

„Tema ove znanstvene autorske knjige vrlo je važna za hrvatsku historiografiju, posebice za medievistiku. Povijest pavlina, jednog od najvažnijih crkvenih redova srednjovjekovnog Ugarsko-Hrvatskog Kraljevstva, općenito je nedovoljno istražena i poznata, posebice u hrvatskoj historiografiji. Knjiga time popunjava značajnu prazninu u dosadašnjim spoznajama o društvenoj, gospodarskoj, političkoj i crkvenoj povijesti srednjovjekovne Slavonije.

Znanstvena zajednica medievista u Hrvatskoj i u srednjoeuropskom okružju ovom je monografijom dobila pouzdan oslonac u produbljenju spoznaja o hrvatskim pavlinima. Tekstova na hrvatskom jeziku o istoj ili srodnoj temi nema velik broj, a o garićkom samostanu do ovoga djela nikada nije napisana sustavna analiza njegovog cjelokupnog razvoja. U tom smislu rad Silvije Pisk ima i pionirska obilježja.

Autorica je ovom knjigom dala važan izvorni znanstveni doprinos. Nijedna analiza povijesti pavlina u Hrvatskoj od sada nadalje neće moći zaobići autoričinu knjigu, kako sadržajno, tako i kao model kako bi se trebalo pristupati analizi pojedinih pavlinskih sjedišta na hrvatskom povijesnom prostoru. Knjiga daje doprinos lokalnoj, nacionalnoj i regionalnoj srednjoeuropskoj povijesti, a značajna je i izvan granica hrvatske historiografije.”

(iz recenzije prof. dr. sc. Borislava Grgina)

„Knjiga...predstavlja ogledni primjer cjelovitog monografskog istraživanja jednog pavlinskog samostana u našim krajevima, ali također i primjer istraživanja interakcije samostana s okolinom u društvenom, gospodarskom i ekološkom kontekstu. Radi se i o značajnom prilogu istraživanju pavlinskih samostana na širem prostoru srednjoeuropske regije, naročito na prostoru nekadašnjih zemalja krunice Sv. Stjepana, a može poslužiti i kao model za istraživanje i drugih samostanskih zajednica, kako pavlinskih, tako i drugih denominacija, budući da se one rijetko promatraju u kontekstu odnosa sa svojim susjedima. Ujedno je i vrijedan doprinos zavičajnoj povijesti moslavačkog kraja budući da se radi o najznačajnijoj moslavačkoj crkvenoj instituciji.”

(iz recenzije izv. prof. dr. sc. Zrinke Nikolić Jakus)



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SILVIJA PISK

Pustinjaci PODNO Garić planine

LEYKAM INTERNATIONAL

Silvija Pisk

PUSTINJACI PODNO GARIĆ PLANINE

Pavlinski samostan Blažene Djevice Marije na Gariću (Moslavačka gora)
i njegova uloga u regionalnoj povijesti

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SILVIJA PISK

PUSTINJACI
PODNO
GARIĆ
PLANINE

.....

Pavlinski samostan Blažene Djevice Marije
na Gariću (Moslavačka gora)
i njegova uloga u regionalnoj povijesti

„Evo dakle kakav bi prema mome mišljenju trebao biti povjesničar: neustrašiv, nepodmitljiv, slobodan, prijatelj istine i otvorene riječi, čovjek koji, kako je to rekao onaj komičar, kaže kruh kruhu, a vino vinu, čovjek koji neće nikada radi prijateljstva ili mržnje popustiti ili nijekati, nekoga žaliti ili se stidjeti ili nekoga omalovažavati; on mora biti pravedan sudac, dobrohotan sa svima, nikad spreman da popusti jednoj strani više nego što to ona zaslužuje; čovjek koji kada piše nema domovine, ni grada, ni vladara; čovjek koji se ne pita što će misliti ovaj ili onaj, nego izlaže što se dogodilo.”

Lukijan

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SUMMARY

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✧ *The hermits under Mount Garić*

The Pauline order was founded during mid 13th century and was one of the more important and beloved church orders in the Kingdom of Hungary during the Middle Ages. Approximately at the same time, hermits appeared in historical sources as living on the Moslavačka gora mountain range,¹ whose monastery would grow, during the next centuries, to be, along with the Remete monastery, the most important Pauline monastery in medieval Slavonia. They left proof of their activity and importance within carefully preserved documents that, despite frequent moves, survived to be interpreted.

¹ The Moslavačka gora range bore the name of Garić in the Middle Ages. Today, the Garić toponym is only linked with the castle of Garić. However, it should be taken into consideration that the connection between this monastery and the Garić toponym has become firm, so it is also acceptable to call the monastery „the Pauline monastery on/at Garić”, bearing in mind that Garić represents Moslavačka gora. Because of all of this, this work uses both the „Pauline monastery of Garić” and the Pauline monastery of Moslavina” interchangeably (after all, it’s the only Pauline monastery in the Moslavačka gora area and in Moslavina). Another legitimate name for this monastery would also be Bela Crkva, because the remains of the Pauline monastery were noted on maps under that name. The name came to be because the local populace obviously kept, from generation to generation, the memory of Pauline monks for ages, and they were often called the „white friars” by common folk („Bela crkva” meaning „white church”).

The Pauline monastery of the Blessed Virgin Mary on Garić (Moslavačka gora) is the oldest Pauline monastery on the soil of the modern country of Croatia. There were already indications in 1257 that a hermitage existed at the location of the Pauline monastery on Moslavačka gora and it's expressly mentioned in 1273. The monastery, whose documents allow us to perceive life in this area, was also the most important church institution in the areas of the counties of Garić and Gračenica, along with the Moslavina feudal property (a part of modern Moslavina). It was also, until mid-15th century, the only monastery there as well.²

It enjoyed both the king's and local landowners' support. Its reputation was great and it served as storage for valuables as well. At the beginning of the 15th century it was raised to the rank of vicariate and shared jurisdiction over the Pauline monasteries of Slavonia with the Remete monastery. It functioned until the Ottoman invasion in the 16th century, and, today, it has the biggest preserved medieval archive among the Croatian Pauline monasteries since the monks stored it in the Lepoglava monastery before the Ottoman incursions. Its archive is extremely valuable for establishing the topography and the history of these lands. The sources it contains are mostly deeds of donation, lawsuits and complaints. However, despite the great number of sources, the Pauline monastery of the Blessed Virgin Mary on the Moslavačka gora and its role in the medieval period were so far neglected.

✦ *The documents of the Pauline monastery of Blessed Virgin Mary on Garić*

The Pauline monasteries collection of the Croatian State Archives in Zagreb preserves 8116 documents, 1397 of which are medieval. Five hundred and four documents, written on parchment and paper are kept in the Pauline monastery of Garić collection (fund). Apart from the documents made while the monastery was operational, the oldest of which comes from 1256, there are two documents

² The Franciscan monastery dedicated to the Assumption of Blessed Virgin Mary was built a bit before 1460 in Váralja, Hungary.

from the middle 18th century (1745 i 1746) pertaining to the efforts to reestablish this monastery.

Most preserved documents were of legal character pertaining to properties, enabling the monastery to prove its possession of its properties, e.g., various deeds of donation and deeds of privilege and their transcriptions, contracts and wills. Also, a large number of documents is related to various legal issues, such as lawsuits, complaints, subpoenas, investigations and verdicts. Some of the documents have no direct links to the monastery, but those are mostly documents belonging to the local populace.

Nearly all the documents from this fund written before 1399 were published in the *Diplomatički zbornik* (*Codex diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*). Some of the documents, dating between 1395 and 1465 were published in *Povijesni spomenici zagrebačke biskupije* (*Monumenta historica episcopatus Zagrabiensis*). Apart from Tadija Smičiklas and Andrija Lukinović, another person who made research of the Pauline monastery of Moslavina easier was the Hungarian historian Elemér Malyusz. In the *Levéltári közlemények* magazine, he published, from 1931 to 1935, 473 documents from this fund (including some of the documents published in the *Diplomatički zbornik*) in form of summaries, detailing exhaustively their content, while publishing those documents that seemed the most important ones to him in their entirety. Despite these publications, it was, however, necessary to use the original documents as well.

To elaborate, the documents of the Pauline monastery of the Blessed Virgin Mary on Garić are “well-traveled”. The Paulines of Moslavina have moved their archives in the first half of the 16th century, either because the oncoming Ottoman threat or after the monastery’s dissolution, to the Pauline monastery of Lepoglava. After the Pauline order was dissolved in 1786, their archives, along with the other Pauline archives, were handed over to the Camera Regia Hungarica. Ivan Kukuljević managed to arrange the return of the Pauline monasteries’ documents from Camera Regia Hungarica to the Croatian Kingdom Archives. However, they were taken again to Budapest in 1883. They were only returned to Croatia in 1958 through post-WWII peace treaties.

Apart from the fund of this Pauline monastery, work needed to be undertaken with the funds of other medieval monasteries of Slavonia. By analyzing the documents from Pauline funds, we come to the conclusion that documents from separate funds have been mixed together, which is best seen on the example of the Moslavina and Lepoglava monastery funds. In other words, a certain number of documents from the Garić monastery ended up among the Lepoglava monastery documents. This is confirmed by a row of documents pertaining to the Kastelančić family, the Chapter of Čazma and toponyms from the modern Moslavina area. How and when the documents got mixed up - if it was while the archives were moved to Lepoglava, during the time it was stored in Lepoglava or only after 1786 in Hungary - is impossible to determine.

Lukinović has also already pointed out the possible dispersal of Pauline monastery documents during their move to Budapest in 1786. That is, he believes that the *Elenb* compilers were also making a selection of those documents and picked out mostly those that were of relevance to their new owner, i.e. that were on the subject of the Pauline monasteries' properties. It's highly unusual that only the numerous documents of property-legal nature were preserved and almost no documents regarding the clerical, educational and other activities of the Pauline monasteries. It is hard to believe that (in this case) the Paulines of Garić, moving as the Ottoman threat loomed above them, kept only those documents and not some of the others as well, those regarding everyday life, building and remodelling of the church, the list of monks, vicars, the inventories of the church and the monastery and so on. However, I do admit the very unlikely possibility that, since the monks moved in a hurry, they only took the documents through which they could later prove their property ownership rights (and they had indeed carefully gathered those). But, bearing in mind that most similar documents from other Croatian Pauline monasteries weren't preserved either (only rarely, such as the inventory of the Bakva monastery church for example), a selection of „relevant” documents might've been undertaken in Budapest. This is further suggested by the only preserved Pauline monastery urbarium, the Urbarium of Streza, being found by chance among the documents in the Academy Archives. Some of the

documents were lost forever, the sources on the everyday life of the monastery and its inhabitants in particular, making interpretation sometimes lacking.

To make a complete presentation of this Pauline monastery and its role in the history of the region, it was necessary to examine, apart from the documents of the Pauline monastery fund, sources of different provenance (for example royal documents, papal documents, documents of different chapters, censuses of active chimneys), rules of the Pauline order and works of the Pauline chroniclers.

Pauline chroniclers usually only name the Pauline monastery of Moslavina while listing all the medieval monasteries of Slavonia, sometimes perhaps adding some basic insights about its history, usually dating it wrong. Similar with various texts about the Pauline monasteries of Croatia. To illustrate that better, an article from a daily newspaper (from 2011) that lists important medieval Pauline monasteries doesn't mention the Garić monastery at all. However, that is often so for the Pauline order in its entirety, not just this particular Pauline monastery, as, for example, authors like Jedin and Francen don't mention the Pauline order at all in their overviews of church history, and it's missing from the *Suvremena katolička enciklopedija* (*Modern Catholic encyclopedia*, ed. Mato Zovkić, Split, 1998.) as well. The Pauline order was mainly the subject of works from Hungarian authors (since it was founded in Hungary and its medieval seat was near Buda), Polish authors (the only monastery that remained active after the order was dissolved was the Jasna Góra monastery in Poland) and German authors (the official language of regular conferences on the subject of Pauline monks is usually German).

The most comprehensive Croatian work on the Pauline monks is still the *Kultura pavlina u Hrvatskoj* (*The culture of the Pauline monks in Croatia*) almanac, published in 1989. It only mentions the Pauline monastery of the Blessed Virgin Mary on Garić in a few articles; Josip Adamček writes about its properties, Milan Kruhek writes about it in his historical demographic overview, Zorislav Horvat writes about it in his archaeological article and Ante Sekulić mentions it in his overview of the Pauline monks' history. All these articles are valuable contributions to the scant published literature about the Pauline monastery of the B.V.M. on Garić, but it should be warned that they, like the chroniclers, date the monastery's

founding wrong, even though Juraj Kolarić and Lelja Dobronić had pointed out a few years earlier that the monastery's founding was dated wrong, which is also visible in Kamilo Dočkal's manuscript. Thus, this major work on the Pauline monks of Croatia dates the monastery's founding wrong.

Canon Kamilo Dočkal worked systematically to build an archive dedicated to the Pauline monks of Garić and other Croatian Pauline monasteries for around 10 years (from 1945 to 1956), but he never published most of his works. His original manuscripts, among which „*Srednjovjekovna naselja oko Garića*” („*Medieval settlements around Garić*”) and „*Samostan Blažene Djevice Marije u Gariću*” („*The Monastery of the Blessed Virgin Mary on Garić*”) are the most important ones for this research, are being kept at the Capitular archives of Zagreb and copies in the Croatian Academy archives in Zagreb. A few copies of his manuscripts, like „*Biografija pavlina*” („*The biography of the Pauline monks*”) can also be found at the Catholic Faculty of Theology library in Zagreb and in private owners' possession.

It should be stressed that Dočkal had examined all the sources and systematically listed all the deeds of donation to the monastery, numerous lawsuits, counted all the properties, listed the priors and the vicars mentioned in the sources, in other words provided all basic information and largely made coping with this monastery's numerous documents easier. Because of all of this, his work is a good starting point for researching the Moslavina monastery. Adamček reproached him that his source interpretation is no different from the old Pauline chroniclers' interpretation, but in spite of all of its flaws, while judging Dočkal's works, we should support Sekulić's opinion, expressing pity that Dočkal's work remains largely unknown since Dočkal had carefully made notes, collected, transcribed documents, translated from Latin and Hungarian, ie. did „the best he could do from Zagreb”.

Apart from Dočkal, we should mention those few other authors who wrote on the subject like Juraj Kolarić, Lelja Dobronić, Ante Sekulić, Marko Bedić and Tajana Pleše.³ Tajana Pleše's doctoral dissertation (2010) is the most recent work on the Pauline monasteries of Slavonia. Apart from giving a short historical overview

³ Dr. sc. Tajana Pleše also, since 2009, carries out continuous archaeological research of the Garić Pauline monastery.

of seven Pauline monasteries, based primarily on Kamilo Dočkal's manuscripts, she gave an exhaustive insight into them from the archaeological standpoint.

✧ *The Garić Pauline monastery's location in the context of its surroundings*

The monastery was founded on a rectangular plateau surrounded by water, in a hidden glen of the Debelo brdo hill of the Moslavačka gora range, but, surrounding it, there were, already in the middle of the 13th century, the castles of Garić, Moslavina, Gračenica and Bršljanovac with eponymous settlements, and the number of surrounding settlements grew as the years went by. Even though different sources named it differently, it was mostly denoted geographically, through mount Garić (*de Garig, de domo Garig, in monte Garig, de monte Garig, in montibus Garig, montis Garigiensis, de montibus Garyg, de promonthorio Garigh, iuxta Garygh, mons Garyg*). In several documents, particularly from the second half of the 15th century (for the first time in 1461), the name of the monastery was linked with the Garić castle (*prope castrum Garig, in monte castru Garygh, in promontorio castru Garigh, in montibus de sub castro Garigh, sub castro Garich, sub Garycz, prope castrum Garyg, prope Garyg, iuxta castrum Garygh*). Because of those particular documents, and maybe because they weren't aware of Moslavačka gora's old name (Garić) most researches of this Pauline monastery viewed its history, especially its early years, in conjunction with the Garić castle. The question why the location of the monastery was defined by the castle during the second half of the 15th century precisely is certainly interesting.

The monastery also had excellent traffic connections with all the surrounding settlements and castles, and since roads that lead to Slavonia and Hungary passed through the area, Pauline monks from Moslavina could easily set out towards their intended destinations.

✧ *Garić, Gračenica and Moslavina as the monastery's surroundings*

Garić⁴, Gračenica⁵ and Moslavina⁶ are neighboring areas whose development can be followed in sources from mid 12th century onwards. They encompassed the area of the Moslavačka gora range and its surroundings between rivers Česma, Ilova, Lonja and the Sredska creek, while, during the 13th century, the borders had stretched even across those rivers (to Toplica, Pakra and Sava). It is impossible to claim anything with certainty about the administrative division of these lands before the 13th century, as the sources are silent about it. Garić had during the middle 13th century administratively belonged to the Somogy County, then it was an independent administrative area (marked both as a county and a district) and finally, in the second half of the 14th century fell under the jurisdiction of the enlarged Križevci county. Apart from belonging to the Somogy County, the same processes occurred in Gračenica as well. Moslavina developed differently from the neighboring areas because the nobleman Makarije ruled its entire area already at the end of the 12th century. His successors bore the title “de Monoslou”. Moslavina spent the entire high and late medieval period exclusively as a feudal property, set apart from other administrative areas.

⁴ The toponym „Garić” appeared already in 1163. Afterwards, it marked several different things: the location, the property, the castle, the water, the mountain, the comitate and the district, spelled in several different ways (*Garig, Garigh, Garyg, Garygh...*).

⁵ The toponym „Gračenica” and the properties belonging to the Gračenica administrative area weren't noted in documents before the second half of the 13th century. The toponym „Gračenica” marked creeks, properties, the administrative area and the castle, coming in around fifteen different written forms (*Gresenche, Grassancha, Gresenczha, Guersence, Gersench, Guersenicha, Grezinche, Gersunche, Gursenche, Guerzench...*) which most likely caused misunderstandings, mistakes in determining Gračenica's location and the thesis that Gračenica is in fact Garešnica. Apart from the large number of forms of the name and its similarity to Garešnica, the confusion is caused by using today's criteria to analyze historical data, as it might be hard to conceive that the area of today's Gračenica, a small village, was so busy in the past.

⁶ The toponym which is interpreted in modern historiography as „Moslavina” appeared in following forms: *Monoslou, Munozlou, Monislou, Munuzlov, Monozlou, Monoszlo, Monozlov i Monoslov*, and it marked the property, the castle and the settlement.

The area of Garić, Gračenica and Moslavina was well protected by natural elements/barriers (rivers, creeks, hills and a swamp). The centers of medieval power were found on the sides and the tops of the Moslavačka gora and the social processes which took place on the researched area were no different from those in neighboring areas of medieval Slavonia. Above important communication routes, castles perched on hilltops, controlling the roads. The castles on Moslavačka gora, which was denoted by different names throughout history, appeared as early as the 13th century, when they were for the best part noted in sources. However, according to the remains found today, it's evident that there were more castles in this area than there are castles noted in sources. Castles were mostly built on higher peaks of Moslavačka gora and on its slopes, but the swamp type of castles on the edges of the Lonsko polje had also certainly existed, protected by waterways (Plovdin). Only those that were built on the higher peaks of Moslavačka gora, ie. in harder to reach areas were preserved.

Eponymous settlements had generally developed on most properties, but it's impossible to picture potential surrounding villages as they aren't mentioned. They most likely grew next to the castles, the monastery and important routes. During 13th century, sources noted locations of markets (*locus fori*), where, later on, settlements would develop, mostly marked as *villa*.

A widespread church network is also characteristic of the Garić, Gračenica and Moslavina areas. 20 or so churches were noted in the 1334 census, while the 1501 census points out to ten newer ones. Such a large number of churches suggests the presence of numerous settlements. The location of most of those churches can be approximated, but it's hard to speak of their exact location, since no church foundations were found in this area.

Sources for the Moslavina area witness that the area in question was well forested. Also, apart from „regular forests”, „great forests” are mentioned (*magna silva*). The most common trees in this area are hornbeam, beech, oak, elm, field maple, maple, ash and alder. Apart from specific kinds of wood used for firewood, sources also note linden trees and fruit bearing trees such as walnuts, pears, apples, cherries, hazels, some types of rowan and fruit bearing bushes.

The entire area housed extensive vineyards that had already created large profits in 13th century, a characteristic of modern Moslavina as well. Apart from agriculture, the researched area was characterised also by fishing and a large number of mills.

The main medieval traffic routes usually went through Garić. One would reach Garić from the direction of Čazma and go on towards Moslavina, Sisak, Ivanić and Zagreb. Roads lead from Garić towards Bela crkva and Gračnica and there was also a traffic route that went towards Garešnica and further on to Slavonia. There was also a road/path from the Moslavina settlement towards Čazma and most likely towards Gračnica. The entire area of Garić, Gračnica and Moslavina had excellent traffic connections. All the settlements, castles, churches and the monastery were connected by paths. Several kinds of roads leading towards the Moslavina Pauline monastery were noted and there were surely more of them. Documents dating until the end of the 14th century witness that there were paths going from Gračnica's square and from St. Martin's church in Bršljanovac towards the monastery, and we can find confirmation from as soon as the first half of the 15th century that the monastery was connected by a large road with the Garić castle.

Numerous noble families were active in this area, and the most important ones are most likely Moslavački (*Monoszlo*), Csupor Moslavački (*Csupor de Monoszlo*), Babonić, Ruh of Deča (*Ruh de Desce*), Kastelanović (*Castelan*), Kapitanić (*Capitan*), Geletić of Sredna (*Geleth, Gele de Zredna*), Paližna (*Palichna*) and after 1493, Erdödy. The area was marked by the activity of the Bishops of Zagreb, who had already in the 13th century received the Gračnica comitate and the Garić castle with belonging properties.

During the fifteenth century this area flourished both demographically and economically, but since the end of the 15th century, decay and abandonment of properties becomes more and more prominent due to frequent Ottoman incursions. Ottomans began their systematic conquest of Moslavina in 1540, starting with the Bršljanovac castle. By 1552 they had conquered (and pillaged the settlements across) the entire territory of modern Moslavina. It is supposed that they considered

the castles of Moslavina to be of no importance to them so they had only manned only Moslavina-grad (until 1591) and Jelengrad (until around 1592). After 1591, it is supposed that that the territory of Moslavina was abandoned and served as battlegrounds between Christian and Ottoman armies for the next hundred or so years.

However, even though the Ottomans have brought this area's development to a halt and expelled a part of the local populace, it's interesting to note that a large number of medieval toponyms remained preserved in similar forms, which refutes the opinion that the modern territory of Moslavina was deserted from the middle of the 16th century until the start of the 18th century. It is impossible to say how many people were killed, enslaved, how many have fled or were resettled in Burgenland, but it's obvious that a part of the local populace had stayed and carried the old names over to the new settlers. Unfortunately, nobody had dealt too much with this area's history after the Ottoman incursions and conquests during the mid 16th century until Slavonia's official liberation at the end of the 17th century. Also, Ottoman sources on Moslavina's history have been neglected for now, and they would certainly provide new insights.

✧ *From hermitage to monastery: doubts about the Pauline monastery of Moslavina's emergence*

Most historians, chroniclers and researchers of Pauline monasteries and the Pauline monks' way of life claim, in spite of what actual documents say, that the Pauline monastery of the Blessed Virgin Mary was founded by magister Tiburcije in 1295, who was without issue so he ordered the church of Saint Mary to be built, donated the land to the monastery and thereby founded the monastery. A deed of donation from magister Tiburcije dating from 1295 does exist, by which he donated a part of the Stupna property to the monastery, but the sources do not provide a factual basis for claims that he had built the church of Saint Mary and founded the monastery.

To the contrary, according to documents, the hermits had dwelt at the location of the Pauline monastery of BVM at Garić already in 1257. The deed dating March

4th 1257 by which Béla IV of Hungary donated properties within the Gračenica administrative area to his doctor, magister Tiburcije, because of his services and the services of his late brothers. Describing the borders of one of the properties, the Stupna property, hermits are mentioned (*ad heremitas*).

By the end of that same year, Béla IV published a document by which properties within the Gračenica administrative area were organized. While describing the borders of the last property in this document, the Gračenica (*Gersenche*) document, hermits (*ad heremitas*) are mentioned as well, along with the vicinity of Tiburcije's land and the *magna via*. According to that, the Stupna and Gračenica properties already had hermits in their neighborhood in 1257.

How did a hermit community turn up on the Moslavačka gora? Dočkal supposes that they settled here because of vicinity to Čazma and through the work of Henrik, the prefect of Somogy county, who owned the Garić castle during mid 13th century. Bearing the development of the Pauline order in mind and its contemporary situation in Hungary, it's more logical to suppose that they had settled through church institutions (they had to be under the Bishop of Zagreb's jurisdiction) or that they were founded independently of the Hungarian hermit communities, before or after the Tatar incursion, in accordance with contemporary hermits' tendencies.

The monastery's course of development, from a supposed humble hermits' dwelling (which probably existed before 1257) to a monastery with a church, is brought to light by a document by the Chapter of Čazma from 1273. The document's content bears witness that a certain Ladislav, for his soul's salvation, donated two vineyards to the „*fratribus sancti Augustini de Gresenche apud ecclesiam beate virginis*”. According to that, there was a church of St. Mary by a monastery documented already in 1273, in this document, located in the Gračenica area. The confirmation that it's the same monastery, even though it bore the suffix *de Gresenche* in 1273, is brought by the chapter of the Chapter of Čazma from 1325, which is a transcript of the abovementioned document from 1273. The transcription was made to prior Stephen's demand („*frater Stephanus heremita ecclesie beate virginis de domo Garig de ordine sancti Augustini*”).

The next mention is in 1291, in King Andrew's deed of donation. While describing the borders of an unnamed piece of land within the Gračenica administrative area (*in Gresencha*), a „hermits' linden tree” is mentioned (*prope tyalias heremitarum*) in context of the Šumec creek (the same creek as in the 1257 document, only written differently). The hermits' linden tree must have marked a boundary towards the hermits.

Taking all of the abovementioned documents into consideration, it simply cannot be argued that magister Tiburcije had founded the Pauline monastery of Moslavina in the 1290s just because the church and the order weren't explicitly mentioned before 1295 (indeed, the church was mentioned in 1273, but with the *de Gresenche* suffix).

It can only be said that, in the document of the Chapter of Čazma from 1295 by which magister Tiburcije donated a part of his Stupna property, the monastery was marked by the Garić toponym for the first time. More precisely, the „*terre heremitarum ordinis sancti Augustini de Garigh*” i „*fratribus heremitis de ordine beati Augustini de Garig residentibus*” are mentioned.

Dočkal believes that Tiburcije had, despite that, founded the monastery and that he had already given a part of his Stupna property after 1260 to nearby hermits, giving another part of his property to them in 1295. He was lead to believe that most likely by documents from the mid-14th century, when it was established that Tiburcije had given the eastern part of the Stupna property to the monastery. However, it is hard to gauge if Tiburcije's deed of donation from 1295 had included the eastern part of the stupna property in its entirety or if Tiburcije had donated, in 1295, just a part of Stupna's „eastern side”, and on some other occasion (for example, after 1295 or already after 1260, as Dočkal believes) had given the remaining part.

However, there are no documents that would confirm that magister Tiburcije was the monastery's founder and the monastery's church's builder. It is only obvious that Tiburcije's lands has bordered the hermits' lands and that they had good relations. It is not hard to imagine that he had visited them and came to their church, only to give a part of his lands to them later, and thereby setting a large

number of researchers on the wrong trail, declaring him the monastery's founder despite the fact that there is no evidence for that. He can only be called one of the Pauline monastery of Moslavina's first benefactors.

✧ *The Pauline economy and the bondsmen of the Pauline monastery at mons Garygh*

Soon after the monastery was mentioned in the sources, the Pauline monks of Garić had begun gathering properties. They had acquired them mostly through donations and wills, but also through purchase and mortgaging. Some donations to the Pauline monks and specific altars in their church were conditioned by something given in return, ie. serving Mass for the salvation of the donator's soul and the souls of his dearest.

They had first gained properties in the immediate vicinity of the monastery, and through the centuries they had expanded from the tops of the Moslavačka gora to the Lonjsko polje area. Their ownership of the rather distant property by the chapel of the Holy Trinity in the Dubrava province was also noted.

Pauline properties consisted primarily of vineyards, arable land, meadows, forests, mills and fishing dams on the Lonja river. The Pauline monks should certainly be given credit for the development of viticulture of the Moslavina area, because they had cleared out scrubland and cultivated the hillsides by planting grape vines. The vineyards gave them large profits because, apart from their own needs, they made wine to sell as well. They also made money by leasing out buildings.

The Pauline monastery of Moslavina had also owned a large number of serfs' holdings and villages, as well as manor houses in some settlements. They had indeed most likely worked from their own labor at the beginning, until they had over time acquired serfs, while also having servants, *familiares* and other help they needed. Among the monasterial settlements, Remetinec had a special status, as the monastery's *libera villa*, so the locals there obviously had more privileges than the other bondsmen of the monastery, but it's not known what that had meant exactly. Among the Pauline bondsmen, the *villici* (stewards) stood out, but that

function brought also certain dangers. There are several examples when the *villici* of the Garić monastery were the object of wrath of the Pauline monks' neighbors and saved themselves from certain death by escaping into the monastery.

Because the urbarium is missing, it is not known how the Pauline monks of Garić treated their bondsmen, which duties the bondsmen had and what levies they paid to the monastery, but it should be stressed that no case of assault on the monastery was noted and sources even bear witness to a donation to the monastery from one of its serfs.

✧ *Inside the monastery walls*

The church of the Mother of God of Garić was a place of pilgrimage, particularly during Marian feast days and that the biggest feast was on Annunciation day when a great annual fair took place. Those who visited the Garić church and gave donations for its development received, by a decree of the Roman Curia from 1471, a 100-day indulgence, to be used in the otherworldly life. The documents don't state, however, if the pilgrims had received indulgence before, or just visited the church without ulterior motives.

The church was dedicated to the Annunciation of the BVM according to its main altar. Apart from that, there were four other altars in the church and two altars outside the church. All who so desired could have been buried inside the church, unless their funeral was prevented by disgruntled family members. The chaplain of the Garić castle's castellan wanted to be interred there, as did many of the local noblemen and noblewomen. The best known, to historians at least, among those nobles were Ban Pavao Pecz and cousins of John Vitéz de Zredna. Archaeological research will show if the Csupsors of Moslavina were also buried inside the church and who else was buried there, and answer the question whether the Pauline monastery of Moslavina had a monastery graveyard outside the church.

The monastery and the monastery church enjoyed the reputation of a place worthy of the faith. No cases of break-ins were noted for the monastery, unlike, for example, the monastery of St. Benedict in Bakva, and the only noted burglary

happened to merchants on the annual fair, when the local nobles took their weapons. So, the Pauline monastery of Moslavina and its church of the Blessed Virgin Mary were a safehouse of sorts, ie. a place where it was safe, with a certain compensation, to leave various valuables and deeds. Even if there were earlier disagreements, everyone could be certain that the Pauline monks of Moslavina would not hand over the things they stored unless correct proof was delivered. Even king Sigismund of Luxemburg respected its institution as a trustworthy place, so he didn't break in and take the things he sought, even though he stayed nearby, but asked for their delivery the proper way, from the highest instances of the Pauline order, Father General of the order. Apart from intervening when needed, the Prior General of the Pauline order visited his monasteries, decided when mass was to be served, decreed the rules, helped if needed with the transcription work and worked to the benefit of the Pauline Monks with different instances. All of these activities were noted in the interaction between the Pauline monks of Garić and the Priors General, for some of which there is proof that they had visited the Pauline monastery of Moslavina.

At the beginning of the 15th century, the priors of Garić were raised to the rank of vicar. The first vicar of Garić was Valentin in 1414. Starting with Valentin, all the heads of the Garić monastery were titled vicars, with the exception of Ivan in 1458. He appears as „prior”, but with the explanation that he was the acting prior after the death of the vicar before him. As the next vicar of Garić (another Valentin) was only mentioned in sources four years after, it's not known if Ivan had taken on the duties of the monastery's prior only temporarily, ie., until the new one was elected.

Which monasteries belonged to the Garić vicariate? According to sources, only the monastery of St. Ann in Dobra Kuća can be placed within that vicariate with certainty. Dočkal believes that Streza and Bakva were under the administration of the Garić monastery as well, even though he doesn't give an explanation for his claims. Szabo, also without elaborating, states that the monasteries of Streza and Dobra Kuća were under the Pauline monastery of Moslavina's management. According to Sekulić „the monasteries in Streza and Dobra Kuća were connected

with the Garić monastery in a special way". In literature, the Remete monastery, which attained the rank of vicariate at the end of the 14th century, is said to have been in charge of the Streza, Čakovec, Lepoglava and Kamensko monasteries, but in different periods of time. Unfortunately, it's not defined in detail which periods of time those were, even though it can be assumed that the Remete monastery lost its jurisdiction over the Lepoglava and Čakovec monasteries when they were elevated to the rank of vicariate. Taking that into consideration, we can say that the Pauline monasteries of Slavonia were separated into two vicariates: Garić and Remete during most of 15th century.

According to the geographic location of Pauline monasteries and their distance from the vicariate's centre, we could conclude that, during the 15th century, Bakva, Dobra Kuća and Dubica belonged to the Garić vicariate. Streza was approximately equidistant from for both vicariate centers. The prior of Streza and the vicar of Garić appeared together on several occasion in sources, but them protesting together does not necessarily mean that the Streza monastery belonged to the Garić vicariate.

In almost three hundred years of Garić monastery's activity, the sources note around forty heads of the monastery and, unfortunately, approximately the same number of monks, even though the monastery, particularly during the 15th century, could house around twenty of them at the same time. Apart from being noted in lawsuits (as representatives or as victims of violent acts) and as asking various institutions for transcripts, there is no other information about them and we cannot determine the numbers of the ordained, the unordained and the priests among the monks. The earliest era of the Pauline order is usually linked with a lack of monks ordained as priests, and during the 15th century, a large number of Masses was approved to be served in the Garić monastery, so it obviously did not lack priests.

The monks of Garić had proven that they could bypass the strict rules of the Pauline order by which hermit brothers of the monastery had the duty to venerate and always submit to their superior. They had, in fact, refuted the actions of their superior, Stjepan, and pointed out the irregularities to the Pauline order's

headquarters. Their superior was not removed but he must have done some kind of penance because of his deeds.

Apart from not respecting their superior's authority if they were convinced that his actions were wrong, the Pauline monks of Garić did not heed the authority of powerful people, both churchly and secular, not giving up their supposed rights for years, even though they were open to discussion. To retain their rights and attain new ones they did not hesitate to ask protection of the highest churchly and secular rulers, taking long voyages to protect their rights if needed.

The Pauline monks of Garić had in several occasions appealed directly to the Roman Curia because of their problems (tithes and Bishops of Zagreb, problems in some lawsuits, complaints, etc.) and the Papal Curia had always supported them. Other than to the Pope, they appealed often to Hungarian kings, if lower institutions did not help them.

Even though King Louis I of Hungary is considered within historiography as the biggest benefactor of the Pauline order, a title which he has won for himself forever by transferring the bones of St. Paul the Hermit to the order's headquarters, the Pauline monastery of Moslavina flourished during the time of king Sigismund of Luxemburg. The church was obviously redecored, new altars were built and the Garić monastery was elevated to the rank of vicariate and shared with the Remete monastery supervision over hermit brothers in Slavonia. However, the doubt which monasteries belonged to the Garić vicariate remains. It's only certain that during the 15th century the Pauline monasteries were divided in Remete and Garić vicariates – and if we look at the geographic location of Garić, it's likely that Bakva, Dobra Kuća, Dubica and maybe Streza belonged to it, even though Streza was equally distant from the Remete monastery, so it is uncertain in which vicariate it belonged.

The Pauline monks of Moslavina enjoyed great favor both from King Sigismund himself and his wife, Barbara of Cilli. Sigismund enabled them quick judicature and the possibility of constant complaints at courts, about which he was always personally informed. Sigismund bore the Garić Pauline monastery in mind at the Council of Constance, when he mediated with Pope Martin V for confirmation of

privileges Garić possessed. Sigismund stayed in several occasions in the immediate vicinity of the monastery and he might have also visited it, especially during the „Palisna case”. Queen Barbara also in her time owned the nearby Garić castle and gave privileges to the Pauline monks from there.

✧ *Monastery's lawsuits*

The largest part of preserved documents refers to the monastery's lawsuit that the Pauline monks of Garić had started primarily due to properties and violence of different kinds, like it was stated – against all that caused them injustice, independent of the guilty party's status. The monastery's list of accused people could list someone else's serfs and local nobles, along with the king's chancellors, parsons and bishops. And they had even protested in front of church chapters against the deeds of some kings.

The preserved accusations usually proved to be justified, however, several documents hint that the Pauline monks could do damage to their neighbors. For example, serfs would be kidnapped from and by monks and mills were moved without authorisation, harming the neighboring mills. It should be taken into consideration that they received the right to constantly start lawsuits so they had it easier than the others to state their complaints. Constant disputes with the richest and most influential families in the region bear witness to that.

In the monastery's lawsuits and introductions to porperties, numerous local dignitaries were engaged, and even those who had disagreements engaged, and even those they had disagreements with would usually establish a good neighborly relationship with the monastery. The Paulines had particularly great disagreements and long lawsuits with the Kastelan and Csupor of Moslavina families. The suit with the Kastelan family ended only after two interventions from Pauline order generals, and the core of these problems were boundary issues.

Likewise, the problems with the Csupor family were also especially marked by a legal battle of sorts for the Gornji and Donji Kosovac, Marijaševac and Palačna properties, which remained problematic even after the Csupor family had died out.

In the will of the last Csupor, Stjepan, decreed in 1492 that the abovementioned properties should be returned to the Pauline monks, which his widow had done very quickly. However, the king Władysław II Jagiełło did not honor the deed's decrees, and he gave Csupor lands, along with the abovementioned ones to Tamás Bakócz. The Pauline monks have because of that protested until the very end of the monastery's activity 40 years later and tried to reclaim these properties. However, the Erdödy family have „outlived” the Pauline monks of Moslavina.

The relationship between the Pauline monks and the local parsons is quite specific, changing according to the situation, as they were often direct competitors to each other in receiving donations through wills (they would go to court in those cases or even settled that violently), and in other cases (such as excommunications) they would stand united as members of the clerical community.

According to Adamček, the Pauline monks received donations only from the old, infirm and close to death, while everybody else had lawsuits with them. Kamilo Dočkal suggests that the Pauline monks of Garić had evil neighbors so they were often forced to start lawsuits. However, the preserved documens refute both authors' statements and show that historic truth should be sought somewhere in between. More precisely, that the Pauline monks from the monastery and their bondsmen became victims of all sorts of violence, but that they had likewise often found themselves, justifiedly, on the defendants' dock.

✧ *The Ottomans on the horizon*

That the threat of war grew closer and that the forthcoming times were those of unrest was hinted at to the Pauline monks of Moslavina by the circumstances of the threatened Pauline monasteries at Zlat (Petrova gora) and in Dubica. As the mutual connections and comradeship of hermit brothers in different circumstances was good, it lead to the Dubica monastery's documents being received, a part of its church equipment and obviously at least a part of its monks, already in the second half of the 15th century.

Even though the Pauline monks of Moslavina were acquiring weaponry, they had realized and correctly gauged the futility of the situation due to Ottoman conquests on time. They had transferred their and Dubica's documents, along with all the other documents whose rightful owners were unable or too late to take to safer lands (more precisely, the future seat of the order, Lepoglava), around the 1540s at the latest. After the supposed destruction by the Ottomans and a fire for which the examined remains would bear witness, the monastery was left to the ravages of time.

✧ *Final thoughts*

To give a complete presentation of the Garić Pauline monastery and its role in the history of the region, apart from the documents from the Pauline monastery of the BVM at Garić fund, it was necessary to examine relevant documents of other medieval Pauline monasteries of Slavonia and sources of varying provenance (for example royal documents, papal documents, documents of different chapters, censuses of active chimneys), the rules of the Pauline order and the works of Pauline chroniclers. Through existing sources the history and the activity of the monastery (its founding, its mentions in sources, its significance and influence on surrounding settlements, the Pauline properties, lawsuits, its relationship with the Church, the kings etc.) were followed in the greatest detail possible, since its founding to its closure due to Ottoman conquests.

Detailed analysis of various sources was joined by insights acquired through comparison of relevant literature, both domestic and foreign (especially by Hungarian authors). Apart from that, an important methodological premise was utilising an interdisciplinary approach, or, to elaborate, the findings of several different human sciences, above all history, archaeology and art history, to create as complete a picture of the Pauline monastery of Moslavina as possible, its life and the Pauline monks of Garić's activities.

The ultimate goal of this monograph's creation was to show, as detailed as possible, the activity of the monastery within the region, but to also point out

its relationships with the Pauline order and, using comparison, determine the similarities and the differences between this „case study” and the other medieval Pauline monasteries. However, within this framework, the problems that the researcher encounters are visible too. The medieval period of this part of Moslavina unfortunately wasn't well represented within literature and individual Pauline monasteries of Slavonia were not adequately analyzed, unlike, for example, the Benedictine monasteries. Because of the extensiveness of the subject and the breadth of the research (the monastery's activity through almost 300 years), it was not possible to compensate for all the historiographic shortcomings, so when Moslavina and the Pauline monasteries of Slavonia get satisfactory monographs, this book will be able to be supplemented as well. Another restriction was posed by insufficient archeological exploration of the medieval Pauline monasteries, especially the Moslavina monastery, where research was started only in 2009. However, the excavations are still ongoing and will continue after this monograph is published.

Like all researchers of Pauline monks in the medieval period, the author of this monograph also concludes, with regret, that a large number of questions about the medieval Pauline monks, especially their early years remain unanswered. However, great hopes are placed on archaeological research of the Bela Crkva locality, as it's an unique case of a Pauline monastery that remained preserved from the human factor's influence after its abandonment in the 16th century. Each season gives new and surprising discoveries. For example the Gothic portal on the church entrance in situ, through which both the Pauline monks and all the visitors from all medieval classes had passed, and the tiles in the nave of the church on which they had stepped while approaching the altars stand completely in opposition to the monastery's modern surroundings. Further archaeological research will surely reveal rich preserved evidence of medieval times and allow for the buildings of the Pauline monastery of Moslavina and the life within its confines to be reconstructed and in that manner cover the deficiencies of the sources. Also, the research of this monastery will reveal the history of other medieval Pauline monasteries.

After this site is fully explored archaeologically as are the sites of all the others Pauline monastery in Slavonia and new monographs of certain Pauline monasteries based on analysis of sources are published, the conclusions that were brought out about the Pauline monastery of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Garić will be able to be revised and expanded. Apart from that, the documents in the Garić Pauline monastery's archives offer a wealth of information which can be used for new research and by future researchers, such as demographic research of this area, the genealogy of noble families, the history of the church and the parishes, the economic history and the history of everyday life, not only of the Moslavina area, but for the entire area where the Pauline monks of Garić had worked, the subjects of documents in their archives.

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