

VJERSKA SVAKODNEVICA U KANONSKIM VIZITACIJAMA ZA PODRUČJE SRIJEMA U 18. I PRVOJ POLOVICI 19. STOLJEĆA



EVERYDAY RELIGIOUS LIFE IN CANONICAL VISITATIONS FOR THE TERRITORY OF SYRMIA IN THE 18TH CENTURY AND THE FIRST HALF OF THE 19TH CENTURY

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UDK/UDC:

2: 94(497.5 + 497.11 Srijem)"17/18"

doi: 10.15291/misc.1358

Izvorni znanstveni rad / Original scientific paper

Primljeno / Received: 19. IV. 2017.

Abstract:

U radu se na osnovi podataka iz kanonskih vizitacija biskupija na području Srijema u 18. i prvoj polovici 19. stoljeća analiziraju odrednice vjerskog života katolika kako bi se opisala osnovna obilježja vjerske svakodnevice. Analiza i interpretacija usmjerene su na utvrđivanje stupnja prihvaćanja crkvenih odredbi u pitanjima kulta i bogoslužja, na vjersku praksu, oblike narodne pobožnosti, moral i ponašanje vjernika te vjersko discipliniranje i konformizam. Utvrđuje

se odnos između katoličke i drugih vjerskih zajednica, posebno u kontekstu izgradnje vjerskog identiteta. Procjenjuje se vrijednost kanonskih vizitacija kao izvora za povijest vjerske svakodnevice.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI: kanonske vizitacije; Srijem; 18. i prva polovica 19. Stoljeća; vjerska povijest; povijest svakodnevice; katolici

Abstract:

Based on the data from canonical visitations to the dioceses in the territory of Syrmia in the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century, this paper analyses the determinants of the religious life of Catholics with a view to describing the basic characteristics of everyday religious life. The analysis and interpretation focus on determining the degree of acceptance of church regulations concerning cult and service issues, on religious practice, forms of popular piety, believers' morality and behaviour, as well as religious disciplining and conformism. It determines the relation between the Catholic and other religious communities, particularly in the context of religious identity building. The paper also estimates the value of canonical visitations as a source for the history of everyday religious life.

KEYWORDS: canonical visitations, Syrmia, 18th century and the first half of the 19th century, religious history, everyday life history, Catholics

1. UVOD

Srijem je krajem 17. stoljeća bio jedno od poprišta ratnih sukoba tijekom Bečkog rata (1683. – 1699.), a nakon sklapanja Karlovačkog mira 1699. godine linija razgraničenja između dvaju velikih carstava, katoličke Habsburške Monarhije i islamskog Osmanskog Carstva, protegnula se njegovim istočnim dijelom te je do Požarevačkog mira 1718. godine dio istočnog Srijema ostao pod vlašću Osmanlija, dok je zapadni ušao u sastav Habsburške Monarhije. Političko-teritorijalna organizacija dodatno se usložila uspostavom Vojne granice u Slavoniji (od 1702.), koja je obuhvatila i značajan dio srijemskog teritorija, kao pograničnog prostora prema Osmanskom Carstvu, te ustroj kasnofeudalnih vlastelinstava (među važnijima su npr. Vukovarsko, Iločko, Nuštarsko, Mitrovičko...). Tijekom cijelog promatranog razdoblja, ali posebno u prvoj polovici 18. stoljeća, Srijem je doživljavao značajne demografske promjene te je, kao teritorijalno razmjerno malo područje, bio obilježen značajnom konfesionalnom i etničkom raznovrsnošću jer je ondje, uz katolike, živjelo brojno pravoslavno stanovništvo (osobito u istočnom Srijemu), a u manjem broju i druge vjeroispovijesti: kalvini, luterani i pripadnici judaizma; odnosno hrvatsko, srpsko, njemačko, mađarsko i židovsko stanovništvo. Pogranični prostor između dvaju velikih (sukobljenih) carstava, između kršćanske i islamske kulture, vojnih i civilni vlasti u Habsburškoj Monarhiji te složene demografske, etničke i konfesionalne prilike u značajnoj su se mjeri odrazile i na položaj Katoličke crkve, njezinu organizaciju i djelovanje, kao i na vjerski život na razini svakodnevice. Činjenica da se položaj Katoličke crkve u najvećem dijelu Srijema koji se našao u okviru Habsburške Monarhije znatno promijenio u odnosu na vremena osmanske vladavine, kada je Katolička crkva imala relativno ograničena prava, otvorila je mogućnosti stvarne obnove vjerskog života te je postupno dovela i do promjena u crkvenoj upravno-teritorijalnoj organizaciji, ali i izazvala nedoumice i nesuglasice vezane uz razgraničenje biskupija koje su djelovale u Srijemu. Naime, zapadni je Srijem bio u sastavu Pečuške biskupije, istočni Srijemske, dok je Petrovaradin bio izuzeta župa u sastavu Ostrogonске nadbiskupije.

1. INTRODUCTION

At the end of the 17th century, Syrmia was one of the battlegrounds during the Vienna War (1683-1699). After the Karlovac Peace Treaty was signed in 1699, the demarcation line between two great empires, the Catholic Habsburg Monarchy and the Islamic Ottoman Empire, ran along its eastern part, so that, until the Požarevac Peace Treaty in 1718, eastern Syrmia remained under Ottoman rule, whilst western Syrmia became a part of the Habsburg Monarchy. The political and territorial organisation became even more complex with the establishment of the Military Frontier in Slavonia (until 1702), which also covered a significant part of the Syrmian territory, as an area bordering on the Ottoman Empire, and the establishment of late feudal manors (more important ones included e.g. Vukovar Manor, Ilok Manor, Nuštar Manor, Mitrovica Manor, ...). During the whole observed period, and in particular in the first half of the 18th century, Syrmia faced significant demographic changes and, as a relatively small area in terms of territory, was marked by significant confessional and ethnic diversity, since, in addition to Catholics, a large Orthodox population lived there (particularly in eastern Syrmia), as well as other confessions, albeit in smaller numbers, including Calvinists, Lutherans, followers of Judaism, i.e. Croatian, Serbian, German, Hungarian, and Jewish population. The border area between two major (clashing) empires, between the Christian and the Islamic culture, and the military and civil authorities in the Habsburg Monarchy and the complex demographic, ethnic, and confessional circumstances reflected to a significant extent also on the position of the Catholic Church, its organisation, and its work, as well as on religious life on a day-to-day basis. The fact that the position of the Catholic Church in most of Syrmia that was part of the Habsburg Monarchy had significantly changed in relation to the time of the Ottoman Rule, when the Catholic Church had relatively limited rights, had opened the possibility to actually revive religious life and had gradually resulted in changes in the Church's administrative and territorial organisation, but also caused doubts and disagreements with regard to the demarcation of the dioceses operating in Syrmia. Namely, western Syr-

Godine 1773. Srijemska i Bosanska ili Đakovačka biskupija kanonski su bile ujedinjene. Toj su biskupiji 1776. godine bili priključeni Osijek i Petrovaradin koji su do tada bili pod ostrogonskim nadbiskupom, a 1780. godine, u sklopu nastojanja na daljnjem uređenju crkvenih prilika u duhu prosvijećenog apsolutizma, bilo joj je pripojeno sedamnaest župa Pečuške biskupije u Srijemu i istočnoj Slavoniji. Tako se cijeli Srijem tek krajem 18. stoljeća našao u sastavu jedne biskupije.¹

Najstarije sačuvane kanonske vizitacije Srijemske biskupije su one srijemskog biskupa Ladislava Szörenyija (1733. – 1749.) koji je svoji svoju malu biskupiju pohodio 1735., 1743. i 1746. godine. U drugoj polovici 18. stoljeća srijemski, pečuški i bosansko-đakovački biskupi obavili su više pastirskih pohoda. Srijemski biskup Ivan Krstitelj Paxy (1762. – 1771.) pohodio je svoju biskupiju četiri puta, 1763., 1765., 1766. i 1768. godine, dok je pečuški biskup Juraj Klimo (1751. – 1777.) civilno područje svoje biskupije u Srijemu obišao 1754. godine, a područje Vojne krajine 1755. godine. Izvornici ovih zapisa za Srijemsku biskupiju čuvaju se u Nadbiskupijском arhivu u Đakovu, a za srijemski dio Pečuške biskupije u Biskupijском arhivu u Pečuhu. Prvi biskup sjedinjenih biskupija Bosanske ili Đakovačke i Srijemske, Matej Franjo Krtica (1773. – 1805.), obavio je čak jedanaest pastirskih pohoda. U onima iz 1775., 1777. i 1778. godine obišao je župe u istočnom Srijemu jer je zapadni i nadalje bio u sastavu Pečuške biskupije. Uz župe u istočnom Srijemu, biskup Krtica je u svojim pohodima 1781., 1782., 1785., 1787., 1791., 1794., 1798., 1800. i 1803. godine obišao i one u zapadnome koje su Bosanskoj ili Đakovačkoj i Srijemskoj biskupiji bile pridružene 1780. godine. Biskup Antun Mandić (1806. – 1815.) vizitirao je župe u Srijemu 1811. i 1812. godine, a biskup Emerik Karlo Raffay (1816. – 1830.) srijemski dio svoje biskupije pohodio je 1819., 1822.

mia was part of the Diocese of Pécs, eastern Syrmia was part of the Diocese of Syrmia, whilst Petrovaradin was a separated parish under the Archdiocese of Esztergom. In 1733, the Diocese of Syrmia and the Diocese of Bosnia or Đakovo were canonically united. Osijek and Petrovaradin, which up to that point were under the Archdiocese of Esztergom, were annexed to that diocese in 1776, and in 1780, in an attempt to further regulate the situation of the Church in the spirit of Enlightened Absolutism, an additional seventeen parishes of the Diocese of Pécs in Syrmia and eastern Slavonia were incorporated into it. Thus, only at the end of the 18th century was the whole of Syrmia placed under one diocese.¹

The oldest preserved canonical visitations to the Diocese of Syrmia are those of Ladislav Szöreny (1733-1749), Bishop of Syrmia, who visited his small diocese in 1735, 1743, and 1746. In the second half of the 18th century, bishops of Syrmia, Pécs, and Bosnia or Đakovo and Syrmia made several pastoral visits. John the Baptist Paxy (1762-1771), Bishop of Syrmia, visited his diocese on four occasions, in 1763, 1765, 1766, and 1768, whilst Juraj Klimo (1751-1777), Bishop of Pécs, visited the civil area of his diocese in Syrmia in 1754 and the Military Frontier in 1755. The original records on the Diocese of Syrmia are kept in the Archdiocesan Archives in Đakovo, and in the Syrmian part of the Diocese of Pécs in the Diocesan Archives in Pécs. Matej Franjo Krtica (1773-1805), the first Bishop of the united Diocese of Bosnia or Đakovo and Syrmia, made eleven pastoral visits. In 1775, 1777, and 1778, he visited parishes in eastern Syrmia as the western part was still a part of the Diocese of Pécs. In addition to parishes in eastern Syrmia, in 1781, 1782, 1785, 1787, 1791, 1794, 1798, 1800, and 1803, Bishop Krtica also visited the parishes in western Syrmia that were annexed to the Diocese of Bosnia or Đakovo and Syrmia in 1780. Bishop An-

¹ O povijesti Srijemske biskupije, o razgraničenju među biskupijama u Slavoniji i Srijemu u 18. stoljeću, o srijemskih naseljima te vjerskoj i etničkoj strukturi stanovništva Srijema u 18. i prvoj polovici 19. stoljeća detaljnije u: D. BOŽIĆ BOGOVIĆ 2009a: 64–105; D. BOŽIĆ BOGOVIĆ 2009c: 229–291; E. GAŠIĆ 2000: 64–72; M. PAVIĆ 1897: 127–129; A. SEKULIĆ 1997; A. SEKULIĆ 2001: 113–122; R. SKENDEROVIĆ 2009: 407–429; D. VITEK 2003: 163–174; Z. ŽIVAKOVIĆ-KERŽE 2003: 163–174.

¹ For more information on the history of the Diocese of Syrmia, demarcation of dioceses in Slavonia and Syrmia in the 18th century, Syrmian settlements, and the religious and ethnic structure of the population of Syrmia in the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century see: D. BOŽIĆ BOGOVIĆ 2009a: 64–105; D. BOŽIĆ BOGOVIĆ 2009c: 229–291; E. GAŠIĆ 2000: 64–72; M. PAVIĆ 1897: 127–129; A. SEKULIĆ 1997; A. SEKULIĆ 2001: 113–122; R. SKENDEROVIĆ 2009: 407–429; D. VITEK 2003: 163–174; Z. ŽIVAKOVIĆ-KERŽE 2003: 163–174.

i 1829. godine, 1833. godine to je učinio biskup Pavao Sučić (1830. – 1834.), a biskup Josip Kuko-
vić (1834. – 1849.) također je više puta vizitirao
župe svoje biskupije, uključujući i one u Srijemu.
Zapisi kanonskih vizitacija od 1830. godine ima-
li su standardizirane tiskane obrasce na latinskom
jeziku s brojnim pitanjima i potpitanjima na koja
su župnici uglavnom odgovarali vrlo kratko, bez
detaljnijih opisa kakvi se uglavnom nalaze u zapisi-
ma iz druge polovice 18. i prve trećine 19. stoljeća.
Izvornici rukopisnih zapisa kanonskih vizitacija
sedinjene Bosanske ili Đakovačke i Srijemske bi-
skupije koji se odnose na područje Srijema čuvaju
se u Nadbiskupijskom arhivu u Đakovu.² Državni
arhiv u Osijeku i Biskupija Đakovačka i Srijemska
objavili su kanonske vizitacije za područje Srijema
u latinskom izvorniku i hrvatskom prijevodu Stje-
pana Sršana u četiri knjige.³

2. KANONSKE VIZITACIJE KAO IZVOR ZA VJERSKU POVIJEST SRIJEMA U 18. I PRVOJ POLOVICI 19. STOLJEĆA

Pristup složenom religijskom i vjerskom feno-
menu iz perspektive vjerske svakodnevice složen je
istraživački zadatak, prvenstveno u donosu na me-
todološke izazove i ograničenja koja pred istraživače
postavljaju sami povijesni izvori, posebice za ranija
povijesna razdoblja. Zahtjev da se istraži “svakod-
nevica” upućuje povjesničare na pristup “odozdo”,
a kada je riječ o “vjerskoj svakodnevici” istraživanja
trebaju obuhvatiti različite vidove vjerskog života
te su vezana uz vjerske mentalitete, težeći istraživa-
nju ukupnosti religijski uvjetovanog materijalnog
i duhovnog života ljudi. Takav pristup zanimanje
istraživača usmjerava na individualne i kolektivne
vjerske osjećaje, načine njihova izražavanja, druš-
tvene strukture u kojima se izražavaju te materijal-
ne i kulturne uvjete života kojih su dio. Istraživanja
vjerske svakodnevice ipak su prvenstveno usmje-
rena na utvrđivanje oblika pastoralne djelatnosti i
vjerske prakse, na kult, bogoslužje i različite obli-

tun Mandić (1806-1815) visited Syrmian parishes
in 1811 and 1812, whilst Bishop Emerik Karlo Raf-
fay (1816 -1830) visited the Syrmian part of his di-
ocese in 1819, 1822, and 1829, as did Bishop Pavao
Sučić (1830 -1834) in 1833, and Bishop Josip Ku-
ković (1834 -1849) on several occasions also visited
the parishes belonging to his diocese, including the
ones in Syrmia. As of 1830, the records of canon-
ical visitations were made by means of standardised
printed forms in Latin consisting of a number of
questions and sub-questions, which pastors mostly
answered very briefly, without detailed descriptions
which usually can be found in the records from the
second half of the 18th century and the first third of
the 19th century. The original handwritten records
of canonical visitations to the united Diocese of Bo-
snia or Đakovo and Syrmia related to the territory
of Syrmia are kept in the Archdiocesan Archives in
Đakovo.² The State Archives in Osijek and the Di-
ocese of Đakovo and Syrmia published canonical
visitations for the territory of Syrmia in the Latin
original and in the Croatian translation by Stjepan
Sršan in four volumes.³

2. CANONICAL VISITATIONS AS A SOURCE FOR THE RELIGIOUS HISTORY OF SYRMIA IN THE 18TH CENTURY AND THE FIRST HALF OF THE 19TH CENTURY

Approaching a complex religion and faith pheno-
menon from the perspective of everyday religious
life is a complex research task, primarily in relation
to the methodological challenges and limitations set
before the researchers by historical sources, in par-
ticular for earlier historical periods. The request to
research “everyday life” indicates to the historians
the “bottom-up” approach, whilst researches into
“everyday religious life” are to cover different aspects
of religious life and are related to religious mentali-
ties, striving to explore the totality of the material
and spiritual life of people conditioned by religion.
Such an approach focuses the researcher’s interest

² *Kanonske vizitacije* 2008: XIII-XIV; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2010: X.

³ *Kanonske vizitacije* 2006; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2008; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2009; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2010.

² *Kanonske vizitacije* 2008: XIII-XIV; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2010: X.

³ *Kanonske vizitacije* 2006; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2008; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2009; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2010.

ke narodne pobožnosti, pružajući uvid u stupanj poznavanja vjerskog nauka te intenzitet i načine sudjelovanja u vjerskom životu župe i biskupije, ali i u odnos crkveno uspostavljene i neformalne, pučke pobožnosti. Ispitivanje vjerske prakse omogućava uvid u neke elemente vitalnosti religijskog života koja se u praksi iskazivala na temelju kategorija poput sudjelovanja u crkvenim svečanostima i obredima. Istraživanja se nadalje usmjeravaju na stavove prema smrti, bračne i obiteljske odnose, odgoj, moralno stanje vjernika, kolektivna ponašanja prilikom vjerskih svetkovina, mitologije, odnos prema marginalnim društvenim skupinama, drugim vjerskim zajednicama i dr. Posebno je važno istraživanje religijskih predodžbi koje su usko vezane uz obrednu dimenziju vjerske prakse koja predstavlja načine na koje se izražava i prakticira određena vjera, uz usmjeravanje pozornosti na različite vjerske obrede kao što su krštenja, krizme, crkvena vjenčanja i pokopi, postovi, pokore, hodočašća, procesije, raznovrsne svetkovine, molitve, misna slavlja i drugo. Osim moralnog stanja i ponašanja vjernika, za razumijevanje vjerske svakodnevne potrebno je istražiti i vjerske službenike, a posebno župnike i njihove pomoćnike, kao one koji su u svakodnevnom i neposrednom dodiru s vjernicima i koji posreduju između elite crkvene hijerarhije i “običnih” vjernika. Pri tome je važno utvrditi u kojoj mjeri i vjernici i vjerski službenici poštuju vjerske dužnosti, odnosno obavljaju svoju službu, te ponašaju li se u skladu s kršćanskim moralom.⁴

Ovakav pristup sveobuhvatnom religijskom i vjerskom fenomenu usmjerio je pažnju istraživača na one povijesne izvore koji su ranije bili uglavnom zanemareni, čija je sustavna analiza metoda povijesne znanosti preduvjet za rekonstrukciju vjerske svakodnevne u prošlosti, a među tim se izvorima nalaze i kanonske vizitacije.⁵ Zapisni kanonskih vizitacija iznimno su vrijedna izvorna građa za poznavanje crkvene i vjerske (ali i društvene, kulturne, gospodarske i druge) povijesti nekoga kraja. Budući da su bile provođene u svrhu istraži-

on individual and collective religious sentiments, the ways of expressing them, the social structures in which they are expressed, and the material and cultural conditions of the life of which they are a part. Researches into everyday religious life are still primarily focused on determining the forms of pastoral activity and religious practice, on cult, service, and different forms of popular piety, providing an insight into the degree of knowledge of the doctrine and the intensity and ways of participation in the religious life of the parish and diocese, but also into the relation between the piety established by the church and the informal, popular piety. Examination of religious practices provides an insight into some elements of the vitality of religious life, which was expressed in practice on the basis of categories such as, for example, participation in church ceremonies and rituals. Furthermore, researches are directed towards attitudes to death, marital and family relations, upbringing, believers' moral condition, collective behaviour during religious festivities, mythology, relation to marginal social groups, other religious communities, etc. Of particular importance is research into religious images closely associated with the ritual dimension of religious practice which represents the ways in which a certain religion is expressed and practiced, whilst drawing attention to different religious rituals, such as Baptism, Confirmation, church wedding and funeral, fasting, Penance, pilgrimage, procession, various festivities, prayers, holy masses, etc. In addition to the moral condition and behaviour of believers, in order to understand everyday religious life, it is necessary to research religious officials, in particular pastors and their assistants, as well as those who are in everyday and direct contact with believers and who liaise between the church elite and the “ordinary” believers. In so doing, it is important to determine the extent to which both believers and church officials respect religious duties, i.e. perform their services, and whether they behave in accordance with Christian morality.⁴

Such an approach to a comprehensive religion and faith phenomenon has drawn researchers'

⁴ D. BOŽIĆ BOGOVIĆ 2009b: 7–10; D. BOŽIĆ BOGOVIĆ 2016: 50–52; Ž. DELIMO 1993: 228; M. GROSS 2001: 257; R. PO-CHIA HSIA 1998: 72; H. KNOBLAUCH 2004: 101–102, 227.

⁵ Ž. DELIMO 1993: 252–256.

⁴ D. BOŽIĆ BOGOVIĆ 2009b: 7–10; D. BOŽIĆ BOGOVIĆ 2016: 50–52; Ž. DELIMO 1993: 228; M. GROSS 2001: 257; R. PO-CHIA HSIA 1998: 72; H. KNOBLAUCH 2004: 101–102, 227.

vanja i izvještavanja o stanju vjere nekog crkvenog područja, imale su manje-više standardan oblik usmjeren nizom pitanja i doticale se gotovo svih vidova vjerskog života. Tako se iz njih može doznati o položaju, izgledu i stanju samoga mjesta, o sakralnim građevinama, svećenstvu i redovništvu, materijalnom stanju i crkvenoj imovini, sjemeništima i školama, stanovnicima i njihovu vjerskom i čudorednom životu, običajima i svetkovinama, vjerskim prekršajima, pastoralnom djelovanju, društvenoj skrbi, pripadnicima drugih vjeroispovijesti i drugim pojedinostima.⁶ Općenita je karakteristika, pa tako i onih zapisa koji se odnose na područje Srijema u promatranom razdoblju, da su stariji zapisi šturiji, s manje detalja u odgovorima te da obuhvaćaju ograničeniji raspon pitanja.⁷ Međutim, od druge su polovice 18. stoljeća brojnim pitanjima vrlo detaljno bili ispitivani različiti vidovi vjerskog života vizitiranog područja, dajući razmjerno detaljnu sliku o stanju lokalne župne zajednice.

Iako iznimno vrijedan, a ponekad i jedini sačuvani povijesni izvor za istraživanje vjerskog života nekog područja, kanonske vizitacije imaju i svoja ograničenja u kontekstu vjerske svakodnevice. Ponaajprije, koliko god detaljni bili, zapisi kanonskih vizitacija ipak predstavljaju odgovore na neku vrstu standardiziranog upitnika, vođenog nizom pitanja, što ih u određenoj mjeri sadržajno ograničava na one teme koje su zanimale vizitatore. Iako je biskupima bila obaveza, a sigurno i namjera, doznati što je moguće više detalja o župama u svojim biskupijama, ipak su daleko najveće zanimanje pokazivali za materijalne uvjete u kojima je mjesna crkva djelovala. Stoga se najveći broj pitanja odnosi na sakralne objekte, njihov inventar, opremu, na davanja župnicima, račune, dugove i slično, a kasnije se vizitacije odlikuju zaista iscrpnim odgovorima na ova pitanja. Međutim, za pitanja vjerske svakodnevice, na način na koji su ranije određena, materijalni uvjeti djelovanja važan su okvir, ali ne predstavljaju središnji dio na koji se istraživanje usmjerava. Osim toga, sadržajno bogatstvo odgovora varira od pitanja do pitanja, što ovisi ne samo

attention to those historical sources that were previously mostly neglected, whose systematic analysis by historical science methods is a precondition for reconstructing everyday religious life in the past, among which are also canonical visitations.⁵ Records of canonical visitations are exceptionally valuable original sources for knowledge of the church and religious (but also social, cultural, economic, and other) history of a certain area. Since they were conducted for the purpose of exploring and reporting on the status of religion of a certain church area, they had more or less a standard form defined by a set of questions and touched upon almost every aspect of religious life. They provide information on the position, appearance, and condition of the place itself, on sacral buildings, priesthood and monkhood, financial condition and church assets, preparatory seminaries and schools, inhabitants and their religious and moral life, traditions and festivities, religious infringements, pastoral activity, social care, members of other confessions, and other details.⁶ The general characteristic of records, including those referring to the territory of Syrmia in the observed period, is that the older ones are sparse, contain less detail in answers, and cover a more limited range of questions.⁷ However, as of the second half of the 18th century, numerous questions served to examine in detail various aspects of the religious life of the visited area, thus providing a relatively detailed picture of the condition of the local parish community.

Although very valuable, and sometimes the only preserved historical source for the exploration of the religious life of a certain area, canonical visitations have their limitations in the context of everyday religious life. First of all, regardless of their level of detail, the records of canonical visitations still represent answers to some sort of a standardised questionnaire guided by a set of questions, meaning they are to a certain extent limited in terms of content to those topics in which the visitors were interested. Although the bishops had the obligation and certainly the intention to learn as many details as they were able to about the parishes belonging to their dioceses, they were

⁶ D. BOŽIĆ BOGOVIĆ 2009b: 24.

⁷ O kanonskim vizitacijama za područje istočne Hrvatske, posebno Srijema, detaljnije u: V. DOLANČIĆ 2006: 93–149; S. SRŠAN 2008: 355–379; A. ŠULJAK 2001: 75–82.

⁵ Ž. DELIMO 1993: 252–256

⁶ D. BOŽIĆ BOGOVIĆ 2009b: 24.

⁷ For more information on canonical visitations for the territory of eastern Croatia, in particular Syrmia, see: V. DOLANČIĆ 2006: 93–149; S. SRŠAN 2008: 355–379; A. ŠULJAK 2001: 75–82.

o zanimanju vizitatora za pojedine teme nego i o spremnosti župnika da na njih odgovori, kao i o njegovoj procjeni o važnosti pojedinih pitanja za njegovu župu. S tim je povezana i činjenica da zapisi vizitacija daju uvid isključivo “iznutra”, što se međutim može shvatiti i kao nedostatak zbog ograničenosti na samo jednu perspektivu i zbog manjka objektivnosti, ali i kao prednost ako se uzme u obzir da su za povijest vjerske svakodnevice posebno vrijedne upravo autorefleksije predvodnika i pripadnika određene vjerske zajednice. Napokon, čak i najdetaljniji zapisi kanonskih vizitacija ne obuhvaćaju ukupnost vjerske svakodnevice, nego se ograničavaju na samo neke njezine vidove.

Analizom zapisa kanonskih vizitacija za područje Srijema u 18. i prvoj polovici 19. stoljeća utvrđeno je da mogu poslužiti za istraživanje sljedećih vidova vjerske svakodnevice: kult i bogoslužje, vjerska praksa, pobožnost, moral i ponašanje vjerskih službenika i vjernika.

3. KULT I BOGOSLUŽJE

Srijemski biskup Ivan Krstitelj Paxy uputio je 31. kolovoza 1763. godine iz Petrovaradina okružnicu župnicima i župnim upraviteljima u svojoj biskupiji, zajedno s proglasom vizitacije te “indeksom ili bilješkom onoga što svaki župnik ili župni upravitelj treba pismeno iznijeti prilikom predstojeće vizitacije”,⁸ odnosno popisom pitanja s detaljnim uputama putem potpitanja.⁹ Slijedom ovih četrdeset i sedam pitanja i njihovih pojašnjenja, može se utvrditi što je biskup, među ostalim, očekivao doznati o pojedinim vidovima vjerske svakodnevice u župama svoje biskupije, jednako kao i njegovi nasljednici jer su ista ili tek manjim dijelom modificirana pitanja nastavili koristiti kao okvir svojih kanonskih pohoda.

Kao posvećeno mjesto kulta, crkve i kapelice posebno su zanimale vizitatore pa se prvo od pitanja odnosi upravo na župnu crkvu. Među ostalima, nalaze se potpitanja koja su usmjerena na opis stanja crkve te njezinu opremljenost, a po pitanju kulta i bogoslužja tijekom vizitacije se utvrđivalo

still mostly interested in the material conditions in which the local church operated. Consequently, the majority of questions refer to sacral structures, their inventory, equipment, contributions to pastors, accounts, debts, and the like, whilst later visitations are marked by really detailed answers to these questions. However, as to the issues of everyday religious life, in the way in which they were previously determined, the material conditions of work are an important framework, but they do not represent the central focus of the research. In addition, in terms of the richness of their content, answers vary from question to question, depending not only on the visitor's interest in certain topics, but also on the pastor's willingness to answer them and his estimation of the importance of certain questions for his parish. This is also linked to the fact that the records of visitations provide an insight only from “inside”, which, however, can be seen as a disadvantage resulting from the limitation to only one perspective and from the lack of objectivity, but also as an advantage taking into account that it is precisely self-reflections by the leaders and members of a certain religious community that are considered of particular valuable for the history of everyday religious life. Finally, even the most detailed records of canonical visitations do not cover the totality of everyday religious life, but are limited to only some of its aspects.

The analysis of the records of canonical visitations for the territory of Sylvania in the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century has determined that they can serve for research on the following aspects of everyday religious life: cult and service, religious practice, piety, morality and behaviour of religious officials and believers.

3. CULT AND SERVICE

On 31 August 1763, John the Baptist Paxy, Bishop of Sylvania, sent a circular from Petrovaradin to pastors and parish administrators of his diocese, including the announcement of his visitation and “an index or note of what each pastor or parish administrator is to report on in writing on the next visitation”, 8 i.e. a list of questions with detailed in-

⁸ *Kanonske vizitacije* 2006: 85.

⁹ *Kanonske vizitacije* 2006: 78–109.

⁸ *Kanonske vizitacije* 2006: 85.

je li crkva konsekrirana, nalaze li se u njoj kor, orgulje, propovjedaonica te jesu li klupe posložene “s lijeve i desne strane za oba spola župljana”.¹⁰ Posebno je pitanje bilo posvećeno oltarima gdje se briga o kultu može vidjeti u nastojanju da se utvrdi jesu li dolično obojani te postoji li na nekom oltaru slika ili kip koji “se protive istini ili je inače neukusna te možda prikladnija smijehu nego da potiče pobožnost”.¹¹ Slična su se pitanja odnosila na filijalne i druge kapele na području župe. Vizitatori su veliku pažnju posvećivali svetim predmetima kulta pa se detaljno ispitivalo o euharistiji,¹² tražeći da se opiše svetojhranište, u kakvoj se posudi čuvaju svete čestice za pričest vjernika i za bolesnike te općenito je li poduzeto sve da se “presveto” dolično čuva i vjernicima izlaže na primjeren način. Nadalje, župnici su morali izvijestiti o tome kada stare posvećene čestice mijenjaju zimi, a kada ljeti, koliko puta godišnje i u kojim prilikama javno izlažu hostiju u pokaznici, nose li je u procesiji, postoji li odgovarajuća posudica za nošenje popudbine bolesnicima te nosi li se popudbina javno, na propisan način, odnosno nosi li ju svećenik odjeven u roketu i stolu, sa svjetlom koje se nosi ispred i zvukom zvonca kao pratnjom. Zbog zahtjeva da se hostije čuvaju dolično te da se s njima dolično postupa, ali i kako bi se spriječile zloupotrebe, iz sadržaja pitanja može se vidjeti da je vizitatorima bilo važno da svetojhranište bude opskrbljeno čvrstom bravom, da bude dobro zaključano, da ključ bude pažljivo čuvan, ali i da bude, kako je propisano, ili od metala ili pozlaćen sa svilenim privjeskom. Nadalje se redovito provjeravalo gori li stalno svjetiljka ispred svetojhraništa u kojem se čuvaju hostije, a ako bi se utvrdilo da se ovaj propis ne poštuje, biskup je želio znati koji je tomu razlog, kao što ga je zanimalo i iz kojih se sredstava osigurava da svjetlo stalno gori. Podatci su se prikupljali i o krsionici da bi se doznalo gdje je smještena, od kakvog je materijala, nalazi li se uz nju kip sv. Ivana Krstitelja, kada se stara posvećena voda zamjenjuje novom i kako se postupa sa starom, zaključava li se dobro

structions in the form of sub-questions.⁹ These 47 questions and their explanations determine what the bishop, among other things, expected to learn about individual aspects of the everyday religious life in the parishes belonging to his diocese, as well as his successors as they continued to use the same or only to a lesser extent modified questions as a framework for their canonical visitations.

As consecrated places of cult, churches and chapels were of particular interest to visitors, so that the first question refers to the parish church itself. Among other things, there are sub-questions related to the description of the condition of the church and its equipment level. As to cult and service, the visitations determined whether the church was consecrated, whether it had a choir, organs, a pulpit, and whether the benches were placed “from left to right for the parishioners of both gender”.¹⁰ There was a special question dedicated to altars, where the care of cult was manifested in an attempt to determine whether they were properly painted and whether there was a painting or a statue on the altar “that was contrary to the truth or otherwise distasteful and maybe more appropriate to laugh at than to encourage piety”.¹¹ Similar questions referred to branch and other chapels in the territory of the parish. The visitors paid much attention to sacred objects of cult, making detailed inquiries about the eucharist¹² and asking for a description of the tabernacle, what kind of vessel was used for keeping holy hosts for the Communion of the believers and the sick, and, generally, whether everything had been done to properly protect “the Most Holy” and to show it in a suitable way to the believers. Furthermore, the pastors had to report on when they replaced the old consecrated hosts in winter and in summer, how many times a year and in what circumstances they showed the Host in the monstrance, whether they carried it in procession, whether there was an appropriate box for carrying the Viaticum to the sick, and whether the Viaticum was carried publicly, in an appropriate way, i.e. whether the priest carrying it was dressed

¹⁰ *Kanonske vizitacije* 2006: 85.

¹¹ *Kanonske vizitacije* 2006: 89.

¹² Druga točka popisa pitanja kanonskih vizitacija odnosi se na niz pitanja o svetojhraništu, njegovoj opremi, “posvećenim česticama” (hostije) i sl., a u latinskom izvorniku glasi *De sanct. Eucharistia*.

⁹ *Kanonske vizitacije* 2006: 78-109.

¹⁰ *Kanonske vizitacije* 2006: 85.

¹¹ *Kanonske vizitacije* 2006: 89.

¹² The second item on the list of questions concerning canonical visitations refers to a set of questions on the tabernacle, its equipment, “consecrated hosts” (hosts), etc., in the Latin original reading “De sanct. Eucharistia”.

krsni zdenac i tko čuva ključ. Vizitatori su jednaku pažnju posvećivali svetim uljima i relikvijama, a zanimanje su usmjeravali i na sakristiju za koju je bilo važno da bude dovoljno velika, dobro održavana i čista, da ima čvrsta vrata koja se redovito zaključavaju te sigurne prozore jer su se u njoj čuvali sakralni predmeti, liturgijska odjeća, crkveni namještaj i slično. Župnici su vizitatora bili dužni obavijestiti i o tome čuvaju li se na doličan način u njihovoj crkvi relikvije kakvoga svetca te imaju li vjerodostojne isprave.¹³ Podatci o bogoslužju mogli su se doznati u dijelu pitanja koja su se odnosila na samog župnika ili upravitelja župe gdje je ispitivano kojim se danima održava misa, služi li župnik redovito misu za svoje župljane nedjeljama i blagdanima, kada započinje misa i koliko traje, održava li župnik propovijedi te katehizira li svoje vjernike.¹⁴ U nekim od kasnijih vizitacija pitanje o bogoslužju bilo je dodano kao izdvojeno pitanje te je od župnika bilo zahtijevano da obred bogoslužja opiše vrlo detaljno, kao što je to zabilježeno tijekom kanonskih pohoda 1819. godine u župi Kukujevci i 1833. godine u župi Morović.¹⁵

Sudeći prema stanju koje su utvrdili vizitatori, župni kler u Srijemu svoje je dužnosti po pitanju čuvanja i postupanja s hostijama, svetim tekućinama, krsnim zdencem i drugim sakralnim predmetima obavljao većinom savjesno. Tako je tijekom cijelog promatranog razdoblja u gotovo svim župama utvrđeno da se presveti sakrament i sveta ulja čuvaju dolično i čisto, da su zatvoreni i pod ključem i da se obnavljaju u propisanom vremenu, a i same crkve, kapelice i njihov namještaj uglavnom su bili održavani čistima i urednima. Jedan od češćih nedostataka do polovice 18. stoljeća bilo je nepostojanje krsnog zdenca pa su vizitatori u pravilu nalagali župnicima da ga pribave (primjerice u Iloku i Zemunu 1735. godine, Sotinu i Tovarniku 1738. godine ili Cerni, Bošnjacima, Vinkovcima, Nuštru 1745. godine).¹⁶ Župnici su redovito, pretežno svake subote, obnavljali blagoslovljenu vodu koja se blagoslivljala u Velikom tjednu, a stara se voda izlijevala u sakrarij. Sveta su se ulja obnav-

in a rochet and a stole with the light carried in the front and accompanied by the sound of bells. Since it was required to keep and treat hosts in a proper way, and with a view to preventing their misuse, the content of the questions clearly indicates that the visitors found it important for the tabernacle to be equipped with a sturdy lock, to be properly locked, to have its key carefully kept, and, as prescribed, to be made of metal or gilded with a silk pendant. Furthermore, it was regularly checked whether in front of the tabernacle where hosts were kept a lamp was burning at all times. If it had been determined that this regulation was not respected, the bishop wanted to know the reason. He was also interested in learning which funds were used to ensure that the lamps were burning at all times. Data were also collected on the baptistery in order to learn where it was located, what material it was made from, whether there was a statue of St. John the Baptist next to it, when the old sacred water was replaced with the new one and how the old one was treated, whether the baptismal font was properly locked, and who kept the key. The visitors paid the same attention to holy oils and relics. Their interest was also directed towards the sacristy, which had to be spacious enough, well-kept and clean, with sturdy doors that were regularly locked and secured windows since it was used for storing sacral objects, liturgical clothing, church furniture, etc. The pastors were obliged to inform the visitor whether any relics of a saint were kept in a proper way in their church and whether they had authentic documents.¹³ Data on service were collected through questions concerning the pastor or parish administrator himself in order to find out on which days mass was held, whether the pastor regularly held mass for his parishioners on Sundays and feast days, when the mass started and how long it lasted, whether the pastor held sermons, and whether he catechised his believers.¹⁴ Some later visitations included the question on service as a separate question, and the pastors were required to describe in detail the ritual of service, as recorded during the canonical visitations to the Parish of Kukujevci in 1819 and to the Parish of Morović

¹³ *Kanonske vizitacije* 2006: 87, 89, 93, 95.

¹⁴ *Kanonske vizitacije* 2006: 101.

¹⁵ *Kanonske vizitacije* 2008: 613, 615, 773, 775.

¹⁶ *Kanonske vizitacije* 2006: 3, 41, 47, 143, 237, 433, 443, 453, 457, 495, 501.

¹³ *Kanonske vizitacije* 2006: 87, 89, 93, 95.

¹⁴ *Kanonske vizitacije* 2006: 101.

ljala svake godine na Uskrs, dok su se stara spaljivala, a njihov se pepeo odlagao u sakristiju. Samo je u Vukovaru 1754. godine utvrđeno da se svete tekućine obnavljaju u subotu pred Duhove pri čemu je vizitator ovo odstupanje objasnio time da se svete tekućine ne mogu donijeti na Svetu subotu, ne navodeći razlog, a vukovarskom je župniku bilo naloženo da se ubuduće blagoslov krsne vode treba obavljati prema obredu, kako je propisano u misalu. Jedan od dekreta vizitacije župe Nijemci 1819. godine nalagao je da za krstionicu treba nabaviti bakreni kotlić i da se posvećena voda više ne smije držati izvan njega. S druge strane, biskup je vizitirajući svoje srijemske župe 1837. godine naložio župnicima da za vrijeme jake zime potrebnu količinu krsne vode drže u toploj sobi, kako bi se izbjeglo zaleđivanje, ali je istodobno upozorio da se krštenje uvijek mora podjeljivati isključivo u crkvi, osim u iznimnim opravdanim slučajevima ako je prijetila opasnost da novorođenče umre bez krštenja. Što se tiče posvećenih čestica, one su se u srijemskim župama zimi obnavljale najmanje jednom mjesečno, a ljeti i češće, jednom u dva ili tri tjedna. Primjer župa Golubinci i Kukujevci u vrijeme vizitacije 1811. godine oslikava postupanje koje je bilo karakteristično za većinu srijemskih župa, a prema kojem su se hostije mijenjale novima svakih petnaest dana, stare je pod misom konzumirao misnik “nakon uzimanja presvete krvi”, a velika se hostija konzumirala dan nakon Svijećnice. Nadalje, presveti se sakrament nosio kao popudbina bolesnicima (ondje gdje to nije bio slučaj, svećenici su opominjani zbog propusta), a vizitatori su pomno provjeravali obavlja li se to na propisan način, nosi li svećenik posvećene čestice u doličnoj torbici, metalnoj ili pozlaćenoj posudici, jednako kao što se provjeravalo je li posuda za “bolesničko ulje” odijeljena kako se ulja ne bi “u brzini ili zabunom” pomiješala. Pojedini su svećenici (primjerice župnici u Rumi i Novim Batrovcima) ulje čuvali u staklenim bočicama, koje je zabranio još biskup Krtica, zbog čega je biskup Mandić prilikom vizitacije 1811. godine župnicima naložio da obavezno nabave makar kositrene posudice kako bi se izbjegla opasnost da se posude razbiju, a ulje prolije. Hostija se izlagala u više prilika, a u pravilu u većini župa na Tijelovo, Veliki petak i Veliku subotu, ponegdje i na osminu Tijelova ili Božić, zatim

in 1833.¹⁵

Judging by the condition as determined by the visitors, the parish clergy in Syrmia in most cases performed their duties conscientiously with regard to the keeping and treatment of hosts, sacred liquids, baptismal font, and other sacral objects. Thus, it was determined that during the whole observed period almost all parishes kept the Most Holy Sacrament and holy oils in a proper and clean way, indoors and under lock and key, and renewed them within a proper time period, keeping also churches, chapels, and their furniture mostly clean and neat as well. One of more common shortcomings by mid-18th century was the lack of baptismal font, so, as a rule, the visitors ordered pastors to procure it (for example in Ilok and Zemun in 1735, in Sotin and Tovarnik in 1738, or in Cerna, Bošnjaci, Vinkovci, and Nuštar in 1745).¹⁶ The pastors regularly, mostly every Saturday, renewed blessed water, which was blessed during the Holy Week, whilst the old one was poured into the sacarium. Holy oils were renewed every year on Easter, whilst the old ones were burnt and their ashes were deposited in the sacristy. Only in Vukovar, in 1754, it was determined that holy liquids were renewed on Saturday prior to Whitsuntide. The visitor explained this deviation by the fact that holy liquids could not be brought on Holy Saturday, without stating any reason, and the Vukovar pastor was ordered to bless the baptismal water in the future in accordance with the ritual, as prescribed in the Missal. One of the decrees of the 1819 visitation to the Parish of Nijemci ordered that a copper font was to be procured for the baptistery and that the sacred water could no longer be kept outside of it. On the other hand, when visiting his Syrmian parishes in 1837, the bishop ordered the pastors to keep the required quantity of baptismal water in a warm room during strong winters in order to avoid its freezing, but also warned that Baptism was always to be performed only in church, other than in exceptionally justified cases where there was a danger that a new-born might die without Baptism. As to consecrated hosts, they were renewed at least once a month in Syrmian parishes

¹⁵ *Kanonske vizitacije* 2008: 613, 615, 773, 775.

¹⁶ *Kanonske vizitacije* 2006: 3, 41, 47, 143, 237, 433, 443, 453, 457, 495, 501.

na tri dana poklada, na sve prve nedjelje u mjesecu, što je bio običaj u Zemunu, ili na blagdane različitih svetaca, primjerice na dan svetog Silvestra u Nikincima, kao i u Hrtkovcima kada se upravo na Staru godinu hostija nosila po cijelom mjestu kao zahvalnica te na blagdane sv. Ivana Nepomuka, sv. Dimitrija, na Duhove ili devetnicu svete Tekle u Mitrovici, a u Sotu na dan kada se slave svete Ana i Katarina. U većini srijemskih župnih crkava čuvala su se različite relikvije, ali za samo dio njih postojali su dokazi o vjerodostojnosti. Primjerice, u karlovačkoj se crkvi 1763. godine nalazila jedna čestica kosti svetog Vinka Mučenika koju je nabavio pokojni srijemski biskup Nikola Gjivović (1752. – 1762.), u Zemunu su kao vjerodostojne identificirane čestica svetog Križa te relikvija svetog Ivana Nepomuka. U Nijemcima su 1811. godine bile relikvije svete Kristine, svetog Valida, svetog Emerika, svete Prudencije, svete Klare Asiške, svetih Benigna i Fausta te svetog Placida, a u Vukovaru čestica svetog Križa te relikvije svetih apostola Filipa i Jakova, svetog Franje Serafinskog, svetog Antuna Padovanskog te svetog Bone. Iste je godine vizitator župniku u Sotu zabranio da izlaže relikvije svetog Simplicijana, svetog Felicijana, svetog Redempta i svetog Aurelija te česticu svetog Križa jer nije postojao dokaz o njihovoj autentičnosti.¹⁷

Što se samih crkvenih objekata tiče, vizitacije u prvoj polovici 18. stoljeća svjedoče da u mnogima crkveni namještaj i ukrasi još uvijek nisu obnovljeni ili pribavljeni (premda je od ratnih sukoba i protjerivanja Osmanlija prošlo nekoliko desetljeća), da neke od crkava ili kapela nisu dovoljno velike za broj vjernika koji dolazi na bogoslužje ili da imaju različita oštećenja (krov koji prokišnjava, popucale zidove i drugo). Primjerice, vizitator je 1735. godine zaključio da su župna crkva u Sotu i njezine filijale u takvom stanju da se u njima ne može držati bogoslužje “bez velike nedoličnosti”. Vizitatori su pokazivali razumijevanje za siromaštvo srijemskih crkava i njezinih vjernika, ali nisu propuštali upozoriti da siromaštvo nije opravdanje za nemar, kao u slučaju kada je 1745. godine primijećeno da su jedini ukrasi u crkvama u Gunji

in winter and more often in summer, i.e. once in two or three weeks. The example of the Parishes of Golubinci and Kukujevci during the 1811 visitation illustrates the procedure typical for the majority of Syrmian parishes, according to which hosts were replaced with the new ones every fifteen days, where the old ones were consumed at the mass by the celebrant “after drinking the Most Holy Blood”, and the Holy Host was consumed after the Candlemas Day. Furthermore, the Most Holy Sacrament was carried as a Viaticum to the sick (if that was not the case, priests were admonished for their failure), and the visitors carefully checked whether this was done as prescribed, whether the priest carried consecrated hosts in a proper bag, a metal or gilded box, and whether the vessel intended for “the oil of the sick” was separated to prevent mixing of oils “in the rush or by mistake”. Individual priests (for example pastors in Ruma and Novi Batrovci) kept oil in glass bottles, which had been prohibited already by Bishop Krtica, on the account of which Bishop Mandić, during his visitation in 1811, ordered the pastors to obligatory procure at least pewter vessels to avoid the risk of breaking bottles and spilling oil. The Host was shown on several occasions, as a rule on Corpus Christi, Holy Friday, and Holy Saturday in the majority of parishes, in some places also on the Eighth Day of Corpus Christi or on Christmas, on three Carnival Days, on all first Sundays in the month, which was a tradition in Zemun, or on feast days of different saints, for example on the Saint Sylvester’s Day in Nikinci, as well as in Hrtkovci where on the New Year’s Eve the Host was carried through the whole village as a thanksgiving, on the St. John the Nepomuk Day, on the St. Demetrios Day, on Whitsuntide, or on the Ninth Day of Saint Tecla in Mitrovica, and in Sot on the day celebrating Saint Anne and Saint Catherine. Most Syrmian parish churches kept various relics, which were only partly supported by proofs of authenticity. For example, in 1763, the church in Karlovci kept a bone particle belonging to Vincent Martyr procured by the late Bishop of Syrmia Nikola Gjivović (1752–1762). In Zemun, a particle of the Holy Cross and a relic of Saint John the Nepomuk were identified as authentic. In 1811, Nijemci kept relics of Saint Christina, Saint Vitus, Saint Emeric, Saint Prudence, Saint Clare of Assisi, Saint Benigno and Faustus,

¹⁷ *Kanonske vizitacije* 2006: 111, 113, 159, 177, 191, 227, 247, 273, 509; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2008: 223, 239, 267, 361, 415; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2009: 117, 183.

i Vrbanji nekoliko poderanih papirnatih slika s prikazima svetaca. Vizitator je iste te godine ostao zgrožen stanjem u kojem je zatekao filijalnu kapelicu sv. Ivana Krstitelja u Batrovcima, u drenovačkoj župi, koja se nalazila u dvorištu seljačke kuće te se oko nje i u njezinu predvorju nalazila stoka, pa je vizitator upozorio da je se nikako ne može koristiti za bogoslužje jer “se može upotrijebiti samo za svinje”. S druge strane, u petrovaradinskoj je župnoj crkvi zadovoljno primijetio da je uklonjen nedostatak koji se očitovao u tome da u oltarima nije bilo nijednog posvećenog kamena, nego samo posvećena hrpa opeke i kreča, “što je u svakom pogledu ne samo nedopušteno, nego i nevaljano”. Čini se da je kler uglavnom ozbiljno shvaćao potrebu održavanja sakralnih predmeta i prostora čistima i urednima jer su bila rijetka upozorenja poput onoga izdanog župniku i kapelanu u Mitrovici 1765. godine da crkva, te posebno korporal, ali i sav ostali crkveni namještaj i oprema trebaju biti čišći, ili kada je 1775. godine župnik u Karlovcima upozoren da mora očistiti i posložiti razbacani crkveni namještaj u kapeli Marije od Mira.¹⁸

Činjenica da pred svetohraništem ne gori stalno svjetlo bio je jedan od rijetkih nedostataka koji su po pitanju kulta bili zabilježeni češće i u više vizitiranih crkava. Izdatci za svjetiljke koje su trebale stalno gorjeti ispred svetohraništa pokrivali su se iz crkvenih sredstava, a kako su crkve u Srijemu bile siromašne, nedostatak financijskih sredstava bio je navođen kao razlog ovom propustu, a vizitacije u 19. stoljeću kao dodatnu teškoću navode višestruko povećavanje cijene ulja. Zbog toga je u većini crkava svjetiljka ispred svetohraništa gorjela samo nedjeljama i zapovjednim blagdanima. Vizitatori su u tom pogledu imali razumijevanja jer crkve u pravilu nisu imale fond koji bi bio namijenjen za nabavku ulja za svjetiljke dok je milostinja prikupljana od vjernika bila nedovoljna ili je potpuno izostajala. Iznimka je bilo tek upozorenje izdano 1811. godine župniku u Nijemcima jer je utvrđeno da tamošnja župna crkva ima obilne prihode zbog čega se očekivalo da svjetiljka neprestano gori ispred glavnog oltara.¹⁹

¹⁸ *Kanonske vizitacije* 2006: 11, 55, 293, 465, 467, 469; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2008: 25.

¹⁹ *Kanonske vizitacije* 2006: 177; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2008: 223, 239; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2009: 183.

and Saint Placidus, and Vukovar held a particle of the Holy Cross and relics of the holy apostles Philip and James, Saint Frances, Saint Anthony of Padua, and Saint Bono. The same year, the visitor forbade the pastor in Sot to exhibit the relics of Saint Simplicius, Saint Felician, Saint Redemptus, and Saint Aurelius, as well as the particle of the Holy Cross since there was no proof of their authenticity.¹⁷

As to church buildings themselves, the visitations in the first half of the 18th century testify that in a number of them furniture and ornaments were still not renovated or procured (although several decades had passed since war conflicts and the expulsion of the Ottomans), that some of the churches and chapels were not big enough for the number of believers coming to services, or that they were damaged (leaking roof, cracked walls, etc.). For example, in 1735, the visitor concluded that the parish church in Sot and its branches were in such a condition that services could not be held in them “without major impropriety”. The visitors showed understanding for the poverty of Syrmian churches and their believers, but they did not fail to warn that the poverty was no excuse for negligence, as was the case in 1745, when the visitors noticed that the only ornaments in the churches in Gunja and Vrbanja were several torn paper images of saints. The same year, the visitor was appalled by the condition of the branch Chapel of St. John the Baptist in Batrovci, Parish of Dren, which was located in a yard of a country house and surrounded by cattle, which also entered the chapel porch, so the visitor warned that it could not be used for service since “it could only be used for pigs”. On the other hand, the visitor was satisfied to observe that the parish church in Petrovaradin had addressed the deficiency consisting of not a single consecrated stone being present on altars, but only some consecrated brick and plaster, “which, in any case, was not only prohibited, but also invalid”. In most cases, the clergy seemed to seriously understand the need for keeping sacral objects and premises clean and neat as warnings, such as the one given to the pastor and chaplain in Mitrovica in 1765 that the church, and in particular the Corporal, but also

¹⁷ *Kanonske vizitacije* 2006: 111, 113, 159, 177, 191, 227, 247, 273, 509; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2008: 223, 239, 267, 361, 415; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2009: 117, 183.

Bogoslužje se u srijemskim župnim crkvama održavalo redovito nedjeljama i blagdanima, a vrijeme njegova početka razlikovalo se od župe do župe te se ponegdje mijenjalo tijekom vremena. U nekim se župama vrijeme početka misnog slavlja mijenjalo od prilike do prilike te je ponajviše ovisilo o tome “kako se može skupiti narod”, kao što je zabilježeno tijekom vizitacije župe Nijemci 1738. godine. Uobičajeno je, ipak, započinjalo u devet ili deset sati prijepodne te zajedno s propovijedi trajalo oko sat i pol. U Šarengradu su se primjerice vjernici okupljali već u sedam sati, kada je započinjala jutarnja misa s propovijedi na hrvatskom jeziku, a pjevana je misa počinjala u deset sati. Mise su se služile i u drugim prilikama, primjerice u grobljanskim kapelama za Spomen svih vjernih mrtvih (Dušni dan), zatim u vrijeme blagoslova usjeva ili prilikom tijelovskih i drugih procesija u sakralnim objektima do kojih bi se svečana vjerska povorka uputila. Kako su filijalne crkve nerijetko bile podosta udaljene od župnih sjedišta, a putevi do njih loši i u zimskim mjesecima teško prohodni, ondje se mise nisu održavale redovito svake nedjelje, nego prema rasporedu i u ovisnosti o veličini župe i broju filijala, najčešće svake treće ili četvrte nedjelje, odnosno kada bi na pojedinu filijalu došao red, te na mjesne crkvene blagdane. Primjerice, u Šumanovcima, filijali župe Drenovci, 1745. godine zabilježeno je da se u crkvi Blažene Djevice Marije na nebo uznesene misa drži na lokalni god, na svaku mladu nedjelju i na blagdan svetog Mihovila kada se u mjestu održava sajam. U naseljima s miješanim hrvatskim i njemačkim stanovništvom vodilo se računa da se propovijedi održavaju na oba jezika. Primjerice, 1777. godine u Mitrovici je tijekom vizitacije određeno da se naizmjenice drže njemačke i hrvatske propovijedi, i to unatoč tomu što je primijećeno da tamošnji Nijemci već dovoljno vladaju hrvatskim jezikom. Osim toga, i kateheze su trebale biti održavane naizmjenice na oba jezika, ali obrnutim rasporedom u odnosu na propovijedi, čime se postiglo da oba naroda svake nedjelje mogu na vlastitom jeziku poslušati bilo propovijed, bilo katehetsku poduku. Poštivanje jezične raznovrsnosti odnosilo se i na pjesme koje su pjevane tijekom bogoslužja. Tako je u Petrovaradinu 1811. godine zabilježeno da orguljaš i učitelj Gabrijel Ratz svake nedjelje i blagda-

any other church furniture and equipment, needed to be cleaner or when the pastor in Karlovci was warned in 1775 to clean and put in order the scattered church furniture in the Chapel of Mary of Peace, were rare.¹⁸

The fact that there was no permanently lit lamp in front of the tabernacle was one of the rare deficiencies that were, in terms of cult, recorded more often and in several visited churches. Expenditures for lamps that were supposed to be lit permanently in front of the tabernacle were covered by church funds, and since Syrmian churches were poor, the lack of finance was indicated as the reason for this failure, where the visitations in the 19th century mention a multiple increase in the price of oil as an additional difficulty. Consequently, the majority of churches had a lamp lit in front of the tabernacle only on Sundays and on holy days of obligation. In this regard, the visitors were understanding, since, as a rule, the churches did not have a fund intended for the procurement of lamp oil, whilst alms collected from the believers were insufficient or lacked totally. The only exception was the warning issued in 1811 to the pastor in Nijemci since it was determined that the local parish church had rich income and was expected to have a lamp permanently lit in front of the main altar.¹⁹

In Syrmian parish churches, services were regularly held on Sundays and feast days. The time of their beginning varied from parish to parish, and in some cases, it changed over time. In some parishes, the time at which mass began changed from occasion to occasion, depending mostly on the circumstance “when people can be gathered”, as was recorded during the visitation to the Parish of Nijemci in 1738. Still, mass usually started at 9 or 10 a.m. and lasted, together with sermon, approximately an hour and a half. For example, in Šarengrad, believers gathered already at 7 a.m., when the morning mass started with sermon in Croatian, whilst the sung mass started at 10 a.m. Masses were held on other occasions as well, for example in cemetery chapels in the Commemoration of All the Faithful Departed (All Souls’ Day), at the time of the blessing of crops, or on the

¹⁸ *Kanonske vizitacije* 2006: 11, 55, 293, 465, 467, 469; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2008: 25.

¹⁹ *Kanonske vizitacije* 2006: 177; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2008: 223, 239; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2009: 183.

na tijekom prve mise izvodi na hrvatskom pjesmu “Na lica padamo”, tijekom pjevane mise pjesmicu na njemačkom “Hier, hier ich von deiner Majestat”, da bi popodnevene latinske litanije popratio s nekom prikladnom antifonom.²⁰

U nekoliko navrata tijekom vizitacija u prvoj polovici 19. stoljeća u zapisima kanonskih vizitacija nalaze se detaljne bilješke o bogoslužju i njegovu rasporedu. Primjerice, 1819. godine prilikom vizitacije župe Kukujevci te 1833. godine župe Morović, doznaje se da se u župnoj crkvi nedjeljama i blagdanima po prvi puta zvoni u devet i trideset ujutro, zatim u devet i četrdeset i pet minuta te treći puta u deset sati kada se “mladež i djevojke skupe, mole glasno i razgovijetno propisane uobičajene molitve” narednih četvrt sata, a pošto župnik uđe u crkvu, daje se zvonom znak za propovijed koja traje pola sata, prije čega župnik izmoli jedan Očenaš i Zdravomarijo. Nakon toga župnik pročita poglavlje kršćanskog nauka namijenjeno za taj dan te moli za bolesnike i objavljuje blagdan, dane posta, kvatre, zaruke, biskupske propise i drugo te s vjernicima moli propisane molitve. Poslije propovijedi slijedi pjevana misa pod kojom pjevaju djevojke i mladež, a nakon završetka mise svećenik moli anđeoski pozdrav, blagoslovi vjernike te se vraća u sakristiju. Poslijepodne zvoni prvi puta u dva sata za večernjicu, u pola tri drugi puta, u četvrt do tri treći puta te se do tri sata okuplja mladež na večernjicu, nakon čega ostaju u crkvi na katehezama. Nadalje se navodi da je poslije prve nedjelje došašća u obične dane zornica u pet sati ujutro te se ranije zvoni kako bi se pojavili svi pastiri (koji kasnije odlaze na ispašu sa svojim stadima), u osam sati sakupljaju se sve djevojke u župnikovu sobu gdje ih župnik ispituje i poučava sve do deset sati. U četrnaest sati dolaze mlade djevojčice za prvu i drugu ispovijed i pričest koje župnik poučava naredna dva sata, a oko osamnaest sati dolaze muškarci koji su do tada radili u poljima ili čuvali stoku pa ih župnik ponovno poučava i ispituje sljedećih sat vremena.²¹

Nije utvrđen ni jedan slučaj da župnici nisu redovito držali bogoslužje nedjeljama i blagdanima,

occasion of Corpus Christi and other processions in sacral objects to which the solemn religious procession went. Since branch churches were located at quite a distance from parish seats and the routes to them were difficult to travel along especially in winter months, they did not hold masses regularly every Sunday, but according to a schedule and depending on the size of the parish and the number of branch churches, mostly every third or fourth Sunday, that is when it was time for a particular church to hold mass, and on local church feast days. For example, the records show that in 1745, in Šumanovci, branch of the Parish of Drenovci, mass was held in the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary Assumed into Heaven during the local feast, on every new Sunday, and on the Feast Day of Saint Michael when a fair took place in the village. Settlements with mixed Croatian and German population made sure that sermons were held in both languages. For example, in 1777, during the visitation to Mitrovica, it was determined to hold German and Croatian sermons alternately, despite the fact that the local Germans were observed to have sufficient knowledge of the Croatian language. In addition, catecheses were supposed to be held alternately in both languages, but in accordance with a reverse schedule in relation to sermons, resulting in both nations being able to listen to either a sermon or a catechetical lesson in their own language every Sunday. Respect of language diversity referred also to songs sung during the service. Thus, the records show that in 1811, in Petrovaradin, Gabrijel Ratz, organ player and teacher, played the Croatian song “Na lica padamo” every Sunday and feast day during the first mass, the German song “Hier, hier ich von deiner Majestat” during the sung mass, and an appropriate antiphon during the afternoon Latin litany.²⁰

On several occasions during visitations in the first half of the 19th century, the records of canonical visitations contain detailed notes on services and their schedule. For example, the visitation to the Parish of Kukujevci in 1819 and to the Parish of Morović in 1833 found out that on Sundays and feast days the parish church rang its bell the first time at nine-thirty in the morning, the second time at nine-

²⁰ *Kanonske vizitacije* 2006: 75, 77, 415, 441, 465, 527; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2008: 449, 451.

²¹ *Kanonske vizitacije* 2008: 613, 615, 773, 775.

²⁰ *Kanonske vizitacije* 2006: 75, 77, 415, 441, 465, 527; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2008: 449, 451.

ali je, istodobno, samo u Lovasu 1738. godine zabilježeno da župnik drži misu i drugim danima osim nedjeljama i blagdanima. Jedini prigovor koji su po pitanju redovitog održavanja bogoslužja vizitatori uputili župnicima bio je onaj na račun vukovarskog župnika 1754. godine, kada je naloženo da misu mora držati ne samo nedjeljama, kao što je to do tada činio, nego i blagdanima. Poneki župnici nisu održavali misu u vlastitoj župi na dane kada bi se u susjednim župama slavio mjesni svetac zaštitnik. Tako je primjerice drenovački župnik 1833. godine bio upozoren na obavezu da i u tim prilikama obavezno u svojoj župi mora održati misu u propisano vrijeme, s kratkom propovijedi, kako vjernici koji se nisu pridružili proslavi u susjednoj župi ne bi bili zakinuti za bogoslužje. Poneki prigovor od strane vjernika došao je po pitanju vremena održavanja mise. Tako su se župljani u Nuštru 1782. godine požalili da bogoslužje često započinje prekasno pa ga mnogi i ne poslušaju. I sam je župnik potvrdio ove navode, objašnjavajući da s bogoslužjem započinje kasnije na zahtjev službenika Vukovarskog vlastelinstva koji su nedjeljama u jutarnjim satima duže zaokupljeni vlastelinskim poslovima. Drugačije su probleme imali vjernici u župama Nikinci i Hrtkovci koji su 1778. godine zamolili vizitatora da se za njihove mnogoljudne župe osigura još jedan svećenik kako bi se nedjeljama i blagdanima moglo održavati više bogoslužja. Naime, mnogi mještani ovih naselja bili su pastiri koji su ranim jutrom odvodili svoja stada pa nisu mogli slušati jutarnje mise. Biskup je obećao poduprijeti njihov zahtjev i uputiti ga osječkoj glavnoj prefekturi. Veći su problemi po pitanju bogoslužja bili zabilježeni samo sporadično u najstarijim sačuvanim vizitacijama iz 1735. godine, i to za ona naselja u kojima su katolici činili manjinu. Tako je vizitator zabilježio da se u Slankamenu, u kojem je stanovništvo u vrijeme pastirskog pohoda 1735. godine bilo pravoslavno, a katolik je bio samo tridesetničar Franjo Schmidt, misa održava tek rijetko nedjeljama i blagdanima njemu za duhovnu utjehu i iz zahvalnosti jer je donirao sredstva za crkveni krov. Vizitator je iste godine naložio popravak ruševne crkve u Karlovcima kako bi tamošnji katolici zimi i za kišovitog vremena mogli prisustvovati bogoslužju. Ni u filijali Mitrovici iste godine nisu bile bolje prilike pa je biskup zaključio

forty-five, and the third time at ten o'clock when "the young and girls gathered and said aloud and in clear words the prescribed usual prayers" for the next quarter of an hour, and after the pastor entered the church, the bell was rung to signal a thirty-minute sermon, prior to which the pastor said the Our Father and the Hail Mary. Afterwards, the pastor read a chapter on Christian doctrine intended for that day, prayed for the sick, announced feast days, fasting days, quarter days, engagements, bishop's regulations, etc., and said the prescribed prayers together with the believers. The sermon was followed by a sung mass during which girls and the young sang. After the end of the mass, the priest prayed the Angelus, blessed the believers, and returned to the sacristy. In the afternoon, the bell rang the first time at two o'clock for the evening service, the second time at half past two, and the third time at a quarter to three. At three o'clock, the young gathered for the evening service, after which they stayed in the church for catechesis. Furthermore, it is said that after the first Advent Sunday, the morning service on regular days was held at five o'clock in the morning and that the bell was rung earlier in order for all shepherds to show up (who afterwards went to pasture with their herds). At eight o'clock, all girls gathered in the pastor's room, where he examined and taught them until ten o'clock. At two o'clock in the afternoon, younger girls came for the first and the second Confession and Communion, which the pastor taught for the following two hours. At six o'clock in the afternoon, men came who up to that moment worked the field or herded cattle, and the pastor examined and taught them for the following hour.²¹

Not a single case was determined where pastors did not regularly hold services on Sundays and feast days. At the same time, the records show that in 1738, in Lovas, the pastor held mass on other days as well, in addition to Sundays and feast days. The only objection the visitors had with regard to the regular holding of service was the one addressed in 1754 to the Vukovar pastor, who was ordered to hold mass not only on Sundays, as he had done up to that point, but on feast days as well. Some pastors did not hold mass in their own parish on

²¹ *Kanonske vizitacije* 2008: 613, 615, 773, 775.

da je ovo mjesto nužno što prije uzdići u rang župe kako bi tamošnji katolici dobili duhovnu utjehu, ali i kako bi se carskoj vojsci na putu iz Beča prema Beogradu, Petrovaradinu i drugim pograničnim područjima omogućilo pohađanje bogoslužja jer se Mitrovica nalazi na križanju carskih puteva, a na cijelom području od Iloka do Beograda nije bilo drugog katoličkog mjesta na kojem bi putnici mogli prisustvovati bogoslužju.²²

Iz zapisa vizitatora vidljivo je da se pažnja pridavala ne samo bogoslužju nego i vjerskoj poduci koja se nije ograničavala na moralno-katehetske propovijedi, nego je uključivala nedjeljne i blagdanske kateheze i one u vrijeme došašća i korizme. Kateheze su držali sami svećenici i učitelji koji su katehetsku poduku školske djece organizirali u školskim ili crkvenim prostorima, a ponekad i u vlastitoj sobi, kao što je to činio upravitelj župe u Tovarniku, što je zabilježeno tijekom vizitacije 1745. godine. Kateheze su se održavale u različito vrijeme, najčešće ujutro i poslijepodne jer je to bilo vrijeme koje je odgovaralo vjernicima koji su se u drugo doba dana bavili stokom ili poljskim poslovima. Vizitatori nisu imali većih prigovora kada su u pitanju bile kateheze, osim što su pojedine župnike morali upozoriti da je poduku potrebno organizirati ne samo uoči najvećih kršćanskih blagdana Uskrsa i Božića nego i o drugim blagdanima i nedjeljama. Pravdajući se, župnik u Rumi je vizitatoru 1785. godine objasnio da nedjeljama ne drži kateheze jer djeca katekizam uče u školi, dok ostali vjernici ne dolaze nedjeljom popodne u crkvu na poduku. Biskup, očito, ovo nije smatrao valjanim opravdanjem pa je župnika upozorio da bez obzira na navedene razloge obavezno mora poštivati odredbu prema kojoj su se kateheze trebale održavati nedjeljom s početkom u četrnaest sati. Godine 1782. u većini vizitiranih župa primijećeno je da su dječaci koji pohađaju školu opskrbljeni samo njemačkim katekizmom, premda ne znaju njemački jezik, pa da iz njega samo napamet uče i recitiraju bez razumijevanja. U Cerni, Županji, Drenovcima i Otoku problem je bio tim veći što su učitelji bili Nijemci koji nisu znali hrvatski jezik

the days when the local patron saint was celebrated in the neighbouring parishes. Thus, for example, the pastor in Drenovci was warned in 1833 of its obligation also on such occasions to hold mass in his parish at the regular time, including a short sermon, so the believers who did not join the feast in the neighbouring parish would not be deprived of service. Believers had some objections with regard to the timing of mass. In 1782, the parishioners of Nuštar complained that the service often started too late, so many did not listen to it at all. Even the pastor confirmed those allegations, explaining that the service started late at the request of the Vukovar Manor's officials, who were occupied with manorial affairs longer in the morning on Sundays. The believers in the Parishes of Nikinci and Hrtkovci faced different challenges. In 1778, they asked the visitor to provide an additional priest for their populated parishes in order to have more services on Sundays and feast days. Namely, many inhabitants of these settlements were shepherds who took their herds to pasture early in the morning and thus were not able to attend morning mass. The bishop promised to support their request and to forward it to the Osijek main prefecture. Major problems concerning services were recorded only occasionally in the oldest preserved visitations from 1735 and with regard to the settlements where the Catholics were a minority. Thus, the visitor recorded that in Slankamen, where in 1735, during the pastoral visit, the population was Orthodox and the only Catholic was Franjo Schmidt, collector of the thirtieth (tricesima), mass was held on rare occasions on Sundays and feast days only for his spiritual comfort and in gratitude since he donated funds for the church roof. The same year, the visitor ordered the repair of the dilapidated church in Karlovci, so the Catholics there could attend service in winter and in rainy weather. The circumstances of the branch church in Mitrovica were not any better, and the bishop concluded that this place needed to be raised to the parish level, so the Catholics there could be given spiritual comfort and the imperial army on its way from Vienna to Belgrade, Petrovaradin, and other border regions could attend service since Mitrovica was at the crossroad of imperial ways and since in the whole territory from Ilok to Belgrade there were no Catholic

²² *Kanonske vizitacije* 2006: 27, 31, 37, 447, 509; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2008: 119; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2009: 521; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2010: 57.

zbog čega učenicima nisu mogli protumačiti katekizam, a istodobno župnici nisu znali njemački jezik pa djeci nisu vjersku poduku davali iz istog njemačkog katekizma koji su koristili učitelji. Samo je u Nijemcima situacija bila bolja jer je novi učitelj, koji je u službu stupio nakon nedavne smrti svoga prethodnika, znao oba jezika. Tijekom vizitacije 1811. godine zaključeno je kako bi bilo korisno za cijelu biskupiju propisati jedan katekizam, kao i da kateheze budu obavezne svake nedjelje i blagdana, a ne samo u vrijeme došašća i korizme, a očekivalo se da svjetovne vlasti na dolazak prisile sve vjernike, posebno djecu s majkama.²³

places where the travellers could attend service.²²

The visitors' records clearly show that attention was paid not only to service, but also to religious teaching, which was not limited to moral and catechetical sermons, but also included Sunday and feast day, as well as Advent and Lent catecheses. Catecheses were held by priests and teachers, who organised catechetical education of school children in school or church premises, sometimes in their own room, as done by the parish administrator in Tovarnik, which was recorded during the 1745 visitation. Catecheses were held at different times, mostly in the morning or in the afternoon as those times were convenient for the believers who dealt with cattle or field works at other times of the day. The visitors had no major objections with regard to catechesis, the only exception being that they had to warn certain pastors that the teaching needed to be organised not only on the occasion of Easter and Christmas as major Christian holidays, but on other feast days and Sundays as well. Justifying his actions, in 1785, the pastor in Ruma explained to the visitor that he did not hold catechesis on Sundays because the children learnt catechism in school, whilst other believers failed to come on Sunday afternoon to church for education. Obviously, the bishop did not consider his justification valid and warned the pastor that, regardless of the reasons he had given, he had to observe the provision saying that catecheses needed to be held on Sundays, starting at two o'clock in the afternoon. In 1782, in the majority of visited parishes, it was observed that the boys attending school were provided only German catechism, although they did not know German, so they learnt it by heart and recited it without understanding. The problem was even bigger in Cerna, Županja, Drenovci, and Otok since the teachers were Germans who did not know Croatian and therefore were not able to teach pupils catechism, whilst the pastors did not speak German and thus did not give religious lessons on the same German catechism as used by the teachers. The situation was better only in Nijemci because the new teacher, who started his service after the death of his predecessor, spoke both

²³ *Kanonske vizitacije* 2006: 441, 479; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2008: 141; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2009: 5, 9, 13, 19, 23, 201.

²² *Kanonske vizitacije* 2006: 27, 31, 37, 447, 509; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2008: 119; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2009: 521; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2010: 57.

4. VJERSKA PRAKSA

Osim što su svećenici bili obavezni redovito držati mise nedjeljama i blagdanima, a vjernici im redovito prisustvovati, postojale su i druge svetkovine, najčešće vezane uz mjesne blagdane, koje su bile ne samo prilika za izražavanje vjerskih osjećaja nego i za gošćenje, opuštanje, druženje i susret s rođacima i prijateljima te izražavanje ponosa na vlastitu lokalnu zajednicu. Osim toga, vjernici su sudjelovali u različitim procesijama, a vizitacije sadrže i podatke o obredima krštenja, ispovijesti, krizme, vjenčanja, pogreba, o oprostima, o ispovjedaonicama, grobljima, križevima, brdu kalvarije i drugome. Zanimanje za društveni vid vjerske prakse vizitatori su pokazivali ispitujući župnike o bratovštinama na području njihovih župa te o ubožnicama i drugim oblicima brige za siromašne i nemoćne.²⁴

Vjernici na području Srijema sudjelovali su u različitim procesijama. Uobičajene su bile tijelovska i uskršnja procesija, procesija velikih i malih litanija, za prosne dane te procesija za blagdan svetog Marka koja je bila povezana uz blagoslov usjeva. Osim ovih, procesije su se održavale i povodom proslava različitih svetaca, uglavnom povezanih s mjesnim crkvama ili kapelama do kojih su vjernici išli u procesiji predvođeni svećenstvom, a bilo je i procesija koje su se održavale u spomen na neke za zajednicu važne događaje. Primjerice, u Petrovaradinu je procesija išla od župne crkve svetog Jurja do kapelice svetog Križa na groblju izvan grada ispod tvrđavskog brda na blagdan Našašća i Uzvišenja svetog Križa, a na blagdan svete Marije Snježne, na blagdan Pohoda te u prosne dane do kapelice svete Marije Snježne, smještene na pola sata od Petrovaradina prema Karlovcima. U ovom su se gradu održavale i druge procesije: na blagdan svetog Fabijana i Sebastijana od franjevačke crkve kroz gradske ulice, a po povratku se pjevalo “Tebe Boga hvalimo” u znak zahvale jer je na taj dan prestala kuga, zatim na blagdan svetog Roka do istoimene kapelice da bi se izmolio zagovor ovoga svetca u zaštiti od kuge, a u utorak dan prije Pepelnice, na Uskrs, osminu Bogojavljanja, Našašće i Uzvišenje svetog Križa do kapelice na “starom groblju”. Vizitacija

languages. The 1811 visitation concluded that it would be useful to stipulate one catechism for the whole diocese and that catechises should be mandatory on each Sunday and feast day, and not only during Advent and Lent, where the secular authorities were expected to pressure all believers, particularly children with mothers, into attending them.²³

4. RELIGIOUS PRACTICE

In addition to obligatory masses being held on Sundays and feast days by priests and regularly attended by believers, there were other festivities as well, mostly related to local feast days, which were not only an opportunity to express religious feelings, but also to feast, relax, socialise, and meet with relatives and friends, as well as to express pride in the local community. Moreover, believers took part in different processions. The visitations also contain data on rituals such as Baptism, Confession, Confirmation, wedding, funeral, on pardons, on confessionals, cemeteries, crosses, Calvary hill, etc. The visitors expressed their interest in the social aspect of religious practice by asking pastors about brotherhoods in the territory of their parishes, as well as about poorhouses and other forms of care for the poor and the weak.²⁴

Believers in the territory of Sirmia took part in different processions. The usual processions included Corpus Christi and Easter procession, Major and Minor Rogations procession, procession on Rogation Days, and procession on the Feast Day of Saint Mark, which was related with the blessing of crops. In addition to those occasions, processions also took place when celebrating various saints, mostly related to local churches or chapels, to which believers went in a procession led by the clergy. Processions were also held to commemorate events important for the community. For example, the Petrovaradin procession went from the Parish Church of Saint George to the Chapel of the Holy Cross in the cemetery located outside the town at the foot of the fortress hill on the Feast Day of the Finding and the Exaltation of the

²⁴ *Kanonske vizitacije* 2006: 89, 91, 95, 97.

²³ *Kanonske vizitacije* 2006: 441, 479; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2008: 141; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2009: 5, 9, 13, 19, 23, 201.

²⁴ *Kanonske vizitacije* 2006: 89, 91, 95, 97.

1822. godine zabilježila je da se na blagdan svetog Alojzija vodila procesija u vinograde kako bi se osigurao svetčev blagoslov, objasnivši da se procesija počela voditi na poticaj petrovaradinskog župnika jer su strašna oluja i led četiri godine uzastopce, a posebno 1815. godine, potukle petrovaradinske vinograde. Iz Iloka su dvije procesije vodile u Šarengrad, a dvije u Sot u vrijeme zaštitnika ondašnjih crkava. U Mitrovici su se godišnje procesije vodile na Veliki petak do brda kalvarije, na Veliku subotu, zatim na Svijećnicu sa svijećama, na Tijelovo te na prosne dane. Ova je posljednja najprije išla do brda kalvarije, zatim do kapelice svetog Ivana Nepomuka te napokon do križa u blizini glavnog trga. U Vinkovcima se na Uzašašće vodila procesija do istoimene kapele smještene u vinogradima, a vjernici iz Gibarca su na blagdan Presvetog Trojstva u procesiji išli do Kukujevaca, dok je iz Kukujevaca u Gibarac procesija išla za blagdan svetog Ivana Nepomuka. U Hrtkovcima je na Dušni dan svećenik predvodio procesiju na groblje, a u Rumi i Irigu su se, osim uobičajenih, vodile procesije u vrijeme suše ili zbog drugih razloga do kapela svetog Ivana Nepomuka i svetog Stjepana ili do križa koji se nalazio na području općine, a zabilježeno je i da su vođene procesije izvan područja župe. U Račinovcima i Drenovcima su ponekad na traženje vjernika organizirane procesije da bi se izmolili zdravlje, kiša ili lijepo vrijeme, rodna godina u proljeće, a ujesen kao zahvala. Stanovnici Županje su u vrijeme vizitacije 1811. godine već dvanaestu godinu za redom vodili procesiju na blagdan svetog Ivana i Pavla do drvenog križa smještenog izvan sela, zatim do drugog križa smještenog uz rijeku Savu, a na što su se zavjetovali jer je na taj dan ovo mjesto potukao snažan led. Iste je godine vizitator zabilježio da se u Retkovcima održava izvanredna procesija na Duhovski ponedjeljak jer je na taj dan 1810. godine jako nevrjeme praćeno ledom opustošilo seoske njive i vinograde.²⁵

Iako na većinu procesija tijekom vizitacija nisu upućene nikakve primjedbe, dapače, zabilježeno je da se obavljaju uz veliku pobožnost i sudjelovanje brojnih vjernika, za neke je ipak primijećeno da

Holy Cross, whilst on the Feast Day of Saint Mary of the Snows, on the Feast Day of the Visitation, and on Rogation Days, it went to the Chapel of Saint Mary of the Snows, located half an hour away from Petrovaradin towards Karlovci. This town accommodated other processions as well: on the Feast Day of Saint Fabian and Sebastian, the procession went from the Franciscan Church down the town streets. On the return, “Tebe Boga hvalim” was sung as a thanksgiving because that day was marked by the end of plague. On the Feast Day of Saint Roch, the procession went to the chapel of the same name to pray for the intercession of this saint to protect them against plague. On Tuesday before Ash Wednesday, on Easter, the octave of the Epiphany, the Finding, and the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, it went to the chapel in the “old cemetery”. In 1822, the visitation recorded that on the Feast Day of Saint Aloysius, the procession was led to vineyards to provide for the saint’s blessing, explaining that the procession was started at the initiative of the Petrovaradin’s pastor since for four years in a row, and particularly in 1815, terrible storms and hail destroyed Petrovaradin vineyards. From Ilok, two processions led to Šarengrad and two to Sot on the days of patron saints of the local churches. In Mitrovica, annual processions were led on Holy Friday to the Calvary hill, on Holy Saturday, on the Candlemas Day with candles, on Corpus Christi, and on Rogation Days. The last procession first went to the Calvary hill, then to the Chapel of Saint John the Nepomuk, and finally to the cross in the vicinity of the main square. In Vinkovci, on the Ascension Day, the procession was led to the chapel of the same name located in vineyards. On the Feast Day of the Most Holy Trinity, the believers from Gibarac went in a procession to Kukujevci, whilst the procession from Kukujevci to Gibarac was held on the Feast Day of Saint John the Nepomuk. In Hrtkovci, on All Souls’ Day, the priest led the procession to the cemetery, whilst in Ruma and Irig, in addition to the regular ones, processions were also led in times of drought or for any other reasons to the Chapels of Saint John the Nepomuk and Saint Stephen or to the cross that was placed in the municipal territory. Furthermore, there are also records of processions being led outside the parish territory. In Račinovci and Drenovci, at the request of the believers, processions were sometimes organi-

²⁵ *Kanonske vizitacije* 2006: 17, 25, 129, 353, 579; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2008: 249, 251, 371, 441, 443, 723; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2009: 73, 111, 255; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2010: 301.

nisu u skladu s propisima. Tijekom vizitacije 1755. godine utvrđeno je da procesije iz Karlovaca u Kamenicu te do kapele Marije Snježne padaju u dokinute blagdane te su stoga prepuštene privatnoj pobožnosti vjernika, a župniku je naloženo da ih više ne smije zakazivati i predvoditi. Slično je određeno i u Kamenici, a župniku je naloženo da na dan Gospe Snježne ne smije oglašavati ni predvoditi procesiju do kapelice Marije Snježne jer nije riječ o zapovijedanom blagdanu, pa ne bi vjernike trebao odvlačiti od posla, nego ostaviti “svakome slobodu da taj dan slavi kako najviše voli”. Po karlovačkim su trgovima i ulicama vođene još neke procesije od čega je, prema nalogu vizitatora, trebalo odustati (na Svetu Subotu, blagdane Začeca i Uznesenja Blažene Djevice Marije), a ako bi vjernici ipak ustajali u mišljenju da na njih imaju pravo, trebali su biskupu svoj zahtjev predložiti pismeno u roku od petnaest dana. Iste se godine vizitator osobito zgrnuo nad pučkom procesijom iz Petrovaradina do kapele Marije Mira na putu za Karlovce, a koju se nazivalo “pijana procesija” te je bila praćena (i obeščašćivana) dječjom pjesmicom “Toči Marijo, samo toči Marijo jer je karlovačko vino slatko”. Molbu koju su vjernici iz petrovaradinske općine na alodima podnijeli 1794. godine, a kojom traže da im se omogući vlastita svečana procesija na Tijelovo iz njihove alodijalne crkve, vizitator je odbio upućujući molitelje da se pridruže svečanoj procesiji koja se vodila u tvrđavi za vjernike iz oba podgrađa. Vizitator je svoju odluku argumentirao i vrlo lošim stanjem te malim prostorom alodijalne kapelice svetog Križa koja stoga nije pogodna za održavanje takve svečanosti. Za procesije koje su se vodile od župne crkve u Nijemcima na Duhovsku nedjelju i na blagdan svetog Petra i Pavla vizitator je 1782. godine zabilježio da se ne organiziraju iz pobožnih razloga, nego isključivo zbog sajma koji se održava na te dane pa je župnik upozoren da ih ubuduće ne smije predvoditi. Vizitator je iste godine dokinuo procesije koje su na Uskrs i Duhove iz Drenovaca išle do groblja u Šumanovcima te je župniku naloženo da na te dane ne smije služiti mise u šumama i na groblju jer to nisu mjesta na kojima bi se vjernici trebali okupljati, nego u župnoj crkvi. I za kukujevačke je procesije 1811. godine utvrđeno da se ne obavljaju s doličnom pobožnošću. Iste se godine župnik u Nuštru požalio

sed to say prayers for health, rain, or nice weather, for a fertile year in the spring and as thanksgiving in the autumn. At the time of the 1811 visitation, the inhabitants of Županja led the procession, for the twelfth year in a row, on the Feast Day of Saint John and Paul to the wooden cross that was placed outside the village and then to the second cross located next to the Sava River, which they vowed to do since on the given day their village was hit by a hailstorm. The same year, the visitor recorded that in Retkovci, an extraordinary procession was held on Whit Monday, since on that day 1810, a strong thunderstorm followed by hailstorm devastated village fields and vineyards.²⁵

With regard to the majority of processions during visitations there were no objections, on the contrary, it was recorded that they were held with great devotion and that many believers participated in them, still, some were observed to have been contrary to the regulations. The 1755 visitation established that the processions from Karlovci to Kamenica and to the Chapel of Mary of the Snows were held on discontinued feast days, meaning it was up to the believers to hold them in private piety, and the pastor was forbidden to organise and lead them again. A similar decision was made with regard to Kamenica, and the pastor was forbidden to announce and lead the procession to the Chapel of Mary of the Snows on the Feast Day of Mary of the Snows, since this was not an ordered feast day, and the believers should not have been dragged from work, but “should be free to decide to celebrate that day as they see fit”. There were some other processions that took place on Karlovci squares and streets and which, at the visitors’ order, needed to discontinue (on Holy Saturday, Feast Days of the Conception and the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary). If the believers still insisted in their opinion to be entitled to them, they were to submit their written request to the bishop within fifteen days. The same year, the visitor was particularly appalled by the folk procession from Petrovaradin to the Chapel of Mary of Peace on the way to Karlovci, which was called a “drunken procession” and which was followed (and disgraced) by the children’s song

²⁵ *Kanonske vizitacije* 2006: 17, 25, 129, 353, 579; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2008: 249, 251, 371, 441, 443, 723; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2009: 73, 111, 255; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2010: 301.

na mlakost svojih župljana po pitanju sudjelovanja u procesijama na prosne dane i velike litanije, zbog čega se procesija jedva uspijevala organizirati, a mjesni je sudac morao određivati župljane koji će u procesiji nositi križ i zastavu. Čini se da je početkom 19. stoljeća ovaj oblik pobožnosti, barem u nekim mjestima, izgubio na popularnosti jer je iste godine zabilježeno da se za procesije koje se održavaju na blagdan svetog Marka i na prosne dane u Zemunu od gradskog poglavarstva mora tražiti da zapovjede cehovima sudjelovanje u procesiji jer bi se u protivnom pojavio mali broj vjernika.²⁶

Procesije su organizirale i bratovštine pa je primjerice ona u Iloku bila organizirana svakog mjeseca, a vizitator je 1782. godine naložio da će procesija koja se na mladu nedjelju u Cerni vodila oko crkve ubuduće biti pod naslovom Bratovštine presvete Krunice, koja postoji u đakovačkog stolnoj crkvi “i proteže se po cijeloj istoimenoj biskupiji”, a ista se odredba ponavlja i za druge župe tijekom ove vizitacije. Općenito, što se tiče bratovština, one nisu bile osnivane u svim srijemskim župama, a podatci o njima u kanonskim vizitacijama nalaze se tek od druge polovice 18. stoljeća. Među njima su najuglednije i najstarije bile one redovničke u većim naseljima gradskog tipa, isusovačka i franjevačka u Petrovaradinu te bratovštine trećoredaca svetog Franje u Iloku, Vukovaru i Šaregradu. Ove su bratovštine postojale sve dok ih nije ukinuo car Josip II., kao što je zabilježeno prilikom vizitacije šaregradske župe 1811. godine. Osim spomenutih, sažeto se navodi postojanje bratovštine Tijela Kristova, pretežno za naselja u zapadnom Srijemu koja su bila u sastavu Pečuške biskupije na čijem je području uvedena ova bratovština (primjerice u župi Kukujevci 1782. godine), ili se izdaju preporuke za njezinim osnivanjem (primjerice u Toverniku 1754. godine).²⁷

Kanonske vizitacije razmjerno rijetko i šturo progovaraju o drugim oblicima pobožnosti. Tako se 1735. godine tek spominju prikazanja koja su se davala u Petrovaradinu za Božić, Uskrs, Duhove, Bogojavljanje, Uznesenje Blažene Djevice Marije i blagdan svetog Jurja. Godine 1754. vizitator je

“Toči Marijo, samo toči Marijo jer je karlovačko vino slatko”. In 1794, the believers from the Municipality of Petrovaradin on allodium submitted a request for their own festive procession on Corpus Christi from their allodial church, which was rejected by the visitor, who advised them to join the festive procession held in the fortress for the believers from both settlements located below it. The visitor explained his decision by very poor condition and small space of the Allodial Chapel of the Holy Cross, which, thus, was not suitable for accommodating such a festivity. As to the processions led from the parish church in Nijemci on Whit Sunday and on the Feast Day of Saint Peter and Paul, in 1782, the visitor recorded that they were not organised for pious reasons, but only because of the fair taking place on those days, and the pastor was warned not to lead them in the future. The same year, the visitor discontinued the processions led on Easter and Whitsuntide from Drenovci to the cemetery in Šumanovci and ordered the pastor not to hold mass on those days in woods and in the cemetery, as those were not the places where the believers should gather, but in the parish church. In 1811, the Kukujevci processions were determined to be contrary to appropriate piety. The same year, the pastor in Nuštar complained of his parishioners’ lack of interest in participating in processions on Rogation Days and Major Rogations, so the procession was barely organised, and the local judge had to appoint parishioners who carried the cross and flag in the procession. It seems that at the beginning of the 19th century this type of piety, at least in some places, had lost its popularity since the records of the same year show that in Zemun, on the Feast Day of Saint Mark and on Rogation Days, the municipal authorities had to be requested to order guilds to participate in the procession, otherwise few believers would have shown up.²⁶

Processions were organised by brotherhoods as well. For example, the Ilok one was organised every month, and in 1782, the visitor ordered that the procession led on new Sunday in Cerna around the church was to be held under the name of the Brotherhood of the Most Holy Rosary, which existed in the Đakovo Cathedral and “extended to the whole

²⁶ *Kanonske vizitacije* 2008: 25, 27, 35, 183, 249, 251, 397; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2009: 11, 21; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2010: 213.

²⁷ *Kanonske vizitacije* 2006: 236, 519; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2008: 135; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2009: 3.

²⁶ *Kanonske vizitacije* 2008: 25, 27, 35, 183, 249, 251, 397; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2009: 11, 21; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2010: 213.

zabilježio da se mnoštvo naroda, osobito na mlade nedjelje, okuplja radi štovanja navodno čudotvornog prikaza Blažene Djevice Marije u župnoj crkvi u Sotu. Začetnik i promicatelj ovoga kulta bio je upravitelj sotske župe fra Marijan Jelačić koji je 1748. godine javno objavio “razne postignute darove i milosti pouzdanim zazivom na tu sliku Blažene Djevice Marije”. Preko vanjskog vikara nastojalo se spriječiti širenje vjerovanja u njezinu čudotvornost i njezino štovanje, a kako se u tome nije uspjelo, fra Jelačiću naloženo je da bilježi sve slučajeve čuda koja se pripisuju sotskoj Bogorodici. Da je spontane oblike pučke pobožnosti bilo teško kontrolirati može se vidjeti i iz primjedbe koju je vizitator 1811. godine naveo vezano uz proslavu blagdana svete Ane u župnoj crkvi u Sotu, primijetivši da se na ovaj blagdan okuplja daleko veće mnoštvo vjernika nego na crkveni god na blagdan svete Katarine, “a što je tome razlog ne može nitko navesti nijedan siguran odgovor”. I samo nošenje popudbine bolesnicima predstavljalo je javni vjerski čin, a kako se u Srijemu, zbog različitih razloga, ono nije uvijek odvijalo javno na propisan način, 1819. godine vizitator je izdao dekret kojim je određeno da popudbinu ubuduće uvijek mora javno nositi župnik odjeven u roketu i štolu, praćen zvukom zvonca i predvođen svjetlom. Vjernike je trebalo poučiti da trebaju kleknuti radi primanja blagoslova kada prolazi svećenik s popudbinom, a onima koji svećenika pobožno prate do bolesnikove kuće treba podijeliti oproštenje. Na ovaj se dekret požalio Luka Sučić, župnik u Komletincima, star šezdeset i sedam godina, jer zbog starosti po zimskoj hladnoći i ljetnom suncu ne može popudbinu nositi otkrivene glave, kako je propisano, pa mu je biskup dopustio da u takvim slučajevima nosi “širi crkveni šešir”. Biskupi su primijetili da se u nekim župama presveti sakrament izlaže prečesto, “suprotno crkvenom duhu”, čime se umanjuje poštovanje vjernika te im se skreće pažnja s kontemplacije i pobožne sabranosti (primjerice u Jarmini 1819. i Irigu 1833. godine) te je naloženo da ga se ubuduće treba izlagati samo kada je propisano. Protiv zloupotrebe izlaganja presvetog sakramenta progovorio je i vizitator 1833. godine kada su župnici upozoreni da sakrament ne smiju upotrebljavati protiv požara, leda i drugih vremenskih nepogoda. Nastojanje da se ujednači obredna

diocese of the same name”, the same provision having been established for other parishes as well during this visitation. As to brotherhoods in general, they were not established in all Syrmian parishes, and the canonical visitations offer data on them only from the second half of the 18th century. The most prominent and the oldest among them were monastic brotherhoods in larger urban settlements, Jesuit and Franciscan Brotherhoods in Petrovaradin, and Brotherhoods of the Third Order of Saint Francis in Ilok, Vukovar, and Šaregrad. They existed until their abolishment by the Emperor Joseph II, as recorded during the 1811 visitation to the Parish of Šaregrad. In addition to the mentioned ones, there was a brief note of the existence of the Corpus Christi Brotherhood, mostly in western Syrmian settlements belonging to the Diocese of Pécs, in the territory of which this brotherhood was introduced (for example in the Parish of Kukujevci in 1782), or recommendations were issued for its establishment (for example in Tovarnik in 1754).²⁷

Canonical visitations mention other forms of piety relatively rarely and sparsely. Thus, in 1735, presentations given in Petrovaradin on Christmas, Easter, Whitsuntide, the Epiphany, the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the Feast Day of Saint George are merely mentioned. In 1754, the visitor noted that many people gathered, particularly on new Sundays, to worship the alleged miraculous appearance of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the parish church in Sot. The originator and promotor of this cult was Fra Marijan Jelačić, Administrator of the Parish of Sot, who, in 1748, published “various bestowed gifts and mercies by invoking steadily upon this image of the Blessed Virgin Mary”. Through an external vicar, attempts were made to prevent the spreading of belief in her miraculous power and in her worship. Having failed that, Fra Jelačić was ordered to make records of all the cases of miracles attached to the Mother of God of Sot. Spontaneous forms of popular piety were difficult to control, as evident from the comment given in 1811 by the visitor with regard to the celebration of the Feast Day of Saint Anne in the parish church in Sot, who observed that this feast day gathered considerably more believers than the church celebration on the Feast Day of Saint

²⁷ *Kanonske vizitacije* 2006: 236, 519; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2008: 135; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2009: 3.

praksa vidljivo je iz vizitatorovih naloga 1745. godine župnicima u Moroviću, Privlaci i Šaregradu, a prema kojima obavezno moraju koristiti tiskani primjerak zavičajnog (biskupijskog) obrednika koji im je poslan, dok za pouku djece trebaju koristiti tiskani Belarminov kateizam. Vizitatori su redovito bilježili i podatke o oprostima, ali srijemske crkve i njihovi oltari uglavnom su imali samo opće oproste na temelju papinskih brevea, dok su rijetki zabilježeni slučajevi poput onoga tijekom vizitacije 1743. kada je u Karlovcima biskup pribavio potpuni oprost za blagdan Presvetog Trojstva kojem je posvećena obnovljena crkva novoutemeljene župe ili za iločki oltar svetog Ivana Kapistranskog za koji je 1775. godine zabilježeno da ima trajni oprost povlaštenog oltara.²⁸

O podjeljivanju sakramenata u zapisima vizitatora nije zabilježeno gotovo ništa, osim što se u pravilu, prilikom opisa same vizitacije, bilježi da je biskup krizmao vjernike te ako se primijete kakvi propusti. Tako je vizitator tijekom 1833. godine upozorio župnike da se krštenje mora podjeljivati isključivo u crkvi, a ne u župnom domu, kako je običaj, čak i za jake hladnoće, osim “u najvećoj nuždi”. Vizitator je nadalje župnike podsjetio da se pričešćuje oko Uskrsa, da se ženidba mora navijestiti u crkvi tri puta, da se vjenčanje uvijek mora održavati prijepodne, osim u iznimnim opravdanim slučajevima. Također se doznaje da je uobičajen uvod mlade u crkvu nakon vjenčanja sljedećeg dana ili nedjelje, ali nikad na sam dan vjenčanja, a da zbog velikih izdataka za vjenčanje većina vjernika ne daje misu za zaručnike, kao i da lokalne svjetovne i crkvene vlasti ne dopuštaju slobodnije druženje zaručnicima prije ženidbe.²⁹

I sam je kanonski pohod bio važan svečani čin i za crkvene službenike i za vjernike, o čemu svjedoče i neki od zapisa vizitacija u kojima se, obično na samom početku, razmjerno detaljno opisuje čin vizitacije. Pastirski pohodi bili su velikoj većini vjernika rijetka prilika za susret s visokim biskupijskim klerom, a vizitatore su dočekivali mjesni župnik i ostali vjerski službenici te predstavnici civilnih i vojnih vlasti, kao i lokalni uglednici. Sveča-

Catherine and that “no certain answer can be given as to the reasons for this”. The carrying of the Viaticum to the sick itself presented a public religious act, and as this was not done properly in Syrmia for various reasons, in 1819, the visitor issued a decree establishing that in the future, the Viaticum had to be carried by a pastor dressed in a rochet and a stole, accompanied by the sound of bells, and led by the light. The believers needed to be taught they had to kneel to receive the blessing when the priest carrying the Viaticum passed by, whilst those who devoutly followed the priest to the house of the sick were to be given absolution. Luka Sučić, pastor in Komletinci, sixty-seven years old, complained of this decree since, due to his age, he was not able to carry the Viaticum without his head being covered, as stipulated, in the winter cold and summer sun, so the bishop allowed him to wear his “wider church hat” in such cases. The bishops noticed that some parishes exhibited the Most Holy Sacrament too often “contrary to the spirit of the church”, thus diminishing the respect of believers and drawing their attention from contemplation and pious recollection (for example in Jarmina in 1819 and in Irig in 1833). Consequently, an order was given to exhibit it in the future only in accordance with the regulations. In 1833, the visitor also spoke against the misuse of the exhibition of the Most Holy Sacrament, warning pastors that they may not use it against fire, ice, and other adverse weather conditions. Efforts invested into standardising the ritual practice are evident in the 1745 visitor’s orders to the pastors in Morović, Privlaka, and Šaregrad to use the printed copy of the regional (diocesan) book of rites sent to them, whilst for the teaching of children they were to use the printed Bellarmine Catechism. The visitors also regularly recorded the data on pardons, but the Syrmian churches and altars mostly had only general pardons on the basis of papal breves. There are only rare records of the cases such as the one that took place during the 1743 visitation when, in Karlovci, the bishop provided pardon for the Feast Day of the Most Holy Trinity to which the renovated church of the newly established parish was dedicated, or for the Ilok altar of Saint John Capistran for which it was recorded in 1775 it had the permanent pardon of a privileged altar.²⁸

²⁸ *Kanonske vizitacije* 2006: 17,45, 453, 473, 485, 543; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2008: 279, 785; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2009: 395, 397, 561; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2010: 21, 393.

²⁹ *Kanonske vizitacije* 2009: 531, 553, 557, 561.

²⁸ *Kanonske vizitacije* 2006: 17,45, 453, 473, 485, 543; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2008: 279, 785; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2009: 395, 397, 561; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2010: 21, 393.

no odjeven kler predvođen biskupom vizitatorom u procesiji bi ušao u crkvu gdje bi vizitator objavio razloge svoga dolaska, obavio bogoslužje s propovijedi, molitve za pokojnike i blagoslovio okupljene vjernike, a zatim bi se, uobičajeno, pristupalo vizitaciji. Svečana misa, tijekom koje je okupljenim vjernicima bio podjeljivan sakrament potvrde, za vjernike je svakako predstavljala vrhunac svečanosti te mogućnost potvrđivanja konfesionalne pripadnosti i učvršćivanja vjere.³⁰

Vjernici su pobožnost izražavali i podizanjem križeva, kipova, poklonaca i drugih znakova vjere na javnim mjestima, najčešće uz puteve i na njihovim križanjima, na gradskim trgovima, na grobljima, u vinogradima, poljima ili uz vjerske objekte. Gotovo da nema mjesta u Srijemu u kojem u promatranom razdoblju vizitatori nisu zabilježili postojanje makar jednog križa podignutog u spomen vjere na javnom mjestu, a mnoga su naselja, posebice župna središta, imala i kalvarijsko brdo. Križevi su bili uglavnom drveni, rjeđe kameni, a podizani su ili sredstvima pojedinaca ili mjesne općine ili lokalne crkve. Međutim, nisu za sve bila osigurana sredstva niti je zajednica u svim slučajevima pokazivala zanimanje za njihovo dolično održavanje pa su primjedbe vizitatora o lošem stanju u kojem su znali zateći ove javne znakove pobožnosti bile jedne od češćih. Tako je 1765. godine vizitator zabilježio da su brdo u Slankamenu, koje je prethodni biskup Gjivović odredio za kalvariju, “zauzeli pravoslavni popovi”, ali da je njihov križ istrunuo i srušio se pa su katolici ondje podignuli svoj križ. Ipak, kalvarija se nije mogla urediti jer nije postojao fond za njezino održavanje. Naredne godine vizitator je prilično detaljno opisao kalvarijsko brdo u mitrovičkoj župi, na kojem su se nalazila tri križa, ali su dva bila prilično oštećena. Postaje Križnog puta započinjale su kod župne crkve i sastojale se od manjih drvenih križeva sa sličicama koje prikazuju Kristovu muku. Vizitator je primijetio da se kalvarijsko brdo nalazi na vrlo lijepom mjestu, na putu za Petrovaradin, pa je zaključio da bi se podizanjem kapelice na tom mjestu mogla pobuditi pobožnost naroda u vrijeme korizme. Godine 1811. vizitator je utvrdio da se na kontumacijskom groblju nalazi drveni križ

As to the administering of the sacraments, the visitors recorded almost nothing, except that, as a rule, the description of the visitation itself contained a note that the bishop confirmed the believers or a note of any observed omissions. Thus, in 1833, the visitor warned the pastors that Baptism was always to be performed only in the church, not in the parish house, according to the custom, even in the bitter cold, except “in the most urgent cases”. Moreover, the visitor reminded the pastors that, other than in exceptionally justified cases, Communion was given around Easter, that Marriage had to be announced three times in the church, and that weddings had to be held before noon. Furthermore, we learn that it was customary to bring in the bride to the church on the following day or on Sunday after the wedding, but never on the wedding day itself, and that, due to high wedding expenses, the majority of believers did not provide for a mass for fiancés, and that the local secular and church authorities did not allow fiancés to socialise more freely before Marriage.²⁹

The canonical visitation itself was an important solemn act for both church officials and believers, as evidenced by some of the visitation records where, usually at the beginning, the act of visitation is described in relative detail. For the majority of believers, pastoral visits provided an opportunity to meet with the high diocesan clergy. Visitors were greeted by the local pastor and other church officials, the representatives of the civil and military authorities, and local dignitaries. Solemnly dressed clergy, led by the visiting bishop, entered the church in procession, where the visitor announced the reasons for his coming, performed service with sermon, prayed for the deceased, and blessed the gathered believers, usually followed by the beginning of the visitation. For believers, the solemn mass, during which the gathered believers were administered the Sacrament of Confirmation, was certainly the highlight of the ceremony, as well as an opportunity to confirm their confessional affiliation and strengthen their faith.³⁰

The believers expressed their piety also by erecting crosses, statues, wayside shrines, and other signs of faith in public places, mostly along the ways or on

³⁰ *Kanonske vizitacije* 2006: 61, 109, 111; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2008: 19, 119.

²⁹ *Kanonske vizitacije* 2009:531, 553, 557, 561.

³⁰ *Kanonske vizitacije* 2006: 61, 109, 111; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2008: 19, 119.

koji samo što se nije srušio. Iste godine preporučeno je da se kalvarijsko brdo u Kamenici premjesti na drugo mjesto. Naime, postojeća je kalvarija bila smještena iza crkve kod državnog puta gdje se nalazio izvor “te prolaznici i oni koji kupuju vodu sprječavaju pobožnost i vrijeđaju Boga, budući da su ljudi danju i noću kod zdenca te psuju Boga i bližnjega, natječu se i svađaju”. Tijekom vizitacije 1819. godine župniku je naloženo da vjernicima zapovijedi da križeve podignute pored ceste moraju ograditi i dolično ih održavati. U protivnom župnik ih treba skinuti i dolično spaliti.³¹

Župa i njezini vjernici, odnosno lokalna općina, bili su dužni brinuti i o mjesnom groblju. U kanonskim vizitacijama za područje Srijema ima razmjerno puno podataka o grobljima, kao i o samom obredu pokopa. Iz zabilježenoga proizlazi da su skoro sva srijemska naselja imala svoja groblja, veća i po nekoliko njih, koja su uglavnom bila smještena izvan naselja ili uz mjesnu crkvu, da su na njima nerijetko podizane grobljanske kapelice te u pravilu križ, kao i da su u većem broju naselja bila primjereno održavana, što je značilo da su bila ograđena i zatvorena kako bi se onemogućilo njihovo profaniranje. Grobljanske ograde uglavnom su bile od drvenih dasaka ili kolja, a za njihovo su uzdržavanje bili zaduženi ili župljani ili, ako se radilo o naselju na području Vojne krajine, vojne postrojbe, primjerice brodska satnija u Nikincima i Nijemcima ili posada carske utvrde u Petrovaradinu. U više navrata vizitatori su upozoravali ako groblje nije bilo primjereno održavano, primjerice kada je 1775. godine od vlastelinskih službenika zatraženo da primoraju župljane da ograde groblje u Kamenici, pogotovo jer je utvrđeno da ovaj nedostatak nije proizašao iz siromaštva lokalnog stanovništva. Groblje udaljeno od mjesta, loše ograđeno i otvoreno životinjama bilo je 1811. godine u Golubincima, Kukujevcima, Kamenici, a sve zbog nemara ili tvrdoglavosti župljana, kako su se biskupu tužili župnici, dok u Petrovaradinu poglavarstvo, čija je dužnost bila održavanje grobljanske ograde, kao razlog neizvršavanja svoje dužnosti navodi veliku skupoću drva zbog čega je rješenje pronadeno podizanjem žive ograde i sadnjom drveća u

their crossings, on town squares, in cemeteries, vineyards, fields, or next to religious facilities. There was almost no place in Syrmia where, in the observed period, the visitors did not record the existence of at least one cross raised in a public place to commemorate faith, whilst many settlements, particularly parish seats, had a Calvary hill as well. Crosses were mostly made of wood, less commonly of stone, and erected by the funds provided by individuals, the local municipality or the local church. However, funds were not provided for all of them, and the community was not always interested in their proper maintenance, so the objections regarding the poor condition of these public signs of piety were among the more frequent ones expressed by the visitors. Thus, in 1765, the visitor noted that the hill in Slankamen, which the previous Bishop Gjivović designated for Calvary, “was occupied by Orthodox priests”, but that their cross decayed and crumbled, so the Catholics raised their own cross on that location. Still, it was not possible to organise Calvary since there were no funds for its maintenance. The next year, the visitor described, fairly in detail, the Calvary hill in the Parish of Mitrovica, on which three crosses were erected, two of which were rather damaged. Stations of the Cross started at the parish church and consisted of smaller wooden crosses with images showing Christ’s passion. The visitor noticed that the Calvary hill was in a very nice place, on the way to Petrovaradin, and concluded that a chapel raised on that spot could inspire piety among people at the time of Lent. In 1811, the visitor established that there was a nearly crumbled cross in the contumacious cemetery. The same year, it was recommended to transfer the Calvary hill from Kamenica to a different location. This was because the existing Calvary was located behind the church, at the state roadway next to a fountain “so the passers-by and those purchasing water prevent piety and offend God, since there were people in the vicinity of the well day and night, cursing God and neighbour, competing, and arguing”. During the 1819 visitation, the pastor was ordered to instruct believers to fence in and properly maintain the crosses erected along the road. Otherwise, the pastor was to take them down and burn them.³¹

³¹ *Kanonske vizitacije* 2006: 317, 353, 355; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2008: 399, 489; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2009: 383.

³¹ *Kanonske vizitacije* 2006: 317, 353, 355; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2008: 399, 489; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2009: 383.

jarku koji okružuje groblje. U Nijemcima je briga o groblju bila tako loša da je vizitator 1782. godine zabilježio kako stoka ne ulazi samo na groblje nego i u kapelicu svetog Stjepana Kralja gdje je razorila svijećnjake, vjenčiče i misale. Na srijemskim su grobljima pokapani svi mještani, osim rijetkih iznimaka, kao što je tijekom vizitacije 1763. godine zabilježeno za Karlovce gdje je izvan mjesnog groblja, “na drugom blagoslovljenom mjestu, pokrivenom trskom” pokopana nekolicina “bečara”. U Šaregradu je tijekom vizitacije 1819. godine navedeno da se samo “svojevoljno utopljeni” pokapaju izvan groblja, a iste godine vizitator je izdao dekret prema kojem samoubojice nisu smjeli imati crkveni pokop, osim ako je postojalo vjerodostojno svjedočanstvo liječnika da su “imali pomutnju svijesti”, posebno ako su prethodno vodili uzoran kršćanski život. Pokojnici su se redovito pokapali u roku dva dana od smrti (osim ako su umrli od kakve zaraze), kako je zabilježeno prilikom vizitacije Drenovaca 1833. godine, a zloupotreba gotovo da nije bilo. Prilikom iste vizitacije kao zloupotreba navodi se naricanje rođaka, a teži prekršaj samostalnog pokapanja pokojnika utvrđen je samo u Tordincima 1738. godine, što je zabranjeno pod prijetnjom stroge kazne. U nekim se mjestima prilikom pokopa u grobljanskim kapelama služila misa, a u Račinovcima je 1745. godine zabilježeno da franjevci misu služe i na otvorenom mjestu na groblju. Sprovodi su se uobičajeno vodili tako da je naprijed išao križ, a za njim svećenik i ožalošćeni. Svećenik je u nekim mjestima i djecu i odrasle pokojnike pratio sve do groblja, dok je ponegdje svećenička pratnja išla samo do kraja sela, uglavnom ako je groblje bilo udaljenije od sela. Župnik u Šaregradu posebno se požalio jer je mjesno groblje bilo smješteno na brdu, pa se pokop obavljao s “tolikom poteškoćom da kad se popnu na brdo jedva dišu”, zbog čega je župnik predložio da se pokopna funkcija obavi ispod brda, pogotovo zimi kada je se predvođenjem sprovoda u takvim uvjetima ugrožavalo župnikovo zdravlje. U Hrtkovcima je 1811. godine opisano kako župnik prilikom pratnje pokojnika predmoli Očenaš, Zdravomarijo i krunicu, a u većini naselja bio je običaj uz grob pjevati “Oslobodi me”. U Petrovaradinu je, prema zapisu vizitatora iz 1819. godine, župna crkva sklopila ugovor s nekim glazbenicima koji su nastupali u

The parish and its believers, i.e. the local municipality, were obliged to take care of the local cemetery as well. The canonical visitations for the territory of Syrmia contain a relatively large amount of data about cemeteries and the funeral ritual itself. It follows from the records that almost all Syrmian settlements had their cemeteries, the longer ones sometimes a few of them, which were mostly located outside the settlement or next to the local church, that cemetery chapels and, as a rule, a cross were often erected on them, and that in a greater number of settlements they were properly maintained, meaning they were fenced in and closed to prevent their profanation. Cemetery fences were mostly made of wooden planks or stakes. Their maintenance was entrusted to either parishioners or, if it was a settlement in the territory of the Military Frontier, military formations, for example the Brod Company in Nikinci and Nijemci or the Imperial Fortress Garrison in Petrovaradin. The visitors warned on several occasions that the cemetery was not properly maintained, for example, in 1775, when the manorial officials were asked to force the parishioners to fence in the cemetery in Kamenica, particularly as it was established that this failure was not a result of the poverty of the local population. In 1811, the cemeteries in Golubinci, Kukujevci, and Kamenica were far away from the settlement, poorly fenced in, and open to animals, all as a result of the parishioners’ negligence or stubbornness, as the pastors complained to the bishop. The Petrovaradin officials, who were in charge of maintaining the cemetery fence, as a reason for the non-fulfilment of their obligations stated a high price for wood. As a solution to their problem, they planted a hedge and trees in the ditch surrounding the cemetery. In Nijemci, the care of the cemetery was so poor that, in 1782, the visitor recorded that cattle were entering not only the cemetery, but the Chapel of Stephen the King as well, where they had destroyed candleholders, chaplets, and missals. All local residents were buried in the Syrmian cemeteries, with only rare exceptions, such as the one recorded during the 1763 visitation to Karlovci, where several “revellers” had been buried outside the local cemetery, “in another blessed place, covered by reed”. The 1819 visitation to Šaregrad stated that only those “who drowned of their own will” were buried outside the cemetery. The same year, the visi-

crkvi za većih blagdana i svečanosti, u procesijama, ali i prilikom pokopa kada su dva ili tri glazbenika, zajedno sa župnikom, pratili pokojnika pjevanjem za što su glazbenici bili plaćeni svaki s po tri forinte iz pokojnikove ostavštine.³²

tor issued a decree forbidding a church funeral in the case of suicides, except where there was a reliable testimony by a physician that they “were not sound in mind”, particularly if prior to that they had lived an exemplary Christian life. The deceased were regularly buried within two days after death (except if they died of a contagious disease), as recorded during the 1833 visitation to Drenovci, and there were hardly any cases of misuse. During the mentioned visitation, the lamentation of the relatives was recorded as misuse. The only more serious infringement was recorded in 1738 in Tordinci, where the deceased was buried independently, which was forbidden under the threat of severe punishment. In some place, on the occasion of a burial, mass was held in cemetery chapels. The records show that in 1745, in Račinovci, the Franciscans held mass in the open in the cemetery. Funerals were usually conducted in such a way that they were headed by a cross, followed by the priest and the bereaved ones. In some places, the priest followed children and the adults all the way to the cemetery, whilst in other places the priest went only to the end of the village, mostly if the cemetery was at a greater distance from it. In Šarengrad, the pastor specifically complained of the local cemetery being located on the hill, so the funeral was conducted “with such a difficulty that they could hardly breathe when they have climbed the hill”. Consequently, the pastor suggested that the funeral function should be performed at the foot of the hill, particularly in winter when the leading of the funeral in such conditions endangered the pastor’s health. In 1811, in Hrtkovci, it was described how the pastor, when accompanying the deceased, prayed the Our Father, the Hail Mary, and the Rosary, and it was usual in most places to sing “Oslobodi me” at the tomb. According to the visitor’s records of 1819, the parish church in Petrovaradin concluded a contract with some musicians, who performed in the church on major feast days and at festivities, in processions, and at funerals, when two or three musicians, together with the pastor, accompanied the deceased with singing, for which each musician was paid three forints out of the legacy of the deceased.³²

³² *Kanonske vizitacije* 2006: 163, 229, 467; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2008: 35, 227, 243, 247, 337, 393, 431, 437, 485, 549; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2009: 17, 513; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2010: 339, 349, 752.

³² *Kanonske vizitacije* 2006: 163, 229, 467; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2008: 35, 227, 243, 247, 337, 393, 431, 437, 485, 549; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2009: 17, 513; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2010: 339, 349, 752.

5. POBOŽNOST, MORAL I PONAŠANJE

Vizitacije pružaju uvid i u ponašanje klera, župnika, njihovih pomoćnika ili župnih upravitelja, ali i drugih svećenika koji su djelovali na području biskupije, posebice redovnika, pustinjaka ili “stranih” svećenika, odnosno onih koji nisu iz Srijemske biskupije, nego u njoj borave sakupljajući milostinju ili iz drugih razloga. Od njih se očekivalo da revno ispunjavaju dužnosti svoje službe, ali i da svojim ponašanjem i ukupnim likom budu primjer. Zahtjev za uzornim kršćanskim životom postavljao se i pred druge vjerske službenike koji nisu ulazili u red svećenika, ali su u promatranom razdoblju bili neposredno povezani s crkvenom organizacijom i sudjelovali u vjerskim obredima i vjerskoj poduci kao što su učitelj, kantor, orguljaš, zvonar i prima-lja. Zahtjev za primjerenim ponašanjem širio se i na župnikovu obitelj pa su vizitatori propitivali o kojim se osobama radi, jesu li katolici te jesu li na dobrom glasu.³³ O svima njima biskup je prvenstveno doznavao od župnika, ali se prilikom vizitacije i vjernicima pružala prilika da o njima iskažu svoje mišljenje. O ponašanju vjernika biskupa je prvenstveno informirao župnik, ali su u stvaranju jasnije slike o pobožnosti župne zajednice ponekad ponešto mogli doznati i od drugih službenika, najčešće učitelja ili samih vjernika. Dva su pitanja bila neposredno usmjerena na utvrđivanje ponašanja župnika, odnosno ponašanje i discipliniranje vjernika, a odnosila su se na pritužbe župnika i naroda te na javne zločine, dok se o načinima discipliniranja klera ponajviše doznaje iz primjedbi i dekreta vizitatora.³⁴

Tijekom vizitacije srijemskih župa nisu zabilježene značajnije pritužbe vjernika na župnike i druge vjerske službenike, a ni sami vizitatori nisu imali većih primjedbi na način na koji su izvršavali svoje dužnosti. Za župnike se uglavnom tvrdilo da bogoslužje obavljaju redovito, da njihovom nebrigom nijedan župljanin nije umro bez sakramenta, da nije primijećen nikakav nedostatak te da provode uzoran život dostojan svoje službe. Kada je i bilo prigovora, oni su se uglavnom odnosili na manje

5. PIETY, MORALITY, AND BEHAVIOUR

The visitations provide an insight into the behaviour of the clergy, pastors, their assistants, or parish administrators, but also other priests who served in the territory of the diocese, particularly monks, hermits, or “foreign” priests, i.e. those who were not from the Diocese of Syrmia, but stayed there to collect alms or for other reasons. They were expected to diligently fulfil the duties of their service and to serve as an example based on their behaviour and the total figure. Other religious officials who did not belong to the order of priests, but were indirectly linked to the church organisation and participated in religious rituals and religious teaching during the observed period, such as teacher, cantor, organ player, bell-ringer, and midwife, were also required to live an exemplary Christian life. The request for appropriate behaviour was extended to the pastor’s family, so the visitor inquired into who those persons were, whether they were Catholics, and whether they had a good reputation.³³ The bishop learned about them primarily from pastors, but during the visitations, the believers also had an opportunity to express their opinion of them. The bishop was informed of the believers’ behaviour by the pastor, but in order to get a clearer picture of the piety of the parish community, he sometimes obtained certain information from other officials as well, mostly teachers, or from the believers themselves. Two questions focused directly on determining the pastor’s behaviour, i.e. the behaviour and the disciplining of the believers, and they referred to the complaints raised by the pastor and the people and to public offences. Of the ways in which the clergy was disciplined most can be learned from the visitor’s comments and decrees.³⁴

During the visitation to the Syrmian parishes, no records were made of any more significant complaints raised by the believers with regard to pastors and other religious officials. The visitors themselves also had no major objections as to the way in which they performed their duties. As to pastors, in most cases they were said to hold services regularly, that no parishioner died without sacraments as a result of their

³³ *Kanonske vizitacije* 2006: 101, 103, 105, 107.

³⁴ *Kanonske vizitacije* 2006: 107.

³³ *Kanonske vizitacije* 2006: 101, 103, 105, 107.

³⁴ *Kanonske vizitacije* 2006: 107.

prekršaje, odnosno svodili na primjedbu da svoje dužnosti mogu i trebaju obavljati revnije. Primjerice, za Antuna Sokolovskog, župnog pomoćnika u Karlovcima, 1768. godine utvrđeno je da dobro obavlja svoju dužnost, ali je njegova navika da piće konzumira “pa i na prazan želudac” sablažnjavala vjernike. I župnika Ivana Spaića 1811. godine prijavio je pukovnik Čivić de Rohra zbog sklonosti pijanstvu. Župnik optužbu nije odbacio, ali je vizitator zaključio da ova njegova slabost ne proizlazi “iz njegove naravi” pa ga je samo ozbiljno opomenuo da ne smije nikad dati priliku da se o njemu u tom kontekstu opravdano govori. Tu i tamo (primjerice u Berku i Adaševcima 1738. godine, u Bošnjacima i Lovasu 1745. godine ili u Mitrovici 1746. godine) vjernici bi se potužili na prekomjerna davanja koja su od njih zahtijevali njihovi župnici, a ako bi odbili, svećenici bi im uskraćivali uskrсну ispovijed i zabranjivali sudjelovanje u bogoslužju. Kukujevački su vjernici 1754. godine hvalili marljivost svoga župnika, ali su istodobno biskupu povjerovali da je već neko vrijeme prema njima pretjerano oštar i grub te ih nerijetko udara šibom. U drugom su slučaju iste godine kalvini iz Tordinaca uputili sasvim drugačiji prigovor, odnosno biskupu su se požalili zbog toga što upravitelj mjesta pripadnike njihove vjerske zajednice “svojim slatkim načinom djelovanja i kršćanskom ljubavlju osobito prema njihovoj djeci nastoji povratiti u krilo svete majke crkve”. Do vizitatora je u Banovcima 1777. godine došao podatak da župni vikar petkom i subotom s časnicima jede meso pa mu je to strogo zabranjeno, uključujući i dane korizme. Povremeno se iz zapisa vizitatora mogu iščitati sukobi koji su izbijali među klerom. Tako je 1787. godine sažeto opisan sukob između jankovačkog župnika Ivana Relića i njegova pomoćnika Bartolomeja Adamovića za kojega je vizitator zaključio da je prouzročen željom župnika da sve prihode zadrži za sebe, a kako je biskup procijenio da nije realno očekivati poboljšanje njihova odnosa, pomoćniku je dodijelio dvije filijale na dušobrižništvo kako bi ih razdvojio i svakom osigurao njegove prihode. Godine 1794. vizitatoru su bile upućene pisane pritužbe zemunskog župnika Juraka Kvesara i njegova pomoćnika Antuna Celčića koji su se međusobno optuživali zbog zlostavljanja, nepravde, kleveta i drugoga. Jedno od rijetkih strožih upozorenja upućeno je župniku u Berku 1819.

negligence, that no faults had been observed, and that they lived an exemplary life worthy of their service. If there were any objections, they were mostly related to minor infringements, i.e. they came down to an admonition that they could and should have performed their duties with more diligence. For example, Antun Sokolovski, Pastor's Assistant in Karlovci in 1768, was known to perform his duties well, but the believers were appalled by his habitual drinking, “even on an empty stomach”. Also, the Pastor Ivan Spaić was reported in 1811 by the Colonel Čivić de Rohra because of his propensity to drunkenness. The pastor did not deny allegations, but the visitor concluded that his weakness was not a result of “his nature” and only warned him seriously never to provide others with an opportunity to rightly speak of him in that context. Here and there (for example in Berak and Adaševci in 1738, in Bošnjaci and Lovas in 1745, or in Mitrovica in 1746), the believers complained of excessive contributions required from them by their pastors. In case they refused them, the priests denied them Easter Confession and forbade them to take part in the service. In 1754, the believers in Kukujevci praised their pastor for his diligence, but also confided in Bishop that he was overly harsh and rough towards them and often hit them with a cane. The same year, in another case, the Calvinists from Tordinci had a completely different objection, i.e. they complained to the Bishop because the administrator of their settlement “tried, through his smooth ways and Christian love, particularly towards their children, to bring the members of their religious community back to the fold of the Holy Mother Church”. In 1777, in Banovci, the visitor received information that the parish vicar ate meat with officers on Fridays and Saturdays and was strictly forbidden to do so, including the days of Lent. Sometimes visitors' records point to conflicts among the clergy. Thus, in 1787, there was a short description of a conflict between the Pastor Ivan Relić in Jankovci and his Assistant Bartolomej Adamović, with regard to which the visitor concluded to be caused by the pastor's wish to keep all the income to himself. In the bishop's judgment, no improvement of their relationship could be realistically expected, so he entrusted the assistant with spiritual counselling in two branches in order to separate them and provide each of them with income. In 1794, the visitor received

godine kada je ozbiljno opomenut da mora ispraviti svoju “zajedljivu dvoličnu narav” te obuzdati svoj “samovoljan duh” i pomirljivo i blago postupati sa župljanima “kako to dolikuje pastiru” ili će biti maknut sa svoga položaja. Ponekad su se vjernici pogrešno žalili na župnika, kao što se to dogodilo u Sotinu 1781. godine kada su prigovorili da im nekoliko dana nitko nije otvorio velika crkvena vrata pa su morali ulaziti na sporedna, kao i da tih dana nitko nije zvonio za pokoj dvoje umrle djece, na što je vizitator odgovorio da to nisu župnikove dužnosti, iskoristivši priliku da vjernike upozori da prema svome župniku moraju pokazivati više poštovanja. Ponekad se utvrdilo da su pritužbe na račun župnika neosnovane, kao u slučaju pritužbi vjernika iz Cerića, nuštarske filijale, za koje je 1782. godine vizitator prilikom sučeljavanja utvrdio da nemaju osnove te da su proizašle “iz podsticanja nekog zlobnika, ili pak što su bili iznervirani zbog prigovora oca upravitelja protiv njih” te je iskoristio priliku potaknuti ih da ubuduće međusobno “u miru gaje život i žive više kršćanski”. I kada je pukovnija iste godine predala promemoriju koja je sadržavala više optužbi za zloupotrebe od strane župnika na području Brodske pukovnije, tražeći od vizitatora da reagira, ovaj je izrazio svoje iznenađenje tvrdeći da je u svim župama sve osobno pomno istražio te da ništa od navedenoga nije otkrio. Češći, ali i dalje u cjelini vrlo rijetki, bili su prigovori na neprimjeren odnos između župnika i ženskih članova njihovih kućanstava. Mitrovički župni upravitelj Ivan Karacsonyi je, čini se, u tom pogledu pokazivao posebnu slabost jer ga je vizitator 1775. godine upozorio da mu je već godinu dana ranije bilo naloženo da otpusti svoju kuharicu Anu, što je ovaj najprije odbio, a zatim izvršio tek prividno jer je naizgled otpuštena kuharica i dalje zalazila u njegovu kuću. Nakon što mu je bilo ozbiljno zapriječeno strogom kaznom, konačno ju je otpustio, ali je umjesto nje doveo drugu mladu kuharicu, a vizitator se i sam uvjerio da u župni dvor stalno dolazi “više drugih ženica”. Opomenut da pripazi na svoj dobar glas i ugled svoje službe, župnik se naljutio i vizitatoru skesao u lice da ga se želi “vratiti u ropstvo” te je zatražio otpust iz biskupije. Vizitator nije odustao te je naredna vizitacija 1777. godine utvrdila da ne postoje više nikakvi prekršaji po pitanju župnikovih ukućana.

written complaints from the Pastor Jurak Kvesar in Zemun and his Assistant Antun Celčić, who accused each other of misuse, injustice, defamation, etc. One of the rare more severe warnings was given in 1819 to the pastor in Berak, who was seriously admonished to correct his “scathing, deceitful nature”, to rein his “unruly spirit”, and to treat the parishioners amicably and mildly “as it befits a shepherd”, otherwise he would be removed from his position. Sometimes, the believers wrongly complained about their pastor, as was the case in 1781, in Sotin, when they objected to the big church door not being opened so they had to use the side one and to the bell not ringing for the funeral of two deceased children. The visitor answered that those were not pastor’s duties, using the opportunity to warn the believers to show more respect towards their pastor. In some cases, the complaints about the pastor were found to be unsubstantiated, as in the case of the complaints raised by the believers in Cerić, which, in 1782, the visitor during the confrontation found to be without grounds and arising “from the instigation of a malicious gossip or from the fact they were unnerved by the father administrator’s objection against them” and used the opportunity to encourage them to mutually “nourish life and live a more effective Christian life”. The same year, when the regiment submitted a memorandum containing several accusations of misuse committed by the pastor in the territory of the Brod Regiment, requiring a response from the visitor, the latter expressed his surprise, claiming he had carefully examined everything in all parishes and had found nothing of the mentioned. More frequent, but still overall very rare complaints concerned an inappropriate relation between pastors and female members of their households. Ivan Karacsonyi, Administrator of the Parish of Mitrovica, seemed to display a special weakness in that regard because, in 1775, the visitor warned him that he had been ordered a year ago to dismiss his cook Ana, which he first refused to do. Later on, he did dismiss her, but only apparently as the seemingly dismissed cook continued visiting his house. After he was threatened with severe punishment, he finally dismissed her. Still, instead of her, he brought another young female cook, and the visitor was able to ascertain that the parish house was frequently visited “by other little women”. He was admonished to watch his good reputation and the reputation of his

Neki su župnici bili oklevetani zbog neprimjerenog odnosa sa ženama. Primjerice, 1777. godine je vizitator u Karlovcima utvrdio da su mjesnog župnika Franju Kotinga kuharica, sluškinja i crkvenjakova žena teško oklevetale da je u svoj dom primio ženu koja je pobjegla od supruga koji je s njom loše postupao, te da “po svojoj volji s njom spava”. Sve tri su biskupu napokon priznale da je riječ o neutemeljenim optužbama. Katolička općina grada Kamenice je 1811. godine protiv župnika sastavila pritužbu o mogućem neprimjerenom odnosu s njegovom domaćicom Anom Kohanovszki. Iako je vizitator zaključio da se sve svodi samo na to da je župnik “bio sumnjiv”, ipak mu je strogo naređeno od istoga dana prekine svaku vezu s tom ženom i cijelom njezinom obitelji, i to pod prijetnjom najteže kazne i gubitka službe. Vizitacije su zabilježile još nekoliko sličnih slučajeva, ali posebno je u lošem svjetlu 1811. godine prikazan jarminski župnik Franjo Sebastijan Ruscheg, i to kao krut u postupanju sa župljanima, nemaran u dušobrižništvu, sklon upadanju u dugove, ali se smatralo da je glavni uzrok njegovih propusta i nedostataka njegova kuharica Ana Novačić, “koja ne zna zauzdati jezik, a neukrotivog je duha, te ima u kući nadzor”. Stoga je župniku naloženo da ju u roku tri mjeseca otpusti. Što se tiče učitelja, zvonara i primalja, pritužbe na njihov račun bile su vrlo rijetke i uglavnom su se odnosile na nedovoljnu revnost u obavljanju službe, odnosno na činjenicu da primalje nisu odobrene od liječnika.³⁵

Ni srijemski svećenici uglavnom nisu imali većih pritužbi na svoju pastvu, a ni vizitatori nisu utvrdili da su među srijemskim vjernicima u većoj mjeri bile raširene teže zloupotrebe. Evidentirani su uglavnom tek pojedinačni slučajevi ili lakši prekršaji, a za većinu vjernika utvrđeno je da poštuju vjerske propise i ponašaju se u skladu s kršćanskim moralom. Među češćim prigovorima koje su upućivali župnici bili su oni koji su se odnosili na mlakost koju su vjernici pokazivali prema sudjelovanju u vjerskim obredima, a posebno kada su u pitanju bile propovijedi i kateheze, kao što je to vizitatoru iznio zemunski župnik 1763. go-

service. The pastor got angry and gave the visitor a piece of his mind telling him he wanted to “turn him into a slave again” and asked for a discharge from the diocese. The visitor did not give up, and the next visitation in 1777 established there were no longer any infringements with regard to the pastor’s household members. Some pastors were slandered for their inappropriate relation with women. In 1777, for example, the visitor established that Franjo Koting, local Pastor in Karlovci, was severely slandered by the cook, the maid, and the parish clerk’s wife, who said he had brought to his home a woman who had run away from her abusive husband and that „he slept with her of his own volition”. In the end, all three confessed to the bishop that the accusations were unfounded. In 1811, the Catholic Municipality of the Town of Kamenica made a complaint against the pastor regarding his potential inappropriate relation with his housekeeper Ana Kohanovszki. Although the visitor concluded that it all came down to the pastor “acting suspiciously”, the latter was, nevertheless, strictly ordered from that very day to sever all ties with that woman and her whole family under the threat of the most severe punishment and loss of his post. The visitations recorded several similar cases and, in 1811, shed a particularly bad light on Franjo Sebastijan Ruscheg, Pastor in Jarma, as being rigid in the treatment of his parishioners, negligent with regard to spiritual counselling, and prone to getting into debt. However, his cook Ana Novačić, “who cannot hold her tongue, is an indomitable spirit, and has control over the house”, was considered the main reason for his failures and shortcomings. Therefore, the pastor was ordered to dismiss her within three months. As to teachers, bell-ringers, and midwives, complaints about them were very rare and mostly related to the lack of diligence in performing their duties or the fact that midwives had not been approved by the physician.³⁵

The Syrmian priests also had no major complaints about their flock. Furthermore, the visitors did not establish that more severe forms of misuse were spread to a larger extent among the Syrmian believers. Records contain only individual cases or

³⁵ *Kanonske vizitacije* 2006: 61, 379, 435, 439, 457, 483, 565; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2008: 51, 53, 55, 75, 83, 87, 177, 203, 425, 503, 504; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2009: 35, 383; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2010: 59, 65, 67, 81, 261.

³⁵ *Kanonske vizitacije* 2006: 61, 379, 435, 439, 457, 483, 565; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2008: 51, 53, 55, 75, 83, 87, 177, 203, 425, 503, 504; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2009: 35, 383; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2010: 59, 65, 67, 81, 261.

dine. Uskrsnu ispovijest u pravilu su obavljali svi vjernici, a imena onih župljana koji to nisu učinili izrijekom su navođena. Tako se primjerice doznaje da u Nikincima iste godine samo dvadesetogodišnja kći pokojnog satnika Vata nije obavila uskrsnu ispovijed i da odbija naučiti osnove vjere. Ponekad su se vjernici opravdavali zbog nemarnosti u pohađanju crkve, kao što su to 1738. godine učinili stanovnici Adaševaca, naselja na području Vojne krajine, tvrdeći da se stalno nalaze na stražama u krajiškom području. Jedan od relativno čestih prigovora bio je upućen na nemarnost roditelja koji nisu slali djecu u školu, a roditelji su se opravdavali različitim razlozima. Tako su se stanovnici Karlovaca ispričavali da zvono ima preslab zvuk pa ga ne čuju kada poziva na kateheze, ali uglavnom se radilo o tome da su djeca sudjelovala u seljačkim poslovima, što je njihovim obiteljima bilo daleko važnije od školskih obaveza. Nadalje, župnici su se učestalije žalili na činjenicu da se župnika ne poziva bolesnicima na vrijeme kako nitko ne bi umro bez sakramenata, kao i na nevoljkost vjernika da redovito daju crkvena podavanja pa je vizitator u većini župa 1755. godine zabilježio da vjernici, kako ne bi morali platiti uobičajene pristojbe od pokopa, sami pokapaju djecu koja umru, što je strogo zabranio kao težak prekršaj protiv crkvenih obreda. Pojedinačno su bili navođeni slučajevi konkubinata, kao primjerice u Kukujevcima 1811. godine, gdje su bačvar Andrija Lukić te postolar Karlo Obermajer, obojica iz Erdevika, živjeli sa svojim gazdaricama, a Marija rođena Šerić udana Pejakić živjela je s nekim drvodjeljskim šegrtom. Bilo je i slučajeva u kojima je došlo do nezakonitog razvoda braka samovoljnim napuštanjem suprurnika. Čini se, ako je suditi prema izjavama župnika, da su stanovnici nekih naselja bili osobito skloni psovanju. Kukujevački župnik 1811. godine navodi “bezbožne psovke pri čemu se psuju vjera, duša, zakon, post, svijeća, križ, znamenje krštenja”, a iste godine u Mitrovici je župnik izvijestio da postoje mnogi “naviknuti psovači vjere, duše, svjetla, religije, posta, križa, krštenja, Uskrsa, Božića”. U nekim naseljima, kao primjerice u Mitrovici, što je zabilježeno tijekom vizitacije 1811. godine, vjernici su profanirali nedjelju i blagdane, i to posebno obrtnici, ali i mnogi časnici. U Drenovcima su iste godine zbog istog propusta prozvani mlinari,

minor infringements. The majority of believers were found to be respectful of religious regulations and to behave in accordance with Christian morality. The more frequent objections raised by pastors were the ones relating to the believers' lack of interest in participating in religious rituals, particularly with regard to sermons and catecheses, as explained to the visitor by the pastor in Zemun in 1763. As a rule, all believers made their Easter Confession, whilst the names of those who had failed to do so were explicitly stated. Thus, for example, it came to be known that the same year, in Nikinci, only the twenty-year old daughter of the late Captain Vato had not made Easter Confession and refused to learn the basics of the faith. Sometimes the believers tried to justify themselves for their negligence with regard to church attendance, such as the case of the inhabitants of Adaševci, a settlement in the territory of the Military Frontier, in 1738, who claimed to be on watch all the time in the Military Frontier area. One of the relatively frequent objections referred to the negligence of the parents who failed to send their children to school. The parents offered different reasons in an attempt to justify themselves. Thus, the inhabitants of Karlovci excused themselves, saying the bell was too weak, and they were not able to hear it when it called to catecheses. However, in most cases children participated in farm works, which their families considered far more important than their school obligations. Furthermore, the pastors complained more frequently about the fact that the pastor was not called to the sick in due time in order to prevent anyone from dying without sacraments, as well as about the believers' reluctance to regularly pay church givings. Thus, in 1755, the visitor recorded in the majority of parishes that the believers, in order to avoid paying the usual funeral fees, buried deceased children on their own, which he strictly forbade as a severe infringement against church rituals. The cases of concubinage were recorded individually, for example in 1811, in Kukujevci, where the cooper Andrija Lukić and the shoemaker Karlo Obermajer, both from Erdevik, lived with their landladies, and Marija, nee Šerić, married Pejakić, lived with a carpenter apprentice. There were also cases of illegal divorce where one of the spouses left arbitrarily. It seems that, according to the pastors, the inhabitants of some settlements were particularly prone to cur-

lovci i ribari, dok župnik u Cerni 1819. godine ne ostavlja prostora sumnji da se u javnim zločinima kao što su psovanje, preljub i izbjegavanje uskršnje ispovijedi i pričesti najviše ističu gospoda časnici. Vrlo su rijetko zabilježeni slučajevi profanacije sakralnih prostora. Tako je 1735. godine zabilježeno da su neki građani uz zidove napuštene katoličke crkve podigli svoje kuće, a 1755. godine da građani Petrovaradina u podrumu kapelice svetog Križa na groblju starih aloda odlažu vino uz plaćanje godišnjeg najma. Prigovora je bilo i na neumjereno ponašanje, kao kada je 1811. godine župnik u Ivankovu svoje župljane opisao kao one koji se zadržavaju u gostionici pijući do jutra čak i večerima uoči blagdana i nedjelja zbog čega propuštaju bogoslužje ili kada je 1833. godine župnik u Lipovcu kao zloupotrebe od strane vjernika naveo noćna lutanja, pijanstva i sastančenja “pučki zvana ‘divan’”. Pobožnost puka mjerila se i žarom kojim sudjeluje u vjerskim obredima, tako da se u više navrata u zabilješkama vizitatora nalazi prigovor na račun vjernika koji ne pjevaju u crkvi tijekom mise, a u Golubincima se 1811. godine župnik požalio da čak i djevojke rijetko pjevaju “jer ih se ne može prisiliti, a svojevrijedno neće”.³⁶

Koliko god bili raznovrsni, opisani prekršaji i zloupotrebe od strane vjernika zapravo su, kako je već rečeno, bili rijetki i sporadični. Ipak, bilo je slučajeva, iako vrlo rijetkih, u kojima bi se iz opisa ponašanja vjernika koje je vizitatoru dao župnik dalo zaključiti o posvemašnjem nedostatku kršćanskog morala i ponašanja. Jedan je takav slučaj vizitator zabilježio tijekom vizitacije Kamenice 1811. godine kada je cijela općina, osim par iznimaka, opisana kao podložna manama i psovka, svakodnevnom pijanstvu, “iz srdžbe, mržnje, zavisti, bijesa, zlobe i drugih navika”, i to “i roditelji i sinovi i kćeri, sluge, sluškinje pa čak i sama djeca”. Župnik za svoju pastvu navodi da su “neposlušni, svojeglavi, mrzovoljni, neuljudni, nepristojni, klevetnici, nemirni, podmukli, podstrekači, srdljivi, žučljivi, naprasiti, bijesni, zlobni, pijanci, psovači protiv boga i bližnjega”, da nijedan dan ne prođe “bez tužbi i sudskih sporova, muža sa ženom, žena

sing. In 1811, the pastor in Kukujevci mentioned “blasphemous curses reviling faith, soul, law, fasting, candle, cross, signs of Baptism”. The same year, the pastor in Mitrovica reported there were many “habitual cursers of faith, soul, light, religion, fasting, cross, Baptism, Easter, Christmas”. In some settlements, for example in Mitrovica, as recorded during the 1811 visitation, the believers profaned Sundays and feast days, particularly craftsmen, but also many officers. The same year, in Drenovci, millers, hunters, and fishermen were called out for the same failure. In 1819, in Cerna, the pastor did not leave any room for doubt that the most prominent ones when it came to public offences, such as cursing, adultery, and avoidance of Easter Confession and Communion, were fine officers. According to the records, the cases where sacral premises were profaned were very rare. Thus, in 1735, there was a record of citizens erecting their own houses against the walls of the abandoned Catholic church. In 1755, the citizens of Petrovaradin stored wine in the cellar of the Chapel of the Saint Cross in the cemetery of old allotments against the annual lease payment. Objections were also raised with regard to immoderate behaviour, such as the case in 1811, when the pastor in Ivankovo described his parishioners as those who lingered in the inn, drinking up into the early hours of the morning, even on the evenings before feast days and Sundays, and, consequently, missing on service. In 1833, as an example of misuse the pastor in Lipovac mentioned night vagrancy, drunkenness, and gatherings called “divan” among the folk. The piety of the folk was measured by the fervour with which it participated in religious rituals. Thus, on several occasions, the visitors’ notes contained objections against the believers who did not sing in the church during mass. In 1811, in Golubinci, the pastor complained that even girls rarely sang “because they cannot be forced to, but are not willing to of their own volition”.³⁶

Regardless of their diversity, the described infringements and misuses committed by the believers were actually, as already mentioned, rare and spo-

³⁶ *Kanonske vizitacije* 2006: 23, 175, 235, 321, 361, 439, 449, 571, 573, 579, 581, 585, 593, 599, 601, 607, 615, 617, 629; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2008: 31, 121, 123, 235, 259, 263, 331; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2009: 131, 457, 549; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2010: 291.

³⁶ *Kanonske vizitacije* 2006: 23, 175, 235, 321, 361, 439, 449, 571, 573, 579, 581, 585, 593, 599, 601, 607, 615, 617, 629; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2008: 31, 121, 123, 235, 259, 263, 331; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2009: 131, 457, 549; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2010: 291,

s mužem, susjed sa susjedom, bližnji s bližnjim vrlo loše žive”.³⁷ Naravno, u nedostatku šireg konteksta odnosa župnika i njegovih župljana, svaku, pa i ovu ocjenu potrebno je uzimati s oprezom.

Kršenje svećeničke dužnosti ili prekršaji i zloupotrebe od strane vjernika bili su sankcionirani, a neke oblike kažnjavanja zabilježile su i kanonske vizitacije. Za župnike koji se nisu iskazali u svojoj službi nalaze se samo uopćene formulacije kojima im se prijete teškom kaznom ili uklanjanjem iz župe, kao što je primjerice zapriječeno župnicima u Mitrovici i Sotu 1746. godine nakon što je utvrđeno da su vjernicima uskraćivali ispovijed i bogoslužje zbog neplaćanja crkvenih davanja. Vjernici su bili kažnjavani materijalnim ili tjelesnim kaznama. Primjerice, prilikom vizitacije župe Tordinci 1738. godine određeno je da jednog od roditelja kojima bi dijete umrlo bez krštenja zbog nebrige treba kazniti s do trideset udaraca štapom. U Šarengradu je 1745. godine naloženo župniku da one koji ne udovolje godišnjoj uskrsnog ispovijedi i pričesti ili koji ne sudjeluju blagdanima i nedjeljama na misnom slavlju treba kazniti pred crkvom s dvadeset i četiri udarca palicom ili s jednom okom voska za crkvu. Istom je prilikom za preljubnike bila određena kazna koja se sastojala od klečanja pred vratima crkve za vrijeme tri mise s ugašenom svijećom u rukama, nakon čega preljubnika treba kazniti i s dvadeset i četiri udarca palicom, a ako želi otkupiti kaznu, treba dati šest oka voska za crkvu. Istodobno su bludnici bili kažnjavani upola blaže. Čini se da su ove mjere, barem kod nekih, donosile rezultate. U Kamenici je 1811. godine “javni i sablažnjivi psovač” Vjenceslav Laureković na traženje župnika od vlastelinskog suca bio kažnjen s trideset udaraca te je zaključeno da se popravio. Vizitatori su često upućivali župnike da pomoć u discipliniranju i kažnjavanju vjernika traže od svjetovnih vlasti ili od vojnih ako se naselelje nalazilo u vojnokrajškom području.³⁸

Svoju pobožnost vjernici su izražavali i ispunjavanjem materijalnih obaveza prema mjesnoj crkvi i župniku, što se nije odnosilo isključivo na crkvena davanja, koja je velika većina vjernika redovito is-

radic. Still, there were cases, although very rare, in which the description of the believers' behaviour as given to the visitor by the pastor could lead to a conclusion that there was an utter lack of Christian morality and behaviour. The visitor recorded one such a case during the 1811 visitation to Kamenica, where the whole municipality, with a few exceptions, was described as prone to shortcomings and curses, everyday drunkenness “out of anger, hate, envy, rage, malice, and other habits”, including “parents and sons and daughters, servants, maids, and even children”. As to his flock, the pastor indicated they were “disobedient, obstinate, morose, rude, impolite, slanderers, restless, treacherous, instigators, querulous, acrimonious, short-tempered, furious, malicious, drunkards, cursers of God and neighbour”, that not a single day went by “without lawsuits and litigations between the husband and the wife, the wife and the husband, among neighbours, fellow human beings live on very bad terms with other fellow human beings”.³⁷ Of course, without the wider context of the relation between the pastor and his parishioners, each assessment needs to be considered with caution, including this one.

Violations of the priest's duties or infringements and misuses committed by the believers were sanctioned. The canonical visitations also recorded some forms of punishment. As to the pastors who failed to excel in their service, only general formulations were given, saying they were under the threat of severe punishment or removal from the parish. For example, in 1746, the pastors in Mitrovica and Sot were rebuked after it was established that they had denied Confession and service to the believers because they had not paid church contributions. The believers received material or corporal punishment. For example, during the 1738 visitation to Tordinci, it was determined that one of the parents whose child had died without Baptism due to negligence was to be punished with thirty blows with a cane. In 1745, in Šarengrad, the pastor was ordered to punish those who had failed to comply with annual Easter Confession and Communion or to participate in holy masses on feast days and Sundays with twenty-four blows with a stick in front of the church or with an oka of wax for the church. On the same occasion,

³⁷ *Kanonske vizitacije* 2008: 501.

³⁸ *Kanonske vizitacije* 2006: 61, 63, 65, 431, 485; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2008: 223, 497; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2000: 523.

³⁷ *Kanonske vizitacije* 2008: 501.

punjavala, nego se iskazivalo i kroz različite oblike darivanja. U srijemskim župama u promatranom razdoblju najčešća su bila oporučna darivanja kojima su ugledniji stanovnici, bogatiji obrtnici, vojni časnici i plemići podizali križeve, opremali crkve dijelovima namještaja ili nabavljali misnice, albe, kaleže, svijećnjake, kadionice, zvona i slično, odvajali sredstva za hospicij, financirali nabavku slika, oltara, orgulja i drugoga.³⁹

6. ZAKLJUČAK

Na primjeru istraživanje vjerske svakodnevice u Srijemu u 18. i prvoj polovici 19. stoljeća utvrdilo se da su kanonske vizitacije iznimno vrijedan izvor za analizu različitih aspekata vjerske svakodnevice. Standardizirani upisi svojom formom i razmjernom ograničenošću sadržaja, uz uvjet primjene sustavne analize sadržaja zapisa, ne predstavljaju prepreku u pogledu interpretacije. Analiza zapisa vizitatora za srijemske župe pokazala je da postoji značajna podudarnost u obredima i vjerskoj praksi, ali i ponašanju klera i vjernika između župa u Srijemu i onih u drugim područjima istočne Hrvatske.⁴⁰ Na temelju podataka kanonskih vizitacija može se zaključiti da je Katolička crkva svojom organizacijom i djelovanjem među vjernicima nastojala obuhvatiti što šira područja svakodnevnog života te postići strogo pridržavanje obreda priznatih i propisanih od Crkve. Općenito, stupanj pristajanja pripadnika katoličke vjerske zajednice u Srijemu uz odredbe i propise Crkve vezane uz bogoslužje, pobožnost, moral i ponašanje bio je visok te je utvrđeno razmjerno malo propusta ili prekršaja. Jednako tako su i svećenici u gotovo svakom pogledu odgovarali zahtjevima koje je postavila Crkva po pitanju svećeničkog poziva. Ipak treba zadržati odgovarajući oprez prilikom interpretacije podataka sadržanih u kanonskim vizitacijama, uzimajući u obzir da oni mogu u određenoj mjeri biti odraz vjerskog konformizma ili s druge strane netrpeljivosti koja se mogla razviti između župnika i njihove pastve. Ipak je moguće utvrditi da je velika većina župnih zajednica i pojedinaca rado i redovito sudjelovala

the adulterers were doled out a punishment consisting of their kneeling in front of the church door for the duration of three masses, whilst holding a blown-out candle in their hands, after which they were to be punished with twenty-four blows with a stick. If they wanted to redeem their punishment, they needed to give six okas of wax to the church. The fornicators received only half as severe punishment. These measures seemed to yield results, at least in some cases. In 1811, in Kamenica, “the public and scandalous curser” Vjenceslav Laureković was punished, at the pastor’s request, with thirty blows by the manor judge. Afterwards, it was concluded that his behaviour had improved. The visitors often advised pastors with regard to the disciplining and punishment of the believers to require support from the secular authorities, or from the military authorities if the settlement was in the territory of the Military Frontier.³⁸

The believers expressed their piety also by fulfilling their material obligations towards the local church and the pastor, which did not relate only to church givings, which the large majority of believers regularly fulfilled, but was also expressed through different forms of donation. During the observed period, in the Syrmian parishes the most frequent form of donation were bequests through which more respectable inhabitants, wealthier craftsmen, military officers, and noblemen erected crosses, equipped churches with pieces of furniture, or procured chasubles, surplices, chalices, candleholders, censers, bells, etc., earmarked funds for the hospice, financed the procurement of paintings, altars, organs, etc.³⁹

6. CONCLUSION

On the example of researching the everyday religious life in Syrmia in the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century, the canonical visitations have been found to be an exceptionally valuable source for analysing various aspects of everyday religious life. The standardised entries, through their form and relatively limited contents, provided a systematic analysis of the content of the records, and

³⁹ *Kanonske vizitacije* 2006: 27, 31, 37, 41, 53, 57, 59, 61, 65, 71, 75, 143, 293, 309, 337, 365.

⁴⁰ D. BOŽIĆ BOGOVIĆ – M. JAGER 2007: 202–210; D. BOŽIĆ BOGOVIĆ 2016: 49–67.

³⁸ *Kanonske vizitacije* 2006: 61, 63, 65, 431, 485; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2008: 223, 497; *Kanonske vizitacije* 2000: 523.

³⁹ *Kanonske vizitacije* 2006: 27, 31, 37, 41, 53, 57, 59, 61, 65, 71, 75, 143, 293, 309, 337, 365.

u različitim vjerskim svetkovinama, učvršćujući na taj način osjećaj pripadnosti vlastitoj konfesiji, ali i vlastitoj zajednici općenito. Tako su Crkva i vjera u značajnoj mjeri utjecale na mnoga područja svakodnevice, bitno određivale načine ponašanja i kulturne obrasce stanovnika Srijema te osiguravale jasan osjećaj katoličkog vjerskog identiteta.

do not represent an obstacle with regard to interpretation. The analysis of the visitors' records on Syrmian parishes has shown that there is a significant concordance in the rituals and religious practice, but also in the behaviour of the clergy and the believers, between the parishes in Syrmia and those in other areas of eastern Croatia.⁴⁰ Based on the data provided in the canonical visitations, a conclusion can be made that the Catholic Church, through its organisation and work among the believers, strived to encompass as wide areas of everyday life as possible and to achieve strict compliance with the rituals accepted and stipulated by the Church. In general, the degree to which the members of the Catholic religious community in Syrmia adhered to the provisions and regulations of the Church concerning service, piety, morality, and behaviour was high, and a relatively small number of omissions or infringements was determined. Likewise, the priests in almost every aspect met the requests placed by the Church with regard to priesthood. Still, certain caution is required when interpreting the data contained in the canonical visitations, taking into account that they, to a certain extent, can be a reflection of religious conformism or, on the other hand, intolerance which could have developed between the pastor and his flock. Nevertheless, it is still possible to establish that the large majority of parish communities and individuals readily and regularly participated in various religious festivities, reinforcing in that way their sense of belonging to their own confession, but also to their own community in general. Thus, the Church and the faith had a significant impact on many areas of everyday life, determined essentially the behaviour and cultural patterns of the Syrmian population, and ensured a clear sense of Catholic religious identity.

⁴⁰ D. BOŽIĆ BOGOVIĆ – M. JAGER 2007: 202-210; D. BOŽIĆ BOGOVIĆ 2016: 49-67.

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