

Vojakovački Osijek-Mihalj, srednjovjekovni arheološki kompleks na gornjem toku Glogovnice

Vojakovački Osijek-Mihalj, a Mediaeval Archaeological Complex on the Upper Course of the Glogovnica

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U radu se predstavlja srednjovjekovno arheološko nalazište Vojakovački Osijek-Mihalj, koje se sastoji od tri objekta – zemljane utvrde te dva kamena objekta, vjerojatno sakralne namjene. Arheološki spomenički sklop na Mihalju, na kojem do danas nisu provedena arheološka iskopavanja, ali koji se ukazuje kao važan i danas zanimljiv lokalitet za srednjovjekovnu arheologiju, stavljen je u užu vremenski i prostorni kontekst, i to na osnovi multidisciplinarnog sagledavanja rezultata povijesno-topografskih istraživanja, vanjskih arheoloških morfoloških obilježja samog lokaliteta te razmatranja analognih srednjovjekovnih arheoloških nalazišta tog tipa na širem prostoru.

Ključne riječi: Kalničko prigrorje, Vojakovački Osijek-Mihalj, zemljana utvrda, sakralna arhitektura, srednji vijek

This paper presents a mediaeval archaeological site at Vojakovački Osijek-Mihalj, which consists of three structures – an earthen fortification and two stone structures, probably with a sacral function. The archaeological monumental complex on Mihalj, where to this day no archaeological excavations have been carried out, but which shows itself to be an important and above all interesting site for mediaeval archaeology, is placed into a narrower chronological and spatial context, on the basis of multidisciplinary analysis of the results of historical-topographical research, external archaeological morphological features of the site itself and the study of analogous mediaeval archaeological sites of that type in the wider area.

Key words: Kalnik foothills, Vojakovački Osijek-Mihalj, earthen fortification, sacral architecture, the Middle Ages

Kalnik i širi potkalnički kraj oduvijek su plijenili pozornost i predstavljali primamljivo mjesto za naseljavanje, osobito u nemirnijim razdobljima ljudske prošlosti. Tada su hridi i nepristupačni brjegovi, prekriveni gustim šumama, bili prikladna skloništa i pribježišta stanovništvu, naseljenom u obližnjim pitomijim udolinama i kotlinama. Južne terase kalničkog lanca naseljavane su od kasnog brončanog doba (Kalnik-Igrišće), a zaravan podno samih zidina Starog grada Kalnika naseljavana je još u eneolitiku. Na širem su području dokazani tragovi života u mlađem željeznom dobu te antici, zatim ranom srednjem vijeku s dva istraživana bjelobrdska groblja.¹ Kalnički kraj je stupio na povijesnu scenu osobito u

1. Voditelj istraživanja jednog od spomenutih groblja, Kalnički Obrež-Prekrižje, bio je prof. dr. sc. Željko Tomičić koji je uz kalnički i križevački kraj bio vezan ne samo arheološkim istraživanjima već i objavljivanjem radova, a istaknula bih pregled svih dotadašnjih arheoloških istraživanja i arheoloških nalaza i nalazišta na širem križevačkom području, objavljen u Umjetničkoj topografiji Hrvatske-Križevci, grad i okolica (1993).

Kalnik and the wider area below Kalnik have always attracted attention and represented an attractive spot for settlement, particularly during more turbulent periods of human history. In those times the steep rocks and inaccessible hills, covered with thick forests, formed suitable shelters and refuges for the people inhabiting the nearby more gentle valleys and basins. The southern terraces of the Kalnik chain have been settled since the late Bronze Age (Kalnik-Igrišće), while the plateau immediately below the walls of the Old Town of Kalnik had been settled as early as the eneolithic. In the wider area there is evidence of traces of living in the late Iron Age and classical antiquity, and then in the early Middle Ages with two excavated cemeteries of the Bijelo Brdo culture.¹ The Kal-

1. Prof. Željko Tomičić was the leader of the excavations of one of the mentioned cemeteries – Kalnički Obrež-Prekrižje. His connection with the Kalnik and Križevci area is not limited to archaeological excavations but includes also the publication of papers. I would like to mention here the review of all archaeological excavations conducted until then as well as archaeological finds and sites in the wider area of Križevci, published in the Art Topography of Croatia – Križevci, the town and the surroundings (1993).



Sl. 1 Položaj nalazišta Vojakovački Osijek-Mihalj, izvadak iz TK 1: 25 000 (Državna geodetska uprava, Slanje 272-3-1)
 Fig. 1 The position of the site of Vojakovački Osijek-Mihalj, excerpt from a TM 1:25000 (State Geodetic Directorate, Slanje 272-3-1)

razdoblju kasnog srednjeg vijeka, podizanjem tvrdog grada na Velikom Kalniku, uz kojeg se veže legenda da se u njega kralj Bela IV. sklonio pred Tatarima.

Istočni dio Kalničkoga gorja otvara se dolinom Glibokog potoka, dalje na istok prema ravnoj Podravini, a Kamešnicom i Glogovnicom prema jugu i srednjovjekovnom kraljevskom gradu Križevcima, središtu velike srednjovjekovne Križevačke županije.

Na istočnim obroncima kalničkog gorja, u šumovitom i brjegovitom krajoliku bogatom izvorima i tekućicama, kriju se, čini se, još brojna stručnjacima nepoznata nalazišta. U ovom ćemo se radu posvetiti arheološkom nalazištu Vojakovački Osijek-Mihalj,² koje je na određen način, nalazom kamene kustodije, ušlo u stručnu literaturu još početkom 20. st. (Brunšmid 1912, 149, br. 838; Registar 1997, br. 667). No točan položaj nalaza i nalazišta nije bio poznat, a tijekom

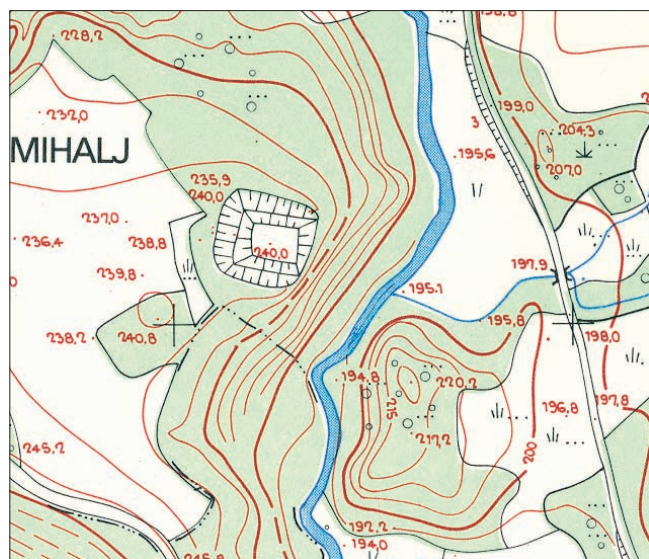
nik area entered the scene of history particularly in the late Middle Ages with the construction of a fortified town on Veliki Kalnik, for which the legend says that in it even king Bela IV took refuge before the Tatars.

The eastern part of the Kalnik Mountain opens with the Gliboki Potok valley further east toward lowland Podravina, while by way of Kamešnica and Glogovnica it opens towards south and the mediaeval royal town of Križevci, the seat of the large mediaeval Križevci county.

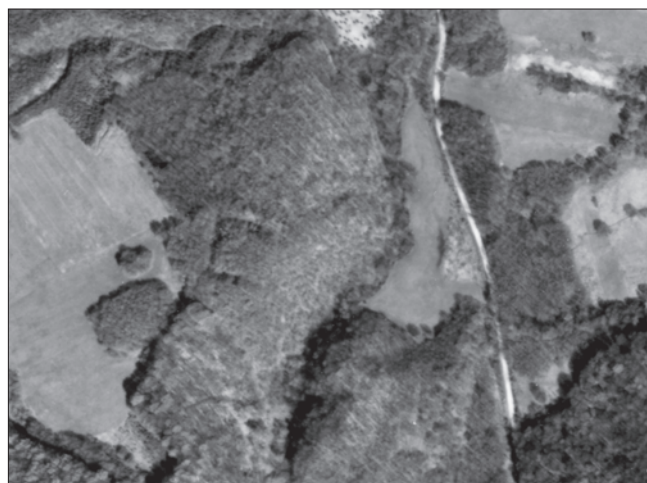
It seems that many sites unknown to the scholars are still hiding on the eastern slopes of the Kalnik mountain, in a forested and hilly landscape rich in springs and running water courses. In this paper we shall dedicate our attention to the archaeological site of Vojakovački Osijek-Mihalj,² which was introduced, in a way, into the scholarly literature as early as the beginning of the 20th century by the find of a stone ta-

2. Prvi opis lokaliteta Vojakovački Osijek-Mihalj iznijela sam u magistarskom radu pod nazivom „Srednjovjekovna gradišta u Hrvatskoj“, koji je izrađen pod mentorstvom prof. Ž. Tomičića, a obranjen 2004. godine na Filozofskom fakultetu Sveučilišta u Zagrebu. Mihalj je u magistarskom radu bio jedan od stotinjak lokaliteta na osnovi kojih je razmatrana tipologija srednjovjekovnih visinskih i nizinskih, uglavnom zemljanih, utvrda u središnjoj Hrvatskoj. Ovaj rad predstavlja pokušaj stavljanja lokaliteta Mihalj, na kojem do danas nisu provedena arheološka iskopavanja, ali koji se ukazuje kao važan i nadasve zanimljiv lokalitet za srednjovjekovnu arheologiju, u uži vremenski i prostorni kontekst, i to na osnovi multidisciplinarnog sagledavanja rezultata povijesno-topografskih istraživanja, vanjskih arheoloških morfoloških obilježja samog lokaliteta te razmatranja analognih srednjovjekovnih arheoloških nalazišta tog tipa na širem prostoru.

2. I provided the first description of the site of Vojakovački Osijek-Mihalj in my master's thesis entitled "The Mediaeval Earthen Fortifications in Croatia", made under the mentorship of Prof. Ž. Tomičić, and defended in 2004 at the Faculty of Philosophy of the University in Zagreb. In the master's thesis, Mihalj was one of a hundred or so sites which served as the basis for the analysis of the typology of mediaeval elevated and lowland –mostly earthen– fortifications in central Croatia. This work is an attempt at determining a narrower chronological and spatial context for the site of Mihalj –which appears to be an important and above all interesting site for mediaeval archaeology in spite of the fact that no archaeological excavations have been carried out on the site to this day– on the basis of multidisciplinary synthesis of the results of historical-topographical research, external archaeological morphological features of the site itself and consideration of analogous mediaeval archaeological sites of that type in the wider area.



Sl. 2 Vojakovački Osijek-Mihalj, TK 1:5000 (DGU, Koprivnica 11)
Fig.2 Vojakovački Osijek-Mihalj, TM 1:5000 (SGD, Koprivnica 11)



Sl. 3 Vojakovački Osijek-Mihalj, zračni snimak (DGU, SZ Hrvatska, snimak 5051, niz 7)

Fig. 3 Vojakovački Osijek-Mihalj, air photograph (SGD, NW Croatia, photograph 5051, series 7)

gotovo stotinu godina nije zaokupilo pozornost stručnjaka, izuzev katalogiziranja nalaza kustodije (Valentić 1969, 100, br. 57), da bi tek posljednjih godina nanovo bilo spomenuto. Međutim, autori koji su u novijoj literaturi komentirali ili spomenuli lokalitet nisu ga, čini se, obišli jer nigdje nije iznesen opis svih elemenata tog arheološkog nalazišta (Balog 2003, 21, 54; Pavleš 2004, 43).

Nalazište je smješteno oko 1,5 km sjevernije od sela Vojakovački Osijek, na brdu Mihalj koje se nalazi zapadno od, u stručnoj literaturi već više puta spominjanog i u srednjovjekovnim povijesnim izvorima poznatog, brda Gradec (sl. 1). Vrh brda Mihalj nalazi se na 399 m n/m, a Gradeca 366 m n/m. U oko 200 m dubokoj uskoj usjeklini između njih teče Glogovnica. Ta rječica, koja u svom gornjem toku obiluje bistrom gorskom vodom, nastaje iz mreže izvora i potoka u području oko 3-4 km sjevernije od lokaliteta Mihalj. Dalje prema jugu Glogovnica teče uskom kotlinom, koja se ispred sela Marinovac i Donja Glogovnica otvara u široku dolinu, u

bernacle (Brunšmid 1912, 149, No. 838; Registar 1997, No. 667). However, the exact position of the finds and the site was unknown, and for almost a century it failed to attract attention of the scholars – apart from the cataloguing of the find of the tabernacle (Valentić 1969, 100, No. 57) – and it was only in recent years that it has been mentioned again. However, the authors that mentioned the site or commented on it in the recent literature have in all likelihood not visited it, as nobody provided a description of all elements of that archaeological site (Balog 2003, 21, 54; Pavleš 2004, 43).

The site is located some 1,5 km north of the village of Vojakovački Osijek, on the Mihalj hill, which lies west of the Gradec hill, known from mediaeval historical sources and in many instances mentioned in scholarly literature (Fig. 1). The peak of the Mihalj hill lies at 399 m a.s.l. and that of the Gradec hill lies at 366 m a.s.l. The Glogovnica river runs through a 200 m deep narrow gorge between them. That small river, which abounds in clear mountain water in its upper course, is formed from a network of springs and streams in an area at some 3-4 km distance to the north of the site of Mihalj. Further south the Glogovnica runs through a narrow basin, which opens in front of the villages of Marinovac and Donja Glogovnica into a broad valley, already in a more gentle landscape. The site itself is situated on a plateau (240 m a.s.l.) that extends in the north-south direction along the eastern spur of the high, wooded and somewhat wild hill of Mihalj. West of the site, from the Mihalj hill, a brook springs, which runs toward the basin of the Glogovnica river across the plateau, some 80 m north of the archaeological complex. The spring is presently active, but the brook runs dry before it reaches the hillside.

In 2000 the archaeologists were introduced to the exact position of the site.³ On that occasion it was perceived that the site represents a single archaeological complex that consists of three structures:

A) an earthen fortification located on the hill slope towards the Glogovnica basin;

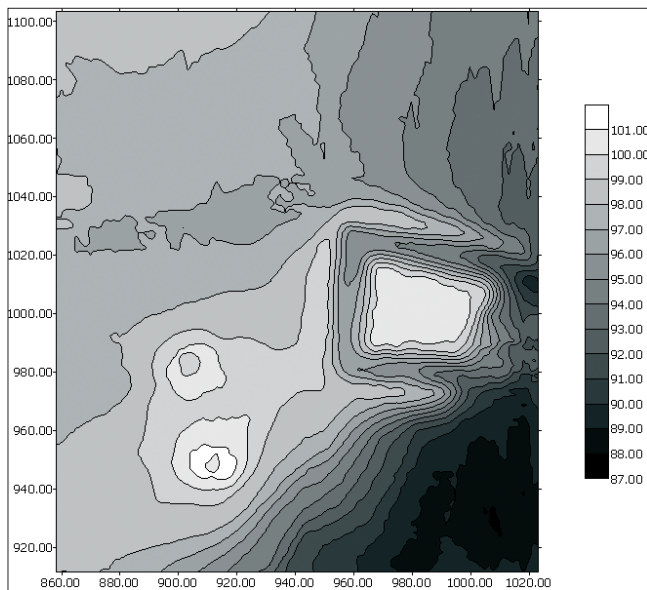
B) a stone-built structure, gently elongated in the east-west direction, lying southwest of the fortification, and

C) an oval-circular stone structure lying north of the elongated structure B (Fig. 2-5).⁴

The first structure (structure A) within the mediaeval monumental complex on Mihalj clearly indicates by its characteristic morphological features that it was a structure that served as a fortification (Fig. 5). The choice of the spot itself was governed by a clear motif – the position of the fortification is a convenient strategic point that offers an excellent view over the Glogovnica valley. It is an earthen fortification with a square-shaped central elevation with rounded edges, surrounded by a deep ditch and a rampart on the northern, western and southern sides (Fig. 6). There is no rampart on the

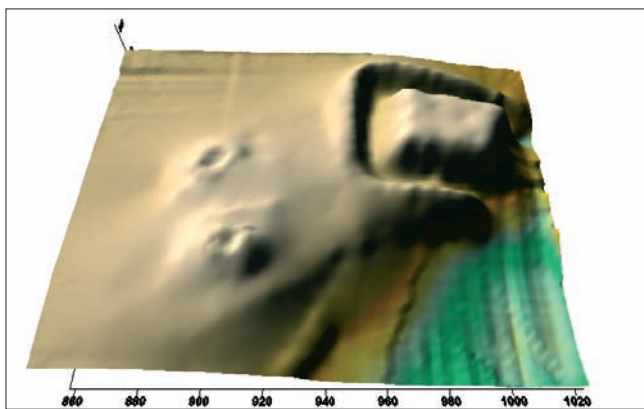
3. The position was shown to Zoran Homen, Lana Okroša Rožić and Tatjana Tkalčec by Mr Drago Vrbanac from Apatovac on 8th March 2000. Over the next couple of years I have brought to the site Sanja Suton, Selina Golec Petrović, my parents Zvezdana and Franjo Tkalčec from Križevci as well as my colleagues from the Institute of Archaeology – Daria Ložnjak Dizdar, Marko Dizdar and Tajana Sekelj Ivančan. At those occasions we took measurements and images with a total geodetic station and I would like to thank all of them for their help.

4. The distance between these three sites (measured from their central points) is: structure A – structure B: 90 m; structure B – structure C: 37 m; structure A – structure C: 77 m.



Sl. 4 Vojakovački Osijek-Mihalj, geodetski snimak, 2D ortogonalna projekcija (snimak i obrada T. Tkalčec)

Fig. 4 Vojakovački Osijek-Mihalj, geodetic image, 2D orthogonal projection (image and processing by T. Tkalčec)



Sl. 5 Vojakovački Osijek-Mihalj, geodetski snimak, 3D ortogonalna projekcija (snimak i obrada T. Tkalčec)

Fig. 5 Vojakovački Osijek-Mihalj, geodetic image, 3D orthogonal projection (image and processing by T. Tkalčec)

već pitomijem krajolikom. Sam lokalitet smješten je na zaravni (240 m n/m) koja se pruža u pravcu sjever-jug duž istočne kose visokog, pošumljenog i pomalo divljeg brda Mihalj. Zapadno od lokaliteta, iz brda Mihalj, izvire potoci koji preko zaravni, a oko 80 m sjeverno od arheološkog kompleksa, teče prema kotlini Glogovnice. Danas je izvor aktivan, no potok presušuje prije padine.

Godine 2000. s točnim položajem lokaliteta upoznati su arheolozi.³ Tom prigodom zamijećeno je kako se radi o jednom, arheološkom kompleksu koji se sastoji od tri objekta:

A) zemljana utvrda smještena na padini brda prema kotlini Glogovnice;

3. Položaj je Zoranu Homenu, Lani Okroši Rožić i Tatjani Tkalčec dana 8. ožujka 2000. pokazao mještanin Drago Vrbanac iz Apatovca. Tijekom narednih godina na lokalitet sam vodila Križevčane Sanju Suton, Selinu Golec Petrović, moje roditelje Zvezdanu i Franju Tkalčec, zatim kolege iz Instituta za arheologiju Dariju Ložnjak Dizdar i Marka Dizdara te Tajanu Sekelj Ivančan. Tim prigodama obavili smo izmjere i snimke totalnom geodetskom stanicom te svima zahvaljujem na pomoći.

eastern side, where the site is defended by a natural hillside that steeply slopes down to the narrow basin of the Glogovnica river. On the basis of such morphological features we can classify the fortification as a type of elevated fortification of the so-called horseshoe shape. The plateau of the central elevation occupies a rectangular surface whose longer side is 31,70 m long (E-W), while the shorter one is 26,60 m long (N-S). The rampart on the western side is only slightly raised from the surrounding ground, while in the south and north it is more prominently raised – from 1,50 to 2,50 m. The central elevation is about half a meter higher than the rampart, and up to a meter on the western side (the least defended one), considering that the rampart is lower on that side. The ditch is on average 4,50 m deep from the surface of the central elevation, and around 3,70 m measured from the top of the rampart. The rampart is around 10 m wide at its base and 2,70 near the top; the bottom of the ditch is 4,20 m wide at the northern and southern sides, and around 6 m at the western one. The distance from the edge of the rampart top to the edge of the top of the central elevation is 12-14 m at the north and south, and 17 m at the west. The plateau of the fortification therefore occupies a surface of around 870 m², while together with the surrounding fortification system (the ditch, the rampart) the surface of the fortification is around 4100 m².

The fortification was erected on a prominent hill slope that was used as a defensive element. The soil from the excavation of the defensive ditch was used for the construction of the rampart and the raised central elevation, which was evened and leveled. On a part of the rampart at the northern side we noticed stones, which either arrived accidentally in the rampart when it was being built or were intentionally used for the reinforcement of the rampart. Traces of possible solid structures on the fortification itself have not been perceived so one can presume that one or several wooden structures were erected on it. By sweeping away the forest leaves in several places on the central elevation of the fortification, we noticed a substantial portion of red fired clay in the forest humus, which leads us to assume that the wooden fortification was destroyed in a fire.

The second, longitudinal structure (structure B) is situated on the forest edge, under a detached grove that is 1,5-2 m higher than the surrounding terrain. Its outlines are unclear and one traces them by means of depressions⁵ and heaps of forest humus, below which one occasionally makes out the stone structure. The approximate dimensions of the collapsed structure are 25 x 16 m, and it is oriented with its longer part in the northeast-southwest direction. Only an archaeological excavation would provide means for determination of the dimensions of the construction built of stone, which may have extended over an even larger surface.

The third structure (structure C) has an oval-circular shape, it is directed east-west with a slight tilt towards north (dimensions 14,60 x 11 m east-west / north-south), it is overgrown by a grove in the middle of a meadow, consists of a raised circular enclosure on which a stone structure is discernible below the forest humus and leaves, while the interior is flat,

5. A separate deep ditch around 1,5 m wide, as well as a prominent rampart, are visible along the northern side. It is however unclear whether this is a wall below the rampart, i.e. a collapsed construction, or the defensive parts of the structure?



Sl. 6 Vojakovački Osijek-Mihalj, objekt A (utvrda), južni dio obrambenog jarka, pogled zapad-istok (snimila T. Tkalčec)
 Fig. 6 Vojakovački Osijek-Mihalj, structure A (the fortification), southern part of the defensive ditch, a view west-east (photo by T. Tkalčec)

B) objekt građen od kamena, blago izdužen u smjeru istok-zapad, smješten jugozapadno od utvrde i

C) ovalno-kružni kameni objekt koji se nalazi sjeverno od izduženog objekta B (sl. 2-5).⁴

Prvi objekt (objekt A) unutar srednjovjekovnog spomeničkog sklopa na Mihalju, svojim karakterističnim oblikovnim značajkama jasno ukazuje na to kako se radi o objektu fortifikacijskog karaktera (sl. 5). Jasan je i motiv za odabir samog mjesta – položaj utvrde predstavlja povoljnu stratešku točku s koje se pruža odličan pregled nad glogovničkom udolinom. Radi se o zemljanoj utvrdi, čije je središnje uzvišenje kvadratičnog oblika zaobljenih rubova, okruženo dubokim jarkom i bedemom sa sjeverne, zapadne i južne strane (sl. 6). Na istočnoj strani nema bedema već je lokalitet prirodno branjen padinom koja se strmo obrušava u usku kotlinu rijeke Glogovnice. Na osnovi takvih oblikovnih značajki utvrdi možemo svrstati u tip visinskih utvrda tzv. potkovičastog oblika. Zaravan središnjeg uzvišenja zauzima četvrtastu plohu, čija duža stranica iznosi 31,70 m (I-Z), a kraća 26,60 m (S-J). Bedem je na zapadnoj strani tek blago povišen od okolnog terena, dok je na južnoj i sjevernoj strani izraženije povišen – od 1,50 do 2,50 m. Središnje uzvišenje nadvisuje bedem za oko pola metra, a na zapadnoj (najslabije branjenoj strani) i do metar, s obzirom da je bedem na toj strani niži. Dubina jarka iznosi u prosjeku 4,50 m od površine središnjeg uzvišenja, odnosno oko 3,70 m mjereno od vrha bedema. Širina bedema pri njegovom dnu iznosi oko 10 m, a pri vrhu oko 2,70 m, dno jarka širine je 4,20 m na sjevernoj i južnoj strani, odnosno oko 6 m na zapadnoj. Udaljenost od ruba vrha bedema do ruba vrha središnje zaravni iznosi 12-14 m na sjevernoj i južnoj strani, odnosno 17 m na zapadnoj strani. Stoga, zaravan utvrde zauzima površinu od oko 870 m², a s okolnim fortifikacijskim sustavom (jarak, bedem) površina utvrde iznosi oko 4100 m².

Utvrda je podignuta na istaknutoj padini brijega, koja je iskorištena kao obrambeni element. Iskopom obrambenog

4. Udaljenost između ova tri položaja (mjereno iz njihovih središnjih točaka) iznosi: objekt A – objekt B – 90 m; objekt B – objekt C – 37 m; objekt A – objekt C – 77 m.

i.e. depressed with regard to the raised circular enclosure, and without traces of possible partition walls. The circular enclosure is around 0,8-1 m raised above the surrounding ground. It seems that it does not close full circle at the south, being partly open instead.

As the third structure lies in the immediate vicinity of two indisputably archaeological structures, it can be presumed that it is likewise a mediaeval building made of stone. Could we imagine here a church of a circular ground-plan, a Romanesque rotunda?⁶ If this is so, then the dating of the entire archaeological complex would be earlier than it first appeared. Or, on the other hand, this is a structure with a different function within the mediaeval complex? Likewise, we cannot neglect here the fact that no archaeological excavation has been carried out so far and that in this case on the basis of the surface survey of the ground we cannot rely too much on the appearance of the collapsed structure, covered by forest humus. Similar traces are left by some other structures after their collapse and decomposition. For instance, if we take into consideration the fact that production of charcoal and lime has been accustomed in this area, this circular structure might represent the remains of a lime kiln.⁷ However, the dimensions of structure C and circumstances of its position next to the other two archaeological structures would speak in favour of the thesis that this structure likewise represents a building that belonged to the mediaeval monumental complex on Mihalj.

It is obvious from the description that structure A belongs to an archaeological site of defensive character. There is no confirmation about the existence of a site of that type in the Mihalj area in the known historical sources, but based on of similar defensive sites in the wider area of central Croatia, we shall try to put forward some proposals regarding the function and dating of the Mihalj fortification in the remaining text.

On the other hand, structures B and C can probably be brought into connection with the existence of sacral architecture, of which today only the stone tabernacle has remained preserved. The tabernacle was given to the then National Museum in Zagreb in 1900 by the town physician in Križevci, Dr. Fran Gundrum Oriovčanin. The find was taken over by J.

6. My attention was drawn to the information about the construction of the churches dedicated to St. Archangel Michael precisely on the eastern slopes of the mountain and the hills in connection with the biblical motif of Michael's fight with satan by Prof. Ž. Tomičić. He also advised me to dedicate particular attention to the described remains of the stone architecture of circular ground plan, as there was a possibility that it was a Romanesque rotunda.

7. In 2005 the Varaždin Municipal Museum carried out the archaeological excavation of one of some ten lime kilns in the Ravna Gora area. The excavation leader pointed out that accumulations of fired clay of red-brown to black colour were visible also in the examination of the mentioned lime kilns, and occasionally also small lumps of lime, which is not the case with the circular structure at Mihalj. Further, heaps of soil, probably dug from the centre of the structure, were observed next to the structures. This is also not the case on Mihalj – however, the structure resembles the lime kilns from Ravna Gora very much, judging by the figures brought in the paper (Šimek 2006). In 2001, salvage archaeological excavations of lime kilns from the 15th and 16th cent. were carried out in Austria, on the site of Taxberg in the municipality of Mühldorf near Feldbach (Lippert 2002). Two lime kilns were investigated, as well as a pit with fired soil and burnt stones, at a 2 metre distance from the first lime kiln. In the surface survey, the surface of the lime kilns was seen as a stain of red-fired earth. The first lime kiln has an oval-circular shape, measuring 5 x 5,80 m. The second kiln was damaged, and its preserved dimensions are 3 x 2,50 m.

jarka od izbačene zemlje formiran je bedem i povišeno središnje uzvišenje koje je poravnato i iznivelirano. Na dijelu bedema na sjevernoj strani zamijećeno je kamenje, koje je ili slučajno dospjelo u bedem prigodom njegova oblikovanja ili je njime možda bedem namjerno pojačan. Tragovi eventualnih čvrstih struktura na samoj utvrdi nisu zamijećeni, te je za pretpostaviti kako je na njoj bio podignut jedan ili više drvenih objekata. Odgrnuvši šumsko lišće na više mjesta na središnjem uzvišenju utvrde, zamijećen je u šumskom humusu znatni udio crveno zapečene zemlje, što nas upućuje na pretpostavku da je drvena utvrda stradala u požaru.

Drugi, longitudinalni objekt (objekt B) nalazi se na rubu šume, pod izdvojenim šumarkom na terenu koji nadvisuje okolnicu za 1,5-2 m. Obrisi su mu nejasni, a očituju se u vidu udolina⁵ i nasipa šumskog humusa, ispod kojeg se dijelom nazire kamena struktura. Okvirne dimenzije urušenog objekta iznose 25 x 16 m, a orijentiran je dužim dijelom u pravcu sjeveroistok-jugozapad. Tek bi se arheološkim iskopavanjem definirali gabariti zdanja podignutog iz kamena, koje se možda pružalo i većom površinom.

Treći objekt (objekt C) ovalno-kružnog oblika, usmjeren istok-zapad s laganim otklonom prema sjeveru (dimenzije 14,60 x 11 m istok-zapad / sjever-jug), zarastao u šumarak usred livade, sastoji se od povišenog prstenastog vijenca na kojem se ispod šumskog humusa i lišća nazire kamena struktura, dok je unutrašnjost ravna, tj. u odnosu na povišeni prstenasti vijenac udubljena i bez tragova eventualnih pregradnih zidova. Prstenasti vijenac uzdiže se za oko 0,8-1 m nad okolnim terenom. Čini se da na južnoj strani vijenac ne zatvara puni krug, već je dijelom otvoren.

Kako se treći objekt nalazi u neposrednoj blizini dvaju nedvojbenih arheoloških objekata, za pretpostaviti je kako i on predstavlja neko srednjovjekovno zdanje građeno od kamena. Možemo li pomišljati na crkvu kružnog tlorisa, romaničku rotundu?⁶ Ukoliko je tome tako, tada bi i datacija čitavog arheološkoga kompleksa bila starija nego što se isprva čini. Ili se, pak, radi o nekom objektu drukčije namjene unutar srednjovjekovnoga kompleksa? Također, ne smijemo ovdje zanemariti činjenice da arheološka istraživanja nisu provedena te da se na osnovi površinskog pregleda terena u ovom slučaju ne možemo previše oslanjati na izgled urušene strukture, prekrivene šumskim humusom. Naime, slične tragove ostavljaju i neki drugi objekti nakon urušenja i razgradnje. Pa bi tako, uzmemo li u obzir i činjenicu kako je u ovom kraju uobičajena proizvodnja ugljena i vapna, taj kružni objekt mogao predstavljati ostatke neke vapnare, tj. vapnenice, peći za dobivanje vapna.⁷ Međutim, dimenzije

5. Duž sjeverne strane zamjetan je zaseban duboki jarak širine oko 1,5 m, te istaknuti nasip. Nije, međutim, jasno radi li se o nekom zidu ispod nasipa, odnosno urušenoj arhitekturi ili je riječ o obrambenim dijelovima objekta?

6. Na podatak o podizanju crkava posvećenih sv. Mihovilu Arkandelu upravo na istočnim stranama brda i brjegova u vezi s biblijskim motivom borbe Mihovila i Sotone, uputio me prof. dr. sc. Ž. Tomičić. Također je upozorio kako treba obratiti osobitu pozornost na opisane ostatke kamene arhitekture kružnog tlorisa, jer postoji mogućnost da se radi o romaničkoj rotundi.

7. Godine 2005. Gradski muzej Varaždin proveo je arheološko istraživanje jedne od desetak peći za vapno na području Ravne gore. Voditeljica istraživanja istaknula je kako su i prigodom pregleda navedenih vapne-

Brunšmid, who did not date it with precision, but attributed it to the Gothic period and recorded its dimensions: 112 x 0,64 x 0,45 m (Brunšmid 1912, 149, No. 838). The same find was catalogued in the History Museum in 1969 by M. Valentić, who described it as a Gothic tabernacle from the church of St. Michael (*Sv. Mihovil*) in Osek, the Križevci district, sandstone, h. 112 cm, wid. 64 cm, thick. 54 cm and dated it to the 15th century (Valentić 1969, 100, 101, No. 57). An illustration of the tabernacle was again reproduced in recent times in a book about the Križevci and Kalnik area in the Middle Ages (Balog 2003, 60).

The toponym Mihalj points to the existence of a church dedicated to St. Michael (*Mihovil, Mihael, Mihajlo, Mihalj*).⁸ However, the church of that patron saint is not known in that area. We shall therefore try, by looking at the results of the research of historians about mediaeval estates in the territory of the eastern Kalnik mountain, in the context of known historical sources about the existing sacral structures, to consider the possibilities of the attribution of the church on Mihalj to one of several religious orders that had been present in the wider area of the Glogovnica and Kalnik.

Structure A at Mihalj belongs to the fortifications⁹ of the elevated type. The mediaeval elevated fortifications were built either on prominent hills in valleys or, which is more frequent, in mountainous or peri-mountainous areas. They were mostly erected on peripheral parts of mountains and controlled a broad valley (Borovljani-Gradina, Bačkovica-Gradina, Donja Glogovnica, Kutina-Turski Stol, Mala Črešnjevica, Mišinka-Klisa, Veliki Poganac-Šanac etc.) or a narrow riverine valley between hills (Vojakovački Osijek-Mihalj, Velika Črešnjevica-Črešnjevac, Selište-Kutinec Grad). Some of them were virtually inaccessible from the valley itself and were accessed instead probably from a wooden bridge from the hills in the hinterland (Tkalčec 2004, 242). The elevated mediaeval fortifications in the Kalnik and Moslavina highland and foothills – in addition to Vojakovački Osijek-Mihalj these are Rasinja-Opoj Grad and Podgarić-Gornja Josipovača – reach absolute heights of around 250 m a.s.l. On the other hand, certain elevated fortifications of the Kalnik and Bilogora spurs lie at around 180 m a.s.l. or so (Tkalčec 2004, 241), and their shared feature is that they are situated in a convenient position that offers a good view over the environs. In contrast to those, some fortifications have been perceived that are hidden in hilly forests and which lack a good view over the

8. Michael is one of the seven archangels. The archangels are individualized by personal names, and the names themselves interpret their respective functions. Thus Michael (Croatian: *Mihovil*), Lat. Michael < Hebrew *mikā'el* "who is like God?". St. Michael is the victor over Satan, the weigher of souls. His cult started in the East in the 4th cent., and in the West in the 5th, and particularly from the 8th century onwards. In the 9th century in his iconography he is depicted as a winged angel dressed in a tunic, with a flaming sword or a spear in his hand. From the 12th century and later (especially in Baroque) he is represented in armour, trampling the dragon or satan and stabbing him with his spear (the victory over satan). From the 14th cent. he is depicted as a supervisor, a "weigher" of souls, with the spear that pierces satan in one hand, while holding the scales in the other. A large number of churches dedicated to St. Michael are located on hill tops that had once been dedicated to pagan cults (Fučić 2000, 432-434).

9. We shall not enter here the still open body of problems regarding the terminology of this type of fortifications, i.e. by using the narrower term *gradište* (earthen fortification), but shall use instead in the text a wider and general term for defensive sites – *utvrda* (fortification).

objekta C i okolnosti smještaja pored druga dva arheološka objekta, govore bi u prilog tezi da i taj objekt predstavlja zdanje koje pripada srednjovjekovnom mihaljskom spomeničkom sklopu.

Iz iznesenog opisa razvidno je kako objekt A pripada arheološkom lokalitetu obrambenog karaktera. Potvrde o postojanju lokaliteta te vrste na području Mihalja ne nalazimo u poznatim povijesnim izvorima, no na osnovi sličnih obrambenih nalazišta na širem području središnje Hrvatske, pokušat ćemo u daljnjem tekstu iznijeti neke prijedloge u vezi funkcije i datacije mihaljske utvrde.

S druge strane, objekte B i C vjerojatno možemo povezati s postojanjem sakralne arhitekture, od koje nam je danas ostala očuvana tek kamena kustodija, odnosno tabernakul. Tabernakul je 1900. god. tadašnjem Narodnom muzeju u Zagrebu darovao gradski fizik u Križevcima, dr. Fran Gundrum Oriovčanin. Nalaz je preuzeo J. Brunšmid, koji ga ne datira preciznije, ali ga opredjeljuje u vrijeme gotike te navodi dimenzije 112 x 0,64 x 0,45 m (Brunšmid 1912, 149, br. 838). Isti nalaz opisuje u Povijesnom muzeju 1969. god. M. Valentić te ga opisuje kao gotički tabernakul iz crkve sv. Mihovila u Oseku, kotar Križevci, pješčenjak, v. 112 cm, šir. 64 cm, deblj. 54 cm i datira u 15. st. (Valentić 1969, 100-101, br. 57). Slikovni prikaz kustodije u novije je vrijeme ponovo reproduciran u knjizi o križevačko-kalničkom području u srednjem vijeku (Balog 2003, 60).

Toponim Mihalj upućuje nas na postojanje crkve posvećene sv. Mihovilu (Mihaelu, Mihajlu, Mihalju).⁸ Međutim, crkva takvoga titulara nije poznata na tom području. Pokušat ćemo, stoga, sagledavajući rezultate istraživanja povjesničara o srednjovjekovnim posjedima na području istočnog kalničkog kraja, a u kontekstu poznatih povijesnih izvora o postojećim sakralnim objektima, razmotriti mogućnosti pripadnosti crkve na Mihalju nekom od više crkvenih redova, koji su bili prisutni na širem glogovničko-kalničkom području.

nica bile uočljive nakupine pečene zemlje crvenosmeđe do crne boje, a mjestimično i sitnije grumenje vapna, što kod kružnog objekta na Mihalju nije slučaj. Također, uz objekte su bile zapažene hrpe zemlje, vjerojatno iskopane iz sredine objekta. Na Mihalju niti to nije slučaj, međutim, objekt vrlo nalikuje vapnarama iz Ravne gore, sudeći prema slikama koje se donose u članku (Šimek 2006). Godine 2001. obavljena su u Austriji, na položaju Taxberg u općini Mühldorf kod Feldbacha, zaštitna arheološka istraživanja vapnara koje potječu iz 15. i 16. st. (Lippert 2002). Istražene su 2 vapnare te jama sa zapečenom zemljom i gorenim kamenjem, udaljena oko 2 metra od prve vapnare. Površina vapnara također se pri površinskom pregledu uočavala kao mrlja crveno-zapečene zemlje. Prva vapnara je ovalno-kružnog oblika, dimenzija 5 x 5,80 m. Druga peč je bila oštećena, a očuvane dimenzije su joj 3 x 2,50 m.

8. Mihovil je jedan od sedmorice arkandela. Arkandeli su individualizirani vlastitim imenima, a sama imena tumače njihove funkcije. Pa prema tome Mihovil=Mihael, lat. Michael<hebr. *mikā'el* „tko je kao Bog?“. Sv. Mihovil je pobjednik nad Sotonom, vagatelj duša. Kult mu počinje na Istoku u 4. st., na Zapadu u 5. st., a osobito od 8. st. na dalje. U 9. st. se u ikonografiji prikazuje kao krilati anđeo odjeven u tuniku, s plamenim mačem ili kopljem u ruci. Od 12. st. i kasnije (osobito u baroku) prikazuje se u oklopu kako gazi zmaja ili đavla i probada ga kopljem (pobjeda nad Sotonom). Od 14. st. prikazuje se kao nadziratelj, „vagatelj“ duša kako jednom rukom drži koplje kojim probada đavla, a drugom drži vagu. Velik broj crkava posvećenih sv. Mihovilu nalazi se na vrhovima brjegovova koji su nekada bili posvećeni poganskim kultovima (Fučić 2000, 432-434).

surrounding countryside, and consequently also lack the view over a possible neighbouring settlement. Such fortifications in all likelihood represented a refuge in turbulent times (Purićani-Galge), and their primary function was refugial, i.e. the primary importance was that of the seclusion of the site itself and not the overview of the environs, a road or something similar.

The elevated fortifications consist of a central zone surrounded by a fortification system (a defensive ditch, one or several ramparts). Likewise, additional zones are sometimes exploited next to the central elevation – plateau separated from the core of the fortification by an interior ditch, the so-called double or multiple fortifications or *gradišta* (earthen fortifications). Mihalj belongs to the type of the elevated fortifications that consist of a fortification core, a defensive ditch and a rampart. As one side of the fortification is protected by a natural steep slope, no rampart was formed there so the central elevation remained open. Mihalj therefore, as we have already pointed out, belongs to the elevated fortifications of the horseshoe type. The central elevations of the elevated fortifications of the horseshoe type vary from circular (V. Črešnjevac-Črešnjevac) and square (in addition to Mihalj this is also Donja Glogovnica) to the triangular ones (Dominkovića-Gradina) (Tkalčec 2004, 246).

It would be interesting to mention and quickly describe here the fortification in nearby Donja Glogovnica. The fortification, an elevated earthen fortification of a horseshoe shape and a late mediaeval citadel are situated in the middle of the village on the position of the church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The natural hill suitable for the control over the Glogovnica valley is adjusted to the requirements of the fortification. The square-shaped central elevation with salient rounded corners (which hint at the existence of defensive towers) measures 58 x 58 m (measured along the centre of the fortification), and the northern side with the farthest points is around 67 m long. It is surrounded by a 12 m wide rampart and a deep ditch (up to 23 m wide, around 10 m deep on the northern side), which are missing on the steep eastern side of the hill, by which they give the fortification an open, horseshoe shape (Tkalčec 2004, 79-83). The position provided a good overview of the valley of the Glogovnica river towards the spring itself and of the river in the Kalnik hills.¹⁰ In the upper course of the Glogovnica the valley is very narrow and it represented a natural communication between the southern and northern Kalnik foothills. Even though it has been proven that from ancient times the road routes went through the valley of the Kamešnica river –which lies more to the west– through the Vratno gorge and over the Kozji Hrbat ridge¹¹ to the northern side of the Kalnik, it can be presumed that, particularly in the Middle Ages, this communication via the Glogovnica river and across the Sedlo pass and the Drenovački Potok stream to Slanje and the Bednja river valley was not neglected either. The fortification near the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Donja Glogovnica was the second one on the southern side of the Kalnik hills on that direction via the

10. If we look at other mediaeval fortifications, one understands their relationship with the road directions, water courses and communications as well as settlements (Tkalčec 2004, 266).

11. Kozji Hrbat appears already in a document from 1225, where it can be seen that a traffic route went through there. The toponym has remained preserved to this day and it is marked on topographic maps, e.g. TK 1:25000, Slanje, 272-3-1.

Mihaljski objekt A pripada utvrdama⁹ visinskog tipa. Srednjovjekovne visinske utvrde podizane su ili na istaknutim brjegovima u dolinama ili pak, što je učestalije, u gorskim i prigorskim područjima. Najčešće su podizane na rubnim dijelovima gorja i kontrolirale su široku dolinu (Borovljani-Gradina, Bačkovica-Gradina, Donja Glogovnica, Kutina-Turski stol, Mala Črešnjevica, Mišinka-Klisa, Veliki Poganac-Šanac i dr.) ili usku riječnu dolinu između brjegova (Vojakovački Osijek-Mihalj, Velika Črešnjevica-Črešnjevac, Selište-Kutinec grad). Ponekima od njih pristup je praktično bio nemoguć iz same doline, već im se prilazilo vjerojatno preko drvenog mosta s brjegova u zaleđu (Tkalčec 2004, 242). Visinske srednjovjekovne utvrde u kalničkom i moslavačkom gorju te prigorju, uz Vojakovački Osijek-Mihalj to su Rasinja-Opoj grad i Podgarić-Gornja Josipovača, dostižu apsolutne visine oko 250 m. Pojedine, pak, visinske utvrde kalničkih i bilogorskih izdanaka nalaze se na kakvih 180 m n/m (Tkalčec 2004, 241), a značajka im je da su smještene na povoljnom položaju s kojeg se pruža dobar pregled nad okolicom. Za razliku od njih, zamijećene su utvrde koje su skrivene u brjegovitim šumama i s kojih se ne pruža dobar pregled nad okolicom, dakle niti nad mogućim obližnjim naseljem. Takve su utvrde vjerojatno predstavljale pribježište u nemirnim vremenima (Purićani-Galge), a prvenstvena im je funkcija bila refugijalna, odnosno od prvobitnog je značaja bila skrovitost same lokacije, a ne nadgledanje okolice, prometnice ili slično.

Visinske utvrde sastoje se od središnjeg prostora okruženog fortifikacijskim sustavom (obrambeni jarak, bedem ili više njih). Također, uz središnje uzvišenje ponekad se iskorištavaju dodatni prostori, zaravni odijeljene od jezgre utvrde unutarnjim jarkom, tzv. dvojne ili višedijelne utvrde ili gradišta. Mihalj pripada tipu visinskih utvrda koje se sastoje od utvrdbene jezgre, jednog obrambenog jarka i jednog bedema. Kako je jedna strana utvrde štice prirodnom strmom padinom, na tom dijelu nije formiran bedem te je središnje uzvišenje otvoreno. Stoga, kao što smo već istaknuli, Mihalj pripada visinskim utvrdama potkovičastog tipa. Središnja uzvišenja visinskih utvrda potkovičastog tipa oblicima variraju od kružnih (V. Črešnjevica-Črešnjevac), kvadratičnih (uz Mihalj to je i Donja Glogovnica) ili trokutastih (Dominkovića-Gradina) (Tkalčec 2004, 246).

Zanimljivo je na ovom mjestu spomenuti i ukratko opisati utvrdu u obližnjoj Donjoj Glogovnici. Utvrda, visinsko gradište potkovičastog oblika i kasnosrednjovjekovni kaštel, nalaze se u središtu sela na položaju crkve Uznesenja Blažene Djevice Marije. Prirodni brijeg s dobrom mogućnošću nadgledanja doline Glogovnice, prilagođen je potrebama utvrđenja. Kvadratično, središnje uzvišenje, istaknutih zaobljenih uglova (koje daju naslutiti postojanje obrambenih kula) dimenzija je 58 x 58 m (mjereno sredinom utvrde), odnosno sjeverna stranica s najdaljim točkama iznosi oko 67 m. Okruženo je bedemom širine 12 m i dubokim jarkom (šir. do 23 m, dubina oko 10 m na sjevernoj strani) koji su na istočnoj, strmoj strani brijega izostali te time daju utvrdu

9. Na ovom se mjestu nećemo upuštati u još uvijek otvorenu problematiku terminologije ovog tipa utvrda, odnosno korištenjem užega termina *gradište*, već ćemo u tekstu koristiti širi i opći pojam za obrambena nalazišta – *utvrda*.

Glogovnica. The position of Mihalj is in fact the first strategic point upstream the small river of Glogovnica. Could it be that this defensive system included also the position with the indicative name of Gradec, situated opposite Mihalj, where traces of a fortification are still discernible today? Taking into consideration the early mention of the Gradec hill in the mediaeval historical documents, and the mention of earthen ramparts as early as the 13th century,¹² it can be presumed that the fortification on that position is of an even earlier origin. Considering that the ramparts on Gradec are described as *old* at such an early date as 1244, in all probability they were not built for the defense against the Tatars, but are much older. In fact, the very toponym Gradec, which was used for the hill and the land as early as the 13th century, likewise indicates that at that date people knew about the existence of an older fortified town or a fortification of some kind at that spot. However, without archaeological excavations, the exact date of creation of that fortification on Gradec will remain unknown.¹³

The similarity in the method of construction of the somewhat smaller earthen fortification on Mihalj and the larger Glogovnica fortification is considerable.

It is not known at what time the defensive ditch was dug and the rampart built around the church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Donja Glogovnica. Was it on the occasion when the citadel of the Glogovnica prepositure was built next to the church to the north, the citadel whose ground plan was discovered also in the archaeological excavations in 1998 and 1999? The Glogovnica sepulchral monastery and estate was transferred sometime after 1466 to the authority of the college of canons and the bishop of Zagreb. The citadel is mentioned as a *castellum* in 1500, when Andrija Alfonz Thuz, the brother of bishop Osvald Thuz, was the provost of the monastery. In 1543 a *fortalicium* is mentioned, and in 1553 a *castrum* (Heller 1978, 72). The prominent semicircular corners of the plateau of the Glogovnica fortification would speak in favour of the existence of battery towers, characteristic for the period when fire-arms, in fact cannonry, were in use. This is confirmed also by archaeological finds from the excavations, which date the citadel at the earliest to the second half or the very end of the 15th century or later.¹⁴ However, the-

12. As *Grades* it is mentioned as early as 1207 in the description of the borders of Glogovnica; then in 1249 as *Gradich* in the description of the borders of the Apatovec estate (Pavleš 2004, 37). In the 1244 charter to *ban* Dionysius a description of the border of Cerovo Brdo is mentioned, in which in one part "the border climbs to the top of the *Graduch* hill running along the old earthen rampart called *ettewen*..." (Pavleš 2004, 40). R. Pavleš analyzed the document published in *Diplomatički Zbornik (Codex Diplomaticus)*. Fejer also mentions only a rampart called *ettowen (in vertice montis Graduch per antiquum cumulum terre, qui ettowen dicitur)*, and we shall mention as a curiosity also that I. Kukuljević published a transcription of the same document with somewhat different data: *ad antiquum cumulum terrae qui Ettowen Cecewey dicitur* (Kukuljević 1891, 229).

13. Ramparts are even today visible on the northeastern side of the top of Gradec, but it seems that remains of a stone construction are hidden beneath them. D. Vrbanac provided valuable information about the terminology the local people use for the Gradec hill area. These by and large apply to the eastern side and hill slope, and looked from the north southwards the toponyms are: *Stari Vrta, Stari Zdenac, Kraljev Zdenac*.

14. The author of the text took part in the 1999 excavations upon the invitation by Z. Homen (the Križevci Municipal Museum), the leader of the excavation. The excavation yielded fragments of Gothic ceramic cups from which the citadel commander of Glogovnica and his folk drank, and which were dated by means of typology and chronology to the 15th century (Tkalčec 2001, 221, Fig. 6-9, 225). The finds of stove tiles, dis-

otvoreni, potkovičasti oblik (Tkalčec 2004, 79-83). S položaja se pružao dobar nadzor nad dolinom rijeke Glogovnice prema samom izvoru te rijeke u Kalničkom gorju.¹⁰ Ta je dolina u gornjem toku Glogovnice vrlo uska i predstavljala je prirodnu komunikaciju između južnog i sjevernog Kalničkog prigorja. Iako su dokazane trase cesta još od vremena antike prema Varaždinskim Toplicama dolinom zapadnije rijeke Kamešnice, kroz klanac Vratno pa preko sedla Kozji hrbat¹¹ na sjevernu kalničku stranu, za pretpostaviti je da, osobito u srednjem vijeku, niti ova komunikacija rijekom Glogovnicom pa preko prijevoja Sedlo i Drenovačkog potoka na Slanje i dolinu Bednje, nije bila zanemarena. Utvrda kod crkve Blažene Djevice Marije u Donjoj Glogovnici nalazila se kao druga na južnoj strani kalničkih obronaka na tom glogovničkom pravcu. Prvu stratešku točku uzvodno rječicom Glogovnicom predstavlja upravo položaj Mihalj. Je li u tom obrambenom sustavu funkcionirao i položaj indikativnoga nazivlja Gradec nasuprot Mihalju, na kojemu se još danas naziru tragovi utvrđenja? S obzirom na rani spomen brda Gradec u srednjovjekovnim povijesnim ispravama te spomen zemljanih nasipa još u 13. st.,¹² za pretpostaviti je kako je utvrda na tom položaju i starijeg podrijetla. Kako se nasipi na Gradecu spominju kao *stari* još 1244. god., vjerojatno je da nisu izrađivani za obranu od Tatara nego su puno stariji. Uostalom, i sam toponim Gradec koji se za brdo i zemlju koristi već u 13. st., također upućuje na ondašnje poznavanje postojanja starijeg utvrđenog grada ili neke vrste utvrde na tom mjestu. Iz kojeg točno vremena datira ta utvrda na Gradecu, bez arheoloških istraživanja ostat će nam nepoznanica.¹³

Zamjetna je sličnost načina gradnje mihaljske, nešto manje zemljane utvrde i glogovničke veće.

Nije poznato u kojem je vremenu u Donjoj Glogovnici oko crkve Uznesenja Blažene Djevice Marije iskopan obrambeni jarak i podignut bedem. Je li to bilo prigodom gradnje kaštela glogovničke prepoziture sjeverno uz crkvu, kaštela čiji je tlocrt otkriven i u arheološkim iskopavanjima 1998. i 1999. god.? Glogovnički sepulkralski samostan i posjed prešao je negdje nakon 1466. god. u nadležnost Zagre-

re is a possibility that the transformation of the corners of the central elevation of the earthen fortification was done when the built stone citadel was being erected on it, and that the earthen fortification itself was created even earlier. It would therefore be important to continue the archaeological excavations on selected surfaces (a section across the slope of the central elevation, the ditch and the rampart). Minor archaeological excavations were carried out also on other sites – Novi Pavljani near Bjelovar and Mala Črešnjevica near Pitomača – which contain a church on top of an earthen fortification, but the question of the date of erection of the fortification itself has not been solved.¹⁵ We come closest to the answer to that question at the site of Crkvari near Orahovica, where a part of the surface of the very edge, i.e. the slope of the central elevation, was excavated during the fourth season of archaeological excavations. From the sequence of archaeological layers, and based on the typological attribution of the finds (i.e. before we carried out the absolute-dating analyses and prior to any final conclusions) we anticipate that the slope of the central elevation was reinforced in the 15th century at the earliest (Tkalčec 2006; Tkalčec 2007). Only the C¹⁴ analyses of the graves (which lack finds or grave goods) cut by the excavation of the defensive ditch will provide more secure data about the time of creation of the fortification in Crkvari. The dating of those and similar earthen fortifications to the 15th century and their defensive role in the turbulent times of Turkish attacks is not contentious. Rather, a question is posed whether they had been built even before that, perhaps already around the time of the Tatar incursion or immediately after it, when the building of the system of mediaeval stone towns was hastened on the initiative of the king himself? Unfortunately, this body of problems still remains open in Croatia, owing to insufficient archaeological excavations. Certain excavations proved that such sites were used in the 15th century (the earthen fortifications in the Moslavina region that were excavated in the 1960: the lowland ones – Kutina-Plovdin Grad, Sokolovac-Turski Grad and Tomašica-Gradina – and the elevated ones – Mikleuška-Šanac Gradina, Selište-Kutinec Grad and Kutina-Turski Stol) (Tkalčec 2004, 27; Sekelj Ivančan, Tkalčec 2002; Tkalčec, Sekelj Ivančan 2004). However, no absolute-dating analyses were carried out that could offer a different side of the site, i.e. provide clues to its continuity, as was the case with the lowland earthen fortification of Torčec-Gradić in the Podravina region near Koprivnica. Even though two mediaeval phases of the site were discerned in the archaeological excavations, the older phase – in contrast to

covered in the excavations in the citadel area, point to the second half of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th century. Similar types of stove tiles were produced in local workshops in Gudovac near Bjelovar (Jakovljević, Tkalčec 2004; Tkalčec 2005) and in Nova Ves in Zagreb. The leader of the excavation of the latter site links a certain type of stove tiles with the activity of bishop Osvald Thuz (Mašić 2002, 38). True, all three sites – Gudovac, Nova Ves and Glogovnica – are closely related with that bishop of Zagreb.

15. In 2001, the Institute of Archaeology carried out minor archaeological excavations in Mala Črešnjevica near Pitomača, around what is presently the orthodox church of 318 Benignant Fathers and what was in the Middle Ages a Gothic church (probably St. Martin's), and which lies on a large-size earthen fortification. In 2002 the Bjelovar Municipal Museum carried out minor salvage excavations in Novi Pavljani, immediately next to the church, on the occasion of drainage works. However, the scope of excavation was too small to present a substantial step forward in shedding light on this question, and the same is the case with the excavation at Glogovnica and Mala Črešnjevica.

10. Promatramo li i ostale srednjovjekovne utvrde, uvida se njihova veza na cestovne pravce, vodene tokove i komunikacije te naselja (Tkalčec 2004, 266).

11. Kozji hrbat se pojavljuje već u ispravi iz 1225. god., pri čemu se vidi da je tuda u srednjem vijeku tekao prometni pravac. Toponim se očuvao do današnjih dana i obilježen je na topografskim kartama, npr. TK 1:25000, Slanje, 272-3-1.

12. Kao *Grades* već 1207. god. u opisu međa Glogovnice, zatim 1249. god. kao *Gradich* u opisu međa posjeda Apatovec (Pavleš 2004, 37). U darovnici banu Dioniziju iz 1244. god. spominje se opis međe Cerovog brda, pri čemu se u nekom dijelu „međa uspinje do vrha brda *Graduch* idući uz stari zemljani nasip zvan *ettewen* ...“ (Pavleš 2004, 40). R. Pavleš je analizirao ispravu u izdanju Smičklasova Diplomatičkog zbornika. I Fejer navodi samo nasip zvan *ettowen* (*in vertice montis Graduch per antiquum cumulum terre, qui ettowen dicitur*), a kao zanimljivost spomenut ćemo da I. Kukuljević donosi prijepis iste isprave s malo drukčijim podacima: *ad antiquum cumulum terrae qui Ettowen Cecewey dicitur* (Kukuljević 1891, 229).

13. Na Gradecu su i danas na njegovom vrhu na sjeveroistočnoj strani uočljivi nasipi, međutim, čini se da se ispod njih kriju ostaci neke kamene arhitekture. D. Vrbanac je dao dragocjene podatke o nazivlju koje lokalno stanovništvo koristi za područje brda Gradec. Radi se mahom o istočnoj strani i padini brda, a gledano od sjevera prema jugu slijede toponimi: *Stari vrti*, *Stari zdenac*, *Kraljev zdenac*.

bačkog kaptola i biskupa. Kaštel se kao *castellum* spominje 1500. god., kada je prepozit samostana bio Andrija Alfonz Thuz, brat biskupa Osvalda Thuza. Godine 1543. spominje se *fortalicium*, a 1553. *castrum* (Heller 1978, 72). Naglašeni polukružni uglovi zaravni glogovničke utvrde govore bi u prilog postojanju baterijskih kula, karakterističnih za razdoblje kada je u upotrebi vatreno, odnosno topničko oružje. To potvrđuju i arheološki nalazi iz istraživanja koji kaštel datiraju najranije u drugu polovicu ili sam kraj 15. st. ili kasnije.¹⁴ Međutim, postoji mogućnost da je preoblikovanje uglova središnjeg uzvišenja zemljane utvrde bilo učinjeno prigodom gradnje zidanog kamenog kaštela na njoj, a da je sama zemljana utvrda bila formirana i prije. Zato bi trebalo nastaviti arheološka istraživanja na ciljanim površinama (presjek preko padine središnjeg uzvišenja, jarka i bedema). Manja arheološka istraživanja provedena su i na drugim lokalitetima, Novi Pavljani kraj Bjelovara i Mala Črešnjevica kraj Pitomače, na kojima se nalazi crkva na zemljanoj utvrdi, međutim, pitanje datacije podizanja same utvrde nije riješeno.¹⁵ Najbliži smo odgovoru na to pitanje na lokalitetu Crkvari kraj Orahovice na kojem je prigodom četvrte sezone arheoloških istraživanja istražen dio površine samog ruba, tj. padine središnjeg uzvišenja. Iz slijeda arheoloških slojeva, a na osnovi tipološkog opredjeljenja nalaza (dakle, prije provedenih apsolutnodatacijskih ispitivanja i bez izvođenja konačnih zaključaka) naslućujemo kako je padina središnjeg uzvišenja učvršćivana najranije u 15. st. (Tkalčec 2006; Tkalčec 2007). Tek će C¹⁴ analize grobova (koji nemaju nalaza niti priloga) presječenih iskopom obrambenog jarka dati sigurniji podatak o vremenu formiranja utvrde u Crkvarima. Naime, nije sporna datacija tih i sličnih utvrda-gradišta u doba 15. st. i njihova obrambena uloga u nemirnim vremenima turskih napada, već se postavlja pitanje nisu li one podizane i prije, možda već oko vremena tatarske provale, odnosno neposredno nakon nje, kada je ubrzano podizanje sustava srednjovjekovnih kamenih gradova na poticaj samog kralja? Nažalost, ta je problematika i dalje u Hrvatskoj otvorena, zbog nedostatnih arheoloških istraživanja. U pojedinim istraživanjima dokazana je upotreba takvih lokaliteta u 15. st. (moslavačka gradišta istraživana 1960-ih godina: nizinska – Kutina-Plovdin grad, Sokolovac-Turski grad i Tomašica-Gradina te visinska – Mikleuška-Šanac Gradina,

14. Autorica teksta je na poziv voditelja istraživanja Z. Homena (Gradski muzej Križevci) sudjelovala u istraživanjima 1999. god. U istraživanjima su pronađeni ulomci gotičkih keramičkih čaša iz kojih je pio glogovnički kaštelan i njegovi ljudi, a tipološko-kronološki su datirane u 15. st. (Tkalčec 2001, 221, sl. 6-9, 225). Nalazi pećnjaka, koji su pronađeni u istraživanjima na području kaštela, ukazuju na drugu polovicu 15. st. te na početak 16. st. Slični tipovi pećnjaka proizvodili su se u lokalnim radionicama u Gudovcu kraj Bjelovara (Jakovljević, Tkalčec 2004; Tkalčec 2005) te na Novoj Vesi u Zagrebu, čiji voditelj istraživanja određeni tip pećnjaka povezuje s djelovanjem biskupa Osvalda Thuza (Mašić 2002, 38). Istina, sva su tri lokaliteta, Gudovac, Nova Ves i Glogovnica usko vezana uz tog zagrebačkog biskupa.

15. Godine 2001. Institut za arheologiju proveo je manja zaštitna arheološka istraživanja u Maloj Črešnjevici kraj Pitomače, oko danas pravoslavne crkve 318 Blagonosnih otaca, a u srednjem vijeku gotičke crkve (vjerojatno sv. Martina) koja se nalazi na gradištu većih dimenzija. U Novim Pavljanima je Gradski muzej Bjelovar 2002. god. proveo manja zaštitna istraživanja uza samu crkvu prigodom drenažnih radova. Međutim, obujam istraživanja bio je premali da bi se dobio bitniji pomak u osvjetljavanju tog pitanja, kao što je slučaj i kod istraživanja Glogovnice i Male Črešnjevica.

the younger one, which abounded in finds – yielded no other finds apart from the remains of charcoal and wood. Had they not been careful in following the layers in the archaeological excavations and without a premeditated opening of selected surfaces at Gradić, the archaeologists would not be able to establish that the original fortification was built already in the period between the end of the 12th to the middle of the 13th century, and that it was transformed and enlarged in the 15th century (Sekelj Ivančan, Tkalčec 2004).

Only the archaeological excavations could offer the answer to the question whether the Mihalj fortification was created as a fortification of a feudal estate already in the 13th century, perhaps in connection with intensified need for fortification following the 1241/1242 Tatar incursion, and later incorporated into the system of defense against the Turks, or it was created in the late Middle Ages and perhaps continued to act as an observation post over the valley of the upper course of the Glogovnica¹⁶ also in the Modern Age.

R. Pavleš has most recently dedicated his attention to the mediaeval estates in the wider area from the aspect of historical topography, and he put forward his considerations in several valuable papers. According to his detailed analysis of mediaeval estates, the archaeological site of Mihalj would form part of the Cerovo Brdo estate. The estate was named after the *Cerouo Berdo* hill, which R. Pavleš places adjacent to the source of the Glogovnica stream, approximately at the position of the present-day Medsko Brdo (Pavleš 2004, 44).¹⁷

16. I thank R. Pavleš for the personal information about the building of the observation posts along the passes over the Kalnik from the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th cent., which served for preventing incursions of the Turkish-Vlach plundering groups towards the Zagorje region.

17. J. Bösendorfer pointed out regarding *Kopina Cerovo Brdo (Veliko Brdo)* that west and southwest of *Apatovac* and *Poganac* extends the *Powsahegy* or *Kopina* estate, while next to the latter lies the *Cerovo Brdo (Czerowa Borda)* estate, whose fate is the same as that of the *Obrovnica (Orbona)* town, which lies southeast of *Belovar* (Bösendorfer 1994, 72).

J. Bösendorfer further says that with time around 12-20 villages and desolate stretches were incorporated into the Cerovo Brdo estate, and that only Osijek near Glogovnica has remained. In his opinion, Glogovnica (*Glogoncz*) appears in 1370 among the estates of Cerovo Brdo. J. Bösendorfer then explicitly says: *This is presently Veliko Brdo north of Osek, and opposite the Gradec hill on the Glogovnica bank, which is mentioned in that position already in the 13th cent.*, and lists the following years: 1253, 1417, 1422, 1476, 1478, 1491 (Bösendorfer 1994, 72), which he takes from D. Csánki, who mentions in his book the sources for all the mentioned years (Csánki 1893, 13). We can see from what was said that J. Bösendorfer is not entirely clear about whether in 1370 Glogovnica was on the Veliko Brdo hill, the hill on the bank of the Glogovnica and opposite the Gradec hill, or was Kopina the same as Cerovo Brdo, which was located on the position of Veliko Brdo. J. Bösendorfer, however, took over all that data from D. Csánki, who – in the place where he gives information about the Cerovo Brdo estate – does not equate Kopina with Cerovo Brdo, but says instead that *it seems that Cerovo Brdo corresponds to the present-day Veliko Brdo near Osijek, and northwards* (Csánki 1893, 13). The proximity of these estates is indisputable; however, the synonymy of Kopina and Cerovo Brdo is not questionable. There was a discussion in the scholarly literature about the problem of determination of the position of the St. Martin's parish in Kopina and the *Powsage* estate (*alio nomine Kopyna – zenth – Marthon*), and it was summarized recently by R. Pavleš, who made a good case for the thesis that the church of St. Martin in Kopina as well as the *Powsage* estate should be looked for in the territory of the present-day Mali Poganec village, and also Botinovac, Mali Grabičani, Prnjavor and Grdak (Pavleš 2006, 7).

We shall mention here also interesting data from the beginning of the 20th century published by Fran Gundrum Oriovčanin in his travelogue-historical note *From the Križevci region. From Križevci to Vratno*. He says that Veliko Brdo is the hill situated on the left side of the Kamešnica

Selište-Kutinec grad i Kutina-Turski stol) (Tkalčec 2004, 27; Sekelj Ivančan, Tkalčec 2002; Tkalčec, Sekelj Ivančan 2004). Međutim, nisu provedene apsolutnodatacijske analize koje bi mogle dati i drukčiju sliku lokaliteta, odnosno ukazati na njegov kontinuitet, kao što je to bio slučaj kod nizinskog gradišta Torčec-Gradić u Podravini kraj Koprivnice. Iako su se u arheološkim istraživanjima lučile dvije srednjovjekovne faze lokaliteta, starija faza, za razliku od mlađe koja je obilovala nalazima, nije dala druge nalaze izuzev ostataka ugljena i drveta. Bez pažljivog praćenja slojeva pri arheološkim iskopavanjima i bez smišljenog otvaranja biranih površina na Gradiću, arheolozi ne bi uspjeli ustanoviti da je prvobitna utvrda podignuta još u vremenu od kraja 12. pa do sredine 13. st., a da je u 15. st. preoblikovana i povećana (Sekelj Ivančan, Tkalčec 2004).

Na pitanje je li mihaljska utvrda nastala kao utvrda nekog feudalnog posjeda još u 13. st., vezano možda uz pojačanu potrebu za utvrđivanjem nakon tatarske provale 1241./1242. god., pa je kasnije bila uklopljena u sustav obrane protiv Turaka, ili je nastala u kasnom srednjem vijeku te je možda i u novom vijeku predstavljala stražarnicu nad dolinom gornjeg toka Glogovnice,¹⁶ odgovor nam mogu pružiti isključivo arheološka iskopavanja.

Srednjovjekovnim posjedima na tom širem području posvetio se, s gledišta povijesne topografije, u najnovije vrijeme R. Pavleš, a svoja razmatranja iznio je u više vrijednih članaka. Arheološko nalazište Mihalj ulazilo bi, prema njegovoj detaljnoj analizi srednjovjekovnih posjeda, u posjed Cerovo brdo. Posjedu je ime dalo brdo *Cerovo brdo* koje R. Pavleš smješta uz sam izvor potoka Glogovnice, otprilike na položaju današnjeg Medskog brda (Pavleš 2004, 44).¹⁷

16. Zahvaljujem R. Pavlešu na usmenom podatku o podizanju stražarnica uz prijevoje preko Kalnika s kraja 16. i početka 17. st., koje su služile za sprječavanje prodora tursko-vlaških pljačkaških skupina prema Zagorju.

17. J. Bösendorfer je za Kopina Cerovo brdo (Veliko brdo) istaknuo kako se zapadno i jugozapadno od Apatovca i Poganca prostire vlastelinstvo Powsahegy ili Kopina, a kraj ovoga Cerovo brdo (Czerowa borda), čija je sudbina ista s gradom Obrovnicom (Orbona), koja leži jugoistočno od Belovara (Bösendorfer 1994, 72).

J. Bösendorfer dalje govori kako se tijekom vremena u vlastelinstvo Cerovo brdo skupilo oko 12-20 sela i pustara, a očuvao se jedino Osijek kraj Glogovnice. Prema njemu, Glogovnica (Glogoncza) se javlja 1370. među posjedima Cerovog brda. Zatim J. Bösendorfer izrijekom kaže: To je danas Veliko brdo sjeverno od Oseka, a sučelice brdu Gradcu na obali Glogovnice, koja se u tom položaju spominje već u XIII. v., pa navodi sljedeće godine: 1253., 1417., 1422., 1476., 1478., 1491.) (Bösendorfer 1994, 72) koje preuzima od D. Csánkija koji u svojoj knjizi za sve spomenute godine navodi izvore (Csánki 1893, 13). Iz iznesenog vidimo da niti J. Bösendorferu nije potpuno jasno je li Glogovnica iz 1370. bila na Velikom brdu, brdu na obali Glogovnice, a preko puta Gradeca, ili je Kopina isto što i Cerovo brdo koje je locirano na položaju Velikog brda. J. Bösendorfer je, međutim, sve te podatke preuzeo od D. Csánkija koji na mjestu gdje iznosi podatke o posjedu Cerovo brdo ne izjednačuje Kopinu s Cerovim brdom, već kaže kako se čini da Cerova brda odgovaraju današnjem Velikom brdu pored Osijeka, pa na sjever (Csánki 1893, 13). Blizina ovih posjeda nesporna je, međutim, nije upitna istoznačnost Kopine s Cerovim brdom. O problematiki ubikacije župe Svetog Martina u Kopini te posjeda Powsaheg (alio nomine Kopyna – zenth – Marthon) vođena je rasprava u stručnoj literaturi, a u novije vrijeme sazeo ju je R. Pavleš, koji se argumentirano opredijelio za tezu da se crkva sv. Martina u Kopini kao i posjed Powsaheg trebaju tražiti na području današnjeg sela Mali Poganec, potom Botinovac, Mali Grabičani, Prnjavor i Grdak (Pavleš 2006, 7).

Spomenut ćemo ovdje i zanimljive podatke s početka 20. st. koje donosi Fran Gundrum Oriovčanin u putopisno-povijesnoj crtici *Iz križevačkog*

The toponym is first mentioned in a document from 1225 and later in 1244, when the borders of the estate are described, and then again in 1380, when the villages of *Osegh* and *Golgoncha* with 19 farmsteads are mentioned within the estate, in addition to eight farmsteads on the *Oztrum* hill and four farmsteads near the church of St. Nicholas and four along the *Semechech* stream. There is a mention in the same document of other data of interest for us in the subsequent analysis of the subject. These are the mentions of allodial lands, namely a memorial meadow near the manor of one of the owners (Nicholas of Orbona)¹⁸ and a meadow called *Remeterete* (Pavleš 2004, 42). A document from 1380 is the first mention of the village of *Osegh*, the present-day Vojakovački Osijek, and at the same time the first mention of the church of St. Nicholas in that area, which is equated with the St. Nicholas in *Palatha* from 1501 (Pavleš 2004, 42).

R. Pavleš explicitly mentioned the position of Mihalj, referring to it as a site where remains of sacral architecture were found. In his opinion, during the Middle Ages, Mihalj with the remains of a church was located in the territory of the Cerovo Brdo estate, while regarding the church he presumes that it was an unknown chapel or, on the other hand, that it was precisely the church of St. Nicholas in *Palatha*, whose exact position is not known. He also drew attention to the difference between the toponym of Mihalj and the hagionym of the church (Pavleš 2004, 43).

Ecclesia sancti Nicolai (in) Palatha is mentioned in the 1501 list of parish priests, and it is listed after the parish church of St. Martin below Veliki Kalnik and before the Saint Nicholas in *Gragena* (Rački 1872, 220).¹⁹ J. Buturac positions the site of Palata near Sv. Petar Orehovec, northwest from Križevci, on account of a 1385 document that mentions *Palatahel*, an estate in *districtu Kemluk penes ecclesiam sancti Petri* (Buturac 1984, 90), while G. Heller believes that St. Petar refers to the church in Čvrstec and he locates also Palata in the territory of the village of Čvrstec, southeast of Križevci (Heller 1978, 174).

stream, whose plateau was probably once inhabited by the Slovenians, who fired lime or cut forests. The hill is called "Kranjske Hiže" after them (Gundrum Oriovčanin 1905, 53). Furthermore, in that travelogue he provided valuable information about the existence of fortifications on nearby peaks – the Stavrac (Starac) town and the Melinac town in Fodrocijeva Šuma (*Fodroci's forest*) (we recognize the toponyms on the Topographic map 1:25000 – Slanje 272-3-1) and the third town of Vis (Gundrum Oriovčanin 1905, 54). The mentioned positions with fortifications, however, are situated beyond the borders of the mediaeval estate of Cerovo Brdo.

18. It has still not been confirmed archaeologically in Croatia whether we should expect a site mentioned in late mediaeval documents as a manor to be seen in the field as a fortified site of a feudal lord.

19. Scholars locate the church of St. Nicholas in *Gragena* northeast of Križevci on the site of Gradina in the village of Bošnjani, that is not far from the position of the present-day church of St. Nicholas in Novi Bošnjani (Buturac 1984, 89; Horvat-Levaj 1993, 287-288; Balog 2003, 51; Pavleš 2006, 8-9). D. Csánki believed, as well as J. Bösendorfer after him, that *Gragena* should be sought in the vicinity of Osijek and Glogovnica because it often belonged to *Powsahegy – St. Martin* (Csánki 1893, 63; Bösendorfer 1994, 254). In her earlier papers L. Dobronić situated the St. Nicholas in *Gragena* or *Gradina* in the territory of Vojakovac (Dobronić 1984, 37-38), but later she explicitly mentions Bošnjani (Dobronić 1999, 41).

Interestingly, D. Csánki does not mention the appearance of the church of St. Nicholas in Palata in the 1501 list of parish priests at all; what is more, in the text he makes no mention whatsoever either of a church or a site of *Polatha, Palatha* or *Palotha*, except when he mentions the example of how certain villages in the mediaeval Križevci county have the name of a saint, and then he mentions *Palota-Sz.-Miklós* (Csánki 1893, 125).

Toponim se prvi put spominje u ispravi 1225. god., te dalje 1244., kada se opisuju i međe posjeda, zatim 1380., kada se unutar posjeda navode sela *Osegh* i *Golgoncha* s po 19 selišta, zatim osam selišta na brdu *Oztrum*, te po četiri selišta uz crkvu sv. Nikole i uz potok *Semechech*. U istoj se ispravi navode još neki podaci koji će nama biti zanimljivi u daljnjoj obradi teme, a to su spomeni alodijalnih zemalja, konkretno spomen-livade kraj kurije jednog od vlasnika (Nikole od Orbone)¹⁸ te livada zvana *Remeterete* (Pavleš 2004, 42). Isprava iz 1380. god. prvi je spomen sela *Osegh*, današnjeg Vojakovačkog Osijeka, a ujedno i prvi spomen crkve sv. Nikole na tom području, koja se izjednačava sa sv. Nikolom in *Palatha* iz 1501. god. (Pavleš 2004, 42).

R. Pavleš se dotaknuo konkretno i položaja Mihalj, spomenuvši ga kao lokalitet gdje su pronađeni ostaci sakralne arhitekture. Drži da se Mihalj s ostacima crkve nalazio u srednjem vijeku na području posjeda Cerovo brdo, a za crkvu pretpostavlja kako se radi o nekoj nepoznatoj kapeli ili, pak, upravo o crkvi sv. Nikole in *Palotha*, kojoj nije poznat točan smještaj, s time da upozorava na razliku u toponimu Mihalj i hagonimu crkve (Pavleš 2004, 43).

Ecclesia sancti Nicolai (in) Palatha spominje se u popisu župnika iz 1501. god., a navedena je nakon župne crkve sv. Martina pod Velikom Kalnikom te prije sv. Nikole u *Grageni* (Rački 1872, 220).¹⁹ J. Buturac mjesto Palatu smješta kod Sv. Petra Orehovca, sjeverozapadno od Križevaca, zbog isprave iz 1385. god. u kojoj se spominje *Palatahel*, posjed in *districtu Kemluk penes ecclesiam sancti Petri* (Buturac 1984, 90), dok G. Heller drži da se sv. Petar odnosi na crkvu u Čvrstecu te i Palatu smješta na područje sela Čvrstec, jugoistočno od Križevaca (Heller 1978, 174).

U popisima dimova za kraljevski porez sa samog kraja 15. te početkom 16. st. spominje se mjesto *Polatha* sa župnikom, no crkva se izriječkom ne navodi. *Polatha* se uglavnom navodi pored Cerovog brda.²⁰ Posljednji poznati spomen

kraja. Iz Križevaca u Vratno. Kaže da je Veliko brdo brijeg s lijeve strane potoka Kamešnice, na čijem zaravanku su nekad vjerojatno stanovali Slovenci i bavili se paljenjem vapna ili sječenjem šuma. Po njima se brdo zove i „kranjske hiže“ (Gundrum Oriovčanin 1905, 53). Nadalje, u tome putopisu donosi vrijedne podatke o postojanju utvrda na obližnjim vrhovima, grad Stavrac (Starac) i grad Melinac u Fodrocijevoj šumi (toponime prepoznajemo na Topografskoj karti 1:25000 - Slanje 272-3-1) te treći grad Vis (Gundrum Oriovčanin 1905, 54). Navedeni položaji s utvrdama izlaze, međutim, iz okvira srednjovjekovnog posjeda Cerovo brdo.

18. Arheološki još u Hrvatskoj nije dokazano trebamo li očekivati da se lokalitet koji se u kasnosrednjovjekovnim spisima spominje kao kurija očituje na terenu kao utvrđeno mjesto feudalnog posjednika.

19. Crkvu sv. Nikole u *Grageni* istraživači smještaju sjeveroistočno od Križevaca na lokalitetu Gradina u selu Bošnjani, odnosno nedaleko položaja današnje crkve sv. Nikole u Novim Bošnjanima (Buturac 1984, 89; Horvat-Levaj 1993, 287-288; Balog 2003, 51; Pavleš 2006, 8-9). D. Csánki je smatrao, a prema njemu i J. Bösendorfer, kako se *Gragena* treba tražiti u okolici Osijeka i Glogovnice jer je često pripadala *Posahegy* – Sv. Martinu (Csánki 1893, 63; Bösendorfer 1994, 254). L. Dobronić u starijim radovima sv. Nikolu u *Grageni* ili *Gradini* smješta na područje Vojakovca (Dobronić 1984, 37-38), a kasnije izriječkom spominje Bošnjane (Dobronić 1999, 41).

Zanimljivo je da D. Csánki uopće ne navodi spomen-crkve sv. Nikole u Palati u popisu župnika iz 1501. god., dapače nigdje u tekstu izriječkom ne spominje niti crkvu niti mjesto *Polatha*, *Palatha* ili *Palotha*, izuzev u iznošenju primjera kako pojedina sela u srednjovjekovnoj križevačkoj županiji nose ime sveca, pa tako navodi *Palota-Sz.-Miklós* (Csánki 1893, 125).

20. Tako je 1495. god. navedena iza *Bradne* i *Gwnyaka*, a kao prva u nizu posjeda Nikole Banffyja s dva porezna dima, a slijede *Gragenya* s 12

A site of *Polatha* with a parish priest is mentioned in the list of *dims* (a household unit used for calculating tax) for the regal tax from the very end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century. However, there is no specific mention of a church. *Polatha* is mainly mentioned near Cerovo Brdo.²⁰ The last known mention of that place as *Palotazenthmiklos* dates from 1529 (Heller 1978, 174).

Based on the stone tabernacle that comes from the site of Mihalj it is indisputable that a church existed on that spot in the 15th century. It is also an indisputable fact that a meadow called *Remeterete* is mentioned in that area in a document from 1380. However, there is no mention of a church of St. Michael, but only that of St. Nicholas (*Sv. Nikola*), equated by the scholars, as we have already said, with a church of St. Nicholas in Palota, whose position is unknown. Is it possible that such a change occurred with time that the position with the church of St. Nicholas started to be called Mihalj? Perhaps the church changed its patron saint? In that case it would sooner be that the older church at the position of Mihalj was dedicated to Michael (the church that is not even mentioned in historical documents) and that the change in the dedication of the saint occurred in later times.

Z. Balog tried to link the position of Mihalj with the church of St. Michael (*Mihajlo*) in *Zdench* (Balog 2003, 54). That thesis was opposed by R. Pavleš, who drew attention to the fact that that church was situated much further south, around the village of Cirkvena, with whose parish it was mentioned not only in the 1334 list (sic! 1501, a comment by the author),²¹ but also in a document from 1399 (Pavleš 2004, 43). It was poin-

20. Thus in 1495 it was listed after *Bradna* and *Gwnyak*, and as the first in a series of estates of Nikola Banffy with two tax *dims*, after which follow *Gragenya* with 12 *dims*, *Cerebarda* with 24 and *Powsahegh* with 43 *dims* (Adamček, Kampuš 1976, 15). In 1507 it is mentioned with 2 *dims* after the abbot from Apatovac (11 *dims*), and after it follow *Chereborda*, which is divided in the Hamp's one (11 *dims*) and *Chereborda* of the sons of Jakob Banfy (6 *dims*); after that follow Sveti Ivan (*Saint John*) (probably Ivanec Križevački, a comment by the author), a market town and province of Glogovnica, *Gragenna* of Ivan Banfy, *Gragena* of Franjo Banfy, *Powsahegh* etc. (Adamček, Kampuš 1976, 26). In 1512 *Palatha* has 4 *dims*, *Cherowoberdo* of Franjo Banfy and *Chero berdo* of Ivan Banfy have 12 *dims* each (Adamček, Kampuš 1976, 52). In 1513 both *Czeraberda* estates of the Banfy brothers have 13 *dims* each, while *Palata* has 3 (Adamček, Kampuš 1976, 57). In 1517 the *Czeraberdy* estate of Franjo Banfy has 13 *dims*, while Ivan's one has 11, while *Palotha* still has 3 *dims* (Adamček, Kampuš 1976, 92). In 1517 *Czeraborda* of Franjo Banfy has 14 *dims*, then follow the Apatovac abbots with 16, *Czeraborda* of Ivan Banffy with 13 and *Palotha* with 4 *dims* (Adamček, Kampuš 1976, 121).

21. The church in *Zdench* is not mentioned in the 1334 list, but only in the one from 1501, where it is listed after Haganj and before Cirkvena (Rački 1872, 221). We shall mention on this occasion that we find the transcription of the 1334 and 1501 lists of parishes published by F. Rački in *Starine JAZU (Antiquities of the YASA)* in 1872 a more appropriate source than the edited texts by D. Csánki (1893) and J. Bösendorfer, who anyway mostly took over everything from Csánki's work (1994, that is 1910), and J. Buturac (1984). The transcription of the 1334 list of parishes by Ivan Krstitelj Tkalčić (1874) is also reliable. In fact, F. Rački was acquainted with his work prior to his 1872 publication. The problem with Csánki's and Bösendorfer's publications –and also in fact with the frequently quoted one by J. Buturac– that the 1501 list of parish priests or parishes was not published in the sequence registered in the original document, but the authors introduced the parishes from 1501 into the list from 1334, and they added those that were not mentioned in 1334 at the end of their respective lists. This led to the loss of possibility of clear pursuit of the sequence of motion through the space of the mediaeval cataloguers, which hinders our reconstruction and determination of the position of certain parishes.

tog mjesta kao *Palotazenthmiklos* datira iz 1529. god. (Heller 1978, 174).

Na osnovi kamene kustodije koja potječe s lokaliteta Mihalj, nesporno je kako je na tom mjestu postojala crkva u 15. st. Neprijeporna je i činjenica da se u ispravi iz 1380. god. spominje na tom području livada zvana *Remeterete*. Međutim, nema spomena crkvi sv. Mihovila već se navodi sv. Nikola, koju istraživači izjednačuju, kako smo već spomenuli, s neubiciranom crkvom sv. Nikole u Paloti. Je li tijekom vremena moglo doći do takve promjene da se položaj s crkvom sv. Nikole počeo nazivati Mihaljem? Možda je crkva promijenila sveca? U tom bi slučaju prije bilo da je starija crkva na položaju Mihalj bila posvećena Mihovilu (crkva koja se niti ne spominje u povijesnim dokumentima) te da je do promjene posvete sveca došlo u kasnijim vremenima.

Z. Balog je pokušao povezati položaj Mihalj s crkvom sv. Mihajla in *Zdench* (Balog 2003, 54). Toj se tezi usprotivio R. Pavleš koji upozorava na to kako se ta crkva nalazi puno južnije, oko sela Cirkvene, uz čiju se župu navodi ne samo u popisu iz 1334. (sic! 1501. op. a.),²¹ već i u ispravi iz 1399. god. (Pavleš 2004, 43). Još je D. Csánki 1893. god. istaknuo, a J. Bösendorfer 1910. god. preuzeo, da se *Eccl. S. Michaelis in Zdench* treba tražiti jugoistočno od Križevaca na potoku Velikoj (Csánki 1893, 64; Bösendorfer 1994, 255). S obzirom da je *ecclesia s. Michaelis in Zdench* u popisu iz 1501. god. navedena iza Hagnja a prije Cirkvene (Rački 1872, 221), a i u kasnijim se dokumentima, kako je to i R. Pavleš zamijetio, mjesto Zdenčec uvijek spominje na uskom prostoru oko Cirkvene,²² priklonit ćemo se Pavlešovu mišljenju kako loka-

ted out already by D. Csánki in 1893, and taken over from J. Bösendorfer in 1910, that *Eccl. S. Michaelis in Zdench* should be looked for southeast of Križevci, on the Velika brook (Csánki 1893, 64; Bösendorfer 1994, 255). Considering that *ecclesia s. Michaelis in Zdench* was mentioned in the 1501 list after Haganj and before Cirkvena (Rački 1872, 221), and that the village of Zdenčec is regularly mentioned in a narrow zone around Cirkvena even in later documents,²² as has been also perceived by R. Pavleš, we shall subscribe to Pavleš' opinion that the site of Mihalj should not be connected with *St. Michael in Zdench*.

The toponym of Palota or Palatha might indicate the existence of an important building. According to P. Skok, *palota* is a Hungarian loanword of an expression from the eastern linguistic zone – *polata* – which was obviously present in the Pannonian Slavic language as well (Skok 1951, 465).²³ Can we therefore assume that the late mediaeval Palota was created at the spot of a significant building, perhaps an earlier church or fortification? Possibly precisely on the position of the church of St. Michael? At the present level of our knowledge and based on the data we have, without target-oriented archaeological and historical-topographic investigations, it is impossible to provide an answer to that question. What is more, the mediaeval Palota could have been located in Vojakovački Osijek itself, where presently an orthodox church dedicated to St. Nicholas stands on an elevated position. Other authors also considered the possibility that it was located at the spot of the later church in Vojakovački Osijek (Pavleš 2004, 42), but as we have already said, until further investigation this question will remain open.

We came across information of interest for our subject in the work about Apatovačka Kiselica by M. Kolar Dimitrijević, with an indicative mention of "a monastery of the Paulists with a church of St. Michael". Analyzing data from the end of the 19th century, she quoted the notes of Mijo Vrbanc from 1879: *There was certainly a rather large town once on the Gradec hill, which stands quite high on the right. It was ruined down to the foundations, but there are diverse fragments of tiles still visible today, and its ditches and ramparts are also clearly discernible. On three sides of the hill there is an artificial path, and it is obvious that once it had also been walled. Various coins and other items were ploughed out from there, but everything has gone amiss. People say that nuns were particularly extant on that hill, and that on a nearby hill above a beautiful valley which is now called Vlaški Brodac there was once a monastery of the*

dimova, *Cerebarda* s 24 te *Powsahegh* s 43 dimova (Adamček, Kampuš 1976, 15). Godine 1507. navodi se s 2 dima iza opata iz Apatovca (11 dimova), a nakon nje slijedi *Chereborda* koja je podijeljena na Hampovu (11 dimova) i *Cherebordu* sinova Jakoba Banfyja (6 dimova), dalje se nabraja Sveti Ivan (vjerojatno Ivanec Križevački, op. a.), potom trgovište i provincija Glogovnica, *Gragenna* Ivana Banfyja, *Gragena* Franje Banfyja, *Powsahegh* itd. (Adamček, Kampuš 1976, 26). Godine 1512. *Palatha* ima 4 dima, *Cherowoberdo* Franje Banfyja i *Chero berdo* Ivana Banfyja po 12 dimova (Adamček, Kampuš 1976, 52). Godine 1513. oba posjeda *Czeraberda* braće Banfy imaju po 13 dimova, a *Palata* 3 (Adamček, Kampuš 1976, 57). Godine 1517. posjed *Czeraberdy* Franje Banfyja ima 13 dimova a Ivanova 11, dok *Palotha* i dalje ima 3 dima (Adamček, Kampuš 1976, 92). Godine 1517. *Czereborda* Franje Banfyja ima 14, potom se navode opati iz Apatovca s 16 dimova, zatim *Czereborda* Ivana Banfyja s 13 dimova te *Palotha* s 4 dima (Adamček, Kampuš 1976, 121).

21. Crkva u *Zdench* se ne spominje u popisu iz 1334., već samo u popisu iz 1501. god., a navedena je iza Hagnja, a prije Cirkvene (Rački 1872, 221). Spomenut ćemo ovom prigodom da nam se izdanje prijepisa popisa župa iz 1334. i 1501. god., koje je F. Rački objavio u Starinama JAZU 1872. god., čini primjerenijim izvorom negoli redigirani tekstovi D. Csánkija (1893) te J. Bösendorfera, koji je uglavnom preuzeo sve iz Chánkijeva djela (1994, odnosno 1910) i J. Buturca (1984). Pouzdan je i prijepis popisa župa iz 1334. god. Ivana Krstitelja Tkalčića (1874), u čiji je rad F. Rački, ustvari, imao uvid prije svoje objave 1872. god. Problem je kod Csánkijevog, odnosno Bösendorferova izdanja, pa i vrlo često citiranog Buturčeva, što popis župnika, odnosno župa iz 1501. god. nije iznijet redom kako je u izvornom dokumentu zapisano, već su autori ubacivali župe iz 1501. u popis iz 1334., a one koje se 1334. god. ne spominju, dodali su na kraju svojih popisa. Time se gubi mogućnost jasnog praćenja slijeda kretanja prostorom srednjovjekovnih popisivača, što nam odmaže pri rekonstrukciji i ubikaciji pojedinih župa.

22. Spomen mjesta *Zdenchech* ili, učestalije, *Zdenchecz* navodi se u popisima poreza između Hrsova i Cirkvene (1495. i 1513. god., Adamček, Kampuš 1976, 15, 58), odnosno između Hrsova i Sv. Ivana Žabna (1517. god., Adamček, Kampuš 1976, 93-94) ili između Hagnja i Sv. Ivana Žabna (1520. god., Adamček, Kampuš 1976, 123).

22. The site of *Zdenchech* or, more frequently *Zdenchecz* is mentioned in the tax lists between Hrsovi and Cirkvena (1495 and 1513, Adamček, Kampuš 1976, 15, 58), and between Hrsovi and Sv. Ivan Žabno (1517, Adamček, Kampuš 1976, 93-94) or between Haganj and Sv. Ivan Žabno (1520, Adamček, Kampuš 1976, 123).

23. In his text P. Skok analyzes in detail the etymology of the expression *palača/polača* (the western linguistic zone) and *palata/polata* (the eastern linguistic zone). Root expressions come from the Latin *palatium*, and in the Croatian and Serbian language they represent romance loanwords. The expression *palota* is a Hungarian loanword from the Slavic (eastern zone) *palata/polata*. Skok gives the example of the toponym *Palača* in Ivanić Grad, which marks the position where a court of the bishop of Zagreb once stood (Skok 1951, 455) and then also the example of the toponym *Palača* in Slavonia (to which Pavišić directed him), used for the meadows in a marshy terrain where a court and economic buildings of a market place of Sv. Salvator once stood. The site was destroyed by the Turks, and the newly-arrived orthodox settlers named the earthen barrow of the noble fortification *Palača*, and the place where the church of Sv. Salvator stood they named *Klisa* (Skok 1951, 478, note 49).

litet Mihalj ne treba povezivati sa sv. Mihajlom *in Zdench*.

Toponim Palota ili Palatha mogao bi upućivati na postojanje neke značajnije građevine. Prema P. Skoku *palota* je mađarska posuđenica izraza istočne jezične zone *polata* koji se očito nalazio i u panonskom slavenskom jeziku (Skok 1951, 465).²³ Možemo li, stoga, pomišljati da je kasnosrednjovjekovna Palota nastala na mjestu neke znamenitije građevine, možda neke starije crkve ili utvrde? Možda upravo na položaju crkve sv. Mihovila? Bez ciljanih arheoloških i povijesno-topografskih istraživanja, na našem stupnju spoznaje i na osnovi podataka s kojima raspolažemo, nije moguće dati odgovor na to pitanje. Dapače, srednjovjekovna se Palota mogla nalaziti i u samom Vojakovačkom Osijeku, gdje se danas na povišenom položaju nalazi pravoslavna crkva posvećena sv. Nikoli. O mogućnosti lokacije na mjestu kasnije crkve u Vojakovačkom Osijeku pomišljali su i drugi autori (Pavleš 2004, 42), no kao što smo već rekli, pitanje do daljnjih istraživanja ostaje otvorenim.

Zanimljive podatke za našu temu, s indikativnim spomenom „samostana Paulina s crkvom sv. Mihajla“, naišli smo u radu M. Kolar Dimitrijević o Apatovačkoj kiselici koja je, obrađujući podatke s kraja 19. st., citirala zapise Mije Vrbaneca iz 1879. god.: *Na desnom dosta visokom bregu Gradcu bijaše nekoć svakako oveći gradić, koji je do temelja srušen, ali se ipak vidi svakovrstna crepovja još i dan danas, pa i njegovi se obkopi i nasipi još i sada dobro poznadu. Sa tri je strane vrlo umjetno na taj breg put izveden, a vidi se osobito, da je bio nekoć i zidan. Tamo se je odoralo mnogo svakovrstna novca i drugih stvari, pa je i to sve po zlu prešlo. Pripovieda se, da su se na tom visu osobito opatice širile, a nedaleko na drugom brežuljku iznad krasne doline, zvane sada vlaški Brodac, bijaše samostan Paulina s crkvom Sv. Mihajla. Ovim se ruševinam još i danas temelji poznadu* (Vrbanec 1879a, 242-243; Kolar Dimitrijević 2004, 9).

Osim što vjerno opisuje susjedno brdo Gradec, na kojem se i danas vide tragovi obrambene arhitekture, M. Vrbanec jasno opisuje položaj Mihalj Gradecu zapadnije, preko doline rječice Glogovnice, koju naziva „vlaški Brodac“ za razliku od „šokačkog Brodca“, potoka koji se i danas zove Brodec a teče istočnije, između brda Gradec i Hum.²⁴ Iako podatak M. Vrbanca o postojanju pavlinskog samostana nije pouzdan, znakovit je hagianim koji je još polovinom 19. st. bio povezan s brdom Mihalj, a to je sv. Mihajlo, dakle Mihovil, Mihael, tj. Mihalj. Tradicija o postojanju crkve posvećene sv. Mihovilu i samostana temeljila se, stoga, na ruševinama vidljivim još

23. U tekstu P. Skok detaljno obrađuje etimologiju izraza *palača/polača* (zapadna jezična zona), odnosno *palata/polata* (istočna jezična zona). Korijenski izrazi potječu od latinskog *palatium*, a u hrvatskom i srpskom jeziku predstavljaju romanizme. Izraz *palota* je mađarska posuđenica i to od slavenskog (istočne zone) *palata/polata*. P. Skok daje primjer toponima *Palača* u Ivanić Gradu, koji označava položaj na kojem se nekada nalazio dvor zagrebačkog biskupa (Skok 1951, 455), zatim daje primjer toponima *Palača* u Slavoniji (na koji ga je uputio Pavišić) kojeg nose livade u močvarnom terenu gdje je nekada stajao dvor i gospodarske zgrade trgovačkog mjesta Sv. Salvator. Mjesto je stradalo od Turaka, a novopridošli pravoslavni doseljenici zemljanom humku plemićke utvrde dali su naziv *Palača*, a mjestu gdje je bila crkva sv. Salvatora – *Klisa* (Skok 1951, 478, bilj. 49).

24. Imenovanje doline gornjeg toka Glogovnice vlaškim Brodcem ne iznenađuje s obzirom na to da je u krajeve oko Vojakovačkog Osijeka u većoj mjeri došlo do doseljavanja pravoslavnog stanovništva već krajem 16. st.

Paulists with a church of St. Michael (Sv. Mihajlo). The foundations of those ruins are still discernible today (Vrbanec 1879a, 242-243; Kolar Dimitrijević 2004, 9).

In addition to his faithful description of the nearby hill of Gradec, where traces of defensive architecture are still visible today, M. Vrbanec clearly describes the position of Mihalj, lying west of Gradec, across the valley of the small river of Glogovnica, which he calls „Vlaški Brodac“ in contrast to „Šokački Brodac“, a stream that is called Brodec to this day and which runs more easterly, between the Gradec and Hum hills.²⁴ Even though M. Vrbanec's information about the existence of a monastery of the Paulists is not reliable, indicative is the hagianym that has been connected with the Mihalj hill from the mid-19th century – *Sv. Mihajlo*, that is *Mihovil*, *Mihael*, i.e. Mihalj. The tradition about the existence of a church dedicated to St. Michael and a monastery was therefore based on the ruins still visible at the end of the 19th century. There is no information about possible existence of a Paulist monastery in the area around Vojakovački Osijek in the recently published scholarly literature. Why did therefore M. Vrbanec document a church and a monastery as belonging precisely to the Paulists? Another passage from Vrbanec's text about Apatovačka Kiselica suggests that the reason behind his attribution of the remains of the walls of the church of St. Michael (and the monastery?) on Mihalj to the Paulists is his insufficient knowledge of the history of the Glogovnica area, that is, a still lively memory of the intense activity of the Paulists in Križevci in the 17th and 18th centuries, still deeply rooted in the popular consciousness in the 19th century.²⁵ M. Vrbanec describes the route via „the Dobra stream“ (i.e. the Gliboki stream, a comment by the author) from Rasinja toward Apatovac, and he says that there is a view from the Borovka hill to „...beautiful meadows to the village of Glogovnica, at an hour distance, which are watered by the Strunac brook. This was once a pond of the rich Paulists of Glogovnica, which extended in that distance like some lake...“ (Vrbanec 1879, 234).

It is clear from that that M. Vrbanec, a native of Apatovac, erroneously attributed both Glogovnica and Mihalj to the Paulists, perhaps precisely due to his excessive attachment to the town of Križevci (he was once a teacher at the Economic School in Križevci), where at that time the tradition about the activity of the Paulist monastery was probably still strong. The Glogovnica prepositure was never in the possession of

24. It is not surprising that the basin of the upper course of the Glogovnica was named Vlaški Brodac, considering that a substantial immigration of orthodox population to the areas around Vojakovački Osijek started already at the end of the 16th century.

25. The Paulists came to Croatia in 1237, to Dubica, where they founded a monastery in 1244. However, they were not present in this area until 1665, that is 1667, when a monastery of the Paulists was founded in Križevci. The order of the Paulists was abolished in 1786 by order of Emperor Joseph II. True, the mediaeval Paulists could acquire estates in very remote areas, but we have no authenticated and reliable data about possible estates in this area. It nevertheless deserves mention that the Paulist monastery in Garić (in the Moslavina region) in the 15th was a rich feudal landholder, which acquired estates not only in its core area but also, it seems, in quite distant lands. For instance, in 1456 a noblewoman named *Ilka from Presečno gave 10 farmsteads in Bektinec to the monastery* (is that a Bektinec in the Križevci area?), while *one Jakeč from Glogovnica occupied around 1380 the monastery estate of Gradnja* (Adamček 1977, 102).

It becomes clear from later sources that the Paulist monastery in Križevci possessed no estate or land of its own in the territory of Glogovnica (Buturac 1991).

krajem 19. st. U novijoj objavljenjnoj stručnoj literaturi nema podataka o mogućem postojanju pavlinskog samostana na području oko Vojakovačkog Osijeka. Stoga, zašto je M. Vrbanec zabilježio crkvu i samostan baš pavlina? Jedan drugi navod iz Vrbančevog teksta o Apatovačkoj kiselici ukazuje na to da je uzrokom njegova pripisivanja ostataka zidova crkve Sv. Mihovila (i samostana?) na položaju Mihalj pavlinima nedovoljno poznavanje prošlosti glogovničkog kraja, odnosno živo sjećanje na jaku djelatnost pavlina u Križevcima u 17. i 18. st., duboko uvriježenu u svijest naroda još u 19. st.²⁵ Naime, M. Vrbanec opisuje put „potokom Dobrom“ (dakle, Glibokim, op.a.) od Rasinje prema Apatovcu te kaže kako se s brijega Borovke pruža pogled na „...*krasne livade do sela Glogovnice, na uru daleko, koje navlažuju potočić Strunac. Ne-koć bijaše ovo ribnjak bogatih glogovničkih Paulina, koji se je razlievao u toj daljini poput kakova jezera ...*“ (Vrbanec 1879, 234).

Razvidno je iz toga da je M. Vrbanec, rođeni Apatovčanin, i Glogovnicu i Mihalj pogrešno pripisao pavlinima, možda upravo zbog svoje velike vezanosti na sam grad Križevce (svojedobno je bio nastavnik Gospodarskog učilišta u Križevcima) u kojemu je u to vrijeme vjerojatno još uvijek bila jaka tradicija o djelovanju pavlinskoga samostana. Glogovnička prepozitura nikada nije bila u posjedu pavlina; ona je početkom 17. st. pripala isusovcima, međutim, njihova prisutnost u tom kraju nije ostala posebno zabilježena u toponomastici niti u lokalnim predajama.²⁶

Prisutnost isusovaca na tom prostoru tek je sporadično našla put da uđe u svijest lokalnog stanovništva, kao nešto staro i egzotično te se ipak navodi u jednom zapisu s kraja 19. st., gdje se spominje i crkva sv. Mihalja, ovog puta na brdu Gradec. Radi se o dopisu iz Križevaca od 28. kolovoza 1882. o gospodarskom sajmu te o Apatovcu i ljekovitij vodi, zatim o potrebi uređivanja cesta od Apatovca prema Podra-

the Paulists: in the 17th century it went to the Jesuits. However, their presence in that area has not left any specific trace in the toponomastics or in the local traditions.²⁶

The presence of the Paulists in that space has only occasionally found the way into the consciousness of local population, as something old and exotic, and as such was mentioned in a record from the end of the 19th century, which includes also a mention of a church of Saint Mihalj, this time on the Gradec hill. The document is a letter from Križevci from the 28th August 1882 about the economic fair, about Apatovac and healing water, about the need for improvement of the roads from Apatovac toward the Podravina region, published in *Narodne Novine (Official Gazette)* No. 199, from 31st August 1882 in the section entitled Triune Kingdom. The text of the reporter offers valuable information, but very unreliable. The author of the text, it appears, recorded what he heard from the local inhabitants and he probably confused the positions. We offer the transcription of the part of the text that refers to our subject: „...*Ruins of a former cloister of the Jesuits on the Oštrić Brieg hill are visible around Apatovac; of a nunnery on Hum, and the church of St. Mihalj on Gradac, once Varošinac and now a forest, which is for the antiquarians an important place like Sisak*“ (*Narodne Novine* 1882).²⁷

A tradition recorded in 1879 about the church of Saint Michael (*Mihajlo*) on Mihalj, and the toponym of the hill itself, do not leave much space for determining the position of St. Nicholas in Palota on the position of Mihalj, but they do not exclude it either.

In this place it is necessary, however, to put forward some new understanding and assumptions about the church on the position of Mihalj, which were motivated by recent research by R. Pavleš regarding the belonging during the Middle Ages of the nearby village of Apatovac, at a distance of a kilometer and a half to the east from Mihalj.

Pavleš draws attention to the fact that D. Csanky already in 1893 wrote that Apatovec belonged to the Jirle (Türje) pre-

25. Pavlini su u Hrvatsku došli 1237. god. i to u Dubicu, gdje osnivaju samostan 1244. god. Međutim, na ovom ih području nema sve do 1665., odnosno 1667. god. kada se osniva samostan pavlina u Križevcima. Odlukom cara Josipa II. red pavlina ukinut je 1786. god. Istina, srednjovjekovni pavlini mogli su stjecati posjede na vrlo udaljenim područjima, no ipak nemamo provjerenih i pouzdanih podataka o mogućim posjedima u ovom kraju. Valja ipak spomenuti podatak da je pavlinski samostan u Gariću (Moslavina) u 15. st. bio bogati feudalni posjednik, pri čemu je stekao posjede ne samo na svojem užem području, već, čini se, i u vrlo udaljenim krajevima. Primjerice, 1456. god. *plemkinja Ilka iz Presečnog poklonila je samostanu 10 selišta u Bekećincu* (radi li se tu o križevačkom Bekećincu?), a neki *Jakeč iz Glogovnice okupirao je oko 1380. samostanski posjed Gradnju* (Adamček 1977, 102).

Iz kasnijih izvora razaznaje se da križevački pavlinski samostan nije imao svoje posjede niti zemlje na glogovničkom prostoru (Buturac 1991).

26. Nalogom kralja Matije II. i uz pristanak pape, u posjed glogovničke prepoziture 1611. god. uvedeni su isusovci. Godine 1773. ukinućem Družbe Isusove glogovničku prepozituru preuzima državna vlast, a od 1781. pa do u drugu polovicu 19. st. patronat nad Glogovnicom preuzima Križevačka biskupija, odnosno grkokatolički biskup (Dobronić 1999, 30, 43). Ove podatke smo iznijeli jer želimo naglasiti kako niti prisutnost isusovaca u Mihalju nedalekoj Donjoj Glogovnici, i to u sličnom razdoblju kao i pavlina u Križevcima, nije ostavilo velikog traga u sjećanju lokalnog stanovništva, tek se usputno spominje. S druge strane, bogata glogovnička prošlost općenito nije ostavila mnoštvo tragova u narodnim predajama, osim iz razdoblja Turaka. Među lokalnim stanovništvom ne kolaju priče o templarima, ivanovcima i križnicima. Ta je prošlost prije zabilježena u pojedinim toponomastičkim spomenicima na terenu. U sjećanju naroda su se održale predaje o Turcima, primjerice, poput usmene predaje da je na brdu Garić (brdo jugoistočno od Donje Glogovnice; nije identično Gradecu!) bila utvrda s koje su Turci gađali glogovničku crkvu.

26. By order of king Matija II and with papal approval, the Jesuits took possession of the Glogovnica prepositure in 1611. With the 1773 abolition of the Society of Jesus, the Glogovnica prepositure was taken over by national authority, and from 1781 to the second half of the 19th century the patronage over Glogovnica was taken over by the Križevci diocese, that is, the Greek Catholic bishop (Dobronić 1999, 30, 43). We presented this data because we wanted to lay emphasis on the fact that the presence of the Jesuits in Donja Glogovnica, which is not far from Mihalj, and in the similar period to the one of the Paulists in Križevci, likewise failed to leave a palpable trace in the memory of local population and is only incidentally mentioned. On the other hand, the rich past of Glogovnica in general left few traces in popular traditions, except in the case of the Turkish period. No stories about Knights Templar, Hospitaller and the Crusaders circulate among the local population. That past is sooner recorded in certain toponomastic monuments on the ground. The memory of the folk keeps traditions about the Turks, for instance, the oral tradition that a fortification from which the Turks shot at the Glogovnica church was situated on the Garić hill (the hill southeast of Donja Glogovnica; not identical to Gradec!).

27. Oštro Brdo lies not far from the complex of the hills and hillocks Mihalj-Gradec-Hum, somewhat to the north. It has an unusual shape of a dome and it has an almost artificial effect in the surrounding landscape. Today it is overgrown by coniferous forest and it is not known that a Jesuitical monastery had ever been there. The reporter probably confused Oštro Brdo with the prepositure in Donja Glogovnica (comp. note 25). The succeeding text about the location of “the cloister of the nuns and the church of Saint Michael (*Mihalj*)” is quite vaguely formulated, leaving readers with the impression that the reporter was not entirely clear about the topographic relations of the Gradec, Hum and other hills.

vini, objavljenom u Narodnim novinama br. 199 od 31. kolovoza 1882., u rubrici Trojedna Kraljevina. Tekst dopisnika donosi vrijedne podatke, no vrlo nepouzdan. Autor teksta je, čini se, zapisao ono što je čuo od lokalnih mještana te je vjerojatno zamijenio pojedine položaje. Donosimo prijepis dijela teksta koji se dotiče naše teme: „...*Oko Apatovca vidi se ruševinah nekadašnjeg kloštra Jezuitah na Oštrić briegu, a na Humu od kloštra opaticah, duvnah i crkve Sv. Mihalja na Gradcu, nekada Varošinac, sada šuma, za starinare važno je mjesto poput Siska*“ (Narodne novine 1882).²⁷

Predaja zabilježena 1879. god. o crkvi sv. Mihalja na Mihalju, pa i sam toponim brda, ne ostavljaju baš puno mogućnosti za ubikaciju sv. Nikole in Palota na položaju Mihalj, no niti je u potpunosti ne isključuju.

Valja, međutim, na ovom mjestu izložiti neke nove spoznaje i pretpostavke o crkvi na položaju Mihalj, na koje su nas potakla novija istraživanja R. Pavleša u vezi s pripadnošću obližnjega, oko kilometar i pol Mihalju na istok udaljenog sela Apatovca u srednjem vijeku.

R. Pavleš upozorava kako je D. Csánky još 1893. god. napisao da je Apatovec pripadao jirlejskoj prepozituri u zaladskoj županiji, a domaći su istraživači koji su se bavili ovim područjem ipak u svojoj daljnjoj literaturi tvrdili da su Apatovec držali redovnici sepulkralci iz susjedne Glogovnice. Međutim, dvije isprave iz 1249. god., te isprave iz 1303. i 1316. god. svjedoče kako Apatovec drže drugi vlasnici. R. Pavleš upozorava da već ime sela i posjeda Apatovec ukazuje na opata, redovničku titulu koju sepulkralci nisu imali te da je iz objavljenih dokumenata vidljivo da Apatovec nije bio pod glogovničkom prepoziturom, već pod premonstratencima (Pavleš 2004, 35-36). Isprave iz 1249. god. govore o tome da se premonstratenci u Terku uvode u posjed Apatovec²⁸ koji im je darovao ban Dionizije, te se opisuju među posjeda. Prema R. Pavlešu, posjed Cerovo brdo, kojeg je ban Dionizije dobio 1244. god., razdijeljen je na dva dijela – Cerovo brdo u užem smislu (kasnije imenom Osek) i Apatovec, što se očita iz isprava iz 1249. god. Neobičnost nazivlja imanja Apatovec prema „opatu“ već 1249. god. Pavleš tumači time da je posjed ban Dionizije premonstratencima morao darovati i prije, a godine 1249. je darovanje zapisao i potvrdio kralj (Pavleš 2004, 38). Iz isprava s početka 14. st. uočljivo je da je Apatovec u vlasništvu premonstratenaca, a zakupnik je glogovnički prepozit. Pretpostavka je da je red premonstratenaca podigao u Apatovcu neko čvrsto zdanje, međutim, u samom selu nema dokaza o postojanju srednjovjekovne sakralne arhitekture, iako bismo na to s razlogom trebali pomišljati. Naime, na istaknutom, povišenom mjestu koje K. Horvat-Levaj podsjeća na gradište, danas se nalazi klasiistička kapela posvećena sv. Petru. Crkva je nastala sredinom

27. Nedaleko sklopa brjegova i brežuljaka Mihalj-Gradec-Hum, nešto sjevernije, nalazi se Oštro brdo. Neobičnog je kupolastog oblika i u okolnom pejzažu djeluje gotovo umjetno. Danas je zaraslo crnogoričnom šumom i nije poznato da bi na njemu postojao isusovački samostan. Dopisnik je vjerojatno zamijenio Oštro brdo s prepoziturom u Donjoj Glogovnici (usp. bilj. 25). I daljnji tekst oko lociranja „kloštra opatica i crkve Svetog Mihalja“ vrlo je nejasno sročćen, odajući čitatelju dojam kako dopisniku nisu jasni topografski odnosi brda Gradeca, Huma i drugih.

28. *possessio Apatolcz / possessio Apatholcz* (Barbarić, Marković 1998, 136)

in the Zala county, but local researchers who dealt with this area continued to claim in later literature that Apatovec was held by the Sepulchrine clerics from neighbouring Glogovnica. However, two documents from 1249 and those from 1303 and 1316 testify that Apatovec was owned by somebody else. R. Pavleš warns that the name of the village and the estate of Apatovec themselves point to an abbot, a clerical title that the Order of the Holy Sepulchre did not have, and that the published documents make it clear that Apatovec was not under the prepositure of Glogovnica, but under the Premonstratensians (Pavleš 2004, 35-36). The documents from 1249 tell that the Premonstratensians in Terk are entered into the Apatovec estate,²⁸ given to them by *ban* Dionysius, and they describe the estate borders. According to R. Pavleš, the Cerovo Brdo estate, acquired by *ban* Dionysius in 1244, was divided in two – the Cerovo Brdo in the narrow sense (later with the name of Osek) and Apatovec, which is apparent from the 1249 documents. Pavleš' explanation of the peculiarity of naming the Apatovec estate after an "abbot" as early as 1249 is that the estate must have been given to the Premonstratensians by *ban* Dionysius already earlier, and that in 1249 the gift was signed and sanctioned by the king (Pavleš 2004, 38). It is obvious in the documents from the beginning of the 14th century that Apatovec is owned by the Premonstratensians, and that the provost of Glogovnica is a lessee. There is a supposition that the Premonstratensians erected a solid building in Apatovec. However, in the village itself there is no evidence of the existence of mediaeval sacral architecture, even though there are good reasons to think that this was indeed the case. On a prominent, elevated spot, which reminds K. Horvat-Levaj of an earthen fortification, today stands a classicist chapel dedicated to Saint Peter. The church was created in mid-19th century, by the reconstruction of an earlier chapel of Saint Helen, but this one is likewise mentioned quite late – for the first time only in the canonical visitation from 1615 (Horvat-Levaj 1993a, 283-284; Pavleš 2004, 38). Was there an earlier church on the position of Saint Helen's? And was it perhaps also dedicated to Saint Peter, which could then find refection in the dedication of the renovated church in the 19th century to the same saint? Let us remember that for the *Palatahel* estate, which was situated in the Middle Ages somewhere in the area of the upper course of the Glogovnica, it was mentioned in 1385 that it lay *in districtu Kemluk penes ecclesiam sancti Petri* (consequently, J. Buturac links the mentioned *Sveti Petar* with *Sveti Petar Orehovec*, and G. Heller with *Sveti Petar Čvrstec*). And five years previously, in 1380, a church of Saint Nicholas is mentioned in that area, and there is also a mention, among other things, of a meadow called *Remeterete*. Are we, considering everything said until now, entitled to think that on the position of Mihalj itself once stood the church of Saint Michael, which was once under the Premonstratenians of Apatovec? In addition to the fact that in Apatovec itself there must have existed a building that represented a seat of sorts of that religious order (had it not been so, this village would hardly have contained the property mark in its name), did not the Premonstratenians have also some structures on the position of Mihalj? Perhaps also a church dedicated to Saint Michael, which is not mentioned in the lists of parishes of the Zagreb diocese precisely due to

28. *possessio Apatolcz / possessio Apatholcz* (Barbarić, Marković 1998, 136)

19. st. i to obnovom starije kapele sv. Helene, no i ona se spominje vrlo kasno – prvi put tek u kanonskoj vizitaciji 1615. god. (Horvat-Levaj 1993a, 283-284; Pavleš 2004, 38). Je li na mjestu sv. Helene stajala nekada starija crkva? I nije li ona možda bila posvećena sv. Petru te se to odrazilo i na posvećivanju obnovljene crkve u 19. st. istom svecu? Sjetimo se da se za posjed *Palatahel*, koji se u srednjem vijeku nalazio negdje na prostoru gornjeg toka Glogovnice, godine 1385. kaže da se nalazi *in districtu Kemluk penes ecclesiam sancti Petri* (pa J. Buturac navedeni Sveti Petar povezuje sa Svetim Petrom Orehovcem, a G. Heller sa Svetim Petrom Čvrstecom). A još pet godina ranije, 1380. god., navodi se na tom prostoru crkva sv. Nikole te se, između ostalog, spominje i livada zvana *Remeterete*. Možemo li, s obzirom na sve izrečeno, pomišljati kako se na samom položaju Mihalj nekada nalazila crkva sv. Mihovila koja je bila pod apatovečkim premonstratencima? Osim što je u samom Apatovcu nedvojbeno moralo postojati zdanje koje je predstavljalo vrst središta tog crkvenog reda (u suprotnom teško bi upravo to selo u imenu iskazalo vlasničko obilježje), nisu li premonstratenci imali i neke objekte na položaju Mihalj? Možda i crkvu posvećenu sv. Mihovilu, koja se ne navodi u popisima župa Zagrebačke biskupije upravo stoga što je pripadala jirlejskoj prepozituri, odnosno nije bila izravno podložna Zagrebačkoj biskupiji? Takav je slučaj, konačno, i sa sepulkralskom crkvom sv. Marije na središnjem sepulkralskom imanju u Glogovnici, koja nije iskazana niti u popisu iz 1334. niti u onome iz 1501. god. te s crkvom sv. Ivana na templarskom, kasnije ivanovačkom posjedu Glogovnica-Sveti Ivan, koja se smješta na prostor sela Ivanca Križevačkog.²⁹

Razmotrimo toponim *Remeterete*, zabilježen još 1380. god. Današnja imena mjesta poput Remete, Remetinec vezuju se uz pavline koji su po imenu red pustinjaka sv. Pavla, prvog pustinjaka – *ordo heremitarum S. Pauli primi heremitarum*. Kao što smo vidjeli, pavlina u srednjem vijeku nije bilo na glogovničkom području, a toponim *remeterete* postojao je već u srednjem vijeku. Riječ pustinjaci, odnosno eremiti dolazi od grčkog *eremos*=samotno, napušteno mjesto. Možda je o spomenutoj livadi u drugoj polovici 14. st. kolala predaja da je bila mjesto na koje se povlačio neki pustinjač ili da je bila u posjedu pustinjačkog reda. Premonstratenci su crkveni red unutar Katoličke crkve koji je nastao u 12. st., a jedan je od redova koji se temelje na pravilima pustinjaka sv. Augustina. S druge strane, prema opisu međa posjeda Cerovo brdo i Apatovec, čini se da bi položaj Mihalj trebao biti obuhvaćen posjedom Cerovo brdo, a ne Apatovcem koji je bio premonstratski posjed. Moramo, međutim, spomenuti i prisutnost jednog drugog pustinjačkog reda u križevačkom kraju u srednjem vijeku. Radi se o augustincima, odnosno Redu braće pustinjaka sv. Augustina koji je u 14. st. imao svoj samostan u Križevcima i o čijem djelovanju i posjedima nemamo gotovo nikakvih podataka?³⁰

29. Značenje toga treba tek istražiti, kako je upozorio i R. Pavleš, jer pojedine sepulkralne crkve (Miholjanec, Križančija) navedene su u popisu iz 1334., odnosno 1501. god. (Pavleš 2005, 17). Župnik u Glogovnici – Svetom Ivanu spominje se 1433. god. (Pavleš 2005, 21).

30. U užem smislu pojam "augustinci" označuje dva posebna reda: augustinci – redovnički ili regularni kanonici i augustinci – pustinjaci. Redovnički kanonici sv. Augustina živjeli su u regularnim zajednicama. Augustinci – pustinjaci (eremiti) predstavljaju pak jedan od četiri velika prosjačka reda,

the fact that it belonged to the Jirle prepositure, i.e. it was not directly subjected to the Zagreb diocese? This is also the case, finally, with a Sepulchrine church of Saint Mary in the central Sepulchrine estate in Glogovnica, which was not mentioned in the 1334 list nor the one from 1501, as well as with the church of St. John on the Glogovnica-Sveti Ivan (*Saint John*) estate, which first belonged to the Knights Templar and later to the Knights Hospitaller, and which is located in the area of the village of Ivanec Križevački.²⁹

Let us consider the toponym *Remeterete*, registered as early as 1380. The present-day place names such as Remete, Remetinec, are connected with the Paulists, an order named after the Saint Paul the Hermit, the first hermit – *ordo heremitarum S. Pauli primi heremitarum*. As we have seen, there were no Paulists during the Middle Ages in the territory of Glogovnica, and the toponym *remeterete* existed already in the Middle Ages. The word "hermit" comes from Greek *eremos*=solitary, deserted place. Perhaps there was a tradition about the mentioned meadow in the second half of the 14th century, that it had been a place to which a hermit secluded himself, or that it was owned by an eremitic order. The Premonstratensians are a religious order within the Catholic church, established in the 12th century, and one of those that are based on the rules of St. Augustine the Hermit. On the other hand, based on the description of the borders of the Cerovo Brdo and Apatovec estates, it appears that the position of Mihalj should be encompassed by the Cerovo Brdo estate and not the Apatovac one, which was a possession of the Premonstratensians. We must, however, mention also the presence of another eremitic order in the Križevci area during the Middle Ages. These are the Augustines or the Order of the Hermit Friars of St. Augustine, which had a monastery in Križevci in the 14th century and of whose activity and estates we have almost no information whatsoever?³⁰

All this makes it clear that the archaeological complex on Mihalj with three structures will remain a mystery until it becomes a subject of joint target-oriented investigation of primarily archaeologists, historians and art historians. The historians have dedicated a considerable attention to the mediaeval period of that area in recent years (R. Pavleš), which represented a starting point for our archaeological consideration of the space. This work for the first time presents the archaeological picture of the Mihalj complex with a description and measurements of the structures; the attention of the scholars was attracted to the importance of that site, and some theses were also put forward, or more accurately said, new questions have been raised, the answers to which will be sought only by archaeological excavations.

What remains now is to look at the question of the time when the fortification and the church (and the monastery?)

29. The meaning of this is yet to be researched, as R. Pavleš also warned, because certain churches of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre (Miholjanec, Križančija) were mentioned in the lists from 1334 and 1501 (Pavleš 2005, 17). A parish priest in Glogovnica – Sveti Ivan, is mentioned in 1433 (Pavleš 2005, 21).

30. The term "Augustines" in the narrow sense denotes two separate orders: the Augustinians – clerical or canons regular, and the Augustinian Hermits. The canons regular of St. Augustine lived in regular communities. The Augustinian Hermits are on the other hand one of four big mendicant orders, founded in 1256 as a united Order of various eremitic communities. The Order of the Hermit Friars of St. Augustine arrived in Croatia around the middle of the 13th century.

Iz svega je razvidno kako će mihaljski arheološki kompleks s tri objekta i dalje predstavljati nepoznanicu, sve dok ne postane predmetom zajedničkih ciljanih istraživanja prvenstveno arheologa, povjesničara te povjesničara umjetnosti. Posljednjih su godina povjesničari obratili veću pozornost srednjovjekovlju tog kraja (R. Pavleš), što nam je predstavljalo polaznicu za arheološko sagledavanje prostora. Ovim radom po prvi put je prikazana arheološka slika mihaljskog sklopa s opisima i izmjerama objekata, skrenuta je pozornost struke na značaj toga lokaliteta, a iznesene su i neke teze, ili točnije, otvorena su nova pitanja na koja odgovore možemo potražiti tek u arheološkim iskopavanjima.

Ostaje nam još osvrnuti se na pitanje vremena stradavanja utvrde i crkve (i samostana?) na položaju Mihalj. Zbog velike količine zapečene zemlje na zemljanoj utvrđi, zamijećene površinskim pregledom terena, za pretpostaviti je kako su utvrda i crkva stradale u nekom od turskih napada. Turci su već u drugoj polovici 15. st. napadali te krajeve, međutim, intenzivnije borbe su se vodile u 16. st. Obliznji Križevci postali su važna vojna utvrda i uporište vojske koja je napadala brojne turske utvrde. Godine 1586. vodila se borba na potoku Glogovnici s Osmanlijama koji su često poduzimali pljačkaške pohode uz tu rječicu (Sekulić-Gvozdanović 1994, 122). Možda je te godine ili u nekom od tih napada stradao i Mihalj. S vremenom je okolno stanovništvo počelo raznositi kamenje od urušene crkve i koristiti ga kao građevinski materijal. U drugoj polovici 19. st. M. Vrbanc spominje ruševine sakralnih zdanja na Mihalju. V. Palošika, donoseći podatke o položajima Crkvenjak, Barbarica i Špica, koji se nalaze na istaknutim brjegovima zapadno od sela Donja Glogovnica, daje zanimljivu vijest o klijeti Durbekovih na Crkvenjaku te o klijeti Marijana Crnčića na Špici, za koju je saznao da je njezin ulaz s južne strane bio građen od klesanaca *dovezenim s nekog lokaliteta sjeverno od glogovničke župne crkve* (Palošika 1987, 47, bilj. 2). Možda su klijeti građene od kamenog materijala crkve s položaja Mihalj? Ili pak od ruševina kaštela glogovničke prepoziture uz crkvu Uznesenja Marijina u Donjoj Glogovnici? U provedenim arheološkim iskopavanjima zamijećen je nedostatak nalaza klesanog kamena (pronađena su samo tri primjera), što voditelj istraživanja objašnjava sekundarnom upotrebom u gradnji župnog dvora i okolnih kuća (Homen 2000, 85). U vrijeme izgradnje klijeti na Crkvenjaku i Špici, međutim, kamene ostatke zidova kaštela odavno je moralo raznijeti okolno stanovništvo i/ili iskoristiti za izgradnju nekih većih objekata jer se na zaravni okolo crkve, a osobito na sjevernoj strani na kojoj su se nalazili i objekti kaštela a koja je i prostorno bila najprikladnija, počelo formirati groblje vjerojatno nakon obnove crkve i njezina posvećenja 1666. god. Ukopavanje je trajalo i u 18. st., pa sve do kraja 19. st., a poneki su grobovi oštetili temelje zidova kaštela (Homen 2000, 84). Izvor kamena klesanaca za spomenute klijeti, stoga, nisu mogli biti ostaci kaštela, već eventualno stare sakristije porušene nešto prije 1869. god.³¹ prigodom jedne veće

osnovan 1256. god. kao ujedinjeni Red različitih pustinjačkih zajednica. Red braće pustinjaka sv. Augustina dolaze u Hrvatsku oko sredine 13. st.

31. Na ovom mjestu nismo spominjali brojnu stručnu literaturu koja izlazi izvan okvira naše teme, a posvećena je raznim graditeljskim i umjet-

on Mihalj were destroyed. Due to large quantity of fired earth on the earthen fortification, noticed during the surface survey, one can assume that the fortification and the church were destroyed in a Turkish attack. The Turks attacked these lands already during the second half of the 15th century, but more intense battles were fought in the 16th century. The nearby Križevci became an important military fortification and the stronghold of the army that attacked numerous Turkish fortifications. In 1586 a battle was waged at the Glogovnica stream with the Ottomans, who frequently undertook plundering raids along that small river (Sekulić-Gvozdanović 1994, 122). Perhaps Mihalj was destroyed in that year or in one of those raids. With time, the local population started plundering stone from the collapsed church and using it as building material. In the second half of the 19th century M. Vrbanc mentioned the ruins of sacral buildings on Mihalj. V. Palošika, publishing information about the positions of Crkvenjak, Barbarica and Špica, which lie on prominent hills west of the village of Donja Glogovnica, brings an interesting piece of information about a hut of the Durbek family on Crkvenjak and a hut of Marijan Crnčić on Špica, of which he learned that its entrance on the southern side was built of dressed stones *brought from a site north of the Glogovnica parish church* (Palošika 1987, 47, note 2). Perhaps the huts were built of stones from the church on Mihalj? Or perhaps from the ruins of the citadel of the Glogovnica prepositure next to the church of the Assumption of Mary in Donja Glogovnica? In the conducted archaeological excavations there was a visible lack of dressed stones (only three specimens were found), which was explained by the excavation leader as the result of a secondary use in the building of the parish house and the surrounding houses (Homen 2000, 85). However, at the time when the huts on Crkvenjak and Špica were built, the stone remains of the citadel walls must have been already plundered long ago by the surrounding population and/or used for construction of some larger structures, because on the plateau around the church, and particularly on the northern side, where the structures of the citadel were situated and which was the best suited one in terms of space, a cemetery started to be formed probably after the church was reconstructed and consecrated in 1666. The burials continued in the 18th cent. as well and in fact until the end of the 19th century, and some graves damaged the foundations of the citadel walls (Homen 2000, 84). The source for the dressed stones for the mentioned huts, therefore, could not have been the remains of the citadel, but possibly the old sacristy destroyed a little before 1869³¹ during a larger renovation of the church

31. In this place we did not mention the numerous scholarly literature that escapes the framework of our topic, and which deals with various construction and artistic phases of the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Donja Glogovnica, and the question of religious and knightly orders in that area. We can only remark that the remains of earlier buildings that preceded the mentioned structures on the position of the church of the BVM in D. Glogovnica – and these are a church and a monastery of the Sepulchines, i.e. the Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem from 1230 – could not have been the source of building material for the huts erected on Crkvenjak, because they had been plundered long before that. The remains of a semicircular apse of the Romanesque church were discovered beneath the apse of the present-day Gothic church, and the monastery was certainly situated south of the church, and not to the north of it. There is a piece of information about that in the record of a Jesuit author from the 17th century, within the document *Historia Glogovnicæ conscripta 1765*, when (i.e. in the 17th century) the remains, i.e. the ruins of the monastery were still visible in the zone south of the church in the direction of the parish house (Dobronić 1998, 94, 97-98).

obnove crkve (Dobronić 1998, 101-102) ili pak ostaci zdanja s položaja Mihalj, koji se nalazi oko 4 km sjevernije uzvodno rječicom Glogovnicom.³²

Kamen iz zidanih objekata mihaljskog arheološkog kompleksa raznesen je, no očuvani su njihovi temelji. Zemljana je utvrda, zahvaljujući skrovitom pošumljenom potkalničkom pejzažu i udaljenosti od sela, danas poznata uglavnom samo lovcima te je stoga dobro očuvana.

Spomenički sklop na Mihalju svakako zaslužuje biti obuhvaćen multidisciplinarnim istraživačkim projektom u kojem bi arheološka metoda predstavljala temelj svih daljnjih istraživanja koja bi zasigurno pružila odgovore na brojna otvorena pitanja. Takva bi istraživanja dala dragocjene rezultate, ne samo za srednjovjekovlje kalničke regije i užeg glogovničkog kraja, već za čitavu srednjovjekovnu Slavoniju, odnosno prostor današnje sjeverne Hrvatske. Naime, na tom prostoru nalazimo brojne ostatke srednjovjekovnih utvrda, kojima zbog nedostatka arheoloških istraživanja još dan-danas, usprkos pojačanim nastojanjima na osvješćivanju i vrednovanju kulturne baštine, ne možemo odrediti precizan vremenski okvir i ulogu koju su obnašale u razdoblju srednjeg vijeka.

(Dobronić 1998, 101-102) or, on the other hand, the ruins of the building on Mihalj, which lies around 4 km to the north upstream the small river of Glogovnica.³²

The stone from the walled structures of the Mihalj archaeological complex was taken away, but its foundations have remained preserved. The earthen fortification, due to the secluded wooded sub-Kalnik landscape and the remoteness from the village, is known today mostly only to the hunters and is therefore well preserved.

The monumental complex on Mihalj certainly deserves to be the subject of a multidisciplinary research project, in which the archaeological method would represent the basis of all subsequent research that would undoubtedly provide answers to numerous open questions. Such research would provide valuable results not only for the Middle Ages of the Kalnik region and the narrower Glogovnica area, but also for the entire mediaeval Slavonia, that is the zone of the present-day northern Croatia. We find in that zone numerous remains of mediaeval fortifications to which, due to the lack of archaeological excavations, in spite of intensified effort on awareness-raising and evaluation of cultural heritage, to this day we can not establish a precise chronological frame and the role they played in the Middle Ages.

ničkim fazama crkve Blažene Djevice Marije u Donjoj Glogovnici te pitanju crkvenih i viteških redova u tom kraju. Možemo samo napomenuti kako ostaci starijih zdanja koja su prethodila spomenutim objektima na položaju crkve BDM-a u D. Glogovnici, a to su crkva i samostan sepulkralaca, tj. Regularnih kanonika Sv. Groba jeruzalemskog iz 1230. god., nisu mogli predstavljati izvor građevinskog materijala za klijeti podizane na Crkvenjaku jer su odavno bili razgrađeni. Ostaci polukružne apside romaničke crkve otkriveni su ispod apside današnje gotičke crkve, a samostan se zasigurno nalazio južno od crkve, a ne sjeverno. O tome donosi podatak zapis isusovačkog pisca iz 17. st. unutar spisa *Historia Glogovnicæ conscripta 1765*, kada (dakle, u 17. st.) su ostaci, tj. ruševine samostana još bile vidljive na prostoru južno od crkve, a prema župnom dvoru (Dobronić 1998, 94, 97-98).

32. Moramo se ovdje osvrnuti i na podatke o narodnoj predaji o postojanju crkve na brdu Crkvenjaku koje donosi L. Dobronić (1984, 133-134) koju tada izjednačuje s tzv. Sv. Jurjem u Glogovnici, a za koju je kasnije dokazano da se nalazi uz rijeku Glogovnicu, ali u Đurđicu, jugoistočno od Križevaca. L. Dobronić ovdje navodi podatke da su ljudi sa samog Crkvenjaka vadili kamenje za izgradnju klijeti. Zaista je zanimljivo uže glogovničko područje s nekoliko lokacija na kojima postoje realni i evidentni tragovi postojanja starih sakralnih zdanja, nepoznatih iz povijesnih izvora. Spomenimo tu i obližnji položaj Sv. Vid (jugozapadno od Crkvenjaka), potom *Križno drvo* na brijegu istočno od crkve BDM-a u D. Glogovnici ili, konačno, na širem glogovničkom području crkvu na položaju Mihalj.

32. Here we have to look at the data about the folk tradition about the existence of a church on the Crkvenjak hill, published by L. Dobronić (1984, 133-134), which she equated with the so-called St. George (*Sv. Juraj*) in Glogovnica, and for which it was later proved that it lay adjacent to the Glogovnica river, but in Đurđic, southeast of Križevci. L. Dobronić mentioned there that people extracted stone for construction of the hut from Crkvenjak itself. The narrower area of Glogovnica is indeed interesting, with several sites that exhibit real vestiges of the existence of old sacral buildings, unknown from historical sources. Let us mention here also the nearby position of Sv. Vid (southwest of Crkvenjak), then also *Križno Drvo* on the hill east of the church of the BVM in Donja Glogovnica or, finally, in the wider Glogovnica area, the church on the position of Mihalj.

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