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PAPERS OF THE DEPARTMENT
O F A R C H A E O L O G Y

SADRŽAJ

CONTENTS

<i>Zlatko PERHOČ & Rainer ALTHERR</i>	LITIČKI NALAZI S OTOKA SUŠCA LITHIC FINDS FROM THE ISLAND OF SUŠAC <i>Izvorni znanstveni članak / Original scientific paper</i> _____	7
<i>Hrvoje KALAFATIĆ</i>	PRILOG POZNAVANJU ODNOSA GRUPE BARICE-GREĐANI, “BEBRINSKOG TIPA HATVANSKE KULTURE”, “BRODSKE KULTURE” I “POSAVSKE KULTURE” A CONTRIBUTION TO AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE BARICE-GREĐANI GROUP, THE “BEBRINA-TYPE HATVAN CULTURE”, THE “BROD CULTURE” AND “POSAVINA CULTURE” <i>Izvorni znanstveni rad / Original scientific paper</i> _____	41
<i>Zoran ČUČKOVIĆ & Lazo ČUČKOVIĆ</i>	ARHEOLOŠKO ISTRAŽIVANJE NA STAROM GRADU DUBOVCU 2001. GODINE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH AT THE OLD CASTLE OF DUBOVAC IN 2001 <i>Izvorni znanstveni rad / Original scientific paper</i> _____	65
<i>Ivan MATIJEVIĆ & Anamarija KURILIĆ</i>	DVA NEOBJAVLJENA ŽRTVENIKA IZ SALONE TWO UNPUBLISHED ALTARS FROM SALONA <i>Izvorni znanstveni rad / Original scientific paper</i> _____	133
<i>Branko MATULIĆ</i>	PODNI MOZAIICI IZ TERMI U BLIZINI SALONITANSKE LUKE FLOOR MOSAICS FROM THE BATHS NEAR THE SALONA HARBOUR <i>Izvorni znanstveni rad / Original scientific paper</i> _____	167
<i>Anita RAPAN PAPEŠA</i>	TOPOGRAFIJA CIBALA U KASNOJ ANTICI TOPOGRAPHY OF CIBALAE IN LATE ANTIQUITY <i>Pregledni članak / Review paper</i> _____	189
<i>Anja BERTOL</i>	NALAZI RIMSKOG NOVCA S LOKALITETA VIROVITICA-KIŠKORIJA JUG I OREŠAC ROMAN COINS FROM THE VIROVITICA-KIŠKORIJA SOUTH AND OREŠAC SITES <i>Izvorni znanstveni rad / Original scientific paper</i> _____	225
<i>Ana PAVLOVIĆ</i>	NUMIZMATIČKI NALAZI S LOKALITETA ŠEPKOVČICA NUMISMATIC FINDS FROM THE ŠEPKOVČICA SITE <i>Izvorni znanstveni rad / Original scientific paper</i> _____	263
<i>Zlatko Đukić</i>	ODNOSI SUDIONIKA PLOVIDBENOGA POTHVATA U STAROME VIJEKU LEGAL STATUS OF THE PARTIES TO MARINE VENTURES IN THE ANCIENT WORLD <i>Izvorni znanstveni rad / Original scientific paper</i> _____	297

Tajana PLEŠE

MONASTERIUM DE S. PETRI IN MONTE ZLAT

MONASTERIUM DE S. PETRI IN MONTE ZLAT

Izvorni znanstveni rad / Original scientific paper _____ 319

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OPUSCULA ARCHAEOLOGICA

INSTRUCTIONS FOR CONTRIBUTORS TO

THE JOURNAL *OPUSCULA ARCHAEOLOGICA* _____ 351

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Pavlini samostan sv. Petra na Zlatu (Petrova gora) osnovao je 1303. ili 1304. g. otac Gerdas (Gerardo, Grdoš). Samostanski sklop stradao je prvi put u vrijeme osmanlijskih napada oko 1451. g., a redovnici su se sklonili u sigurnije Kamensko. Pavlini su se na Zlat vratili oko 1495. g., no samostan je zbog sve učestalijih osmanlijskih prodora zauvijek napušten između 1545. i 1558. g. Nakon što su pavlini posjed napustili, zidovi srušene lađe iskorišteni su kao osnova na kojoj je podignut čardak, dok je na temeljima zidova svetišta izgrađen drveni trijem. Početkom 19. st. na temeljima svetišta crkve podignut je pravoslavni hram Silaska Sv. Duha s pravokutnim zvonikom uz istočni dio južnoga pročelja. Zlati samostan za sada jedini u cijelosti istražen (1987–1988, 2006–2007) kasnosrednjovjekovni pavlini samostan na onodobnome slavonskom prostoru.

Ključne riječi: Zlat (Petrovac), kasni srednji vijek, pavlini samostan

The Pauline Monastery of St. Peter on Zlat (Petrova gora) was established in 1303 or 1304 by Father Gerdas (Gerardo, Grdoš). The monastery complex sustained damage the first time during Ottoman raids in roughly 1451, and its monks sought refuge in the safer location of Kamensko. The Pauline monks returned to Zlat at around 1495, but due to increasingly frequent Ottoman incursions, the monastery was permanently abandoned between 1545 and 1558. After the Paulines abandoned the estate, the walls of the collapsed nave were used as the foundation upon which a watchtower (chardak) was constructed, while a wooden portico was raised on the foundations of the chancel walls. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Orthodox Temple of the Descent of the Holy Spirit was erected on the foundations of the church's chancel. It had a rectangular bell-tower along the eastern section of the southern façade. The Zlat monastery is, for now, the only entirely researched (1987-1988, 2006-2007) late medieval Pauline monastery in the territory of contemporary Slavonia.

Key words: Zlat (Petrovac), Late Middle Ages, Pauline monastery

POVIJESNI PREGLED KASNOSREDNJOVJEKOVNIH SLAVONSKIH PAVLINSKIH SAMOSTANA DO 1526. G.

U prvo vrijeme po osnutku Reda svetog Pavla Pustinjaka (*Ordo sancti Pauli primi Eremitae*) osnovano je na kasnosrednjovjekovnome slavonskom prostoru pet samostana: u Dubici, na Moslavačkoj gori, u Remetama kraj Zagreba, u Bakvi te na Zlatu (Petrovoj gori).¹ Na ubrzano širenje te stjecanje novih posjeda mladi je red bio potaknut željom za ostvarivanjem legitimiteta, uvjetovanim zaključkom vespremškoga biskupa Pavla iz 1263. g. o njegovu nedostatnom imovinskom stanju (Eggerer 1663: 78–82). Pavlinima je Regulu sv. Augustina 1308. g. odobrio legat pape Klementa V., kardinal Gentile de Montefiore, a potvrdio tek papa Ivan XXII. 1319. g., na molbu kralja Karla Roberta (Eggerer 1663: 82–118; Orosz 1747: 360–371; Elm 2000). Red se potom brzo proširio po prostorima Ugarske, Slavonije, Hrvatske, Istre i Poljske te kasnije po Transilvaniji, Italiji, Litvi, Prusiji, Šleskoj, Moravskoj, Češkoj, Austriji, Štajerskoj, Švicarskoj i Portugalu (Orosz 1747: 372–401; Nalaskowski 1984; Wojciechowski 1991; Fülöpp Romhányi 2000). Prvo širenje Reda izvan matičnoga patačkog samostana te izvan ugarskih granica (u užem smislu) bilo je uvjetovano novostvorenom vjersko-političkom situacijom na bosanskome području. Pečujski biskup Bartol odgovorio je na molbu pape Grgura IX. odaslavši (uz dominikance i templare) u pomoć pri suzbijanju Crkve bosanske i netom okupljene pustinjake. Zahvaljujući biskupu Bartolu započeo je Red u osnutku s teritorijalnim širenjem te je tako prvi samostan izvan ugarskih granica (u užem smislu) bio onaj Blažene Djevice Marije u Dubici (Smičiklas 1882: 541–548; Šidak 1975: 13–108; Kolarić 1984: 54–55; Šanjek 1993: 317–322; Budak & Raukar 2006: 198; Mužić 2008: 7–27).

Na ritam daljnijega širenja Reda utjecala su politička zbivanja na širem prostoru, a ponajprije tatarsko

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF LATE MIEVEAL PAULINE MONASTERIES IN SLAVONIA UP TO 1526

In the initial period after the establishment of the Order of St. Paul the Hermit (*Ordo sancti Pauli primi Eremitae*), five monasteries were established in the late medieval territory of Slavonia: in Dubica, in the Moslavačka Hills (*Moslavačka gora*), in Remete next to Zagreb, in Bakva and on Zlat (Petrova gora).¹ This young order was prompted to rapid expansion and acquisition of new possessions, by the desire to secure legitimacy, spurred on by the conclusion of Veszprém Bishop Paul in 1263 concerning its insufficient property status (Eggerer 1663: 78–82). The Rule (*Regula*) of St. Augustine was approved for the Paulines in 1308 by the legate of Pope Clement V, Cardinal Gentile de Montefiore, but it was only ratified for the Order by Pope John XXII in 1319 at the request of King Charles Robert (Eggerer 1663: 82–118; Orosz 1747: 360–371; Elm 2000). The order then quickly spread to the territories of Hungary, Slavonia, Croatia, Istria and Poland, and later to Transylvania, Italy, Lithuania, Prussia, Silesia, Moravia, Bohemia, Austria, Steiermark, Switzerland and Portugal (Orosz 1747: 372–401; Nalaskowski 1984; Wojciechowski 1991; Fülöpp Romhányi 2000). The first expansion of the Order outside of its core Patacs monastery and outside of the borders of Hungary (in the narrower sense) was predicated by the newly-created religious/political situation in Bosnian territory. Pécs Bishop Bartholomew responded to the request of Pope Gregory IX, deploying (together with Dominicans and Templars) the recently gathered hermits to assist in the suppression of the Bosnian Church. Thanks to Bishop Bartholomew, the just-established Order began its territorial expansion, and thus the first monastery outside of the borders of Hungary (in the narrower sense) was that of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Dubica (Smičiklas 1882: 541–548; Šidak 1975: 13–108; Kolarić 1984: 54–55; Šanjek 1993: 317–322; Budak & Raukar 2006: 198; Mužić 2008: 7–27).

¹ Red svetog Pavla Pustinjaka nastao je ujedinjavanjem dvije veće pustinjačke zajednice. Jednu je okupio pečujski biskup Bartol, organiziravši oko 1215. g. pustinjake raspršene na baranjskome prostoru u jednu zajednicu unutar samostana sv. Jakova na Pataču. Drugu zajednicu osnovao je bl. Euzebije, koji je 1246. g. pustinjake okupio u samostan sv. Križa na brdu Piliš. Dvije zajednice redovnika ujedinile su se oko 1250. g. u jedan Red na čelu s provincijalom Euzebijem. Prvi pavlinski provincijal prihvatio je (na prijedlog Tome Akvinskog) za svoj mladi Red Regulu sv. Augustina (Eggerer 1663: 65–78; Orosz 1747: 30–49; Dočkal 1953: 2; Świdziński 1968; Šanjek 1996: 224–228; Török 2000).

¹ The Order of St. Paul the Hermit was formed by the unification of two large hermitic communities. One was established by the Pécs Bishop Bartholomew, who gathered the hermits scattered about the territory of Baranja in the Monastery of St. James in Patacs at around 1215. The other community was established by Blessed Eusebius, who gathered hermits in the Monastery of the Holy Cross on Pilis Hill in 1246. These two groups of monks were united into a single order at around 1250 under the leadership of provincial Eusebius. The first Pauline provincial accepted for his young order (at the proposal of St. Thomas Aquinas) the Rule of St. Augustine (Eggerer 1663: 65–78; Orosz 1747: 30–49; Dočkal 1953: 2; Świdziński 1968; Šanjek 1996: 224–228; Török 2000).

pustošenje onodobnih prostora Slavonije. Obnova opustošena kraljevstva započela je povratkom kralja Bele IV. u Ugarsku: pojačana je izgradnja i razvoj slobodnih kraljevskih gradova, podijeljeno je mnogo poticajnih povlastica te se intenzivno radilo na uspostavljanju lokalne vlasti. Bela IV. bio je posebno sklon mladom Redu naglašene “domaće” odrednice, koja je kralju u tim vremenima obnove bila od velika interesa i vrijednosti. Stoga se može pretpostaviti kako su poticanjem razvoja “domaćeg” Reda te osiguravanjem njegova lakog širenja darovnicama i olakšicama stvoreni uvjeti za indirektan utjecaj i kontrolu Krune nad lokalnom politikom, koju su vodile moćne plemićke obitelji. Izdvojeni svojim životnim kredom od većih urbanih centara, samostani su kao nezavisne jedinice bili značajni za oporavljanje posrnula gospodarstva i napuštenih obradivih površina te za kontrolirano upravljanje nad njima. Potaknuti kraljevom blagonaklonošću spram mladog Reda među osnivače su se ubrzo uključili i članovi plemićkih obitelji. Banovi i knezovi iz obitelji knezova Krčkih, Zrinskih, Celjskih, Čupora Moslavačkih bili su samo neki od brojnih zaštitnika koji su kroz stoljeća podupirali širenje i razvoj pavlinskog Reda (Smičiklas 1882: 345–351, 539–540; Tkalčić 1888: 85; Szabo 1919: 22; Buturac 1943: 138–140; Klaić 1976: 319–329; Budak & Raukar 2006: 175–176, 183).

Nakon legitimnog osnutka dubičkoga samostana redovnici mladog Reda proširili su se onodobnim slavonskim prostorom. Već 1257. g. osnovan je samostan na Moslavačkoj gori, a svega nekoliko godina kasnije doselili su se redovnici pod vodstvom priora Iskvirina na obronke zagrebačke Medvednice. U prvim godinama 14. st. osnovana su još dva samostana: sv. Benedikta u Bakvi 1301. g. te 1303/1304. g. onaj sv. Petra na Zlatu. Kralj Karlo Robert nastavio je blagonaklonu politiku ugarske Krune prema mladom Redu dodijelivši moslavačkom i remetskom samostanu brojne povlastice (Eggerer 1663: 113; Orosz 1747: 347–349; Smičiklas 1882: 374–397; Klaić 1976: 504–509, 514–521; Budak & Raukar 2006: 186–190). Nesmetano jačanje Reda nastavljeno je i u vrijeme vladavine Ludovika I. Anžuvina. Na slavonskome prostoru osnovana su nova dva samostana: 1374. g. onaj Svih svetih u Strezi te 1376. g. samostan Blažene Djevice Marije i Svih svetih u Šenkovcu. Iako je boljitak Reda bio neupitan, u vrijeme vladavine kralja Ludovika započeli su politički problemi s Osmanlijama (Eggerer 1663: 132, 272, 349; Orosz 1747: 349–351; Smičiklas 1882: 398–430; Klaić 1976: 509–513, 523–543; Inalcik 2002: 10–16; Budak 2004: 23; Budak & Raukar 2006:

Political events over a broader area influenced the tempo of the Order’s further expansion, first and foremost the Tartar devastation of Slavonia’s territory at the time. The renewal of the devastated kingdom began with the return of King Bela IV to Hungary: the construction and development of free royal burghs was reinforced, many stimulative privileges were conferred, and establishment of local authorities proceeded intensively. Bela IV particularly favoured the young Order with its marked “domestic” character, which during those times of reconstruction was of great interest and value to the king. Thus, it may be assumed that the encouragement of this “domestic” Order’s growth and ensuring its easier expansion by grants and exemptions created the conditions for the Crown’s indirect influence and control over local politics, which were led by powerful noble families. Separated from large urban centres by their life credo, as independent units the monasteries were vital to the recovery of the enfeebled economy and the deserted cultivable land, and controlled management thereof. Encouraged by the king’s favour for the young Order, even the members of noble families quickly joined the ranks of its founders. Bans (territorial governors) and magnates from the princely families of Krk, Zrinski, Celje and the Moslavina Čupors were only some of the numerous patrons who underwrote the expansion and growth of the Pauline order over the centuries (Smičiklas 1882: 345-351, 539-540; Tkalčić 1888: 85; Szabo 1919: 22; Buturac 1943: 138-140; Klaić 1976: 319-329; Budak & Raukar 2006: 175-176, 183).

After the legitimate establishment of the Dubica monastery, the young Order’s monks moved into the Slavonian territory of that time. A monastery was established in the Moslavina Hills already in 1257, and only several years later the monks inhabited the foothills of Zagreb’ Medvednica under the leadership of Prior Isquirinus. In the first years of the fourteenth century, two more monasteries were established: St. Benedict’s in Bakva in 1301 and St. Peter’s on Zlat in 1303/1304. King Charles Robert continued the Hungarian Crown’s benevolent policy toward the young Order, according numerous privileges to the Moslavina and Remete monasteries (Eggerer 1663: 113; Orosz 1747: 347-349; Smičiklas 1882: 374-397; Klaić 1976: 504-509, 514-521; Budak & Raukar 2006: 186-190). The Order continued to flourish unimpeded even under the reign of Louis I of Anjou. Two new monasteries were established in Slavonian territory: All Saints in Streza in 1374 and the Monastery of the Blessed Virgin Mary and All Saints in Šenkovec. Even though the Order’s progress was never in doubt, political problems involving the Ottomans arose during the reign of King

190–195, 274). Prvi odrazi naslijeđene političke nestabilnosti započeli su u vrijeme vladavine kraljice Marije i kralja Žigmunda, pa su tako dubički i zlatiski samostani stradali u prvim napadima manjih osmanlijskih posada 1393. i 1394. g., koji su nagovijestili mračan slijed događaja koji će obilježiti sljedeća stoljeća (Smičiklas 1882: 433–499; Klaić 1976: 654–661; Inalcik 2002: 18–20; Budak 2004: 23–24; Budak & Raukar 2006: 200–201, 275). Žigmundova je vladavina unatoč situaciji bila povoljna za Red, koji je mogao nastaviti s nesmetanim razvojem (Raukar 1997: 389–391).

Na samu početku 15. st. osnovana su još dva samostana pod pokroviteljstvom dviju politički izuzetno jakih obitelji. Samostan Blažene Djevice Marije u Lepoglavi osnovao je 1400. g. Herman II. Celjski, dok je onaj u Kamenskom 1404. g. osnovala Katarina Krčka. Posljednji iz grupe kasnosrednjovjekovnih pavlinskih samostana osnovanih na ovim prostorima onaj je sv. Ane u Donjoj Vrijesci (1412. g.). Po osnutku tog posljednjeg samostana uslijedila je stagnacija u smislu daljnjeg širenja na onodobnome slavonskom prostoru. Poveznice s moćnim pokroviteljima – obiteljima knezova Celjskih, Krčkih i Iločkih – korištene su za ekonomsko jačanje već postojećih samostana. Tako je cijela prva polovica 15. st. protekla u boljitku i napretku pavlinskih samostana, što se zbog političkoga položaja njegova zaštitnika Ulrika Celjskog ponajviše odrazilo na lepoglavski samostan. Padom Carigrada 1453. g. politička situacija dramatično se promijenila, pa je onodobni prostor Hrvatske postao prva linija obrane kako kraljevstva tako i šireg europskog prostora (Grgin 2001: 5–12; Inalcik 2002: 27–31). U tim teškim uvjetima započela je vladavina kralja Matije Korvina. Nakon dugotrajna procesa sklopljen je 1483. g. mir sa sultanom Bajazitom II., nakon čega je, uz manje sukobe lokalnog karaktera, započelo vrijeme stabilizacije. Rezultati mirnodopskih vremena očitovali su se na svim poljima, pa tako i u procvatu humanističkih znanosti i renesansne umjetnosti (Eggerer 1663: 237–239, 246, 319; Orosz 1747: 339–347; Smičiklas 1882: 615–668; Jurković 2000: 64–70; Inalcik 2002: 34–38; Budak & Raukar 2006: 278–279; Budak 2007: 14–15). *Dobri kralj* Matija nastao je blagonaklonu politiku Krune prema omiljenom “domaćem” Redu. Iako su u vrijeme njegove vladavine pavlini znatno proširili svoje posjede, ipak su neke samostane, zbog sve učestalijih napada osmanlijskih trupa u pograničnome području, zauvijek napustili. Iz samostana na Zlatu povukli su se u sigurnije Kamensko 1451. g., dok su onaj u Dubici zauvijek napustili 1465. g. Do sklapanja

Louis (Eggerer 1663: 132, 272, 349; Orosz 1747: 349–351; Smičiklas 1882: 398–430; Klaić 1976: 509–513, 523–543; Inalcik 2002: 10–16; Budak 2004: 23; Budak & Raukar 2006: 190–195, 274). The first indications of inherited political instability began during the reign of Queen Mary and King Sigismund, and the Dubica and Zlat monasteries sustained damage in the first raids carried out by smaller Ottoman detachments in 1393 and 1394, presaging the grim sequence of events that would characterize the following centuries (Smičiklas 1882: 433–499; Klaić 1976: 654–661; Inalcik 2002: 18–20; Budak 2004: 23–24; Budak & Raukar 2006: 200–201, 275). Despite this situation, Sigismund’s reign was conducive to the Order, as it could continue its growth unhindered (Raukar 1997: 389–391).

At the beginning of the fifteenth century, two more monasteries were established under the patronage of the two politically very strong families. The Monastery of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Lepoglava was established in 1400 by Herman II of Celje, while the monastery in Kamensko was established in 1404 by Katarina of Krk. The last from the group of late medieval Pauline monasteries established in contemporary Slavonian territory is that of St. Anne in Donja Vrijeska (1412). After establishment of this last monastery, stagnation followed in the sense of further expansion in that era’s Slavonian territory. Ties to powerful patrons – the dynasties of Celje, Krk and Ilok – were used to economically reinforce the already existing monasteries. Thus, the entire first half of the fifteenth century proceeded in progress and improvement for the Pauline monasteries, mostly reflected in the Lepoglava monastery thanks to the political status of its patron Ulrich of Celje. The fall of Constantinople in 1453 altered the situation dramatically, so the territory of Croatia in that time became the frontline in the defence of both the kingdom and the wider European sphere (Grgin 2001: 5–12; Inalcik 2002: 27–31). The reign of King Matthias Corvinus commenced under these arduous conditions. After a lengthy process, in 1483 a peace treaty was concluded with Sultan Bayezid II, whereafter a period of stabilization began, albeit marred by some minor local conflicts. The results of peacetime would be reflected in all fields, including the blossoming of humanistic learning and Renaissance art (Eggerer 1663: 237–239, 246, 319; Orosz 1747: 339–347; Smičiklas 1882: 615–668; Jurković 2000: 64–70; Inalcik 2002: 34–38; Budak & Raukar 2006: 278–279; Budak 2007: 14–15). *The Good King* Matthias continued the Crown’s benignant policy to its favoured “domestic” Order. Even though the Paulines considerably expanded their possessions during his reign, some monasteries were nonetheless permanently

mira 1483. g. podlegli su napadima i uništavanju samostani u Kamenskom (1470.), Lepoglavi (1481.) i Remetama (1483.), a najvjerojatnije i onaj u Bakvi. Kako su to u pravilu bili isključivo brzi, prolazni napadi manjih osmanlijskih trupa, samostani su zahvaljujući moćnim zaštitnicima i kraljevim intervencijama vrlo brzo obnovljeni. Borbe za prevlast koje su uslijedile nakon smrti kralja Matije dodatno su oslabile unutarnju politiku, što je Osmanlijama vođenim Jakub-pašom omogućilo provaljivanje kroz hrvatske prostore sve do Austrije. Nakon niza mirovnih sporazuma situacija se vrlo brzo promijenila dolaskom na vlast ratobornog sultana Selima, u čije su vrijeme započeli sve jači napadi na prostor između Une i Kupe. Stanje se dodatno pogoršalo dolaskom na vlast osmogodišnjeg Ljudevita II. Stalne sukobe njegovih brojnih skrbnika iskoristio je sultan Sulejman I., koji je 1521. g. pregazio slavonski prostor i osigurao siguran put prema Budimu. No trebalo je čak pet godina izravne opasnosti, pad Srijema i istočnoga dijela Slavonije te prelazak osmanlijskih trupa preko dravske granice 1526. g. da se vojske kralja Ljudevita II., nadbiskupa Pavla Tomorija, vojvode Ivana Zapolje i brojnih drugih velikaša odluče na zajednički otpor. Unatoč tomu ujedinjenu kraljevsku vojsku sultan Sulejman I. premoćno je pobijedio na Mohačkom polju 26. kolovoza 1526. (Smičiklas 1882: 668–724; Jurković 2000: 71–75; Inalcik 2002: 39–42; Budak 2004: 28–34; 2007: 15–17; Budak & Raukar 2006: 279–282, 290–295).

Novostvorena situacija imala je posljedice na sve društvene segmente, pa tako i na pavlinske samostane. Uz napuštene samostane na Zlatu i u Dubici započeli su pavlini sa sustavnim napuštanjem pokretnih dobara te s preseljenjem u područja udaljena od ugroženih prostora između Save i Drave. Preseljavanje u sigurnije, utvrđene samostane u Remetama, Šenkovcu i Lepoglavi bio je dugotrajan, organiziran proces kojim su redovnici od uništenja uspjeli spasiti veći dio svoje pokretne imovine. Napušteni samostani na Moslavačkoj gori, Bakvi, Strezi, Kamenskom i Donjoj Vrijeski uništeni su do početka druge polovice 16. st., a Red je tako nastavio s djelovanjem u prostorno znatno smanjenu opsegu.

abandoned due to increasingly frequent attacks by Ottoman troops. They withdrew from the monastery on Zlat to the more secure Kamensko in 1451, while the monastery in Dubica was forever abandoned in 1465. Until the conclusion of the peace in 1483, the monasteries in Kamensko (1470), Lepoglava (1481) and Remete (1483), and most likely in Bakva, also endured attacks and devastations. Since these were generally rapid, transitory attacks by smaller Ottoman detachments, the monasteries were very quickly renovated thanks to powerful patrons and royal intervention. The internal political scene additionally deteriorated in the struggles for predominance which ensued after the death of King Matthias, which enabled the Ottomans, under the leadership of Jakub Pasha, to burst through the Croatian territories all the way to Austria. After a series of peace treaties, the situation rapidly changed with the accession to power of the warlike Sultan Selim, in whose time all of the major assaults on the territory between the Una and Kupa Rivers were launched. The situation was additionally exacerbated with the accession of the eight year-old Louis II to the throne. The constant struggles between his numerous guardians were exploited by Sultan Suleiman I, who overran Slavonia and paved a secure way to Budapest in 1521. But it took five years of direct peril, the fall of Srijem (Syrmia) and the eastern part of Slavonia, as well as the crossing of the Drava River border by Ottoman troops in 1526 for the armies of King Louis II, Archbishop Pál Tomori, Duke John Zápolya and many other magnates to opt for joint resistance. Despite this unified royal army, Suleiman won a convincing victory at Mohács on 26 August 1526 (Smičiklas 1882: 668-724; Jurković 2000: 71-75; Inalcik 2002: 39-42; Budak 2004: 28-34; 2007: 15-17; Budak & Raukar 2006: 279-282, 290-295).

The repercussions of this newly-created situation were felt in every segment, including the Pauline monasteries. In addition to the monasteries on Zlat and in Dubica, the Paulines began to systematically abandon their holdings and move to territories farther afield from the imperilled areas between the Sava and Drava Rivers. The movement to safer, fortified monasteries in Remete, Šenkovec and Lepoglava was a long-term, organized process whereby the monks managed to save most of their chattels from destruction. The abandoned monasteries in the Moslavina Hills, Bakva, Streza, Kamensko and Donja Vrijeska were destroyed by the beginning of the mid-sixteenth century, while the Order continued its activities in a much narrower territory.

ACTA MONASTERII DE SZLAT (1303/1304. G. – 1558. G.)²

Samostan sv. Petra na Zlatu³ (*Domus s. Petri de monte Zlath, Monasterium s. Petri de Szlatkagora, Monasterium s. Petri in Promontorio Zlath*) osnovao je 1303. ili 1304. g. otac Grdoš⁴ (Benger cca 1740: 39–41; Orosz 1747: 388–389; Kovachevich s. a.; Kristolovec s. a.: 123–124; Szabo 1919: 23; Dočkal 1953: 4; Sekulić 2007: 81–84).

Za razliku od drugih samostana, koji su bili smješteni u pitomim dolinama potoka i rijeka, pavlinski samostan sv. Petra smješten je na najvišem vrhu današnje Petrove gore (Zlat, Slatska, *Patur gozdia*).⁵ S te strateški važne točke pruža se pogled na sjever do Slovenije, na istok do Moslavine, na jug do sjevernobosanskih planina te na zapad do Velebita. Zlatki samostan nalazio se na onodobnome području općine Perna, a danas se nalazi na prostoru Sisačko-moslavačke županije (gospodarska jedinica “Petrova gora” *Hrvatskih šuma d.o.o.*).

Zlatki je samostan prema navodima A. Eggerera (*Post infelicissimam enim ad Nicopolim pugnam Conventus S. Petri in Zlatkagora, duo item Claustra ultra fluvium Themes, Beloko & Gothal, nec non Monasterium S. Petri juxta Zalonkemen, ad informia rudera, cum magno Religionis sensu a Machometica superstitione damnata fuit*) i I. Kristolovca (*A budući da naš arhiv glede samostana sv. Petra de Szlat ne kaže ništa o vremenu nakon rečene godine, preostaje nam da zaključimo kako je vjerojatno oko 1393. godine uništen od Turaka, koji su tada bili u zaletu, kako piše u Ljetopisu*) prvi put bio uništen u provalama osmanlijskih trupa na pogranične prostore 1393., odnosno 1394. g. (Eggerer 1663: 178; Kristolovec s. a.: 124). A. Eggerer datirao je u isto vrijeme i prvo uništenje dubičkoga samostana. Iako se glavnina osmanlijske vojske u to vrijeme nalazila

² Sačuvane su sve isprave samostana sv. Petra na Zlatu (*Acta Monast. de Szlat*) kojima je obuhvaćeno vrijeme od 1278. do 1523. g. Originalne isprave čuvaju se u Mađarskom državnom arhivu (Magyar Országos Levéltár, Budapest), a njihovi prijepisi u Hrvatskom državnom arhivu (*Elenchus/extractus actorum desolati Monasterii S. Petri de Monte Zlath*).

³ Posjed Zlat spominje se u ispravama prvi put 1278. g. (CD VI, 224). Prema R. Lopašiću pavlini su posjed, koji se prostirao sve do granice s goričkim plemenom te do gradova Krstinje i Perne, kupili od zlatkog plemena (Lopašić 1895: 223).

⁴ Iako ga ne povezuje izravno s pavlinskim redom i osnutkom samostana na Zlatu, L. Dobronić napominje da je Girardo (Gerardo, Gerard) bio vrhovni meštar ugarskih templara. Odnos pavlinskog i templarskog reda na ovome prostoru za sada još nije moguće utvrditi (Dobronić 1984: 64).

⁵ *Patur gozdia* jedno je od mogućih mjesta gdje su se 1097. g. sukobile vojske kralja Petra Svačića i kralja Kolomana. Prema R. Lopašiću na sjevernoj strani Petrove gore krajem 19. st. bile su vidljive ruševine grada Petrovca, koji je prema legendi sagradio kralj Petar Svačić (Lopašić 1895: 222; Gunjača 1978: 99–102; Goldstein 1994).

ACTA MONASTERII DE SZLAT (1303/1304-1558)²

The Monastery of St. Peter at Zlat³ (*Domus s. Petri de monte Zlath, Monasterium s. Petri de Szlatkagora, Monasterium s. Petri in Promontorio Zlath*) was established in 1303 or 1304 by Father Grdoš⁴ (Benger ca 1740: 39–41; Orosz 1747: 388–389; Kovachevich s. a.; Kristolovec s. a.: 123–124; Szabo 1919: 23; Dočkal 1953: 4; Sekulić 2007: 81–84).

In contrast to other monasteries, which were situated in tame river valleys, the Pauline Monastery of St. Peter was erected on the highest peak of the mountain today called Petrova Gora (Zlat, Slatska, *Patur gozdia*).⁵ This strategically vital point commands a view of Slovenia to the north, the Moslavina Hills to the east, the northern Bosnian mountains to the south and Velebit to the west. The Zlat monastery was in the territory of the Perna Municipality of the time, while today it is in Sisak-Moslavina County (in the Petrova Gora management unit of Croatia’s national forest management company).

The Zlat monastery, according to A. Eggerer (*Post infelicissimam enim ad Nicopolim pugnam Conventus S. Petri in Zlatkagora, duo item Claustra ultra fluvium Themes, Beloko & Gothal, nec non Monasterium S. Petri juxta Zalonkemen, ad informia rudera, cum magno Religionis sensu a Machometica superstitione damnata fuit*) and I. Kristolovec (“And since with reference to the Monastery of St. Peter de Szlat our archives do not say anything about the time after that year, we are left to conclude that it was probably destroyed by the Ottomans in 1393, as they were on the ascent at the time, as written in the Almanac”),

² All of the documents on the Monastery of St. Peter at Zlat (*Acta Monast. de Szlat*), encompassing the period from 1278 to 1523, have been preserved. The original documents are held in the National Archives of Hungary (Magyar Országos Levéltár, Budapest), and their transcripts in the Croatian State Archives (*Elenchus/extractus actorum desolati Monasterii S. Petri de Monte Zlath*).

³ The Zlat estate was first mentioned in documents in 1278 (CD VI, 224). According to R. Lopašić, the Paulines purchased the estate, which extended to the boundaries of the Gorica tribe and the castles of Krstinja and Perna, from the Zlat tribe (Lopašić 1895: 223).

⁴ Even though he was not directly associated with the Pauline order and the establishment of the monastery at Zlat, L. Dobronić mentioned that Girardo (Gerardo, Gerard) was the grand master of the Hungarian Templars. The relationship between the Paulines and Templars in this territory cannot as yet be ascertained (Dobronić 1984: 64).

⁵ *Patur gozdia* is one of the possible sites at which the armies of King Peter Svačić and King Coloman were confronted in 1097. According to R. Lopašić, the ruins of the Petrovac castle, which according to legend was built by King Petar Svačić, were visible on the northern face of Petrova Gora at the end of the nineteenth century (Lopašić 1895: 222; Gunjača 1978: 99–102; Goldstein 1994).



Slika 1. Pogled s vrha spomenika "Petrova gora" na položaj samostana sv. Petra (snimila: T. Pleše, 2007).

Figure 1. View from the top of "Petrova Gora" monument at the location of the Monastery of St. Peter (photograph by: T. Pleše, 2007).

u Bugarskoj i Rumunjskoj, ipak treba dopustiti mogućnost da su neke manje vojne posade s bosanskoga prostora provaljivale u Slavoniju. Rješavanje istinitosti navoda A. Eggerera i I. Kristolovca ipak valja ostaviti povjesničarima. Bez obzira na uzrok napuštanja samostana, pavlini su se na Zlat vratili već 1397. g. Samostan je (ponovo) stradao 1445. g. (odnosno 1448. g.) u napadima osmanlijskih trupa, a redovnici su prebjegli u sigurniji samostan u Kamenskom (Lopašić 1895: 224; Dočkal 1953: 9). Brigu o zlatskim posjedima preuzeo je kamenski prior Mihael, koji je 1448. g. za njihova upravitelja postavio kmeta Matka Grubešića (AMZ 8; Lopašić 1895: 224; Mályusz 1928: 197; Dočkal 1953: 9–10). Ujedinjeni redovnici zlatskog i kamenskog samostana uputili su 1451. g. molbu papi Nikoli V. za trajno i zakonsko pripajanje posjeda samostana na Zlatu, koji su Osmanlije spalili i pritom ubili nekoliko redovnika (Lopašić 1895: 224; Mályusz 1928: 198; Dočkal 1953: 10–11). Papa Nikola V. imenovao je 1451. g. krbavskoga biskupa Vida Ostojića kao suca istražitelja i delegata Svete Stolice glede pitanja spajanja dvaju samostana. Biskup je Vid potvrdio da je samostan na Zlatu opustošen i spaljen. Nakon njegova izvještaja papa Nikola V. dopustio je spajanje samostana sv. Petra na Zlatu s onim u Kamenskom (AMZ 10 i 12; Mályusz 1928: 199–200; Dočkal 1953: 11–12). Papinu odluku potvrdio je krbavski biskup Franjo 1458. g. (AMZ 12 ad; Mályusz 1928: 200; Dočkal 1953: 13).

U skladu s pisanim vrelima može se zaključiti da su se redovnici bili vratili u zlatski samostan u posljednjoj četvrtini 15. st., no zauvijek su ga napustili i sklonili se (ponovo) u onaj sigurniji, kamenski, već oko 1545. g.

was destroyed the first time during incursions by Ottoman troops at the border zone in 1393 and 1394 (Eggerer 1663: 178; Kristolovec s. a.: 124). Eggerer dated the first destruction of the Dubica monastery to the same time. Although the bulk of the Ottoman armies were in the late medieval territories of Bulgaria and Romania., the possibility that some smaller military detachments from Bosnian territory conducted raids into Slavonia should be left open. Nevertheless, the determination of the accuracy of statements by Eggerer and Kristolovec should be left to historians. Regardless of the cause for abandoning the monastery, the Paulines already returned to Zlat in 1397. The monastery was (once more) damaged in 1445 (that is 1448) in attacks by Ottoman troops, but the monks fled to the more secure monastery in Kamensko (Lopašić 1895: 224; Dočkal 1953: 9). Care for the Zlat possessions was assumed by Prior Michael of Kamensko, who appointed the serf Matko Grubešić as their caretaker in 1448 (AMZ 8; Lopašić 1895: 224; Mályusz 1928: 197; Dočkal 1953: 9-10). The consolidated monks of the Zlat and Kamensko monasteries sent a request to Pope Nicholas V in 1451 for the permanent and legal annexation of the possessions of the monastery at Zlat, to which the Ottomans set fire, killing several monks in the process (Lopašić 1895: 224; Mályusz 1928: 198; Dočkal 1953: 10-11). In 1451 Pope Nicholas V appointed the Krbava Bishop Vid Ostojić as investigative judge and delegate of the Holy See with reference to questions pertaining to the merger of the two monasteries. Bishop Vid confirmed that the monastery at Zlat had been devastated and burned. After his report, Pope Nicholas V permitted the merger of the Monastery of St. Peter with the monastery in Kamensko (AMZ 10 and

Za razliku od bratskih samostana većinu posjeda zlatiski su si redovnici priskrbili sami. Kupovinom su došli u vlasništvo posjeda Dol (koji je obuhvaćao prostor Perne, Gradeca, Katenja, Gorice, brdo Topolovec te potoke Godojnica i Koranica) i Strmec (koji su u zakup dobili od cistercijskog opata Ivana iz Topuskog 1402. g.) (AMZ 1, 3 i 4; CD IX, 327; Lopašić 1895: 223–224; Mályusz 1928: 194–196; Buturac 1943: 135; Dočkal 1953: 3–5, 8; Kruhek 2005: 16–31) te polovice selišta nepoznata imena. Drugu polovicu tog selišta darovao je redovnicima Grgur Štampak. Zanimljivo je da je darovnica bila sastavljena pri župnoj crkvi Svih svetih u Zlatu (Dočkal 1953: 15–16, 18). Među malobrojnim pokroviteljima samostana bili su Kristofor Šubić iz Perne, koji je 1494. g. zlatiskim redovnicima darovao vinograd, kuću na trgu ispod Perne i jednu oranicu, te Martin Beneković iz Perne, koji je 1497. g. darovao jedan vinograd (AMZ 14 i 15; Lopašić 1895: 225; Šurmin 1898: 403; Mályusz 1928: 201–202; Dočkal 1953: 16–17, 19). Iako ne postoji darovni list ili neki drugi dokument koji bi potvrdio njihovo podupiranje zlatiskoga samostana, među pokrovitelje treba pribrojiti i Tomaša Vojnovića iz Radonje, njegovu ženu Bertu te njihove sinove Franka, Stjepana, Benka, drugog Stjepana, Petra, Pavla i Ivana, koje je remetski vikar i vizitator pavlinskih samostana u Slavoniji, Hrvatskoj i Istri Mihael na molbu zlatiskoga priora Tomaša 1491. g. primio u Bratovštinu sv. Pavla Pustinjaka (Lopašić 1895: 225; Dočkal 1953: 16–17). Pravni zastupnik pri kupnji novih posjeda te kod sudskih sporova bio je samostanski prior, a zahvaljujući dobro sačuvanim ispravama moguće je donekle rekonstruirati njihov redoslijed (1303/1304. Grdoš, 1369. Andrija, 1369. Juraj, 1405. Petar, 1448. Mihael, 1448. Dimitrije, 1455. Albert, 1463. Albert, 1475. ili 1495. Tomaš, 1491. Tomaš, 1497. Petar Donić, 1523. Juraj).

Pavlini su revno čuvali vlasničke dokumente te su, u skladu s prilikama, često potraživali njihove prijepise. Kupoprodajni ugovor za posjed Dol potvrdio je Zagrebački kaptol 1328. g., 1364. g. kralj Ladislav na molbu samostanskih izaslanika braće laika Ivana i Blaža, 1369. g. Zagrebački kaptol na molbu priora Andrije i redovnika Fabijana, još jednom iste godine na molbu zlatiskoga priora Jurja, 1405. g. kralj Žigmund na molbu priora Petra i brata konverza Petra, 1448. g. šibenski biskup Tomo na molbu priora Dimitrija iz Kamenskog te 1451. g. Zagrebački kaptol (AMZ 2, 2 ad, 5, 5 ad, 9; Lopašić 1895: 224; Mályusz 1928: 194–198; Dočkal 1953: 5–6, 8, 10). Kupoprodajni ugovor za posjed Strmec potvrdio je 1408. (odnosno 1448.) g. šibenski biskup Tomo, komendator opatije Topusko, na molbu kamenskoga priora Dimitrija (AMZ 7 i 9; Mályusz 1928: 197–198; Dočkal 1953: 10), 1467. g. Zagrebački

12; Mályusz 1928: 199–200; Dočkal 1953: 11–12). The pope's decision was confirmed by the Krbava Bishop Franjo in 1458 (AMZ 12 ad; Mályusz 1928: 200; Dočkal 1953: 13).

Based on written sources, it may be concluded that the monks returned to the Zlat monastery in the final quarter of the fifteenth century, but they abandoned it permanently and sought refuge (once more) in the safer one of Kamensko around 1545.

As opposed to their fraternal monasteries, the Zlat monks acquired most of their possessions on their own. They purchased title to the estates of Dol (which encompassed Perna, Gradec, Katenje, Gorica, Topolovec Hill and the Godojnica and Koranica streams) and Strmec (which they obtained on lease from the Cistercian Abbot Ivan from Topusko in 1402) (AMZ 1, 3 and 4; CD IX, 327; Lopašić 1895: 223–224; Mályusz 1928: 194–196; Buturac 1943: 135; Dočkal 1953: 3–5, 8; Kruhek 2005: 16–31) and half of a homestead of unknown name. The other half of this homestead was donated to the monks by Grgur Štampak. It should be mentioned that this deed was compiled at the parish Church of All Saints in Zlat (Dočkal 1953: 15–16, 18). The small number of the monastery's patrons included Kristofor Šubić from Perna, who donated a vineyard, a house on the square below Perna and a plough-field to the Zlat monks, and Martin Beneković from Perna, who donated a vineyard in 1497 (AMZ 14 and 15; Lopašić 1895: 225; Šurmin 1898: 403; Mályusz 1928: 201–202; Dočkal 1953: 16–17, 19). Even though no donation register or other document exists that would confirm their support to the Zlat monastery, the patrons should include Tomaš Vojnović from Radonja, his wife Berta and their sons Franko, Stjepan, Benko, the other Stjepan, Petar, Pavao and Ivan, who were admitted to the Fraternity of St. Paul the Hermit by Michael, the Remete vicar and visitor of Pauline monasteries in Slavonia, Croatia and Istria, at the request of Zlat Prior Tomaš in 1491 (Lopašić 1895: 225; Dočkal 1953: 16–17). The legal representative in purchases of new properties and in lawsuits was the monastery's prior, and thanks to well-preserved records, it is possible to reconstruct the order of their service to some extent (1303/1304, Grdoš; 1369, Andrija; 1369, Juraj; 1405, Petar; 1448, Mihael; 1448, Dimitrije; 1455, Albert; 1463, Albert; 1475 or 1495, Tomaš; 1491, Tomaš; 1497, Petar Donić; 1523, Juraj).

The Paulines zealously protected their title documents and, as circumstances permitted, often sought their transcription. The sale contract for title to Dol was ratified in 1328 by the Zagreb Cathedral Chapter, in 1364 by King Louis at the request of the monastery's delegates, the lay brothers Ivan and

kaptol na molbu kamenskoga priora Mihajla (AMZ 4; Mályusz 1928: 201; Dočkal 1953: 13) te 1523. g. Andrija Tuškanić, opat cistercijskoga samostana u Topuskom, na molbu kamenskoga priora Jurja (AMZ 17; Lopašić 1895: 226; Mályusz 1928: 203; Dočkal 1953: 21–22). Isprava opata Tuškanića posljednja je u arhivu zlatškoga samostana.

Zanimljivo je napomenuti da za razliku od većine drugih kasnosrednjovjekovnih pavlinskih samostana slavonskoga prostora zlatški samostan nije uživao potporu neke od plemićkih obitelji. To je neuobičajena situacija pogotovo stoga što se u neposrednoj blizini nalazio Steničnjak, uporište moćnih knezova Babonića. Jedina dokumentirana povlastica bila je oslobođenje od svih daća koju je zlatškim redovnicima 1519. g. dodijelio vlastelin Ivan Kaniški (AMZ 16; Lopašić 1895: 226; Mályusz 1928: 202; Dočkal 1953: 20–21).

Zlatški su redovnici, kao i njihova braća iz drugih samostana, morali pokretati sudske sporove s lokalnim plemićima, uvijek zbog povrede vlasničkih prava. Tijekom postojanja zlatškoga samostana pokrenute su bile samo tri tužbe: 1397. g. (zajedno sa zlatškim plemićima) protiv magistra Lovre Totha Susjedgradskog (AMZ 6; Mályusz 1928: 195–196; Dočkal 1953: 7) te protiv zlatških plemića (zlatški načelnik Ilija, Petar Jančić s braćom Petrom, Jurjem, Valentom i Mavrom, Martin Rogač, Kvirin Ižić, Broz Radonić, Šimko Ljubić, Antun Dijanković, Mirko Glažić te Fabijan Ižić) 1455. i 1463. g. (AMZ 11 i 13; Mályusz 1928: 199–201; Dočkal 1953: 13–14).

SUDBINA ZLATSKOGA SAMOSTANSKOG SKLOPA NAKON 1558. G.

Samostanski sklop na Zlatu uništen je 1558. g., kad je Malkoč-beg spalio Pernu, Krstinju, Vinograč i Bojnu, gradove u okolici Petrove gore (Lopašić 1895: 226; Dočkal 1953: 23; Horvat & Kruhek 1979: 65). Napušteni pavlinski posjed, koji se od tog vremena naziva Petrovac, preuzeo je (u skladu s odredbama Sabora u Steničnjaku 1558. g.) knez Tržački, koji se bio obavezao održavati stražu s tri stražara (Kruhek 1995: 180). Prema K. Dočkalu sve zlatške posjede prisvojio je ubrzo potom ugarski palatin Tomo Nadasdy. Utvrdio je samostansku zgradu i postavio u nju stražu radi obrane svoga golema imanja.⁶ Navod K. Dočkala potvrđuju Z. Horvat i M. Kruhek, s razlikom da za vlasnika navode Franju, a

⁶ *Od tada je samostan služio kao vojnička utvrda. Opustošeni samostan s vremenom je posve propao, ali se održala crkva, koja je bila čvršća. Na njoj je načinjen drveni čardak u vojne izvidne svrhe. Radi uspješnije obrane iskopane su okolo naokolo grabe i šančevi, koji se još i danas na Petrovcu vide* (Dočkal 1953: 23).

Blaž, in 1369 by the Zagreb Cathedral Chapter at the request of Prior Andrija and the monk Fabijan, once more in the same year by the Zlat Prior Juraj, in 1405 by King Sigismund at the request of Prior Petar and convert brother Petar, in 1448 by Šibenik Bishop Tomo at the request of Prior Dimitri from Kamensko and in 1451 by the Zagreb Cathedral Chapter (AMZ 2, 2 ad, 5, 5 ad, 9; Lopašić 1895: 224; Mályusz 1928: 194–198; Dočkal 1953: 5–6, 8, 10). The sale contract for the Strmec estate was ratified in 1408 (and 1448) by Šibenik Bishop Tomo, the commendator of the Topusko abbey, at the request of Kamensko Prior Dimitri (AMZ 7 and 9; Mályusz 1928: 197–198; Dočkal 1953: 10), in 1467 by the Zagreb Cathedral Chapter at the request of the Kamensko Prior Mihajlo (AMZ 4; Mályusz 1928: 201; Dočkal 1953: 13) and in 1523 by Andrija Tuškanić, the abbot of the Cistercian monastery in Topusko, at the request of Kamensko Prior Juraj (AMZ 17; Lopašić 1895: 226; Mályusz 1928: 203; Dočkal 1953: 21–22). The document of Abbot Tuškanić is the last in the archives of the Zlat monastery.

It should be mentioned that, as opposed to most other late medieval Pauline monasteries in Slavonia's territory, the Zlat monastery did not enjoy the support of any of the noble families. This was an unusual situation, particularly since Steničnjak, the stronghold of the powerful Babonić counts, was located nearby. The only documented privilege was the exemption of all levies accorded to the Zlat monks in 1519 by the magnate Ivan Kaniški (AMZ 16; Lopašić 1895: 226; Mályusz 1928: 202; Dočkal 1953: 20–21).

The Zlat monks, like their brothers from other monasteries, had to initiate lawsuits against local nobles, always due to violations of property rights. During the existence of the Zlat monastery, they initiated only three suits: in 1397 (together with the Zlat nobility) against magistrate Lovro Toth Susjedgradski (AMZ 6; Mályusz 1928: 195–196; Dočkal 1953: 7) and against the Zlat nobility (Zlat mayor Ilija, Petar Jančić with his brothers Petar, Juraj, Valent and Mavro, Martin Rogač, Kvirin Ižić, Broz Radonić, Šimko Ljubić, Antun Dijanković, Mirko Glažić and Fabijan Ižić) in 1455 and 1463 (AMZ 11 and 13; Mályusz 1928: 199–201; Dočkal 1953: 13–14).

FATE OF THE ZLAT MONASTERY COMPLEX AFTER 1558

The monastery complex at Zlat was destroyed in 1558, when Malkoč-beg set fire to Perna, Krstinja, Vinograč and Bojna, all castles in the vicinity of Petrova Gora (Lopašić 1895: 226; Dočkal 1953: 23; Horvat & Kruhek 1979: 65). The abandoned Pauline estate, which has been called Petrovac since that

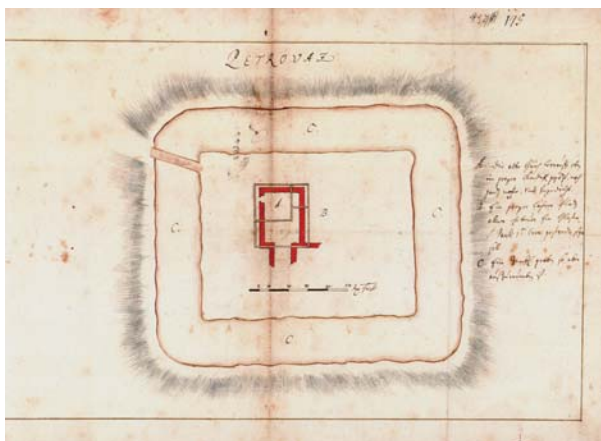
ne Tomu Nadasdy (Horvat & Kruhek 1979: 65). I na Hrvatskome saboru 1559. g. glavnina se rasprave odnosila upravo na Zrinsku i Petrovu goru (Kruhek 1995: 184). U tvrda na Petrovoj gori spominje se u izvještaju I. Lenkovića iz 1563. g., no nije jasno odnosi li se opis na ruševne objekte zlatškoga samostanskog sklopa ili na stari grad (Kruhek 1995: 192; Budak 2007: 66). Petrovačka se straža ne navodi u izvještaju Ferdinandova povjerenstva iz 1564. g. Izvještajem povjerenstva nisu bile obuhvaćene utvrde koje su se nalazile na privatnom posjedu te one za koje se izravno brinuo Hrvatski sabor. Moguće je da se Petrovac ne spominje jer su neke utvrde na prostoru Zrinske i Petrove gore te one uz Glinu, Kupu i njihove pritoke već prije bile razorene u osmanlijskim napadima (Kruhek 1995: 221). Vojnike kneza Tržačkog zamijenili su 1573. g. krajišnici pod nadzorom grofa Ivana Auersperga (Lopašić 1895: 227; Šišić 1918: 494–495; Dočkal 1953: 22; Horvat & Kruhek 1979: 65). Može se zaključiti da je dolaskom krajišnika izgrađen nadlađom crkve sv. Petra jedan od najvećih zidanih čardaka u tom području (Kruhek 1995: 36). Zaključcima Sabora održanog u Brucku na Muri 1578. g. odlučeno je da će se utvrde Hrvatske krajine obnoviti. Ne zna se je li se to odnosilo i na utvrde na Petrovoj gori (Kruhek 1995: 283–284; Budak 2007: 61). Prema popisu utvrda iz 1579. g. vidljivo je da su te godine među utvrde središnjeg obrambenog područja bile pribrojene i one koje su prije toga bile izvan krajiškog popisa: Turanj Blagajski, Budački, Smrčković te Petrova gora (Kruhek 1995: 325). Obranu petrovačkog čardaka preuzeo je iste godine kapetan Andrija Tadiolović (Lopašić 1895: 227; Dočkal 1953: 22; Horvat & Kruhek 1979: 65; Kruhek 1995: 325). Na kratko vrijeme obranu su preuzeli haramije iz Dubovca i Križanić-Turnja pod upravom kapetana Petra Ladešića. No već 1581. g. obranu Petrovca ponovo je preuzeo kapetan A. Tadiolović (Lopašić 1895: 227; Dočkal 1953: 22; Horvat & Kruhek 1979: 65). U petrovačku utvrdu trebala je 1583. g. biti prebačena vojna posada iz Kneje, no do toga nije došlo zbog pojačavanja obrane u neposrednoj blizini Karlovca. Stoga je odlučeno da Petrovac treba napusti, a stražare prebaciti na čuvanje prijelaza preko Kupe (Horvat & Kruhek 1979: 65). Petrovac je 1584. g. potpao pod osmanlijsku vlast (Lopašić 1895: 227; Dočkal 1953: 22). Obrambenu ulogu bivši pavlinski posjed dobio je nakon pomicanja linije razgraničenja na Unu 1654. g., a u funkciji je ostao sve do mira u Svištovu 1791. g. (Dočkal 1953: 22; Horvat & Kruhek 1979: 66).⁷ Izgled

time, was assumed (in compliance with the provisions of the Assembly held in Steničnjak in 1558) by Prince Tržački, who undertook the commitment to maintain a guard with three sentries (Kruhek 1995: 180). According to K. Dočkal, all of the Zlat property was then quickly seized by the Hungarian palatine Tomo Nadasdy. He fortified the monastery building and set up a guard inside it to defend his immense estate.⁶ Dočkal's statements were confirmed by Z. Horvat and M. Kruhek, although they specified that the owner was Franjo, rather than Tomo, Nadasdy (Horvat & Kruhek 1979: 65). Even at the Croatian Diet of 1559, most of the deliberations pertained precisely to Zrinska and Petrova Gora (Kruhek 1995: 184). The fortification on Petrova Gora is mentioned in the report by I. Lenković from 1563, but it is not clear whether it refers to the ruined structures of the Zlat monastery or the old castle (Kruhek 1995: 192; Budak 2007: 66). The Petrovac guard is specified in the report of Ferdinand's Commission of 1564. The commission's report did not encompass the fortifications that were privately owned and those that were directly under the care of the Croatian Diet. It is possible that Petrovac was not mentioned because some fortifications in the area of Zrinska and Petrova Gora and those along the Glina and Kupa Rivers and their tributaries had already been razed in Ottoman attacks (Kruhek 1995: 221). The troops of Prince Tržački were replaced in 1573 by frontier guardsmen under the supervision of Count Johann Auersperg (Lopašić 1895: 227; Šišić 1918: 494–495; Dočkal 1953: 22; Horvat & Kruhek 1979: 65). It may be concluded that after the arrival of the frontier troops, one of the largest watchtowers (*chardaks*) in the wider area was constructed on the nave of the Church of St. Peter (Kruhek 1995: 36). According to the conclusions of the Diet held in Bruck an der Mur in 1578, it was decided that the fortifications in the Croatian Frontier would be reconstructed. Whether this pertained to the fortifications on Petrova Gora is not known (Kruhek 1995: 283–284; Budak 2007: 61). According to the list of fortifications of 1579, it is apparent that those outside of the frontier list before were included among the fortifications of the central defensive zone: Turanj Blagajski, Budački, Smrčković and Petrova Gora (Kruhek 1995: 325). The defence of the Petrovac watchtower was assumed that same year by Captain Andrija Tadiolović (Lopašić 1895: 227; Dočkal 1953: 22; Horvat & Kruhek 1979: 65; Kruhek 1995: 325).

⁷ Prema K. Dočkalu i R. Lopašiću crkva na Petrovcu obnovljena je nakon sklapanja mira u Sremskim Karlovcima 1699. g. Kako je u to vrijeme petrovačkom čardaku bila vraćena vojna uloga, može se zaključiti da se navodi R. Lopašića i K. Dočkala odnose na obnovu župne crkve Svih svetih u naselju Zlatu (Lopašić 1895: 228; Dočkal 1953: 22).

⁶ "Henceforth the monastery has served as a military fortification. The deserted monastery entirely fell to ruination with time, but the church persisted, as it was sturdier. A wooden watchtower was built on it, used for military surveillance. In the interests of better defence, trenches and ditches were dug all around it, and these can still be seen at Petrovac today" (Dočkal 1953: 23).

bivše zlatske samostanske crkve zabilježen je u svojoj novoj, vojnoj funkciji na dvama prikazima: na tlocrtu vojnog inženjera J. F. Hollsteina iz 1717. g. te na crtežu zemaljskog nadinženjera M. A. Weissa iz 1729. g. (Horvat 1979: 65–66; Deák, Lapaine & Kljajić 2004: 79; Kruhek 2005: 21–23).



Slika 2. Tlocrt petrovačkoga čardaka J. F. Hollsteina, Hrvatski državni arhiv 426, Ujedinjena bansko-varaždinsko-karlovačka generalkomanda, no. 145, fol. 104 (Kruhek 2005: 21).

Figure 2. Ground-plan of the Petrovac watchtower (chardak) by J. F. Hollstein, Croatian State Archives 426, Ban's Varaždin-Karlovac Joint General Command, no. 145, folder 104 (Kruhek 2005: 21).

Nakon mira u Svištovu 1791. g. započelo je na ovome prostoru naseljavanje naroda iz pograničnih prostora, mahom pravoslavne vjeroispovijesti. Njegova zadaća bila je održavanje granične straže, a zauzvrat je dobio zemlju te oslobođenje od kmetških obaveza (Fras 1988: 226). Jedan od tih posjeda bio je i zlatski, tj. petrovački. Zanimljiv opis stanja pavlinskoga posjeda u 19. st. donosi F. J. Fras (1988: 226): [...] u blizini na brdu Petrovac nalaze se ruševine grada Petrovca, koji je dao sagraditi neki Petar izgubivši navodno pri građenju život. Na podnožju brda gdje je stajao grad, na maloj uzvišici nazvanoj Mali Petrovac, nalaze se nadalje tragovi zgrade koja je tu stajala i jedna većim dijelom zatrpana jama koja jer nekad bila vjerojatno bunar ili podrum. U pravcu prema Petrovoj gori nalaze se tragovi dvostrukih rovova napravljenih za vrijeme posljednjeg turskog rata. Iako je Frasova interpretacija vrlo slobodna, donosi vrijedan podatak ne samo o stanju pavlinskoga posjeda, nego i o postojanju starog grada Zlata(?), za koji je R. Lopašić (1895: 222) pretpostavio da se nalazio na mjestu današnjega Slatskog polja, smještena u podnožju sjevernog obronka Petrove gore. Iako su o tom starom gradu podaci vrlo rudimentarni, ipak je poznato da se u njemu nalazila župna crkva Svih svetih u Zlatu. Crkva se spominje u popisima Zagrebačke biskupije iz

For a brief period, defence was assumed by the frontier soldiers from Dubovac and Križanić-Turanj under the administration of Captain Petar Ladešić. But already in 1581, the defence of Petrovac was once more assumed by Captain Tadiolović (Lopašić 1895: 227; Dočkal 1953: 22; Horvat & Kruhek 1979:



Slika 3. Prikaz petrovačkoga čardaka M. A. Weissa, Austrijska nacionalna biblioteka, Cod. 8655, fol. 25 (Krmpotić 1997: 259).

Figure 3. Drawing of the Petrovac watchtower (chardak) by M. A. Weiss, Austrian National Library, Cod. 8655, fol. 25 (Krmpotić 1997: 259).

65). The military contingent from Kneja was supposed to be transferred to the Petrovac fortification in 1583, but did not happen due to reinforcement of defence in the immediate vicinity of Karlovac. Thus it was decided that Petrovac had to be abandoned, and its sentries transferred across the Kupa (Horvat & Kruhek 1979: 65). In 1584, Petrovac came under Ottoman authority (Lopašić 1895: 227; Dočkal 1953: 22). The former Pauline estate obtained a defensive role after the movement of the demarcation line to the Una River in 1654, and it maintained this function until the Treaty of Sistova in 1791 (Dočkal 1953: 22; Horvat & Kruhek 1979: 66).⁷ The appearance of the former Zlat monastery church was recorded in its new, military function in two portrayals: on the ground-plan of military engineer J. F. Hollstein of 1717 and the sketch by the territorial supervisory engineer M. A. Weiss from 1729 (Horvat 1979: 65-66; Deák, Lapaine & Kljajić 2004: 79; Kruhek 2005: 21-23).

⁷ According to Dočkal and Lopašić, the church in Petrovac was reconstructed after the conclusion of the Treaty of Carlowitz in 1699. Since the military role of the Petrovac watchtower was restored, it may be concluded that the statements by Lopašić and Dočkal pertained to the renovation of the parish Church of All Saints in the settlement of Zlat (Lopašić 1895: 228; Dočkal 1953: 22).

1334. (*Item omnium sanctorum de Zlata*) i 1501. g. (*Anthonius plebanus ecclesie omnium sanctorum de Zlat. Martinus capellanus eiusdem*), a pripadala je arhidakonu Gorica (Lopašić 1895: 27–29, 223; Šurmin 1898: 379; Dočkal 1953: 15–16, 18; Buturac 1984: 81).

ARHEOLOŠKA ISTRAŽIVANJA 1987–1988. I 2006–2007. G.

Prva istraživanja vodio je 1987. i 1988. g. dr. sc. M. Kruhek (Hrvatski povijesni muzej) (Kruhek 1987–1988: 1–80; 1989: 77–79; Horvat 1989: 95–96). Tijekom dvije sezone radova djelomično su bili istraženi prostori lađe samostanske crkve sv. Petra (kasnijeg čardaka) te svetišta i zvonika. Iako je tlocrtna dispozicija samostanskoga sklopa okvirno dobro pretpostavljena prema zatečenoj situaciji na terenu, ipak je zbog niza otegotnih okolnosti došlo do nekih neispravnih zaključaka (npr. lađa samostanske crkve određena je ispravno, kao i njezina kasnija pregradnja u obrambenu ulogu, no pogreška se dogodila određivanjem pronađena kamenog temelja za oltar kao oltara pavlinske crkve, pri čemu su netočno određene dimenzije i položaj svetišta crkve, datiranje te pregradnje i namjena pravokutne prostorije prislonjene uz II kut svetišta).

Tijekom istraživanja pronađena je veća količina kasnosrednjovjekovne stolne keramike, čašastih pećnjaka, pećnjaka s vegetabilnim motivima te nekoliko lulica. Prema dnevniku terenskih istraživanja poznato je da su pronađena i dva elementa arhitektonske profilacije: jedan doprozornik te jedan ulomak pješčenjaka s kapitalom uklesanim slovom *M*. Nažalost, nije poznato gdje se ti ulomci danas nalaze niti postoje njihove fotografije i dimenzije. Valja spomenuti i nalaz srebrne rimske fibule (HPM inv. br. 34752) te dva komada kasnosrednjovjekovnog novca (HPM inv. br. 34756 i 34757).⁸

Samostanski je sklop po završetku istraživanja 1988. g. bio prepušten zaboravu i vegetaciji.

Arheološkim istraživanjima 2006. i 2007. g. zlatški samostanski sklop istražen je u cijelosti.⁹ Prve sezone istraživanja potvrđena je tlocrtna dispozicija

Even before the Treaty of Sistova in 1791, this area began to be settled by people from the border zones, mainly of Eastern Orthodox faith. Their task was to maintain border security, and in return they were given land and exempted from the feudal obligations of serfs (Fras 1988: 226). One of these possessions included Zlat, i.e. Petrovac. An intriguing description of the condition of the Petrovac estate was made by F. J. Fras in the nineteenth century (1988: 226): [...] “near the hill of Petrovac stand the ruins of the Petrovac castle, which was built at the order of some Petar who lost his life during its construction. At the foot of the hill where the castle stood, on a slight elevation called Mali Petrovac, there are, furthermore, traces of a building which stood here and a largely buried pit that was once a well or basement. In the direction toward Petrova Gora, there are traces of double trenches made during the last Ottoman war”. Even though Fras’ interpretation was very loose, it provides very valuable data not only on the condition of the Pauline estate, but also on the existence of the old castle of Zlat (?), about which R. Lopašić (1895: 222) speculated that it was at the site of today’s Slatsko polje, situated at the foot of the northern slope of Petrova Gora. Even though the data on this old castle are very rudimentary, it is nonetheless known that the parish Church of All Saints in Zlat was located in it. The church was mentioned in the censuses of the Zagreb Diocese of 1334 (*Item omnium sanctorum de Zlata*) and 1501 (*Anthonius plebanus ecclesie omnium sanctorum de Zlat. Martinus capellanus eiusdem*), and it belonged to the archdeaconry of Gorica (Lopašić 1895: 27–29, 223; Šurmin 1898: 379; Dočkal 1953: 15–16, 18; Buturac 1984: 81).

ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN 1987–1988 AND 2006–2007

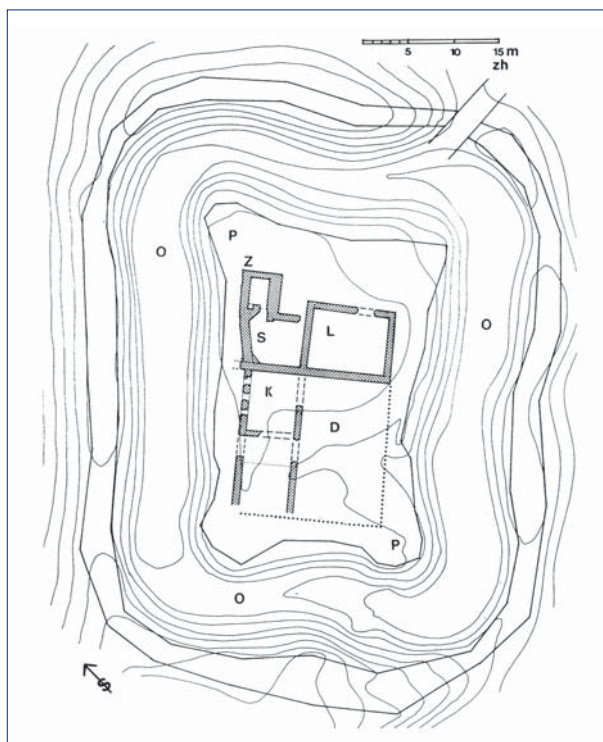
The first research was conducted in 1987 and 1988 by M. Kruhek, Ph.D. (Croatian Historical Museum) (Kruhek 1987–1988: 1–80; 1989: 77–79; Horvat 1989: 95–96). During two excavation seasons, the nave of the monastery Church of St. Peter (later *chardak*), chancel and the bell-tower were partially examined. Even though the layout disposition of the monastery complex was generally assumed quite well according to the situation found in the field, some incorrect conclusions were drawn due to a series of exacerbating circumstances (e.g. the nave of the monastery church was ascertained correctly, like its later reconstruction for a defensive role, but an error occurred by determining the stone altar foundation as the altar of the Pauline church, wherein the dimensions and position of

⁸ Zahvaljujem ovom prilikom prof. Ladi Prister iz Hrvatskoga povijesnog muzeja, čijom su ljubaznošću nalazi dobiveni na uvid.

⁹ Istraživanja su bila izvršena u tako kratku vremenu isključivo zahvaljujući izuzetnoj suradnji s *Hrvatskim šumama d.o.o.*, koje su gotovo u cijelosti financirale istraživanje, a pružile su i nezamjenljivu logističku i tehničku podršku tijekom radova. Stoga veliku zahvalnost dugujem upravitelju UŠP Karlovac Zoranu Sabljariću te djelatnicima Ines Paunović, Oliveru Vlaniću, Marinku Matešiću, Davorinu Andrijaševiću, Damiru Kozmaru i Miljenku Turkalju.

unutarnjega rasporeda samostanskih prostorija. Sljedeće je sezone u cijelosti istražen vanjski samostanski perimetar (Pleše & Azinović Bebek 2007; Pleše 2008).

Samostanski sklop sv. Petra bio je s južne strane određen crkvom sv. Petra. Longitudinalnost sakralnog objekta (vanjske dimenzije: 1 625 × 825 cm; širina zidova: 80 cm) naglašena je podjednakim



Slika 4. Tlocrt pavlinskoga samostana nakon arheoloških istraživanja 1988. g. Istraženi dijelovi označeni su slovima S i L (Kruhek 1998: 126).

Figure 4. Ground-plan of the Pauline monastery after archaeological research in 1988. The researched portions are marked with the letters S and L (Kruhek 1998: 126).



Slika 5. Pogled sa sjevera na samostanski sklop sv. Petra prije arheoloških istraživanja 2006. g. (snimila: T. Pleše, 2005).

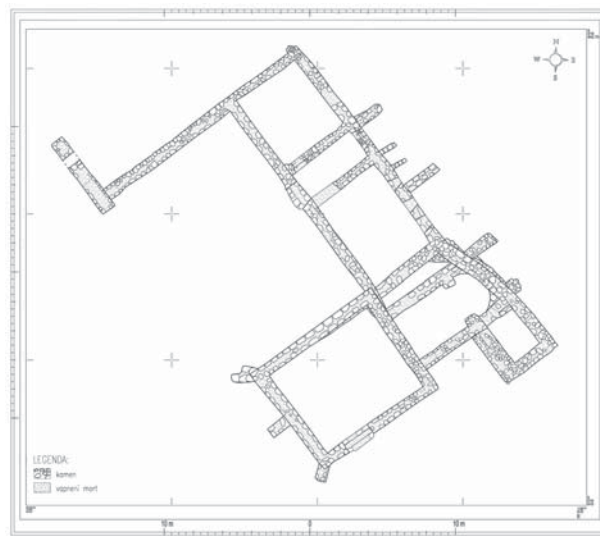
Figure 5. View of the monastery of St. Peter from the north prior to archaeological research in 2006 (photograph by: T. Pleše, 2005).

the church's chancel were inaccurately determined, as well as the dating of this reconstruction and the purpose of the rectangular room leaning on the chancel's south-east corner).

During research, a considerable quantity of late medieval tableware pottery, various stove tiles and several small pipes were found. According to the field research log, two elements of architectural moulding were also discovered: one window frame and one sandstone architectural moulding with a capital letter M engraved on it. Unfortunately, the whereabouts of these fragments are currently unknown, there are no photographs of them nor information on their dimensions. Also worth mentioning is the discovery of a silver Roman fibula (HPM inv. no. 34752) and two late medieval coins (HPM inv. no. 34756 and 34757).⁸

After the close of research in 1988 the monastery complex was relegated to vegetation and oblivion.

The Zlat monastery was thoroughly examined during archaeological research conducted in 2006 and 2007.⁹ The first season of research confirmed the



Slika 6. Tlocrt svih istraženih arhitektonskih struktura (izrada: Arheo plan d.o.o., 2007).

Figure 6. Layout of all researched architectural structures (done by: Arheo plan d.o.o., 2007)

⁸ I would like to take this opportunity to thank Prof. Lada Prister from the Croatian Historical Museum, who was kind enough to make these finds available for inspection.

⁹ The research was completed in such a brief time exclusively thanks to exceptional cooperation with the national forest management company, Hrvatske šume, which almost entirely financed the research, and provided essential logistical and technical support during works. I therefore owe a great debt of gratitude to Zoran Sabljarić, the administrator of the Karlovac Forest Management District, and staff members Ines Paunović, Oliver Vlainić, Marinko Matešić, Davorin Andrijašević, Damir Kozmar and Miljenko Turkalj.

dimenzijama pravokutne lađe (815 × 665 cm) i polukružno zaključena svetišta (760 × 340 cm). Crkva je sa zapadne strane ojačana s tri pravokutna kontrafora.¹⁰ Kako je crkva sv. Petra izgrađena na terenu koji ima jak pad prema zapadnoj strani, podignuti kontrafori na njezinu zapadnome zidu ukazuju na rješavanje statičkih problema, a ne na podupiranje svoda lađe. Kontrafori su izgrađeni istovremeno s crkvom, što upućuje na zaključak da ulaz na zapadnome pročelju nikada nije postojao. Nije moguće ustanoviti koliko su kontrafori bili visoki ni kako su bili oblikovani u gornjoj zoni (tj. jesu li bili stupnjevani).



Slika 7. Pogled na zapadno pročelje samostanske crkve (snimio: M. Braun, 2007).

Figure 7. View of the western façade of the monastery church (photograph by: M. Braun, 2007).

Zbog rješavanja statičkih problema zapadnoga pročelja glavni (i jedini) ulaz u lađu samostanske crkve bio je smješten na zapadnome dijelu južnoga pročelja. Od tih vrata nisu sačuvani dovratnici pa se dimenzije otvora mogu pretpostaviti samo prema punoj širini stepenica (230 × 160 cm). U unutrašnjost se spuštalo s dvije plitke stepenice popločene nepravilnim, sitnijim lomljenim kamenom. Kako je i sačuvani zapadni prag hodnika izrađen od nepravilna lomljenca, ne čudi nedostatak pravilnijih komada kamena pri izradi gazišta. Jak pad terena prema zapadu najjasnije je vidljiv uz južno pročelje objekta. Visina kasnosrednjovjekovnoga hodnog sloja može se pretpostaviti prema odnosu s hodnim slojem uz zapadno pročelje crkve sv. Petra te prema odnosu s visinom najviše stepenice gore spomenutih vrata. Vanjski kasnosrednjovjekovni hodni sloj uz južno pročelje ili je pratio pad terena od JI kuta crkve sv. Petra (što je vidljivo prema klesancima na tom kutu)

disposition of the internal layout of the monastery's facilities. The monastery's perimeter was entirely examined in the following season (Pleše & Azinović Bebek 2007; Pleše 2008).

The St. Peter monastic complex was bounded on the south side by the Church of St. Peter. The longitudinal aspect of the sacral building (external dimensions: 1,625 × 825 cm; width of walls: 80 cm) is emphasized by the roughly uniform dimensions of the rectangular nave (815 × 665 cm) and the semi-circularly closed chancel (760 × 340 cm). The church is reinforced with three rectangular counterforts from the western side.¹⁰ Since the Church of St. Peter was constructed on terrain which has a rather prominent descent down the western side, the erection of counterforts on its western wall indicates the resolution of static problems, rather than support of the nave's vaults. The counterforts were constructed at the same time as the church, which points to the conclusion that the entrance at the western façade never existed. It is impossible to establish how high the counterforts were, nor how they were formed in the upper zone (i.e., were they graded).

Due to the solution to static problems on the western façade, the main (and sole) entrance to the nave of the monastery church was situated on the western part of the southern façade. The frame of this door has not been preserved, so the dimensions of the aperture may be assumed based only on the full width of the stairs (230 × 160 cm). The interior was entered by descending down two shallow stairs lined with irregular, tiny broken stones. Since the preserved western threshold of the corridor is also made of irregular broken stone, the absence of more regular pieces of stone in the making of the walking surface is not surprising. The significant declining grade of the terrain toward the west is mostly clearly visible along the structure's southern façade. The height of the late medieval walking surface may be assumed in relation to the walking surface along the western façade of the Church of St. Peter and to the height of the higher step of the aforementioned door. The external late medieval walking surface of the southern façade either followed the descent of the terrain from the south-east corner of the Church of St. Peter (which is visible based on the dressed stone in this corner) toward K 3, so that it would be even with the height of the walking surface along the western façade, or it was flat and aligned with the height of the door threshold,

¹⁰ Sva tri kontrafora različitih su dimenzija: kontrafor na SZ kutu (K 1 – 200 × 100 cm, najviša sačuvana visina 90 cm), kontrafor na sredini zapadnoga pročelja (K 2 – 145 × 75 cm, najviša sačuvana visina 110 cm) te kontrafor na JZ kutu (K 3 – 120 × 100 cm, najviša sačuvana visina 140 cm).

¹⁰ All three counterforts have different dimensions: the counterfort on the north-west corner (K 1 – 200 × 100 cm, highest preserved height 90 cm), the counterfort on the western façade (K 2 – 145 × 75 cm, highest preserved height 110 cm) and the counterfort on the south-west corner (K 3 – 120 × 100 cm, highest preserved height 140 cm).



Slika 8. Pogled na samostanski sklop sv. Petra s juga (snimio: M. Braun, 2007).

Figure 8. View of the monastery of St. Peter from the south (photograph by: M. Braun, 2007).

prema K 3, kako bi se izjednačio s visinom hodnoga sloja uz zapadno pročelje, ili je bio ravan i usklađen s visinom praga vrata, a razlika u visinama bila je riješena stepenicama. Nemogućnost sigurnog određivanja visina hodnih slojeva i njihovih međudodnosa valja prihvatiti u okviru već spomenute naglašene nepravilnosti terena na kojem je samostanskih sklop podignut (prosječni h uz zapadno pročelje crkve – 511,20 m; prosječni h uz istočni dio južnoga pročelja crkve – 512,00 m).

Nakon što su pavlini zauvijek napustili samostanski sklop, lađa samostanske crkve sv. Petra bila je prenamijenjena u čardak. Pri gradnji je dobrim dijelom iskorištena zidna struktura lađe, a gornji je dio bio izgrađen od drveta. Raspored prostorija visoka šatorastog krovništva vidljiv je na tlocrtnome prikazu J. F. Hollsteina. Na tlocrtu su prikazani i obrambeni jarci te pristupni put iz JZ smjera. Ujedno je vidljivo da je bio zadržan ulaz na južnome pročelju. Prema crtežu M. A. Weissa može se zaključiti da su zapadni temelji svetišta bili iskorišteni za temeljnije trijema. Trijem su nosila četiri (drvena) stupa, a bio je natkriven krovom na dvije vode. Nadalje, na crtežu su u gornjem dijelu zida, neposredno ispod zone krovništva, vidljive kruškaste puškarnice. Kako tijekom istraživanja nije pronađena nijedna takva profilacija, može se pretpostaviti da su i one bile izrađene od drveta.

Svetište samostanske crkve sv. Petra bilo je po kraju istraživanja 1988. g. određeno kao nepravilna prostorija na istoku zaključena zidom sa znatnim otklonom od osi S–J. Na začelnome su zidu u SI i II kutovima jasno vidljive trokutaste dogradnje kojima se nastojala simulirati poligonalnost prostora. Ujedno je na sredini začelnoga zida svetišta pronađen podzid oltara. Na II dijelu južnoga zida nađen je prolaz kojim je ostvarena komunikacija s pravokutnim prostorom manjih dimenzija, koji je bio određen kao zvonik, odnosno sakristija.

while the difference in heights was resolved by the stairs. The impossibility of certain determination of the height of the walking surfaces and their interrelationship should be accepted within the framework of the already mentioned prominent irregularities of the terrain on which the monastery was raised (average h along the western façade of the church – 511.2 m; average h along the eastern part of the church's southern façade – 512 m).

After the Paulines abandoned the monastery complex permanently, the nave of the monastery Church of St. Peter was remodelled into a watchtower. The nave's wall structure was largely used in its construction, while the upper section was made using lumber. The layout of the rooms beneath the high tent-roof structure is visible in J. F. Hollstein's ground-plan sketch. The ground-plan also shows the defensive trenches and the access way from the south-west. Also apparent is that the entrance on the southern façade was maintained. According to the sketch by M. A. Weiss, one may conclude that the western foundations of the chancel were used to undergird the portico. The portico was borne by four (wooden) columns, and it was covered with a gable roof. Furthermore, pear-shaped rifle holes are visible on the drawing in the upper section of the wall, immediately below the roof structure. Since no such moulding was found during research, it may be assumed that they were also made of wood.

At the end of research in 1988, the chancel of the monastery Church of St. Peter was determined as an irregular room enclosed to the east by a wall with a considerable bias from the north-east axis. Triangular additions are clearly visible on the rear wall in the north-east and south-east corners, which attempted to simulate the polygonal nature of the space. An underpinning wall of the altar was also found in the middle of the rear wall. A passage was found in the south-east section of the southern wall, which facilitated access to a rectangular room with small dimensions that has been classified as a bell-tower or sacristy.

The research conducted in 2006 and 2007 partially had a revisionary character, and the monastery church's chancel was once more examined. The cleaned structure of the underpinning wall was very poorly built, and at a considerable remove from the nave, which has brought its dating into question. After a test trench was made at the altar's underpinning wall, a decision was made to remove it, whereafter it was possible to continue research of the area of the presumed chancel. After removal of the base for the flooring of later construction phases, the layout disposition of the late medieval monastery church was confirmed. The church's chancel,



Slika 9. Pogled sa zapada na svetište samostanske crkve nakon arheoloških istraživanja 2007. g. (snimio: M. Braun, 2007).

Figure 9. View of the monastery church's chancel from the west after archaeological research conducted in 2007 (photograph by: M. Braun, 2007).

Istraživanja 2006. i 2007. g. bila su djelomično i revizijskog karaktera te je ponovno istražen prostor svetišta samostanske crkve. Očišćena struktura podzida oltara bila je vrlo loše gradnje te u znatnu pomaku u odnosu na lađu, zbog čega je njegovo datiranje dovedeno u pitanje. Nakon što je na podzidu oltara napravljena pokusna sonda, donesena je odluka o njegovu uklanjanju, nakon čega je bilo moguće nastaviti s istraživanjima prostora pretpostavljena svetišta. Po uklanjanju podloge za podnicu kasnije građevinske faze potvrđena je tlocrtna dispozicija svetišta kasnosrednjovjekovne samostanske crkve. Svetište crkve, zaključeno polukružnim začelnim zidom, bilo je odijeljeno na dva dijela s dvije plitke, simetrično postavljene lezene (80 × 50 cm): pravokutni prostor (420 × 335 cm) te plitku, polukružno zaključenu apsidu (255 × 335 cm). Začelni zid apside porušen je gotovo do temeljne zone i na njemu je bio izgrađen začelni zid kasnijeg objekta. S istočne, vanjske strane začelni je zid svetišta bio ojačan s (barem) tri nepravilna kontrafora.¹¹

Revizijskim istraživanjima bio je obuhvaćen prostor pretpostavljene sakristije/zvonika. Potvrđeno je da je jednostavni, pravokutni prostor (unutarnje dimenzije: 305 × 230 cm; vanjske dimenzije: 395 × 430 cm) prislonjen uz istočni dio južnoga zida svetišta crkve sv. Petra. Kako su temelji te prostorije

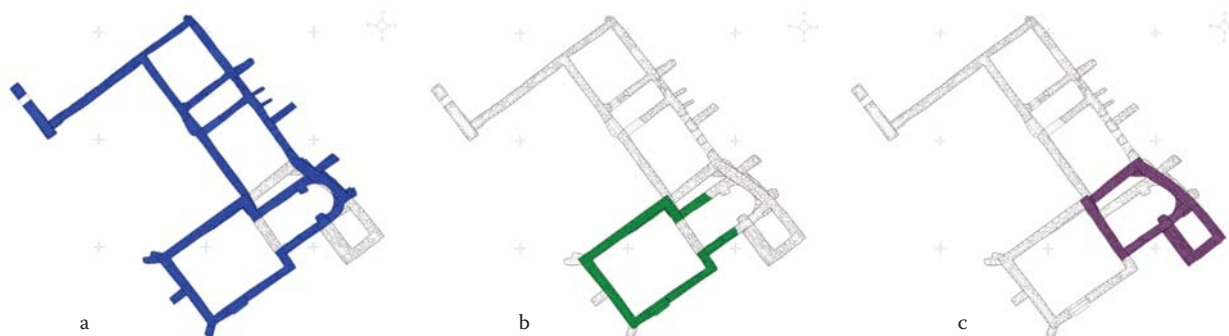
ending in a semi-circular apse, was divided into two sections with two shallow, symmetrically placed pilaster strips (80 × 50 cm): a rectangular room (420 × 335 cm) and a shallow, semi-circularly ended apse (255 × 335 cm). The façade wall of the apse was torn down almost to its foundation and the rear wall of a later structure was built on it. To the eastern, external side the rear wall of the chancel was reinforced with (a minimum of) three irregular counterforts.¹¹

The revisory research encompassed the area of the presumed sacristy/bell-tower. A simple, rectangular room (internal dimensions: 305 × 230 cm; external dimensions: 395 × 430 cm) leaning on the eastern part of the southern wall of the chancel of the monastery Church of St. Peter was confirmed. Since the foundations of this room are the thickest, there is good reason to assume that this was the bell-tower. Neither the flooring nor its base were found in the bell-tower's interior. A simple, shallow rectangular niche was confirmed on its northern wall. Based on differences in construction structure (which is most clearly seen on the façade of the eastern external wall) and the placement of the entrance to that facility from the very shallow apse section, it may be concluded it was also constructed in a later construction phase. This later dating is also confirmed by the fact that such as a massive bell-tower would have had great importance during the era of the Military Frontier and that it would certainly have had use as a surveillance tower. One may also conclude that the bell-tower (or at least its remains) was visible on the ground-plans of J. F. Hollstein and/or the drawing by M. A. Weiss.

From the aforementioned, one may clearly distinguish two subsequent reconstructions of the monastery Church of St. Peter. After the monks permanently abandoned the Zlat monastery complex, the church's nave was remodelled into a watchtower (*chardak*). This construction alteration did not greatly impact the structure of the sacral structure. The second construction undertaking encompassed the earlier area of the monastery church's chancel. Since the *chardak* was in use until the Treaty of Sistova in 1791, the second reconstruction should be dated to either the last years of the eighteenth or the very beginning of the nineteenth century. This structure entirely used the southern wall of the monastery church's chancel while a new wall was raised in the north, whereby the area

¹¹ I ti su kontrafori nepravilnih oblika i različitih dimenzija (sjeverni kontrafor K 4 – prosječna dužina 90 cm, širina 80; južni kontrafor K 5 – dužina 70 cm, širina 100 cm; kontrafor na SI kutu K 6 – dužina 120 cm, širina nepoznata). Nije bilo moguće potvrditi je li postojao još jedan takav kontrafor na JI kutu jer je na tom mjestu izgrađen istočni zid kasnijega zvonika.

¹¹ These counterforts have irregular shapes and different dimensions (northern counterfort, K 4 – average length 90 cm, width 80; southern counterfort K 5 – length 70 cm, width 100 cm; counterfort at north-east corner K 6 – length 120 cm, width unknown). It was not possible to confirm whether there was another such counterfort at the south-east corner, for the eastern wall of the later bell-tower was constructed at this place.



Slika 10. a) Tlocrt pavlinskog samostana sv. Petra (izradila: T. Pleše, 2007); b) Tlocrt pavlinskog samostana sv. Petra s označenom pregradnjom lađe crkve u čardak (izradila: T. Pleše, 2007); c) Tlocrt pavlinskog samostana sv. Petra s označenom pregradnjom svetišta crkve u pravoslavni hram Silaska Sv. Duha (izradila: T. Pleše, 2007).

Figure 10. a) Ground-plan of the Monastery of St. Peter (made by: T. Pleše, 2007); b) Ground-plan of the Monastery of St. Peter with marked alteration of the nave into a chardak (made by: T. Pleše, 2007); c) Ground-plan of the Monastery of St. Peter with marked alteration of the church chancel into the Temple of the Descent of the Holy Spirit (made by: T. Pleše, 2007).

najdeblji, s razlogom se može pretpostaviti da je to bio zvonik. U unutrašnjosti zvonika nisu pronađeni ni podnica ni ostaci njezine podloge. Jednostavna, pravokutna plitka niša potvrđena je na njegovu sjevernome zidu. Prema razlikama u strukturi gradnje (koja je najjasnije vidljiva na istočnome vanjskom pročelju) te prema smještaju ulaza u taj prostor iz vrlo plitka apsidalnog dijela može se zaključiti da je i on bio izgrađen u kasnijoj građevinskoj fazi. Tu kasniju dataciju potvrđuje i činjenica da bi takav jedan masivan zvonik bio od velika značaja u vrijeme Vojne krajine te da bi se zasigurno bio koristio kao promatračnica. Može se zaključiti i da bi zvonik (ili barem njegovi ostaci) bio vidljiv na tlocrtu J. F. Hollsteina i/ili crtežu M. A. Weissa.

Iz gore navedenog mogu se jasno razlučiti dvije kasnije pregradnje samostanske crkve sv. Petra. Nakon što su redovnici zauvijek napustili zlatki samostanski sklop, prostor lađe crkve prenamijenjen je u čardak. Taj građevinski zahvat nije značajno utjecao na strukturu sakralnog objekta. Drugim građevinskim zahvatom bio je obuhvaćen raniji prostor svetišta samostanske crkve. Kako je čardak bio u funkciji sve do mira u Svištovu 1791. g., drugu pregradnju treba datirati ili u posljednje godine 18. st. ili pak u početak 19. st. Za gradnju tog objekta u cijelosti je iskorišten južni zid svetišta samostanske crkve, dok je na sjeveru podignut novi zid, čime je prostor ranijeg svetišta proširen za 80 cm. Ujedno je bio podignut i novi istočni zid, koji je u cijelosti prekrpio začelni, polukružni temelj apside crkve sv. Petra. U SI i JI kutu tog kasnijeg objekta dozidane su (najvjerojatnije radi postizanja dojma poligonalnosti) trokutaste zapune. Može se pretpostaviti da je ulaz u taj kasniji objekt bio smješten na zapadnome dijelu južnoga zida. Nadalje, može se zaključiti da je u vrijeme gradnje tog kasnijeg objekta sagrađen

of the earlier chancel was expanded by 80 cm. A new eastern wall was also erected, and it entirely covered the rear, semi-circular foundation of the apse of the Church of St. Peter. Triangular additions were added on (most likely to attain a polygonal impression) at the north-east and south-east corners of this later building. It may be assumed that the entrance to this later structure was situated in the western section of this southern wall. Furthermore, one may conclude that at the time of construction of this later building, a wall was constructed which separated the nave from the chancel of the Pauline church. The data obtained from the Upper Karlovac Eparchy and the Zagreb-Ljubljana Eparchy confirmed that there was an Orthodox temple on Petrova Gora. The temple is not mentioned at its original location, rather only after its upper, wooden structure was moved to Slavsko polje, where it was razed to its foundation at the end of the Second World War. Unfortunately, there is no possibility of confirming this data, for currently there is an Orthodox cemetery above this temple today.¹² The Petrovac temple would, in terms of its formation, fit into the typical Orthodox sacral architecture. The temple stands out only in terms of its non-centred tower. One may therefore conclude that the Orthodox Temple of the Descent of the Holy Spirit was built on the foundations of the chancel of the Pauline church at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Since not a single fragment of vault architectural moulding was found in the church's interior, it may

¹² I owe a debt of gratitude for assistance in interpreting and understanding early Modern Orthodox architecture and for providing information to the Gerasim, the Upper Karlovac eparch, the Kolarić pastor, Archpriest Miroslav Babić, and the Zagreb pastor, Fr. Milenko Popović.

zid koji je odvojio lađu i svetište pavlinske crkve. Podacima dobivenima od Eparhije gornjokarlovačke i Eparhije zagrebačko-ljubljanske potvrđeno je da je na Petrovoj gori jedno kratko vrijeme postojao pravoslavni hram. Hram se ne spominje na svojoj izvornoj lokaciji, nego tek nakon što je njegova gornja, drvena struktura preseljena u Slavsko polje, gdje je krajem Drugog svjetskog rata porušen do temelja. Nažalost, ne postoji mogućnost potvrde tog podatka jer se nad tim hramom danas nalazi pravoslavno groblje.¹² Petrovački hram uklopio bi se prema svojem načinu oblikovanja u karakterističnu pravoslavnu sakralnu arhitekturu. Hram se izdvaja jedino prema necentriranom tornju. Može se stoga zaključiti da je na temeljima svetišta pavlinske crkve sv. Petra početkom 19. st. sagrađen pravoslavni hram Silaska Sv. Duha.

Kako u unutrašnjosti crkve nije pronađen nijedan ulomak arhitektonske profilacije, može se zaključiti da je crkva bila natkrivena jednostavnim, drvenim tabulatom. S obzirom na stilsku jednostavnost i skromnost u rješenju arhitektonskih elemenata, može se pretpostaviti da je podnica u crkvi bila napravljena od drvenih dasaka. Nadalje, nije moguće zaključiti kako je samostanska crkva bila osvijetljena, a s obzirom na neuobičajeno tlocrtno rješenje čitava zlatkog samostanskog sklopa proizašla iz prilagodbe morfologiji terena i malenu broju redovnika rješenje prozorskoga sustava ne može se tražiti u komparativnom materijalu. Može se samo pretpostaviti da su prozori zbog atmosferskih prilika bili postavljeni na južnome zidu lađe. Iako se na crtežu M. A. Weissa ne vide otvori ni na južnom ni na zapadnom pročelju čardaka, može se pretpostaviti da su bili zazidani iz obrambenih razloga. I svetište je zasigurno bilo osvijetljeno, no nije moguće zaključiti jesu li tu ulogu preuzele jednostavne monofore (slične onima na istočnome zidu kapitularne dvorane/refektorija), smještene na začelnome zidu svetišta, ili je pak bilo primijenjeno neko drugo rješenje. Na prostoru uz južno pročelje lađe i u svetištu samostanske crkve pronađeno je sveukupno dvadeset kosturnih ukopa.

Uz južno pročelje lađe samostanske crkve sv. Petra istraženo je trinaest grobova, od čega su u devet grobova bila ukopana djeca, a u preostala četiri odrasle osobe.

Grob 01 (G 1, *h* – 511,80 m). Grob djeteta. Znatno poremećen. Pravilno orijentiran. Ruke prekržižene

¹² Zahvalnost za pomoć pri tumačenju i razumijevanju novovjekovne pravoslavne arhitekture te za dobavljanje podataka dugujem eparhu gornjokarlovačkom, gospodinu Gerasimu, parohu kolaričkom, protojereju Miroslavu Babiću, te parohu zagrebačkom, ocu Milenku Popoviću.

be concluded that the church was covered with a simple wooden coffered ceiling. Given the stylistic simplicity and modesty applied to the rendering of architectural elements, it may be assumed that the church floor was made of wooden planks. Furthermore, it was not possible to ascertain how the monastery church was illuminated, and given that the unusual ground-plan layout resulted from its adaptation to the morphology of the terrain and the small number of monks, the solution to the window system cannot be sought in comparative materials. Due to climatic conditions, the windows can only be assumed to have been installed on the nave's southern wall. Even though openings on neither the southern nor western façade of the watchtower (*chardak*) can be seen on the drawing by M. A. Weiss, one may assume that they were built for defensive purposes. The chancel was certainly also illuminated, but it is impossible to conclude whether this role was assumed by simple single-light windows (similar to those on the eastern wall of the capitulary hall/refectory), installed on the chancel's rear wall, or whether some other solution was applied.

A total of ten skeletal interments were found in the area adjacent to the southern façade of the nave.

Thirteen graves were researched along the façade of the nave of the monastery Church of St. Peter, out of which nine graves had children buried in them, while the remaining four were adults.

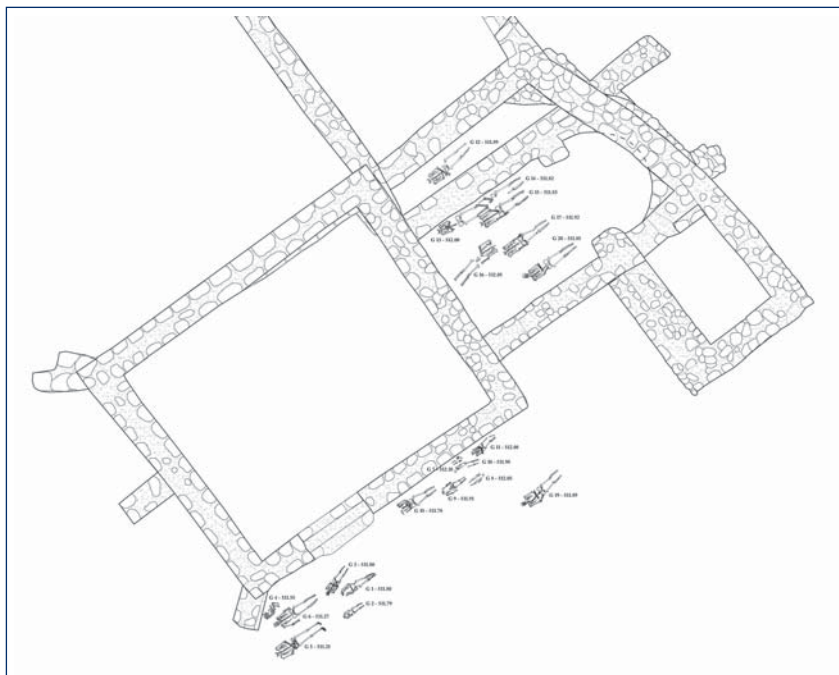
Grave 01 (G 1, *h* – 511,80 m). Child's grave. Considerably damaged. Regular orientation. Hands crossed over pelvis. Roman copper coins¹³ and nine round, bone beads found at pelvic area.

Grave 02 (G 2, *h* – 511,79 m). Small child's grave. Regular orientation. Hands crossed over pelvis. No grave goods.

Grave 03 (G 3, *h* – 511,8 m). Child's grave. Regular orientation. Hands crossed over pelvis. No grave goods.

Grave 04 (G 4, *h* – 511,55 m). Child's grave. Regular orientation. Hands crossed over pelvis. Legs very bent, oriented leftward. No grave goods.

¹³ Roman copper coin (PN 02). Constantius II (337-361); b.l. (337-361); AE, Cohen vii.447.47; Bust: Enshrouded bust of the emperor, facing right; head wreathed. Rev.: FEL TEMP REPARATIO.; Type: Soldier wearing helmet, shield in left hand, rt. hand holds spear piercing fallen cavalryman who is turned toward attacker with left hand outstretched; holding shield on ground. Dim.: 13 mm. Weight: 0.62 g. Ax.: 12. Extremely worn. All of the discovered coins were cleaned and preserved at the Terrestrial Archaeological Artefact Restoration Department (Croatian Restoration Institute), and they were dated by I. Mirnik, Ph.D. and T. Bilić, Ph.D. (Archaeological Museum in Zagreb), whom I take this opportunity to thank.



Slika 11. Tlocrt samostanske crkve i kasnijih pregradnji s ucrtanim grobovima (izradila: R. Mavar, 2007).

Figure 11. Ground-plan of the monastery church and subsequent alterations with graves indicated (made by: R. Mavar, 2007).

na zdjelici. U predjelu zdjelice pronađeni su bakreni rimski novac¹³ te devet koštanih, okruglih perlica.

Grob 02 (G 2, $h - 511,79$ m). Grob malog djeteta. Pravilno orijentiran. Ruke prekrížene na zdjelici. Bez nalaza.

Grob 03 (G 3, $h - 511,80$ m). Grob djeteta. Pravilno orijentiran. Ruke prekrížene na zdjelici. Bez nalaza.

Grob 04 (G 4, $h - 511,55$ m). Grob djeteta. Pravilno orijentiran. Ruke prekrížene na zdjelici. Noge jako povijene i položene na lijevu stranu. Bez nalaza.

Grob 05 (G 5, $h - 511,25$ m). Grob odrasle osobe (ženska osoba srednje dobi). Pravilno orijentiran. Ruke prekrížene na zdjelici. U donjem dijelu trupa pronađen je kostur nerođena djeteta. U grobu su bila priložena dva bakrena komada rimskog novca: jedan u lijevoj šaci, drugi na prsima.¹⁴ U grobu je

¹³ Rimski bakrenjak (PN 02). Constantius II. (337–361); b.l. (337–361); AE, Cohen vii.447.47; Pop.: Zaogrnuto poprsje cara d.; glava ovjenčana. Rv.: FEL TEMP REPARATIO; Tip: Vojnik s kacigom l., štit na l. ruci, d. rukom kopljem probada palog jahača koji se okreće prema napadaču ispružene lijeve ruke; na zemlji d. štit. Dim.: 13 mm. Težina: 0,62 g. Pol. kal.: 12. Vrlo jako istrošen. Sav pronađeni novac očišćen je i konzerviran na Odjelu za restauriranje kopnenih arheoloških nalaza (Hrvatski restauratorski zavod), a datirali su ga dr. sc. I. Mirnik i dr. sc. T. Bilić (Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu), kojima ovom prilikom zahvaljujem.

¹⁴ Rimski bakrenjak (PN 04). Rim, 3–4. st.; AE; Pop.: Glava cara d. Dim.: 12 × 11 mm. Težina: 0,51 g. Pol. kal.: 13. Vrlo jako istrošen. Rimski bakrenjak (PN 05). Rim, 4. st.; AE; Pop.: Poprsje cara d. Dim.: 16 mm. Težina: 1,55 g. Pol. kal.: 13. Vrlo jako istrošen.

Grave 05 (G 5, $h - 511.25$ m). Adult's grave (middle-aged woman). Regular orientation. Hands crossed over pelvis. Skeleton of unborn child found at lower part of body. Two Roman copper coins placed in grave: one in left hand, the other at the chest.¹⁴ One round, wooden bead also found in grave, probably part of rosary.

Grave 06 (G 6, $h - 511.27$ m). Adult's grave (sex could not be determined). Regular orientation. Hands placed at sides of body. Roman copper coin¹⁵ and five round, wooden beads found at lower part.

Grave 07 (G 7, $h - 512.18$ m). Newborn's grave. Irregular orientation. Position of hands could not be ascertained. This had the highest optometric value. No grave goods.

Grave 08 (G 8, $h - 512.05$ m).

Small child's grave. Irregular orientation. Hands placed alongside body. No grave goods.

Grave 09 (G 9, $h - 511.91$ m). Child's grave. Regular orientation. Hands placed alongside body. Metallic item corroded to irreducibility found in backfill above grave.

Grave 10 (G 10, $h - 511.98$ m). Child's grave. Regular orientation. Hands placed alongside body. No grave goods.

Grave 11 (G 11, $h - 512.08$ m). Child's grave. Regular orientation. Right hand placed over chest, left over pelvis. No grave goods.

Grave 18 (G 12, $h - 511.78$ m). Adult's grave. Regular orientation. Hands placed over belly. Bronze arrowhead found in backfill above grave.

Grave 19 (G 19, $h - 511.89$ m). Adult's grave. Regular orientation. Right hand placed over pelvis, left over breast. No grave goods.

All graves (except the children's graves G 7 and 8) were regularly oriented. The graves were dug at very small mutual intervals in the narrow space adjacent

¹⁴ Roman copper coin (PN 04). Rome, 3rd-4th cent.; AE; Bust: Head of emperor facing right. Dim.: 12 × 11 mm. Weight: 0.51 g. Ax.: 13. Extremely worn. Roman copper coin (PN 05). Rome, 4th cent.; AE; Bust: Bust of emperor facing right. Dim.: 16 mm. Weight: 1.55 g. Ax.: 13. Extremely worn.

¹⁵ Roman copper coin (PN 07). Rome, 4th cent.; AE; Bust: Bust of emperor facing right. Dim.: 16 × 14 mm. Weight: 1.77 g. Ax.: 13. Extremely worn.

pronađena i jedna okrugla, drvena perla, najvjerojatnije dio krunice.

Grob 06 (G 6, *h* – 511,27 m). Grob odrasle osobe (nije bilo moguće utvrditi spol). Pravilno orijentiran. Ruke položene uz tijelo. U grobu je na donjem dijelu trupa nađen bakreni rimski novac¹⁵ te pet okruglih, drvenih perli.

Grob 07 (G 7, *h* – 512,18 m). Grob novorođenčeta. Nepravilno orijentiran. Položaj ruku nije bilo moguće utvrditi. Ovaj grob ima najvišu ortometrijsku vrijednost. Bez nalaza.

Grob 08 (G 8, *h* – 512,05 m). Grob malog djeteta. Nepravilno orijentiran. Ruke položene uz tijelo. Bez nalaza.

Grob 09 (G 9, *h* – 511,91 m). Grob djeteta. Pravilno orijentiran. Ruke položene uz tijelo. U zasipu iznad groba pronađen je metalni predmet korozijom uništen do neprepoznatljivosti.

Grob 10 (G 10, *h* – 511,98 m). Grob djeteta. Pravilno orijentiran. Ruke položene uz tijelo. Bez nalaza.

Grob 11 (G 11, *h* – 512,08 m). Grob djeteta. Pravilno orijentiran. Desna ruka položena preko prsa, lijeva preko zdjelice. Bez nalaza.

Grob 18 (G 12, *h* – 511,78 m). Grob odrasle osobe. Pravilno orijentiran. Ruke položene preko trbuha. U zasipu iznad groba pronađena je brončana strelica.

Grob 19 (G 19, *h* – 511,89 m). Grob odrasle osobe. Pravilno orijentiran. Desna ruka položena na zdjelicu, lijeva preko grudi. Bez nalaza.

Svi grobovi osim grobova djece G 7 i 8 bili su pravilno orijentirani. Grobovi su ukopani s vrlo malim međusobnim razmacima u usku prostoru uz same temelje crkve. Među istraženim grobovima nema preslojavanja. Svi grobovi bili su ukopani izravno u zdravicu. Istražene grobove nije moguće sa sigurnošću datirati. Svega su u tri groba (G 1, 5 i 6) pronađeni nalazi. Zanimljivo je da su u sva tri groba nađene i drvene perle i rimski novac datiran u 4. st

Nalaz rimskog novca u grobovima može se povezati sa skupnim nalazom koji je mogao biti pronađen ili na prostoru samoga samostanskog sklopa ili u okolini, na jednoj od (pretpostavljenih) rimskih kontrolnih točki. Na skupni nalaz upućuje i jednako stanje istrošenosti.¹⁶ Drugu grupu nalaza čine malene drvene perle za koje se može pretpostaviti da su bile dijelovi krunica. Takav tip perli teško je uže datirati

to the church's foundations. Among the researched graves there was no overlapping. All graves were dug directly into topsoil. The researched graves could not be dated with certainty. Grave goods were found only in three graves (G 1, 5 and 6). It is interesting that all three mentioned graves have yielded both wooden beads and Roman coins dated to the fourth century.

The discovery of Roman coins in the graves may be associated with a group find which could be found either in the area of the monastery complex itself or in its vicinity, at one of the (assumed) Roman control points. The equal state of wear also indicates a group find.¹⁶ The second group of finds consists of small wooden beads which may be assumed to have been parts of a rosary. This bead type is difficult to date more precisely due to the material from which it was made (wood), and which was easily workable and it is considerably less expensive than so-called glass paste, so it was more frequently used. Due to this data, the lower horizon of the researched graves may be set at the time of establishment of the monastery, while the upper horizon may be set to the first half of the nineteenth century.

Seven graves of adult men were researched in the area of the chancel of the Church of St. Peter.

Grave 12 (G 12, *h* – 511.89 m). Adult man's grave. Regular orientation. Arms folded over chest. No grave goods.

Grave 13 (G 13, *h* – 512 m). Adult man's grave. Regular orientation. Arms folded over chest. Small piece of fabric found in the fill above the grave.

Grave 14 (G 14, *h* – 511.82 m). Adult man's grave. Damaged by the later burial G 13. Regular



Slika 12. Nalazi iz grobova G 1, 5 i 6 uz južno pročelje samostanske crkve (snimio: J. Škudar, 2008).

Figure 12. Goods from graves G 1, 5 and 6 along southern façade of monastery church (photograph by: J. Škudar, 2008).

¹⁵ Rimski bakrenjak (PN 07). Rim, 4. st.; AE; Pop.: Poprsje cara d. Dim.: 16 × 14 mm. Težina: 1,77 g. Pol. kal.: 13. Vrlo jako istrošen.

¹⁶ Kao rijetke (objavljene) primjere prilaganja neprobušenoga rimskog novca u kasnosrednjovjekovne, odnosno ranonovovjekovne, grobove treba navesti nalaze iz Koprivne i Velike Crljivice (Gjurašin 2005: 168–170; Gudelj 2005: 202–203).

¹⁶ Worthwhile mentioning as rare (published) examples of placing unpierced Roman coins in late medieval and Early Modern graves are the finds from Koprivna and Velika Crljivica (Gjurašin 2005: 168–170; Gudelj 2005: 202–203).

zbog materijala od kojeg su izrađene (drvo), a koji je bio lako obradiv i znatno jeftiniji od npr. staklene paste te stoga i često upotrebljavan. Zbog navedenih podataka donja granica istraženih grobova može se odrediti u vrijeme osnutka samostanskoga sklopa, a gornja u prvu polovicu 19. st.

Na prostoru svetišta crkve sv. Petra istraženo je sedam grobova odraslih osoba muškog spola.

Grob 12 (G 12, $h - 511,89$ m). Grob odrasle muške osobe. Pravilno orijentiran. Ruke preklopljene na prsima. Bez nalaza.

Grob 13 (G 13, $h - 512,00$ m). Grob odrasle muške osobe. Pravilno orijentiran. Ruke preklopljene na prsima. U zasipu iznad groba pronađen je malen komad tkanine.

Grob 14 (G 14, $h - 511,82$ m). Grob odrasle muške osobe. Poremećen kasnijim ukopom G 13. Pravilno orijentiran. Desna ruka položena uz tijelo, lijeva preko trbuha. Bez nalaza.

Grob 15 (G 15, $h - 511,83$ m). Grob odrasle muške osobe. Poremećen kasnijim ukopom G 13. Pravilno orijentiran. Lijeva ruka preko zdjelice. Bez nalaza.

Grob 16 (G 16, $h - 512,05$ m). Grob odrasle muške osobe. Nepravilno orijentiran. Desna ruka položena preko trbuha, lijeva uz tijelo. Bez nalaza.

Grob 17 (G 17, $h - 511,92$ m). Grob odrasle muške osobe. Pravilno orijentiran. Ruke položene uz tijelo. Bez nalaza.

Grob 20 (G 20, $h - 511,85$ m). Grob odrasle muške osobe. Ovaj grob ima najnižu ortometrijsku vrijednost. Pravilno orijentiran. Desna ruka položena na zdjelicu, lijeva preko trbuha. Bez nalaza.

Prema mjestu i dubini ukopa istraženi se grobovi mogu podijeliti u dvije skupine. U prvu skupinu mogu se uvrstiti grobovi ukopani u sredini svetišta (G 14, 15, 17 i 20). Svi su neporemećeni, ukopani u zdravicu, bez priloga i pravilno orijentirani. S obzirom na mjesto njihova ukopa u svetištu može se zaključiti da su to bili zlatki redovnici, što omogućava njihovo datiranje u vrijeme od početka 14. do prve četvrtine 16. st. Drugu skupinu čine grobovi G 12, 13 i 16. Svi su ukopani u višem sloju od G 14, 15, 17 i 20, a svaki svojim položajem upućuje na kasniju dataciju od grobova iz prve skupine. Ni u tim grobovima nije bilo nalaza, što otežava njihovo datiranje. Stoga se može zaključiti da su ta tri groba u prostor svetišta crkve i oko njega bila ukopana nakon sredine 16. st., a prije početka 19. st.

Zlatki samostanski sklop imao je samo jedno krilo s dvije prostorije povezane hodnikom. Južna od te dvije prostorije nalazi se neposredno uz svetište, pa je stoga određena kao kapitularna dvorana koja je imala i ulogu refektorija. Kapitularna dvorana/

orijentiran. Right arm placed next to body, left over abdomen. No grave goods.

Grave 15 (G 15, $h - 511,83$ m). Adult man's grave. Damaged by the later burial G 13. Regular orientation. Left hand over pelvis. No grave goods.

Grave 16 (G 16, $h - 512,05$ m). Adult man's grave. Irregular orientation. Right hand placed over abdomen, left alongside body. No grave goods.

Grave 17 (G 17, $h - 511,92$ m). Adult man's grave. Regular orientation. Hands placed alongside body. No grave goods.

Grave 20 (G 20, $h - 511,85$ m). Adult man's grave. This grave has the least optometric value. Regular orientation. Right hand placed on pelvis, left hand over abdomen. No grave goods.

Based on the site and depth of the interments, the researched graves may be classified into two groups. The first group may include the graves dug into the middle of the chancel (G 14, 15, 17 and 20). All are undamaged, dug into sterile topsoil, without grave goods and oriented regularly. Given the site of their burials in the chancel, it may be concluded that these were Zlat monks, which allows for their dating from the beginning of the fourteenth to the first quarter of the sixteenth century. The second group consists of graves G 12, 13 and 16. All were buried in a higher layer than G 14, 15, 17 and 20, and the position of each indicates a later dating than that of the graves in the first group. These graves also contained no grave goods, making their dating more difficult. Thus, it may be concluded that these three graves in the church's chancel and around it were dug after the mid-sixteenth century, and prior to the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The Zlat monastery complex had only one wing with two areas connected by a corridor. The more southerly of these two facilities is directly adjacent to the chancel, so it has been specified as the capitulary hall which had the role of a refectory. The capitulary hall/refectory (855×480 cm) was truncated during construction of the Orthodox temple's northern wall (675×480 cm). It was opened on the eastern side by three *in situ* (partially) preserved narrow single-light window with funnel-shaped layout. It is impossible to conclude whether the room had windows facing the courtyard. A semi-circular fireplace as in the north-east corner, which is indicated by, among other things, two fragments of a fireplace console (Horvat 1994). Flooring made of wooden slats (average $h - 511,5$ m) was confirmed in this area.

Based on the construction structure of the capitulary hall/refectory, the construction alterations which ensued after reconstruction of the monastery



Slika 13. Monofore na istočnom zidu kapitularne dvorane/refektorija (snimila: T. Pleše, 2006).

Figure 13. Single-light windows on the eastern wall of the capitulary hall/refectory (photographed by: T. Pleše, 2006).

refektorij (855 × 480 cm) tijekom gradnje sjevernoga zida pravoslavnoga hrama znatno je skraćena (675 × 480 cm). S istočne strane bila je rastvorena s tri *in situ* (djelomično) sačuvane uske monofore ljevkaستا tlocrta. Nije moguće zaključiti je li prostorija imala prozore prema dvorištu. U SI kutu prostorije nalazio se polukružni kamin, na što među inim upućuju i dva ulomka konzole nape (Horvat 1994). U toj prostoriji potvrđena je podnica od drvenih dasaka (prosječni h – 511,50 m).

Prema strukturi gradnje kapitularne dvorane/refektorija mogu se pratiti građevinski zahvati koji su uslijedili tijekom obnove samostanskoga sklopa nakon dva osmanlijska napada. Najjasnije su vidljive sanacije na istočnome pročelju te prostorije. Dva podupornja (K 8 i K 9) jednakih dimenzija (100 × 20 cm) dozidana su s vanjske strane kutnoga kamina. Njihova dogradnja ne mora nužno uputiti na nestabilnost zida uzrokovanu urušavanjem nakon napada, nego na slabljenje zidne konstrukcije zbog dugoročne izloženosti velikim temperaturama (unutarnji kamin). Još jedno ojačanje (K 7 – 250 × 65 cm) bilo je prigradeno između sjeverne i srednje monofore. Njegova pozicija korespondira s podupornjem koji je bio dozidan uz sjeverni rub istočnih vrata hodnika (K 10 – dužina: 195 cm; širina: 90 cm). Upravo zbog prigradnje K 7 između dvije monofore sa sigurnošću se može zaključiti da ta dva podupornja nisu zatvarala neku građevnu strukturu. Stoga se može zaključiti da su ti podupornji dozidani uz istočno samostansko pročelje u skladu s potrebama saniranja objekta nakon osmanlijskih napada.

Kapitularnu dvoranu/refektorij i kuhinju povezuje pravokutni hodnik (490 × 220 cm). Na cijelome prostoru hodnika potvrđena je podnica od drvenih

in the wake of two Ottoman attacks may be followed. The most clearly visible repairs are on the eastern façade of this room. Two struts (K 8 and K 9) with equal dimensions (100 × 20 cm) were added onto the external side of the corner fireplace. Their subsequent construction need not necessarily indicate the instability of the wall caused by collapse after an attack, but rather the weakening of the wall structure due to long exposure to high temperatures (indoor fireplace). One more reinforcement (K 7 – 250 × 65 cm) was built between the northern and central single-light windows. Its position corresponds to the strut which was subsequently built along the northern edge of the eastern corridor door (K 10 – 195 × 90 cm). It is precisely because of the position of subsequently added strut K 7 between the two single-light windows that can be stated with certainty that the two struts did not close some structure. It may therefore be concluded that these struts were added on to the eastern monastery façade in line with the needs for repair after the Ottoman attacks.

The capitulary hall/refectory and kitchen are connected by a rectangular corridor (490 × 220 cm). Flooring made of wooden slats has been confirmed over the entire area of the corridor. The corridor opened to passages on all four sides. On the southern side it gave access to the capitulary hall/refectory (width of opening: 190 cm), from the north it led to the kitchen (width of opening: 240 cm), and from the west to the courtyard (width of opening: 155 cm). An exit toward the eastern outdoor plateau was on its eastern side (width of opening: 140 cm; external opening: 100 cm). This eastern door is the only (discovered) communication between

dasaka. Hodnik je bio rastvoren prolazima na sve četiri strane. S južne strane iz njega se ulazi u kapitularnu dvoranu/refektorij (širina otvora: 190 cm), sa sjeverne u kuhinju (širina otvora: 240 cm), a sa zapadne strane u dvorište (širina otvora: 155 cm). S istočne strane nalazi se izlaz prema istočnome vanjskom platou (širina otvora: 140 cm; vanjski otvor: 100 cm). Ta istočna vrata jedina su (pronađena) komunikacija samostanskoga sklopa i vanjskoga prostora. Nije sačuvan jedino prag južnih vrata prema kapitularnoj dvorani/refektoriju. Sjeverni i zapadni prag izrađeni su od krupnijih, bolje obrađenih lomljenaca. Za razliku od jednostavnog sjevernog praga zapadni je bio sastavljen od dva reda krupnijeg lomljenca koja je dijelila *in situ* sačuvana drvena greda. Od zapadnih vrata nađen je samo jedan, također jednostavno profiliran ulomak dovratnika. Istočni prag ljevka tlocrta (vanjska širina: 85 cm; unutarnja širina: 105 cm) najbolje je sačuvan prag samostanskoga sklopa. Gazište ima višu, užu vanjsku stepenicu te onu širu i nižu unutarnju. Prema visini donjega dijela vanjskoga dijela gazišta određena je i visina hodnoga sloja istočnoga samostanskog vanjskog prostora (prosječni $h - 511,20$ m).

Sjeverna prostorija (555 × 500 cm) jedinog samostanskog krila zbog velike količine kasnosrednjovjekovnog stolnog posuđa određena je kao kuhinja. U prostoriju se ulazilo iz spomenutog hodnika. Kako su zidovi sačuvani u relativno maloj visini, nije moguće sa sigurnošću potvrditi na kojem su se mjestu nalazili prozori. Jedino je na sredini istočnoga zida uočena pravilna, zaglađena struktura za koju se može pretpostaviti da je bila podloga za prozorsku klupčicu. Potvrda takva smještaja prozora jesu segment doprozornika nađen u zasipu uz istočno pročelje istočnoga zida kuhinje te dva ulomka doprozornika nađena uz unutarnje pročelje istočnoga zida prostorije. Potvrđeno je da je i ta prostorija imala podnicu od drvenih dasaka. Podnica je bila postavljena na grubo poravnat sloj sitna ružičasta tucanika izravno nanosena na živu stijenu (prosječni $h - 511,50$ m).

Kako je u zlatkome samostanu boravio malen broj redovnika, može se zaključiti da nije postojala potreba za još jednim krilom. U prizemlju jedinog krila bile su smještene kapitularna dvorana/refektorij i kuhinja. Stoga se može pretpostaviti da su spavaonice bile smještene na katu iznad tih prostorija. Nadalje, zbog lake dostupnosti drvene građe i nedostatne količine urušena kamena može se pretpostaviti da je gornji kat bio izgrađen od drveta. Ovdje svakako treba navesti i mogućnost kako možda nije postojao stambeni prostor na katu te kako su taj problem redovnici riješili na drugačiji način. Iako je zbog nedostatnih podataka uslijed

the monastery complex and the outdoor area. Only the threshold of the door leading to the capitulary hall/refectory has not been found. The northern and western thresholds were made of larger, better dressed broken stones. In contrast to the simple northern threshold, the western one was made of two rows of larger broken stones were separated by a wooden beam preserved *in situ*. Only a single, simply moulded door-frame fragment was found from the western door. The eastern threshold with funnel-shaped layout (external width: 85 cm; internal width: 105 cm) is the best preserved in the monastery complex. The walking surface has a higher, narrower external step and a wider and lower inside one. Based on the height of the external portion of the walking surface, the height of the walking surface of the monastery's eastern outdoor area was also determined (average $h - 511.2$ m).

The northern room (555 × 500 cm) of the only monastery wing has been defined as the kitchen based on the high quantity of medieval tableware vessels. This room was accessed through the aforementioned corridor. Since the walls were preserved to a relatively low height, it is impossible to state where the windows were located with any certainty. Because of a regular structure (polished mortar), observed in the middle of the eastern wall may be assumed to have served as a base for a window sill. Confirmation of this location of a window is a segment of a window fragment found in the fill along the eastern façade of the eastern kitchen wall and two window frame fragments found along the internal façade of the room's eastern wall. It has also been confirmed that this room had a floor made of wooden slats. The flooring was placed on a coarsely levelled layer of tiny pinkish gravel directly poured over bedrock (average $h - 511.5$ m).

Since a small number of monks resided in the Zlat monastery, it may be concluded that there was no need for another wing. At the ground level of this sole wing only two rooms were situated: the capitulary hall/refectory and kitchen. Therefore, it may be supposed that the bedrooms were located on the floor above these rooms. Furthermore, due to easy access to lumber and based on insufficient quantities of stone rubble, it may be assumed that the upper floor was made of wood. It should be mentioned that there is a possibility that residential quarters did not exist on the upper floor, and that the monks resolved that problem in some other way. Although the lack of data resulting from the level of research into late medieval Pauline monasteries makes it difficult to speak of possible structural formations of the upper floor of the monastery complex, pre-conceived, rational solutions adapted to monastic



Slika 14. Pogled na samostanski sklop sv. Petra s istoka (snimio: M. Braun, 2007).

Figure 14. View of St. Peter monastery complex from the east (photograph by: M. Braun, 2007).

stanja istraženosti slavonskih kasnosrednjovjekovnih pavlinskih samostana za sada vrlo teško govoriti o mogućim strukturalnim oblikovanjima gornjega kata samostanskog sklopa, ipak se treba voditi idejom o promišljenim, racionalnim rješenjima, prilagođenim redovničkim potrebama i mogućnostima života u pojedinom podneblju.

Cio zapadni dio samostanskoga sklopa zauzima pravokutno dvorište (1 545 × 1 200 cm). Dvorište je određeno zapadnim zidovima kuhinje i kapitularne dvorane/refektorija i sjevernim zidom crkve, dok je sa sjeverne strane određeno vanjskim sjevernim zidom samostanskoga sklopa. I na tom su sjevernom zidu jasno vidljivi građevinski zahvati provedeni tijekom sanacije sklopa nakon štete nanesene osmanlijskim napadima. Zid je zbog osjetna pada kamenog živca prema SZ dijelu platoa na SZ kutu ojačan dugačkim (400 × 95 cm), pravokutnim podupornjem (K 11), čime je ponovljeno konstrukcijsko-statičko rješenje ojačavanja zapadnoga pročelja crkve.

Cio unutarnji prostor samostanskoga dvorišta istražen je do kamenog živca (prosječni h – 511,40 m). Ortometrijska vrijednost živca najviša je u II kutu dvorišta, dok se prema sjevernome dijelu može uočiti njezin osjetan pad. Iako je dvorište u cijelosti istraženo, nije nađen nijedan trag arhitekture koji bi uputio na postojanje zida kojim bi dvorište bilo zatvoreno sa zapadne strane. Stoga se može zaključiti da je samostansko dvorište sa zapadne strane bilo zatvoreno drvenim zidom, odnosno drvenom ogradom. Nisu potvrđene ni strukture koje bi potvrdile postojanje pregradnih konstrukcija unutar dvorišta. Taj nedostatak, naravno, ne upućuje na siguran zaključak da strukture nisu postojale, nego samo na činjenicu da zasigurno nisu bile izgrađene od kamena. Iz navedenog se može zaključiti da samostansko dvorište nije bilo natkriveno (zasigurno ne veći dio) te da nije imalo kameno popločenje.

needs and possibilities of life in a given environment should nonetheless be the guiding idea.

The entire western portion of the monastery encompasses a rectangular courtyard (1,545 × 1,200 cm). The courtyard is bounded by the western walls of the kitchen and capitulary hall/refectory and northern wall of the church, while to the north it is bounded by the external northern wall of the monastery complex. This northern wall also bears visible traces of construction work conducted during repairs to the complex due to damage sustained during Ottoman assaults. Due to the drastic decline of the bedrock toward the south-west section of the plateau, the wall was reinforced at its south-west by a long (400 × 95 cm), rectangular strut (K 11), whereby the architectural/static solution of reinforcing the church's western façade.

The entire interior of the monastery courtyard has been examined down to the bedrock (average h – 511.4 m). The bedrock's ortometric value is the highest in the courtyard's south-east corner, while toward the northern section it descends noticeably. Even though the courtyard has been thoroughly researched, no trace of any architecture was found which would point toward the existence of a wall enclosing the courtyard from the western side. Thus, a reasonable conclusion is that the courtyard was closed on the western side by a wooden wall or wooden fence. By the same token, no structures were ascertained that would indicate the existence of partitioning structures inside the courtyard. This absence naturally does not point to a certain conclusion that structures did not exist, rather only that they certainly were not made of stone. Based on this, it may be concluded that the monastery's courtyard was not covered (certainly not the larger portion) and that it did not have a stone-paved ground.

UKRATKO O PRONAĐENU POKRETNOM ARHEOLOŠKOM MATERIJALU

Tijekom arheoloških istraživanja pronađena je velika količina pokretnih arheoloških nalaza. Nađena je manja količina ulomaka prapovijesne (13–12. st. pr. n. e.) i rimske keramike (1–4. st. n. e.). Najzastupljenija je (očekivano) ona kasnosrednjovjekovna te pećnjači. Svi nalazi mogu se datirati u vrijeme od 14. do 16. st., a tipološki se podudaraju s nalazima kasnosrednjovjekovne keramike iz drugih onodobnih pavlinskih samostana (Kamensko, Streza) (Šribar 1972: 21–245; Holl & Parádi 1982: 93–101; Tkalčec 2001; Tomičić *et al.* 2001; Sekelj Ivančan & Tkalčec 2002; Radić & Bojčić 2004: 47–48, 163–195, 208–211, 233–236; Čimin 2008: 107, 113–115, 121–130, 134–140). Od ostalih nalaza treba izdvojiti šest ulomaka lula (Bekić 2000; 2001; 2008; Radić & Bojčić 2004: 218–219). U skladu s financijskim mogućnostima dio pronađenih pokretnih arheoloških nalaza konzerviran je i restauriran na Odjelu za restauriranje kopnenih arheoloških nalaza HRZ-a (konzervatori-restauratori: Maša Vuković Biruš i Mihael Golubić). Taj materijal bit će objavljen u zasebnome radu koji je u pripremi. Tijekom istraživanja samostanskoga sklopa pronađeno je i pet rimskih bakrenjaka u vrlo lošem stanju (četiri komada nađena su u grobovima te jedan¹⁷ u zasipu uz južno pročelje lađe crkve), jedan denar¹⁸ i jedan krajcar.¹⁹

ZAKLJUČNE NAPOMENE

Samostan sv. Petra na Zlatu za sada je jedini u cijelosti istražen kasnosrednjovjekovni pavlinski samostan na onodobnome slavonskom prostoru. Zlatski samostan prema svim svojim karakteristikama

¹⁷ Rimski bakrenjak (PN 01). Constantius II. (337–361); b.l. (337–361); AE, ?, Cohen vii.447.47; Pop.: Zaogrnto poprsje cara d.; glava ovjenčana. Rv.: FEL TEMP REPARATIO.; Tip: Vojnik s kacigom l., štit na lijevoj ruci, desnom rukom kopljem probada palog jahača koji se okreće prema napadaču ispružene lijeve ruke; na zemlji desno štit. Dim.: 16 × 15 mm. Težina: 0,83 g. Pol. kal.: 12. Vrlo jako istrošen.

¹⁸ Denar (PN 13). Crkvena gospoda/Geistliche Gebiete, Erzbistümer, Aquileia; Antonio II. Panciera (1402–1411); Den, Aquileia, CNI vi.37.5; Av.: +ANTONIVS*PATRIARCA; Grb patrijarha na štitu; gore nazupčana greda, dolje zvijezda; natpis između dvije biserne kružnice. Rv.: *AQV*ILE*GEN*SIS; Akvilejski orao l.; natpis između dvije biserne kružnice. Dim.: 17 mm. Težina: 0,51 g. Pol. kal.: 2. Otkrhnut.

¹⁹ Krajcar (PN 14). Nasljednice Heiligen Roem. Reiches, Ksr. Oestereich 1806–1867; Franz I. (*12.II.1768–14.VII.1792–14.VIII.1804–6.VIII.1806+2.III.1835); 1816; HKreuzer, Kremnitz, Miller 315; Adam 437, B; Av.:K-K-OESTERREICHISCHE SCHEIDEMUNZE; Grb s dvoglavim orlom. Rv.: *1/2* KREUZER 1816. Dim.: 22 mm. Težina: 4,16 g. Pol. kal.: 12. Odlično sačuvan.

A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS

A large quantity of finds was discovered during the archaeological research. Small quantities of prehistoric (13th–12th cent. BC) and Roman potsherds (1st–4th cent. AD) were found. The most common pottery finds are (as expected) late medieval, as are the stove tiles. All finds may be dated from the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries, and they typologically correspond to the late medieval ceramic finds from the other Pauline monasteries of the time (Kamensko, Streza) (Šribar 1972: 21–245; Holl & Parádi 1982: 93–101; Tkalčec 2001; Tomičić *et al.* 2001; Sekelj Ivančan & Tkalčec 2002; Radić & Bojčić 2004: 47–48, 163–195, 208–211, 233–236; Čimin 2008: 107, 113–115, 121–130, 134–140). Out of the remaining finds, six smoking pipe fragments (Bekić 2000; 2001; 2008; Radić & Bojčić 2004: 218–219) should be highlighted. To the extent permitted by finances, a part of the discovered finds were preserved and restored at the Croatian Conservation Institute's Department for Conservation of Land Archaeological Finds (conservator-restorers: Maša Vuković Biruš and Mihael Golubić). This material will be published in a separate work under preparation. During research of the monastery complex, five Roman copper coins were also discovered in very poor condition (four were found in graves and one¹⁷ in the fill along the church nave's south façade), one denarius¹⁸ and one kreutzer.¹⁹

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The Monastery of St. Peter at Zlat is (thus far) the only entirely researched late medieval Pauline monastery in the territory of contemporary Slavonia. The Zlat monastery, based on all characteristics,

¹⁷ Roman copper coin (PN 01). Constantius II (337–361); b.l. (337–361); AE, ?, Cohen vii.447.47; Bust: Enshrouded bust of the emperor facing right; head wreathed. Rev.: FEL TEMP REPARATIO.; Type: Soldier wearing helmet, shield in l. hand, r. hand holds spear piercing fallen cavalryman who is turned toward attacker with left hand outstretched; holding shield on ground. Dim.: 16 × 15 mm. Weight: 0.83 g. Ax.: 12. Extremely worn.

¹⁸ Denarius (PN 13). Ecclesiastical dignitaries/Geistliche Gebiete, Erzbistümer, Aquileia; Antonio II. Panciera (1402–1411); Den, Aquileia, CNI vi.37.5; Obv.: +ANTONIVS*PATRIARCA; Coat of arms of patriarch on shield; denticulate beam above, star below; inscription between two pearl circlets. Rev.: *AQV*ILE*GEN*SIS; Aquileian eagle l.; inscription between two pearl circlets. Dim.: 17 mm. Weight: 0.51 g. Ax.: 2. Chipped.

¹⁹ Kreuzer (PN 14). Heiress of Heiligen Roem. Reiches, Ksr. Oestereich 1806–1867; Franz I (*12.II.1768–14.VII.1792–14.VIII.1804–6.VIII.1806+2.III.1835); 1816; HKreuzer, Kremnitz, Miller 315; Adam 437, B; Av.:K-K-OESTERREICHISCHE SCHEIDEMUNZE; Coat of arms with double-headed eagle. Rev.: *1/2* KREUZER 1816. Dim.: 22 mm. Weight: 4.16 g. Ax.: 12. Excellently preserved.



Slika 15. Nalazi novca iz zasipa oko samostanskoga sklopa (snimio: J. Škudar, 2008).

Figure 15. Coin finds from loose soil around monastery complex (photograph by: J. Škudar, 2008).

odudara od uobičajenih rješenja drugih poznatih slavonskih samostana ovoga Reda. Već je sam izbor mjesta za gradnju neuobičajen zbog izoliranosti te niza prirodnih nepogodnosti (npr. udaljenost tekuće vode i gruba, gorska klima), a poglavito s obzirom na sklonost Reda spram biranja pitomijih dolina. Izbor čudi i zbog činjenice što posjed redovnici nisu dobili, nego su ga sami izabrali i kupili. Neuobičajena je i asimetrična tlocrtna dispozicija samostanskoga sklopa (površina oko 490 m²) – s crkvom sv. Petra i samo jednim samostanskim krilom – koja je ponajprije bila određena geomorfološkim odrednicama terena, a u skladu s kojom je izgrađen sklop primjeren potrebama jedne male redovničke zajednice. I građevinska izvedba vrlo je jednostavna i prilagođena mogućnostima. Samostanski sklop sagrađen je od jednostavno obrađena, krupna lomljenca granitne osnove. Korišteno je grubo, krupnogranulatno vezivo pješčenjačke osnove, koje je zbog loše kvalitete nanošeno u velikim količinama. Za izradu jednostavnih arhitektonskih profilacija korišten je pješčenjak loše kvalitete.

Samostanski sklop određen je s južne strane jednobrodnom crkvom sv. Petra, čija je longitudinalnost naglašena podjednakim dimenzijama pravokutne lađe i polukružno zaključenim svetištem. Zapadno pročelje bilo je ojačano pravokutnim kontraforima iz statičkih razloga uvjetovanih jakim padom terena. Istočno pročelje bilo je također ojačano kontraforima. Glavni ulaz u crkvu nalazio se na zapadnome dijelu južnoga pročelja. Svetište je pak bilo

stands apart from the customary solutions of this Order's other known Slavonian monasteries. The selection of the site itself was rather unusual due to its isolation and a series of natural disadvantages (e.g. distance from watercourses and the harsh, highland climate), and particularly because of the Order's preference for selecting tame valleys. The selection is also odd because of the fact that the monks did not receive the estate from their patrons, but they chose and purchased it themselves. The unusual and asymmetric layout disposition of the monastery complex (surface area ca 490 m²) – with the Church of St. Peter and only a single monastery wing – which was primarily dictated by the geomorphological determinants of the terrain, and in compliance with which the complex was constructed, was suited for the needs of a small monastic community. The architectural rendering is very simple and adapted to possibilities. The monastery complex was made from a simply dressed, large broken granite base. Coarse, large-grain bonding with a sandstone base was used, which was applied in considerably quantities due to its poor quality. Low-quality sandstone was used to make the simple architectural moulding.

The monastery complex was bounded to the south by the single-nave Church of St. Peter, with its longitudinal aspect emphasized by the roughly equal dimensions of the rectangular nave and the semi-circularly closed chancel. The western façade was reinforced with rectangular counterforts due to static reasons caused by the sharp downward gradient of the terrain. The eastern façade was also reinforced with counterforts. The main entrance to the church was on the western part of the southern façade. The chancel was connected to the capitulary hall/refectory, enabling the monks' unimpeded communication. The church was most likely not vaulted; rather it had a simple, wooden coffered ceiling. The flooring was most likely also made of wooden slats.

The sole monastery wing was directly connected to the church. The capitulary hall/refectory was immediately adjacent to the chancel, which was separated from the kitchen by a corridor. The corridor connected these two rooms with the courtyard and the outdoor area. The eastern door was also the only communication found between the monastery complex and the outside area. It may be assumed that there was one more door (a utility entrance?) on the (presumed) wooden wall which enclosed the monastery complex on the western side. Thus, the eastern door can be assumed to have been the main monastery gate. Given the already mentioned characteristics of the entire complex, a larger and more notable entrance gate need not be expected. In compliance therewith, the road leading to the

povezano s kapitularnom dvoranom/refektorijem, omogućavajući redovnicima nesmetanu komunikaciju. Crkva najvjerojatnije nije bila svođena, nego je imala jednostavan, drveni tabulat. I podnica je najvjerojatnije bila izrađena od drvenih dasaka.

Jedino samostansko krilo bilo je izravno povezano s crkvom. Neposredno uz svetište nalazi se kapitularna dvorana/refektorij, koja je bila hodnikom odvojena od kuhinje. Hodnik je te dvije prostorije povezivao s dvorištem i s vanjskim prostorom. Istočna vrata ujedno su jedina pronađena komunikacija samostanskoga sklopa s vanjskim prostorom. Može se pretpostaviti da su postojala još jedna vrata (gospodarski ulaz?) na (pretpostavljenu) drvenom zidu kojim je samostanski sklop bio zatvoren sa zapadne strane. Time se može pretpostaviti da su istočna vrata bila glavna samostanska vrata. S obzirom na već navedene karakteristike cijeloga sklopa veći i izraženiji ulaz ne treba ni očekivati. U skladu s time treba razmotriti i cestovnu komunikaciju koja je vodila do samostana, a koja je, u skladu s položajem vrata, prolazila s istočne strane. Važno je napomenuti da još uvijek nije poznat način na koji su bili riješeni ulazi u druge kasnosrednjovjekovne pavlinske samostane. Može se pretpostaviti da je to jedino krilo imalo kat (izgrađen od drveta?) na kojem su bile smještene spavaonice. Umjesto uobičajena pravokutnog klaustra s necentriranim zdencom prostor određen sjevernim zidom lađe crkve,

monastery should also be considered, as in compliance with the position of the door it passed along the eastern side. It is important to note that the manner in which access to the other late medieval Pauline monasteries was resolved is still not known. It may be assumed that the sole wing had an upper floor (made of wood?) in which the bedrooms were situated. Instead of the customary rectangular cloister with a non-centred well, the space bounded by the northern wall of the church's nave, the western façade of the monastery wing and the simple wall to the north enclosed a simple, rectangular, non-covered courtyard. A wall on the western side was not found, so it may be assumed that this area was enclosed by a wooden fence. The monastery complex also had no well because it was built on bedrock. Due to the simplicity of the solution to the entire complex, it may be assumed that the courtyard also played an economic role. Since no architectural structures were discovered inside the courtyard during research, it is reasonable to assume that there were not stone-built partitions in this area. By the same token, it may be concluded that most of the courtyard was not covered. The courtyard certainly had no stones lining the ground. Even though the monastery complex was raised in 1303, and renovated twice after the Ottoman attacks in 1393/1394 and 1451, these three phases may be discerned only through the architectural interventions (such as, for example, the reinforcement of



Slika 16. Pogled na samostanski sklop sv. Petra iz zraka (snimio: J. Kliska, 2011).
Figure 16. Aerial view of the St. Peter's monastery complex (photograph by: J. Kliska, 2011).

zapadnim pročeljem samostanskoga krila te jednostavnim zidom na sjeveru zauzima jednostavno, pravokutno, nenatkriveno dvorište. Zid sa zapadne strane dvorišta nije pronađen te se stoga može pretpostaviti da je s te strane prostor bio ograden drvenom ogradom. Zdenca također nema jer je samostan bio podignut na kamenu živcu. Zbog jednostavnosti rješenja cijela sklopa može se zaključiti da je dvorište imalo i gospodarsku ulogu. Kako tijekom istraživanja nisu potvrđene nikakve arhitektonske strukture unutar dvorišta, može se zaključiti da nisu postojale nikakve zidane podjele prostora. Nadalje, može se zaključiti da veći dio dvorišta nije bio natkriven. Dvorište zasigurno nije bilo popločeno.

Iako je samostanski sklop podignut 1303. g., a obnovljen u dva navrata nakon osmanlijskih napada 1393/1394. i 1451. g., tri je faze moguće prepoznati samo kroz građevinske intervencije (kao npr. ojačavanja zidnih struktura podupornjima, koji su bili potrebni ne samo radi obnove porušenih dijelova samostana, nego i zbog loše izvorne gradnje). Za proširenjem samostanskoga sklopa, tj. za dodavanjem novih krila, nije bilo potrebe jer je broj redovnika i nakon njihova povratka u 15. st. ostao malen. I kasnije pregradnje (čardak, pravoslavni hram) iskoristile su maksimalno postojeću gradnju srednjovjekovnoga samostana.

Prema uvidu u dostupan komparativni materijal, poglavito onaj koji se odnosi na najranije pavlinske samostane na ugarskom prostoru (u užem smislu), nije nađeno nijedno arhitektonsko rješenje koje bi u cijelosti odgovaralo zlatkomu. Najslučniji tlocrtno rješenje samostanu sv. Petra na Zlatu ono je pavlinskoga samostana Svetog Duha u Pilisszenléleku.²⁰ Unatoč tomu što nisu primijenjena jednaka tlocrtna rješenja, oba samostanska sklopa osnovana su u vrijeme neposredno nakon osnutka Reda te su tako i arhitektonska rješenja bila izvedena u skladu s financijskim mogućnostima. Za tek osnovani Red s malim brojem redovnika još nije bilo potrebno graditi velike sklopove. Tako je i samostan u Pilisszenléleku izrastao iz prenamijenjene kraljevske lovačke kuće, što je najjasnije vidljivo na tlocrtnome rješenju crkve.

Ostalo je otvoreno pitanje kako je izgledao plato u vremenu prije početka gradnje samostanskoga sklopa. Kako je pronađen samo manji broj ulomaka prapovijesne i rimske keramike, može se samo zaključiti da je plato zbog već spomenute izuzetne geostrateške vrijednosti imao dugotrajan kontinuitet.

the all structures with struts, which were necessary not only to restore the collapsed portions of the monastery, but also due to the poor quality of original construction). There was no need to expand the monastery complex, i.e., adding a new wing, because the number of monks even after their return in the fifteenth century was small. Even the later remodelling (*chardak*, Orthodox temple) made maximum use of the existing structure of the late medieval monastery.

Based on a review of the available comparative materials, particularly that which pertains to the earliest Pauline monasteries in Hungarian territory (in the narrower sense), not a single architectural solution was found that would entirely correspond to the one of Zlat. The most similar ground-plan solution to the Monastery of St. Peter at Zlat is the Pauline Monastery of the Holy Spirit in Pilisszenlélek.²⁰ Despite the fact that the same ground-plan solutions were not applied, both monastery complexes were established at the time immediately following the establishment of the Order, and as such architectural solutions were undertaken according to financial means. A newly-established Order with a small number of monks did not yet have the need to build large complexes. Thus, the monastery in Pilisszenlélek evolved from remodelling of a royal hunting lodge, which is most clearly apparent in the ground-plan solution to the church.

The question of the appearance of the plateau at the time prior to the commencement of construction of the Pauline monastery remains unanswered. Since only a small number of prehistoric and Roman-era potsherds were found, one may conclude that the plateau, due to the aforementioned geostrategic value, had long-term continuity. Furthermore, one may also conclude that there was a prehistoric settlement (or camp) on this position during the thirteenth and twelfth centuries BC, but it is impossible to state when it was abandoned. A Roman stratum may be confirmed given the finds of Roman pottery and a silver fibula, but whether it was a sentry-post or camp is also impossible to state with certainty. The previous theory of a Roman (military) facility first and foremost rested on the assumption of a road which linked Topusko with the transversal leading toward Split. However, due to insufficient research into Roman communications in this region, it is truly impossible to state with certainty whether a section of a Roman road crossed over the top of the hill or ran along the technically less

²⁰ Samostan Svetog Duha na obroncima planine Pilisz osnovao je kralj Laszlo IV. 1280. g., a napušten je u vrijeme osmanlijskih napada 1541. g. (Bencze 2000: 183–185; Tamás 2003: 58–59).

²⁰ The Monastery of the Holy Spirit on the slopes of the mountain Pilisz was established by King Louis IV in 1280, and abandoned at the time of the Ottoman attacks in 1541 (Bencze 2000: 183–185; Tamás 2003: 58–59).

Nadalje, moguće je zaključiti da je na Zlatu tijekom 13. i 12. st. pr. n. e. postojalo prapovijesno naselje (ili zbjeg), no nije moguće reći kada je ono napušteno. U skladu s nalazima rimske keramike i srebrne fibule može se potvrditi rimski stratum, no je li to bila stražarnica ili zbjeg, također nije moguće sa sigurnošću potvrditi. Dosadašnje teze o rimskom (vojnom) objektu prvenstveno počivaju na pretpostavci o cesti koja je povezivala Topusko s transverzalom prema Splitu. No zbog nedovoljne istraženosti rimskih komunikacija na ovome prostoru zaista se ne može sa sigurnošću potvrditi je li trasa rimske ceste išla preko vrha brda ili je pak slijedila tehnički manje zahtjevnju, logičniju, liniju doline uz sjeverno podnožje Petrove gore (trasa današnje cestovne komunikacije). Valja napomenuti da nijedan ulomak keramike tih vremenskih razdoblja nije pronađen unutar samostanskoga sklopa, nego isključivo uz njegova vanjska pročelja, te da su pronađeni ulomci izmiješani unutar jednoga sloja. Stoga se može pretpostaviti da je plato bio raščišćen prije izgradnje samostana ili pak da su ti slojevi po uklanjanju sa svog izvornog mjesta bili iskorišteni za poravnavanje terena prije gradnje.

Kao što je ranije spomenuto, zlatki je samostan trenutno jedini u cijelosti istražen kasnosrednjovjekovni pavlinski samostan onodobnoga slavonskoga prostora. Po dovršetku konzervatorsko-restauratorskih radova trebao bi taj vrijedan spomenik hrvatske kulturne baštine preuzeti svoju edukativnu ulogu u što boljem razumijevanju onodobnoga povijesnog i povijesno-umjetničkog kulturnog pejzaža.

demanding, and more logical, line along the northern foot of Petrova Gora (the route of the current road). It is worth mentioning that not one potsherd from these periods have been found inside the monastery complex, rather exclusively along its external façade, and that these potsherds were found intermixed inside a single layer. Therefore, it may be assumed that the plateau was cleared prior to construction of the monastery or that these layers were used to level the terrain prior to construction once they were moved from their original position.

As noted above, the Zlat monastery is currently the only entirely researched late medieval Pauline monastery in the territory of contemporary Slavonia. Upon the completion of conservation-restoration works, this valuable monument of Croatia's cultural heritage should assume its educational role in engendering the best possible understanding of the historical and art-historical cultural landscape of that era.

KRATICE / ABBREVIATIONS

AHAZU	Arhiv Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti
AMZ	<i>Acta Monast. de Szlat</i>
CD	<i>Corpus Diplomaticus</i>
HPM	Hrvatski povijesni muzej
NSK	Nacionalna i sveučilišna knjižnica

IZVORI / SOURCES

Benger cca 1740	N. Benger, <i>Chronotaxis monasteriorum Ordinis FF. Eremitarum s. Pauli primi Eremitae in provinciis Istriae et Croatiae</i> , AHAZU II b.212.
Eggerer 1663	A. Eggerer, <i>Fragmen panis corvi proto-eremitici seu Reliquiae annalium eremi-coenobiticorum Ordinis Fratrum Eremitarum s. Pauli primi Eremitae</i> , Viennae, 1663.
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Kristolovec s. a.	I. Kristolovec, <i>Descriptio Monasteriorum s. Pauli primi Eremitae in Illyrio fundatorum, tam per Turcas ab antiquo destructorum quam in praesena existentium cum suis memorabilibus per Rssmum Patrem Fr. Joannem Kristolovecz Proto-eremitici Ordinis s. Pauli Generalem conciccata additis ad calcem notis historicis P. Fr. Nicolai Benger 1738.</i> , ms., NSK R.4321, prijevod F. Krčmar.
Orosz 1747	F. Orosz, <i>Synopsis annalium coenobiticorum Fratrum Eremitarum Ordinis s. Puli primi Eremitae</i> , Sopronii, 1747.
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Budak & Raukar 2006	N. Budak & T. Raukar, <i>Hrvatska povijest srednjeg vijeka</i> , Zagreb, 2006.
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