through the wider hinterland of the castle (and the nearby village of Deštná).¹¹ As a matter of interest, the castle is located in a place that is not in the middle of the total length of the road, but at the end of a longer section passing mostly on a plateau with significant obstacles, followed by a section of relatively steep descent into the probably waterlogged Liběchovka valley and the subsequent climb to Dubá. The time taken to complete the two sections may not have differed significantly. Overall, it was about the distance of a day's walk (the air distance of the valley in today's Tupadly and Dubá is nearly 12 km). At the beginning there was the determining ascent from the Liběchovka valley in Tupadly and the passage through the village of Kostelec, which was for a long time the last source of water, especially for riding and draught animals. The village of **Kostelec** with its **fort** was first mentioned in 1542. The sons of Sigismund claimed the legacy of their father and ancestors as far back as human memory.¹² The fact that the local settlement is of an older date is indirectly proved by the discovery made in 1840, when 140 Prague *gro-schen* from the time of Václav II were found in a cellar cut into the rock.¹³ This find proves not only the existence of the Kostelec manor, but also the demonstrable exist-

¹⁰ František GABRIEL – Jaroslav PANÁČEK, Pustý zámek u Zakšína, *Castellologica Bohemica* 7, 2000, pp. 111–125.

¹¹ The village with the original Romanesque church is the closest possible hinterland to the castle. It was founded in the Liběchovka valley (František GABRIEL – Jaroslav PANÁČEK, *Hrady okresu Česká Lípa*, Praha 2000, p. 115).

¹² August SEDLÁČEK, *Hrady, zámky a tvrze Království českého XIV. Litoměřicko a Žatecko*, Praha 1923, p. 438.

¹³ Rudolf ANĐEL et al., *Hrady, zámky a tvrze v Čechách, na Moravě a ve Slezsku III. Severní Čechy*, Praha 1984, p. 219. Further information on the discovery has not yet been traced. The

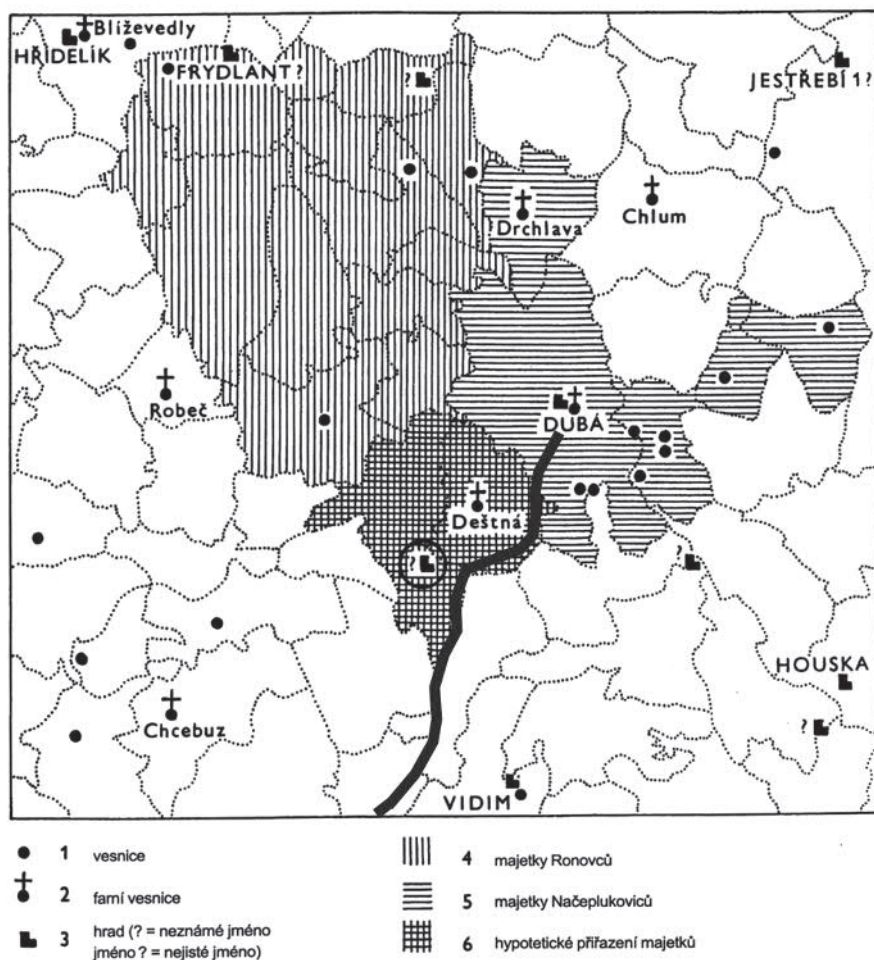


Fig. no. 3. Drawing of part of the route on the map of the property situation in the vicinity of Pustý zámek in the 13th century. 1: village; 2: village with parish church; 3: castle; 4: domain of Ronov family; 5: domain of Načeplukovici; 6: hypothetical attribution of domain. – Source: F. GABRIEL – J. PANÁČEK, Pustý zámek (see note 10), p. 114, fig. no. 2.

date of the discovery corresponds to the time of the start of construction work on the Slavín Chateau on the site of the deserted village – ANONYM, Antonín Veith (see note 4).

ence of a road leading from the valley to the plain between the Liběchovka valley and Vidimský důl. For a traveller coming from Liběchov, Kostelec was an important point determining the direction of journey. That was **Dubá**, located beyond the uninhabited area in the Liběchovka spring basin. The yet undetected settlement on the territory of the town can be dated back to the 11th century according to the skeletal burial site. In 1257, a church of St. Peter and Pavel was mentioned here. In 1278, Hynek (Jindřich), son of Častolov of Zittau, is first mentioned as the founder of the Dubá branch of the Ronov family. The seat of the Berka of Dubá became a fortified settlement on an indistinctive promontory at the foot of a long slope on the north-western edge of the town centre, which, however, did not last long and was abandoned in the 14th century.¹⁴

The exact route or form of the road in the High Middle Ages can only be assumed, the terrain survey has not yet uncovered any terrain relics that could be reliably dated to this period, either because of a lack of references in written sources or because of scarce direct connection with the monuments from the 13th century (without later intrusions). The beginning of the road at the point of ascent to Kostelec is not known in this oldest period, further continuation to the north up to the Osinalice saddle above Osinalice can be traced in the route of today's field and forest paths along the green hiking trail. Further to the north, it follows the eastern edge of the Rač plain to rejoin the hiking trail on a forest path again. Beyond the Panenský hřeben crossroads, its traces cannot be identified in the system of hollow ways due to the later traffic. In front of it we can assume a crossroads where the road branched both to the left to nearby Deštná and to the right towards Rozprechtice pod Dubou. Probably already in this period the road headed directly north to today's Vrabcov, past which it climbed out of the Liběchovka valley and headed towards Dubá. This route can be confirmed with certainty at least indirectly since the Late Middle Ages. Relics of its arc-shaped ascent through the slope can be seen in the layout of the preserved roads and adjacent plots.¹⁵ This route could have become dominant at the time. It can be assumed that there were a number of branches to the surrounding settlements and the formation of more important crossroads, among which the crossroads at Panenský hřeben stood out, where the Kostelec road crossed, among others, the road from Zakšín towards Kluk.

At the beginning of the 15th century, the reconstruction and expansion of Pustý zámek took place and this campaign is associated with written sources recorded by

¹⁴ For Dubá Castle see F. GABRIEL – J. PANÁČEK, Hrad (see note 11) p. 60 and F. GABRIEL – J. PANÁČEK, Pustý zámek (see note 10), p. 113. It can be assumed that the road did not end in Dubá. On the contrary, in connection with the Elbe bank near Liběchov, it is possible to mention a medieval road leading to Liběchov from the Říp region, see Petr NOVÝ, Budyňka – otisk středověké cesty v krajině Podřipska, *Historická geografie* 46, 2020, pp. 171–196.

¹⁵ The typical sickle-shaped curvature of the paths in the locality corresponds to other sites not only in the Kokořín region, where medieval roads were documented. In the literature, this specific formation is also referred to as the “horse's tail” structure, see P. BOLINA – T. KLIMEK – V. CÍLEK, *Staré cesty* (see note 8), e. g. pp. 87 and 657.

Zakšín Castle.¹⁶ It can be assumed that the castle, briefly used in the name of Václav Berka from Zakšín, was no longer a solitary inhabited rock in the middle of the deserted area. However, we lack any information about its hinterland and surroundings.¹⁷ The Kostelec road still passed through an unsettled area, but it can be assumed that in the vicinity of settlements the landscape was already cultivated.¹⁸ Its route is also still more often crossed by new roads connecting the settlements in the Liběchovka valley with the settlements created by the colonisation of the inner Kokořín region, the first references of which mostly date back to the 14th and 15th centuries.¹⁹

The Modern Period. Map documents from the 18th century confirm that even after the Thirty Years' War the area under study did not come to the forefront of economic interest. The formerly important Kostelec road has fallen to the level of a regional link road, whose transport significance has shifted to a more westerly route leading from Liběchov via Brocno and Tuhaň to Česká Lípa, avoiding Dubá.²⁰ Already in the 18th century the building of paved and maintained roads in the stream valleys began, the road in the Liběchovka valley basically follows the older ridge section of the Kostelec road. It would thus seem that this road would become irrelevant and would be abandoned. However, several factors contributed to keep it in use. At the beginning of the 17th century at the latest, the solitary **Vrabcov mill** was built near the crossing of the road over the Liběchovka valley to the east of Deštná. Although the mill is first mentioned in 1627, its origins can probably be traced back to before 1600.²¹ In this context, forestry and associated activities can also be assumed. The north-eastern section of the Kostelec road thus served as a link between the mill and Dubá. In the

¹⁶ August SEDLÁČEK, *Hrady, zámky a tvrze Království českého X. Boleslavsko, Praha 1895*, p. 176; F. GABRIEL – J. PANÁČEK, *Pustý zámek* (see note 10), pp. 111–121.

¹⁷ In the next stage, the authors' research will focus on the immediate surroundings of the castle. However, its foreground on the plain with a water spring is probably lost for research due to insensitive forestry interventions.

¹⁸ A monumental oak tree stood in the boundary at the level of Pustý zámek until 1895, which, apart from its boundary function, probably also served as a direction sign and a holy place, see Franz HANTSCH, *Nordböhmischer Touristen-Führer für die Gegend zwischen der Landesgrenze im Norden, der Sprachgrenze im Süden, dem Komotauer Erzgebirge im Westen und dem Riesengebirge im Osten*, Leipzig 1907. Available online: <https://nedvezi-kokorinsko.webnode.cz/historie/turisticky-pruvodce-z-roku-1895/> [accessed on 19. 5. 2023]. Another similar monumental tree is shown on the maps at a crossroads at Panenský hřeben. These are important pieces of information relating to the accompanying features associated with modern, but no doubt also medieval, travel.

¹⁹ They have been documented since 1402, when Jindřich of Dubá, called One-Eyed, divided his property among his sons – the nearby Dražejov, Nedvězí and others appear in this way (Josef Vítězslav ŠIMÁK, *Kniha o Housce I*, Praha 1930, p. 40).

²⁰ The main road from Liběchov to Česká Lípa appearing on maps of the 18th century.

²¹ Friedrich BERNAU, *Der politische Bezirk Dauba*, Dauba 1888, p. 265.



Fig. no. 4. Section from the stable cadastre map showing Nové Osinalice in 1843, about 60 years after its construction. – Source: <https://geoportal.cuzk.cz>.

19th century at the latest, a one-way road from the mill connecting to the Kostelec road on the slope was newly cut to improve the quality of transport. On the Rač plain in a part of the Deštná cadastre, extending into the outskirts of the already deserted Zakšín castle, the First Military Mapping documented the existence of an (old) sheepfold, whose further duration did not significantly exceed the beginning of the 19th century, because the Second Military Mapping already shows only a wooden enclosure in its place.²² Its seemingly surprising remote location probably took advantage, as in the case of the construction of the medieval castle, of two favourable factors - the plain was accessible via a road and on its edge there was a water spring, without which any breeding of domestic animals would have been impossible. However, a **founding of a new village** became the biggest project on the route of the Kostelec road. The founding of Neudorf, later Nové Osinalice, is unfortunately not connected with documentary evidence. It is generally assumed that the village was founded at the end of the 18th cen-

²² Due to devastating forest management, nothing of the site has survived to this day.

tury, which date is based mainly on building historical research of the rarely preserved folk architecture.²³ However, by combining map documentation and literature it is possible to push the origins of the village further into the past, even before the beginning of raabization, which could be linked to the efforts to exploit the then fallow land. While an inhabitant from the already existing Nová Ves appears in the neighbouring parish chronicle of Vidim only in 1784, already in 1866 the owner of the estate Christian von Waldstein considered building a school here. Although this was not possible due to the resistance of the peasants from Velké Osinalice, it is possible to place the founding of the village in this period or in the period that followed shortly afterwards.²⁴

The depiction of the final form of the village on the map of the First Military Mapping (probably a younger rectified version), confirms the information from the Vidim parish chronicle. Interestingly, the shape of the village followed the existing road axially, although the plain at the site of the foundation offered a better layout option. The basic layout of field tracks and other agricultural land, among which meadow and pasture areas predominated, was also related to the old road. Because the plain is in the area of the rock town, a large part of the village was covered, at least initially, with a forest. However, all the ravines and valleys were probably cleared in connection with the construction of the village and the stable cadastre already showed a number of hop gardens. A name Mühlberg to the south of the village indicates that a windmill may have stood on the road before the village was founded. Like other villages in the Kokořín region that were not located in a stream valley, the newly established village struggled with a lack of water. Apart from possible imports from nearby Malé Osinalice (Osinaličky), this handicap was solved by wells.²⁵

The founding of the village itself brought new life to the Kostelec road. Although its significance has declined to the level of other regional routes, as long-distance routes have definitively moved to essentially today's valley routes, the road has become part of an expanding network of routes connecting existing and new human settlements or settlements with their hinterland and the aforementioned water sources. As can still be seen on selected preserved houses, **hop growing** was an important part of the new settlers' livelihood and it was the connection of the village with the later regional centre of hop growing - Dubá - that made the Kostelec road an important link.²⁶ It is not possible to assess to what extent the colonization efforts were well

²³ Monument reserve (památková rezervace) Nr. ÚSKP 1059 – Nové Osinalice.

²⁴ F. BERNAU, Der politische Bezirk (see note 21), pp. 185–186.

²⁵ In Nové Osinalice there is a well with 14 steps leading to the water surface (see note 23).

²⁶ It is not certain what role hop cultivation played in the early days of the village. Since the surviving houses with integrated drying rooms on the first floor offer no traces of earlier modifications, it is possible to speak of the possibility of a business plan such as the attempt to expand hop growing in Dubá region. Although there is literature that traces the origins of the local hop-growing tradition back to the 17th century – F. BERNAU, Der politische Bezirk (see note 21), p. 35. The

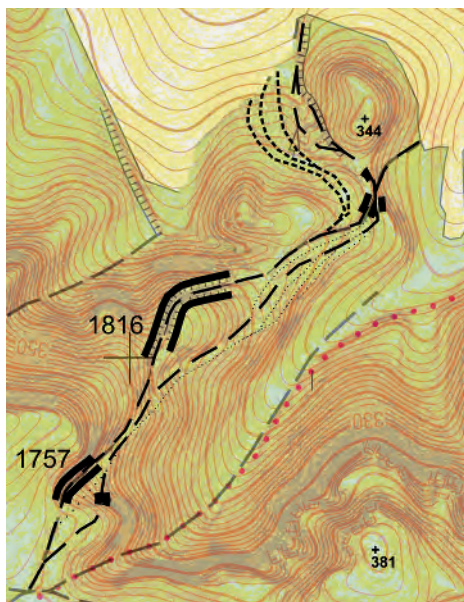


Fig. no. 5. Panenský hřeben, schematic drawing of the system of hollow ways converging from the eastern end in a NE direction towards the Kaplanka hill: double-cut sections, medieval to modern route in dashed lines, modifications of the route captured on the map of the stable cadastre in strong dotted lines. – Source: <https://geoportal.cuzk.cz>; cartographic processing by P. Nový.

thought out, but it is possible to consider the relationship between the newly established village and the technical modifications to the road. In the 18th century, selected roads were modernised by **cutting into the terrain**. As well as the clear benefit of a firm roadway, this also reduced the gradient of the road and thus increased traffic safety.²⁷

In the southern section, at the very beginning of the researched road, a cut, still in use today, was made, through which the road emerges from the valley into the area of the former Kostelec, now the Slavín area. The winding route of the road is similar to many other curved cut sections found in the Kokořín region.²⁸ Another cut north of

Theresian cadastre does not record any hop gardens. A look at the map of the stable cadastre in the following century, however, already shows that the hop business was a success (Vojtěch POJAR, *Zelené zlato. Kartelizace chmelařství v českých zemích*, Praha 2017, p. 46).

²⁷ Considering the similar traces on the walls of cut roads and contemporary quarries, I believe that in suitable places the cutting was also used to obtain building stone. On the technique of chiselling, see for example Kamil PODROUŽEK, *Těžba pískovce pro stavební účely – stopy, typy, technologie*, Svorník 12, 2014, pp. 1–24; on modernisation of the roads see IDEM, *Ebelova cesta* (see note 1).

²⁸ See note 1. In this case, no relevant date has been found to date the cutting to the presumed 18th century. This is probably attributable to later modifications and extensions.



Fig. no. 6. Panenský hřeben (ridge), sections of the road cut in 1757. – Photo Petr Nový (2023).

Nové Osinalice makes it easier to cross the sharp transverse rock ridge before crossing the Brusný hill. The previous road had to bypass it by a difficult eastern curve in the slope leading to (Velké) Osinalice and back on the road from Osinalice to Medonosy. The most significant changes to the terrain were at Panenský hřeben. Already in the middle of the 18th century (1751), the rock in the southern part of the local system of hollow ways was cut, perhaps also the northern parts of the road were cut at this time. At the beginning of the 19th century (1816), this section was followed by the longest cut in the central part. The route passing through these cut sections and their adjacent hollow ways is identical to the route recorded on the stable cadastre maps.²⁹ The last cut part of the route can be seen at the ascent of the road from the Liběchovka valley

²⁹ The original earliest presumed route of the road, disconnecting in the northern half of the system to the west to connect in an arc with the older deep hollow ways of the northern part of the road, was compared with the map of the stable cadastre. Surprisingly, the comparison showed an exact correspondence of this road with the road documented on this 1843 map. It thus turned out that this is, on the contrary, the youngest route of the road in the whole system.

to the west of Vrabcov mill (the maps show a farmstead called Wrapsleiten/Wrapsleithe).

During the 20th century, especially after the post-war expulsion of German population, a large part of the cultivated landscape was rapidly abandoned. Much of the marginal and less accessible land has since been reforested. Similarly, several sections of the Kostelec road were abandoned, replaced by modern roads, even at the cost of large detours and the loss of direct connections to the then closely connected villages. A typical case of this can be the connection of Nové Osinalice with Tupadly or even more significantly the connection of Nové Osinalice with Osinalice.

Conclusion

In the context of a survey of old roads in the Kokořín region, a road with unknown historical name was introduced. Among people it may have been referred to as Kostecká, after Kostelec near Tupadly, through which those who travelled to Dubá had to pass. The research shows that at least from the 13th century the Kostelec road formed a transport artery that connected the settled Elbe right bank in the vicinity of Liběchov and Dubá region. It was not a major long-distance route, but rather the shortest and least difficult connection between these areas, but in the earliest times leading through an area with no trace of human presence. The research shows that the road can be associated with the founding of the castle on the Rač plain, where the local water source provided favourable conditions. One of the functions of this fortified settlement could be the control of the road and protection of travellers. Today we can only guess whether the construction of the castle was a project of the Ronov family at the supposed southern end of their territory or whether it was a southwestern outgrowth of the colonization efforts of the Načepluk family (Načeplukovici), who controlled the settlement area in the vicinity of Dubá. In view of the Kostelec road and other clues mentioned in this paper, I lean more towards the second option.³⁰

During the medieval colonization of the Kokořín region, which, however, avoided the landscape in the vicinity of the road, sections of the Kostelec Road were used as boundaries of future municipal cadastres, as well as the boundary between the Litoměřice and Boleslav regions. The road also began to be used as a local link. The rebuilding of the castle at Rač certainly took advantage of a functioning road, which was essential for the connection to the hinterland. The tradition of the site in connection with the existence of a water source was also used in the later foundation of the manor sheepfold. The use of the Kostelec road in the place of crossing the Liběchovka

³⁰ F. GABRIEL – J. PANÁČEK, Pustý zámek (see note 10). The castle visually controlled mainly the area of Tuhaň and its surroundings, located on the other side of the valley. From this presumed Ronov territory it was very difficult to access at this time, unlike the connection to Dubá.



Fig. no. 7. View from today's Tupadly to the hill with the former Kostelec, tower of the Slavín on the right. – Photo Petr Nový (2022).

valley probably occurred at the same time also during the construction of the Vrabcov water mill to the east of Deštná. Apart from these two isolated settlements, the route of the road passed through uninhabited countryside. However, compared to the earlier period, the landscape was already cultivated. The road formed the boundary of plots, cadastres of villages, and partly of the regions. In the 18th century, Nová Ves – Nové Osinalice was founded directly on the route. Its form and the adjacent plots in the immediate vicinity were measured in relation to its course through the area. The importance of the regional road increased because it was used as a link between the village and the markets in Dubá in particular, to which the village later oriented itself through its hop production, which can theoretically be verified through the dating of the road modifications. The 18th century brought increased interest in using the landscape and most of the arable land around the villages was farmed. After the change of circumstances in the 20th century, there was an economic decline and the agricultural orientation of the population changed largely to recreational and touristic.

Petr Nový

The Kostelec Road to Dubá. The Testimony of Old Roads

The example of the Kostelec road was used to show the development of settlements in the western part of Kokořín region. It can be concluded that without the existence of the introduced road, it would probably only be possible to observe changes in the extent of forest vegetation, which until today cover most of the area of Kokořín region. The colonization of the region only took place where several factors combined. In the case of this research, these were a long-distance road and, in particular, a water source, especially important in the Early medieval and Early Modern periods. The survey took advantage of the great bonus that the Kokořín region offers to researchers. It is the fact that there are traces of human activities cut into the stone, which are often accompanied by the date of their origin. In the case of modern settlement, this fact offers a large amount of materials for studying, for example, the economic use of the landscape.