

A REEMERGING WORLD PROLEGOMENA TO AN INTRODUCTION TO EARLIER MEDIEVAL ART BETWEEN THE SAVA AND THE DRAVA RIVERS

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This study presents some key issues of research and preservation of earlier medieval monuments between the Sava and the Drava rivers, with an emphasis on the Romanesque. Such issues are: the nature of art in the medieval Slavonia, its place within the culture of the Pannonian basin, and of European cultures and subcultures, with a special reference to the "Reniassance of the 12th century;" identification of existing Romanesque buildings and of the sites of those which have disappeared. It deals with the reconstruction of territorial organization (cultural landscape), including identification of early units of church and political organization. Furthermore, it examines the role of sculpture and wall-painting, and that of the architecture in wood as a potential source of models. Separately, the place of the Pre-Romanesque monuments is evaluated, and, finally, the questions of preservation, revitalization, and presentation of monuments.

In conclusion it is stated that the medieval Slavonia is not a "tabula rasa" in terms of art and culture, but a rich segment of our cultural heritage, a promised land of further investigation.

Key words: Slavonia, the lowland basin between the Sava and Drava rivers, medieval Pannonia, romanika, medieval art, the croatian interior.

Judging from the title a reader might conclude that this study is a preliminary report. Although, given the nature of the material, most of our studies of the material may remain far from complete for some time to come, the above mentioned conclusion would not be correct. These lines about earlier phases of medieval art between the Sava and the Drava are being written as a summary of a research initiated almost forty years ago with my early studies on the churches at Bapska, Morović, and Brodski Drenovac, and intensely resumed upon my return to Croatia after decades spent abroad.¹

The medieval Slavonia has been a topic of research of many dedicated and highly competent scholars in archeology, history of art and architecture, and other historical studies. Why is there an overwhelming sense that we still know almost nothing about that "sunken world," to use the words of one of them, Stanko Andrić?² One can, of course, blame "technical" factors such as "lack of coordination" or "lack

¹ Gvozdanović 1969-70, pp. 15-22; Gvozdanović 70, pp. 64-68; Gvozdanović 1971, pp. 211-222. The background for this study has been provided by projects "Romanesque Art between the Sava and the Drava River and the European Culture," supported by the Ministry of Science, Education and Sport of the Republic of Croatia, and "Fragments of Romanesque Sculpture in the Museums and Collection between the Sava and the Drava," supported by the Councils for the Arts of the City of Zagreb. The author express his gratitude for this support.

² Andrić 2001.

of funds," but those, as real as they may be, pale in front of something else; and that is, the problem of attitude, which, in scholarly terms, translates as the problem of method. The goal of this writing is to try to present, as candidly as possible, a personal view hoping to initiate a real discussion among scholars of all disciplines involved; it is high time to do that, as the memory of monuments and sites has faded to the point of being almost totally unrecognizable, and acts of most wanton vandalism are still occurring in front of our very eyes. Or, rather, they are occurring exactly as our eyes have been turned away focused on something else. If we want to save an extremely rich, and both in scholarly and esthetic terms exciting segment of our national heritage, we must act, and we must act now. Results will not come overnight, so while we act, we must train young scholars to carry on a research which may take decades.

1. Is Croatian art (art on the territory of Croatia, or historically lands inhabited by the Croats) indeed provincial, peripheral, and frontier art?

In 1963, the doyen of Croatian art historians, Ljubo Karaman, has published his well-known thesis about provincial, peripheral and borderland nature of Croatian art.³ A serious and systematic reassessment of Karaman's theories, beyond insightful remarks by my respected teacher, Milan Prelog, is long overdue, and this is not the place, or a topic, within which it should be undertaken.⁴ Karaman, whose central place in Croatian art history remains unchallenged, meant well. His intention was, and in that he certainly succeeded, to prove that Croatian art had a certain *genius loci*, a *differentia sepcifica*, as, normally, any artistic phenomenon tied to a piece of land or a group of people does. In absence of great monuments, Karaman created a view of positive humility of Croatian art, or, to quote "freedom to create of a peripheral milieu."

Decades of involvement with medieval art of Europe and Near East, in particular with the Pre-Romanesque and the Romanesque, and with the "low" rather than "high" art (interest for which I surely owe to Karaman himself and his way of thinking), has, however, led me to realize that, in fact, in any milieu there are "provincial" and "peripheral" phenomena, that every "segment of art" is, in fact, "borderland" between something and something else; and that there is, indeed, in every milieu a duality, maybe one should say, plurality, of expression ranging from the "high," cosmopolitan, and sophisticated (urban, courtly), to the "low," local, and "naive" (rural). Beginning with his fascination with the "free-form" architecture of the Croatian Pre-Romanesque, Karaman had his eyes tuned to the latter; no wonder as the monuments of the former had either disappeared, or had not yet been discovered or properly interpreted.⁵

In Slavonia, where at the time of Karaman's writing, the repertoire indeed consisted of a handful of humble chapels (the humility is also in some cases due to erroneous or incomplete interpretations), Karaman's view led to a blatant case of what Mislav Ježić not long ago in a public presentation brilliantly identified as Croatian "induced despondency."⁶ Croatian is humble, rustic, boorish, no good. This negative view of what is ours, as opposed to "great models" of the Big World, is a mark of a truly bad provincialism which has tainted much of Croatian behavior in the past and today.

Nowadays we know much more about some key monuments of the earlier medieval art in Continental Croatia – Čazma, Gora, Rudina, Medvedgrad – while still lacking more complete insights into the problems of the Zagreb Cathedral (as well as other pre-Gothic monuments of Zagreb), of Ilok (including its tremendous fortifications), of monastery churches at Nuštar, Topusko, Bijela, to say nothing about the tremendous and almost completely lost architecture of medieval fortifications of Continental Croatia. They all defy Karaman's categories, or the myth that "there was nothing there in Continental Croatia," whereas at the same time, through some of their specificities, reinforcing Karaman's intuitions about the specific nature of art in Croatia. But every monument, or a group of monuments, has its own specific form, if it is not a mere copy, and this applies equally well to the art of the past as to the art of today. Yes, there were the Tartars, and the Turks, Baroque, and our own criminal neglect, but this is no reason why this world should not reemerge, be it in fact, be it through reconstructions.

³ Karaman 2001.

⁴ Karaman 2001, pp. 181-185 (with comments by Radovan Ivančević)

⁵ Karaman 1930, Prelog 1954, pp. 1-13

⁶ Introductory speech to the section on Humanities at the First Congress of Croatian Scientists from Croatia and Abroad, Zagreb-Vukovar, November 15-18, 2004, to be published in the Acts of the Congress.

2. Slavonia is a part of the Pannonian basin.

The land between the two rivers forms the southern rim of the Pannonian basin, and in the medieval period it was a part of the same commonwealth and culture. The center of this body was the mid-Pannonian plain, its primary center of power located in the Danube bend, its rims being territories of today's Slovakia, Transylvania, Vojvodina, Northern Serbia (Mačva, Braničevo), Northern Bosnia (Usora), and the medieval Slavonia (even beyond the area of the two rivers). Zagreb Bishopric spread deep into Southwestern Hungary, most of that of Pecs was to the south of the Drava. Landscape and ethnos may account for specific differences, but they should not blind us to the fact that the pulse of history was not slower in Zagreb than in Veszprem or Alba Iulia. Thus, in the spirit of "Croatian despondency," dating artistic phenomena in Slavonia later than comparable ones in Hungary is simply methodologically wrong. For the period of transitional style in the mid-13th century, Zagreb, Čazma and Medvedgrad show an astonishing parallelism with the workshops of Hungarian royal court (fig.1, 2). In plain language these were also present in southwestern Pannonia.⁷

As opposed to "Croatian despondency," there is, may my Hungarian colleagues forgive me, a certain "Hungarian overconfidence," often subconscious, as when a Hungarian colleague answering a question posed by myself, says: "If it were in Hungary, I would date it to the middle of the 13th century, as it is in Croatia it must be later." And Bishop Stephen II of Zagreb was, before his becoming a bishop, the Royal Chancellor!⁸ Scholarship is not an issue of competition, or records, but a search for truth. We must accept it both when it suits us, and when it does not.

3. Medieval Slavonia is a part of an international medieval subculture.

We are all aware of the role of the colonization movement within the "Renaissance of the Twelfth Century" in European culture, especially in spreading the borders of Europe. The first colonists from the West appear in the Arpadian realm as early as the 11th century. The "Saxon" migration to Transylvania (Sedmogradska, Siebenbürgen) in the late 12th and in the course of the 13th century is the most telling example of this movement.⁹ As Croatian historians have pointed out over and over again, the development of medieval cities in Croatia is closely tied to the "hospites" of our medieval charters. But just as in Transylvania, the "Saxons" impacted also the countryside, and not only in the mining areas. Sasi is a name of a village across the river from Zagreb, as well as on the Fruška Gora.¹⁰ My research into the forms of existing Romanesque churches in Eastern Slavonia has, I hope, built a plausible case for the presence of the migrants from the West, more precisely from the lower Rhenish area, in eastern Slavonian villages (fig. 3).¹¹ Did the colonists bring the masons from back home, or just remembered forms and passed them on to local masons? The question is hard to decide, but it is also irrelevant. What is relevant is that essentially the same type of buildings stands in Morović, and at the site called "Saška crkva" (Saxon Church) in Novo Brdo in Kosovo!¹²

In those terms, some indeed relatively humble village churches but not especially humbler than those elsewhere in the Pannonian (Carpathian) basin, assume the role of very important historical witnesses. They are a part of a great, universal, all-European rural subculture which in the twelfth century spread from the Lower German area to Scandinavia, British Isles, Eastern and South Eastern Europe.¹³ Needless to say, a comprehensive report on that subculture has been barely begun, and it may take a long time to write it in full. But some of the scholars dealing with the phenomenon of rural Romanesque have been

⁷ See my forthcoming study "The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century and Croatia," submitted for the Acts of the "Dani Cvita Fiskovića," 2003.

⁸ Please see note 7.

⁹ Goss 2003, pp. 8-9; Goss 2004, pp. 9-10; Klaić 1976, pp. 286 and following; Roth 1934, pp. 4-7; Fabini/Fabini 1991, pp. 8-16; Karač 1996, p. 252

¹⁰ Goss 2004, p. 10, note 10

¹¹ See again Gvozdanović 1969-70, Goss 2003, and Goss 2004. More about the problem below when we discuss typology of rural Romanesque churches.

¹² Goss 2003, pp 8-9, note 21

¹³ On the entire phenomenon of the "Renaissance of the 12th century, Haskins 1927, pp. 3-16; and Hollister 1969 with ample bibliography.

aware of its existence for many decades, and have furnished us with very valuable typological studies and terminology.¹⁴

3. How to identify an existing Romanesque church?

Romanesque churches do not just hide underground, they stand, sometimes almost complete but unrecognized in our towns and villages. In Markuševac, near Zagreb, the parish decided to strip the plaster from the “Baroque” nave of a church with a “late Gothic” sanctuary. The “Baroque” nave turned out to have Romanesque windows (fig. 4). A similar thing happened many years ago in Vugrovec, also at the foot of the Zagreb Mountain.¹⁵ At the eastern end of the area in question, similar occurrences could be observed at Kneževi vinogradi and Luč in Baranja, and at Dragotin near Đakovo.¹⁶ The stripping of the church of St. Mary Magdalene in Čazma has provided a most incredible miracle of the highest quality monumental transitional 13th century style building under Baroque and later accretions (fig. 1).¹⁷ Many years ago, a Romanesque window was discovered at St. Mark’s in Zagreb. It never claimed enough attention, and the Romanesque church of St. Marks still remains a mystery.¹⁸ Today we either know, or suspect, that sanctuaries of some Slavonian churches are in fact sections of Romanesque rotundas (Samarica near Čazma, Orljavac and Brestovac near Požega).¹⁹ How many experts in the field know that parts of the medieval Cathedral of Đakovo are still standing in a corner of the courtyard behind the Baroque Bishop’s Palace, including an entire very fine early Gothic window?²⁰

In hunting for still standing medieval buildings, we can learn a lot from our Hungarian colleagues. Some of their publications are true textbooks on how to pry out a medieval building underneath a later one. The sheer number of such buildings in Southwestern Hungary is astonishing, and this bodes well for future investigations in medieval Slavonia.²¹

4. How to find remains of a Romanesque building?

Here also results achieved by our Hungarian colleagues, especially in Southwestern Hungary, can serve as a handbook. Basically, one can sum up by saying that if the plan of an existing, Gothic or later church, shows an “anomaly,” there is probably an earlier building underneath. Such anomalies could be of various kinds, such as odd proportions or relationship between the nave and the sanctuary, a weird plan of a Gothic, polygonal, sanctuary, oddly placed sacristies or towers, etc.²² In her pioneering works on the Gothic architecture in Slavonia and in Hrvatsko Zagorje, Dijana Samaržija-Vukičević has commented on the absence of the Romanesque layer of architecture, and lucidly pointed out that there is probably a Romanesque church underneath most of the buildings she published.²³ Indeed, there are very many buildings in her books with anomalies such as we noted above. None of us is perfect, and I am tempted to claim many of “her” buildings as Romanesque in my accountings. The fact is, most likely, that we are both right.²⁴

¹⁴ More on it below, section 8.

¹⁵ Dobronić 2003, pp. 21-41, 71-78

¹⁶ Restoration work at Kneževi vinogradi and Dragotin is still in progress. I thank Professor Zvonimir Bojičić, Director of the Preservation of Monuments Office of the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia for drawing my attention to those monuments, and for his precious collegial support in general.

¹⁷ Exploration phase at Čazma (Drago Miletić and Tomislav Petrinec, Restoration Office of the Republic of Croatia, Zagreb) is now completed, and restoration and presentation are to follow. I thank both scholars for their information, and Professor Miletić for decades of courteous cooperation. Stošić 2001, pp. 69-72.h

¹⁸ Bedenko 1992, pp. 33-38

¹⁹ I thank Professor Dubravka Sokač-Štimac of the Museum of the Požega Valley for her information and visits to the monuments.

²⁰ Investigation and restoration of those remains is pending.

²¹ As, for example, Valter 2004.

²² Many examples in Valter 2004, e.g., pl. 41, 75, 90, 101, 103, 106, etc.

²³ Vukičević-Samaržija 1986 and 1993.

²⁴ E.g., Vukičević-Samaržija 1986, pp. 100 (Dragotin), 101 (Đurađ), 103 (Glogovica), 109 (Ivankovo), 128 (Požega, St. Lovro), 153 (Zdenci); Vukičević-Samaržija 1993, pp. 142-147 (Belec, St. Juraj, and St. Mary), 155 (Kneginec), 171 (Lobor, St. Mary Gorska), 174 (Lovrečan), 176 (Maruševac), 179 (Ožura), 189 (Prigorec), 197 (Tuhelj), 211 (Zajezda), etc. Of course, one cannot

An interesting case of reemerging Romanesque is St. Benedikt at the old (but still used) cemetery in the wilderness of a Dilj Mountain hill south of the village of Oriovčić. There, a chapel was built in 1926, the likes of which can be seen at many places around Slavonski Brod. The mason's work was quite sloppy and the building has turned into a ruin in less than a century. But as it partly collapsed, it revealed that it was largely built from Romanesque ashlar (!), some re-cut to suit the new construction (fig. 5).²⁵

5. *How to know where to dig, or a question of territorial organization or cultural landscape.*

Of course, much of the material lies underground. How to find it? Here are a few factors which should help: traces of material remains, documents, place names, old illustrations. Let us take them up one by one:

a. *Material remains.*

On the Svetinjski breg, a large "gradište" (wallburg, medieval mud and timber fort – more about them below) near Hlebine there stands a cross erected by Mr. Peradin, a naive sculptor, owner of one half of the hill commemorating the church which once stood there. The base of the cross consists of brick brought from the site, some twenty meters to the East. They are small size Romanesque bricks.²⁶

At Gornji Križ in western Bilogora, a medieval church shows two layers of the Gothic "wrapped" around an earlier building, which is still to be exactly defined. But there is a nice pile of Romanesque brick next to the church.²⁷ The same type of brick can be seen in the northern wall of the church at Sv. Ivan Žabno nearby, left visible after the restoration (fig. 6). Similar bricks were identified by Zorislav Horvat within the walls of the late medieval church at Novo Štefanje near Čazma.²⁸

In each case, this is an indication of the existence of a Romanesque church, with a caveat that the size and form of brick is a good indication, but not a definite proof as there is no absolute consistency.

Naturally, there are also contours in the ground, sometimes with traces of building material (Mihalj near Križevci, Vetovo), or just indentations where once walls may have stood (Kladišćica in the Eastern Medvednica).²⁹

b. *Written documents*

Medieval texts are of course the major source in identifying positions and sites of medieval monuments. We have lists of parishes for both Zagreb and Pecs bishoprics from the 1330ies, and we may safely assume that a parish which existed in the 14th century most likely existed in the 13th, and possibly in the 12th century. The list for Zagreb Bishopric composed by Ivan Arhiđakon Gorički is easier to interpret as it was composed by a native, as opposed to that for Pecs, composed by foreigners, collectors of Pope's tithe.³⁰ In any case, they are good starting points, and could be often complemented by information from the 12th and 13th century documents, or by much later visitations describing old churches or their remains. On the problems on how to apply what they say to what we encounter in the field today, a few more words later.

make any definite statement without a through archeological and/or restoration investigation. At Labor, a Pre-Romanesque and Early Christian churches emerged underneath the Gothic one, and at Dragotin recent restoration works revealed windows with Romanesque (or Early Gothic?) characteristics.

²⁵ Sekelj-Ivančan 1995, p. 207

²⁶ The size and color of brick cannot be a definite proof of date. Briefly, both Romanesque and Gothic bricks can be small, medium and large. However, there is a certain tendency for Romanesque bricks to be overall smaller (some call them "Hungarian bricks"); Horvat 1972 and 2003A. The Svetinjski breg was pointed out to me by Draženka and Dražen Ermečić of the Museum of the City of Koprivnica, for which I hereby express my gratitude.

²⁷ For a visit and information on Gornji Križ I owe gratitude to Goran Jakovljević (Museum of the City of Bjelovar), Vanda and Zlatko Karač, and Rev. Milan Kerš of Zrinski Topolovec.

²⁸ Z. Horvat 2003, p. 154; Z. Horvat 1979, pp. 39-51.

²⁹ Tkalčec 2004, pp. 156-158. For a visit to Mihalj I am indebted to Zoran Homen, Director of the Museum at Križevci. For a visit in 2000 to Vetovo and tracing of medieval buildings among the bushes along the Vetovo creek I am indebted to Dubravka Sokač-Štimac of the Museum of the Požega Valley, and my late mother, Sena Sekulić-Gvozdanović, professor emeritus of the Faculty of Architecture in Zagreb. On Kladišćica, Dobronić 1979, pp. 65-70

³⁰ Butorac 1944 and 1984; Koller 1772-1818

c. Place names

Place names and the names of Saints the churches were dedicated to are extremely helpful. Slavonia is full of names such as “Crkvište,” “Selište,” “Gradina,” “Zidina,” “Klisa,” etc. (Old Church Place, Old Village Place, Old Fort, Old Wall, Church Ruin or Place). A list of such place names is far from complete, and once completed would be extremely helpful.

Consecrations of churches may also indicate their original date, or give some other valuable information. “Major” saints – St. Peter, St. Paul, Virgin Mary, the Trinity, Holy Ghost, may indicate an early date; SS. Cosmas and Damian are known to be saints dear to the period of Justinian’s reconquest; so also St. Andrew. One of urgent tasks for our ecclesiastical historians would be to compile, publish, and interpret consecration lists.³¹

d. Old illustrations

There is an old 18th century drawing of the parish church in Pregrada. It shows a rather dilapidated building with a polygonal (“Gothic”) sanctuary and a rectangular nave. Beneath the eaves there is a typical Romanesque flat corbel table, known from places not far away (e.g., Selo in Prekomurje). One may be fairly certain that the nave of the Pregrada parish church (listed in the 14th century) was Romanesque.³²

All those indicators, together with the existing, or at least visible monuments, help us establish an outline of territorial organization, or cultural landscape, in itself, just as urban design, a work of art and the highest form of human intervention into physical ecology. Thus establishing/reconstructing territorial organization is an important goal for an art historian, but also an important investigative tool.

Simply, establishing territorial organization in an area with substantial written or monumental documentation, may help us look for sites in a not so well-documented area of similar physical characteristics.³³ It would appear that written documents may provide quite a reliable guidance, but it is not exactly so. For example, knowing that there is a parish of St. Peter in a village A, does not mean that the contemporary settlement bearing the same name and showing no traces of historical buildings is at the same place as the medieval one. Indeed, it could have migrated for a considerable distance. Thus written information becomes sensible only if strictly checked in the field. If we identify a suspicious spot in the landscape, a hill, a moat, a ruin, we should try to match it with a name in the documents.³⁴

One phenomenon could be very helpful. This is the above mentioned “gradište,” pl. “gradišta,” medieval forts usually located on hills or within water protected areas. They were mostly surrounded by wooden fences – “palisades” – in some cases reinforced with durable material – brick or stone. The entire area between the Sava and Drava rivers is dotted with gradišta, most of them unexplored, or just minimally explored.

Whereas it is impossible to date a gradište without a thorough archeological investigation going down to the lowermost layer – in some of the cases the logic of their positioning may at least provide some indication as to their date. For example, the gradišta on the northern slopes of the Bilogora and on the hills along the Drava river had their logic before 1102, the date of the personal union of Hungary and Croatia. Those on the southern slope of the same mountain could be as late as the time of Turkish incursions starting in the 15th century.

³¹ Sekelj-Ivančan 1992.; Mezö 2003. Also my forthcoming study “Oriental Presence and Earlier Medieval Art in Croatian Pannonia,” submitted for publication to the Proceedings of the International Congress “Medioevo Mediterraneo: L’Occidente, Bisanzio e l’Islam,” Parma 2004.

³² Vukičević-Samaržija 1993, p. 240; Zadnikar 1967, fig. 5

³³ See my forthcoming study “Two Models of Romanesque Territorial Organization in Continental Croatia,” to be submitted to the *Hortus artium medievalium* 2006, based on the paper of the same title presented at the International Congress “The Town in the Middle Ages,” Motovun 2005.

³⁴ The already mentioned site of Oriovčić is a good example. The church, cemetery and the old settlement was on a hill some two kilometers to the south of the current village which has no historical building. The old core of Brodski Zdenci with the church of St. Peter is almost inaccessible from the current village in a valley to its north; the only marginally negotiable road leads from the south, the opposite side of the mountain from Sibinj, a detour from the contemporary village of ca. 30 kilometers! Identifying a building in historical sources does not mean that it would be found. Stanko Andrić (Andrić 2001, p. 89) has brilliantly identified two medieval churches from durable material (probably pre-Gothic) at Tomašanci to the north of Đakovo. So far we have failed to find them.

A recent exemplary master thesis has brought at least some order to our view of the *gradišta* in Northwestern Croatia.³⁵ A careful reading of that study by Tatjana Tkalčec allows, in my opinion, establishing links between them, and earlier medieval settlements and parishes, a phenomenon known from other parts of the Pannonian basin.³⁶ As my work is in progress I would just most cautiously suggest that some of them indeed seem to be the backbone of old territorial units, both secular “*župas*” (districts, “counties”), and religious “*župas*” (parishes). This may be especially true in the case of double (“No. 8”) or multiple *gradišta*, or series of *gradišta* (0+0+0 etc.).³⁷ In the former case, one of the circles may have contained a church, as traces of ruins in durable material indicate (Gornje Predrijevo), and the other the seat of political power usually constructed from wood; in some case (Nijemci, Nova Rača), archeological investigations have established early, possibly Pre-Romanesque traces underneath a later church on a single *gradište* (fig. 7). A *gradište* may also grow a feudal castle, but there is no way to tell which *gradište* would “grow” a church, and which a castle.³⁸

At Komarnica (today’s Novigrad Podravski area) there is a string of old sites along the Komarnica river – *gradišta* of Poljangrad (fig. 8, fig. 9)) and Pavetićev mlin, an early medieval settlement at Poligačev mlin, plus another fort-like entity, the Novigrad cemetery hill with a church the foundations of which may go to a fairly distant past. Komarnica would claim a considerable distinction in the later Middle Ages as a seat of an extensive archdeanship of Zagreb Bishopric. The center of the archdeanship alone had three or more parishes. All this may confirm that Komarnica was an old territorial unit, an early Croatian “*župa*,” and, in terms of organization, a series of scattered villages.³⁹ A similar string can be seen somewhat to the northwest. Starting at Rasinja, the string continues along the Gliboki potok toward the Drava with old parishes at Gorica (traces of old moats), Kuzminec (church on a *gradište*), Imbriovec, and Đelekovec (a *gradište* nearby).⁴⁰ Another model for old nuclei seems to emerge in central Slavonian mountains, where old cemeteries often still in use (Pavlovac on the Požega Mountain; Oriovčić and Zdenci on the Dilj) are found on a ridge overseeing at least two valleys. The fact that next to the church and cemetery at Oriovčić one finds place names such as “Gradina” and “Okrugljak,” point to old fortifications. Names such as “Kruge,” “Kruzi,” “Okrugljak” are sometimes related to Avar settlements, an attractive idea which needs more research.⁴¹

A very interesting case is that of Lovčić, also on the Dilj, where an old cemetery with a well-preserved Romanesque church on a *gradište* (more about the church later) sits at a spot controlling *four* valleys; the church may have been overseen by a fort on a slightly higher hill nearby, and is still surrounded (at the bottom of the *gradište* mound) by traces of an old, almost cyclopean wall. Lovčić imposes itself as a center of an old parish (unfortunately we do not know which, as there are several parishes of St. Martin in the Požega archdeanship which cannot be securely located), as well as a center of an early territorial unit.⁴²

However, excavated cemeteries of the Bijelo Brdo culture, a fair number of which has been explored in the Croatian part of Pannonia, have not provided much help to our picture. They are either pre-Christian, and while providing valuable information on early settlements, they cannot tell us anything about

³⁵ Tkalčec 2004.

³⁶ See, for example, Fabini/Fabini 1991, pp. 155-157.

³⁷ Double or multiple *gradišta*: Tkalčec 2004 Nos. 7 (Čepelovac), 19 (Gudovac), 57 (Puričani), 60 (Rasinja-Opoj grad), 62 (Selište-Kutinec grad), 63 (Severin), 71 (Stara Ploščica-Greda), 78 (Šandrovac). They make about 12% of Ms. Tkalčec’s list. Adjacent *gradišta*: 19 and 20 (Gudovac), 26 and 27 (Kraljeva Velika), 29, 30, 31 (Kutina), 35 and 36 (Narta), 38 and 39 (Mikleuška), 52 (Pavlovac), 70 and 71 (Stara Ploščica), 78 and 79 (Šandrovac), 87 and 88 (Veliki Poganac). From personal observation I would add Gradina (fig. 9), Gornje Predrijevo, and Turbina, to the east of the area covered by Ms. Tkalčec. Some fine initial work on *gradištas* in eastern Slavonia has been done by Zlatko and Vanda Karač. See also Sekelj-Ivančan 1995, pp. 155, 223, 224

³⁸ Jakovljević/Šlaus 2003, with earlier references. I am indebted to Goran Jakovljević for our visit to Nova Rača, and to Ivana Iskra Janušić and Marko Dizdar for information on Nijemci.

³⁹ Buturac 1984, pp. 76-77. Tkalčec 2004, Nos. 23 and 45

⁴⁰ Buturac 1984, pp. 75-76. Tkalčec 2004, Nos. 14, 32, 60

⁴¹ Position of Oriovčić is especially interesting, although cannot be fully appreciated as the top of the hill is nowadays heavily forested. However, the site should have had a view of at least three valleys, and that it was a dominant nucleus is also shown by the fact that the area to the south, along the major road linking the Sava river valley and the Požega area, is known as Poderkavlje, i.e., land below the church. On “Kruge” etc. Vinski 1960, pp. 52-53

⁴² For the visit and information my sincere thanks to Josip Lozuk of the Museum of Slavonski Brod.

church architecture, or, if they are Christian, and accompanied by a building, we have that information independently of the cemeteries themselves (Zagreb, Lobar, Sisak).⁴³

Another form of territorial organization is based on the "greda" (beam). These are often rather long stretches of higher grounds within essentially flat landscape (e.g., Denkovačka greda, Đakovačka greda in Eastern Slavonia, or a greda that runs from the eastern outskirts of Zagreb to the slopes of the Bilogora and the Kalnik). Old settlements recorded in documents or crowned by medieval churches stand on those gredas which often also serve as directions of both old and contemporary communications (Nuštar, Borinci, Jarmina, Ivankovo, Vođinci, Novi Mikanovci on the Denkovačka greda; Sesevete, Prozorje, Brckovljani, Vrbovec, Gradec on that near Zagreb; all of those places were parishes in the 14th or 15th century, and Nuštar, Borinci, Ivankovo, Novi Mikanovci, Prozorje, Brckovljani, and Vrbovec have either visible or recorded traces of medieval architecture, or preserved medieval churches).⁴⁴

I will not bore the reader with other possible forms of territorial organization as I must emphasize that the work is in progress and there is a long way to demonstrable results. But I must also emphasize that without a thorough study of territorial organization we will never fully understand what was happening in the medieval Slavonia. This is an area where interdisciplinary cooperation of all disciplines involved is a must, and the only way toward new discoveries and conclusions.

6. Role of sculpture

Works or fragments of stone sculpture found at or built into the walls are a secure way of assigning dates to the sites. In museums and collections between the Sava and the Drava river, there are around 100 fragments of stone sculpture bearing decorative, floral, animal, or human forms from Pre-Romanesque, Romanesque, and Transitional style periods, as well as numerous purely architectural fragments.⁴⁵ Once the investigations at Lobar are completed and published, the collection of decorated fragments would increase by about 50 or more pieces. Staying with the Pre-Romanesque, it was a discovery of

interlace fragments at Sisak/Siscia that pointed to Pre-Romanesque architectural activity, confirmed by written sources.⁴⁶ Two such fragments were a lead to the astonishing discoveries at Lobar in recent years.⁴⁷ I believe we have been able to identify two pieces in the storage of the Požega Valley Museum as belonging to the lost parish church of St. Paul, confirming its Romanesque dating (fig. 10).⁴⁸

Unfortunately, most of the fragments are not *in situ*, and even if they are, their testimony may be ambiguous. There are simple, rustic portals (Martin, Koška, Lovčić, Zdenci, Križovljan) which may be Romanesque, partly Romanesque, or much later inspired by the Romanesque. In Glogovnica, five important figured fragments in the walls of the parish church of St. Mary, the Parish Home, and the house at Gornja Glogovnica, No. 61 (fig. 11), all part of a remarkable sculpted cycle, can be at best tied to some church in the area, as it is far from certain that they originally belonged to the repeatedly rebuilt St. Mary, usually associated with the Order of the Canons of the Holy Sepulcher.⁴⁹ The "Stone from Belec" I recently published cannot be with certainty related to the place where it was found – the Church of Our Lady of the Snow.⁵⁰

⁴³ On Bijelo Brdo culture see copious contributions by Željko Tomičić, e.g., Tomičić 1992 or Tomičić 2000. I warmly thank Dr. Tomičić for his continuous support and advice. Even in case of such sites where one would be fully justified to expect remains of a church, e.g., at Stenjevec, systematic exploration of an 11th – 12th century cemetery failed to discover traces of architecture (Simoni 2004).

⁴⁴ Goss 2003, p. 6 (on the positioning of St. Bartol in Novi Mikanovci).

⁴⁵ This material has never been studied as a group, and studies of individual pieces have been equally lacking. We hope to present a corpus of the Romanesque sculpture in the museums and collections between the Sava and the Drava in an exhibition planned for 2007.

⁴⁶ Goss 2003; A. Horvat 1954

⁴⁷ Stahuljak 1950; Filipec 2002

⁴⁸ On a visit to the storage of the Museum of the Požega Valley in Spring 2005, for which I am indebted to Dubravka Sokač-Štimac.

⁴⁹ Dobronić 1998, pp.79-85

⁵⁰ Goss 2004B.

Still, stone sculpture is a great and irrefutable voice in favor of existence of churches in durable material, and those which can be related to certain sites or monuments are precious witnesses indeed. In the Historical Museum in Zagreb, there is in the storage a badly mutilated (probably Gothic) architectural fragment from Zelina – a sole witness of existence of a substantial medieval stone church in that important township of Croatia Cismontana (Prigorje).⁵¹

I hope that in a few years we may have at least a proto-corpus of the Romanesque sculpture between the Sava and the Drava. The main problem is that what we have appears mostly as *membra disiecta*. There is, for example, no similarity between the two largest Slavonian Romanesque sculpture groups – Glogovnica and Rudina. And whereas Glogovnica could be provisionally attached to some southern Hungarian trends, the style of Rudina is, in my opinion, absolutely unique in the Carpathian basin. Which should lead to conclusion that it originated at Rudina, from models (most likely portative) which have still to be identified, although I believe that some progress is being made on that front too (fig. 12).⁵²

7. Role of Wall-Painting

A Romanesque painting on a wall, definitely makes the wall Romanesque. In Continental Croatia there are, according to my latest estimates, around 50 wall-painting groups on record – reasonably preserved, fragmentary, relegated to museum collection, known from records or descriptions. A fraction of those are pre-Gothic (Zagreb, Lovčić, Dolac, Rudina, Medvedgrad, Hrašćina – the list does not pretend to be complete). Serious investigation of that entire segment of our cultural heritage has barely begun, and I see it as one of the top *desiderata* of Croatian medieval studies. The fragments from Rudina and Dolac in the Museum of Požega Valley, reconfirm Romanesque date of the buildings. The stunning and fairly copious fragments at Lovčić, two high quality layers (Romanesque and Gothic) indicate what we have lost by losing the wall-decoration of medieval churches (fig. 13). If a small chapel lost deep in the wilderness of the Dilj could afford such painted luxury, what about big parish or monastery churches, to say nothing of Cathedrals (Zagreb Cathedral luckily has substantial remains of both late Romanesque and Gothic frescoes). It is also stunning that Lovčić is still waiting for a representative monograph.⁵³

8. The place and role of architecture in wood

It is quite certain that timber was the key building material of domestic architecture well into the 15th century, and dominant even beyond.⁵⁴ It was very important in fortification architecture and castles in durable material are believed to be very rare before mid-13th century. If we declare that the known history of Croatian medieval architecture in Continental Croatia starts with investigations at Lopor made by Krešimir Filipec, far from being completed and published, we could say that in religious architecture, stone and wood appear side by side. Filipec has discovered, at Lopor, a spacious Pre-Romanesque building in stone, and, to the south of it, a smaller one in wood (fig. 14). The same scholar has investigated, with Ivo Pavlović, a medieval settlement in Đakovo (expected to be published soon), also with a wooden church.⁵⁵

Thus timber surely existed as a material worthy of religious architecture. We know, for example, that the Gothic church at Mali Raven near Križevci succeeded an earlier wooden building.⁵⁶ But timber was not the only material, not even material of choice. The church was very frequently built from durable material, as those of Pre-Romanesque period at Sisak and Lopor, or even small scale rural buildings

⁵¹ My thanks to Lada Prister who draw my attention to that piece.

⁵² My forthcoming study in note 31.

⁵³ But it is, fortunately, now being expertly restored. Opening up Lovčić and the rest of the Dilj Mountain should be a top priority in cultural policy in Slavonia.

⁵⁴ Lentić-Kugly 1977, p. 82

⁵⁵ I am extremely grateful to Dr. Filipec for generously sharing with me information on his excavations, and whatever is said here is in no way meant to anticipate copious reports we expect from him in the future. I am also grateful to Ivo Pavlović of the Museum of Đakovo for information, visit to the site, and access to his manuscript, Pavlović 2002, pp. 1-5

⁵⁶ Domljan 1993, p. 358. The village of Trg near Ozalj consisted still forty years ago of wooden homes only (today mostly gone), but the church (Romanesque) was built from stone. See S. Gvozdanović 1969.

still standing at Bapska, Novi Mikanovci, Morović, Koprivna, Martin, Koška, Lovčić, Gojlo, Orljavac, Brestovac, Podgorje, Kamešnica, Novo Mesto Zelinsko, Markuševac, etc. clearly testify.

With this, the issue of architecture in wood is not put to rest. A bothersome question remains: to what extent wood may have influenced forms and plans of everyday Romanesque (and Gothic) churches in Central Europe? We all know that stone tolerates, even likes, curves, but curving walls in wood, except in cases of some unusual, and probably non existing *stabbau* (or in case of palisades built in circles from upright timber) could hardly be imagined. David Buxton, the indefatigable explorer of wooden architecture of Eastern and Central Europe has provided dozens of plans, standard plans, of aisleless buildings – with rectangular, polygonal – narrower or of the same width as the aisle – and pointed sanctuaries.⁵⁷ In some cases under obvious influence of architecture in durable materials, the builders in wood have tried to approximate even rounded apses.⁵⁸

That rectangular presbytery was used by both wood and stone has been demonstrated by Dr. Filipec's extraordinary discoveries. Indeed, a wooden church with such a presbytery stands at the very source of architecture in Continental Croatia. It was certainly used by *bona fide* Romanesque buildings (Koška, Novo Mesto Zelinsko), and also by a number of similar buildings considered Gothic. The form is also familiar from Southwestern Hungary.⁵⁹ The issue does not end there, as there are stark differences in the form, and impact, of the rectangular sanctuary. It can be longer or shorter, wider or narrower, slimmer or bulkier. In one case at least – at Kamešnica on the Kalnik – it was demonstrated that the rectangular “Gothic” sanctuary, was in fact a nave of a Romanesque church which lost its rounded apse, either by accident, or by intention – to make the church look more Gothic (fig. 15)!⁶⁰ How many similar cases there are one simply cannot tell without archeology.

Existing, and fairly recent, timber church buildings (presumably retaining the shapes of older structures, and consistent with the requirements of construction in wood), e.g., St. Barbara at Velika Mlaka near Zagreb, show a polygonal sanctuary of equal width as the nave.⁶¹ This plan also seems to be in the spirit of timber construction, but it is also present in medieval architecture in durable material in Slavonia (Crkvari, Lučica – both believed to be Gothic in their present form).⁶² The polygonal shape could be simplified to a point (triangular sanctuary). This rare form is translated into stone in at least two cases in Continental Croatia, at Klenovec, and Humac near Brinje (Lika; both believed to be Gothic).⁶³ In case of the latter, Z. Horvat has pointed out analogy with forms of fortification architecture. i.e., the chapel of the castle at Brinje (and a building within the Komić castle, if to be identified as a chapel), which just shows how difficult it is to make conclusions in the area we are dealing with. This leaves us with the model with a sanctuary narrower than the nave, comparable, in that very respect, to rectangular sanctuaries, describable also as two rectangles, the narrower one having a polygonal ending. And also directs us into at least a brief consideration of the typology of Romanesque rural churches in general.

Major contributions to that problem have been made by research work of the scholars from the Lower German/Dutch area, which was, as already stated, one of the heartlands of the migrations of “The Renaissance of the 12th Century.”⁶⁴ The types include, from simple to more complex: a rectangular chamber, a rectangular nave with a rectangular sanctuary, a rectangular nave with a rounded apse, a rectangular nave with a presbytery consisting of a square area plus a rounded apse (the “Zusammengesetzte Raum”); there

⁵⁷ Buxton 1981, pp. 190, 218

⁵⁸ Buxton 1981, p. 204 (e.g., Vrba near Kraljevo in Serbia)

⁵⁹ Valter 2004, pl. 50, 78, 86, 87, 95, etc.

⁶⁰ Oroša-Rozić 2003, pp. 80-83, and 2004, pp. 9-10. For the state before excavations, Domljan 1993, pp. 346-348

⁶¹ Cvitanović 1974, pp. 7-18. Strzygowski 1927, figs. 56a, 56b

⁶² Vukičević-Samaržija 1986, pp. 98, 111

⁶³ Vukičević-Samaržija 1993, p. 154; Z. Horvat 2003, pp. 50-52. The chapel of St. Matthew at Johi (Croatian Highlands) has a sanctuary which in fact might be described as rather pointed polygon outside and semicircle inside. A. Horvat 1984/85, p. 75

⁶⁴ Goss 2003A, p. 8, and 2004A, pp. 11-12. Among useful sources on the topic of rural Romanesque I would list Rogge 1943, Van der Molen/Vogt 1981, Reitschel/Langhof 1968, Tuulse 1955, and, of course, the monumental German *Handbuch der Deutsche Kunstdenkmäler*, initiated in 1905 by Georg Dehio, and continued, with new editions and additions through the present time.

are also more complex models such as a rectangular nave with a transept, and a rectangular presbytery with or without a rounded apse, but they do not concern us here. The naves can be both vaulted or not, the latter form predominating. In case of the “Zusammengesetzte Raum” the area in front of the apse is usually vaulted. In front of the church you may add a tower, square, polygonal or rounded, in the case of square ones sometimes as wide as the facade.⁶⁵

What transpires is a keen sense of separation of the sanctuary (raised higher, vaulted) and the nave, the area of the ritual and the area for the faithful, the scene and the audience, Heaven and Earth, Sacred and Profane. In that scenery the rounded apse surely surpasses in terms of its celestial symbolism and terrestrial sense of direction a straight termination which rectangular presbyteries try to make up for by being vaulted, often by plastically more pronounced rib-vaults. If we were to select one clear case of each relevant form on our territory, we could list Novo Mesto Zelinsko (rectangular nave with narrower rectangular presbytery), Lovčić (rectangular nave with a rounded apse), and Morović (“Zusammengesetzte Raum”).⁶⁶

The case of a polygonal presbytery narrower than the church could be, in my opinion, dealt as an improvement of the last mentioned model (giving it sense of direction) but in the vocabulary of a new, Gothic style. The will-to-Gothic assumed sometimes rather unusual forms, as when the apse of the Romanesque church at Turnišče was “shaved” in such a way that from a rounded it became polygonal!⁶⁷ Our model is, in fact, a three-unit solution (nave, presbytery, polygonal chevet), thus a variant, or derivation, of the “Zusammengesetzte Raum.” But is it an exclusively “Gothic” development? Would it be fair to assume that polygonal eastern ends existed also *before the Gothic* in wooden architecture? Possibly, but at this point it cannot be proven.

However, there are indications, both in our area and in Hungary of polygonal endings being applied to buildings believed to be consistently Romanesque. Could it be that this type of “revision” of the “Zusammengesetzte Raum”, or of the building with a rectangular presbytery, was already accomplished, or at least initiated within the Romanesque as a take-over from the architecture in wood?⁶⁸

8. *The Pre-Romanesque*

In as much as the architecture and sculpture in durable material are concerned there are only three firm points of the Pre-Romanesque (Lobor, Sisak), and one of (very) early Romanesque (the capital in Zagreb).⁶⁹ At the other end of Southern Pannonia, along the Danube and beyond the current Croatian border there are Pre-Romanesque/Early Romanesque pieces at Banoštar and Rakovac, as well as elsewhere in Vojvodina, i.e., Southern Hungary (Titel, Aracs). These “flechtband” works “aus Sirmien,” have a long history of attracting (and baffling) scholars, and may continue to do so for another while. Their Byzantine source of inspiration was (almost) proven, yet some other possible sources have been suggested more recently – including the Dalmatian coast.⁷⁰

In Croatia their equivalent are two pieces from Beli Manastir in the Museum of Slavonia in Osijek (fig. 15), and as a possibly somewhat later offshoot, the Lamb of God pilaster from Ilok in the Archeological Museum in Zagreb.⁷¹ All of them are witnesses to a robust building activity in durable materials at the eastern end of the Sava-Drava-Danube area.

Shall we find more? After Lobor, everything is possible. Which means, reverting to the issue of territorial organization and identifying the oldest centers of political and religious power.

⁶⁵ For an excellent and very thorough survey of all those types, see Rogge 1943, *passim*

⁶⁶ V. Gvozdanić 1969-70, Gvozdanić-Goss 1980, Goss 2003B; Horvat A. 1984/85, p. 69; Azinović 2002.

⁶⁷ Zadnikar 1959, pp. 141-144

⁶⁸ I am dealing with that issue also in an article in press by *Acta Historiae Artium* (Hungary), entitled “Josef Strzygowski and Croatian Art.” A paper of the same name was delivered at the Collegium Budapest in May 2005. On Hungarian examples, Valter 2004, pl. 46, 79

⁶⁹ Filipec 2002; A. Horvat 1954; Goss 1996, pp. 36-37; Goss 2003B.

⁷⁰ Toth 2000; Takács 1997; Takács 2000; A Horvat 1959.

⁷¹ Samaržija-Vukičević, 2000, pp. 480-482

⁷² Rogić 2000, pp. 589-590

9. Protection and Presentation

Scholarship does not exist in a vacuum. Art Historians should see themselves as keepers, for their active lifetime, of a certain section of cultural heritage they chose to study. Their task is to pass it on to succeeding generations with new insights and broader understanding, and in at least as good a shape as when they received it. The history of art history of Continental Croatia is a long story of struggle for salvaging monuments in the midst of an almost total public and scholarly neglect along the lines of “induced despondency” we outlined before. It is no wonder that many outstanding historians of the art of Continental Croatia were also preservation experts. Without the work of Đuro Szabo, Ljubo Karaman, Anđela Horvat, Zorislav Horvat, Drago Miletić... we might not have anything to study.

Situation today is much better, but far from satisfactory. Monuments still disappear in front of our eyes. The public, general and even scholarly, is not aware of what we have, and what it means. We must make the survival of our national heritage in between the Sava and the Drava a public issue. This means that monuments themselves must go public. They must become known, appreciated, visited, used. Only when a Japanese tourist clicks his camera at your local ruin, the locals become all of a sudden aware of its value. In Dalmatia, tourism has created many problems, but also saved an endless number of monuments.

We live in a period when developed countries – and the number of those is growing – have more and more leisure money. Art, travel, culture, looking for roots, search for contemporary equivalents of the “good savage,” briefly having a good time, an experience, a sense of active participation in some stimulating event, place or activity, is a growth industry. Croatia will never export computers or fighter jets, but her big export item could be impressions and memories – of the wonderful Adriatic coast, of its fairytale underwater life, of still largely pristine areas of Croatian hinterland, of clear water, of real (not staged) wilderness, of untouched flora and fauna, of an old culture which still in some ways actively impacts the people and the environment. Of an ecology, both cultural and physical which is, compared to that in the “developed” world, still fairly well-preserved. Preservation of our cultural ecology is not just a “cultural” but an economic issue. The more we invest in the study of our monuments, in their preservation, revitalization, and incorporation into contemporary contents, the bigger the payoff would be. Ivan Rogić Nehajev in his remarkable book *Samostalnost i tehnologija* (Autonomy and Technology) convincingly argues that Croatia should be a “clean country with beautiful people,” “clean” and “beautiful” being more than just mere physical characteristics.⁷² To the extent we preserve our physical and cultural environment, so much we will be able to retain our identity, autonomy, and our own well-being within the new Europe, and the world community in general. We have a choice between standing up as a confident, successful nation, or dissolving into a bunch of despondent peddlers of Coca-Cola.

There is a long way from identifying a “gradište” to making it a meaningful stop on biking, hiking, or mushroom picking trail. This process cannot be even begun without rigorous exploration, research, preservation, and presentation activity. So we are back where we started, and this is exactly where we should be – in the world of scholarship.

I hope that these lines have shown both an urgent need for and a great potential in studying earlier phases of medieval art between the Sava and the Drava. The study should be systematic, long-term, and interdisciplinary. Scholars should know what their colleagues are doing, we should insure continuity by training, as we go, our young colleagues; and we should cooperate on either one-on-one basis, or in teams, with scholars in other disciplines involved. The land between the Sava and the Drava, and Continental Croatia in general, are not a cultural “tabula rasa.” Rather, a big “white spot” of our culture which, with some effort and good will could reemerge as a promised land for art history and other historical sciences.

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Sažetak

USKRSNULI SVIJET

PROLEGOMENA UVODNIM RAZMATRANJIMA O RANIJOJ SREDNJOVJEKOVNOJ UMJETNOSTI
IZMEĐU SAVE I DRAVE

Ključne riječi: Slavonija, međuriječje Save i Drave, srednjovjekovna Panonija, romanika, srednjovjekovna umjetnost, kontinentalna Hrvatska.

Iako bi se po naslovu možda moglo zaključiti da se radi o preliminarnom priopćenju, to uopće nije slučaj. Naprotiv radi se o zaključcima koji su ujedno i korak prema sustavnom istraživačkom radu na materijalu koji je odavna "potonuo" i koji treba uskrisiti kao važan segment hrvatske kulturne baštine. Autor se bavi tim materijalom od vremena svojih ranih studija o Bapskoj, Moroviću i Brodskom Drenovcu kasnih šezdesetih godina prošlog stoljeća. Razmatranja se temelje na prikupljenom poznavanju materijala, ali i na najnovijim, često još neobjavljenim ili nepotpuno objavljenim spoznajama.

Istraživanje srednjovjekovne umjetnosti u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj (posebice onog ranijeg dijela) još uvijek pati od nedovoljnog znanstvenog i javnog zanimanja. Krajnji je čas da se tom pitanju pristupi ozbiljno i sustavno, jer sjećanje na spomenike i njihove lokacije brzo nestaje, a djela neizrecivog vandalizma i dalje se događaju pred našim očima. To je u dobroj mjeri posljedica negativnog stava, "inducirane malodušnosti", od koje trpe i naše povijesne znanosti. Ranija srednjovjekovna umjetnost Međuriječja ne može se "otpisati" kao provincijalna ili periferna, i nema razloga da se naši spomenici datiraju stotinjak godina kasnije od njima srodnih u, primjerice, Mađarskoj, budući da je srednjovjekovna Slavonija dio istoga panonskog ili karpatskog bazena i istoga kulturnog kruga. Nažalost, upravo oni najreprezentativniji spomenici su ili nestali ili nisu dovoljno poznati. Nadalje, na ruralnoj razini, Slavonija je dio velike europske subkulture koja se s migracijama, osobito onima u svezi s "renesansom 12. stoljeća", širi iz donjonjemačkog područja (Frizija, Flandrija, Donja Saksonija, itd.) Srednjom i Istočnom Europom.

Postavlja se pitanje kako prepoznati još dobro očuvane, no zamaskirane spomenike romanike (primjeri Markuševca, Vugrovca, Kneževih Vinograda, itd.), kako prepoznati tragove ili samo položaje ranijih srednjovjekovnih spomenika. U tom se smislu predlažu neki temeljni modeli teritorijalne organizacije koji mogu poslužiti i kao dobro istraživačko sredstvo na područjima koja su izrazito loše dokumentirana; usto se čine prvi koraci prema rješavanju načelnih pitanja najranije crkvene i političke (župske) teritorijalne organizacije (kulturni pejzaž). Postavlja se i pitanje brojnih gradišta Međuriječja kao mogućih središta rane teritorijalne organizacije, posebno u slučaju dvostrukih, višestrukih gradišta, ili lanaca gradišta u ograničenim prostorima. Razmatra se uloga skulpture i zidnog slikarstva kao pomoćnih sredstava prepoznavanja predromaničkih i romaničkih zgrada (Sisak, Lobar, Zagreb, Lovčić, Dolac...), te pitanje najranijih slojeva (9. stoljeće), posebice u svjetlu izvanrednih otkrića na Loboru.

Naglašava se općeeuropska tipologija ruralne romanike, te se prepoznavanje njezine prisutnosti u našim krajevima (Novi Mikanovci, Bapska, Morović; Novo Brdo na Kosovu) smatra važnim povijesnim dokumentom. Tu je također i pitanje uloge drvene arhitekture kao mogućeg izvora uzora za neke oblike srednjovjekovne arhitekture Međuriječja pa i šire (pravokutna, poligonalna i šiljata svetišta). Pozivanjem na vrlo uspješan rad mađarskih kolega na identificiranju i "uskrsavanju" romaničkih spomenika, ukazuje se na velik potencijal za slične podvige i na našem području.

Konačno, razmatra se važnost znanstvenog istraživanja kao temelja za sustavnu zaštitu, revitalizaciju i prezentaciju te spomeničke baštine. To istraživanje treba biti sustavno, dugoročno i multidisciplinarno, te uključivati i izobrazbu mladih kadrova. Zemlja u međuriječju Save i Drave, odnosno kontinentalna Hrvatska općenito, nije kulturna "tabula rasa", nego velika bijela mrlja naše kulture, koja s nešto napora i dobre volje može postati obećana zemlja povijesnih znanosti.

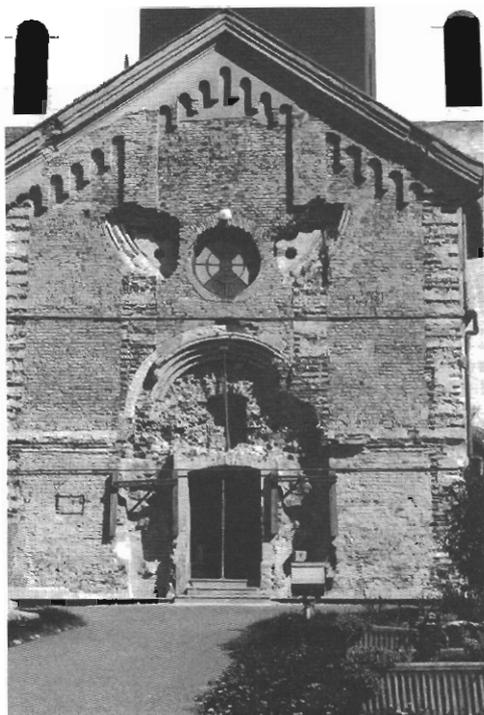


fig. 2 - Medvedgrad, view with the chapel, mid - 13th ct.

fig. 1 - St. Mary Magdalene, west facade, ca. 1230-50.



fig. 3 - Novi Mikanovci, St. Bartol, church with a "Frisian" tower built on a "gradište", first half of the 13th ct.

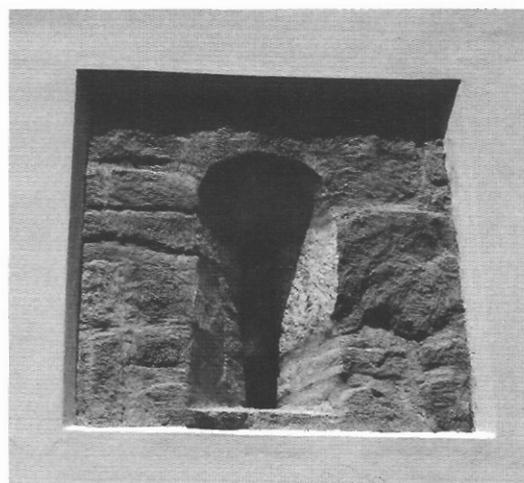


fig. 4 - Markuševac, SS. Simon and Judas, a Romanesque window of a "Baroque" nave, around 1200. (?)



fig. 5 - Oriovčić, St. Benedict, Romanesque ashlar among the ruins of a 1926 chapel.

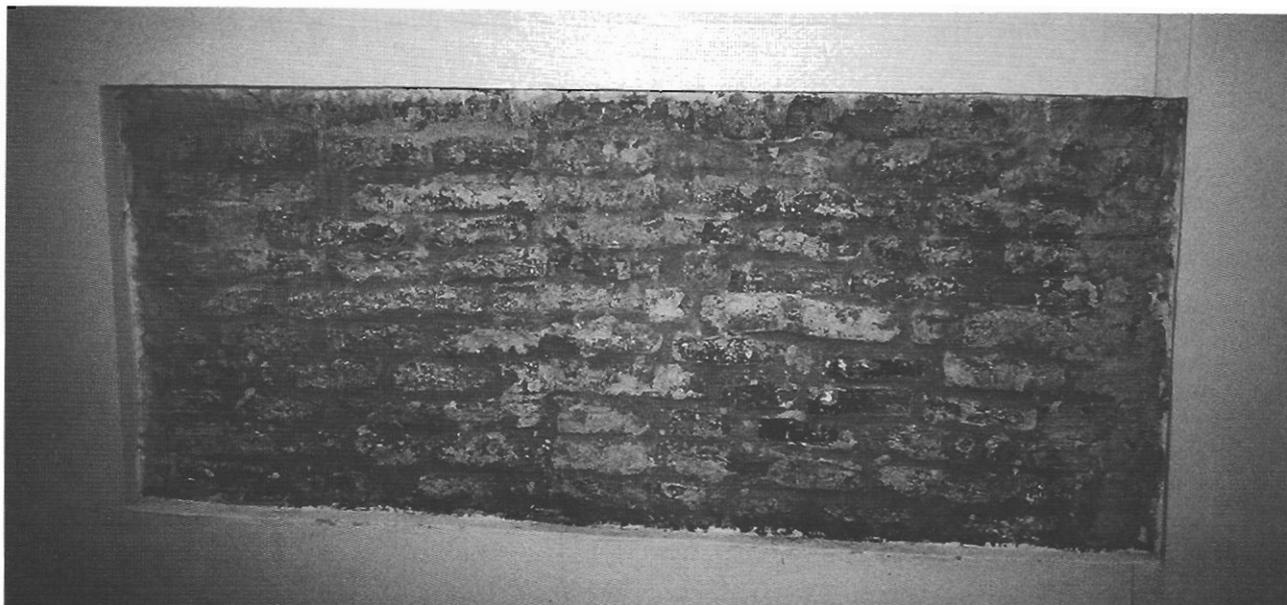


fig. 6 - Sv. Ivan Žabno, St. John, Romanesque brick in the northern wall of the nave



*fig. 7 - Nijemci, Gothic church with preearly, Romanesque foundations, erected on a "gradište",
11th ct.(?) and later*



fig. 8 - Poljangrad, one of the centers of Komarnica



fig. 9 - Gradina, a view of a portion of a multiple "gradište"



fig. 10 - Požega, Museum of the Požega Valley, Romanesque fragment, possibly from the lost parish church of St. Paul, early 13th ct. (?)



fig. 11 - Gornja Glogovnica, Crusader (height: 97 cm) in the substructure of the house no. 61, ca 1200.

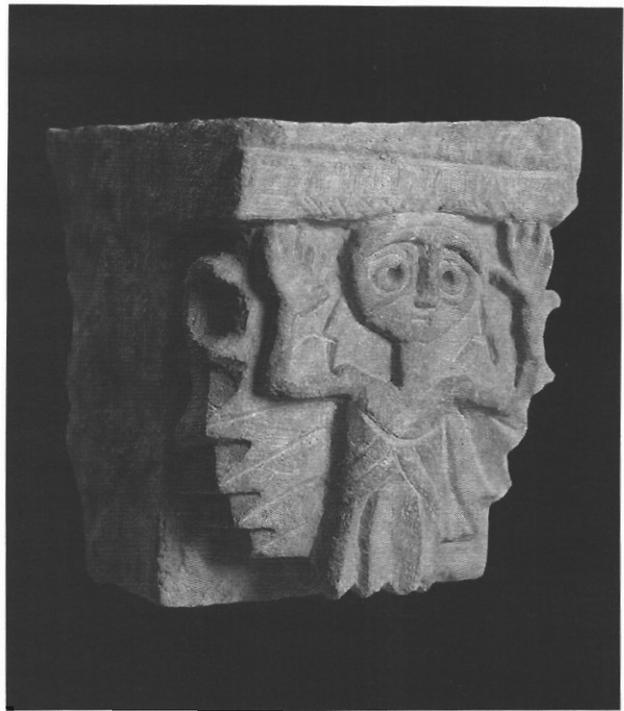


fig. 12 - Požega, Museum of the Požega Valley, praying figure from Rudina, later 12.th ct.



fig. 13 - Lovčić, view of the interior of the apse



fig. 14 - Lobar, St. Marija Gorska, walls of the Pre-Romanesque church excavated by Dr. Filipiec; to their left, site of the wooden church



fig. 15 - Komašnica, Romanesque apse excavated at the eastern end of a "Gotich" straight chevet, mid 13th ct. (?).

fig. 16 - Osijek, Museum of Slavonia, Panel from Beli Manastir, 11th ct.