

Metalni nalazi s prostora osmanske kule Jahja-bega, današnje kapele Sveta tri kralja u Gorjanima

Stingl, Sebastijan; Hirschler Marić, Ivana; Sekulić, Petar

Source / Izvornik: **Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu, 2022, 55, 301 - 333**

Journal article, Published version

Rad u časopisu, Objavljena verzija rada (izdavačev PDF)

<https://doi.org/10.52064/vamz.55.2.6>

Permanent link / Trajna poveznica: <https://um.nsk.hr/um:nbn:hr:291:368102>

Rights / Prava: [In copyright](#) / [Zaštićeno autorskim pravom](#).

Download date / Datum preuzimanja: **2025-03-04**



INSTITUT ZA
ARHEOLOGIJU

Repository / Repozitorij:

[RIARH - Repository of the Institute of archaeology](#)



DIGITALNI AKADEMSKI ARHIVI I REPOZITORIJI

METALNI NALAZI S PROSTORA OSMANSKE KULE JAHJA-BEGA, DANAŠNJE KAPELE SVETA TRI KRALJA U GORJANIMA

METAL FINDS FROM THE AREA OF THE YAHYA-BEY TOWER, PRESENT DAY CHAPEL OF THE MAGI, IN GORJANI

Sebastijan Stingl

Institut za arheologiju
Jurjevska ulica 15
HR – 10000 Zagreb
sstingl@iarh.hr

Ivana Hirschler Marić

Hrvatski restauratorski zavod
Služba za arheološki baštinu
Odjel za kopnenu arheologiju
Kožarska 5
HR – 10000 Zagreb
iharasa@hrz.hr

Petar Sekulić

Hrvatski restauratorski zavod
Služba za arheološki baštinu
Odjel za kopnenu arheologiju
Kožarska 5
HR – 10000 Zagreb
psekulic@hrz.hr

Sebastijan Stingl

Institute of Archaeology
Jurjevska ulica 15
HR – 10000 Zagreb
sstingl@iarh.hr

Ivana Hirschler Marić

Croatian Conservation Institute
Division for Archaeological Heritage
Department for Archaeology
Kožarska 5
HR – 10000 Zagreb
iharasa@hrz.hr

Petar Sekulić

Croatian Conservation Institute
Division for Archaeological Heritage
Department for Archaeology
Kožarska 5
HR – 10000 Zagreb
psekulic@hrz.hr

UDK / UDC: 904:7.023.1-034(497.543 Gorjani)»654»
Prethodno priopćenje / Preliminary report

Tijekom 2015. i 2018. godine na prostoru kapele Sveta tri kralja u Gorjanima provedena su arheološka istraživanja. Ustanovljeno je kako je današnja kapela izvorno građena kao osmanska kula tijekom druge polovice 16. stoljeća. Za izgradnju je korištena srednjovjekovna opeka, vjerojatno s ruševina srednjovjekovne Gore/Gare. Kula stambeno-obrambene namjene izvorno se sastojala od prizemlja i, najvjerojatnije, dva kata. Arheološki su istraženi unutrašnjost objekta, kao i veća površina južno i jugozapadno od kule, prilikom čega je otkrivena i veća otpadna kanalizacijska jama koja je pripadajućim zidanim kanalom bila povezana s kulom. U unutrašnjosti kule, u slojevima šute koji su prekrivali izvorni nivo poda, pronađen je samo jedan brončani nalaz, prsten koji se datira u kasno 18. ili rano 19. stoljeće. Među pokretnim nalazima iz arheoloških konteksta, povezanih s otpadno-kanalizacijskom jamom iz vremena osmanskog vladanja Gorom/Garom, izdvaja se zanimljiva, brojna i raznovrsna sku-

During 2015 and 2016, archaeological excavations were conducted in the area of the Chapel of the Magi, in Gorjani. They revealed that the present-day chapel was originally constructed as an Ottoman tower during the second half of the 16th century. The material used for construction was medieval brick, probably brought from the ruins of medieval Gora/Gara. The tower, used as a residential and defensive unit, originally comprised a ground floor and probably two upper floors. The area archaeologically excavated was the inside of the building and a sizeable area south and southwest of the tower, revealing a large sewage/waste pit connected to the tower by a brick canal. Rubble layers that covered the original floor layer inside the tower yielded only one bronze find: a ring dated to the late 18th or early 19th century. An interesting, numerous and diverse group of metal finds stands out among the movable finds from the archaeological contexts connected to the sewage/waste pit from the

pina metalnih nalaza. Među njima prednjače željezni okovi za obuću, slijede noževi, nekoliko alatki, britva, ulomak vatrenog oružja i dr. te oštećeni dijelovi brončanog posuđa. Pronađeni metalni nalazi pružaju nam određeni uvid u način odijevanja te neke običaje i aktivnosti osmanske posade ili posjednika kule.

Ključne riječi:

Gorjani, kula, osmansko razdoblje, metalni nalazi, obuća, noževi

time of Ottoman rule over Gora/Gara. The most numerous ones are iron fittings for footwear, followed by knives, several tools, a razor, a firearm fragment, etc., as well as damaged pieces of bronze kitchenware. The metal finds give us insight into the wardrobe, some customs, and activities of the Ottoman crew, or the tower keepers.

Keywords:

Gorjani, tower, Ottoman period, metal finds, footwear, knives

Uvod

Današnje naselje Gorjani nalazi se desetak kilometara sjeverozapadno od Đakova (karta 1). Smješteni južno od toka rijeke Vuke, na rubnom sjevernom dijelu đakovačkog ravnjaka, Gorjani se od prapovijesti nalaze na raskrižju značajnih prometnih pravaca. Kapela Sveta tri kralja (sl. 5) smještena je u južnom dijelu današnjeg naselja Gorjani (118 mnv),¹ oko 150 m udaljena od ostataka srednjovjekovnog utvrđenoga grada Gore/Gare² (karta 2). Orijentirana je u smjeru sjeverozapad – jugoistok.

Odjel za kopnenu arheologiju Službe za arheološku baštinu Hrvatskoga restauratorskog zavoda proveo je u jesen 2015. godine istraživanja dijela unutrašnjosti i okoliša na prostoru Kapele Sveta tri Kralja u Gorjanima (sl. 1–3).³ Arheološka su istraživanja nastavljena u proljeće 2018. godine, kada je u cijelosti istražena unutrašnjost kapele (sl. 4).⁴ Na njezinu su pročelju i u unutraš-

Introduction

The present-day village of Gorjani is situated around ten kilometres north – west of Đakovo (Map 1). Since it is situated south of the River Vuka, in the far north of the Đakovo loess plateau, Gorjani has always been at the crossroads of significant communications. The Chapel of the Magi (Fig. 5) is situated in the southern part of present-day Gorjani (118 m asl),¹ around 150 m from the remains of the medieval fortified town of Gora/Gara (Map 2).² It is oriented in a NW – SE direction.

The Department of Land Archaeology of the Croatian Conservation Institute's Division for Archaeological Heritage excavated the inside and the surroundings of the area of the Chapel of the Magi, in Gorjani, in the autumn of 2015 (Figs 1–3).³ The excavation continued in the spring of 2018, when the entire interior of the chapel was excavated (Fig. 4).⁴ Extensive conservation and

1 Kapela se nalazi na k.č. 546, okolna čestica je k.č. 545/3 (k.o. Gorjani). Pod oznakom Z-1644 upisana je na Listu zaštićenih kulturnih dobara Ministarstva kulture i medija, čijim su sredstvima bila provedena arheološka istraživanja 2015. godine, kao i konzervatorsko-restauratorska istraživanja, dok je arheološka istraživanja 2018. i arheološki nadzor 2019. godine financirala Općina Gorjani.

2 Arheološka istraživanja na području srednjovjekovnog naselja gradskog karaktera u Gorjanima započela su 2017. godine u sklopu programa „Arheološka topografija srednjovjekovnih Gorjana“, a od tada ih u kontinuitetu provodi Odjel za kopnenu arheologiju Službe za arheološku baštinu Hrvatskoga restauratorskog zavoda (voditeljica istraživanja Ivana Hirschler Marić). Dosad je istraženo nekoliko manjih sondi unutar jugoistočnog dijela naselja, a od 2018. godine istraživanja se provode na prostoru dominikanskog samostana u sjeverozapadnom dijelu naselja (Hirschler Marić 2018; 2020; 2021a; 2021b).

3 Istraženo je šest sondi različitih veličina, ukupne površine 134,6 m². U unutrašnjosti su bile istražne sonde uz dio zapadnog zida svetišta (S-4), uz južni zid svetišta (S-5), uz južni zid lađe i ostatke izvornoga pregradnog zida (S-1), a izvan kapele istražena je veća sonda uz južni zid, koja je obuhvatila i dio prostora jugozapadno od objekta (S-2), kao i manje sonde na sjeveru prema drenažnom kanalu uz cestu (S-3 i S-6). Voditeljica arheoloških istraživanja bila je Ivana Hirschler Marić, dipl. arheologinja iz Odjela za kopnenu arheologiju Službe za arheološku baštinu Hrvatskoga restauratorskog zavoda (Hirschler Marić, Sekulić 2016).

4 Istraživanjima 2018. godine bila je obuhvaćena čitava unutrašnjost kapele, dimenzija 17,8 x 4,5 m, zajedno s prethodno već istraženim sondama S-1, 4 i 5 (Hirschler Marić 2018 – 2019). S obzirom na to da je dovršena konzervatorsko-restauratorska obrada pronađenih metalnih predmeta, pristupilo se njihovu objavljivanju. U tijeku je dovršetak konzervatorsko-restauratorskih radova na keramičkim predmetima, kao i njihova stručna obrada pa se planira skora objava ove grupe nalaza. Zooarheološki nalazi također će u skorije vrijeme biti detaljno predstavljeni.

1 The chapel is situated on cadastral parcel 546, while the parcel around it is number 545/3 (Cadastral Municipality of Gorjani). It has been included as item Z-1644 in the Register of Cultural Property of the Ministry of Culture and Media. They provided the resources for the excavation in 2015 and the conservation and restoration work, while the archaeological excavation in 2018 and archaeological supervision in 2019 were financed by the Municipality of Gorjani.

2 Archaeological excavation in the area of the medieval urban settlement in Gorjani began in 2017 as part of the programme 'Archaeological Topography of Medieval Gorjani', and has since been conducted by the Department of Land Archaeology of the Croatian Conservation Institute's Division for Archaeological Heritage (excavation head: Ivana Hirschler Marić). Several smaller trenches have been excavated within the south-eastern part of the settlement. Excavation has also been conducted since 2018 in the area of the Dominican monastery in the north-western part of the settlement (Hirschler Marić 2018; 2020; 2021a; 2021b).

3 Six trenches of different sizes were excavated. Their total surface area was 134,6 m². In the interior of the chapel, the following trenches were excavated: trenches along part of the western wall of the sanctuary (S-4), along the southern wall of the sanctuary (S-5), along the southern wall of the nave and the remains of the original partition wall (S-1). On the outside of the chapel, a larger trench along the southern wall was excavated. It included part of the area south-west of the building (S-2), as well as smaller trenches in the north, towards the drainage along the road (S-3 and S-6). The head of the archaeological excavation was Ivana Hirschler Marić, archaeologist, from the Department of Land Archaeology of the Croatian Conservation Institute's Division for Archaeological Heritage (Hirschler Marić, Sekulić 2016).

4 The excavation in 2018 included the whole interior of the chapel, 17,8 x 4,5 m, alongside the previously excavated trenches S-1, 4 and 5 (Hirschler Marić 2018 – 2019). Given that the conservation and restoration work on the metal objects is finalized, they have entered the publication process. The conservation and restoration work on the pottery items, as well as technical analysis, is almost complete, and the publication of this group of finds is expected soon. Zooarchaeological finds will also soon be presented in detail.



KARTA 1. Položaj Gorjana na zemljovidu Hrvatske (izvor: Institut za arheologiju, izradio T. Kaniški, obradila I. Hirschler Marić).

MAP 1. Location of Gorjani on the map of Croatia (Source: Institute of Archaeology, made by T. Kaniški, adapted by I. Hirschler Marić).

njosti, također u razdoblju od 2013. do 2016. godine, bili provedeni i opsežni konzervatorsko-restauratorski istraživački radovi.⁵ Godine 2019. uz vanjske su zidove kapele obavljani radovi iskopa za postavljanje drenaže, a tijekom arheološkog nadzora nad radovima nisu pronađene nove strukture niti ukopi.⁶

U ovome radu biti će obrađeni pronađeni metalni nalazi s prostora osmanske kule Jahja-bega, današnje kapele Sveta tri kralja u Gorjanima. Tijekom arheoloških istraživanja pronađeni su metalni, keramički i zooarheološki pokretni arheološki nalazi. S obzirom da su konzervatorsko-restauratorski radovi na keramičkim predmetima, kao i dodatne zooarheološke analize još u tijeku, te vrste nalaza nisu obuhvaćene radom te će biti obrađene i objavljene u budućim radovima.

restoration research activities were conducted on the façade and inside the chapel between 2013 and 2016, as well.⁵ In 2019, a canal for drainage was dug out along the external walls of the chapel; the archaeological supervision of that work did not detect any new structures or burials.⁶

This paper will analyse the metal finds discovered in the area of the Ottoman Yahya-Bey tower, i.e. the present-day Chapel of the Magi, in Gorjani. Excavations have yielded movable metal, pottery and zooarchaeological artefacts. Given that the conservation-restoration work on pottery items, as well as additional zooarchaeological analyses, is still in progress, these finds are not included in this paper. They will be analysed and published in the future.

⁵ Voditeljica radova bila je Irena Pauk Sili, dipl. povjesničarka umjetnosti iz Restauratorskog odjela u Osijeku Službe za nepokretnu baštinu Hrvatskoga restauratorskog zavoda (Pauk Sili 2017).

⁶ Nadzor nad radovima obavila je Jelena Boras, kustosica Arheološkog odjela Muzeja Đakovštine (Boras 2019).

⁵ The work was headed by Irena Pauk Sili, art historian from the Department of Land Archaeology of the Croatian Conservation Institute's Osijek Department for Conservation (Pauk Sili 2017).

⁶ These activities were supervised by Jelena Boras, curator of the Museum of the Đakovo Region's archaeological collection (Boras 2019).

KARTA 2. Položaj kapele Sveta tri kralja (narančasto) i srednjovjekovnog naselja u Gorjanima (crveno; izvor: www.dgu.hr, uređila I. Hirschler Marić).

MAP 2. Position of the Chapel of the Magi (orange) and the medieval urban settlement in Gorjani (red) (source: www.dgu.hr, adapted by I. Hirschler Marić).



Povijesni pregled

U povijesnim izvorima prvi spomeni Gorjana pojavljuju se uz izraze zemljište, posjed i utvrda⁷ u 13. stoljeću. Godine 1269. Bela, herceg Slavonije, Dalmacije i Hrvatske, daruje posjed Ivanu i Stjepanu od roda Dorozsma, začetnicima plemićke obitelji Gorjanskih. Gradski status Gorjani najvjerojatnije stječu tijekom 14. stoljeća za palatina Nikole Gorjanskog starijeg⁸ te postaju jedno od najznačajnijih središta Vukovske županije. U ispravi kraljice Marije iz 1387. Gorjani se nazivaju gradom. Također, doznaje se da grad nisu zaobišla razaranja kao posljedica dinastičkih sukoba krajem 14. i početkom 15. stoljeća. U razdoblju kasnoga srednjeg vijeka Gorjani su uz Ilok najvažnije gradsko naselje u Vukovskoj županiji. Nadalje, u ovom je razdoblju u Gorjanima postojao dominikanski samostan sv. Margarete. Također, spominju se župna crkva sv. Pavla, hospital za siromahe i kapela Svih Svetih te kapelica sv. Jakova, dok podaci o gospodarskim aktivnostima navode postojanje više sajmovi i lokalnih obrta. Vrhunac razvoja Gorjana, kao naselja gradskog karaktera, valja vezati uz dvojicu palatina, Nikolu Gorjanskog starijeg i njegova sina, Nikolu mlađeg, jednog od najjačih oslonaca vladavine Sigismunda Luksemburškog.

Prvi osmanski upadi na području Slavonije zabilježeni su već 1396. godine. Povremeni pljačkaški upadi osmanskih akindžija zabilježeni 1423. i 1441. godine, zahvaćaju šire područje Gorjana, a ponovno se pojavljuju uslijed raspada obrambenog sustava nakon smrti kralja Matije Korvina 1490. godine. Nakon pada Beograda 1521. i poraza ugarske vojske na Mohačkom polju 1526. godine te osvajanja Osijeka, područje Slavonije je izloženo neprekidnim upadima i pustošenjima osmanskih postrojbi te

Historical overview

The first mentions of Gorjani in historical sources can be found in the 13th century, alongside words like ‘land’, ‘estate’ and ‘fort’.⁷ In 1269, Béla, Duke of Slavonia, Dalmatia and Croatia, granted the estate to John and Stephen of the Dorozsma clan, the progenitors of the Garai or Garay (Gorjanski) family. Gorjani probably got the status of a town during the 14th century at the time of Palatine Nicholas I Garai⁸ and became one of the most significant centres of Vukovo County. A document by Queen Mary written in 1387 refers to Gorjani as a town. This document also reveals that the town did not evade the destruction ensuing from the dynastic conflicts in the late 14th century and the beginning of the 15th. In the Late Middle Ages, Gorjani was the most important town in Vukovo County, alongside Ilok. Moreover, there was a Dominican Monastery of St Margaret in Gorjani in this period. The parish church of St Paul, a hospital for the poor, the Chapel of All Saints, and the Chapel of St Jacob were also mentioned, while the data about economic activities includes a number of fairs and local artisan workshops. The height of Gorjani’s development as an urban settlement should be associated with two palatines, Nicholas I Garai (Senior) and his son, Nicholas II Garai (Junior), among the most important supporters of Sigismund of Luxembourg’s reign. The first Ottoman raids on Slavonia were recorded as early as 1396. Periodic plundering incursions of the Ottoman akincis were recorded in 1423 and 1441, encompassing a wider area of Gorjani. They recurred in the period of the break-up of the fortification system after the death of King Matthias Corvinus in 1490. After the fall of Belgrade in 1521, the defeat of the Hungarian army in the Battle of Mohács in 1526, and the fall of

⁷ Jelaš 2020, 60.

⁸ Jelaš 2020, 60–65.

⁷ Jelaš 2020, 60.

⁸ Jelaš 2020, 60–65.

pokretima vojske. Nakon isteka primirja 1536. godine, uslijedilo je postupno osvajanje područja istočne i središnje Slavonije.⁹ Habsburški protuudar, odnosno opsada Osijeka 1537. godine, rezultirala je neuspjehom, a ostaci habsburške vojske, koja se 8. rujna 1537. godine utaborila nedaleko od Gorjana, tijekom povlačenja su uništeni.¹⁰ Razdoblje od 1526. do 1540. godine smatra se razdobljem uspostave osmanske vlasti na području istočne i središnje Slavonije. Osvajanje i učvršćivanje osmanske vlasti na području središnje Slavonije najvećim dijelom veže se uz pripadnike begovske obitelji Jahjapašić.¹¹ Postrojbe sina Jahja-paše, smederevskog sandžakbega Mehmed-bega,¹² zauzimaju 1536. godine Ivankovo, Đakovo i Gorjane te početkom iduće godine Požegu i čitavu Požešku kotlinu.¹³ Mehmed-beg također je zapovijedao i osmanskim postrojbama koje su u rujnu 1537. godine suzbile habsburški protuudar na području Slavonije pod vodstvom kapetana Ivana Katzianera. Zbog ratnih zasluga, sultan Sulejman I. Veličanstveni darovao mu je kao nasljedni posjed (odžakluk) Đakovo, koje je ostalo u vlasništvu njegovih nasljednika sve do njegova oslobođenja krajem 17. stoljeća.¹⁴

Novoosvojena područja srednje i zapadne Slavonije nakon nekoliko godina organizirana su 1538. godine u sandžak¹⁵ sa sjedištem u Požegi. Požeški sandžak bio je u sastavu ejaleta Rumelija do 1541. godine, kada je pripojen ejaletu Budim. Nakon što je 1580. godine bosanski sandžak proglašen ejaletom¹⁶ (tur. *eyâlet-i Bosna*), u njegovu se sastavu našlo čitavo područje Slavonije i Srijema, pa tako i Požeški sandžak¹⁷ (karta 3).¹⁸ Oko 1600. godine Požeški sandžak izdvojen je iz Bosanskog ejaleta i priključen novoosnovanom Kaniškom ejaletu, ali zbog pobune je sve do 1626. godine bio u nekoj vrsti kondominija.¹⁹ Područje

Osijek, the area of Slavonia was exposed to constant raids and devastations by Ottoman units and army marches. After the ceasefire ended in 1536, gradual conquest of the area of eastern and central Slavonia ensued.⁹ The Habsburgs' counter-strike, i.e. the siege of Osijek in 1537, resulted in failure, and the remaining Habsburg army that made camp not far from Gorjani on 8 September 1537 was destroyed.¹⁰ The period between 1526 and 1540 is considered to be a time of consolidation of Ottoman rule in the area of eastern and central Slavonia. The conquest and stabilization of Ottoman rule in central Slavonia are associated mostly with the members of the Jahjipašić family of beys.¹¹ The troops under the command of Yahya-Pasha's son, the Sanjak-bey of Smederevo, Mehmed-Bey,¹² captured Ivankovo, Đakovo and Gorjani in 1536, while they conquered Požega and the whole Požega Valley at the beginning of the next year.¹³ Mehmed-Bey also commanded the Ottoman troops that fought off the Habsburg counter-strike in Slavonia in September 1537 under the command of Captain Johann Katzianer. Due to his contribution in battle, Mehmed-Bey was awarded Đakovo as a hereditary estate (*ocaklik*) by Suleiman the Magnificent. It was owned by his heirs until it was reconquered at the end of the 17th century.¹⁴

After a couple of years, in 1538 the newly conquered areas of central and western Slavonia were organized in a sanjak¹⁵ with Požega as its centre. Until 1541, the Sanjak of Požega was part of the Eyalet of Rumelia, after which it was incorporated into the Eyalet of Buda. After the Sanjak of Bosnia was turned into an eyalet in 1580¹⁶ (Tur. *eyâlet-i Bosna*), the whole area of Slavonia and Syrmia, together with the Sanjak of Požega, was incorporated into it as well¹⁷ (Map 3).¹⁸ Around 1600, the Sanjak

9 Mažuran 1991, 18–20, 22–25.

10 Mažuran 1991, 32–33; 1998, 89.

11 Mujadžević 2009, 89–90. Utemeljitelj begovske obitelji Jahjipašića bio je vezir Jahja-paša, podrijetlom iz planinskih područja Makedonije (zbog toga je njegov sin Mehmed-beg nosio nadimak Arnaut, odnosno Albanac). Jahja-paša je bio sandžakbeg Ćezaira, Bosne, Kencira te beglerbeg Rumelije i Anatolije (Mujadžević 2005).

12 Sin Jahja-paše, Mehmed-beg (paša, vezir, poznat i kao Memi-beg, Arnaut Mehmed-paša, Gazi) bio je istaknuti vojni zapovjednik te je služio kao sandžakbeg Mosula (1520. – 1522.), Vidina (1525.), Smedereva (1527. – 1534., 1536. – 1540.), Moreje (1535.) te kao beglerbeg Budima (1543. – 1548.; Mujadžević 2005).

13 Mujadžević 2009, 90.

14 Čelebi 1979, 240; Sudár 2009, 405. Mehmed-begov sin Arslan-beg sudjelovao je u očevim pohodima u Slavoniji te je bio nominalni upravitelj privremenog krajišta (*serhat*) u srednjoj Slavoniji od 1537. do 1540. godine, kada je uslijed uspostave redovnog osmanskog vojnopravnog sustava u Slavoniji postao prvi požeški sandžak-beg (Mujadžević 2009, 90).

15 Sandžak (*liva*) je bio osnovna vojno-upravna jedinica Osmanskog Carstva, na čijem je čelu bio sandžak-beg (Mažuran 1998, 193). Veći je broj sandžaka činio najvišu upravnu jedinicu koja se zvala beglerbegluk, ejalet ili pašaluk.

16 Zapadni dio Slavonije, koji je osvojen u razdoblju od 1542. do 1552. godine, prvotno je priključen Bosanskom sandžaku, a 1557. godine je kao Čazmanski sandžak podvrgnut Rumeljskom ejaletu. Uspostavom Bosanskog ejaleta, koji je obuhvaćao područje Bosne, Hercegovine, Dalmacije, Like i Slavonije, u njegovu sastavu našli su se Pakrački (Čazmanski), Osječki, Požeški i Zvornički sandžaci (Mažuran 1998, 195).

17 Holjevac, Moačanin 2007, 115.

18 Na ustupljenoj karti zahvaljujemo prof. dr. sc. Nenadu Moačaninu i prof. dr. sc. Željku Holjevcu.

19 Holjevac, Moačanin 2007, 141.

9 Mažuran 1991, 18–20, 22–25.

10 Mažuran 1991, 32–33; 1998, 89.

11 Mujadžević 2009, 89–90; The progenitor of the Jahjipašić family of beys was Vizier Yahya Pasha, descending from the Macedonian mountain areas (therefore, his son Mehmed-Bey was nicknamed Arnaut, i.e. Albanian). Yahya Pasha was the Sanjak-bey of Ćezair, Bosnia, Kencir, and beylerbey of Rumelia and Anatolia (Mujadžević 2005).

12 Yahya Pasha's son, Mehmed-Bey (pasha, vizier, also known as Memi-Bey, Arnaut Mehmed-Pasha, Gazi) was a distinguished military commander and served as the Sanjak-bey of Mosul (1520 – 1522), Vidin (1525), Smederevo (1527 – 1534, 1536 – 1540) and Morea (1535), and as the beylerbey of Buda (1543 – 1548; Mujadžević 2005).

13 Mujadžević 2009, 90.

14 Čelebi 1979, 240; Sudár 2009, 405; Mehmed-Bey's son Arslan-Bey took part in his father's conquests in Slavonia and was the nominal governor of a temporary military border (*serhat*) in central Slavonia from 1537 to 1540, when he became the first Sanjak-bey of Požega after the establishment of the regular Ottoman military and administrative system in Slavonia (Mujadžević 2009, 90).

15 The sanjak (*liva*) was the basic military and administrative unit of the Ottoman Empire, governed by the Sanjak-bey (Mažuran 1998, 193). A fair number of Sanjaks made up the largest administrative unit, called beylerbeylik, eyalet or pašaluk.

16 The western part of Slavonia, conquered between 1542 and 1552, was originally integrated into the Sanjak of Bosnia, while it was subjected to the Eyalet of Rumelia as the Sanjak of Čazma in 1557. When the Eyalet of Bosnia was established, encompassing the area of Bosnia, Hercegovina, Dalmatia, Lika and Slavonia, the Sanjaks of Pakrac (Čazma), Osijek, Požega and Zvornik also became part of it (Mažuran 1998, 195).

17 Holjevac, Moačanin 2007, 115.

18 We thank Dr Nenad Moačanin and Dr Željko Holjevac for the map.

sandžaka dijelilo se na sudbeno-upravna područja, kadiluke.²⁰ Kadiluci su se dijelili na nahije, kao najniže upravne jedinice osmanske vlasti, koje su najčešće nastale pretvaranjem kasno-srednjovjekovnih župa ili posjeda.²¹ Može se pretpostaviti kako je osmanska vlast odabrala za središte kadiluka Gorjane, upravo zbog njihova političkog, vojnog i gospodarskog značenja u široj okolici. Kadiluci su često osnivani, ukidani, dijeljeni i spajani, ovisno o potrebama kadrovske politike i različitim interesima.²² Tako je, prema podacima iz druge polovice 16. stoljeća, nahija Krstošije izdvojena iz Gorjanskog te pripojena kadiluku Orahovica. Nadalje, prema mišljenju N. Moačanina, moguće je kako su u razdoblju do 1569. godine postojala na području kadiluka Gorjani dva nijabeta – u Podgoraču i Đakovu. Nijabet je u osmanskom sudbeno-upravnom sustavu bilo područje pod nadležnosti naiba, pomoćnog suca ili opunomoćenika kadije.²³ Unatoč manjim promjenama,²⁴ kadiluk Gorjani obuhvaćao je nahije Gorjani, Đakovo, Jošava, Podlužje, Dragotin, Nevna, Poljana, Prikraj, Podgorač i Koška.²⁵ Na području kadiluka Gorjani su imali status varoši, zadržavši demografski i gospodarski značaj u razdoblju osmanske vlasti. Status sjedišta kadiluka Gorjani su zadržali do kraja 16. ili početka 17. stoljeća, kada je preseljeno u obližnje Đakovo zbog svoga ubrzanog razvoja.²⁶

Iz godine 1552. sačuvan je dragocjen izvor na temelju kojeg se može pretpostaviti da je osmanska vojna posada bila smještena u postojećoj utvrdi Gorjani, tj. unutar zidova utvrđenog srednjovjekovnog naselja, a ujedno bi mogao ukazati na vrijeme izgradnje kule. U pisanoj zapovijedi, ili *fermanu*, kojim se odgovara na pismo požeškog sandžak-bega Ulama-bega, nalaže se premještanje *nefera* iz utvrde u Gorjanima (kojoj je jedna strana srušena u potresu i nije je moguće popraviti), u strateški značajnije utvrde: *nefere* (plaćeni vojnici u gradskim posadama) treba premjestiti u Kamengrad, a *azape* (laka pješadija) u Valpovo. Treba načiniti *defter* (popis) koliko je ljudi poslano. Pošto nema potrebe za obnovom utvrde, nalaže se njezino rušenje kako je ne bi koristili pljačkaši i odmetnici kao skrovište. Također, naređuje se dolazak *dizdaru* (zapovjednik utvrde) i *čehaji* (dozovjednik) u Požegu i preuzimanje *hukuma* (odredba) kojim im se daje *timar* (imanje, posjed).²⁷ Na temelju iznesenog sadržaja zapovijedi, može se, dakle, također pretpostaviti da je manja

of Požega was extracted from the Eyalet of Bosnia and joined the newly-formed Eyalet of Kanije; but, due to rebellion, the Sanjak of Požega was in a state of condominium until 1626.¹⁹ Sanjaks were divided into judiciary and administrative areas called kadiluks.²⁰ Kadiluks were divided into nahiyahs as the smallest administrative units of the Ottoman Empire, usually formed from late-medieval parishes or estates.²¹ It could be assumed that the Ottoman government chose Gorjani as the centre of their kadiluk due to its political, military and economic importance in the wider surroundings. Kadiluks were often established, terminated, divided and merged, depending on the requirements of personnel policy and various interests.²² According to data from the second half of the 16th century, the Nahiyah of Krstošije was separated from Gorjani and merged with the Kadiluk of Orahovica. Moreover, according to N. Moačanin, it is possible that until 1569 two niyabets existed in the Kadiluk of Gorjani: one in Podgorač and one in Đakovo. In the Ottoman judicial and administrative system, a niyabet was an area under the jurisdiction of a naib, an assistant judge, or kadi's plenipotentiary.²³ Despite minor changes,²⁴ the Kadiluk of Gorjani included the nahiyahs of Gorjani, Đakovo, Jošava, Podlužje, Dragotin, Nevna, Poljana, Prikraj, Podgorač and Koška²⁵ (Map 3). Within the Kadiluk, Gorjani had the status of a market town, which allowed it to maintain its demographic and economic importance in the period of Ottoman rule. Gorjani kept the status of the centre of the Kadiluk until the end of the 16th century or the beginning of the 17th, when, due to Đakovo's rapid development, it was transferred to that nearby town.²⁶

On the basis of a valuable preserved historical source of 1552 we can assume that the Ottoman military crew was situated in the existing Fort of Gorjani, i.e. within the walls of the fortified medieval settlement. At the same time, the document indicates the time of the construction of the tower. A written order or *ferman*, in reply to a letter by the Sanjak-Bey of Požega, Ulama-Bey, orders the dislocation of *nefers* from the fort in Gorjani (which has had one side destroyed in an earthquake and cannot be repaired) into strategically more important forts: *nefers* (paid soldiers in town crews) should be sent to Kamengrad, and *azaps* (light infantry) to Valpovo. A *defter* (list, register) should

20 Na čelu kadiluka ili kaza je bio kadija (sudac), kao jedina ovlaštena osoba u obavljanju sudskih poslova. Osim pravnih, kadija je imao široke ovlasti i dužnosti na području vojne i građanske uprave te pravo nadzora zakonitosti svih odluka vlasti (Mažuran 1998, 193).

21 Za razliku od vojno-upravnih područja, kadiluci su se više oslanjali na geografske i demografske čimbenike, a katkad i na povijesne okolnosti (Holjevac, Moačanin 2007, 114). Kadiluci su zaokružena područja prema geografskoj homogenosti i upravno-funkcionalnom kriteriju s obzirom na ulogu gradova (Moačanin 1984, 105). Tako se kadiluk mogao poklapati s granicama jednog sandžaka ali i nahije, ovisno o postojanju gradskog naselja i muslimanske zajednice budući da je kadija bio zadužen za provođenje šerijatskog prava.

22 Holjevac, Moačanin 2007, 114.

23 Moačanin 1984, 111–112.

24 U razdoblju između 1565. i 1579. godine ukinute su nahije Dubrava i Vrhovina koje su pripojene nahijama Prikraj, odnosno Podgorač (Moačanin 1984, 114).

25 Moačanin 1984, 114–115.

26 Moačanin 1984, 112.

27 Mujadžević 2008, 411–412.

19 Holjevac, Moačanin 2007, 141.

20 A kadi (judge) was the head of a kadiluk or kaza. He was the only individual authorized to conduct court affairs. Aside from the jurisdiction over court affairs, the kadi had broad authorities and duties regarding military and civil government, as well as the right to oversee the legality of all the regime's decisions (Mažuran 1998, 193).

21 Unlike the military and administrative areas, kadiluks were organized primarily around geographic and demographic factors, at times even around the historical circumstances as well (Holjevac, Moačanin 2007, 114). Kadiluks were well-rounded areas regarding geographic homogeneity and administrative and functional criteria organized around the role of towns (Moačanin 1984, 105). A kadiluk's borders could overlap with the borders of not only a Sanjak, but also a nahiyah, based on the existence of an urban settlement and the Muslim community, since the kadi was in charge of implementing Sharia law.

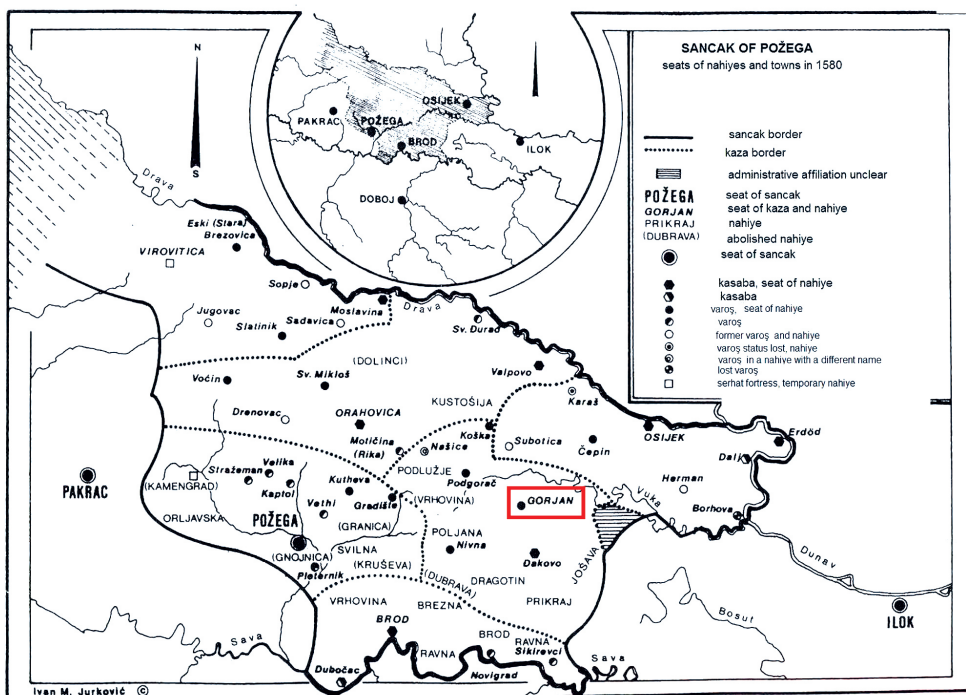
22 Holjevac, Moačanin 2007, 114.

23 Moačanin 1984, 111–112.

24 Between 1565 and 1579 the nahiyahs of Dubrava and Vrhovina were abolished and incorporated into the nahiyahs of Prikraj (Dubrava) and Podgorač (Vrhovina; Moačanin 1984, 114).

25 Moačanin 1984, 114–115.

26 Moačanin 1984, 112.



KARTA 3. Karta Požeškog sandžaka 1580. godine, sjedišta nahija i gradova (izradio I. M. Jurković, prema Holjevac, Moačanin 2007, 180, obradio P. Sekulić).

MAP 3. Map of the Sanjak of Požega in 1580, nahiyah centres and towns (map by I. M. Jurković, source: Holjevac, Moačanin 2007, 180, adapted by P. Sekulić).

posada od nekoliko članova mogla preseliti ili ostati u novozgrađenoj kuli u Gorjanima. Prema ustaljenom običaju, nakon konačnoga osmanskog osvajanja jedne zemlje, zadržavane su samo najznačajnije utvrde, dok su se ostale rušile, onemogućavajući da se njima netko kasnije služi.²⁸ Kao primjer slične prakse, može poslužiti utvrda Maglič u Srbiji. Tamo je, prema svjedočenju osmanskih izvora, u drugoj polovici 15. te tijekom 16. stoljeća bila stacionirana posada od dvadesetak članova čiji je broj ubrzo bio smanjen na deset. Za uzdržavanje posadnika bili su im dodijeljeni timari po selima u široj okolici. Uloga posade više nije bila vojno-strateške prirode jer područje više nije pripadalo ratnoj zoni, već osiguravanju komunikacije i vršenju „policijske“ službe.²⁹ Među rijetke sačuvane dokumente, koji spominju Gorjane u razdoblju osmanske uprave, pripada i isprava³⁰ o zemljišnom sporu u Gorjanima iz 1624. godine.³¹

Krajem 1687. godine od osmanske je vlasti oslobođeno područje čitave Slavonije osim područja uz rijeku Savu, koje su iz svojih uporišta Gradiške i Broda osmanske snage kontrolirale do svoga pada 1688. godine.³² U popisu kotara Đakovo nakon oslobođenja Slavonije od Osmanlija, koji je 1702. godine sastavio u ime kraljevske vojne uprave Emerik Sadetzky,³³ navodi se da je turski gospodar Gorjana (*Gorianny*) Jahja-beg (Jaia-beg)

be made listing the number of people sent. Since there is no need for the fort to be rebuilt, it is ordered to be demolished so it would not be used as a hiding place by looters and outlaws. The *ferman* also orders the *dizdar* (fortress commander) and *chekhaya* (vice-commander) to come to Požega and obtain the *hukuma* (decision) which grants them a *timar* (estate).²⁷ On the basis of the content of the order, it can also be assumed that a small crew made up of a few members could have been moved, or it could have stayed in the newly-constructed tower in Gorjani. According to the established custom, only the most significant forts were kept upon the final Ottoman conquest of a land, while the rest were demolished, preventing others from using them in the future.²⁸ Fort Maglič can serve as an example of a similar practice. According to Ottoman sources, a crew made up of around twenty members, soon reduced to ten, was stationed there permanently in the second half of the 15th century and during the 16th. For their livelihood, the crew was granted *timars* in the surrounding villages. Since the area was no longer in the war zone, the crew's role was no longer of a military and strategic nature; they took up the securing of communication lines and 'policing'.²⁹ One of the rare preserved documents mentioning Gorjani in the period of Ottoman rule is a document of 1624³⁰ about a land dispute in Gorjani.³¹

28 Popović 2012, 154.

29 Popović 2012, 156, 200.

30 Originalan dokument čuva se u Muzeju Đakovštine. Isprava je pisana u Istanbulu 21. – 23. 3. 1624., prijevod donosi N. Moačanin (Radić 2015, 109, kat. br. 261). U ispravi se spominje nahija Gorjani u Požeškom sandžaku.

31 Radić 2015, 109, kat. br. 261.

32 Mažuran 1988, 261.

33 Mažuran 1966, 107; Marković 1975, 172; Sršan 2000, 142.

27 Mujadžević 2008, 411–412.

28 Popović 2012, 154.

29 Popović 2012, 156, 200.

30 The original document is kept in the Museum of the Đakovo Region. It was written in Istanbul on 21 – 23 March 1624 and translated into Croatian by Moačanin (Radić 2015, 109, cat. no.261.) The document mentions the Nahiyah of Gorjani in the Sanjak of Požega.

31 Radić 2015, 109, cat. no. 261.

ostao u selu, a također se navodi njegova zidana kuća, pokrivena šindrom, koja ostaje napuštena. Bila je podignuta na tri kata u obliku tornja. U kući su sve razorili i spalili vojnici. Iako su neki navodi iz ovog opisa zbunjujući, pružaju podatke o izgledu kule. Sljedeći opis ostataka objekta, poznatog kao *Kula*, donosi gorjanski župnik Adam Filipović Heldenthalski sredinom 19. stoljeća. Spominje paljenje kule od strane habsburških postrojbi, kasniji neuspjeli pokušaj prenamjene u ambar za žito i konačnu prenamjenu u kapelu Sveta tri kralja: „Druga razvalina jest zidina stara u gornjoj strani sela Gorjanah i vrlo blizu one gradine, i pod imenom Kula poznata, 5 hvatih duga, 3 hvata široka, sada 4 hvata visoka. U tursko vrijeme bila je ona kula Jaije Bega, kako g. biskup Petar Bakić 1725. g. u opisu ovih selah izpisuje (+ sèrpnja 1749.) Kada vojska cesarska g. 1687. Turke iz Slavonije izbací, onda carski vojnici ovu kulu šindrom pokritu upališe, i ona ostade pustoš sve do vremena g. Joz. Ant. Chiolnicha bis. (+1773.). On nadošavši na zid ovi, za onda još pet hvatih novi visoki zid od prėsne cigle, načini ambar za hranu na 5 kanatah ili tavanah, i jer se rana u tėsnu kvarila, zato bi ova zgrada zanemarita, tako da je i krov nje strunio i upao, i seljani su zid obijali a svinje u nutra ležale. G. 1832. dođem ja za župnika u Gorjane, i želeći ove razvaline sačuvati kao mali spomenik, da ga više vreme i ljudi nekvare, umolim 1836. godine g. biskupa Josipa Kukovića, da meni i občini ovu razvalinu pokloni, da ju u kuću Božju obratimo, i on milostiv dopusti, a mi na zimu onu i prolětje 1837. odsèčemo radi ravnoměrja 1 hvat od ono 5, pokrijemo, tornićem ukrasimo, iznutra opravimo i Bogu na slavu S. Triuh Kraljah posvetimo. Ali ta kuća izvana ostaje sasvim, kako je bila neopraona, da se nje starina viditi može: natpis ovaj sam metnio: Godine 1687. kuća turska. Godine 1837. Božja“.³⁴ U drugoj polovici 19. stoljeća u sklopu svoje objave pokušaja amaterskih arheoloških iskopavanja na području gorjanskog srednjovjekovnog grada u kratkim se crtama kule dotakao i gorjanski kapelan Antun Bogetić.³⁵

In late 1687, the whole of Slavonia was freed from the Ottomans, aside from the area along the River Sava, which was controlled by the Ottomans from their strongholds in Gradiška and Brod until their fall in 1688.³² The 1702 Đakovo Processus list, put together by Emerik Sadetzky in the name of the royal military administration after Slavonia was liberated from Ottoman rule,³³ states that the Ottoman master of Gorjani (*Gorianny*), Yahya-Bey (Jaia-beg), remained in the village. The list also mentions his brick house, covered with wood shingles, which stands abandoned. It was erected on three floors in the shape of a tower. Everything in the house was destroyed and burned by soldiers. Although some entries in the list are confusing, they still provide information on the appearance of the tower. The next description of the building known as the *Tower* is provided by Gora parish priest Adam Filipović (Philippovich) de Heldenthal in the mid-19th century. He mentions the tower's being burned down by Habsburg soldiers, a later unsuccessful attempt at converting the tower into a granary, and its final conversion into the Chapel of the Magi: “The other ruin is an old building in the upper part of the village of Gorjani and quite close to the fort, also known under the name of the ‘Tower’. It is five fathoms long, three fathoms wide, and now four fathoms high. In the time of the Turks, it was the tower belonging to Yahya-Bey, as Mr Bishop Petar Bakić wrote in his description of these villages in 1725 (+ July 1749). When the imperial army drove the Turks out of Slavonia in the year 1687, the imperial soldiers lit this tower covered in shingles on fire, and it remained empty until the time of Mr Bishop Josephus Ant. Chiolnich (+1773). He built upon this wall a wall five more fathoms in height, made of brick, and constructed a granary for food on five floors. Since food would go off in it, this building was abandoned, causing its roof to rot and collapse; the villagers took down the walls and allowed pigs to lie inside. In the year 1832, I arrived in Gorjani as the parish priest. Wanting to preserve the ruins as a small monument, so time and people would spoil it no more, I pleaded with Mr Bishop Josip Kuković to give this ruin to me and the municipality so we could turn it into a house of God. He mercifully allowed it, and we took down one fathom out of five in that winter and the spring of 1837 to level it, covered it and decorated it with a steeple, furnished it on the inside, and consecrated it as the Church of the Magi to the glory of God. Since it was not neatened on the outside, the ancient quality of the building was visible. I put up this sign: In the year 1687, a Turkish house. In the year 1837, a house of God”.³⁴ Antun Bogetić, Gorjani chaplain, also briefly touched upon the tower within the publication of his amateur attempts at archaeological excavations in the area of the medieval town of Gorjani in the second half of the 19th century.³⁵

34 Filipović Heldenthalski 1853, 70.

35 Bogetić 1875, 132.

32 Mažuran 1988, 261.

33 Mažuran 1966, 107; Marković 1975, 172; Sršan 2000, 142.

34 Filipović Heldenthalski 1853, 70.

35 Bogetić 1875, 132.

Prikaz arheoloških istraživanja

Rezultati arheoloških istraživanja provedenih 2015. i 2018. godine³⁶ i rezultati konzervatorsko-restauratorskih radova³⁷ potvrdili su da je osmanska kula u Gorjanima izgrađena tijekom druge polovice 16. stoljeća (najvjerojatnije nakon 1552.) kao stambeno-obrambeni objekt koji se sastojao od prizemlja i najvjerojatnije dva kata, a za čiju su izgradnju sekundarno korištene opeke s ruševina nedalekog srednjovjekovnoga naselja gradskog tipa. Kula je u donjem dijelu unutrašnjosti (sl. 4) bila građena kao izvorno dvoprostorni objekt, s manjom prostorijom na zapadu i većom na istoku. Na temeljnim stopama zidova u unutrašnjosti otkriveni su sačuvani ostaci žbuknog poda, kao i tragovi stupova skele ukopani u zemlju. Kanal s vanjske strane, zapadno od kule (SJ 50/51), vjerojatno je imao drenažnog kanala korištenog prilikom gradnje. Prema arheološkim kontekstima u ovo razdoblje treba smjestiti i djelomično istraženu manju otpadnu jamu SJ 76/77 i manje ovalno vatrište SJ 24/25, zapadno od kule. Sačuvani otvori utora za grede ukazuju na podjelu po etažama, od kojih je svaka imala dvije prostorije, međusobno odijeljene pregradnim zidom od opeke. Prizemni je dio vjerojatno imao skladišnu ili radnu namjenu pa je mogao služiti i kao zatvor, dok je manja prostorija služila za obavljanje nužde. Na prvom katu obrambenu namjenu potvrđuje postojanje strijelnica, dok se za drugi kat, koji nije sačuvan, pretpostavlja i moguća stambena funkcija. Komunikacija među katovima je vjerojatno bila izvedena drvenim stepenicama i ljestvama. S obzirom na pronađene ulomke crjepova, nije moguće utvrditi je li krov bio građen od šindre, a također nije bilo moguće izdvojiti eventualne faze u izgradnji krovništva.

U unutrašnjosti kule nalazi su iz osmanskog razdoblja bili rijetki. Većina keramičkih nalaza unutar slojeva zasipa, kojima je za više od 80 cm bio prekriven izvorni nivo poda, pripadala je ulomcima glazirane keramike koji se uz nalaze fragmentiranih keramičkih lula mogu datirati od prve polovice 18. stoljeća do 1837. godine, kada je kula prenamijenjena u kapelu Sveta tri kralja. Jedini metalni predmet, koji je osim kovanih željeznih čavala bio pronađen u unutrašnjosti, jest brončani prsten (T. 3: 4).

Iz manje je prostorije u unutrašnjosti, kroz južni zid, vodio zidani kanal SJ 125, koji je bio spojen s velikom jamom u otpadni kanalizacijski sustav (sl. 1, 3). Iznad dublje, velike jame SJ 88/188 nalazile su dvije veće nepravilne ovalne jame, sjeverna SJ 28/29, dimenzija 4 x 3,3 m i južna SJ 26/27, dimenzija 4,8 x 3,3 m (sl. 2).³⁸ U zapuni SJ 26, tamnoj sivosmedoj zemlji s garom pronađeno je dosta pokretnih nalaza, ulomaka keramike, životinjskih kostiju, opeke, žbuke i mnogo metalnih nalaza među kojima najviše željeznih čavala – petnaestak komada. Pronađen je željezni nož (T. 2: 1) i pet polukružnih okova za obuću (T. 1: 1, 5–6, 10, 12). Dubina jame iznosila je oko 0,5 m. U zapuni SJ 28, tamnoj sivosmedoj

Presentation of the archaeological excavation

The results of the archaeological excavation conducted in 2015 and 2018,³⁶ and the results of the conservation and restoration work,³⁷ confirmed that the Ottoman tower in Gorjani was erected during the second half of the 16th century (probably after 1552), for residential and defensive purposes. The building consisted of a ground floor and probably two more floors, while it was probably constructed using bricks from the ruins of the nearby medieval urban settlement. The tower was originally constructed as a two-room building on the ground floor of the interior (Fig. 4), with a smaller room in the west and a larger one in the east. The footings of the walls in the interior, and preserved remains of a plastered floor, were discovered, as well as traces of scaffolding columns in the ground. The canal on the outside, west of the tower, (SU 50/51) might have been used as drainage during the construction. Given the archaeological context, a fairly small, partly-excavated waste pit, SU 76/77, and a smaller oval fireplace, SU 24/25, west of the tower, should be assigned to this period. The preserved openings of the beam grooves indicate the tower was partitioned into floors, each of them having two rooms which were divided by a brick partition wall. The ground floor was probably used for storage or work, but could also serve as a prison, while the smaller room was probably used for defecation. The embrasures on the first floor confirmed its defensive purpose, while the second floor, which is not preserved, is assumed to have had a possible residential purpose. Communication between the floors was probably conducted via a wooden staircase and ladders. In view of the fragments of roofing tiles discovered, it cannot be ascertained whether the roof was made of shingles. Potential phases in the construction of the roof could not be identified, either.

Finds from the Ottoman period on the inside of the tower were rare. Most pottery finds in the debris layers, which covered the original floor level by more than 80 cm, consisted of glazed pottery fragments that, alongside the finds of fragmented clay tobacco pipes, can be dated to between the first half of the 18th century and 1837, when the building was turned into the Chapel of the Magi. Aside from the wrought-iron nails, the only metal item inside the tower was a bronze ring (Pl. 3: 4). A brick canal, SU 125, led from the smaller room on the inside through the southern wall. A large pit linked it to the sewage system (Fig. 1: 3). Above the deeper large pit, SU 88/188, two larger irregular oval pits were situated; the northern pit, SU 28/29, 4 x 3.3 m in dimensions, and the southern, SU 26/27, 4.8 x 3.3 m in dimensions (Fig. 2).³⁸ Backfill SU 26, dark grey-brown soil with soot, revealed a significant number of movable finds, pottery fragments, animal bones, brick, plaster and many metal finds, mostly iron nails – around fifteen of them. An iron knife was found (Pl. 2: 1) and five semi-circular footwear fittings (Pl. 1: 1,

36 Hirschler Marić 2018 – 2019, 102–103.

37 Pauk Sili 2017, 112–114.

38 Među keramičkim ulomcima pronađenim unutar arheoloških konteksta SJ 26, SJ 28 i SJ 88 uočena je zastupljenost istih grupa nalaza. Dio je ulomaka pripadao grubom kuhinjskom posuđu, izrađenom u lokalnoj tradiciji s kasnosrednjovjekovnim naslijeđem. Zastupljene su i karakteristične grupe osmanskih ke-

36 Hirschler Marić 2018 – 2019, 102–103.

37 Pauk Sili 2017, 112–114.

38 The same groups of finds were recorded among the pottery fragments discovered within the archaeological contexts of SU 26, SU 28 and SU 88. A portion of the fragments included coarse kitchenware produced in the local tradition with late-medieval heritage. Characteristic groups of Ottoman pottery

SLIKA 1. Zračni snimak sonde 2, arheološka istraživanja 2015. godine (snimili E. Buća, T. Zojčeski, arhiv HRZ-a).

FIGURE 1. Aerial photo of trench 2, archaeological excavation 2015 (photo by E. Buća and T. Zojčeski, Croatian Conservation Institute's archives).



zemlji s mnogo gara, također je bilo mnogo nalaza, ulomaka keramike, životinjskih kostiju, opeka, crjepova, veći broj metalnih nalaza: desetak željeznih čavala, dva polukružna okova za pete cipela (T. 1: 8, 11), željezni kosir (T. 2: 4), britva (T. 2: 5) i ukrašena brončana pločica (T. 3: 3). Pronađeno je i nekoliko željeznih predmeta, najvjerojatnije spojnica i okova (primjerice T. 2: 9–10). Jama je bila duboka četrdesetak centimetara. Nakon pražnjenja zapuna SJ 26 i 28, istražena je i velika jama koja se nalazila većinom ispod ukopa SJ 27, a bila je ukopana u sloj zdravice SJ 22 (sl. 1, 3). Riječ je o jami nepravilnoga kružnog oblika (SJ 88/118), dimenzija 4,7 x 4 m, koja je kanalom SJ 101, ukopanim u zdravicu,³⁹ bila spojena sa zidanim kanalom SJ 125/91/106/92, građeni od opeke s mjestimice očuvanom hidrauličkom žbukom. Kanal SJ 101 nastavljao se kosim padom od južnog zida kapele do spoja s jamom SJ 88/118.⁴⁰ Zapunu SJ 88 je činila žutosiva vlažna mrljasta zemlja s mnogo nalaza: ulomcima keramike, životinjskih kostiju, velikim ulomkom crijepa, nešto ulomaka stakla te većim brojem metalnih predmeta. Od željeznih je nalaza pronađeno dvanaest čavala, nekoliko klinova i okova (T. 2: 7), ulomak

5–6, 10, 12). The depth of the pit was around 0.5 m. Backfill SU 28, dark grey-brown soil with plenty of soot, also revealed a lot of finds, including pottery fragments, animal bones, brick roof tiles and a high number of metal finds: around ten iron nails, two semi-circular footwear fittings (Pl. 1: 8, 11), an iron bill-hook (Pl. 2: 4), a razor (Pl. 2: 5) and a decorated bronze plate (Pl. 3: 3). Several iron items were also discovered, probably clasps and fittings (for instance Pl. 2: 9–10). This pit was around 40 cm deep. After backfills SU 26 and 28 were removed, the large pit mostly beneath dig SU 27 and in subsoil SU 22 was also excavated (Figs 1, 3). It was a pit of irregular round shape (SU 88/118), 4.7 x 4 m in dimensions, linked by canal SU 101 (in subsoil)³⁹ to the brick canal SU 125/91/106/92, made of brick with sporadically preserved hydraulic plaster. Canal SU 101 continued in a steep decline from the south wall of the chapel to the joint to pit SU 88/118.⁴⁰ Backfill SU 88 was made up of yellow-grey moist spotty soil with many finds: pottery fragments, animal bones, a large roof-tile fragment, some glass fragments, and a considerable number of metal items. Metal finds included twelve nails,

ramičkih nalaza poput glazirane keramike sa zdjelama na koničnoj nožici, sive keramike, pećnjaka i lula. Samo nekoliko oboda iz zapune SJ 26 možda bi se preliminarno moglo datirati na kraj 17. stoljeća. Slijedom uočenog spajanja nekoliko međusobno odgovarajućih ulomaka keramike iz konteksta SJ 26 sa SJ 28, kao i iz konteksta SJ 28 i SJ 88 te izostanka kostiju svinja među zooarheološkim nalazima, moguće je navedene kontekste promatrati u sklopu veće cjeline, odnosno cijeline otpadno-kanalizacijske jame.

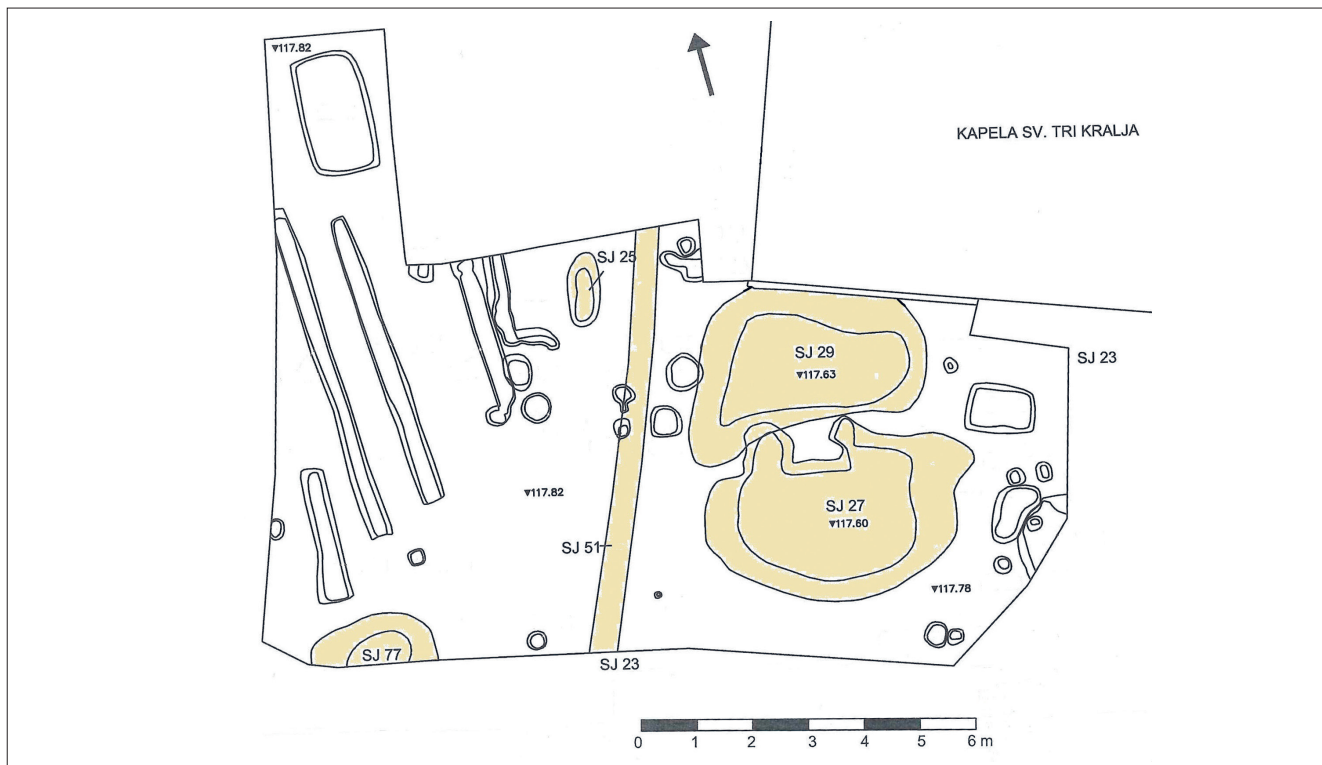
39 Dimenzije kanala SJ 101 bile su 0,48 x 0,41, dubine 0,14 m.

40 Kako bi se mogla istražiti jama SJ 88/118, u jugoistočnom je dijelu sonde uz južni profil strojno iskopana kvadratna jama koja je služila kao upojni šaht u koji se praznila velika količina vode što je navirala u SJ 88/118, a koja je potom pomoću pumpe izbacivana u drenažne kanale izvan sonde S-2.

finds were also represented, such as glazed pottery with vessels having conical feet, grey pottery, stove tiles, and pipes. Only a few of the brims from backfill SU 26 could perhaps be provisionally dated to the end of the 17th century. Given that it was observed that several fragments of pottery from contexts SU 26 and SU 28 correspond with fragments from SU 28 and SU 88, respectively, and that there is an absence of pig bones among the zooarchaeological finds, these contexts can be viewed as a larger unit, i.e. the sewage waste pit unit.

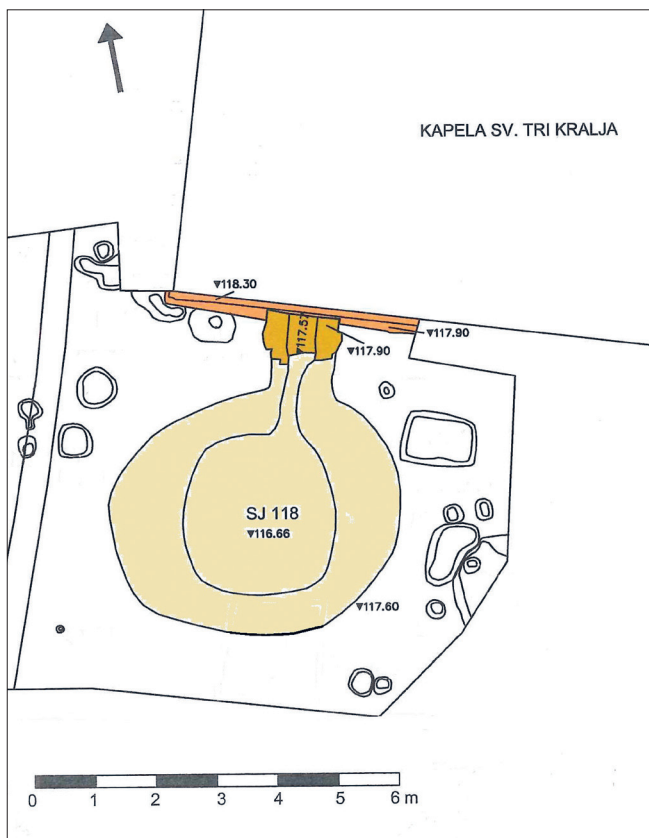
39 Canal SU 101's dimensions were 0.48 x 0.41, depth 0.14 m.

40 A rectangular pit was machine-excavated in the south-eastern part of the trench along the southern profile, which enabled the excavation of pit SU 88/118. The rectangular pit served for the collection of a large amount of water that came from SU 88/118 and was consequently pumped out to drainage canals outside trench S-2.



SLIKA 2. Plan sonde 2 s naznačenim ukopima iz osmanskog vremena (izradila M. Krmpotić, obradila I. Hirschler Marić, arhiv HRZ-a).

FIGURE 2. Plan of trench 2 with marked Ottoman-period burials (plan by M. Krmpotić, adapted by I. Hirschler Marić, Croatian Conservation Institute's archives).



SLIKA 3. Plan sonde 2 s naznačenim ukopom otpadne kanalizacijske jame i kanala (izradila M. Krmpotić, obradila I. Hirschler Marić, arhiv HRZ-a).

FIGURE 3. Plan of trench 2 with marked dig of sewage/waste pit and canal (plan by M. Krmpotić, adapted by I. Hirschler Marić, Croatian Conservation Institute's archives).



SLIKA 4. Tlocrt i 3D model unutrašnjosti Kapele Sveta tri kralja po dovršetku istraživanja 2018. godine (izradili J. Boras, A. Janeš, arhiv HRZ-a).

FIGURE 4. Floorplan and 3D model of the interior of the Chapel of the Magi after the 2018 excavation (by J. Boras, A. Janeš, Croatian Conservation Institute's archives).

SLIKA 5. Kapela Sveta tri kralja u Gorjanima, današnji izgled (snimio I. Lovrić).

FIGURE 5. Chapel of the Magi in Gorjani, present-day appearance (photo by I. Lovrić).



cijevi vatrenog oružja (T. 2: 8), velika oštećena tordirana šipka (T. 2: 6), pet okova za pete cipela (T. 1: 2–4, 7, 9) i dva noža (T. 2: 2–3). Od metalnih su nalaza pronađeni i oštećeni dijelovi bakrenog posuda, izljev bakrenog vrča (T. 3: 1) i bakreni poklopac (T. 3: 2). Zanimljiv je i nalaz dijela koštane oplata drške noža PN 30 s djelomično očuvanim brončanim čavlicima za pričvršćivanje, a koji dimenzijama posve odgovara nožu T. 2: 1.

Dubina je ove velike jame SJ 88/118 iznosila više od 1 m. U objašnjavanju njezine funkcije pomažu rezultati analize sustava opskrbe i odvodnje vode na području Anatolije u sklopu čega je obrađen i uzorak od osam bolnica iz osmanskog razdoblja.⁴¹ Otpadne su se vode s površine poda uklanjale gradnjom površinskih nagiba prema njihovim odvodima, koji su se nalazili na otvorenim kanalima, povezani cijevima, a vodili bi do glavne mreže, kanala ili rijeke. U ravničarskim krajevima odvodnja i drenaža predstavljali su velik problem stoga je u tradicijskim kućama obično u dvorištu bila iskopana rupa, korištena kao septička jama koja se periodički praznila. U takvim je jamama na ulicama bilo moguće sakupljati i oborinske vode, a gornji im je dio bio prekriven zemljom koja bi s vremenom upila otpadne vode.⁴²

several bolts and fittings (Pl. 2: 7), a fragment of a firearm barrel (Pl. 2: 8), a large damaged helical bar (Pl. 2: 6), five footwear fittings (Pl. 1: 2–4, 7, 9), and two knives (Pl. 2: 2–3). Metal finds also include damaged parts of copper kitchenware, the mouth of a copper jug (Pl. 3: 1), and a copper lid (Pl. 3: 2). Part of a bone knife-handle overlay, SF 30, is also interesting. It has partly preserved bronze nails for attaching it, and its dimensions fit knife Pl. 2: 1 perfectly.

This large pit, SU 88/118, was more than 1 m deep. The results of the analysis of supply and drainage of water in Anatolia help with the interpretation of its function, since the analysis included a sample of eight Ottoman-period hospitals.⁴¹ Wastewater was disposed of from the surface by building surface slopes towards the drains, which were situated on open canals and connected by pipes. They led to the main drainage network, canal or river. In plains, drainage was a big problem that was usually solved by digging pits, in the yards of traditional houses, that were used as cesspits and drained periodically. These pits on the streets could serve for collecting rainwater as well; their top part was covered in soil, which would eventually absorb the wastewater.⁴²

41 Dišli, Özcan 2014, 169.

42 Dišli, Özcan 2014, 175–176.

41 Disli, Ozcan 2014, 169.

42 Disli, Ozcan 2014, 175–176.

Namjena jame SJ 88/188 može se sa sigurnošću odrediti kao kanalizacijska, a tijekom vremena je sekundarno bila korištena i kao otpadna jama. S obzirom na to da su se zapune SJ 26 i SJ 28 nalazile iznad SJ 88 i zidanoga kanala, vjerojatno je riječ o manjim otpadnim jamama koje su dijelom bile ukopane u jamu SJ 88/188. Navedene kontekste valja promatrati u okviru veće cjeline, odnosno cjeline otpadno-kanalizacijske jame.

Analizom životinjskih kostiju,⁴³ pronađenih unutar arheoloških konteksta SJ 26, SJ 28 i SJ 88, utvrđen je potpuni izostanak kostiju svinje, što sugerira da je taj prostor koristilo isključivo muslimansko stanovništvo. Najbogatija zooarheološka zbirka u Mađarskoj iz osmanskog razdoblja prikupljena je u istraživanjima utvrde Báracs, a zastupljenost svinja iznosi samo 0,5 %. Ukupna slika prehrane posade odgovara prehrani određenoj tradicijom islamske vjere, a sačuvane platne liste svjedoče o tome da je među vojnicima bilo mnogo muslimana.⁴⁴ U osmansko doba u Mađarskoj uvode se novi prehrambeni običaju, ali kosti svinja nikad nisu bile potpuno odsutne među osmanskim nalazima, što se povezuje s angažmanom određenog dijela neislamskih plaćenika.⁴⁵ U tom razdoblju na nekim nalazištima uz tzv. *kasnu slavensku keramiku* u istome sloju postoji i veća količina svinjskih kostiju, što dokazuje prisutnost nemuslimanskog stanovništva.⁴⁶ Takva je pojava uočena i u Farkaševcima pokraj Donjeg Miholjca, gdje je u istraživanjima prilikom izgradnje trase plinovoda istražena i otpadna jama, radiokarbonskom analizom datirana u drugu polovicu 17. stoljeća, a u kojoj su uvjerljivo najzastupljenije bile kosti svinje (75 %), što navodi na zaključak da je obližnje naselje, iako pod osmanskom vlašću, bilo nastanjeno katoličkim stanovništvom.⁴⁷

Metalni nalazi iz arheoloških konteksta

Posebno zanimljivu skupinu pokretnih arheoloških nalaza čine metalni predmeti. Na prostoru osmanske kule u Gorjanima pronađeno ih je stotinjak, a većinom su izrađeni od željeza te, u manjoj mjeri, od bakra ili neke njegove legure. Čavli i klinovi zastupljeni su u najvećem broju, a oko četvrtine metalnih nalaza, njih 29, izdvojeni su kao posebni. Prilikom istraživanja unutrašnjosti pronađeno je samo nekoliko željeznih čavala i jedan prsten od bakrene legure (T. 3: 4), dok su gotovo svi drugi metalni nalazi pronađeni unutar arheoloških konteksta datiranih u osmanski period.

Obuća je bila dio odijevanja i pretpostavka je da je, unatoč njezinu rijetkom spominjanju u ranonovovjekovnim inventarima, svaki čovjek posjedovao barem po par cipela, čizama ili nečeg sličnog. Nerijetko su se mrtvi pokapali s cipelama na nogama, pa čak i oni kojima je to bio jedini par.⁴⁸ Arheolozi prilikom svojih istraživanja najčešće pronalaze samo željezne okove za pete

Pit SU 88/188 can definitely be identified as a sewage pit, but it was also used as a waste pit over time. Given that backfills SU 26 and SU 28 were situated above SU 88 and the brick canal, they were most probably smaller waste pits partly dug into pit SU 88/188. These contexts should be viewed within a larger unit, i.e. the sewage/waste-pit unit.

Analysis of animal bones⁴³ discovered in the archaeological context of SU 26, SU 28 and SU 88 revealed the complete absence of swine bones, suggesting that this area was used exclusively by a Muslim population. The richest zoological collection in Hungary from the Ottoman period was acquired during the research of Fort Báracs, where the percentage of pig bones is a meagre 0.5 %. The final image of the crew's diet corresponds to the tradition of the Islamic faith, while preserved payrolls testify that there were many Muslims among the soldiers.⁴⁴ New dietary customs were introduced to Hungary in the Ottoman period, but swine bones were never completely absent from the finds, which is explained by the employment of a certain number of non-Muslim mercenaries.⁴⁵ Alongside so-called *late Slavic pottery*, there is a large number of swine bones in some sites in that period, testifying to the presence of a non-Muslim population.⁴⁶ This was noticed in Farkaševci near Donji Miholjac as well, where, among other structures, a waste pit was excavated during a gas-pipeline construction. It was carbon-dated to the second half of the 17th century and contained mostly swine bones (75 %), leading to the conclusion that the nearby settlement was inhabited by a Catholic population, despite being under Ottoman rule.⁴⁷

Metal finds discovered in the archaeological context

Metal objects make up an especially interesting group of movable archaeological finds. There were around one hundred of them discovered in the area of the Ottoman tower in Gorjani, mostly made of iron, a few of them made of copper or some copper alloy. Nails and bolts were the most numerous. Around one quarter of all the metal finds (29 of them) were identified as special. Only a few iron nails and one copper-alloy ring (Pl. 3: 4) were discovered during the excavation of the inside of the chapel, while almost all the other metal finds were discovered within archaeological contexts dated to the Ottoman period.

Footwear was part of the wardrobe; and, despite its being rarely mentioned in the early-modern inventory, it can be assumed that every person owned at least one pair of shoes, boots or something of that nature. The deceased were often buried with shoes on their feet – even the people who owned only that one pair.⁴⁸ During excavations, archaeologists usually discover only

43 Zooarheološku analizu provela je izv. prof. dr. sc. Tajana Trbojević Vukičević na Zavodu za anatomiju, embriologiju i histologiju pri Veterinarskom fakultetu Sveučilišta u Zagrebu.

44 Kovács *et al.* 2014, 164–165.

45 Bartosiewicz, Gál 2003, 368.

46 Gerö 1985, 200.

47 Višnjić 2013, 70–71.

48 Sarti 2006, 230–231.

43 Zooarchaeological analysis was conducted by Dr. Tajana Trbojević Vukičević of the Department of Anatomy, Histology and Embryology at the Faculty of Veterinary Medicine of the University of Zagreb.

44 Kovács *et al.* 2014, 164–165.

45 Bartosiewicz, Gál 2003, 368.

46 Gerö 1985, 200.

47 Višnjić 2013, 70–71.

48 Sarti 2006, 230–231.

SLIKA 6. Željezni okovi za petu (snimio H. Jambrek).

FIGURE 6. Iron footwear fittings (photo by H. Jambrek).



cipela, dok organski materijal, koža, tkanina i drvo,⁴⁹ kojim je obuća najčešće izrađivana, u većini slučajeva propadne. A. Janeš okove za pete cipela razlikuje prema površini i veličini čavala pomoću kojih su bili pričvršćeni za potplat cipela. Duži čavli nalazili su se najčešće na užim okovima, a služili su za pričvršćivanje na obuću s visokom petom. Prema antropološkim analizama kostiju s groblja oko crkve sv. Nikole biskupa u Žumberku, većina okova s dužim čavlama pronađena je u grobovima pokojnica.⁵⁰ Unutar arheološke cjeline otpadno-kanalizacijske jame u Gorjanima, pronađeno je osam cijelih okova za petu, tri polovična i jedan deformirani (sl. 6). Niti jedan okov nije imao duge čavle, a širina krakova najčešće je bila veća od 7 cm. Slijedom navedenog možemo zaključiti da su pronađeni okovi pripadali obuću s niskom petom, koju su vjerojatno nosili muškarci, odnosno vojnici koji su bili smješteni u osmanskoj kuli. Među pronađenim okovima, koji čine najbrojniju skupinu posebnih metalnih nalaza, razlikujemo ukupno četiri tipa. Najzastupljeniji tip, s pet primjeraka (T. 1: 1–5), jest okov poluovalnog oblika kojem blago raskucani krajevi krakova završavaju savijenim šiljcima, a na mjestu njihova spajanja nalazi se manji trn. Različitih su dimenzija, a dva su primjerka polovično sačuvana. Sličan tom tipu, iako nešto manji i s bolje sačuvanim središnjim trnom, jest okov pronađen na gradu Ružici, koji je datiran u 16. stoljeće.⁵¹ Prema tipologiji okova za pete, koju je napravio László Gere, mogao bi im odgovarati tip 3/d iako autor naglašava da je riječ o okovima u obliku slova U. Na mađarskoj utvrđi Ozora taj tip pojavljuje se u prvoj polovici 16., a koristi se i u 17. stoljeću.⁵² Drugi tip čine tri cijela i jedan deformirani okov (T. 1: 6–9) ovalnog oblika s vo-

the iron fittings for the heels of the shoes, while the organic material – the leather, fabric and wood⁴⁹ which the footwear was usually made of – in most cases perishes. Various footwear fittings are identified by A. Janeš according to their surface and the size of the nails which attached them to the shoes' soles. Longer nails were most commonly present on narrow fittings and were used for attaching them to high-heeled shoes. According to the anthropological analyses of the bones from the graveyard of the church of St Nicholas the Bishop, in Žumberak, most fittings with longer nails were discovered in graves of deceased women.⁵⁰ Within the archaeological unit of the sewage/waste pit at Gorjani, eight whole, three partial and one deformed (Fig. 6) shoe heel fittings were discovered. None of them had long nails, and their extensions were usually more than 7 cm wide. Given that, we can conclude that the fittings discovered belonged to footwear with low heels, probably worn by men, i.e. soldiers housed in the Ottoman tower. Four types altogether can be identified among the fittings discovered, which make up the most numerous group of special metal finds. The most common type, with five fittings (Pl. 1: 1–5) are semi-oval fittings with slightly flattened endings of the extensions, which end in bent spikes and have a small thorn at their joint. Their dimensions are various, and two of the fittings are partially preserved. A fitting discovered at Ružica, dated to the 16th century, is similar to that type, although somewhat smaller and with a better-preserved central thorn.⁵¹ According to László Gere's typology of shoe heel fittings, it could correspond to type 3/d, although the author stresses that these fittings are U-shaped. At the Hungari-

49 U slučaju da pete cipela nisu imale željezni okov, korištena je tzv. puna peta od drva (Juranić 2017, 85).

50 Janeš 2017, 59.

51 Radić, Bojčić 2004, 128, kat. br. 196.

52 Gere 2003, 109–110.

49 If the heels did not have an iron fitting, so-called full wooden heels were used (Juranić 2017, 85).

50 Janeš 2017, 59.

51 Radić, Bojčić 2004, 128, cat. no. 196.



SLIKA 7. Željezni noževi, britva i kosir (snimio Lj. Gamulin, arhiv HRZ-a).

FIGURE 7. Iron knives, razor and billhook (photo by Lj. Gamulin, Croatian Conservation Institute's archives).

doravnim stražnjim dijelom i na njega okomitim kracima, koji završavaju savijenim šiljcima. Na stražnjem vodoravnom dijelu nalazi se još jedan šiljak. Riječ je, prema Gereu, o okovima u obliku slova C, odnosno tipu 5/d koji se u Mađarskoj pojavljuje krajem 16., a traje kroz 17. stoljeće.⁵³ Na prostoru crkve dominikanskog samostana u naselju Gora/Gara također su pronađeni ovakvi okovi. Jedan čitav (PN 274) pronađen je u sloju humusa u sondi 5, a jedan fragmentirani (PN 262) u sondi 4, također u sloju humusa.⁵⁴ Okov istog tipa pronađen je i prilikom istraživanja osmanske utvrde u Bárcsu u Mađarskoj, a datira se u početak 17. stoljeća.⁵⁵ Takvi su primjerci zastupljeni u utvrdi Magliču u Srbiji, a datirani su okvirno u razdoblje 14. i 15. stoljeća.⁵⁶ U Hrvatskoj su okovi takvog tipa pronađeni na gradu Ružici i u benediktinskom Samostanu sv. Margarete u Bijeloj, a autori ih datiraju u 16. stoljeće,⁵⁷ te unutar već spomenute otpadne jame istražene u Farkaševcima pokraj Donjeg Miholjca.⁵⁸ Na Kanižličevom trgu u Osijeku pronađen je sličan okov s raskucanim završecima krakova, a datiran je u rasponu od 16. do 17. stoljeća,⁵⁹ kao i dio okova pronađen na utvrdi Čanjevo.⁶⁰ Prema navedenome možemo zaključiti da se ovaj tip koristio u širokom vremenskom rasponu, od 14. pa sve do 17. stoljeća, a s obzirom na to da je rasprostranjen na nešto širem geografskom području i zastupljen mnoštvom primjeraka, možemo pretpostaviti da je riječ o obliku okova dugog trajanja. Treći je tip okova za petu poluovalnog oblika, blago povijenog prema gazišnoj strani, s tri zakovice.

an fort of Ozora, this type appears in the first half of the 16th century, but it is used in the 17th century as well.⁵² The second type includes three whole fittings and one deformed one (Pl. 1: 6–9). They are oval and have a horizontal rear part and extensions perpendicular to it. The extensions end in bent spikes. There is another spike on the horizontal part. According to Gere, these are C-shaped fittings, i.e. type 5/d, which appeared in Hungary at the end of the 16th century and lasted throughout the 17th century.⁵³ Fittings like these were discovered in the area of the church of the Dominican monastery in the settlement of Gora/Gara. One whole fitting (SF 274) was discovered in the humus layer in trench 5, and a fragmented one (SF 262) in trench 4, also in the humus layer.⁵⁴ A fitting of the same type was discovered in the excavation of the Ottoman fort in Bárcs, in Hungary, and is dated to the beginning of the 17th century.⁵⁵ Such fittings were discovered in Maglič Fort in Serbia, roughly dated to the 14th and 15th centuries.⁵⁶ In Croatia, fittings of this type have been discovered at Ružica and in the Benedictine Monastery of St Margaret, in Bijela. The authors dated them to the 16th century.⁵⁷ They were also discovered within the above-mentioned waste pit in Farkaševci, near Donji Miholjac.⁵⁸ At Kanižlič Square in Osijek, a similar fitting with flattened extension endings was found, dated to the period between the 16th and 17th centuries,⁵⁹ as was part of a fitting discovered at Čanjevo Fort.⁶⁰ This leads to the conclusion that this type was used over a long period, from

53 Gere 2003, 112–113.

54 Hirschler Marić 2021b, 79.

55 Kovács, Rózsás 1996, 176, sl. 16: 6.

56 Popović 2012, 173–174, sl. 117: 136–139.

57 Radić, Bojčić 2004, 129, kat. br. 200; Dragičević 2019, 126, kat. br. 31.

58 Višnjic 2013, 71, sl. 10.

59 Radić 2015, 101, kat. br. 240.

60 Čimin 2008, 222, T. 3: 3.

52 Gere 2003, 109–110.

53 Gere 2003, 112–113.

54 Hirschler Marić 2021b, 79.

55 Kovács, Rózsás 1996, 176, sl. 16: 6.

56 Popović 2012, 173–174, sl. 117: 136–139.

57 Radić, Bojčić 2004, 129, cat. no. 200; Dragičević 2019, 126, cat. no. 31.

58 Višnjic 2013, 71, sl. 10.

59 Radić 2015, 101, cat. no. 240.

60 Čimin 2008, 222, T. 3: 3.

Po jedna zakovica nalazila se na krajevima krakova, a treća na mjestu njihova spajanja. Ovaj je tip zastupljen dvama primjercima (T. 1: 10–11), jednim cijelim i jednim polovičnim. Iako niti na jednom primjerku nije sačuvana „središnja” zakovica na mjestu spajanja krakova, vidljiva je rupica u kojoj se ona nalazila. Kao potvrdu da se u rupici zaista nalazila zakovica, a ne, primjerice, čavao ili nešto slično, služi nam identična rupica vidljiva na jednom od krajeva okova T. 1: 10, a unutar koje je sačuvana zakovica. Vrlo sličan okov, iako nešto manjih dimenzija, pronađen je na gradu Ružici, a datiran je u 16. stoljeće.⁶¹ Posljednji okov za petu, T. 1: 12, poluovalnog je oblika, blago povijenog prema gazišnoj strani, sa šiljcima na krajevima krakova. Na okovu su vidljive dvije rupice i dva manja trna (vjerojatno je riječ o ostacima zakovica kao kod ranijeg tipa). Pretpostavlja se da su se trnovi (zakovice?) nalazili u rupicama, a s obzirom na to da su na okovu sačuvani u neravnomjernom rasporedu, vjerojatno ih je bilo po tri na svakom kraku. Vrlo slični okovi pronađeni su u mađarskoj utvrdi Bajcsa,⁶² koja je funkcionirala u vrlo kratkom razdoblju krajem 16. stoljeća, i mađarskoj utvrdi Báracs. Okov pronađen u potonjoj datiran je početkom 17. stoljeća.⁶³ Taj posljednji tip okova, pronađen u Gorjanima, okvirno bismo mogli datirati u prijelaz iz 16. u 17. stoljeće.

Drugu najbrojniju skupinu posebnih metalnih nalaza, pronađenih prilikom istraživanja kule Jahje-bega, čine noževi (sl. 7: sredina). Zastupljeni su trima različitim primjercima, a svi su najvjerojatnije služili kao jedaći pribor. Uz ruke te žlicu, u slučaju jušnih jela, nož je čovjeku bio glavno pomagalo prilikom hranjenja u razdoblju srednjeg vijeka, ali i kasnije.⁶⁴ Osim što je njime rezao hranu na manje komade, služio se njime i prilikom skidanja mesa s kostiju te za nabađanje hrane s tanjura ili plate, a često se njegovim vrškom vadila i sol iz soljenke. Prilikom svečanijih objeda, nož je najčešće bio serviran samo domaćinu i možda pokojem značajnom gostu. Od ostalih uzvanika očekivalo se da svatko ponese svoj primjerak.⁶⁵ Možda je baš zbog običaja nošenja i korištenja vlastita noža, u arheološkom kontekstu na nekom određenom lokalitetu teško pronaći istovjetne ili slične primjerke. Prema J. Cowgill, noževe u kasnom srednjem vijeku možemo podijeliti u dvije skupine koje se međusobno razlikuju prema oblikovanju trna: na noževe s trnom za naticanje i noževe s obložnim trnom. Kronološki je starija skupina noževa s trnom za naticanje, koja je poznata još od ranoga srednjeg vijeka i dominantna je do 15. stoljeća, kada primat preuzima skupina noževa s trnom za obložne pločice, nastala negdje u prvoj polovici 14. stoljeća, a koja traje do danas.⁶⁶ Od tri pronađena noža iz Gorjana dva su s obložnim, a jedan s trnom za naticanje. Nožu T. 2: 1 odlomljen je vrh, a nedostaje mu i veći dio, najvjerojatnije trapezoidnog, trna. Oštrica sječiva je savijena prema vrhu, a hrbat je ravan iako se čini da je pri završetku lagano povijen. Peta sječiva oštro se lomi prema zaobljenom vratu, a na trnu je vid-

the 14th century right up until the 17th. Given that it was spread across a somewhat wider territory and that it is common, it can be assumed that this was a long-duration fitting type. The third type of shoe heel fitting is semi-oval, slightly bent towards the tread side, and has three rivets. There was one rivet on each end of the extensions, while the third was at their joint. There are two examples of this type (Pl. 1: 10–11): one whole and one partial. Although none of the fittings has the ‘central’ rivet at the joint of the extensions preserved, the hole in which it was placed is visible. The identical hole visible on one of the endings of fitting Pl. 1: 10, in which a rivet is preserved, serves as confirmation that it was actually a rivet that was placed in this hole, rather than a nail or something similar. A very similar fitting, although somewhat smaller in dimensions, was discovered at Ružica. It was dated to the 16th century.⁶¹ The last shoe heel fitting, Pl. 1: 12, is semi-oval in shape, slightly bent towards the tread side, and with spikes at the ends of the extensions. There are two visible holes and two smaller thorns (probable rivet remains, as in the previous type) on the fitting. It is assumed that there were thorns (rivets?) in the holes. Given that they were irregularly spaced on this fitting, there were probably three of them on each extension. Very similar fittings were discovered at the Hungarian forts of Bajcsa,⁶² active for a short period at the end of the 16th century, and Báracs. The fitting discovered at the latter was dated to the beginning of the 17th century.⁶³ This last fitting discovered at Gorjani could be roughly dated to the turn of the 17th century.

Knives make up the second-most numerous group of metal finds discovered in the excavation of the Yahya-Bey tower in Gorjani (Fig. 7: centre). There are three different knives; all of them were probably used for eating. Besides hands, and spoons for soups, knives were the main utensils for eating during the Middle Ages, and also later.⁶⁴ Aside from being used by people for cutting food into smaller pieces, knives were used for removing the meat from the bone and picking up food from the plate or platter. Their tips also often served for extracting salt from the shaker. During festive meals, a knife was usually served only to the host, and maybe a couple of the more distinguished guests. Other guests were expected to bring their own knives.⁶⁵ This particular custom of bringing and using one’s own knife might be the reason behind the difficulty of finding the same or similar knives in the same archaeological context. According to J. Cowgill, knives in the Late Middle Ages can be divided into two groups that differ from each other by their tangs – whittle-tang knives and scale-tang knives. Chronologically, knives with whittle tangs are earlier. They are known since the Early Middle Ages and were dominant until the 15th century, when the scale-tang knives took precedence. They appeared sometime in the first half of the 14th century, but have precedence even today.⁶⁶ Of

61 Radić, Bojčić 2004, 127, kat. br. 194.

62 Kovács 2002, 130, sl. 72.

63 Kovács, Rózsás 1996, 176, sl. 16: 5.

64 Vilica, koja je na području Bizanta upotrebljavana još od 10. stoljeća, u većini Europe češće se počinje koristiti tek u 17. stoljeću, i to prvenstveno među pripadnicima plemstva i bogatijeg građanstva (Sarti 2006, 174–175).

65 Weiss Adamson 2004, 159.

66 Cowgill 2000, 25–26; Demo 2007, 94.

61 Radić, Bojčić 2004, 127, cat. no. 194.

62 Kovács 2002, 130, sl. 72.

63 Kovács, Rózsás 1996, 176, sl. 16: 5.

64 The fork, used in the Byzantine Empire since the 10th century, started being used in most of Europe only in the 17th century, primarily among the nobility and wealthier bourgeoisie (Sarti 2006, 174–175).

65 Weiss Adamson 2004, 159.

66 Cowgill 2000, 25–26; Demo 2007, 94.

ljiva jedna rupica za zakovicu kojom se pričvršćivala drvena ili koštana oplata. Direktna analogija mogao bi biti nož pronađen na prostoru benediktinskog samostana u Bizereu u Transilvaniji iz kasnoga srednjeg vijeka.⁶⁷ Na groblju sv. Nikole biskupa u Žumberku pronađen je nož sličnih karakteristika, definiran kao kuhinjski nož s trakastom drškom,⁶⁸ tip koji se koristi u širokom vremenskom rasponu, od 15. do 18. stoljeća.⁶⁹ Sličan je nož pronađen i u istraživanjima kasnosrednjovjekovnog Pustog Hrada pokraj Zvolena u Slovačkoj,⁷⁰ dok je u Sloveniji na Malom gradu u Kamniku pronađen nož datiran u 15. ili 16. stoljeće, koji se od našeg primjerka razlikuje samo malo kraćom petom sječiva.⁷¹ Unutar zapune SJ 88 pronađena je koštana oplata koja bi mogla odgovarati trapezoidnom trnu noža (T. 2: 1).⁷² U Stalaću u Srbiji na dršci jednog sličnog noža sačuvana je fino obrađena i polirana koštana oplata. Autorice upozoravaju da su takvi noževi mogli služiti i za neke zanatske djelatnosti, poput finije obrade drvenih, koštanih ili kožnih predmeta.⁷³ Tri noža iz fundusa Hrvatskoj povijesnog muzeja, datirana u 18. stoljeće, mogla bi odgovarati tipu noža T. 2: 1, a osim što dokazuju dugo trajanje ovog tipa, najbolji su primjer mogućih varijacija u izgledu drške.⁷⁴

Drugi nož s obložnim trnom (T. 2: 2), značajno se razlikuje od prethodnog primjerka. Dugačak je nešto više od 19 cm, a sječivo i trapezoidni trn su otprilike jednake dužine. Hrnat prelazi u vrh u obliku kljuna, a peta sječiva je zaobljena. Vrat noža je mnogo širi od njegovih ostalih dijelova, a na trnu su vidljive tri zakovice kojima je na nj bila pričvršćena oplata. Peta trna je izbočena, širine gotovo jednake kao i sječivo u blizini vrata. Ovaj tip noža zasigurno je bio korišten prilikom objeda, a njegov kljunasti vrh potvrđuje tezu o nabadanju hrane nožem. Vrlo sličan nož pronađen je na Starom gradu Bariloviću. Iako mu nedostaje vrh, čini se da je također bio kljunastog oblika, vrat je otprilike jednake širine, ali je spojen zakovicama, a na samom trnu se nalazi jedna zakovica više, koja služi pričvršćivanju koštane pete. Temeljem arheološkog konteksta, nož sa Starog grada Barilovića može se datirati u razdoblje druge polovice 15. ili u 16. stoljeće.⁷⁵ Tom tipu noževa mogao bi pripadati nož pronađen prilikom istraživanja čakovečkog starog grada.⁷⁶ Na gradu Ružici pronađen je sličan nož s bakrenim vratom, kojem nedo-

the three knives discovered at Gorjani, two have a whittle tang, and one a scale tang. Knife Pl. 2: 1 has a broken tip and is missing a significant portion of its tang, probably trapezoidal. The blade's edge is bent towards the top and the ridge is straight, although it seems slightly bent at the end. The blade's heel breaks sharply towards the bent upper part of the heel. One rivet hole for the rivet attaching the wooden or bone overlay is visible on it. A direct analogy could be found in the knife discovered in the area of the Benedictine monastery in Bizere, in Transylvania, from the Late Middle Ages.⁶⁷ A knife of similar qualities has been discovered at St Nicholas the Bishop's graveyard in Žumberak. It was identified as a kitchen knife with a band handle.⁶⁸ This type was used over a long period, from the 15th century to the 18th.⁶⁹ A similar knife was also discovered in the excavation of late-medieval Pusti Hrad, near Zvolen, in Slovakia.⁷⁰ A knife discovered at Mali Grad, in Kamnik, in Slovenia, dated to the 15th or 16th century, differs from our knife only by having a slightly shorter heel to the blade.⁷¹ The same backfill (SU 88) yielded a bone overlay that could fit a trapezoidal knife tang (Pl. 2: 1).⁷² A finely shaped and polished bone overlay was discovered on the handle of a similar knife in Stalać, in Serbia. The authors warn that such knives might have served for some artisan activities: for instance, for finer treatment of wooden, bone or leather items.⁷³ Three knives from the Croatian History Museum, dated to the 18th century, could also correspond to the type of knife Pl. 2: 1. Not only do they testify to the long duration of this type of knife, but they are also the best example of possible variations in the appearance of the handle.⁷⁴

The second scale-tang knife (Pl. 2: 2) is significantly different from the above-mentioned knife. It is just over 19 cm long, with the blade and the trapezoidal tang being of around the same length. The blade's ridge goes into the shape of a beak towards the top, and the heel is curved. The top of the knife's heel is wider than all other parts, and the tang has three visible rivets for attaching the overlay. The heel is protruding and almost as wide as the blade near the top of the heel. This type of knife was surely used during a meal; its beak-shaped tip confirms the assumption about picking up food with a knife. A knife very similar to this one was discovered at Barilović Castle. Although it is

67 Rusu 2015, 109, Fig. 26.

68 Takva je drška omogućavala veću stabilnost sječiva (Janeš 2017, 61).

69 Janeš 2017, 60–61, sl. 67: 1.

70 Beljak et al. 2014, 353, Tab. 36: 4.

71 Štular 2009, 208, T. 5: 9.

72 Naime, na oplati drške PN 30 djelomično su sačuvane dvije zakovice i posljednja rupica za treću koja nedostaje i koja savršeno odgovara jedinju sačuvanoj rupi na trnu noža T. 2.1. Nažalost, odnos između samog noža i koštane oplate unutar jame nije jasan jer je pronađena i definirana tek prilikom pranja i analize životinjskih kostiju pa ne možemo sa sigurnošću tvrditi da je riječ upravo o oplati toga noža iako dimenzijama potpuno odgovaraju. Oplata drške izrađena je od obrađene tvrde kosti goveda (metapodij) i polirana s gornje strane. Duljina je 6,9 cm, širine 0,9 – 1,7 cm i debljine 0,15 – 0,4 cm. U dvije su rupice ostaci brončanih čavlića za pričvršćivanje (promjera 0,1 – 0,15 cm). Promjer rupice na kraju drške iznosi 0,4 cm.

73 Minić, Vukadin 2007, 128–129, sl. 82: 15.

74 Škiljan 2002, 74–75, kat. br. 256–258.

75 Sekulić 2014, 66, 177, T. 13: 140.

76 Vidović 1996, 159, T. 5: 3.

67 Rusu 2015, 109, Fig. 26.

68 This type of handle provides more stability for the blade (Janeš 2017, 61).

69 Janeš 2017, 60–61, sl. 67: 1.

70 Beljak et al. 2014, 353, Tab. 36: 4.

71 Štular 2009, 208, T. 5: 9.

72 The overlay of the handle of SF 30 had two partly preserved rivets and a final hole for a third, and missing, rivet that perfectly matches the only preserved hole on the tang of knife Pl. 2: 1. Unfortunately, the link between the knife and the overlay inside the pit is unclear, since the overlay was discovered and determined only during the washing and the analysis of animal bones. Therefore, it cannot be claimed with certainty that this is the overlay of that particular knife, although their dimensions match perfectly. The handle overlay was made of processed bovine bone (*metapodial*) and polished on the top. It is 6.9 cm long, 0.9 – 1.7 cm wide, and 0.15 – 0.4 cm thick. Two holes contain remains of bronze nails for attaching (0.1 – 0.15 cm in diameter). The diameter of the hole at the end of the handle is 0.4 cm.

73 Minić, Vukadin 2007, 128–129, sl. 82: 15.

74 Škiljan 2002, 74–75, cat. nos 256–258.



SLIKA 8. Željezna tordirana šipka (snimio Lj. Gamulin, arhiv HRZ-a).

FIGURE 8. Helical iron bar (photo by Lj. Gamulin, Croatian Conservation Institute's archives).



SLIKA 9. Željezni ulomak vatrenog oružja (snimio Lj. Gamulin, arhiv HRZ-a).

FIGURE 9. Iron fragment of the tip of a light firearm barrel (photo by Lj. Gamulin, Croatian Conservation Institute's archives).

staje veći dio trna, a autori ga datiraju od 15. do 17. stoljeća.⁷⁷ Zanimljiv je i nalaz noža iz područja Gornje Austrije datiran u kasno 18. stoljeće. Hrbat mu otprilike na sredini prelazi u kljunasti vrh, a peta sječiva je oštrije izvedena nego na primjeru iz Gorjana, dok je na trnu trima zakovicama pričvršćena drvena oplata.⁷⁸ U 18. stoljeće datiran je i dobro sačuvan nož istog tipa iz fundusa Hrvatskog povijesnog muzeja.⁷⁹ Tijekom istraživanja Sulejmanovog mosta u Osijeku pronađen je nož s koštanom drškom, te drvenim i brončanim koricama. Prema fotografiji prije konzerviranja, mogao bi biti vrlo sličan nožu T. 2: 2, a autori ga preliminarno datiraju u drugu polovicu 15. stoljeća.⁸⁰ Slijedeći navedeno, ovaj tip noža i njegove varijacije možemo datirati u širok vremenski period, od 15. pa do kraja 18. stoljeća, ali njegova pojava u zatvorenoj arheološkoj cjelini otpadne kanalizacijske jame u Gorjanima omogućava sužavanje datacije u vremenski raspon 16. do 17. stoljeća.

Posljednji nož (T. 2: 3) pronađen u jami SJ 88/118 pripadao bi skupini noževa s trnom za naticanje. Najčešće se trn nastavlja na sredinu sječiva, ali na primjerku iz Gorjana ravan hrbat, koji je nešto širi (0,5 cm) od ostalih, nastavlja se na njega. Oštrica je također ravna, a vrh je noža zaobljen. Peta sječiva lomi se prema vratu noža. U osmanskoj utvrdi Báracs pronađen je sličan nož sa sačuvanom drškom. Nedostaje mu gornji dio sječiva, a autori ga datiraju krajem 16. stoljeća.⁸¹ Osim tog noža, u Báracsu je pronađen primjerak s nešto drugačijim hrptom, a datira se u 16. ili u prvu polovicu 17. stoljeća.⁸² Na utvrdi Kostanjevici u Sloveniji, pronađen je isti tip noža prelomljen na dva dijela, a prema analogijama autorica ga datira u razdoblje od 13. do 15. stoljeća.⁸³ Izgledom je nožu T. 2: 3 najbližiji mesarski nož pronađen u

missing its tip, it seems that it was also beak-shaped. The top of its heel is almost of the same width, but attached by rivets. There is one more rivet on the tang itself, serving for attaching the bone heel. On the basis of the archaeological context, the knife from Barilović Castle can be dated to the second half of the 15th century or the 16th century.⁷⁵ A knife discovered during the excavation of Čakovec Castle could also belong to this type.⁷⁶ Ružica yielded a similar knife with a copper top to the heel, missing most of the tang. It is dated by the authors to the period between the 15th and the 17th centuries.⁷⁷ The find of a knife in Upper Austria dated to the late 18th century is also interesting. Around the middle, its ridge turns into a beak-shaped tip, and the blade's heel is sharper than in the Gorjani knife. The wooden overlay is attached to the tang by three rivets.⁷⁸ A well-preserved knife of the same type in the Croatian History Museum's collection has also been dated to the 18th century.⁷⁹ Excavation of the Suleiman Bridge in Osijek has yielded a knife with a bone handle and a wooden and bronze sheath. A photograph of the knife before the conservation indicates that it could be very similar to knife Pl. 2: 2. The authors dated it provisionally to the second half of the 15th century.⁸⁰ Following everything mentioned above, this type of knife and its variations can be dated to a long period, from the 15th century all the way to the end of the 18th, but its discovery in the closed archaeological unit of the Gorjani waste pit indicates that the time frame could be restricted to the 16th and 17th centuries.

The last knife (Pl. 2: 3) discovered in pit SU 88/118 belongs to the whittle-tang group of knives. The tang usually continues from the middle of the blade, but in the Gorjani knife it extends from

77 Radić, Bojčić 2004, 96, kat. br. 83.

78 Bajc 2008, 171, inv. br. 11.

79 Škiljan 2002, 75, kat. br. 262.

80 Surić, Šimičić 2015, 148–149, Fig. 18.

81 Kovács, Rózsás 1996, 177, sl. 17: 6; Kovács et al. 2014, 163, Fig. 6: 6.

82 Kovács, Rózsás 1998, 98, Abb. 10: 3.

83 Predovnik 2003, 84, T. 74: 722.

75 Sekulić 2014, 66, 177, T. 13: 140.

76 Vidović 1996, 159, Pl. 5: 3.

77 Radić, Bojčić 2004, 96, cat. no. 83.

78 Bajc 2008, 171, inv. no. 11.

79 Škiljan 2002, 75, cat. no. 262.

80 Surić, Šimičić 2015, 148–149, Fig. 18.



SLIKA 10. Predmeti od bakra i bakrene legure (snimio Lj. Gamulin, arhiv HRZ-a).
FIGURE 10. Copper and copper-alloy items (photo by Lj. Gamulin, Croatian Conservation Institute's archives).

Mstěnicama u Češkoj, ali je dimenzijama tri puta veći (35 x 6 cm). Trn mesarskog noža bio je naboden na drvenu dršku.⁸⁴ U Hrvatskoj je pak, nožu T. 2: 3, najbliži nož pronađen na lokalitetu Mekiš-Zgruti. Manjih je dimenzija, a autor ga datira u razdoblje 12. i 13. stoljeća.⁸⁵ Kao relikv tog tipa može se smatrati nož iz fundusa Hrvatskoga povijesnog muzeja datiran u 18. stoljeće. Sječivo je gotovo identično izvedeno, a hrbat se direktno nastavlja na trn. Međutim, iako u blizini vrata trn nalikuje na stariji tip na koji se nabada drška, razveden je u trapezoidni oblik, a na njega je zakovicama pričvršćena drvena oplata.⁸⁶

U zapuni SJ 28 pronađena je i jedna britva (T. 2: 5; sl. 7: dolje lijevo). Hrbat joj je lučnog oblika, a ravna je oštrica u blizini vrha lagano zavijena. Pri dnu se oštrica lomi prema rupici u kojoj se vjerojatno nalazila zakovica, koja je povezivala sječivo i korice, što znači da je riječ o preklopnj britvi. Na kraju pete nalazi se mala ušica s karičicom za vješanje, najvjerojatnije o pojas. Do sada su objavljene tri vrlo slične britve pronađene na osmanskoj utvrdi u Barcsu, koja se koristila manje od sto godina, od 1566. do 1664. godine, pri čemu je jedna pronađena u sloju iz 17. stoljeća.⁸⁷ Marko Popović je britve pronađene u zamku Magliču u Srbiji podijelio na četiri tipa, a prema njegovoj tipologiji britva T. 2: 5 pripada drugom tipu, među britve sa savijenim leđima i blago izvijenim vrhom, pritom naglašavajući da nema tipološke razlike između starijih i mlađih primjeraka.⁸⁸ Slične britve s područja Vojvodine datiraju se u širok vremenski okvir, od 12. do 16. stoljeća.⁸⁹ U Hrvatskoj su tipološki slične, ali gotovo duplo duže britve, pronađene na gradu Ružici i u benediktinskom Samostanu sv. Margarete u Bijeloj, a datiraju se od 15. do 17. stoljeća.⁹⁰

the straight ridge, which is somewhat wider than the rest of them (0.5 cm). The blade is also straight, and the tip is curved. The heel of the blade breaks towards its top. The Ottoman fort of Báracs yielded a similar knife with a preserved handle. The top of the blade is missing, and the authors dated it to the end of the 16th century.⁸¹ Aside from that knife, Báracs yielded a knife with a somewhat different ridge, dated to the 16th century or the first half of the 17th.⁸² At the fort of Kostanjevica, in Slovenia, the same type of knife was discovered. It was broken into two parts, and the author dated it, using analogies, to the period between the 13th century and the 15th.⁸³ The most similar in appearance to knife Pl. 2: 3 is a butcher's knife discovered at Mstěnice, in Czechia. However, it is three times the size of the Gorjani knife (35 x 6 cm). The tang of the butcher's knife was put into a wooden handle.⁸⁴ The most similar to knife Pl. 2: 3 in Croatia was the knife discovered at the site of Mekiš-Zgruti. It is smaller in dimensions and dated by the author to the 12th and 13th centuries.⁸⁵ The knife from the Croatian History Museum's collection dated to the 18th century can be viewed as a relic of that type. The blade is almost identical, and the ridge extends directly from the tang. However, although near the top of the heel the tang resembles an earlier type of whittle tang, it is flattened into a trapezoidal shape with a wooden overlay attached to it with rivets.⁸⁶

A razor was also discovered in backfill SU 28 (Pl. 2: 5; Fig. 7: lower left). Its ridge is arch-shaped, and the straight edge is slightly curved near the tip. Near the bottom, the blade breaks towards a hole, probably for a rivet that connected the blade and the sheath, indicating that this is a folding razor. At the end of the heel, there is a small eye with a circllet for hanging, probably from a belt. Three very similar razors discovered in the Ottoman fort in Baracs have been published thus far. The fort was used for less than one hundred years, from 1566 to 1664. One razor was discovered in the 17th-century layer.⁸⁷ Marko Popović divided the razors discovered at Maglič Fort in Serbia into four types. In his typology, razor Pl. 2: 5 belongs to type two: razors with a bent back and slightly curved tip. The author notes that there are no typological variations between earlier and later razors.⁸⁸ Similar razors from the Vojvodina area are dated to a wide time frame: from the 12th century to the 16th.⁸⁹ In Croatia, typologically similar razors, but almost twice as long, were discovered at Ružica and the Benedictine Monastery of St Margaret, in Bijela. They are dated to the period from the 15th century to the 17th.⁹⁰

Billhooks are tools used in agriculture, similar to sickles, but smaller. The length of the blade is usually almost the same as the length of the tang; there are sporadic finds of fragments

84 Nekuda 1985, 160–161, sl. 214: c.

85 Čimin 2017, 69, kat. br. 49.

86 Škiljan 2002, 76, kat. br. 263.

87 Kovács, Rózsás 1996, 177, sl. 18: 2; Kovács, Rózsás 2010, 625, Fig. 10: 4; Kovács et al. 2014, 163, Fig. 6: 5.

88 Popović 2012, 182–183, sl. 127: 195–198.

89 Manojlović-Nikolić 2004, 47, sl. 68–69.

90 Radić, Bojčić 2004, 97–98, kat. br. 86, 88; Dragičević 2019, 125, kat. br. 26.

81 Kovács, Rózsás 1996, 177, sl. 17: 6; Kovács et al. 2014, 163, Fig. 6: 6.

82 Kovács, Rózsás 1997, 98, Abb. 10: 3.

83 Predovnik 2003, 84, T. 74: 722.

84 Nekuda 1985, 160–161, sl. 214: c.

85 Čimin 2017, 69, cat. no. 49.

86 Škiljan 2002, 76, cat. no. 263.

87 Kovács, Rózsás 1996, 177, sl. 18: 2; Kovács, Rózsás 2010, 625, Fig. 10: 4; Kovács et al. 2014, 163, Fig. 6: 5.

88 Popović 2012, 182–183, sl. 127: 195–198.

89 Manojlović-Nikolić 2012, 47, sl. 68–69.

90 Radić, Bojčić 2004, 97–98, cat. nos 86, 88; Dragičević 2019, 125, cat. no. 26.

Kosir je poljoprivredni alat sličan srp, ali manjih dimenzija. Dužina sječiva i trna većinom je podjednaka, a povremeno se pronalaze i ulomci s nešto kraćim trnom. Najčešće je služio za sječu granja i trnja, dok se manjim primjercima orezivala vinova loza.⁹² Unutar zapune SJ 28 pronađen je kosir (T. 2: 4; sl. 7: gore desno) kojem je, za razliku od uspoređivanih primjeraka, sječivo postavljeno okomito na trn. Uvidom u dostupnu literaturu, na prostoru današnje Republike Hrvatske i u okolnim državama nije pronađen analogan primjerak. Zanimljiv je i nalaz dijela veće željezne alatke (T. 2: 6; sl. 8) u zapuni SJ 88. Sačuvana je masivna tordirana ručka, dužine oko 24 cm, iskucana pri vrhu te savijena u kukicu za vješanje. Promjer ručke povećava se od kukice prema drugom kraju. Funkcija alatke ostaje nejasna jer nedostaje njezin glavni dio, ali pretpostavljamo da je služila obradi kože ili možda drva jer upravo takvi alati najčešće imaju tordirane ručke.⁹²

U kategoriju oružja spadao bi samo ulomak vrha cijevi nekog lakšega vatrenog oružja (T. 2: 8; sl. 9). Kalibar nije bio znatno veći od 16 mm, a cijev je vrlo gracilne izrade. Izvana je najvjerojatnije bila osmerokutnog oblika, a s unutarnje strane prvi vrhu se nalaze paralelni žljebovi. Pronađena su i tri željezna okova, pri čemu samo za okov (T. 2: 11) pronađen u manjoj, također osmanskoj otpadnoj jami SJ 76/77,⁹³ možemo utvrditi da je bio dio prozora ili vrata. Preostala su dva ulomka pronađena, kao i većina metalnih nalaza, unutar otpadne jame SJ 118. Manji je okov (T. 2: 7) možda bio dio oklopa, dok je nešto veći, povijeni okov (T. 2: 12) mogao biti dijelom neke drvene posude. Deformirani željezni predmet (T. 2: 10) također bi mogao biti dijelom neke veće drvene posude ili možda vjedra. Pretpostavlja se da je riječ o držaču na koji se kukom spajala ručka za nošenje posude.⁹⁴

Metalno posuđe iznimno je rijedak i vrijedan nalaz u arheološkom kontekstu. Unutar jame SJ 88/118 pronađen je gornji dio vrča (T. 3: 1) i manji poklopac (T. 3: 2; sl. 10). Vrč je bio izrađen od bakra s primjesama željeza i cinka, a poklopac je izrađen od pokositrenoga iskucanoga bakrenog lima. Posude izrađene od bakra često su bile presvučene kositrom s vanjske, a ponekad i s unutarnje strane.⁹⁵ Poklopac je ravnog profila s blago podignutim rubom, promjera neznatno većeg od 10 cm, i čepastom ručkom koja se sužavala prema vrhu. Promjer dna ručke je otprilike 3,2 cm, a vrha 2,5 cm. Gornji je dio vrča prilično deformiran, ali čini se da je izljev nekad bio trolisnog oblika. Na dijelu ruba nalaze se vidljivi tragovi onodobnog „krpanja“ ili popravka u osmanskom razdoblju. „Zakrpa“ listolikog oblika, dimenzija 8,5 x 2 cm, za vrč je bila pričvršćena s pet zakovica, četiri romboidno posložene s jedne strane i posljednjom samostalnom, u blizini izljevica. Na vrču su također vidljivi tragovi tokarenja. Majstori kazandžije jednostavnije su posude proizvodili u većini osmanskih centara. U utvrdi u Budimu čak su imali i svoju ulicu, vidljivu na Marsiglijevoj karti (*Kazancilar yolu*). Osim u ve-

with somewhat shorter tangs. They were used mostly for cutting branches and shrubs, while smaller billhooks were used for grapevine pruning.⁹¹ Backfill SU 28 yielded a billhook (Pl. 2: 4, Fig. 7: upper right) with the blade perpendicular to the tang, unlike the billhooks referenced. There were no analogous billhooks found in the available literature from the area of present-day Croatia or surrounding countries. Part of a larger iron tool with a preserved massive helical handle discovered in backfill SU 88 is also interesting (Pl. 2: 6; Fig. 8). The handle was around 24 cm long, flattened near the top, and bent into a hook for hanging. The handle's diameter gradually increases from the hook towards the opposite end. The tool's function remains unclear, since its main part is missing, but it is assumed that it was used for processing hides or wood, because those types of tools usually have helical handles.⁹²

The weapons category includes only a fragment of the tip of a light firearm barrel (Pl. 2: 8; Fig. 9). The calibre was not significantly greater than 16 mm, and the barrel was of gracile production. It was probably octagonal on the outside, and there are visible parallel grooves near the top on the inside. Three iron fittings were also discovered. Only the fitting (Pl. 2: 11) discovered in the smaller waster pit, SU 76/77, also of Ottoman origin,⁹³ can be claimed to be part of a window or door. The remaining two fragments were, like most other metal finds, discovered within waste pit SU 118. The smaller fitting (Pl. 2: 7) might have been a part of the armour, while the somewhat larger, bent fitting might be part of a wooden vessel. The deformed iron object (Pl. 2: 10) could also be part of some larger wooden vessel or a bucket. It is assumed that this was a holder onto which a handle for carrying was connected by a hook.⁹⁴

In archaeological contexts, metal kitchenware is an exceptionally rare and valuable find. A top part of a jug (Pl. 3: 1) and a smaller lid (Pl. 3: 2; Fig. 10) were discovered in waste pit SU 118. The jug was made of copper with traces of iron and zinc, while the lid was made of an embossed tinned copper sheet. Vessels made of copper were often tinned on the outside, and sometimes on the inside as well.⁹⁵ The lid had a straight profile with a slightly elevated edge, diameter just above 10 cm, and a cork-like handle that narrows towards the top. The handle's diameter is around 2.3 cm, and the top's diameter is 2.5 cm. The top part of the jug was severely deformed, but it seems that the mouth used to be trefoil. Near the edge of the mouth, there are visible traces of contemporaneous 'patching' or mending in the Ottoman period. The 'patch' was leaf-shaped, 8.5 x 2 cm in dimensions, and attached to the jug with five rivets. Four of them are placed at one end of the mend in the shape of a rhomboid, while the fifth one is at the other end, near the mouth. There are also visible traces of turning on the jug. Master coppersmiths produced simple vessels in most Ottoman centres. In Buda

91 Minić, Vukadin 2007, 132.

92 Radić, Bojčić 2004, 113–114, kat. br. 138–143; Popović 2012, 184–185, kat. br. 209–211, 218, 221; Minić, Vukadin 2007, 139, sl. 88.

93 Unutar zapune SJ 76 otpadne jame SJ 77 pronađeni su ulomci keramike datirani u osmanski period. Jama, na žalost, nije istražena u potpunosti jer je izlazila izvan južnog ruba sonde 2.

94 Minić, Vukadin 2007, 108, sl. 69: 2–5.

95 Kovács 2015, 152.

91 Minić, Vukadin 2007, 132.

92 Radić, Bojčić 2004, 113–114, cat. no. 138–143; Popović 2012, 184–185, cat. nos 209–211, 218, 221; Minić, Vukadin 2007, 139, sl. 88.

93 In backfill SU 76 of waste pit SU 77, pottery fragments were discovered which were dated to the Ottoman period. Unfortunately, the pit was not excavated completely, because it was outside the southern edge of trench 2.

94 Minić, Vukadin 2007, 108, sl. 69: 2–5.

95 Kovács 2015, 152.



SLIKA 11. Ukrašena pločica (kruna prstena?) od bakrene legure (snimili Lj. Gamulin, I. Hirschler Marić, arhiv HRZ-a).

FIGURE 11. Decorated copper-alloy plate (head of a ring?) photo by Lj. Gamulin, I. Hirschler Marić, Croatian Conservation Institute's archives).

čim centrima, često su se sitnim popravcima posuda i njihovim „krpanjem” bavili i u manjim utvrdama i mjestima.⁹⁶ Većina nalaza osmanskoga metalnog posuda u Hrvatskoj potječe iz šire okolice Osijeka, a u Dardi je pronađen jedan pokositreni bakreni vrč s trolisnim izljevom, datiran u vremenski raspon od 16. do 17. stoljeća.⁹⁷

Ukrasni predmeti i nakit slabo su zastupljeni. Unutar jame SJ 28/29 pronađena je manja ukrašena pločica (T. 3: 3; sl. 10: dolje lijevo; sl. 11) od tankog lima bakrene legure (aplika?), dimenzija 1,4 x 1,2 cm, a težine samo 1 gram. Obrubljena je dvostrukim ravnim linijama, a ukrašena površina podijeljena je dijagonalnim urezima na četiri trokutna polja ispunjena urezanim linijama, okomitim na najbliži rub pločice. Na samoj pločici nema rupica, kukica ili nečeg sličnog, čime bi se mogla prišiti na odjeću ili spojiti na neki drugi predmet, što bi možda navelo na zaključak da je riječ o žetonu za neku društvenu igru ili nešto slično. No sa stražnje strane pločice, na njezinu središnjem dijelu, doima se kao da je pločica bila pričvršćena na traku ili obruč. Premda su ti tragovi slabo vidljivi, moglo bi se pretpostaviti da je pločica zapravo kruna prstena. Prsten s krunom donekle sličnog ukrasa, postavljenom dijagonalno na obruč, potječe iz Vinkovačkih Banovaca.⁹⁸ Datiran je u 13./14. stoljeće, ali s obzirom na to da je riječ o nalazu pronađenom izvan arheološkog konteksta, njegovo bi datiranje trebalo ostaviti otvorenim. Ako je ukrašena pločica iz Gorjana doista pripadala prstenu, valja ga također datirati prema zatvorenom kontekstu jame, dakle kao i ostale obrađene nalaze u vrijeme od sredine 16. do potkraj 17. stoljeća. Osim navedenih nalaza, pronađen je i nešto veći ulomak deformiranog bakrenog lima i tanak željezni predmet nepoznate namjene (T. 2: 9).

Jedini poseban nalaz izrađen od metala, a pronađen unutar današnje kapele Sveta tri kralja u Gorjanima jest prsten od bakrene legure (T. 3: 4; sl. 10: dolje desno). Jednostavne je izrade, a vanjski je obruč prstena podijeljen dvjema brazdamama na tri trake. Rubovi su mu lagano zaobljeni i izbočeni, a središnja je

Fort, they even had their own street, visible on Marsigli's map (*Kazancilar yolu*). Aside from the larger centres, smaller-scale mending and 'patching' were done in smaller forts and settlements.⁹⁶ Most finds of Ottoman metal kitchenware in Croatia were discovered in the area around Osijek; a tinned copper jug with a trefoil mouth dated to the period from the 16th century to the 17th was discovered in Darda.⁹⁷

Decorative items and jewellery are rare. A smaller decorated plate was discovered in pit SU 28/29 (Pl. 3: 3; Fig. 10: lower left; Fig. 11). It is made of a thin copper-alloy sheet (mount?), 1.4 x 1.2 cm in dimensions and weighing only 1 g. It has double straight lines as rims, and its decorated surface is divided by diagonal incisions into four triangular fields filled with incised lines perpendicular to the closest edge of the plate. The plate itself has no holes, hooks, or anything similar through which it could be sewn to clothes or attached to some other object. This leads to the conclusion that this is a kind of jeton for a game or something similar. But the centre of the back of the plate indicates that the plate was attached to a band or a hoop. Although these traces are poorly visible, it could be assumed that the plate was actually the head of a ring. A ring with a head with a somewhat similar decoration diagonal to the hoop originates from Vinkovački Banovci.⁹⁸ It was dated to the 13th/14th century, but since it was discovered outside the archaeological context, its dating should be left undetermined. If the decorated plate from Gorjani did belong to a ring, it should also be dated on the basis of the closed context of the Ottoman waste pit, just like the other finds analysed, to the period from the mid-16th century to the end of the 17th century. Aside from the above-mentioned finds, a larger fragment of a copper sheet and a thin iron object of unknown function were discovered (Pl. 2: 9).

The only special metal find discovered within the present-day Chapel of the Magi, in Gorjani, is a ring made of copper alloy (Pl. 3: 4; Fig. 10: lower right). It is simple, but the other hoop of the ring has two grooves dividing it into three bands. Its edges are

96 Kovács 2015, 158.

97 Radić 2015, 77, kat. br. 170.

98 Adžaga 2020, 232, kat. br. 270.

96 Kovács 2015, 158.

97 Radić 2015, 77, cat. no. 170.

98 Adžaga 2020, 232, cat. no. 270.

traka ukrašena paralelnim kosim urezima, čime nalikuje užetu. Sloj pronalaska SJ 05 datiran je ulomkom keramičke lule u drugu polovicu 18. stoljeća, možda i u prijelaz na 19. stoljeće.⁹⁹ Na groblju oko crkve sv. Nikole biskupa u Žumberku pronađen je sličan prsten, kojem su vanjske trake ukrašene paralelnim kosim urezima, dok je središnja plastično izdignuta.¹⁰⁰

Zaključak

Nakon vrhunca tijekom 14. i 15. stoljeća u razdoblju kasnoga srednjeg vijeka, razvoj naselja gradskog tipa Gora/Gara, ujedno jednog od najvažnijih središta Vukovske županije, nepovratno će zaustaviti osmanska osvajanja. Tijekom 1536. godine osmanske postrojbe pod zapovjedništvom Mehmed-bega, sina Jahja-bega, osvojile su područje Đakova i Gorjana. Upravo je spomen na njihovo ime ostao sačuvan u kasnijoj tradiciji i povezan s izgradnjom kule u Gorjanima. U prvo vrijeme prisutnosti osmanska je vojna posada zasigurno bila smještena u utvrdi u Gorjanima, tj. unutar bedema naselja. Kula, sa zidovima od sekundarno korištene kasnosrednjovjekovne opeke, dostupne u izobilju u neposrednoj blizini, izgrađena je u razdoblju ranoga novog vijeka, najvjerojatnije nakon 1552. godine i potresa koji je pogodio ovo područje. Gorjani, zbog svoga značaja postaju središtem istoimenog kadiluka u Požeškom sandžaku, s nahijom Gorjani. Izuzetan povijesni izvor, *ferman*, možda je moguće, iako s oprezom, odrediti kao *terminus post quem* za gradnju kule, ili pak kao okvirni vremenski pokazatelj, što se svakako povezuje uz novu povoljniju sigurnosnu situaciju, pri čemu se nalaže rušenje u potresu nastradale gorjanske utvrde i preseljenje vojske na druge položaje.

Izgradnjom kule, stambeno-obrambenog objekta južno od ostataka nekadašnjega velikog srednjovjekovnoga grada, uz istovremeno ukopavanje velike otpadne kanalizacijske jame, nedaleko od njezina južnog zida, bio je omogućen daljnji nastavak vojne ili vojno-redarstvene prisutnosti na području Gorjana nakon preseljenja vojske. Analiza nalaza, kako metalnih tako i onih zooarheoloških iz vremena funkcioniranja kule, također ukazuje na boravak posadnika, osmanske vojske. Pritom se svakako izdvaja čak dvanaest pronađenih željeznih okova obuće s niskom petom koju su nosili muškarci, vojnici. Kako je među životinjskim kostima utvrđen potpuni izostanak kostiju svinje unutar zapuna SJ 26, SJ 28 i SJ 88, moguće je pretpostaviti da je taj prostor koristilo isključivo muslimansko stanovništvo, odnosno da slika prehrane posade odgovara prehrani određenoj tradicijom islamske vjere. Zooarheološki nalazi iz spomenutih zapuna jama kod kule Jahje-bega od iznimne su važnosti jer ukazuju na okvir za datiranje, kao i određivanje pronađenih metalnih predmeta prema kulturnoj pripadnosti.

slightly curved and protruding, while the central band is decorated with parallel sidelong incisions reminiscent of a rope. The layer in which it was discovered, SU 05, was dated by a fragment of a clay tobacco pipe to the second half of the 18th century, perhaps even the turn of the 19th century.⁹⁹ The graveyard of the church of St Nicholas the Bishop in Žumberak also yielded a similar ring. The bands on the outside of the ring were decorated in parallel sidelong incisions, while the central band was plastically elevated.¹⁰⁰

Conclusion

Ottoman conquests stopped the development of the urban settlement of Gora/Gara irreversibly after its height during the 14th and 15th centuries in the Late Middle Ages, although it was among the most important centres of Vukovo County. In 1536, Ottoman troops under the command of Mehmed-Bey, Yahya-Bey's son, conquered Đakovo and the Gorjani area. It was the memory of his name that remained preserved in the later tradition and the construction of the Gorjani tower. At the beginning of their presence, the Ottoman army was definitely housed in Gorjani Fort, i.e. inside the settlement's walls. The tower was constructed in the early modern period, probably after 1552 and the earthquake that hit this area. Its walls were constructed through the secondary use of the medieval bricks available in the vicinity in large numbers. Due to its significance, Gorjani became the centre of the kadiluk of the same name in the Sanjak of Požega, with the Nahiyah of Gorjani. An exceptional historical source, a *ferman*, could be used, with caution, as *terminus post quem* for the construction of the tower, or as a rough timeframe that definitely has to do with the newly established favourable situation and the decision to demolish the Gorjani fort, damaged in the earthquake, and send the troops to other positions.

The construction of the tower, a residential and defensive structure south of the remains of the former large medieval town, and the simultaneous digging of the large waste pit not far from its southern wall, enabled the further continuation of a military or military-and-police presence in the Gorjani area after the move of the army. Analysis of the metal and zooarchaeological finds from the time the tower was in use also indicates that it served for housing the troops, i.e. the Ottoman army. The finds that stand out are the twelve iron fittings for footwear with a low heel worn by men (soldiers). Since there is a complete absence of swine bones among the animal remains in backfills SU 26, SU 28 and SU 88, it can be assumed that this area was used exclusively by the Muslim population, i.e. that the image of the crew's diet corresponds with the diet in the Islamic tradition. Zooarchaeological finds from the abovementioned backfills of the pits near the Yahya-Bey Tower are immensely important for providing a dating framework as well as a means of determining the cultural affiliation of the metal objects discovered.

99 Hirschler Marić, Sekulić 2016, 103–105, Hirschler Marić 2018 – 2019, 79.
100 Sekulić 2018, 57, PN 44.

99 Hirschler Marić, Sekulić 2016, 103–105, Hirschler Marić 2018 – 2019, 79.
100 Sekulić 2018, 57, SF 44.

Iako je pronađen samo jedan manji ulomak vrha cijevi lakšeg vatrenoga oružja, i on nam potvrđuje obrambenu funkciju kule. Ostali nalazi kuhinjskog i jedaćeg pribora, britve kao pokazatelj higijene i običaja te alata za rezanje granja i šiblja također pružaju uvid u neke svakodnevne aktivnosti posade. Odbačeni dijelovi brončanog posuđa svjedoče o višekratnom pokušaju korištenja, odnosno popravljanju nekih oštećenih predmeta. Da je u kuli mogla boraviti manja vojna jedinica, koja je vršila redarstvenu službu, svjedoči nam i nalaz keramičke cjevaste zviždaljke¹⁰¹ pronađene u jednom od slojeva zasipa u unutrašnjosti. Iz razdoblja nakon Habsburške rekonkviste 1687. godine na prostoru kule pronađen je samo jedan metalni nalaz, prsten koji se datira u kasno 18. ili početak 19. stoljeća prema nalazu keramičke lule iz sloja zasipa u unutrašnjosti.

I na kraju, valja dodatno spomenuti i graditeljsku obnovu kapele Sveta tri kralja, nekadašnje osmanske kule koja je započeta od strane Općine Gorjani i financirana sredstvima Ministarstva kulture i medija. U planu je korištenje ovog spomenika kulture za izložbenu namjenu, čime bi nepokretna i pokretna kulturna baština bile predstavljene na primjeren način, s obuhvaćenim nalazima iz svih graditeljskih faza, od prve, osmanske faze, pa do preuređenja i posvećenja u kapelu Sveta tri kralja 1837. godine, kao i kasnije obnove 1928./1929. godine. Ovim pokušajem interpretiranja nalaza iz vremena gradnje i funkcioniranja ovoga jedinstvenog objekta osmanske arhitekture na našim prostorima pridružujemo se njegovu valoriziranju, što svojom povijesnom i ambijentalnom vrijednošću itekako zaslužuje.

Although only a small fragment of the tip of the barrel of a light firearm was discovered, it also confirms the defensive function of the tower. Other finds of kitchenware and cutlery, a razor as an indicator of hygiene and custom, as well as tools for cutting branches and sticks, also provide insight into some everyday activities of the crew. The discarded parts of bronzeware also testify to the repeated attempts of their use, i.e. the mending of some damaged items. The find of a tubular whistle¹⁰¹ discovered in one of the debris layers on the inside also indicates that a smaller military unit that policed the area could have been housed in the tower. From the period after the Habsburgs reconquered the area in 1687, only one metal find was discovered in the area of the tower: a ring dated to the late 18th century or the beginning of the 19th, due to analogy with the find of a clay tobacco pipe from the debris layer on the inside.

Finally, it should be noted that the Municipality of Gorjani has launched the structural renovation of the Chapel of the Magi / former Ottoman tower of Yahya-Bey, funded by the Ministry of Culture and Media, and also that the building is planned to be used for exhibitions. In this way the movable and immovable heritage will be presented adequately. It will include finds from all construction phases, from the first, Ottoman phase to the reconstruction and the consecration of the Chapel of the Magi in 1837, as well as the later reconstruction of 1928/1929. With this attempt at interpreting the finds from the period of its construction and the use of this unique structure of Ottoman architecture in Croatia, we add to the appreciation of it, just as its historical value and ambiance deserve.

Translation: Kristina Deskar

101 Keramički će nalazi biti objavljeni u posebnom radu stoga se ovdje ne navode detalji.

101 Since pottery finds will be published in a separate paper, no details are mentioned here.

Katalog ¹⁰²

Tabla 1

T. 1.1. Željezni okov za petu cipele. Poluovalnog je oblika s blago raskucanim krajevima krakova, koji završavaju savijenim šiljcima. Manji trn nalazi se na spoju krakova. Težina: 10,2 g. Dimenzije: širina krakova – 7,3 cm; „visina” okova¹⁰³ – 4,9 cm. Detalji nalaza: SJ 26, PN 5D, 21. 10. 2015.

Analogije: Gere 2003, 109–110; Radić, Bojčić 2004, 128, kat. br. 196.

T. 1.2. Željezni okov za petu cipele. Poluovalnog je oblika, a raskucani krajevi krakova nisu sačuvani u potpunosti. Lijevi gotovo u potpunosti nedostaje, dok je na desnom sačuvan dio savijenog šiljka. Manji trn nalazi se na spoju krakova. Težina: 8,2 g. Dimenzije: sačuvana širina krakova – 8,2 cm; „visina” okova – 5,2 cm. Detalji nalaza: SJ 88, PN 22, datum pronalaska – 28. 10. 2015. Analogije: Gere 2003, 109–110; Radić, Bojčić 2004, 128, kat. br. 196.

T. 1.3. Željezni okov za petu cipele. Poluovalnog je oblika s blago raskucanim krajevima krakova, koji završavaju savijenim šiljcima. Desni je šiljak sačuvan u potpunosti, a lijevi gotovo u potpunosti nedostaje. Manji trn nalazi se na spoju krakova. Težina: 17,9 g. Dimenzije: širina krakova – 8,1 cm; „visina” okova – 6,7 cm. Detalji nalaza: SJ 88, PN 24A, 28. 10. 2015.

Analogije: Gere 2003, 109–110; Radić, Bojčić 2004, 128, kat. br. 196.

T. 1.4. Željezni okov za petu cipele. Poluovalnog je oblika s krakovima koji nisu sačuvani u potpunosti, a na njihovu spoju nalazi se manji trn. Težina: 5,2 g. Dimenzije: sačuvana širina krakova – 6,7 cm; sačuvana „visina” okova – 4,7 cm. Detalji nalaza: SJ 88, PN 24B, datum pronalaska – 28. 10. 2015.

Analogije: Gere 2003, 109–110; Radić, Bojčić 2004, 128, kat. br. 196.

T. 1.5. Željezni okov za petu cipele. Poluovalnog je oblika s lijevim krakom sačuvanim gotovo u potpunosti, a desnim samo u gornjem dijelu. Sačuvani krak ima blago raskucan kraj, koji se počinje savijati u odlomljeni šiljak. Manji trn nalazi se na spoju krakova. Težina: 6,3 g. Dimenzije: sačuvana širina krakova – 5,8 cm; sačuvana „visina” okova – 4,4 cm. Detalji nalaza: SJ 26, PN 33, datum pronalaska – 22. 10. 2015.

Analogije: Gere 2003, 109–110; Radić, Bojčić 2004, 128, kat. br. 196.

T. 1.6. Željezni okov za petu cipele. Ovalnog je oblika s vodoravnim stražnjim dijelom i na njega okomitim kracima, koji završavaju sa savijenim šiljcima. Još jedan šiljak nalazi se na spoju krakova. Težina: 17,6 g. Dimenzije: širina krakova – 8,4 cm; „visina” okova – 5,1 cm. Detalji nalaza: SJ 26, PN 5B, 21. 10. 2015.

Catalogue ¹⁰²

Plate 1

Pl. 1: 1. Iron fitting for footwear. Semi-oval in shape with slightly flattened endings of the extensions, which end in bent spikes. A smaller thorn at the joint of the extensions. Weight: 10.2 g. Dimensions: width of extensions, 7.3 cm; 'height' of fittings,¹⁰³ 4.9 cm. Details: SU 26, SF 5D, 21 October 2015

Analogies: Gere 2003, 109–110; Radić, Bojčić 2004, 128, cat. no. 196.

Pl. 1: 2. Iron fitting for footwear. Semi-oval in shape with flattened endings of the extensions, which are not completely preserved. The left one is almost completely missing, while the right one has part of the bent spike preserved. A thorn at the joint of the extensions. Weight: 8.2 g. Dimensions: width of preserved extension, 8.2 cm; 'height' of fitting, 5.2 cm. Details: SU 88, SF 22, date of find 28 October 2015

Analogies: Gere 2003, 109–110; Radić, Bojčić 2004, 128, cat. no. 196.

Pl. 1: 3. Iron fitting for footwear. Semi-oval in shape with slightly flattened endings of the extensions, which end in bent spikes. The right spike is completely preserved, while the left is completely missing. A smaller thorn at the joint of the extensions. Weight: 17.9 g. Dimensions: extension width, 8.1 cm; fitting 'height', 6.7 cm. Details: SU 88, SF 24A, 28 October 2015

Analogies: Gere 2003, 109–110; Radić, Bojčić 2004, 128, cat. no. 196.

Pl. 1: 4. Iron fitting for footwear. Semi-oval in shape with extensions not completely preserved. A smaller thorn on their joint. Weight: 5.2 g. Dimensions: preserved width of extensions, 6.7 cm; preserved fitting 'height', 4.7 cm. Details: SU 88, SF 24B, date of find 28 October 2015

Analogies: Gere 2003, 109–110; Radić, Bojčić 2004, 128, cat. no. 196.

Pl. 1: 5. Iron fitting for footwear. Semi-oval in shape with the left extension preserved almost entirely, and the right extension preserved only in the top part. The preserved extension has a slightly flattened ending which starts bending into a broken spike. There is a smaller thorn at the joint of the extensions. Weight: 6.3 g. Dimensions: preserved extension width, 5.8 cm; preserved fitting 'height', 4.4 cm. Details: SU 26, SF 33, date of find 22 October 2015

Analogies: Gere 2003, 109–110; Radić, Bojčić 2004, 128, cat. no. 196.

Pl. 1: 6. Iron fitting for footwear. Oval in shape, with horizontal rear part and extensions perpendicular to it. The extensions end in bent spikes. There is another spike on the extensions' joint. Weight: 17.6 g. Dimensions: extension width, 8.4 cm; fit-

102 Crteže izradili P. Dinjaški, D. Branković, M. Korić, obrada tabli M. Korić (arhiv HRZ-a).

103 Pri mjerenju visine okovi su se postavljali u položaj nošenja pri čemu je središnji trn ili mjesto spajanja krakova najviša točka okova.

102 Drawings made by P. Dinjaški, D. Branković, M. Korić; plates made by M. Korić (Croatian Conservation Institute's archives).

103 When their height was measured, the fittings were put in the same position as when worn, making the central spike or the joint of the extensions the highest point of the fitting.

Analogije: Kovács, Rószás 1996, 176, sl. 16: 6; Gere 2003, 112–113; Radić, Bojčić 2004, 129, kat. br. 200; Popović 2012, 173–174, sl. 117: 136–139; Višnjić 2013, 71, sl. 10; Dragičević 2019, 126, kat. br. 31.

T. 1.7. Željezni okov za petu cipele. Ovalnog je oblika s vodoravnim stražnjim dijelom i na njega okomitim kracima. Šiljci nisu sačuvani. Jedan šiljak nalazi se na spoju krakova. Težina: 10,8 g. Dimenzije: širina krakova – 7,7 cm; „visina” okova – 5,7 cm. Detalji nalaza: SJ 88, PN 23, datum pronalaska – 28.10. 2015.

Analogije: Kovács, Rószás 1996, 176, sl. 16: 6; Gere 2003, 112–113; Radić, Bojčić 2004, 129, kat. br. 200; Popović 2012, 173–174, sl. 117: 136–139; Višnjić 2013, 71, sl. 10; Dragičević 2019, 126, kat. br. 31.

T. 1.8. Željezni okov za petu cipele. Ovalnog je oblika s vodoravnim stražnjim dijelom i na njega okomitim kracima, koji završavaju sa savijenim šiljcima. Još jedan šiljak nalazi se na spoju krakova. Taj središnji šiljak sačuvan je samo u bazi, dok je vrh jednog šiljka na kraju krakova odlomljen. Težina: 12,1 g. Dimenzije: širina krakova – 7,3 cm; „visina” okova – 4,4 cm. Detalji nalaza: SJ 28, PN 34, datum pronalaska – 23. 10. 2015.

Analogije: Kovács, Rószás 1996, 176, sl. 16: 6; Gere 2003, 112–113; Radić, Bojčić 2004, 129, kat. br. 200; Popović 2012, 173–174, sl. 117: 136–139; Višnjić 2013, 71, sl. 10; Dragičević 2019, 126, kat. br. 31.

T. 1.9. Deformirani željezni okov za petu cipele. Istog je tipa kao i okovi T. 1: 6–8. Djelomično je sačuvan šiljak desnog kraka i središnji šiljak na spoju krakova. Težina: 8,6 g.

Dimenzije: sačuvana dužina – 12,9 cm. Detalji nalaza: SJ 88, PN 37, 26.10. 2015.

Analogije: -

T. 1.10. Željezni okov za petu cipele. Poluovalnog je oblika, blago povijenog prema gazišnoj strani. Na krajevima krakova nalaze se zakovice, pri čemu je na lijevom kraku zakovica s okruglom glavom sačuvana u potpunosti, dok onoj na desnom glava nedostaje. Treća zakovica na spoju krakova nije sačuvana, ali je vidljiva rupica u kojoj se nalazila. Težina: 14,5 g. Dimenzije: širina krakova – 7,1 cm; „visina” okova – 5 cm; visina zakovice – 0,7 cm; \emptyset glave zakovice – cca 0,7 cm; \emptyset „tijela” zakovice – 0,4 cm; \emptyset rupice za središnju zakovicu – cca 0,3 cm. Detalji nalaza: SJ 26, PN 5C, 21. 10. 2015.

Analogije: Radić, Bojčić 2004, 127, kat. br. 194.

T. 1.11. Polovično sačuvan željezni okov za petu cipele. Da je sačuvan u potpunosti, bio bi poluovalnog oblika. Blago je povijen prema gazišnoj strani, a na kraju sačuvanoga lijevog kraka nalazi se zakovica s okruglom glavom. Na mjestu spojeva krakova okov je puknut, a djelomično je sačuvana rupica za središnju zakovicu. Težina: 6,9 g. Dimenzije: pretpostavljena širina krakova – cca 8 cm; „visina” okova – 5,8 cm; visina zakovice – 0,7 cm; \emptyset glave zakovice – cca 0,8 cm; \emptyset „tijela” zakovice – 0,4 cm. Detalji nalaza: SJ 28, PN 38, 23. 10. 2015.

Analogije: Radić, Bojčić 2004, 127, kat. br. 194.

T. 1.12. Željezni okov za petu cipele. Poluovalnog je oblika, blago povijenog prema gazišnoj strani, sa šiljcima na krajevima krako-

ting height, 5.1 cm. Details: SU 26, SF 5B, 21 October 2015

Analogies: Kovács, Rószás 1996, 176, Fig. 16: 6; Gere 2003, 112–113; Radić, Bojčić 2004, 129, cat. no. 200; Popović 2012, 173–174, Fig. 117: 136–139; Višnjić 2013, 71, Fig. 10; Dragičević 2019, 126, cat. no. 31.

Pl. 1: 7. Iron fitting for footwear. Oval in shape, with horizontal rear part and extensions perpendicular to it. Spikes are not preserved. There is one spike at the extensions' joint. Weight: 10.8 g. Dimensions: extension width, 7.7 cm; fitting height, 5.7 cm. Details: SU 88, SF 23, 28 October 2015

Analogies: Kovács, Rószás 1996, 176, Fig. 16: 6; Gere 2003, 112–113; Radić, Bojčić 2004, 129, cat. no. 200; Popović 2012, 173–174, Fig. 117: 136–139; Višnjić 2013, 71, Fig. 10; Dragičević 2019, 126, cat. no. 31.

Pl. 1: 8. Iron fitting for footwear. Oval in shape, with horizontal rear part and extensions perpendicular to it. The extensions end in bent spikes. There is another spike on the extensions' joint. That central spike is preserved only in its base, while the top of one of the spikes at the end of the extensions is broken. Weight: 12.1 g. Dimensions: width of extensions, 7.3 cm; 'height' of fitting, 4.4 cm. Details: SU 28, SF 34, date of find 23 October 2015

Analogies: Kovács, Rószás 1996, 176, Fig. 16: 6; Gere 2003, 112–113; Radić, Bojčić 2004, 129, cat. no. 200; Popović 2012, 173–174, Fig. 117: 136–139; Višnjić 2013, 71, Fig. 10; Dragičević 2019, 126, cat. no. 31.

Pl. 1: 9. Deformed iron fitting for footwear. It belongs to the same type as fittings Pl.1: 6–8. The spike of the right extension and the central spike at the joint of the extensions are partly preserved. Weight: 8.6 g. Dimensions: preserved length, 12.9 cm. Details: SU 88, SF 37, 23 October 2015

Analogies: -

Pl. 1: 10. Iron fitting for footwear. Semi-oval in shape and slightly bent towards the tread side. There are rivets at the ends of the extensions. The rivet on the left extension is completely preserved with a round head, while the rivet on the right extension is missing the head. The third rivet, from the joint of the extensions, is not preserved, but the rivet's hole is visible. Weight: 14.5 g. Dimensions: extension width, 7.1 cm; fitting 'height', 5 cm; rivet height, 0.7 cm; rivet head \emptyset , approx. 0.7 cm; rivet 'body' \emptyset , 0.4 cm; central rivet hole \emptyset , approx. 0.3 cm. Details: SU 26, SF 5C, 21 October 2015

Analogies: Radić, Bojčić 2004, 127, cat. no. 194.

Pl. 1: 11. Partly preserved iron fitting for footwear. Were it completely preserved, it would be semi-oval in shape. It is slightly bent towards the tread side. There is a rivet with a round head at the end of the preserved left extension. The fitting is broken at the joint of the extension. The hole for the central rivet is partly preserved. Weight: 6.9 g. Dimensions: assumed width of extensions, approx. 8 cm; 'height' of fittings, 5.8 cm; rivet height, 0.7 cm; rivet head \emptyset , approx. 0.8 cm; rivet 'body' \emptyset , 0.4 cm. Details: SU 28, SF 38, 23 October 2015

Analogies: Radić, Bojčić 2004, 127, cat. no. 194.

Pl. 1: 12. Iron fitting for footwear. Semi-oval in shape, slightly

va. Na okovu su vidljive dvije rupice i dva manja trna (ostaci zakovica?). Trnovi ili zakovice vjerojatno su se nalazili u rupicama, a s obzirom na to da su neravnomjerno raspoređeni, najvjerojatnije ih je bilo po tri na svakom kraku. Težina: 13,4 g. Dimenzije: širina krakova – 7,6 cm; „visina” okova – 6 cm; \emptyset rupica – cca 0,4 cm. Detalji nalaza: SJ 26, PN 5A, datum pronalaska – 22. 10. 2015. Analogije: Kovács, Rózsás 1996, 176, sl. 16: 5; Kovács 2002, 130, sl. 72.

Tabla 2

T. 2.1. Željezni nož s obložnim trnom, koji većim dijelom nedostaje, i odlomljenim vrhom. Oštrica sječiva savijena je prema vrhu, a hrbat je ravan. Peta sječiva oštro se lomi prema zavijenom vratu. Trn je najvjerojatnije bio trapezoidnog oblika. Na njemu je vidljiva jedna rupica za zakovicu pomoću koje su na trn bile pričvršćene oplata. Težina: 13,4 g. Dimenzije: ukupna dužina – 14,2 cm; sječivo – 9,5 x 1,4 cm; trn – 4,7 x 1,1 cm; \emptyset rupice – 0,2 cm. Detalji nalaza: SJ 26, PN 4, datum pronalaska – 22. 10. 2015. Analogije: Rusu 2015, 109, Fig. 26.

T. 2.2. Željezni nož s trapezoidnim obložnim trnom. Sječivo i trn otprilike su jednake dužine. Hrbat sječiva prelazi u vrh u obliku kljuna, a peta je zaobljena. Vrat noža širi je od svih ostalih dijelova. Na trnu su sačuvane tri zakovice kojima je na njega bila pričvršćena oplata, a peta mu je izbočena i gotovo jednako široka kao i sječivo u blizini vrata. Težina: 29,7 g. Dimenzije: ukupna dužina – 19,2 cm; sječivo – 10,1 x 2,1 cm; trn – 9,1 x 2,5 cm; dužina zakovica – cca 1,3 cm; \emptyset tijela zakovice – cca 0,3 cm. Detalji nalaza: SJ 88, PN 7, datum pronalaska – 22. 10. 2015. Analogije: Bajc 2008, 171, Inv. no. 11; Sekulić 2014, 66, 177, T. 13: 140.

T. 2.3. Željezni nož s trnom za naticanje. Trn je nepravilnoga kvadratnog presjeka, a nastavlja se na ravan hrbat sječiva. Oštrica je također ravna, a vrh noža je zaobljen. Peta sječiva lomi se prema vratu noža. Težina: 43,7 g. Dimenzije: ukupna dužina – 16,4 cm; sječivo – 11 x 2,2 cm; trn – 5,7 x 0,7 cm. Detalji nalaza: SJ 88, PN 25, datum pronalaska – 28. 10. 2015. Analogije: Kovács, Rózsás 1996, 177, sl. 17: 6; Predovnik 2003, 84, T. 74: 722.

T. 2.4. Željezni kosir sa sječivom postavljenim okomito na trn za naticanje. Hrbat i oštrica sječiva su zaobljeni, a presjek trna je pravokutni. Težina: 33,1 g. Dimenzije: visina – 9,2 cm; dužina – 11,2 cm; oštrica – 11,2 x 2,7 cm; trn – 6,5 x 0,4 – 0,9 x 0,2 cm. Detalji nalaza: SJ 28, PN 11, datum pronalaska – 26. 10. 2015. Analogije: -

T. 2.5. Željezni dio preklopne britve. Sječivo ima hrbat lučnog oblika i ravnu oštricu koja je u blizini vrha blago zavijena. Oštrica se pri dnu lomi prema rupici za zakovicu, koja nedostaje. Pomoću zakovice su međusobno bili povezani sječivo i korice. Na kraju pete nalazi se mala ušica s karičicom za vješanje, najvjerojatnije o pojas. Težina: 4,9 g. Dimenzije: ukupna dužina – 6,7 cm; sječivo – 4,5 x 1,8 cm; peta – 2,2 x 1,6 cm; vanjski \emptyset karičice – 0,9 cm; \emptyset žice karičice – 0,15 cm. Detalji nalaza: SJ 28, PN 32, datum pronalaska – 22. 10. 2015.

bent towards the tread side, and with spikes at the ends of the extensions. There are two visible holes and two smaller thorns (rivet remains?) on the fitting. There were probably thorns or rivets in the holes. Given that they are not evenly spaced, there were probably three of them on every extension. Weight: 13.4 g. Dimensions: width of extensions, 7.6 cm; 'height' of fitting, 6 cm; \emptyset of holes, approx. 0.4 cm. Details: SU 26, SF 5A, date of find 22 October 2015

Analogies: Kovács, Rózsás 1996, 176, Fig. 16: 5; Kovács 2002, 130, Fig. 72.

Plate 2

Pl. 2: 1. Iron knife with a scale tang which is mostly missing and a broken-off tip. The blade's edge is bent towards the top, and the ridge is straight. The blade's heel breaks sharply towards the bent upper part of the heel. The tang was probably trapezoidal in shape. One rivet hole for attaching the overlay is visible on it. Weight: 13.4 g. Dimensions: total length, 14.2 cm; blade, 9.5 x 1.4 cm; tang, 4.7 x 1.1 cm; hole \emptyset , 0.2 cm. Details: SU 26, SF 4, date of find 22 October 2015

Analogies: Rusu 2015, 109, Fig. 26.

Pl. 2: 2. Iron knife with a trapezoidal scale tang. The blade and the tang are of approximately the same length. The blade's ridge goes into the shape of a beak towards the top, and the heel is curved. The top of the knife's heel is wider than all other parts. The tang has three preserved rivets for attaching the overlay, and the heel is protruding and almost as wide as the blade near the top of the heel. Weight: 29.7 g. Dimensions: total length, 19.2 cm; blade, 10.1 x 2.1 cm; tang, 9.1 x 2.5 cm; length of rivets, approx. 1.3 cm; rivet body \emptyset , approx. 0.3 cm. Details: SU 88, SF 7, date of find 22 October 2015

Analogies: Bajc 2008, 171, Inv. No. 11; Sekulić 2014, 66, 177, T. 13: 140.

Pl. 2: 3. Iron whittle-tang knife. The tang has irregular rectangular cross-section, and it continues on the blade's straight ridge. The blade is also straight, and the tip of the knife is rounded. The heel breaks off towards the top. Weight: 43.7 g. Dimensions: total length, 16.4 cm; blade, 11 x 2.2 cm; tang, 5.7 x 0.7 cm. Details: SU 88, SF 25, date of find 28 October 2015

Analogies: Kovács, Rózsás 1996, 177, Fig. 17: 6; Predovnik 2003, 84, T. 74: 722.

Pl. 2: 4. Iron billhook with a blade perpendicular to the whittle tang. The ridge and the blade's edge are rounded, while the tang's cross-section is rectangular. Weight: 33.1 g. Dimensions: height, 9.2 cm; length, 11.2 cm; blade, 11.2 x 2.7 cm; tang, 6.5 x 0.4 – 0.9 x 0.2 cm. Details: SU 28, SF 11, date of find 26 October 2015.

Analogies: -

Pl. 2: 5. Iron part of a folding razor. The blade has a curved ridge and a straight edge, which is slightly curved near the tip. The blade breaks near the bottom towards a rivet hole, which is missing. The rivet connected the blade and the scales. There is a small eye with a circllet for hanging, probably from a belt, at the end of the heel. Weight: 4.9 g. Dimensions: total length, 6.7 cm; blade, 4.5 x 1.8 cm; heel, 2.2 x 1.6 cm; circllet's outer \emptyset , 0.9 cm; circllet wire \emptyset , 0.15 cm. Details: SU 28, SF 32, date of find 22 October 2015

Analogije: Kovács, Rózsás 1996, 177, sl. 18: 2; Kovács, Rózsás 2010, 625, Fig. 10: 4; Popović 2012, 182–183, sl. 127: 195–198; Kovács *et al.* 2014, 163, Fig. 6: 5; Manojlović-Nikolić 2012, 47, sl. 68–69.

T. 2.6. Masivna tordirana ručka željezne alatke. Pri vrhu je raskucana i savijena u kukicu za vješanje. Promjer ručke postupno se povećava od kukice prema funkcionalnom dijelu alatke, koji je odlomljen. Težina: 119,6 g. Dimenzije: ukupna dužina – 24 cm; najmanji \varnothing – 1 cm; najveći \varnothing – 1,2 cm; najveća širina kukice – 0,9 cm. Detalji nalaza: SJ 88, PN 19, datum pronalaska – 28. 10. 2015. Analogije: -

T. 2.7. Dio nekog manjeg okova; možda je riječ o dijelu oklopa. Nije sačuvan u potpunosti. Vanjski kraj okova, za razliku od unutrašnjeg, imao je zaobljene kutove, a sačuvan je samo jedan (drugi je odlomljen). Na tom kraju nalazi se i nepravilna rupa. Cijeli okov blago je deformiran. Težina: 5,2 g. Dimenzije: 4,2 x 2,9 cm; debljina – od 0,1 do 0,4 cm; maks. \varnothing rupe – 0,8 cm. Detalji nalaza: SJ 88, PN 20, 27. 10. 2015.

Analogije: -

T. 2.8. Željezni ulomak vrha cijevi nekog lakšega vatrenog oružja, vrlo gracilne izrade. Dosta je oštećen, ali je najvjerojatnije izvana bio osmerokutnog oblika. Pri vrhu su s unutarne strane vidljivi žljebovi. Težina: 47,8 g. Dimenzije: sačuvana dužina – 8,9 cm; najveća sačuvana širina – 2,5 cm; unutarnji \varnothing – 1,6 cm. Detalji nalaza: SJ 88, PN 35, datum pronalaska – 23. 10. 2015.

Analogije: -

T. 2.9. Tanak željezni predmet nepoznate namjene. Središnji istureni dio je kružnog oblika, a sa svake strane se pruža po jedan zavijeni krak. Težina: 6,6 g. Dimenzije: sačuvana dužina – 8,3 cm; sačuvana visina – 2,7 cm; \varnothing kružnog dijela – 2 cm. Detalji nalaza: SJ 28, PN 6, datum pronalaska – 22. 10. 2015.

Analogije: -

T. 2.10. Deformirani željezni predmet koji se sastoji od dva kraka s pravokutnim presjekom. Prvi je ispružen, a drugi pri kraju zavijen prema prvom. Spoj je krakova također savijen. Možda je riječ o držaču s neke drvene posude ili vjedra, na koji se kukom spajala ručka za nošenje. Težina: 51,5 g. Dimenzije: ukupna dužina – 8,1 cm; širina između krajeva krakova – 3,3 cm; ispruženi krak – 6,9 x 1,3 x 0,5 cm. Detalji nalaza: SJ 28, PN 12, datum pronalaska – 26. 10. 2015.

Analogije: -

T. 2.11. Teži željezni okov koji je najvjerojatnije bio dio prozora ili vrata. Jedan je kraj zaobljen, a drugi ravan. Kutovi krajeva blago su zaobljeni. Na ravnom kraju, bliže rubu nalazi se kružni otvor (rupa), a više prema sredini je jedan otvor pravokutnog oblika. Težina: 110 g.

Dimenzije: 12,9 x 3,7 cm; debljina – cca 0,4 mm; pravokutni otvor – 1,5 x 0,3 cm; \varnothing kružnog otvora (rupe) – 1,3 cm. Detalji nalaza: SJ 76, PN 36, datum pronalaska – 28. 10. 2015.

Analogije: -

T. 2.12. Veći, povijeni okov. Možda je riječ o dijelu neke posude. Nije sačuvan u potpunosti. Otprilike, svakih 5 cm na okovu nalaze se nepravilni kvadratni otvori. S jedne strane predmet je od-

Analogies: Kovács, Rózsás 1996, 177, Fig. 18: 2; Kovács, Rózsás 2010, 625, Fig. 10: 4; Popović 2012, 182–183, Fig. 127: 195–198; Kovács *et al.* 2014, 163, Fig. 6: 5; Manojlović-Nikolić 2012, 47, Figs 68–69.

Pl. 2: 6. Massive helical handle of an iron tool. It is flattened and bent into a hook for hanging at the top. The handle's diameter gradually increases from the hook towards the functional portion of the tool, which is broken off. Weight: 119.6 g. Dimensions: total length, 24 cm; smallest \varnothing , 1 cm; greatest \varnothing , 1.2 cm; greatest width of the hook, 0.9 cm. Details: SU 88, SF 19, date of find 28 October 2015

Analogies: -

Pl. 2: 7. Part of a smaller fitting, perhaps an item of armour. Not completely preserved. The outer part, unlike the inner, had rounded corners. Only one portion of it was preserved; the other was broken off. There is an irregular hole at that end, as well. The whole fitting is slightly deformed. Weight: 5.2 g. Dimensions: 4.2 x 2.9 cm; thickness, 0.1 to 0.4 cm; max \varnothing of the hole, 0.8 cm. Details: SU 88, SF 20, 27 October 2015

Analogies: -

Pl. 2: 8. Iron fragment of the barrel of a light weapon of gracile production. It is damaged, but it was probably octagonal in shape on the outside. There are visible grooves near the top on the inside. Weight: 47.8 g. Dimensions: preserved length, 8.9 cm; greatest preserved width, 2.5 cm; inner \varnothing , 1.6 cm. Details: SU 88, SF 35, date of find 23 October 2015

Analogies: -

Pl. 2: 9. Thin iron object with unknown purpose. The central protruding part is circular in shape. There is one twisted extension on each side. Weight: 6.6 g. Dimensions: preserved length, 8.3 cm; preserved height, 2.7 cm; circular part's \varnothing , 2 cm. Details: SU 28, SF 6, date of find 22 October 2015

Analogies: -

Pl. 2: 10. Deformed iron object consisting of two extensions which have rectangular cross-sections. One of the extensions is extended, and the second is bent towards the first. The extension joint is also bent. This could be a holder from a wooden vessel or bucket, to which a handle for carrying was connected by a hook. Weight: 51.5 g. Dimensions: total length, 8.1 cm; width between the ends of the extensions, 3.3 cm; extended extension, 6.9 x 1.3 x 0.5 cm. Details: SU 28, SF 12, date of find 26 October 2015

Analogies: -

Pl. 2: 11. Heavy iron fitting, most probably part of a window or door. One ending is curved, the other straight. Corners of the endings are slightly curved. There is a circular opening (hole) on the straight ending, near the edge. There is a rectangular opening closer to the middle. Weight: 110 g. Dimensions: 12.9 x 3.7 cm; thickness, approx. 0.4 mm; rectangular opening, 1.5 x 0.3 cm; \varnothing of circular opening (hole), 1.3 cm. Details: SU 76, SF 36, date of find 28 October 2015

Analogies: -

lomljen baš na dijelu otvora. Težina: 29,6 g. Dimenzije: sačuvana dužina – 11,8 cm; maks. širina – 2 cm; debljina – 0,2 cm; kvadratni otvori – cca 0,5 x 0,5 cm. Detalji nalaza: SJ 26/28, PN 31, datum pronalaska – 21. 10. 2015.

Analogije: -

Tabla 3

T. 3.1. Deformirani gornji dio bakrenog vrča s primjesama željeza i cinka. Izljev je najvjerojatnije bio trolistan, a pri rubu su vidljivi tragovi „krpanja”. „Zakrpa” je listolikog oblika, također od bakra, a pričvršćena je za vrč s pet zakovica. Četiri su romboidno posložene na jednom kraju „zakrpe”, dok je peta na drugom kraju u blizini izljeva. Težina: 70,1 g. Dimenzije: širina otvora – maks. 7,2 cm; dužina otvora – 11,2 cm; sačuvana visina – 9,1 cm; debljina stijenki – 0,1 cm; „zakrpa” – 8,7 x 2,9 cm. Detalji nalaza: SJ 88, PN 18, datum pronalaska – 28. 10. 2015.

Analogije: Radić 2015, 77, kat. br. 170.

T. 3.2. Blago deformirani poklopac neke manje posude izrađen od pokositrenoga iskucanoga bakrenog lima. Okruglog je oblika, ali mu se teško može utvrditi točan promjer. Ravnog je profila s blago podignutim rubom te čepastom ručkom koja se sužava prema vrhu. Težina: 24,6 g. Dimenzije: \emptyset – maks. 10,2 cm; visina ručke – 1,5 cm; \emptyset dna ručke – 3,2 cm; \emptyset vrha ručke – 2,5 cm. Detalji nalaza: SJ 88, PN 16, datum pronalaska – 28. 10. 2015.

Analogije: -

T. 3.3. Mala „aplika” izrađena od tankog lima bakrene legure. S gornje je strane obrubljena dvostrukim ravnim linijama, a ukrašena je površina dijagonalnim urezima podijeljena na četiri ukrasna polja. Ispunjena su urezima okomitim na najbliži rub „aplike”. Unutarnja je strana glatka i nisu vidljivi nikakvi ostaci kukice ili nečeg sličnog, čime bi se pričvrstila za odjeću. Vjerojatno je riječ o kruni prstena jer se sa stražnje strane naziru ostaci trake prstena. Težina: 1 g. Dimenzije: 1,4 x 1,2 x 0,1 cm; širina traga trake prstena – cca 0,6 cm. Detalji nalaza: SJ 28, PN 1, datum pronalaska – 21. 10. 2015.

Analogije: Adžaga 2020, 232, kat. br. 270 (?).

T. 3.4. Prsten od bakrene legure. Vanjski je obruč prstena s dvije brazde podijeljen na tri trake. Rubovi su lagano zaobljeni i izbočeni. Središnja je traka ukrašena paralelnim kosim urezima koji podsjećaju na motiv užeta. S unutarnje je strane prsten gladak. Težina: 1,8 g. Dimenzije: vanjski \emptyset – 2,1 cm; širina trake – 0,5 cm; debljina trake – 0,1 cm. Detalji nalaza: SJ 5, PN 39, datum pronalaska – 20. 4. 2018.

Analogije: -

Pl. 2: 12. Larger bent fitting. It might be part of a vessel. Not entirely preserved. There are irregular rectangular openings on the fitting approximately every 5 cm. On one side, the object was broken off right at the position of the opening. Weight: 29.6 g. Dimensions: preserved length, 11.8 cm; max width, 2 cm; thickness, 0.2 cm; rectangular openings, approx. 0.5 x 0.5 cm. Details: SU 26/28, SF 31, date of find 21 October 2015

Analogies: -

Plate 3

Pl. 3: 1. Deformed top part of a copper jug with traces of iron and zinc. The mouth was most probably trefoil. There are visible traces of mending near the edge of the mouth. The mend is leaf-shaped, also copper, and attached to the jug with five rivets. Four of them are placed at one end of the mend in the shape of a rhomboid, while the fifth is at the other end, near the mouth. Weight: 70.1 g. Dimensions: width of opening, max 7.2 cm; length of opening, 11.2 cm; preserved height, 9.1 cm; thickness of walls, 0.1 cm; mend, 8.7 x 2.9 cm. Details: SU 88, SF 18, date of find 28 October 2015

Analogies: Radić 2015, 77, cat. no. 170.

Pl. 3: 2. Slightly deformed lid of a smaller vessel made of embossed tinned copper sheet. It is round in shape, but the exact diameter is difficult to determine. It has a straight profile with a slightly elevated edge and a cork-like handle that narrows towards the top. Weight: 24.6 g. Dimensions: \emptyset , max 10.2 cm; height of handle, 1.5 cm; handle bottom \emptyset , 3.2 cm; handle top \emptyset , 2.5 cm. Details: SU 88, SF 16, date of find 28 October 2015

Analogies: -

Pl. 3: 3. Small ‘mount’ made of a thin copper-alloy sheet. It has double straight lines as rims on the upper side, and its decorated surface is divided by diagonal incisions into four fields. They are filled with incised lines perpendicular to the closest edge of the ‘mount’. The inside is smooth and has no remains of hooks or anything similar through which it could be attached to clothes. It could be the head of a ring, because there are faint traces of a ring band. Weight: 1 g. Dimensions: 1.4 x 1.2 x 0.1 cm; width of the ring band, approx. 0.6 cm. Details: SU 28, SF 1, date of find 21 October 2015

Analogies: Adžaga 2020, 232, cat. no. 270 (?).

Pl. 3: 4. Copper-alloy ring. The outer hoop of the ring has two ridges and is divided into three bands. The edges are slightly rounded and protruding. The central band is decorated with parallel sidelong incisions reminiscent of a rope motif. The inner side of the ring is smooth. Weight: 1.8 g. Dimensions: outer \emptyset , 2.1 cm; band width, 0.5 cm; band thickness, 0.1 cm. Details: SU 5, SF 39, date of find 20 April 2018

Analogies: -

BIBLIOGRAFIJA

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adžaga 2020 – M. Adžaga, *Srednjovjekovno prstenje Istočne Slavonije / The Medieval Rings of Eastern Slavonia*, Certis, Gradski muzej Vinkovci, 2020.
- Bajc 2008 – G. Bajc, Messer und Gabeln von der Burgruine Alt-Scharnstein Gemeinde Scharnstein, Oberösterreich, *Jahrbuch des Oberösterreichischen Musealvereines*, 2008, 153–200.
- Bartosiewicz, Gál 2003 – L. Bartosiewicz, E. Gál, Animal exploitation in Hungary during the Ottoman Era, in Gereelyes, I., Kovács, G. (eds.), *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period in Hungary, Opuscula Hungarica* 3, Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2003, 363–376.
- Beljak et al. 2014 – J. Beljak, N. Beljak Pázinova, B. Beláček, M. Golis, J. Hunka, A. Krištín, V. Kohút, P. Maliniak, M. Mordovin, M. S. Przybyla, D. Repka, M. Slámová, M. Šimkovic, B. Tóth, O. Žaár, *Pustý hrad vo Zvolene, Dolný hrad 2009 – 2014 / Deserted castle at Zvolen, Lower castle 2009 – 2014*, Univerzita Konštantína Filozofa v Nitre, Archeofact, Archeologický ústav SAV v Nitre, 2014.
- Bogetić 1875 – A. Bogetić, Odgovor na pitanja društva starine, *Arhiv za povjestnicu jugoslavensku* 12, 1875, 128–134.
- Boras 2019 – J. Boras, *Stručni izvještaj o provedenom arheološkom nadzoru prilikom zemljanih radova na građevinskoj sanaciji kapele sv. Tri Kralja u Gorjanima*, unpublished report, Muzej Đakovštine, 2019.
- Cowgill 2002 – J. Cowgill, Manufacturing techniques, in Cowgill, J., de Neergaard, M., Griffiths, N. (eds.), *Knives and Scabbard, Medieval finds from excavations in London* 1, Museum of London, 2002, 8–39.
- Čelebi 1979 – E. Čelebi, *Putopis – odlomci o jugoslavenskim zemljama*, Veselin Masleša, 1979.
- Čimin 2008 – R. Čimin, Metalni nalazi s utvrde Čanjevo, in Bekić, L. (ed.), *Utvrd Čanjevo - istraživanja 2003 – 2007 / Fort Čanjevo: researches 2003 – 2007*, Općina Visoko, Hrvatski restauratorski zavod, 2008, 197–234.
- Čimin 2017 – R. Čimin, *Vlastelinstvo Gorbonok*, Muzej grada Koprivnice, 2017.
- Demo 2007 – Ž. Demo, *Opatovina: tragovi povijesti izgubljene u sadašnjosti*, Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu, 2006.
- Dišli, Özcan 2014 – G. Dišli, Z. Özcan, Waste and clean water systems in Anatolian Seljuk and Ottoman Period hospitals, *International Journal of Academic Research Part A* 6/3, 2014, 169–177.
- Dragičević 2019 – M. Dragičević, *Arheološka kronika. Što je bilo prije osnutka Bjelovara*, Gradski muzej Bjelovar, 2019.
- Filipović Heldenthalski 1853 – D. Filipović Heldenthalski, Gorjani – župa u Slavoniji, biskupiji djakovačkoj, *Gospodarske novine* 16, 69–70, (16 April 1853).
- Gere 2003 – L. Gere, *Késő középkori és kora újkori fémléletek az Ozorai várkastélyból: Az Ozorai várkastély régészeti momográfái* 1, Opuscula Hungarica 4, Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2003.
- Gerő 1985 – G. Gerő, Die Frage der Keramik und des Ethnik im Türkischen Fundmaterial von Ungarn, *Wissenschaftliche Arbeiten aus dem Burgenland* 71, 1985, 195–200.
- Hirschler Marić 2018 – I. Hirschler Marić, *Izvještaj o prvoj sezoni programa Arheološka topografija srednjovjekovnih Gorjana 2017. godine*, unpublished report, Hrvatski restauratorski zavod, 2018.
- Hirschler Marić 2018 – 2019 – I. Hirschler Marić, *Izvještaj o arheološkim istraživanjima u unutrašnjosti kapele Sv. tri kralja u Gorjanima 2015. g.*, unpublished report, Hrvatski restauratorski zavod, 2018 – 2019.
- Hirschler Marić 2020 – I. Hirschler Marić, *Izvještaj o drugoj sezoni programa Arheološka topografija srednjovjekovnih Gorjana 2018. godine*, unpublished report, Hrvatski restauratorski zavod, 2020.
- Hirschler Marić 2021a – I. Hirschler Marić, *Izvještaj o trećoj sezoni programa Arheološka topografija srednjovjekovnih Gorjana*, unpublished report, Hrvatski restauratorski zavod, 2021.
- Hirschler Marić 2021b – I. Hirschler Marić, *Gorjani, Arheološka topografija srednjovjekovnih Gorjana, Izvještaj o četvrtoj sezoni programa Arheološka topografija srednjovjekovnih Gorjana 2017. godine*, unpublished report, Hrvatski restauratorski zavod, 2021.
- Hirschler Marić, Sekulić 2016 – I. Hirschler Marić, P. Sekulić, *Izvještaj o arheološkim istraživanjima na prostoru kapele Sv. tri kralja u Gorjanima 2015. g.*, unpublished report, Hrvatski restauratorski zavod, 2016.
- Holjevac, Moačanin 2007 – Ž. Holjevac, N. Moačanin, *Hrvatsko-slavonska Vojna krajina i Hrvati pod vlašću Osmanskog Carstva u ranom novom vijeku*, Leykam international, 2007.
- Janeš 2017 – A. Janeš, Keramički, stakleni i metalni nalazi, in Azinović Bebek, A. (ed.), *Tihi svjedoci vjere, baštine i raskoši. Konzervatorsko-restauratorski radovi, Crkva sv. Nikole biskupa u Žumberku*, Hrvatski restauratorski zavod, 2017, 52–61.
- Jelaš 2020 – D. Jelaš, *Gradovi donjeg međurječja Drave, Save i Dunava u srednjem vijeku*, Bibliotheca croatica: slavonica, sirmiensia et baranyensia, Studije 24, Hrvatski institut za povijest, Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje, 2020.
- Juranić 2017 – S. Juranić, Kožne cipele plemkinje iz kripte, in Azinović Bebek, A. (ed.), *Tihi svjedoci vjere, baštine i raskoši. Konzervatorsko-restauratorski radovi. Crkva sv. Nikole biskupa u Žumberku*, Hrvatski restauratorski zavod, 2017, 82–87.
- Kovács 2002 – Gy. Kovács, Katalógus. A bajcsai ásatás leletei, in Köfalvi, Cs. (ed.), *Weitschawar / Bajcsa-Vár: Egy stájer erődítmény Magyarországon a 16. század második felében. Kiállítás a zalaegerszegi Göcsei Múzeumban 2002. május 31. – 2002. október 31., Kiállítás a budapesti Hadtörténeti Múzeumban 2002. november 31. – 2002. január 31.*, Vándor László megyei múzeumigazgató Zalaegerszeg 2002, 107–246.
- Kovács 2015 – Gy. Kovács, Ottoman Copper Vessels from Sites in Hungary and Slovakia Bearing Owner's Marks, in Gereelyes, I., Hartmuth, M. (eds.), *Ottoman Metalwork in the Balkans and in Hungary*, Hungarian National Museum, 2015, 145–161.
- Kovács et al. 2014 – Gy. Kovács, L. Bartosiewicz, K. Éder, E. Gál, Zs. Miklós, A. J. Tóth, Cs. Zatykó, Medieval and ottoman period (14th – 17th c.), *Archaeology in the Drava River Region, Hungary, Results of an Interdisciplinary Project, Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 65, 2014, 155–168.
- Kovács, Rózsás 1996 – Gy. Kovács, M. Rózsás, A barcsi török palánkvár, *A Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei* 12, 1996, 163–182.
- Kovács, Rózsás 1998 – Gy. Kovács, M. Rózsás, Törökök a Délnyugat-Dunántúlon, A barcsi török palánkvár, in Simon, H. K. (ed.), *Népek a Mura mentén / Völker an der Mur / Ljudi uz Muru / Ljudje ob Muri* 2, A Nagykanizsán 1997. május 15. – 17. között megrendezett nemzetközi konferencia előadásai, Göcseji Múzeum, 1998, 79–99.
- Kovács, Rózsás 2010 – Gy. Kovács, M. Rózsás, A barcsi török vár és környéke, Újabb kutatások (1999 – 2009) / The Ottoman-Turkish castle at Barcs and its surroundings, *New Research (1999 – 2009)*, in Benkő, E., Kovács, Gy. (eds.), *A középkor és a kora újkor régészete Magyarországon / Archaeology of the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period in Hungary*, MTA Régészeti Intézete, 2010, 621–642.
- Manojlović-Nikolić 2004 – V. Manojlović-Nikolić, Oruda sa srednjovjekovnih arheoloških lokaliteta u Vojvodini, *Istraživanja* 15, 2004, 25–48.
- Marković 1975 – M. Marković, Selo Gorjani kraj Đakova, in Guščić, B. (ed.), *Zbornik za narodni život i običaje južnih Slavena* 46, 1975, 146–247.
- Mažuran 1966 – I. Mažuran, *Popis zapadne i srednje Slavonije 1698. i 1702. godine*, Fontes Historiam Essekini et Slavoniae Spectantes 2, Historijski arhiv u Osijeku, 1966, 106–107.
- Mažuran 1988 – I. Mažuran, *Popis naselja i stanovništva u Slavoniji 1698. godine*, Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Zavod za znanstveni rad Osijek, 1988.
- Mažuran 1991 – I. Mažuran, Turske provale i osvajanja od kraja 14. do sredine 16. stoljeća, in Čalić, D., Berber, Đ. (eds.), *Peti znanstveni sabor Slavonije i Baranje, Vinkovci, 22. listopada 1987., Posebna izdanja* 13, Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Zavod za znanstveni rad u Osijeku, 1991, 17–66.
- Mažuran 1998 – I. Mažuran, *Hrvati i Osmansko Carstvo*, Golden marketing, 1998.
- Minić, Vukadin 2007 – D. Minić, O. Vukadin, *Srednjovjekovni Stalač*, Arheološki institut-Beograd, Zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture-Kraljevo, 2007.
- Moačanin 1984 – N. Moačanin, Granice i upravna podjela Požeškog sandžaka, *Zbornik Zavoda za povijesne znanosti Istraživačkog centra Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 13, 1984, 107–118.
- Mujadžević 2005 – D. Mujadžević, Jahjapašić, in *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2005, <http://hbl.lzmk.hr/clanak.aspx?id=123>, (4 January 2016).

Mujadžević 2008 – D. Mujadžević, *Mühime defter iz 1552. – osmanski izvori za povijest Slavonije i Srijema*, *Scrinia Slavonica* 8, 2008, 399–427.

Mujadžević 2009 – D. Mujadžević, *Osmanska osvajanja u Slavoniji u svjetlu osmanskih arhivskih izvora*, *Povijesni prilozi* 36, 2008, 89–108.

Nekuda 1985 – V. Nekuda, *Mstěnice: Zaniklá středověká ves u Hrotovic, Hrádek - tvrz - dvůr - předsunutá opevnění 1*, Muzejní a vlastivědná společnost v Brně, 1985.

Pauk Sili 2017 – I. Pauk Sili, *Gorjani, kapela sv. Tri kralja, Elaborat konzervatorsko-restauratorskih istraživačkih radova u unutrašnjosti*, unpublished report, Hrvatski restauratorski zavod, 2017.

Popović 2012 – M. Popović, *Maglički zamak*, Arheološki institut-Beograd, Zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture-Kraljevo, 2012.

Predovnik 2003 – K. Predovnik, *Trdnjava Kostanjevica na Starem gradu nad Podbočjem*, *Archaeologia historica Slovenica* 4, Filozofska fakulteta, Oddelek za arheologijo, Znanstveni inštitut, 2003.

Radić 2015 – M. Radić, *Osijek i šira okolica u osmanskom periodu*, Muzej Slavonije Osijek, 2015.

Radić, Bojčić 2004 – M. Radić, Z. Bojčić, *Srednjovjekovni grad Ružica*, Muzej Slavonije Osijek, 2004.

Rusu 2015 – A. A. Rusu, *Spatial organization and monastic life in Bizere abbey*, in Burnichioiu, I. (ed.), *Monastic Life, Art, and Technology in the 11th – 16th Centuries*, Mega Publishing House, University of Alba Iulia, 2015, 91–112.

Sarti 2006 – R. Sarti, *Živjeti u kući: stanovanje, prehrana i odijevanje u novovjekovnoj Europi (1500. – 1800.)*, Ibis grafika, 2006.

Sekulić 2014 – P. Sekulić, *Metalni nalazi*, in Azinović Bebek, A., Krmpotić, M. (eds.), *Stari grad Barilović: deset godina arheoloških istraživanja*, Hrvatski restauratorski zavod, 2014, 64–69.

Sekulić 2018 – S. Sekulić, *Nakit i ukrasni predmeti iz kasnosrednjovjekovnih i novovjekovnih grobova oko crkve sv. Nikole biskupa u Žumberku*, unpublished MA thesis, Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2018.

Sršan 2000 – S. Sršan, *Naselja u istočnoj Hrvatskoj krajem 17. i početkom 18. stoljeća*, Državni arhiv Osijek, 2000.

Sudár 2009 – B. Sudár, *Tko je bio Hasan-paša Jakovali?*, *Scrinia slavonica* 9, 2009, 398–406.

Surić, Šimičić 2015 – R. Surić, M. Šimičić, *Continued Investigation of the Great Osijek Bridge*, *Skyllis* 15/2, 2015, 143–150.

Škiljan 2002 – M. Škiljan, *Metallica, Predmeti od neplemenitih metala, Zbirka predmeta iz svakodnevnog života*, Hrvatski povijesni muzej, 2002.

Štular 2009 – B. Štular, *Mali grad, Visokosrednjeveški grad v Kamniku*, *Opera Instituti archaeologici Sloveniae* 15, Inštitut za arheologijo, Znanstvenoraziskovalni center Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti, 2009.

Vidović 1996 – J. Vidović, *Stoljeće čakovečke utvrde*, in Balažić, J., Vándor, L. (eds.), *Ljudje ob Muri / Népek a Mura mentén / Völker an der Mur / Ljudi uz Muru*, Pokrajinski muzej Murska Sobota, Göcseji Múzeum, 1996, 143–162.

Višnjčić 2013 – J. Višnjčić, *Donji Miholjac-Farkaševci, Otpadna jama SJ 169/170 – tragovi naselja iz vremena osmanske vladavine*, in Višnjčić, J. (ed.), *Nove arheološke spoznaje o Donjoj Podravini, Zaštitna arheološka istraživanja na magistralnom plinovodu Slobodnica – Donji Miholjac*, Hrvatski restauratorski zavod, 2013, 63–82.

Weiss Adamson 2004 – M. Weiss Adamson, *Food in Medieval Times*, Greenwood Publishing Group, 2004.

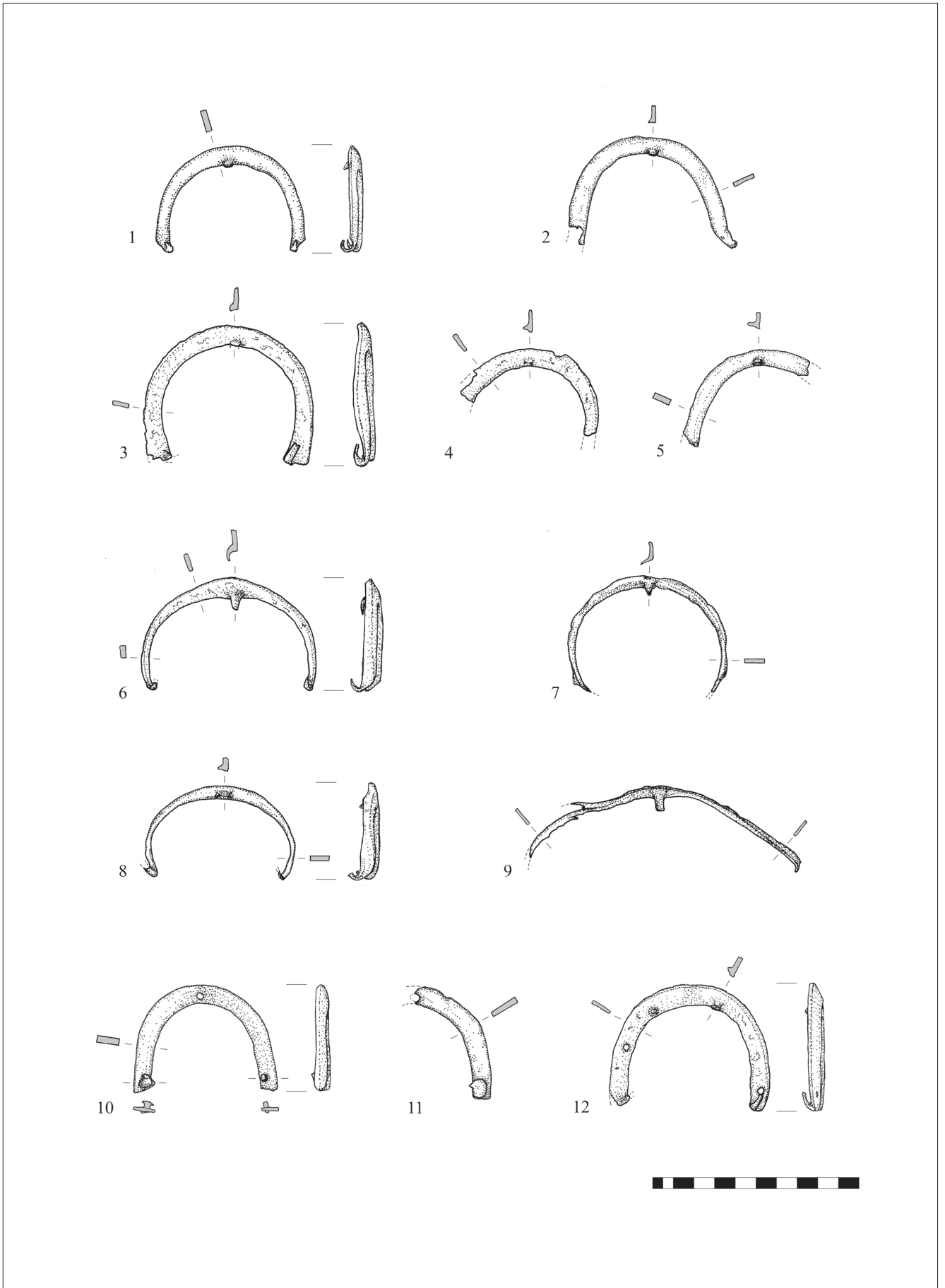


TABLA 1.

PLATE 1.

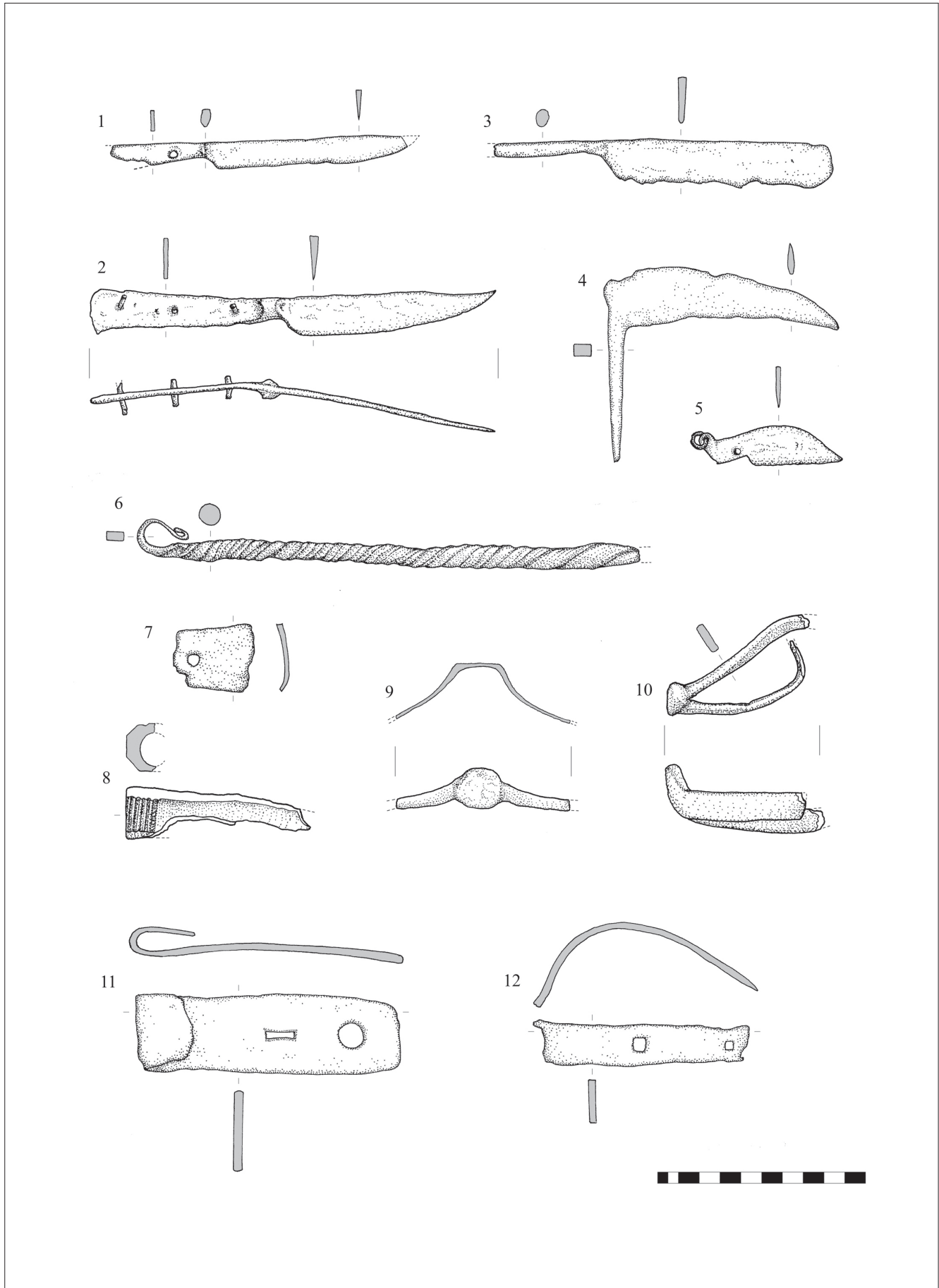


TABLA 2.

PLATE 2.

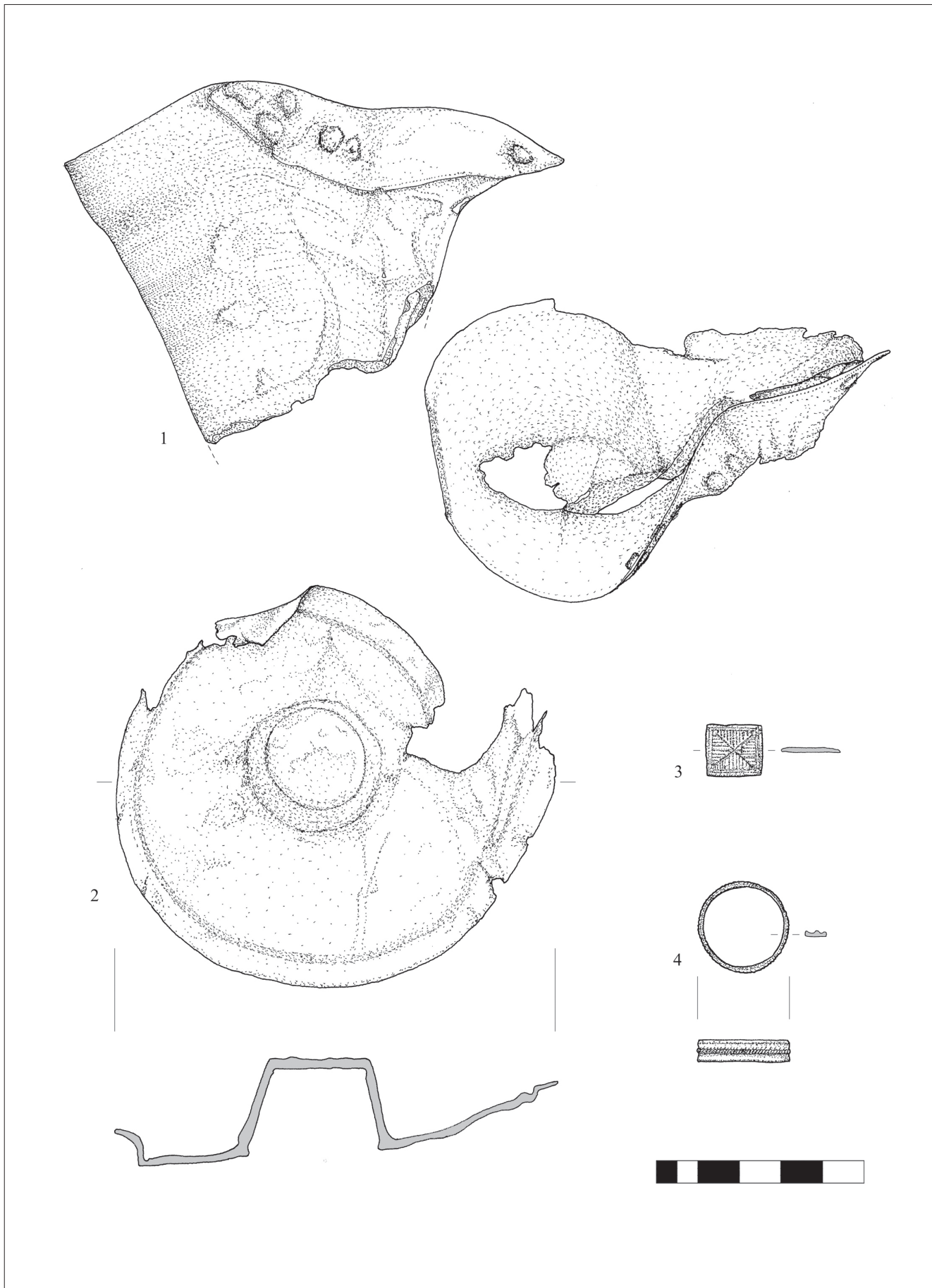


TABLA 3.

PLATE 3.