

UTVRĐENE SREDNJOVJEKOVNE CRKVE NA PROSTORU POŽEŠKE KOTLINE I SLAVONSKOGA GORJA

FORTIFIED MEDIEVAL CHURCHES IN THE AREA OF THE POŽEGA VALLEY AND THE SLAVONIAN MOUNTAINS

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Poseban oblik fortifikacijskoga graditeljstva utvrđivanje je sakralnih građevina, kao što su crkve. U radu se razmatra pojava relevantne arhitekture, odnosno utvrđivanje srednjovjekovnih crkava tijekom kasnoga srednjeg i novog vijeka na prostoru Požeške kotline i slavonskoga gorja. Na spomenutom području otprije je poznato nekoliko utvrđenih crkava, a ovom se prilikom donosi i jedan novi primjer građevine istoga tipa, koji je arheološki istražen i u fazi je konzervacije i prezentacije. Osim toga, donose se podaci o potencijalnim lokalitetima utvrđenih crkava na promatranome prostoru.

Ključne riječi:

fortifikacijsko graditeljstvo, utvrđene crkve, Požeška kotlina, slavonsko gorje, srednji vijek, novi vijek

The fortification of sacred buildings, such as churches, constitutes a special form of fortification architecture. The paper examines the emergence of relevant architecture, namely the fortification of medieval churches during the late Middle Ages and the modern era, in the Požega Valley and the Slavonian mountains. Several fortified churches were previously known in the aforementioned area, and on this occasion a new example of a building of the same type is presented, which has been investigated archaeologically and is in the conservation-and-presentation phase. In addition, data is provided on potential locations of fortified churches in the observed area.

Keywords:

fortification architecture, fortified churches, Požega Valley, Slavonian mountains, Middle Ages, Modern Age

Uvod

Srednjovjekovne utvrde na području Europe utvrđena su sjedišta, rezidencije i administrativno-gospodarski centri te uz obrambenu imaju i simboličnu, statusnu ulogu u tadašnjem feudalnom društvu.¹ Javljaju se i utvrde izrazito obrambenoga tipa, poput stražarnica i kula, kao i one koje su služile kao povremeni refugiji, no većinom se radi o burgovima, kaštelima i gradištima fortifikacijsko-rezidencijskih obilježja.² U međuriječju Drave i Save prvi arheološki tragovi utvrđivanja potječu iz

Introduction

Medieval fortifications in Europe represent fortified headquarters, residences and administrative and economic centres and, in addition to defence, have a symbolic, status role in the feudal society of the time.¹ There are also fortifications of a distinctly defensive type, such as watchtowers and towers, as well as those that served as occasional refuges, but most of them are burgs, castles and hillforts with fortification and residential characteristics.² In the interfluvium of the Rivers Drava and Sava,

¹ Tkalčec 2021, 7.

² Tkalčec 2021, 7.

¹ Tkalčec 2021, 7.

² Tkalčec 2021, 7.

11. i 12. stoljeća, a sve su brojniji od kraja 12. te od 13. do kraja 15. stoljeća, kada se podižu brojna zemljana gradišta i kameni burgovi.³

Tijekom 12. i 13. stoljeća u Europi se javlja niz plemićkih utvrđenih kuća, gradišta ili malih burgova u čijoj se blizini nalazila donatorska crkva, no također je primijećeno da se pojedine crkve utvrđuju obrambenim jarkom ili zidinama, masivnim zvonnicama, strijelnicama, galerijama za vojnu posadu i slično.⁴ U sjevernoj Hrvatskoj npr. postoji nekoliko gradišta koja su u biti crkve utvrđene jarkom i zemljanom bedemom (Mala Črešnjevica, Crkvari).⁵ Poznate su i crkve s obrambenim tornjem na pročelju (Sv. Bartul u Novim Mikanovcima),⁶ s masivnim zvonikom fortifikacijskih obilježja (Sv. Marija u Kobašu)⁷ ili obrambenom kulom sa strijelnicama koja je pridodana zvoniku (Sv. Marija u Novoj Rači),⁸ kao i crkve sa skrivenim prolazom u dvostrukom zidu, skloništem u krovu i strijelnicama u korpusu zvonika (Sv. Marija u Moroviću).⁹

U nastavku rada donosi se pregled utvrđenih crkava na prostoru Požeške kotline i okolnoga gorja. Razmatrat će se danas vidljive i funkcionalne povijesne građevine, kao i arheološki ostaci nekadašnjih zdanja. U obzir će se uzeti i srednjovjekovne crkve od kojih je ostao samo pisani trag u povijesnim izvorima.

Pregled

Požeška kotlina je prirodno izdvojena cjelina, okružena vijencem slavonskih gora. Na tome je prostoru u razdoblju od 12. do 14. stoljeća podignut niz crkava, koje su pri gradnji u kasnome srednjem, odnosno početkom novoga vijeka modificirane dodavanjem fortifikacijskih elemenata kako bi uz, ili možda umjesto, dotadašnje sakralne imale obrambenu ulogu (sl. 1). Za neke crkve može se s većom ili manjom sigurnošću utvrditi u kojem su razdoblju fortificirane i koje su povijesne okolnosti do toga dovele. Kod drugih je fortificiranje istodobno s izvornom gradnjom crkve, ali čini se da nema povijesnu konotaciju, odnosno nije jasno je li i kojim je povijesnim zbivanjima potaknuto. Ponegdje su fortifikacijski elementi prisutni u tragovima ili se samo naslućuju te moguća obrambena uloga takvih crkava nije istraživana ili nije istraжена u dovoljnoj mjeri da bi se dobili konkretniji podaci.

Kapela sv. Dimitrija u Brodskom Drenovcu podignuta je na prapovijesnoj gradini,¹⁰ iznad doline rijeke Orljave, i pripada nizu slavonskih crkava s izrazitim obrambenim elementima.¹¹

the first archaeological traces of fortifications date back to the 11th and 12th centuries, and they are increasingly numerous from the end of the 12th, and from the 13th century to the end of the 15th, when numerous earthen hillforts and stone burgs were built.³

During the 12th and 13th centuries, a number of fortified noble houses, hillforts or small burgs appeared in Europe, near which the donor church was located, but it has also been noted that some churches were fortified with a defensive ditch or walls, massive bell towers, loopholes, galleries for the military crew, and the like.⁴ In northern Croatia, for example, there are several hillforts whose churches were fortified with a ditch and earthen ramparts (Mala Črešnjevica, Crkvari).⁵ Also known are churches with a defensive tower on the facade (St Bartul in Novi Mikanovci),⁶ a massive bell tower with fortification features (St Mary in Kobaš)⁷ or a defensive tower with loopholes attached to the bell tower (St Mary in Nova Rača),⁸ as well as a church with a hidden passage in the double wall, a shelter in the roof and loopholes in the body of the bell tower (St Mary in Morović).⁹

The following paper presents an overview of fortified churches in the Požega Valley and the surrounding mountains. The historical buildings that are visible and functional today will be considered, as well as the archaeological remains of former buildings. Medieval churches of which only a written trace remains in historical sources will also be taken into account.

Review

The Požega Valley is a naturally isolated entity, surrounded by a ring of Slavonian mountains; in this area, in the period from the 12th century to the 14th, a series of churches were built, which were modified during construction or in the late Middle Ages, or at the beginning of the modern era, by having fortification elements added, so that they would have a defensive role in addition to, or perhaps instead of, the previous sacred one (Fig. 1). For some churches, it is possible to determine with greater or lesser certainty in which period they were fortified and what historical circumstances led to that. In others, the fortification was simultaneous with the original construction of the church, but it does not seem to have a historical connotation – that is, it is not clear whether and by what historical events it was triggered. In some places, fortification elements are present in traces or are only suspected, and the possible defensive role of such a church has not been investigated, or it has not been investigated sufficiently to obtain more specific data.

3 Tkalčec 2021, 9.

4 Tkalčec 2021, 10.

5 Tkalčec 2021, 10.

6 Sekulić-Gvozdanović 1994, 105–107.

7 Sekulić-Gvozdanović 1994, 38, 112–113.

8 Sekulić-Gvozdanović 1994, 123–125.

9 Sekulić-Gvozdanović 1994, 107–110.

10 Gvozdanović 1971, 212; usp. Mohorovićić 1992, 32.

11 Szabo 1920, 124–125; Gvozdanović 1971, 212; Buturac 1977, 34; 1995, 35–36.

3 Tkalčec 2021, 9.

4 Tkalčec 2021, 10.

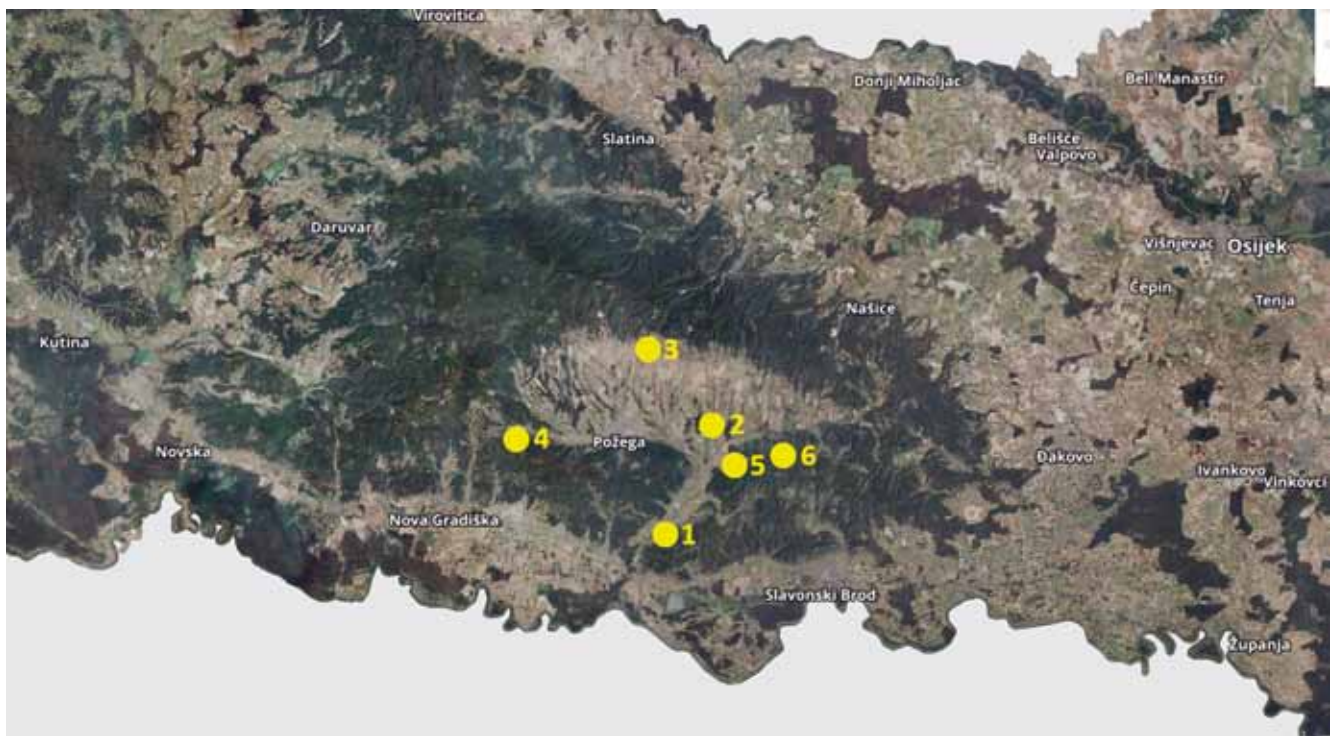
5 Tkalčec 2021, 10.

6 Sekulić-Gvozdanović 1994, 105–107.

7 Sekulić-Gvozdanović 1994, 38, 112–113.

8 Sekulić-Gvozdanović 1994, 123–125.

9 Sekulić-Gvozdanović 1994, 107–110.



SLIKA 1. Lokalizacije utvrđenih crkava na prostoru Požeške kotline i slavonskoga gorja: 1. Brodski Drenovac, 2. Sesvete, 3. Kaptol, 4. Ivandol, 5. Buk, 6. Djedina Rijeka (Geoportal DGU-a; obradila V. Ciganović).

FIGURE 1. The locations of fortified churches in the area of the Požega Valley and Slavonian mountains: 1 Brodski Drenovac, 2 Sesvete, 3 Kaptol, 4 Ivandol, 5 Buk, 6 Djedina Rijeka (State Geodetic Administration Geoportal; edited by V. Ciganović).

Tlocrt joj čine poligonalno svetište, izvana ojačano kontraforima, i pravokutna lađa, uz čije se zapadno pročelje nalazi zvonik kvadratičnoga tlocrta, a ispred njega predvorje.¹² Crkva je građena od kamena lomljenca, a kontrafori i uglovi lađe i tornja (zvonika) od klesanih kamenih kvadara.¹³ Pri vizualnome susretu s kapelom u njezinu se prostornom okruženju ističu masivnost gotičkoga, trokutnog zvonika i polukružna kula podignuta nad svetištem, čijemu zidnom plaštu pripadaju spomenuti kontrafori (sl. 2).¹⁴ Izvorna gotička gradnja, koju dakle čini kapela s poligonalnim svetištem i zvonikom (tornjem), datira se u vrijeme oko sredine 14. stoljeća.¹⁵ Na tu dataciju, među ostalim, ukazuju ulazna vrata u crkvu sa šiljatom lunetom¹⁶ te dva gotička prozora u zidu svetišta.¹⁷ Kula nad svetištem podignuta je u drugoj graditeljskoj fazi, vjerojatno prije ili tijekom osmanske najezde.¹⁸

The chapel of St Demetrius in Brodski Drenovac was built on a prehistoric hillfort,¹⁰ above the valley of the River Orljava, and belongs to a series of Slavonian churches with distinct defensive elements.¹¹ Its ground plan consists of a polygonal sanctuary, externally reinforced with buttresses, and a rectangular nave, along the western facade of which is a square-shaped bell tower, and in front of it a vestibule.¹² The church is built of quarry stone, and the buttresses and corners of the nave and bell tower are made of carved stone blocks.¹³ When visually encountering the chapel in its spatial surroundings, the massiveness of the Gothic, three-storey bell tower stands out, as does the semicircular tower built over the sanctuary, to whose wall cladding the aforementioned buttresses belong (Fig. 2).¹⁴ The original Gothic construction, which therefore consists of a chapel with a polygonal sanctuary and a bell tower, dates back

12 Gvozdanović 1971, 213, sl. 2, 214; Horvat, Mirnik 1977, 135, 137, sl. 41.

13 Vukičević-Samaržija 1986, 94.

14 Gvozdanović 1971, 212, 217–128; Horvat, Mirnik 1977, 134, sl. 31, 135; usporedi Szabo 1920, 124, 125, sl. 121.

15 Gvozdanović 1971, 220. Nešto kasnije, u posljednja desetljeća, odnosno sam kraj 14. stoljeća, a na temelju natpisa na nadgrobnoj ploči, srednjovjekovnu crkvu u Brodskom Drenovcu datira D. Vukičević-Samaržija (Vukičević-Samaržija 1986, 95; 2004, 176).

16 Gvozdanović 1971, 214, 217–218; Sekulić-Gvozdanović 1994, 111.

17 Vukičević-Samaržija 1986, 94.

18 Sekulić-Gvozdanović 1994, 150.

10 Gvozdanović 1971, 212; cf. Mohorovićić 1992, 32.

11 Szabo 1920, 124–125; Gvozdanović 1971, 212; Buturac 1977, 34; 1995, 35–36.

12 Gvozdanović 1971, 213, Fig. 2, 214; Horvat, Mirnik 1977, 135, 137, Fig. 41.

13 Vukičević-Samaržija 1986, 94.

14 Gvozdanović 1971, 212, 217–128; Horvat, Mirnik 1977, 134, Fig. 31, 135; Szabo 1920, 124, 125, Fig. 121.



SLIKA 2. Kapela sv. Dimitrija u Brodskom Drenovcu 2025. godine, pogled jugoistok-sjeverozapad (snimila V. Ciganović).

FIGURE 2. Chapel of St Demetrius in Brodski Drenovac in 2025, view southeast-northwest (photo by V. Ciganović).

Naselje Sesvete nazvano je prema srednjovjekovnoj crkvi Svih svetih, vezanoj za župu koja se spominje 1332. i 1334. godine.¹⁹ Naziv naselja zadržao se i za vrijeme osmanlijske vladavine, a pretpostavlja se da je crkva tada pretvorena u džamiju, pa su očuvani srednjovjekovni zidovi sa zazidanim pokrajnjim gotičkim portalom i tornjem.²⁰ Crkva se spominje 1702. u komorskom popisu i navodi se da su je doseljeni bosanski katolici obnovili za potrebe bogoslužja.²¹ U literaturi se također govori o isusovačkoj obnovi srednjovjekovne župne crkve Svih svetih na njihovu posjedu u Sesvetama u 18. stoljeću, a kao preostali srednjovjekovni element ističe se gotičko-renesansna zvonikula usred pročelja, s ugaonim klesancima i uskim prozorima (sl. 3).²² U Registru kulturnih dobara Republike Hrvatske spomenuta crkva opisuje se kao jednobrodna barokna građevina od opeke i kamena, s polukružnom apsidom, zvonikom ukomponiranim u pročelje i prigradenom sakristijom uz sjeverni perimetralni zid, a nastala je na mjestu starije crkve sagrađene u predtursko vrijeme, od koje su sačuvani temelji i zvonik.²³ Razlog podizanja

to around the middle of the 14th century,¹⁵ the aforementioned dating is indicated by, among other things, the entrance door to the church with a pointed lunette,¹⁶ as well as two Gothic windows in the wall of the sanctuary.¹⁷ The tower over the sanctuary was built in the second construction phase, probably before or during the Ottoman invasion.¹⁸

The settlement of Sesvete was named after the medieval church of All Saints (Cro. *Svi sveti*), associated with the parish, which was mentioned in 1332 and 1334.¹⁹ The name of the settlement was retained during the Ottoman rule, and it is assumed that the church was then converted into a mosque, so the medieval walls with the walled-in side Gothic portal and tower were preserved.²⁰ The church is mentioned in the 1702 chamber census, and it is stated that the settled Bosnian Catholics renovated it for the needs of worship.²¹ The literature also

19 Buturac 1995, 39; Goss 2012, 124.

20 Buturac 1977, 181; V. P. Goss kao nedvojbene gotičke elemente crkve u Sesvetama navodi dio tornja i zapadne fasade (Goss 2012, 124), a slično konstatira i D. Vukičević-Samaržija, kada piše da su od gotičke crkve ostali sačuvani donji dio kamenoga tornja i dio zapadnoga zida lađe uz sam toranj (Vukičević-Samaržija 1986, 131); usp. Horvat, Mirnik 1977, 152.

21 Buturac 1977, 181.

22 Horvat-Levaj 2004, 191.

23 Registar kulturnih dobara Republike Hrvatske, <https://registar.kulturnadobra.hr/#/details/Z-405> (pristupljeno 24. 2. 2026.).

15 Gvozdanović 1971, 220. On the basis of an inscription on a tombstone, the medieval church in Brodski Drenovac was dated by Diana Vukičević-Samaržija to a somewhat later time: the last decades of the 14th century, or its very end (Vukičević-Samaržija 1986, 95; 2004, 176).

16 Gvozdanović 1971, 214, 217–218; Sekulić-Gvozdanović 1994, 111.

17 Vukičević-Samaržija 1986, 94.

18 Sekulić-Gvozdanović 1994, 150.

19 Buturac 1995, 39; Goss 2012, 124.

20 Buturac 1977, 181; Vladimir P. Goss lists part of the tower and the western facade as undoubted Gothic elements of the church in Sesvete (Goss 2012, 124), and Vukičević-Samaržija makes a similar statement when she writes that the lower part of the stone tower and part of the western wall of the nave next to the tower itself have been preserved from the Gothic church (Vukičević-Samaržija 1986, 131); cf. Horvat, Mirnik 1977, 152.

21 Buturac 1977, 181.



SLIKA 3. Crkva Svih svetih u Sesvetama, pogled s jugozapada (Požeška biskupija; obradila V. Ciganović).

FIGURE 3. Church of All Saints in Sesvete, view from the southwest (Diocese of Požega; edited by V. Ciganović).

zvonika-kule kao fortifikacijskoga elementa, međutim, nije poznat; no ako se uzme u obzir da se najvjerojatnije radi o izvornoj arhitektonskom elementu iz vremena gradnje gotičke crkve, moguće je da su njegovo podizanje potaknuli isti oni, zasad nepoznati, čimbenici koji su doveli i do podizanja masivnoga zvonika-tornja uz gotičku kapelu u Brodskom Drenovcu.²⁴

Ostaci kasnogotičko-renesansnoga kaštela²⁵ u središtu današnjega naselja Kaptol čuvaju uspomenu na sjedište srednjovjekovnoga požeškog kaptola sv. Petra,²⁶ osnovanoga krajem 12. ili tijekom prve polovice 13. stoljeća,²⁷ koji je sve do dolaska Osmanlija 1536. godine služio kao *locus credibilis*, vjerodostojno mjesto za rješavanje različitih sporova, prodaju i zamjenu posjeda, izdavanje prijepisa dokumenata i slično.²⁸ Smatra se da je kaptolačka utvrda do sredine 14. stoljeća bila ojačana drvenim palisadama, a kasnije okružena dubokim jarkom²⁹ i učvršćena kamenim bedemima u obliku nepravilnoga šesterokuta, s ugaonim polukulama u čijem se zidnom plaštu nalaze puškar-

mentions the Jesuit renovation of the medieval parish church of All Saints on their property in Sesvete in the 18th century, and the Gothic-Renaissance bell tower in the middle of the facade, with angular stonework and narrow windows, stands out as a remaining medieval element (Fig. 3).²³ In the Register of Cultural Property of the Republic of Croatia, the aforementioned church is described as a single-nave Baroque building made of brick and stone, with a semicircular apse, a bell tower integrated into the facade and an attached sacristy along the northern perimeter wall, and was built on the site of an older church built in pre-Turkish times, of which the foundations and bell tower have been preserved.²³ However, the reason for building the bell tower as a fortification element is not known; still, if we take into account that it is most likely an original architectural element from the time of the construction of the Gothic church, it is possible that its construction was prompted by the same, as yet unknown, factors that led to the building of the massive bell tower next to the Gothic chapel in Brodski Drenovac.²⁴

The remains of the late Gothic-Renaissance castle²⁵ in the centre of today's Kaptol settlement preserve the memory of the seat of the medieval Požega Collegiate Chapter of St Peter,²⁶

24 Vidi Mohorovičić 1992, 82–83; Janeš 2019, 225–237; Tkalčec 2021, 24.

25 Usp. Vukičević-Samaržija 2004, 168; Bender Maringer, Pavlaković Jakopić 2014, 115.

26 Kempf 1910, 100; Bojčić, Podunavac 2022, 88.

27 U stručnoj i znanstvenoj literaturi vrijeme osnivanja Kaptola datira se različito, unutar razdoblja od 1193. do 1232. g. (Kempf 1910, 101; Adamček 1977, 114; Horvat, Mirnik 1977, 126; Buturac 1995, 26; Potrebica 2004, 41; Vukičević-Samaržija 2004, 168; Bojčić, Podunavac 2022, 88).

28 Kempf 1910, 101; Horvat, Mirnik 1977, 126; Vukičević-Samaržija 2004, 168; Andrić 2010, 96.

29 Usp. Szabo 1920, 119.

22 Horvat-Levaj 2004, 191.

23 Register of Cultural Property of the Republic of Croatia, <https://registar.kulturnadobra.hr/#/details/Z-405> (accessed on 24th February 2026).

24 See Mohorovičić 1992, 82–83; Janeš 2019, 225–237; Tkalčec 2021, 24.

25 Cf. Vukičević-Samaržija 2004, 168; Bender Maringer, Pavlaković Jakopić 2014, 115.

26 Kempf 1910, 100; Bojčić, Podunavac 2022, 88.



SLIKA 4. Ostaci sakralnoga kompleksa unutar kaštela u Kaptolu nakon arheoloških istraživanja 2018. godine (Bojčić 2018).

FIGURE 4. Remains of the sacred complex inside the castle in Kaptol after archaeological research in 2018 (Bojčić 2018).

nice.³⁰ Navedeni bedemi i kule većinom su sačuvani u elevaciji, osim sjeverozapadne polukule i dijela zapadnoga bedema koji su srušeni u 18. stoljeću radi izgradnje barokne crkve sv. Jurja, a na ulazu u kaštel i danas stoji četverostrana kula, do koje je nekada vodio pomični most.³¹ Orijentacija crkve je sjever-jug, a na istočnoj strani nalazi se masivan barokni zvonik.³² U podrumu broda crkve još 1914. mogli su se uočiti ostaci starije crkve.³³ Osmanlije su koristili utvrdu u vojne svrhe, a spomenutu su stariju crkvu sačuvali te se ona, zajedno s pripadajućim zvonikom, navodi u izvorima.³⁴ Navedeni zapis i spomen starije crkve neki autori povezuju sa srednjovjekovnom crkvom sv. Petra, koja se nalazila u unutrašnjosti utvrde, a zapuštena je tijekom 18. stoljeća.³⁵ Zapis iz 1702. govori o crkvenim zidovima, zvoniku i bedemima u okružju,³⁶ kao i o pokrivanju crkve te popravku dijelova stambenoga trakta utvrde te je očito da je srednjovjekovna crkva bila popravljana sve do podizanja nove, barokne

founded in the late 12th century or during the first half of the 13th,²⁷ which until the arrival of the Ottomans in 1536 served as a *locus credibilis*, a credible place for resolving various disputes, selling and exchanging property, issuing copies of documents, and the like.²⁸ It is believed that the Kaptol fortress was reinforced with wooden palisades until the mid-14th century, and later surrounded by a deep ditch²⁹ and fortified with stone ramparts in the shape of an irregular hexagon, with corner half-towers in whose wall shell there are loopholes.³⁰ The aforementioned ramparts and towers have mostly been preserved in elevation, except for the northwestern half-tower and part of the western rampart, which were demolished in the 18th century for the construction of the Baroque church of St George, and at the entrance to the castle there still stands a four-sided tower, which was once reached by a drawbridge.³¹ The orientation of the church is north-south, and on the east side there is a mas-

30 Horvat, Mirnik 1977, 126. D. Vukičević-Samaržija gradnju obrambenoga zida kaptolačkoga kaštela datira u prva desetljeća 16. stoljeća (Vukičević-Samaržija 2004, 168).

31 Horvat, Mirnik 1977, 126, 128, sl. 16; Vukičević-Samaržija 2004, 168; Andrić 2010, 96.

32 Horvat, Mirnik 1977, 126; Vukičević-Samaržija 2004, 168.

33 Horvat, Mirnik 1977, 126.

34 Horvat, Mirnik 1977, 127.

35 Vukičević-Samaržija 2004, 168; usp. Andrić 2010, 96; Bojčić, Podunavac 2022, 88.

36 Horvat, Mirnik 1977, 127; usp. Kempf 1910, 109.

27 In professional and scientific literature, the time of the foundation of Kaptol is dated variously, within the period from 1193 to 1232 (Kempf 1910, 101; Horvat, Mirnik 1977, 126; Adamček 1977, 114; Buturac 1995, 26; Potrebica 2004, 41; Vukičević-Samaržija 2004, 168; Bojčić, Podunavac 2022, 88).

28 Kempf 1910, 101; Horvat, Mirnik 1977, 126; Vukičević-Samaržija 2004, 168; Andrić 2010, 96.

29 Cf. Szabo 1920, 119.

30 Horvat, Mirnik 1977, 126. Vukičević-Samaržija dates the construction of the defensive wall of the Kaptol castle to the first decades of the 16th century (Vukičević-Samaržija 2004, 168).

31 Horvat, Mirnik 1977, 126, 128, fig. 16; Vukičević-Samaržija 2004, 168; Andrić 2010, 96.

32 Horvat, Mirnik 1977, 126; Vukičević-Samaržija 2004, 168.



SLIKA 5. Zvonik crkve sv. Jurja u Starome gradu Kaptolu 2019. godine (snimila V. Ciganović).

FIGURE 5. The bell tower of the church of St George in the Old Town of Kaptol in 2019 (photo by V. Ciganović).

crkve.³⁷ To potvrđuju i rezultati arheoloških istraživanja sakralnoga kompleksa unutar kaptolskoga kaštela (sl. 4), nastaloga u razdoblju od 11. do 18. stoljeća tijekom više graditeljskih faza, od ranoromaničke, preko romaničke do kasnogotičke i barokne, pri čemu se romanička trobrodna crkva, koja je doživjela kasnogotičke arhitektonske promjene, može povezati sa spomenutom crkvom sv. Petra.³⁸ Zapadni zid kasnogotičke faze crkve inkorporiran je u istočni zid crkve sv. Jurja, a čini se da je i barokni zvonik (sl. 5) podignut na mjestu kasnogotičkoga te da u njegovu korpusu još uvijek postoji njegov dio, koji se pak navodi kao kula, pa se može pretpostaviti njegova obrambena uloga.³⁹

Arheološki ostaci kamene srednjovjekovne rotunde na povišenoj platou na Požeškoj gori iznad naselja Ivandol sustavno su istraženi u razdoblju od 2013. do 2018. godine, a povezuju se sa zadužbinom plemićke obitelji Borić, odnosno posjedom Odolja s crkvom sv. Marije, koji se spominje u povelji ugarsko-hrvatskoga kralja Andrije iz 1210. godine.⁴⁰ Tlocrt spomenute građevine čine središnji kružni prostor s polukružnom apsidom na sjever-

sive Baroque bell tower.³² In the basement of the church nave, the remains of an older church could be seen as early as 1914.³³ The Ottomans used the fortress for military purposes, and the aforementioned older church was preserved and is mentioned in the sources, together with the associated bell tower.³⁴ Some authors connect the aforementioned record and the mention of the older church with the medieval church of St. Peter, which was located inside the fortress, and was neglected during the 18th century.³⁵ A record from 1702 speaks of the church walls, bell tower and surrounding ramparts,³⁶ as well as the covering of the church and the repair of parts of the residential tract of the fortress, and it is obvious that the medieval church was repaired up until the construction of the new, Baroque church.³⁷ This is confirmed by the results of archaeological research of the sacred complex within the Kaptol castle (Fig. 4), which was built in the period from the 11th century to the 18th during several architectural phases, from early Romanesque, through Romanesque to late Gothic and Baroque, whereby the Romanesque three-nave church that underwent late-Gothic architectural changes can be connected with the aforementioned church of St Peter.³⁸ The western wall of the late-Gothic phase of the church is incorporated into the eastern wall of the church of St George, and it seems that the Baroque bell tower (Fig. 5) was also built on the site of the late-Gothic one, and that part of it still exists in its corpus, which is in turn referred to as a tower, and a defensive role can be assumed for it.³⁹

The archaeological remains of a medieval stone rotunda on an elevated plateau on Požega Mountain above the settlement of Ivandol were systematically investigated in the period from 2013 to 2018, and are associated with the endowment of the noble Borić family, namely the Odolja estate with the church of St Mary, which is mentioned in the charter of the Hungarian-Croatian king Andrew of 1210.⁴⁰ The ground plan of this building consists of a central circular space with a semicircular apse in the northeast and a rectangular annex with a stone staircase

37 Horvat, Mirnik 1977, 127.

38 Bojčić, Podunavac 2022.

39 Usp. Kempf 1910, 109; Horvat, Mirnik 1977, 127; Horvat-Levaj 2004, 191–192; Bojčić, Podunavac 2022, 98.

40 Mihaljević, Horvat, Matković 2015, 95–96; Mihaljević et al. 2016, 75; Mihaljević, Matković, Horvat 2018, 57; Ciganović 2023, 26. O povelji kralja Andrije: Degmedžić 1977, 102–103; Buturac 1995, 32, 53, 119; Potrebica 2004, 45. O posjedu Odolja s crkvom sv. Marije i plemićkoj obitelji Borić: Kempf 1910, 70; Degmedžić 1977, 103; Adamček 1977, 114; Klaić 1986, 35–37, 42–59; Buturac 1995, 43; Karbić 2005. Prijepis same povelje donosi Smičiklas (ed.) 1905, 97–99.

33 Horvat, Mirnik 1977, 126.

34 Horvat, Mirnik 1977, 127.

35 Vukičević-Samaržija 2004, 168; cf. Andrić 2010, 96; Bojčić, Podunavac 2022, 88.

36 Horvat, Mirnik 1977, 127; cf. Kempf 1910, 109.

37 Horvat, Mirnik 1977, 127.

38 Bojčić, Podunavac 2022.

39 Cf. Kempf 1910, 109; Horvat, Mirnik 1977, 127; Horvat-Levaj 2004, 191–192; Bojčić, Podunavac 2022, 98.

40 Mihaljević, Horvat, Matković 2015, 95–96; Mihaljević et al. 2016, 75; Mihaljević, Matković, Horvat 2018, 57; Ciganović 2023, 26. On the charter of King Andrew: Degmedžić 1977, 102–103; Buturac 1995, 32, 53, 119; Potrebica 2004, 45. On the estate of Odolja with the church of St Mary and the noble Borić family: Kempf 1910, 70; Degmedžić 1977, 103; Adamček 1977, 114; Klaić 1986, 35–37, 42–59; Buturac 1995, 43; Karbić 2005. A transcript of the charter itself is provided by Smičiklas (ed.) 1905, 97–99.



SLIKA 6. Kamena rotunda na lokalitetu Njive kod Ivandola, pogled s jugozapada 2025. godine (snimila V. Ciganović).

FIGURE 6. Stone rotunda at the Njive site near Ivandol, view from the southwest in 2025 (photo by V. Ciganović).

roistoku te pravokutni aneks s kamenim stubištem na jugozapadu (sl. 6).⁴¹ Prikupljeni su brojni profilirani kameni ulomci arhitektonske plastike s obilježjima romaničkoga i gotičkoga stila, datirani u razdoblje od 12. do 15. stoljeća.⁴² Kvalitetna i pravilna gradnja kamenim klesancima, koja svjedoči o angažmanu vještih graditelja i klesara, i analogije s plemićkim i vladarskim rotundama 12. i 13. stoljeća na mnogim europskim lokalitetima ukazuju na to da je inicijator gradnje ivandolske rotunde svakako pripadao plemićkomu staležu.⁴³ Tome u prilog govori i njezina zapadna prigradnja, koja se tumači kao *Westwerk*, posebno razvijen u ranoj srednjovjekovnoj arhitekturi i namijenjen prisutnosti velikodostojnika.⁴⁴

Oko rotunde formirano je višeslojno groblje s raznovrsnim pokretnim nalazima iz razdoblja između 13. i 16. stoljeća i najmlađim datiranim ukopom u drugoj polovici 18. stoljeća.⁴⁵ U fortifikacijskome smislu, međutim, zanimljiv je nalaz ostatka kamenoga bedema ovalnoga tlocrta, koji je opasivao prostor rotunde i groblja, a pretpostavlja se da je podignut krajem 15. i

in the southwest (Fig. 6).⁴¹ Numerous profiled stone fragments of architectural sculpture with features of Romanesque and Gothic styles have been collected, dated to the 12th – 15th centuries.⁴² The high quality, regular construction with stonecutters, which testifies to the engagement of skilled builders and stonemasons, as well as the analogies with noble and royal rotundas of the 12th and 13th centuries at many European sites, indicate that the initiator of the construction of the Ivandol rotunda certainly belonged to the noble class.⁴³ This is also supported by its western extension, which is interpreted as a *Westwerk*, especially developed in early medieval architecture and intended for the presence of dignitaries.⁴⁴

A multi-layered cemetery was formed around the rotunda with various movable finds from the 13th – 16th centuries and the youngest dated to the second half of the 18th century.⁴⁵ In terms of fortification, however, one interesting find is the remains of a stone rampart with an oval ground plan, which surrounded the area of the rotunda and cemetery, and is assumed to have been

41 Mihaljević, Horvat, Matković 2015, 96–98; Mihaljević et al. 2016, 78–79; Mihaljević, Matković, Horvat 2018, 62; Ciganović 2023, 27.

42 Mihaljević et al. 2016, 77–78; Ciganović 2023, 28.

43 Mihaljević, Horvat, Matković 2015, 96, 102–103; Mihaljević et al. 2016, 78; Mihaljević, Matković, Horvat 2018, 66, 82–87; Ciganović 2023, 31–32.

44 Mihaljević, Matković, Horvat 2018, 86.

45 Mihaljević, Horvat, Matković 2015, 95, 100–101; Mihaljević et al. 2016, 77, 79–83; Mihaljević, Matković, Horvat 2018, 58–59, 62; Ciganović 2023, 26–27, 29–31.

41 Mihaljević, Horvat, Matković 2015, 96–98; Mihaljević et al. 2016, 78–79; Mihaljević, Matković, Horvat 2018, 62; Ciganović 2023, 27.

42 Mihaljević et al. 2016, 77–78; Ciganović 2023, 28.

43 Mihaljević, Horvat, Matković 2015, 96, 102–103; Mihaljević et al. 2016, 78; Mihaljević, Matković, Horvat 2018, 66, 82–87; Ciganović 2023, 31–32.

44 Mihaljević, Matković, Horvat 2018, 86.

45 Mihaljević, Horvat, Matković 2015, 95, 100–101; Mihaljević et al. 2016, 77, 79–83; Mihaljević, Matković, Horvat 2018, 58–59, 62; Ciganović 2023, 26–27, 29–31.



SLIKA 7. Zračna snimka lokaliteta Ivandol – Njive 2014. godine (Mihaljević, Horvat, Matković 2015, 96).

FIGURE 7. Aerial photograph of the Ivandol-Njive site in 2014 (Mihaljević, Horvat, Matković 2015, 96).

početkom 16. stoljeća radi obrane od prodora Osmanlija (sl. 7).⁴⁶ Sačuvani dio bedema na južnome dijelu lokaliteta predstavlja zid debljine 90 – 110 cm, građen masivnim kamenim blokovima i klesancima koji vjerojatno potječu s rotunde, a možda i s neke obližnje crkve ili profane građevine (sl. 8).⁴⁷ Tijekom zaštitnih radova 2024. godine otkriven je ulazni otvor u spomenutom obrambenom zidu, širine oko 2 m.⁴⁸ U nastavku nekadašnje trase obrambenoga zida prema zapadu ustanovljeni su njegovi ostaci i ostaci zida ugaone kule, sačuvani u temeljnoj stopi.⁴⁹ Pretpostavlja se da je i sama rotunda u predosmanlijskome razdoblju pregrađena ili nadograđena i da je služila kao obrambena kula.⁵⁰ Tome u prilog možda govori zatečeni izgled unutrašnjega sjevernog zida rotunde, koji sadrži sekundarno iskorištene ulomke arhitekture, a građen je od kamena različite veličine u kombinaciji s klesancima, te je vidljivo da je sjeverna strana rotunde doživjela naknadne intervencije, odnosno obnovu nakon urušavanja, izvedenu nemarno, u žurbi.⁵¹

S obzirom na to da su dječji ukopi iz druge polovice 16. stoljeća položeni uz same zidove rotunde, očito je da je rotunda u tome razdoblju još uvijek bila vidljiva, samo je pitanje je li tada još uvijek imala neku funkciju ili je bila u ruševnome stanju.⁵² Nje-

built in the late 15th century and early 16th to defend against Ottoman incursions (Fig. 7).⁴⁶ The preserved part of the rampart in the southern part of the site represents a wall 90 – 110 cm thick, built with massive stone blocks and stone that probably originates from the rotunda, and maybe some nearby churches or profane buildings (Fig. 8).⁴⁷ During protective work in 2024, an entrance opening in the aforementioned defensive wall, about 2 m wide, was discovered.⁴⁸ In the continuation of the former route of the defensive wall to the west, its remains were established, as well as the remains of the corner tower wall, preserved in the foundation footing.⁴⁹ It is assumed that the rotunda itself was rebuilt or upgraded in the pre-Ottoman period and served as a defensive tower.⁵⁰ This may be supported by the dilapidated appearance of the inner northern wall of the rotunda, which contains secondarily used architectural fragments, and is built of stones of various sizes in combination with ashlar, and it is evident that the northern side of the rotunda experienced subsequent intervention, or rather, reconstruction after collapse, carried out carelessly and in a hurry.⁵¹

46 Mihaljević, Horvat, Matković 2015, 98–99; Mihaljević, Matković, Horvat 2018, 69, sl. 16; Ciganović 2023, 28–29.

47 Mihaljević, Horvat, Matković 2015, 98–99; Ciganović 2023, 28–29; za današnji izgled bedema vidi: Kvinar d. o. o. 2024, 2–4, 10–17 i Mihaljević 2024, 2–3.

48 Kvinar d. o. o. 2024, 2, 4; Mihaljević 2024, 1.

49 Mihaljević 2024, 1.

50 Mihaljević, Horvat, Matković 2015, 99.

51 Mihaljević, Matković, Horvat 2018, 63; Ciganović 2023, 27–28.

52 Vidi Mihaljević *et al.* 2016, 79–80.

46 Mihaljević, Horvat, Matković 2015, 98–99; Mihaljević, Matković, Horvat 2018, 69, fig. 16; Ciganović 2023, 28–29.

47 Mihaljević, Horvat, Matković 2015, 98–99; Ciganović 2023, 28–29; for the current appearance of the ramparts see: Kvinar doo 2024, 2–4, 10–17 and Mihaljević 2024, 2–3.

48 Kvinar doo 2024, 2, 4; Mihaljević 2024, 1.

49 Mihaljević 2024, 1.

50 Mihaljević, Horvat, Matković 2015, 99.

51 Mihaljević, Matković, Horvat 2018, 63; Ciganović 2023, 27–28.



SLIKA 8. Detalj kamenoga bedema nakon zaštitnih radova 2025. godine na lokalitetu Njive kod Ivandola, pogled s jugoistoka (snimila V. Ciganović).

FIGURE 8. Detail of the stone rampart after protective work in 2025 at the Njive site near Ivandol, view from the southeast (photo by V. Ciganović).

zina sakralna uloga možda je prestala i ranije, prije osmanlijske opasnosti, ili za vrijeme osmanlijskih prodora, možda i nakon uspostave nove vlasti, ali evidentno je da su pokojnici uz rotundu ukopavani tijekom kasnoga srednjeg i novog vijeka, što se može razumjeti u smislu tradicije svetoga mjesta.⁵³

Spomenuta crkva sv. Marije na posjedu Odolja spominje se i u prvoj polovici 15. stoljeća,⁵⁴ dok je dolaskom Osmanlija posjed napušten i prešao u vlast požoških spahija.⁵⁵ U dokumentu s kraja 17. stoljeća za Ivandol je zabilježeno da nema ostataka crkve ili dvorca te se pretpostavlja da je navedena crkva potpuno stradala u vrijeme osmanlijskih osvajanja, a vjerojatno su njezine ruševine nakon oslobođenja od osmanlijske vlasti poslužile kao izvor građevnoga materijala, što je slučaj i s mnogim drugim srednjovjekovnim građevinama.⁵⁶ Na kartama Habsburške Monarhije iz druge polovice 18. stoljeća također nema označene crkve ili groblja u blizini Ivandola.⁵⁷ Pretpostavljena je lokacija crkve sv. Marije na neistraženome prostoru južno od kamenoga bedema podno ivandolske rotunde.⁵⁸

Given that the children's burials from the second half of the 16th century were placed along the same walls of the rotunda, it is obvious that the rotunda was still visible at that time, the only question being whether it still had some function at that time or was in a state of ruin.⁵² Its sacred role may have ceased earlier, before the Ottoman threat, or during the Ottoman invasions, perhaps even after the establishment of the new government, but it is evident that the deceased were buried next to the rotunda during the late Middle Ages and the modern period, which can be understood in terms of the tradition of a sacred place.⁵³

The aforementioned church of St Mary on the Odolja estate is also mentioned in the first half of the 15th century,⁵⁴ while with the arrival of the Ottomans the estate was abandoned and came under the rule of the Požega spahis.⁵⁵ A document from the end of the 17th century for Ivandol records that there are no remains of a church or castle, and it is assumed that the church was completely destroyed during the Ottoman conquests, and its ruins probably served as a source of building material after liberation from Ottoman rule, as is the case with many other medieval buildings.⁵⁶ There is also no church or cemetery

53 Usp. Mihaljević *et al.* 2016, 79–80.

54 Usp. Bösendorfer 2010, 145.

55 Mihaljević, Horvat, Matković 2015, 96; Mihaljević *et al.* 2016, 75; Mihaljević, Matković, Horvat 2018, 58; Ciganović 2023, 31.

56 Mihaljević, Horvat, Matković 2015, 96; Mihaljević *et al.* 2016, 75, 77; Mihaljević, Matković, Horvat 2018, 58.

57 Mihaljević, Matković, Horvat 2018, 58.

58 Mihaljević, Horvat, Matković 2015, 100.

52 See Mihaljević *et al.* 2016, 79–80.

53 Cf. Mihaljević *et al.* 2016, 79–80.

54 Cf. Bösendorfer 2010, 145.

55 Mihaljević, Horvat, Matković 2015, 96; Mihaljević *et al.* 2016, 75; Mihaljević, Matković, Horvat 2018, 58; Ciganović 2023, 31.

56 Mihaljević, Horvat, Matković 2015, 96; Mihaljević *et al.* 2016, 75, 77; Mihaljević, Matković, Horvat 2018, 58.



SLIKA 9. Crkva sv. Jurja mučenika s okolnim grobljem u Buku (Geoportal DGU-a; obradila V. Ciganović).

FIGURE 9. Church of St George the Martyr with the surrounding cemetery in Buk (State Geodetic Administration Geoportal; edited by V. Ciganović).

Srednjovjekovna crkva sv. Jurja iz prve polovice 14. stoljeća nalazila se na lokaciji današnje župne crkve u Buku;⁵⁹ u izvorima iz 17. stoljeća navodi se da je kvalitetne gradnje i prostrana i da se nalazi unutar utvrde.⁶⁰ Nejasno je radi li se o crkvi oko koje je naknadno formirana utvrda i je li i sama crkva pritom utvrđena ili je riječ o klasičnoj profanoj utvrdi unutar koje je izgrađen sakralni objekt, tj. crkva. Uz današnju župnu crkvu u Buku, koja nosi isti titular kao i njezina srednjovjekovna prethodnica, nalazi se groblje (sl. 9);⁶¹ ako pretpostavimo da se isto nalazilo i uz srednjovjekovnu crkvu, spomenuta utvrda mogla bi se odnositi na naknadni obrambeni zid oko ukopnoga prostora formiranoga oko sakralnoga objekta, slično kao u Ivandolu. Međutim, bez arheoloških i drugih istraživanja o vrsti i izgledu navedene fortifikacijske građevine može se samo nagađati. V. P. Goss spominje toponim Gradina na prostoru južno od crkve,⁶² koji bi mogao upućivati na nekadašnje utvrđeno zdanje na istome mjestu ili u njegovoj blizini.⁶³ Horvat i Mirnik pišu da je 1702. zabilježena

marked near Ivandol on maps of the Habsburg Monarchy from the second half of the 18th century.⁵⁷ The presumed location of the church of St Mary is in an unexplored area south of the stone ramparts at the foot of the Ivandol rotunda.⁵⁸

The medieval church of St George, built in the first half of the 14th century, was located on the site of the present-day parish church in Buk;⁵⁹ 17th-century sources state that it was of good quality and spacious and was located within a fortification.⁶⁰ It is unclear whether this is a church around which a fortification was subsequently formed and whether the church itself was fortified, or whether it was a classic profane fortification within which a sacred building, i.e. a church, was built. Next to the present-day parish church in Buk, which bears the same title as its medieval predecessor, there is a cemetery (Fig. 9);⁶¹ if we assume that it was also located next to the medieval church, the aforementioned fortification could refer to a subsequent de-

59 Buturac 1934, 84; 1977, 34; 1995, 36; Goss 2012, 137.

60 Goss 2012, 137.

61 Vidi Geoportal Državne geodetske uprave, <https://geoportal.dgu.hr/> (pristupljeno 24. 2. 2026.)

62 Goss 2012, 137–138.

63 Pregledom dostupnih geografskih karata, međutim, nije pronađen navedeni toponim u blizini predmetne crkve, pa se možda radi o lokalnome, neslužbenom nazivu spomenutoga položaja.

57 Mihaljević, Matković, Horvat 2018, 58.

58 Mihaljević, Horvat, Matković 2015, 100.

59 Buturac 1934, 84; 1977, 34; 1995, 36; Goss 2012, 137.

60 Goss 2012, 137.

61 See the State Geodetic Administration Geoportal, <https://geoportal.dgu.hr/> (accessed on 24th February 2026).



SLIKA 10. Položaj mjesnoga groblja u Djedinoj Rijeci, pogled prema jugu, 2025. godine (snimila V. Ciganović).

FIGURE 10. Location of the local cemetery in Djedina Rijeka, view towards the south, 2025 (photo by V. Ciganović).

ruševina crkve i da je sadašnja župna crkva podignuta u 19. stoljeću na istome mjestu, „koje je okruženo jarkom“.⁶⁴ Navedeni podatak mogao bi upućivati na konfiguraciju gradišta, na kojemu je podignuta srednjovjekovna crkva, kao u slučaju kapele u Brodskom Drenovcu. Kempf navodi da su na lokaciji današnje crkve u Buku pronađeni ostaci „...neke gradine, za koju puk kaže, da su je gradili Turci.“⁶⁵ Danas tomu nema ni traga. Ipak se živo priča u selu, kako se kod kopanja crkvenog temelja godine 1853. našlo mnogo ljudskih kosti i lubanja od zamjerne veličine“.⁶⁶ Posljednje se možda odnosi na ostatke groblja oko nekadašnje crkve.

U stručnoj literaturi spominje se da je na današnjem mjesnom groblju u Djedinoj Rijeci (sl. 10) nekoć stajala župna crkva, „okružena opkopom, a možda i zidom“.⁶⁷ Navodi se i da je ista crkva u vrijeme osmanlijske vladavine pretvorena u džamiju.⁶⁸ V. P. Goss bilježi da srednjovjekovna župa u Djedinoj Rijeci postoji 1334. godine;⁶⁹ primjećuje da položaj današnjega groblja ima konfiguraciju utvrde te napominje da je na ruševinama stare crkve

fensive wall around the burial area formed around the sacred building, similar to that in Ivandol. However, without archaeological and other research into the type and appearance of the aforementioned fortification building, one can only speculate. Vladimir P. Goss mentions the toponym *Gradina* in the area south of the church,⁶² which could refer to a former fortified building on the same site or in its vicinity.⁶³ Horvat and Mirnik write that in 1702 the ruins of the church were recorded and that the current parish church was built in the 19th century on the same site, “surrounded by a moat”.⁶⁴ This information could indicate the configuration of the hillfort on which the medieval church was built, as in the case of the chapel in Brodski Drenovac. Kempf states that, on the site of the present church in Buk, are the remains of “...a hillfort, which the people say was built by the Turks.”⁶⁵ Today there is no trace of it. However, it is said in the village that many human bones and skulls of objectionable size were found during the digging of the church foundation in 1853”.⁶⁶ The latter may refer to other cemeteries around the former church.

64 Horvat, Mirnik 1977, 151.

65 Kempf 1910, 25. Možda se radi o ostacima prije spomenute srednjovjekovne utvrde, odnosno utvrđene građevine na prostoru crkve.

66 Kempf 1910, 25.

67 Buturac 1977, 35.

68 Buturac 1977, 35.

69 Goss 2012, 69. Raniji spomen župe u Djedinoj Rijeci, 1312., navodi Buturac 1995, 37.

62 Goss 2012, 137–138.

63 However, on available geographical maps, one cannot find this toponym near the church in question, so it may be a local, unofficial name for the location mentioned.

64 Horvat, Mirnik 1977, 151.

65 Kempf 1910, 25. These may be the remains of the previously-mentioned medieval fortification, or rather a fortified building on the site of the church.

66 Kempf 1910, 25.

nakon odlaska Osmanlija izgrađena kapela sv. Mihajla.⁷⁰ Posvećivanje nove kapele sv. Mihaelu Arkandelu uspomena je na srednjovjekovnu župu s crkvom koja je nosila ime istoga sveca.⁷¹

Zaključna razmatranja

Utvrđivanje crkava na prostoru Požeške kotline i okolnoga gorja tijekom srednjega i novog vijeka evidentno je na temelju njihovih materijalnih ostataka i povijesnih vrela. Neke od tih crkava danas su potpuno ili djelomično sačuvane u elevaciji (npr. kapela sv. Dimitrija u Brodskom Drenovcu), pri čemu su u elevaciji očuvani i fortifikacijski elementi ili je u elevaciji sačuvan samo obrambeni dio nekadašnje građevine (npr. zvonik srednjovjekovne crkve Svih svetih u Sesvetama). Druga su zdanja u cijelosti pronađena u arheološkome sloju, odnosno pri arheološkim istraživanjima (ostaci kasnogotičke crkve u Starome gradu Kaptolu⁷² i romaničke rotunde iznad Ivandola).⁷³ Na postojanje i djelomičnu očuvanost nekih sakralnih građevina i njihovih obrambenih elemenata upućuju arhitektonske i druge naznake, kao što je npr. slučaj s ostacima kasnogotičkoga zvonika na mjestu te u korpusu baroknoga zvonika-kule uz crkvu sv. Jurja u Kaptolu,⁷⁴ no njihovi mogući podzemni ili nadzemni elementi trebali bi se tek utvrditi arheološkim, odnosno konzervatorskim istraživanjima. Većina utvrđenih sakralnih građevina na predmetnome prostoru spominje se u povijesnim izvorima, dok su u slučaju srednjovjekovnih crkava u Buku i Djedinoj Rijeci povijesni izvori jedini preostali trag, uz mogućnost pronalazanja njihovih ostataka pomoću arheoloških metoda.⁷⁵

Izvorna gradnja promatranih sakralnih građevina pripada srednjem vijeku, razdoblju 12. – 14. stoljeća. Najstarija sakralna građevina, koja je tijekom narednih razdoblja fortificirana, nalazi se na lokalitetu Njive kod Ivandola, a datirana je u drugu polovicu 12. stoljeća.⁷⁶ Tijekom 14. stoljeća podignute su gotička kapela sv. Dimitrija u Brodskom Drenovcu⁷⁷ i srednjovjekovna (gotička) crkva Svih svetih u Sesvetama.⁷⁸ Istom stoljeću pripa-

The professional literature mentions that a parish church once stood on the present-day local cemetery in Djedina Rijeka (Fig. 10), “surrounded by a moat, and perhaps a wall”.⁶⁷ It is also stated that the same church was converted into a mosque during the Ottoman rule.⁶⁸ Goss notes that the medieval parish in Djedina Rijeka existed in 1334,⁶⁹ he notes that the location of the present-day cemetery has the configuration of a fortress and notes that the chapel of St Michael was built on the ruins of the old church, after the departure of the Ottomans.⁷⁰ The dedication of the new chapel to St Michael the Archangel is a memory of the medieval parish with a church that bore the name of the same saint.⁷¹

Final Considerations

The fortification of churches in the Požega Valley and the surrounding mountains during the Middle Ages and the modern period is evident from their material remains and historical sources. Some of these churches are today fully or partially preserved in elevation (e.g. the chapel of St Demetrius in Brodski Drenovac), with the fortification elements also preserved in elevation, or only the defensive part of the former building is preserved in elevation (e.g. the bell tower of the medieval church of All Saints in Sesvete). Other buildings are found in the archaeological layer, or during archaeological research (remains of the late-Gothic church in the Old Town of Kaptol⁷² and the Romanesque rotunda above Ivandol).⁷³ The existence and partial preservation of some sacred buildings and their defensive elements are indicated by architectural and other signs, such as the remains of the late-Gothic bell tower on the site and in the corpus of the Baroque case-tower next to the church of St George in Kaptol;⁷⁴ however, their possible underground or above-ground elements should only be determined through archaeological or conservation research. Most of the sacred structures identified in the area are mentioned in historical sources, while, in the case of the medieval churches in Buk and Djedina Rijeka, historical sources are the only remaining trace, with the possibility of finding their remains using archaeological methods.⁷⁵

The original construction of the sacred buildings observed dates back to the Middle Ages, from the 12th century to the 14th. The oldest sacred building, which was established during the following periods, is located at the site of Njive, near Ivandol, and is dated to the second half of the 12th century.⁷⁶ During the 14th century, the Gothic chapel of St Demetrius in Brodski Dreno-

70 Goss 2012, 69; usp. Buturac 1934, 84.

71 Usp. Buturac 1934, 84.

72 Bojčić, Podunavac 2022, 89–98.

73 Mihaljević, Horvat, Matković 2015; Mihaljević, Matković, Horvat 2018.

74 Usporedi Bojčić, Podunavac 2022, 98.

75 Kempf 1910, 25; Buturac 1934, 84; 1977, 34; Horvat, Mirnik 1977, 151; Buturac 1995, 36; Goss 2012, 69, 137.

76 Usp. Mihaljević, Horvat, Matković 2015, 102.

77 Gvozdanović 1971, 220; Vukičević-Samaržija 1986, 95; 2004, 176.

78 Na temelju spomena pripadajuće župe u povijesnim vrelima iz prve polovice 14. st. (vidi Buturac 1995, 39).

67 Buturac 1977, 35.

68 Buturac 1977, 35.

69 Goss 2012, 69. An earlier mention of a parish in Djedina Rijeka, in 1312, is cited by Buturac 1995, 37.

70 Goss 2012, 69; cf. Buturac 1934, 84.

71 Cf. Buturac 1934, 84.

72 Bojčić, Podunavac 2022, 89–98.

73 Mihaljević, Horvat, Matković 2015; Mihaljević, Matković, Horvat 2018.

74 Cf. Bojčić, Podunavac 2022, 98.

75 Kempf 1910, 25; Buturac 1934, 84; 1977, 34; Horvat, Mirnik 1977, 151; Buturac 1995, 36; Goss 2012, 69, 137.

76 Cf. Mihaljević, Horvat, Matković 2015, 102.

dala je srednjovjekovna crkva u Buku,⁷⁹ a sudeći prema raspoloživim podacima, i ona u Djedinoj Rijeci,⁸⁰ dok je kasnogotička crkva kao dio sakralnoga kompleksa u Starome gradu Kaptolu nastala oko 1500. g.⁸¹

Do preinake relevantnih sakralnih građevina u obrambene svrhe ili dogradnje obrambenih arhitektonskih elemenata uz njih došlo je na prijelazu iz 15. u 16. stoljeće (pretpostavljeno utvrđivanje rotunde i evidentna izgradnja bedema s kulom na lokalitetu Njive iznad Ivandola⁸² te vjerojatno gradnja kule nad svetištem kapele sv. Dimitrija u Brodskom Drenovcu),⁸³ a kod nekih sakralnih građevina fortifikacijski elementi prisutni su već pri izvornoj gradnji (npr. masivni zvonik-toranj pred zapadnom fasadom gotičke kapele sv. Dimitrija u Brodskom Drenovcu iz 14. stoljeća).⁸⁴ Barokni zvonik crkve sv. Jurja u Kaptolu uspomena je na stariji zvonik, izgrađen u vrijeme kasnogotičke faze crkve sv. Petra.⁸⁵ Vrijeme utvrđivanja srednjovjekovnih crkava u Buku i Djedinoj Rijeci nije poznato. Također nije poznato kada je točno podignuta zvonik-kula u sklopu gotičke, a danas barokne crkve u Sesvetama.

Nastanak utvrđenih crkava u Hrvatskoj do sada se uglavnom povezivao s provalom Mongola u prvoj polovici 13. stoljeća,⁸⁶ odnosno poticajem kralja Bele IV. na podizanje svjetovnih i sakralnih utvrda⁸⁷ te osmanskim prodorima tijekom 15. i 16. stoljeća.⁸⁸ Novija istraživanja, međutim, ukazuju na to da je podizanje brojnih utvrda u srednjovjekovnoj Slavoniji sredinom 13. stoljeća uzrokovano različitim socijalnim i gospodarskim čimbenicima, odnosno općim razvojem srednjovjekovnoga društva, usponom plemstva, širenjem feudalizma, teritorijalnom podjelom posjeda, korištenjem utvrda kao simbola moći i vlasti itd.⁸⁹ Navedeno se vjerojatno može primijeniti i na pojavu utvrđenih crkava. Osim toga, postoji određeni broj kamenih burgova na području srednjovjekovne Slavonije koji su podignuti krajem 12. i u prvoj polovici 13. stoljeća, stoga njihova pojava nije mogla biti uzrokovana provalom Mongola ili osmanskim opasnošću.

Kada govorimo o društveno-povijesnome smislu utvrđivanja crkava na prostoru Požeške kotline i okolnoga gorja, tj. na prostoru koji je u srednjem vijeku bio središnji dio povijesne Požeške županije, ono se samo djelomično može povezati sa značajnim povijesnim promjenama koje su uzrokovali prodori Osmanlija u

vac⁷⁷ and the medieval (Gothic) church of All Saints in Sesvete were built.⁷⁸ The medieval church in Buk belonged to the same century,⁷⁹ and, with regard to the available data, so did the one in Djedina Rijeka,⁸⁰ while the late-Gothic church as part of the sacred complex in the Old Town of Kaptol was built around 1500.⁸¹

The modification of relevant sacred buildings for defensive purposes, or the addition of defensive architectural elements to them, occurred at the turn of the 16th century (the presumed fortification of the rotunda and the evident construction of a rampart with a tower at the site of Njive above Ivandol,⁸² and probably the construction of a tower over the sanctuary of the chapel of St Demetrius in Brodski Drenovac),⁸³ and in some sacred buildings fortification elements were already present during the original construction (e.g. the massive bell tower in front of the western facade of the Gothic chapel of St Demetrius in Brodski Drenovac from the 14th century).⁸⁴ The Baroque bell tower of the church of St George in Kaptol is a reminder of an older bell tower, built during the late-Gothic phase of the church of St Peter.⁸⁵ In the case of the medieval churches in Buk and Djedina Rijeka, the time of fortification is not known. It is also not known exactly when the bell tower was built as part of the Gothic, and today Baroque, church in Sesvete.

The emergence of fortified churches in Croatia has so far been associated mainly with the Mongol invasion in the first half of the 13th century,⁸⁶ or rather the encouragement of King Bela IV to build secular and sacred fortifications,⁸⁷ and the Ottoman incursions during the 15th and 16th centuries.⁸⁸ However, recent research indicates that the construction of numerous fortifications in medieval Slavonia in the mid-13th century was caused by various social and economic factors, namely the general development of medieval society, the rise of the nobility, the spread of feudalism, the territorial division of property, the use of fortifications as symbols of power and authority, etc.;⁸⁹ the above can probably also be applied to the appearance of fortified churches. In addition, there are a certain number of stone

79 Buturac 1934, 84; 1977, 34; 1995, 36; Goss 2012, 137.

80 Usp. Buturac 1995, 37; Goss 2012, 69.

81 Usp. Bojčić, Podunavac 2022, 90–100.

82 Usp. Mihaljević, Horvat, Matković 2015, 98–99; Ciganović 2023, 28–29; Mihaljević 2024, 1.

83 Usp. Gvozdanović 1971, 216; Sekulić-Gvozdanović 1994, 150. Gradnja kule eventualno se može datirati u polovicu 16. st. (vidi Vukičević-Samaržija 1986, 95).

84 Usp. Gvozdanović 1971, 219–220; Mohorovičić 1992, 105.

85 Usp. Kempf 1910, 109; Horvat, Mirnik 1977, 127, 150; Bojčić, Podunavac 2022, 98.

86 Sekulić-Gvozdanović 1994, 29, 36; Tkalčec 2021, 9–10, 24.

87 Sekulić-Gvozdanović 1994, 36.

88 Sekulić-Gvozdanović 1994, 29, 38; Tkalčec 2021, 9–10.

89 Janeš 2019; Tkalčec 2021, 24; usp. Mohorovičić 1992, 82–83.

77 Gvozdanović 1971, 220; Vukičević-Samaržija 1986, 95; Vukičević-Samaržija 2004, 176.

78 On the basis of the mention of the corresponding parish in historical sources from the first half of the 14th century (see Buturac 1995, 39).

79 Buturac 1934, 84; 1977, 34; 1995, 36; Goss 2012, 137.

80 Cf. Buturac 1995, 37; Goss 2012, 69.

81 Cf. Bojčić, Podunavac 2022, 90–100.

82 Cf. Mihaljević, Horvat, Matković 2015, 98–99; Ciganović 2023, 28–29; Mihaljević 2024, 1.

83 Cf. Gvozdanović 1971, 216; Sekulić-Gvozdanović 1994, 150. The construction of the tower can possibly be dated to the mid-16th century (see Vukičević-Samaržija 1986, 95).

84 Cf. Gvozdanović 1971, 219–220; Mohorovičić 1992, 105.

85 Cf. Kempf 1910, 109; Horvat, Mirnik 1977, 127, 150; Bojčić, Podunavac 2022, 98.

86 Sekulić-Gvozdanović 1994, 29, 36; Tkalčec 2021, 9–10, 24.

87 Sekulić-Gvozdanović 1994, 36.

88 Sekulić-Gvozdanović 1994, 29, 38; Tkalčec 2021, 9–10.

89 Janeš 2019; Tkalčec 2021, 24; cf. Mohorovičić 1992, 82–83.

15. i 16. stoljeću.⁹⁰ Na primjer, gradnja kule nad svetištem kapele u Brodskom Drenovcu najvjerojatnije je bila potaknuta osmanlijskom opasnošću, kako je već rečeno.⁹¹ Istim razlozima može se objasniti pretpostavljeno utvrđivanje srednjovjekovne kapele u Ivandolu.⁹² Zvonik-kula uz kasnogotičku crkvu sv. Petra, čija se gradnja datira u prijelaz iz 15. u 16. stoljeće, također bi se mogla promatrati kroz prizmu osmanske opasnosti. Što se tiče Sesveta, ako pretpostavimo da je gotička crkva podignuta u prvoj polovici 14. stoljeća, kada se spominje pripadajuća srednjovjekovna župa,⁹³ i uzmemo u obzir da zvonik-kula u sklopu gotičke, danas barokne, crkve nosi gotičko-renesansna obilježja,⁹⁴ navedenu zvonik-kulu kao fortifikacijski element možemo okvirno datirati u vrijeme nakon gradnje crkve, ali bez preciznoga datuma, i ne možemo je sa sigurnošću povezati s određenim povijesnim događajima.

Fortificiranje sakralnih građevina na promatranome prostoru može se stoga objasniti već spomenutim društvenim i gospodarskim razlozima koji su općenito poticali podizanje slavonske fortifikacijske arhitekture.⁹⁵ U tome smislu, utvrđene crkve mogu se smatrati nadopunom postojećemu fortifikacijskom sustavu „klasičnih“ utvrda, odnosno utvrđenih profanih objekata, kakvi su u srednjem i novom vijeku izgrađeni diljem Slavonije. Na primjer, na prostoru Požeške kotline i okolnoga gorja poznate su profane utvrde Dolački grad, Viškovački grad, Srednjovjekovni grad Velika i Kamengrad.⁹⁶ Pri tome treba napomenuti da su fortificirane sakralne građevine na tome prostoru doživjele preinake radi obrane izvan konteksta profanih utvrda (npr. crkva sv. Dimitrija u Brodskom Drenovcu).⁹⁷ Izvorni kontekst utvrđenih srednjovjekovnih crkava u Buku i Djedinoj Rijeci u navedenome smislu za sada nije moguće ustanoviti, iako bi se do određenih spoznaja možda moglo doći arheološkim istraživanjima.

Postavlja se pitanje jesu li crkve i samostani nakon utvrđivanja izgubili svoju sakralnu funkciju ili su istovremeno, tijekom određenoga razdoblja, imali i sakralnu i obrambenu ulogu? Dvojaka uloga posve je sigurna u slučaju kapele sv. Dimitrija u Brodskom Drenovcu⁹⁸ i srednjovjekovne crkve Svih svetih u Sesvetama,⁹⁹

burgs in the area of medieval Slavonia that were built in the late 12th century and first half of the 13th, so their appearance could not have been caused by the Mongol invasion or the Ottoman threat.

When we talk about the socio-historical meaning of the fortification of churches in the Požega Valley and the surrounding mountains, i.e. in the area that in the Middle Ages represented the central part of the historical Požega County, it can only be partially connected with the significant historical changes caused by the Ottoman invasions in the 15th and 16th centuries.⁹⁰ The construction of the tower over the sanctuary of the chapel in Brodski Drenovac, for example, was most likely prompted by the Ottoman threat, as already mentioned.⁹¹ The same reasons can explain the presumed fortification of the medieval chapel in Ivandol.⁹² The bell tower next to the late-Gothic church of St Peter, whose construction dates back to the turn of the 16th century, could also be viewed through the prism of the Ottoman threat. As for Sesvete, if we assume that the Gothic church was built in the first half of the 14th century, when the associated medieval parish is mentioned,⁹³ and we take into account that the bell tower as part of the Gothic church, now Baroque, bears Gothic-Renaissance features,⁹⁴ the aforementioned bell tower as a fortification element can be roughly dated to the time after the construction of the church, but without precise dates, and we cannot confidently connect it to specific historical events.

The fortification of sacred buildings in the area observed can therefore be explained by the aforementioned social and economic reasons that generally encouraged the development of Slavonian fortification architecture.⁹⁵ In this sense, fortified churches can be considered a complement to the existing fortification system of 'classical' fortifications, i.e. fortified profane structures, such as those built throughout Slavonia in the Middle Ages and the modern era. In the area of the Požega Valley and the surrounding mountains, known profane fortifications include, for example, Dolac Old Town, Viškovci Old Town, Velika Old Town and Kamengrad.⁹⁶ It should be noted that fortified sacred buildings in this area underwent modifications for the purpose of defence outside the context of profane fortifications (e.g. the church of St Demetrius in Brodski Drenovac).⁹⁷ The original context of the fortified medieval churches in Buk and

90 Usp. Sekulić-Gvozdanović 1994, 29.

91 Vidi Gvozdanović 1971, 216; Vukičević-Samaržija 1986, 95; Sekulić-Gvozdanović 1994, 150.

92 Usp. Mihaljević, Horvat, Matković 2015, 98–99.

93 Vidi Buturac 1995, 39; Goss 2012, 124.

94 Vidi Horvat-Levaj 2004, 191.

95 Usp. Janeš 2019.

96 Navedene utvrde spominju se u različitoj stručnoj i znanstvenoj literaturi, a podaci o njima dostupni su i u Registru kulturnih dobara Republike Hrvatske, <https://registar.kulturnadobra.hr/#/> (pristupljeno 24. 2. 2026.), kao i na Geoportalu kulturnih dobara Republike Hrvatske, <https://geoportal.kulturnadobra.hr/geoportal.html#/> (pristupljeno 24. 2. 2026.).

97 U radovima nekih autora postoje naznake o identificiranju istoga lokaliteta s položajem srednjovjekovne kraljevske utvrde i novovjekovnoga kaštela (usp. Szabo 1920, 124; Buturac 1977, 34; 1995, 35–36).

98 Usp. vidi Gvozdanović 1971, 216, 220–221; Vukičević-Samaržija 1986, 95; Sekulić-Gvozdanović 1994, 150.

99 Usp. Horvat-Levaj 2004, 191; Registar kulturnih dobara Republike Hrvatske, <https://registar.kulturnadobra.hr/#/details/Z-405> (pristupljeno 24. 2. 2026.).

90 Cf. Sekulić-Gvozdanović 1994, 29.

91 See Gvozdanović 1971, 216; Vukičević-Samaržija 1986, 95; Sekulić-Gvozdanović 1994, 150.

92 Cf. Mihaljević, Horvat, Matković 2015, 98–99.

93 See Buturac 1995, 39; Goss 2012, 124.

94 See Horvat-Levaj 2004, 191.

95 Cf. Janeš 2019.

96 The aforementioned fortifications are mentioned in various professional and scientific literature, and data about them is also available in the Register of Cultural Property of the Republic of Croatia, <https://registar.kulturnadobra.hr/#/> (accessed on 24th February 2026), as well as on the Geoportal of Cultural Property of the Republic of Croatia, <https://geoportal.kulturnadobra.hr/geoportal.html#/> (accessed on 24th February 2026).

97 In the works of some authors there are indications of the identification of the same locality with the location of a medieval royal fortress and a modern castle (cf. Szabo 1920, 124; Buturac 1977, 34; 1995, 35–36).

kao i kasnogotičke crkve sv. Petra u Kaptolu.¹⁰⁰ Nije poznato je li grobna kapela u Ivandolu imala sakralnu funkciju u vrijeme svojega pretpostavljenog utvrđivanja, kao i podizanja bedema, što je približno datirano u prijelaz iz 15. u 16. stoljeće,¹⁰¹ ali je zahvaljujući arheološkim istraživanjima poznato da se ukopavanje pokojnika oko kapele nastavilo sve do 18. stoljeća.¹⁰² Pripadajući srednjovjekovni plemićki posjed Odolja napušten je, međutim, dolaskom Osmanlija.¹⁰³

Na temelju navedenih primjera sakralnih građevina čija primarna funkcija nije prestala s arhitektonskim preinakama načinjenima u fortifikacijske svrhe (Brodski Drenovac, Sesvete, Kaptol), možemo s oprezom zaključiti da sakralna, odnosno liturgijska i slična namjena relevantnih građevina na promatranome prostoru nije narušena njihovim utvrđivanjem. Gubitak izvorne uloge pojedinih sakralnih građevina, u smislu održavanja vjerskih obreda u njima, mogao se dogoditi s njihovim napuštanjem uslijed osmanskoga osvajanja određenoga područja, kao što je vjerojatno bio slučaj s grobnom kapelom kod Ivandola, iako su se ukopi pokojnika i dalje obavljali. Čini se da je sakralna uloga crkve sv. Petra u Kaptolu također prestala s osmanskim osvajanjem utvrde – iako se crkva spominje u drugoj polovici 17. i početkom 18. stoljeća i doživjela je kasnobaroknu obnovu – jer postoje podaci da se liturgija za vrijeme osmanske vlasti obavljala u drvenoj crkvi izvan utvrde, na čijem je mjestu u drugoj polovici 18. stoljeća izgrađena današnja župna crkva sv. Petra i Pavla.¹⁰⁴ Neke su građevine, međutim, svoju izvorno sakralnu ulogu, u istome ili donekle izmijenjenome obliku, zadržale tijekom vremena te je imaju ili ponovno imaju i danas (kapela sv. Dimitrija u Brodskom Drenovcu, crkva Svih svetih u Sesvetama).¹⁰⁵ Na lokacijama srednjovjekovnih crkava u Buku i Djedinoj Rijeci danas se također nalaze crkve,¹⁰⁶ pri čemu je i titular kapele sv. Mihajla tj. Mihaela Arkandela u Djedinoj Rijeci srednjovjekovnoga porijekla.¹⁰⁷

U uvodnome dijelu ovoga rada istaknuto je da je fortificiranje sakralnih građevina opća i vrlo raširena pojava u europskome srednjovjekovlju, pa je tako prisutna i na hrvatskome prostoru.¹⁰⁸ O tome svjedoče utvrđene crkve i kapele na području Požeške kotline i slavonskoga gorja. Može se pretpostaviti da je sličnih građevina bilo i više, samo što još nisu pronađene, i da su neke od već poznatih građevina imale utvrđenja koja se

Djedina Rijeka in the aforementioned sense cannot be established at the moment, although certain insights could perhaps be gained through archaeological research.

The question arises whether churches and monasteries lost their sacred function after fortification or whether they simultaneously, for a certain period, had both a sacred and a defensive role. The dual role is quite certain in the case of the chapel of St Demetrius in Brodski Drenovac⁹⁸ and the medieval church of All Saints in Sesvete,⁹⁹ as well as the late-Gothic church of St Peter in Kaptol.¹⁰⁰ It is not known whether the burial chapel in Ivandol had a sacred function at the time of its presumed fortification, as well as the erection of the ramparts, which is approximately dated to the turn of the 16th century,¹⁰¹ but thanks to archaeological research it is known that the burial of the deceased around the chapel continued until the 18th century.¹⁰² The medieval noble estate of Odolja, which belonged to it, was abandoned, however, with the arrival of the Ottomans.¹⁰³

On the basis of the above examples of sacred buildings whose primary function did not cease with architectural modifications made for fortification purposes (Brodski Drenovac, Sesvete, Kaptol), we can cautiously conclude that the sacred, or liturgical and similar, purpose of the relevant buildings in the area observed was not impaired by their fortification. The loss of the original role of individual sacred buildings, in terms of holding religious ceremonies in them, could have occurred with their abandonment due to the Ottoman conquest of a certain area, as was probably the case with the burial chapel near Ivandol, although burials of the deceased continued to be carried out. It seems that the sacred role of the church of St Peter in Kaptol also ceased with the Ottoman conquest of the fortress – although the church is mentioned in the second half of the 17th century and in the early 18th, and it underwent a late-Baroque renovation – because there is information that, during Ottoman rule, the liturgy was performed in a wooden church outside the fortress, on whose site the present parish church of St Peter and Paul was built in the second half of the 18th century.¹⁰⁴ Some buildings, however, have retained their originally sacred role, in the same or somewhat modified form, over time, which they have or have again today (the chapel of St Demetrius in Brodski Drenovac, the church of All Saints in Sesvete).¹⁰⁵ There

100 Bojčić, Podunavac 2022.

101 Usp. Mihaljević, Horvat, Matković 2015, 98–99.

102 Mihaljević, Horvat, Matković 2015, 101; Mihaljević *et al.* 2016, 79, 83; Ciganović 2023, 31. Kontinuitet kršćanskoga ukopavanja uz crkve tijekom osmanske vlasti pokazuju i neka druga slavonska nalazišta, kao što su opatija sv. Margarete u Bijeloj, crkva sv. Lovre u Crkvarima, crkva sv. Marije Magdalene u Čazmi, pa i benediktinska opatija na Rudini (Janeš 2024, 92–94).

103 Mihaljević, Horvat, Matković 2015, 96; Mihaljević *et al.* 2016, 75; Mihaljević, Matković, Horvat 2018, 58; Ciganović 2023, 31.

104 Kempf 1910, 109; Horvat, Mirnik 1977, 127.

105 Vidi Bender Maringer, Pavlaković Jakopić 2014, 113.

106 Goss 2012, 69, 137.

107 Buturac 1934, 84; Goss 2012, 69.

108 Vidi Sekulić-Gvozdanović 1994, 5–6; Tkalčec 2021, 10.

98 Cf. Gvozdanović 1971, 216, 220–221; Vukičević-Samaržija 1986, 95; Sekulić-Gvozdanović 1994, 150.

99 Cf. Horvat-Levaj 2004, 191; Register of Cultural Property of the Republic of Croatia, <https://registar.kutlurnadobra.hr/#/details/Z-405> (accessed on 24th February 2026).

100 Bojčić, Podunavac 2022.

101 Cf. Mihaljević, Horvat, Matković 2015, 98–99.

102 Mihaljević, Horvat, Matković 2015, 101; Mihaljević *et al.* 2016, 79, 83; Ciganović 2023, 31. The continuity of Christian burials next to churches during the Ottoman rule is also shown by some other Slavonian sites, such as the abbey of St Margaret in Bijela, the church of St Lawrence in Crkvari, the church of St Mary Magdalene in Čazma, and even the Benedictine abbey on Rudina (Janeš 2024, 92–94).

103 Mihaljević, Horvat, Matković 2015, 96; Mihaljević *et al.* 2016, 75; Mihaljević, Matković, Horvat 2018, 58; Ciganović 2023, 31.

104 Kempf 1910, 109; Horvat, Mirnik 1977, 127.

105 See Bender Maringer, Pavlaković Jakopić 2014, 113.

nisu očuvala¹⁰⁹ ili su možda tijekom stoljeća modificirana do neprepoznatljivosti. Ako promotrimo stanje istraženosti promatranih građevina u povijesnome, arheološkome i konzervatorskome smislu, vidjet ćemo da unatoč posvećenoj pažnji i uloženoj trudu brojnih stručnjaka i znanstvenika, kao i izuzetno vrijednim rezultatima koji su do sada postignuti, još uvijek ima prostora za napredak. Taj „prostor za napredak“, međutim, svojstven je svakoj struci i svakoj znanosti, čineći je dinamičnom, živom, nepresušnom te uvijek novom i poticajnom. Što se tiče promatranoga područja, može se očekivati da će buduća istraživanja donijeti mnoge još neotkrivene i dragocjene spoznaje o obrambenome graditeljstvu srednjega i novoga vijeka, bilo da je riječ o izvorno profanim i fortifikacijskim objektima ili o sakralnim građevinama koje su u određenome povijesno-društvenom kontekstu onodobnim stanovnicima požeškoga kraja i okolice služile kao utvrde.

are also churches today on the sites of medieval churches in Buk and Djedina Rijeka,¹⁰⁶ with the chapel of St Michael, i.e. Michael the Archangel, in Djedina Rijeka also being of medieval origin.¹⁰⁷

The introductory part of this paper emphasizes that the fortification of sacred buildings was a widespread phenomenon in the European Middle Ages, and is therefore also present in Croatia.¹⁰⁸ This is evidenced by fortified churches and chapels in the Požega Valley and Slavonian mountains. It can be assumed that there were more similar buildings, but they have not yet been found, and that some of the already known buildings had fortifications that were not preserved,¹⁰⁹ or perhaps were modified beyond recognition over the centuries. If we examine the state of research of the observed buildings in a historical, archaeological and conservation sense, we will see that, despite the dedicated attention and effort of numerous experts and scientists, as well as the extremely valuable results that have been achieved so far, there is still room for progress. This 'room for progress', however, is inherent to every profession and every science, making it dynamic, alive, inexhaustible and always new and stimulating. As for the area observed, it can be expected that future research will offer many still undiscovered and valuable insights into the defensive architecture of the Middle Ages and the modern era, whether it is originally profane and fortification structures or sacred buildings that, in a certain historical and social context, served as fortifications for the inhabitants of the Požega region and its surroundings at that time.

109 Pogotovo u slučaju sakralnih objekata podignutih na strateški povoljnim položajima, kao što su npr. crkva sv. Mihaela u Ratkovici (usp. Goss 2012, 126–127) ili nekadašnja romanička rotunda na položaju postojeće crkve sv. Martina u Brestovcu (Goss 2012, 61); također bi bilo zanimljivo istražiti položaj trolisne građevine na visokome platou nedaleko od sela Toranj kod Pakraca (vidi Goss 2012, 140–141).

106 Goss 2012, 69, 137.

107 Buturac 1934, 84; Goss 2012, 69.

108 See Sekulić-Gvozdanović 1994, 5–6 and Tkalčec 2021, 10.

109 Especially in the case of sacred buildings built in strategically advantageous positions, such as the church of St Michael in Ratkovica (cf. Goss 2012, 126–127) or the former Romanesque rotunda on the site of the existing church of St Martin in Brestovac (Goss 2012, 61); it would also be interesting to investigate the position of the trefoil building on a high plateau near the village of Toranj near Pakrac (see Goss 2012, 140–141).

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