

Vladimir P. Goss, Nina Šepić
University of Rijeka, Faculty of Arts and Sciences

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A Note on some Churches with Rectangular Sanctuary in Medieval Slavonia

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Ključne riječi: Hrvatska, Slavonija, srednjovjekovna arhitektura, seoska romanika, Karpatski bazen, kulturni pejzaž

The subject of this paper is single-aisled medieval churches with rectilinear sanctuary between the Sava and the Drava rivers. The origins of the type are discussed in the light of the recent literature, and models within the sphere of Pre-Romanesque architecture both in wood and durable materials are proposed. The type can be followed from the Carolingian times to the Renaissance, and represents a valuable ingredient of the cultural landscape of medieval Slavonia.

Cultural landscapes of the past are to a large extent a matter of reconstruction. In proposing one, a student would look first of all for the most durable elements, i.e., centers of spiritual and political power¹. As the former tended to be more intimately linked with its original function, location, and form, it is the church that would be the main guide in drawing the lines of a cultural landscape of medieval Europe. The centers of political power were more likely to be demolished, rebuilt, or moved, be it under pressure of a domestic or foreign adversary, be it as a way of enhancing the stature of the politically powerful. If a settlement has survived, there is a good chance that its religious center, the parish church, contains sections of an old building, or that it has at least retained its site. This is especially true of the parts of Europe which have had the luck of avoiding major wars, migrations, depopulations, and repopulations in the course of the last millennium. Such are, for example, the British Isles and Scandinavia, but also some areas of our own central and southeast European neighborhood, e. g., Switzerland, Austria, even, within the lands of the Crown

of St. Stephen, Slovakia (Upper Hungary) and Transylvania (Siebenbürgen)².

In Croatia, and particularly in the continent, the catastrophe which occurred in the period between the end of the 15th and the end of the 17th century, the two centuries of Turkish warfare, with accompanying migrations, depopulations and repopulations, a process which in some areas went all the way down to the end of the last century, has obliterated not just the physical witnesses of the pre-1500 past, or practically all memory thereof³, but even the belief that there had ever been anything worth studying and preserving. A visit to the Spiš area of Slovakia, or to the southeastern Transylvania confronts us with a surprisingly well-preserved medieval landscape, and may teach us what we have lost. This does not mean that our task of reconstructing our own past cultural landscapes is impossible; it is just much harder.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the place and the role of one of the forms which acted as a constituent element of the cultural landscape between the 9th and the



15th century in the southern Pannonian rim zone, i.e., the medieval Slavonia, with an emphasis on the land between the Sava and the Drava rivers, that element being an aisleless church with a square or rectangular sanctuary. An attentive reader may have noticed the absence of any reference to style – Pre-Romanesque, Romanesque, or Gothic. This has been done on purpose as one of the main arguments of this study is that the historical styles do not play a major role in the creation of the type, or in its subsequent applications, their presence playing a minor role even in terms of detail.

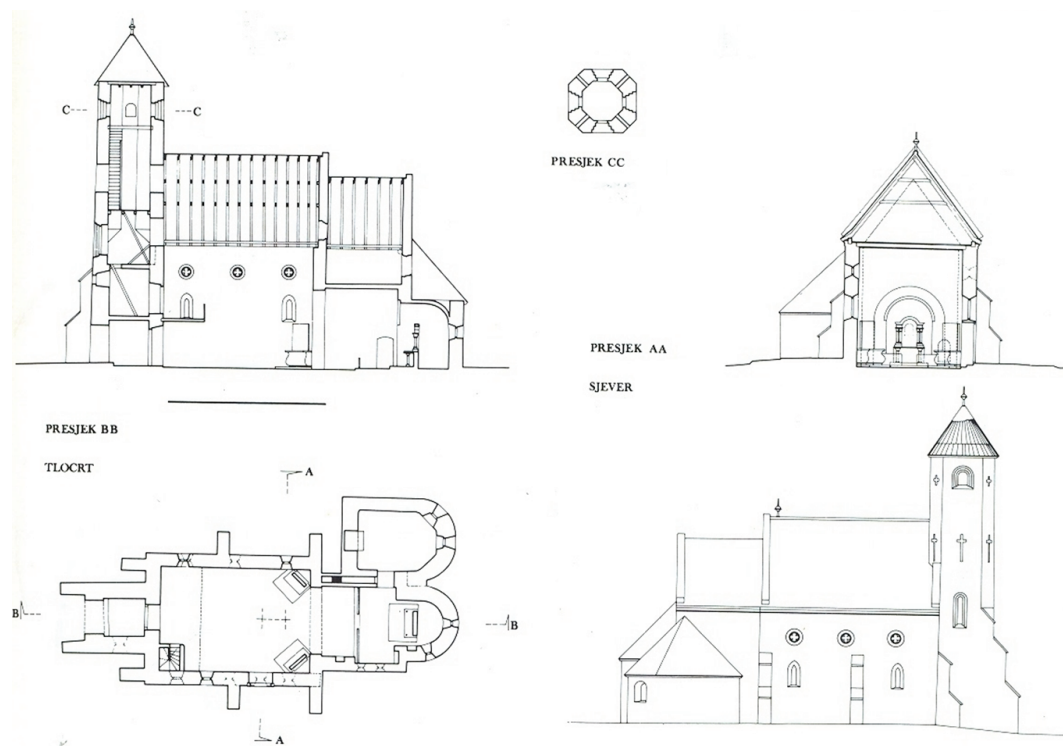
One need not be a historian of art or architecture to realize that there are two basic types of dwellings that satisfy essentially all of the human needs. These are dwellings of circular and rectangular plan, the latter usually moderately elongated, although both square and elongated variants appear too. In the first case, the accent is on the center of the building, and the most important function of the dwelling is accommodated in the center. In the second, the space may be oriented toward one (or both) of the shorter sides, and the key function would then be accommodated accordingly. However, and in particular in residential dwellings, this need not be the case. Homes, even palaces, are usually entered on wider sides, not infrequently at the center, and subsequently the visitor is directed toward the sides, or wings. One should note that both basic types appeared as soon as the man had left the cave, in the form of one pole tent (central solution), or a tent with at least two poles (and a horizontal link between them). This is the prototype of the omnipresent saddle-back roofed domestic dwelling; yet one must note that the circular form can also accommodate domestic function as witnessed by such forms as the bunja, trullo, or nuragh, or the African circular huts. Also, although the rectangular form has won as the standard domestic dwelling type, it can accommodate, with some adaptations (e.g., entrance on one of the shorter sides, center of interest at the opposite end), other functions, including that of the typical Christian place for regular worship⁴. In fact, as the selfsame term *domus ecclesiae* tells us, some of the earliest known examples of such places of worship are either pie-

Left / Lijevo:

1. Martin, St. Martin, 12th-13th ct. (photo: Goss/Jukić) / Martin, Sv. Martin, 12.-13. st. (foto: Goss/Jukić)

2. Kamešnica, St. Andrew, 13th ct. and later, Romanesque apse. (photo Goss/Jukić) / Kamešnica, Sv. Andrija, 13. st. i kasnije, romanička apsida. (foto: Goss/Jukić)

3. Lovčić, St. Martin, 12th-13th ct. (photo: Goss/Jukić) / Lovčić, Sv. Martin, 12.-13. st. (foto: Goss/Jukić)



4. Ratkovića, Sv. Michael, kasno 13th st. (?) (foto: Goss/Jukić) / Ratkovića, Sv. Mihovil, kasno 13. st. (?) (foto: Goss/Jukić)

5. Morović, Bogorodičina crkva, kasno 13. st., Tlocrt i presjek. Primjer Zusammengesetzte Raum. (Sena Sekulić-Gvozdanić) / Morović, Our Lady, late 13th ct., plan and section. An example of the Zusammengesetzte Raum. (Sena Sekulić-Gvozdanić)



6. Novo Mesto Zerlinsko, St. Peter, early 13th ct. (photo: Goss/Jukić) / Novo Mesto Zelinsko, Sv. Petar, rano 13. st. (foto: Goss/Jukić)



7. Dišnik, Our Lady, medieval. (photo: Goss/Jukić) / Dišnik, Bogorodičina crkva, srednjovjekovna građevina (foto: Goss/Jukić)

ces of domestic architecture adapted to the cult, or religious buildings constructed on an image of residential dwellings. Thus from the outside they do not advertise their function, a case of useful reticence in the insecure days before the Edict of Milan, whereas in the interior there may be elements, such as the subsellia, synthronon, or some other element directing the attention of the faithful in the desired direction. The early stages in the development of the complex of the Basilica Euphrasiana in Poreč are a notorious, and notoriously good, example of such architectural form. The fashion thus set in the area of the Upper Adriatic and the Eastern Alps would exercise a potent influence on the religious architecture of the region well into the late Middle Ages⁵.

Domestic, residential architecture, a home, or a hall, may also be at the root of some of the most simple types of rural architecture in the period of higher Middle Ages. In order to approach our buildings with rectangular sanctuaries, a few words about some apparently all-European phenomena are in order.

Study of rural (not rustic!) art of Europe is an area in which a lot of research is still badly needed. Still, in some areas, for example the rural Romanesque, we have had at least some insights into the basic typology, its origins, and expansion. It was Elimar Rogge who, in a 1943 study of

rural Romanesque churches in Frisia, presented almost all types of rural Romanesque architecture which also occur in a huge area from the coast of the Northern Sea to Poland and Transylvania, and from Scandinavia to the Balkans⁶. Here are Rogge's types with an understanding that simpler forms may predate the more complex ones, but that they also coexist in both time and space:

1. Rectangular hall (Darnum)
2. Rectangular nave with a semicircular apse (Middels)
 - a. With an unified unvaulted nave (Middels); b. With a vaulted nave divided into bays (Gross-Midlum).
3. Rectangular nave with a rectangular sanctuary with a western tower (Midlum).
4. Der Zusammengestzte Raum – a building with a semicircular apse, a vaulted square (or slightly elongated) choir, a wider unvaulted nave (Morsum), and, possibly, with a tower (Keitum).

Right / Desno:

10. Srednji Lipovac, St. Luke, 14th ct. and earlier, (photo: Goss/Jukić) / Srednji Lipovac, Sv. Luka, 14. st. i ranije. (foto: Goss/Jukić)

9. Mala Črešnjevica, St. Martin, 15th ct. (and earlier?), (photo: Goss/Jukić) / Mala Črešnjevica, Sv. Martin, 15. st. (i ranije?). (foto: Goss/Jukić)



8. Veliki Grđevac, Our Lady, medieval. (photo: Goss/Jukić) /
Veliki Grđevac, Bogorodičina crkva, srednjovjekovna građevina
(foto: Goss/Jukić)



5. An aisleless building with a projecting transept and square sanctuary (Langwarden), or with an additional semi-circular apse (Pilsun)⁷.

Types 2, 3, 4 expanded throughout the area noted above, and are relevant for our material too.

Rogge also speculates about possible wooden models for the Frisian churches, linked first of all with the arrival of Irish missionaries already in the 7th century, but neither traces of wooden buildings, nor clear indications that stone or brick buildings followed the sites of wooden predecessors have been found⁸. However, the links with the Irish missionaries are not to neglect. In a most recent book on Pre-Romanesque architecture, Charles McClendon has paid a very careful attention to the earliest phases of Christian architecture on the British Isle. His fine summary leads to a conclusion that a wooden Anglo-Saxon post-built hall is not an unlikely prototype for early attempts at religious building (Chalton), nor one should overlook the undertakings by the Irish monks whose monasteries were built on the model of Celtic circular forts, surrounded by dry wall, or by earthen ramparts, and consisting of a series of circular beehive huts, be it of wood, be it of stone in which case they were covered by corbel vaulting. The only rectangular building was the oratory. Here we have our two basic architectural types joining hands in producing a fairly sophisticated element of a cultural landscape, and a framework for existence of a fairly complex social group⁹. The same author goes on to show how some key Anglo-Saxon sites featured buildings of elongated rectangular plan – nave plus sanctuary, even with some sort of aisles, as in the case of Monkwearmouth, founded 675, and Jarrow, founded in 680. The forms of these two important Northumbrian foundations are reflected in a well preserved church at Escomb from ca. 700, as well as by the forms of the mid-seventh century woodframe church traces of which were excavated at the royal villa at Yeavinger. McClendon is extremely cautious not to omit the fact that the “barbarian” component had its role in the formation of the Christian architecture on the British Isles¹⁰. He also notes that the massive quoining (Monkwearmouth, Escomb) holding in place courses of rubblework may have its origin in the techniques of architecture of wood (overlapping ends of beams at corners)¹¹; the same seems to be true of a general predilection for rectilinear building which he had also noted in the chapters on the Visigothic Spain (San Pedro de la Nave) or Merovingian France (St. Jean, Poitiers)¹². The same phenomenon may be observed among the earliest of important monastic foundations of the Carolingian times – at Lorsch (765-774, aisleless church with a rec-

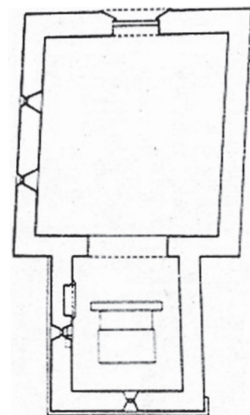
tangular apse), Centula (790-799, aisled, double-transept plan with a square presbytery), or, a few decades later, St Gallen (large rectangular block, with an equally rectangular western annex, 830-836). A similar situation can be observed within royal estates, as witnessed by the audience hall (elongated rectangle) and the church at Paderborn (aisless church with a short rectangular sanctuary, and equally rectangular side spaces, under construction in 777)¹³. The rounded apse remains a sign of contacts with the Roman, Mediterranean, tradition, for example, within the complex of the earliest buildings at Canterbury related to the mission of St. Augustine in the early 7th century¹⁴. McClendon thus confirms some aspects of our own research into the question of rectilinear buildings in the Pre-Romanesque period which we have touched upon, off and on, ever since 1972, as well as old Strzygowski's identification of the rounded apse as a hallmark of the Roman tradition¹⁵. In fact, a reevaluation in the light of McClendon's conclusions, of the presumably earliest large Croatian Pre-Romanesque buildings in Dalmatia – St. Marta in Bijaći, SS. Marija and Stjepan at Crkvina in Biskupija, the church at Koljane (?), is absolutely indicated. More light may also be shed on such buildings as the church at Zalavár-Récéskut, as well as on the newly discovered large Pre-Romanesque building at Lobar¹⁶. The above lines may, hopefully, provide at least a sketch of a background for what follows.

The medieval Slavonia knew three of the "Rogge Types" listed above.

1. Aisleless, unvaulted church with a semicircular apse. Here are some examples: Stenjevec, Gračani, Petrova Gora, Kamešnica (fig. 2), Turnišće, Rudina (smaller church), Podborje, Ratkovića (fig. 4), Lovčić (fig. 3), Martin (fig. 1), Koprivna, Đakovački Selci, Vinkovci-Meraja, Borinci, Bapska, Lapovac, Rokovačka zidina. The list does not pretend to be complete. Also, as it was usually the sanctuary that was rebuilt first when a new fashion arrived, many churches the naves of which reveal Romanesque characteristics may have had their "old-fashioned" rounded apses replaced by more modern forms (Novi Mikanovci, Markuševac, Vugrovec, Pregrada, Dragotin...). The earliest examples (Vinkovci, Borinci, and possibly Rudina) date from around 1100. Some of



11. Glogovica, St. Stephen, 15th ct.(?), interior (photo: Goss/Jukić) / Glogovica, Sv. Stjepan, 15. st.(?), unutrašnjost (foto: Goss/Jukić)



13. Brodski Zdenci, St. Petar, 15th ct.(?) (photo: Goss/Jukić) / Brodski Zdenci, Sv. Petar, 15. st.(?) (foto: Goss/Jukić)

12. Brodski Zdenci, St. Peter, 15th ct.(?), plan (courtesy of the Institute of Art History) / Brodski Zdenci, Sv. Petar, 15. st.(?), tlocrt. (ljubaznošću Instituta za povijest umjetnosti)



14. Koška, SS. Petar and Pavao, early 13th ct.(?). (photo Goss/Jukić) / Koška, Sveti Petar i Pavao, rano 13. st.(?), (foto: Goss/Jukić)

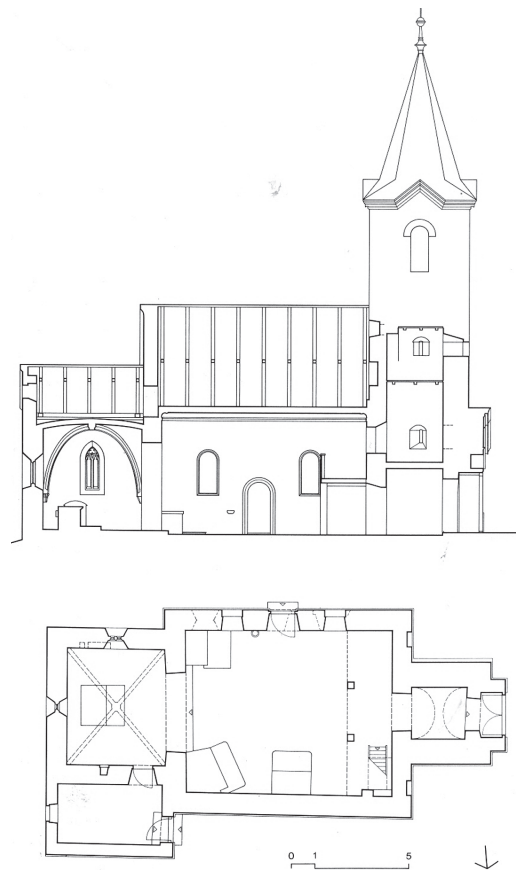


15. Martinščina, St. Martin, 15th ct., and earlier (?).(photo: Goss/Jukić) / Martinščina, Sv. Martin, 15. st. i ranije (?). (foto: Goss/Jukić)

the buildings may be rather late, some are known through archeological excavations only, or old drawings, some still await a serious investigation. Still, on the basis of datable and reasonably well-explored monuments (Vinkovci, Rudina, Bapska, Lovčić, Martin, Kamešnica) the type was definitely in use in the area between the Sava and the Drava rivers between ca. 1100 and ca. 1300¹⁷. In terms of changes, an instructive example is Kamešnica on the Kalnik Mountain (fig. 2), where a “Gothic church with a rectangular sanctuary,” turned out to be, after a conscientious archeological excavation, a Romanesque aisleless church with a semicircular apse to which a rectangular Gothic nave was added, while the apse was abolished¹⁸. A notorious example is the church at Turnišće in Slovenia (Prekomurje, but within the Bishopric of Zagreb in the Middle Ages) where a rounded apse was “shaved” so as to receive polygonal “Gothic” form¹⁹.

However, there is little consistency. Some of the apses are wider (Martin, fig. 1), some narrower (Lovčić, fig. 3), some lower (Bapska) some taller (Martin); some are truly semicircular (Lovčić), some stilted (Bapska), some quite elongated (Ratkovica, fig. 4, Gračani), some even slightly horseshoe in form (Martin). This variety and inconsistency is not at all surprising as it also occurs among some one hundred village Romanesque churches in Southwestern Hungary. Some of that territory in the Middle Ages belonged to the Bekšin Archdeaconry of Zagreb Bishopric²⁰. One might say that the type appears everywhere throughout Western Christendom; however, we will later on comment

16. Martinščina, St. Martin, 15th ct. and earlier (?), plan and section. (courtesy of the Institute of Art History) / Martinščina, Sv. Martin, 15. st. i ranije (?), tlocrt i presjek. (ljubaznošću Instituta za povijest umjetnosti)





17. Gotalovec, St. Peter, 15th ct. and earlier. (photo: Goss/Jukić) / Gotalovec, Sv. Petar, 15 st. i ranije. (foto: Goss/Jukić)

on an exception which may be crucial for understanding the main topic of our discourse.

2. The “Zusammengesetzter Raum.” There is only one example of that type, the fine and unfortunately dilapidated church of Our Lady at Morović (late 13th ct., fig. 5)). This is not the place to enter into a discussion of whether the type is an expansion of the simplest form of the aisleless church with a semicircular apse, or a reduction of an aisled building with a square choir. The nave, almost always unvaulted – is the place for the faithful, “The Earth.” The vaulted “Dome (or, more correctly semi-dome) of Heaven,” expands by attaching itself to the almost always vaulted choir area. Thus what we have is, in physical terms, an expansion of both the area for the faithful and the area for the elect; or in simple terms, one is dealing with a very good and practical solution for a larger extra-urban community.

The type is not only quite frequent in Frisia, but also in Saxony, Lower Saxony and Schleswig-Hollstein, wherefrom it has migrated to Scandinavia, and to Eastern and Southeastern Europe, as far as Kosovo where in Novo Brdo one finds ruins of a church of this type at the site called “Saška crkva” (the Saxon Church). It is quite frequent in Transyl-

vania, but much less so in other areas of the Lands of the Crown of St. Stephen²¹.

3. Rectangular aisle with a square or rectangular sanctuary, with or without a tower. The type (without the tower) has a fairly numerous following on our territory: Beletinec, fig. 18, Gotalovec, fig. 1, Martinščina, figs. 15 and 16, Bartolovec, fig. 19, Kladiščica, Novo Mesto Zelinsko, fig. 6, Dišnik, fig. 7, Mala Črešnjevica, fig. 9, Veliki Grđevac, fig. 8, Glogovica, fig. 11, Srednji Lipovac, fig. 10, Brodski Zdenci, figs. 12 and 13, Koška, fig. 14, Gornji Križ, Miholec, fig. 21, St. Helena (near Križevci), fig. 20, Mali Raven, figs. 22 and 23 – the list should not be seen as complete. St. Petar at Novo Mesto Zelinsko and SS. Petar and Pavao at Koška could be dated with a considerable doze of certainty to the (earlier) 13th ct. The unexplored traces of SS. Kuzma and Damijan at Kladiščica may belong to an even earlier building, The rest is today dated mostly to 14th-16th century. Underneath the Gothic phase of the church at Mala Črešnjevica there appears to lie an earlier, Romanesque building, with a rounded apse²².

Rogge lists only 11 (out of 73) buildings of that type. They are provided with a tower, naves are very elongated



18. Beletinec, All Saints, 15th ct. (photo Goss/Jukić) / Beletinec, Crkva Svih svetih, 15. st. (fotografija Goss/Jukić)



21. Miholec, St. Michael, medieval. (photo: Goss/Jukić) / Miholec, Sv. Mihovil, srednjovjekovna građevina. (foto: Goss/Jukić)

(about 1: 2.5 or 3), and there is either a square sanctuary (Padingbüttel, Wremen), or an elongated rectangle (Midlum, Blexen – the latter’s sanctuary consists of two rib-vaulted rectangular bays)²³. Considering the last two examples, one might argue that the extended sanctuary is a functional correlative to the apse plus choir of the “Zusa-

mmengesetzter Raum,” or even of an elongated sanctuary terminating in a rounded apse (Ratkovica, fig. 4, Gračani among our material). Thus one might speculate about two parallel lines; one consisting of the aisleless church with a rounded apse and the “Zusammengesetzter Raum” as its extension, the other of an aisleless church with a short,

19. Bartolovec, St. Bartholomew, 15th ct., rectangular sanctuary acting as a side chapel of a new church. (photo Goss/Jukić) / Bartolovec, Sv. Bartolomej, 15. st., pravokutno svetište kao bočna kapela nove crkve (fotografija Goss/Jukić)



20. Sv. Helena, St. Helen, 15th ct. (?).(photo Goss/Jukić) / Sv. Helena, Sv. Helena, 15. st. (?).(fotografija Goss/Jukić)



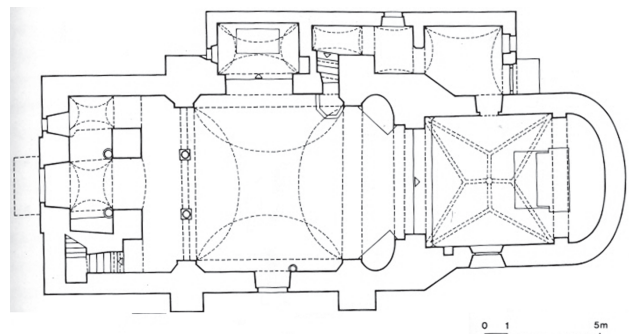
squarish sanctuary, and of an aisleless church with an elongated rectilinear sanctuary as its extension. There is still another way of achieving the same as we will attempt to demonstrate below. The first form may be called “orthodox humanist” in accepting the Mediterranean element of the apse, the other is “Nordic” by rejecting it. Whereas in Frisia the “Nordic” form is surprisingly rare, it is on average not so rare on our territory. The rarity also occurs in Southwestern Hungary (eight out of ca. 100 examples), where the “humanist” rounded apse heavily dominates²⁴.

There are, however, notable variations. Talking only of the buildings that have been reasonably well explored, and which are sufficiently well-preserved we note, first of all, differences in the treatment of the sanctuary.

The square or almost square sanctuary dominates (Martinščina, Beletinec, Gotalovec, Bartolovec, Novo Mesto Zelinsko, Koška, figs. 6, 14-19); at Martinščina and Novo Mesto Zelinsko (figs. 6, 15-16) the body of the sanctuary is slightly less than a square, and at Koška (fig. 14) slightly more. Yet all of those (almost) square sanctuaries were predestined to be vaulted, preferably by a rib-vault as exemplified by well-preserved examples such as Novo Mesto Zelinsko and Martinščina (figs. 16, 31). The three churches in the mountainous Moslavina – Bilo gora area (Dišnik, Veliki Grđevac, Mala Črešnjevica, figs. 7-9)) show rather heavy and wide sanctuaries, the eastern wall being provided with two windows at Dišnik and Mala Črešnjevica, possibly also at Veliki Grđevac (today all Orthodox) where the present-day church shows few traces of medieval past (except for the general format), but is recorded to have been “built” in 1796 from the material of an earlier church, while the cover in each of the cases consists of a three sided roof, which, of course, means the absence of the eastern gable. However, similar construction was used in less bulky sanctuaries of SS. Petar and Pavao in Koška, and St. Petar in Novo Mesto Zelinsko (figs. 6 and 14). and elsewhere (Bartolovec, Sv.



22. Mali Raven, St. Ladislav, late 15th ct. (replaced a wooden church), (photo: Goss/Jukić) / Mali Raven, Sv. Ladislav, kasno 15. st. (zamijenjena drvena crkva). (foto: Goss/Jukić)



23. Mali Raven, late 15th ct., plan, Gothic church “wrapped” in Baroque. (courtesy of the Institute of Art History) / Mali Raven, kasno 15. st., tlocrt, gotička crkva “zaodijevana” barokom. (ljubaznošću Instituta za povijest umjetnosti)

26. Lobar, St. Mary Gorska, 9th ct. and later, sanctuary of the Pre-Romanesque church; to its left the site of the wooden 9th ct. church. (photo: Goss/Jukić) / Lobar, St. Marija Gorska, 9. st. i kasnije, svetište predromaničke crkve, s lijeve strane pogled na drvenu crkvu iz 9. st. (foto: Goss/Jukić)





24. Gora, Assumption of Our Lady, ca. 1200 (reconstruction by D. Miletić), (photo Goss/Jukić) / Gora, Crkva Uznesenja Bogorodice, oko 1200. g (rekonstrukcija D. Miletić), (foto: Goss/Jukić)

25. Kelemen, St. Clement, medieval. (photo: Goss/Jukić) / Kelemen, Sv. Klement, srednjovjekovna građevina (foto: Goss/Jukić)



Helena, etc., figs. 19 and 20). It remains to be seen if such a construction belongs to the original concept.

Rogge's complex transeptal church does not occur on our territory. Neither does his simplest, plain rectangular block. Yet, here one must interject that such buildings do occur, but exclusively linked to the military orders. A fine example, somewhat to the south of our area of investigation, is the fascinating Templar domus at Gora (ca. 1200, fig. 24), built over a Romanesque building with a rounded apse; the church at Kelemen near Varaždin (fig. 25) belongs to the same type of a simple rectangular hall, and so also does, possibly, the original western part of the church at Križovljan²⁵. Bearing in mind that SS. Petar and Pavao at Koška was also a church of the Crusader knights, one might jump to conclusion that the military orders favored rectilinear, quasi residential architecture construction. This may even be partially correct, but let us not forget that the churches at Martin (fig. 1) and Koprivna featuring ample rounded apses belonged also to the Crusaders.

Some of the building types and forms of decor of Northern, Central and East European rural Romanesque can be convincingly linked with the great colonization movement within the context of the "Renaissance of the 12th century," the main protagonists of which were the people from the north western Germanic area (Flanders, Frisia, Thuringia, Saxony, Lower Saxony). Such forms as the rounded tower, the "Zusammengesetzter Raum" plan, and the "Frisian decor," are a good indication of the presence of the colonists, which is also true for the Lands of the Crown of St. Stephen of which the medieval Salvoia was a part. Of course, the rural colonists were not alone. Ethnic structure of medieval cities of central eastern Europe confirms that they were accompanied by members of merchant and tradesmen classes too. The Cistercians and related orders, as well as the military ones, also participated in that grand move toward the North, East and Southeast. Each of these groups carried along its own vocabulary of artistic and architectural forms. Was the aisleless church with a rectilinear presbytery among them?²⁶

To the best of my knowledge, nobody has yet attempted to link its counterpart with a rounded apse to any particular group or movement. The form, although, I repeat, there is a great variety, is considered too general, too ubiquitous. In her pioneering works on the Gothic in Slavonia (1986), and the Transmontane Croatia (Hrvatsko Zagorje, 1993), Diana Vukičević-Samaržija has refused to see our aisleless churches with a rectangular sanctuary as a result of any particular historic tradition (e.g. Carolingian), technique (building in wood), or ethnic group. She only allows a po-



27. Stara Subocka, traditional Croatian home. (photo: Goss / Jukić) / Stara Subocka, tradicionalna hrvatska kuća. (foto: Goss / Jukić)

ssibility of a Cistercian influence²⁷. Today, twenty years later, we may be, I believe, a little more definitive.

Our suggestion is based on the following:

1. Investigations by Krešimir Filipec at Lobar have revealed traces of a rectangular wooden church with a squarish sanctuary datable to ca. 800 (fig. 26). The just mentioned form of the sanctuary, as well as the proportions of the nave, close to 1:2, make its plan for all practical purposes indistinguishable from those of our material, dominated by rather short and wide naves, and squarish sanctuaries. Next to it, a large, aisled church of 9th/10th century date has been discovered, and is still being excavated. Its eastern end, whatever the final form may prove to be, is certainly rectilinear. Thus the very beginning of documented architectural activity in Southern Pannonia is marked, just as at Pribina's Blatnograd, by buildings of rectilinear kind, in both wood and stone. Is it a surprise that a number of our buildings stand not far from Lobar in Central Transmontana (Gotalovec, Martinščina)²⁸?

2. Ivan Stopar has identified a fair number of buildings in the Slovene area of the Eastern Alps that he believes to date from the Carolingian period. The greatest densi-

ty occurs between the Sava and the Drava Rivers, i.e., just across the Sutla river from the Transmontane Croatia. Some of the buildings (Svete Gore) have been recognized as Pre-Romanesque long time ago, but Stopar has greatly expanded brief earlier lists. One hastens to admit that a part of Stopar's material (7 examples) is represented by very elongated aisleless buildings), but the rest includes plans based on the ratio of 1:2 or less (a similar ratio of elongated and less elongated plans occurs among the examples Stopar quotes from the architecture in the Germanic lands further North). Granted that Stopar has built his thesis on sometimes scanty remains, and very much rebuilt structures, yet his work should be an eye opener for anyone who believes that pre-12th century architecture could be found in Continental Croatia. His method of studying proportions is also a useful tool, as well as his view on masonry and quoining. In this he is in a fairly close accord with the most recent works such as McClendon's quoted above²⁹.

3. Stopar's work also leads into an area which does not seem to have been reflected in Croatia, and this is the "Chorturmkirche," very popular in the Eastern Alps, thus also in Slovenia (the highest density again being between the Sava and the Drava, and along the upper Drava river), and also popular in Scandinavia, but absent in Pannonia, and thus also in Croatia. Here the choir square is surmounted by a tower, and there may be a rounded or rectilinear apse attached to the east. In fact, what we have is either an aisleless building with a square apse carrying a tower, or a "Zusammengesetzter Raum" (with either rounded or rectilinear apse) with a tower above the choir square. Interestingly enough, among Slavonian examples of buildings with rectilinear apses there is not a single one with a tower, be it at the western facade, or in the "Chorturm" position. The "Chorturmkirche" type should also be viewed in the light of some Austrian scholars' suggestions that the original Christian sanctuary in the Eastern Alps was a solo standing tower enclosing a sanctuary, a form possibly linked to some Celtic architectural forms. Among Stopar's material I would like to single out the choir rectangle of St. Lovrenc na Dravskem polju, a slightly elongated rectangular tower featuring what is believed to be Pre-Romanesque wall structure with not too regular quoining³⁰. Although these points are not directly relevant for our topic, they considerably increase the number of potential rectilinear building forms in our vicinity. I also wonder if a combination of careful research, luck, and Stopar's methodology would not yield a few Carolingian period building on the Croatian side of the Sutla; after all, Lobar is more than a signal that we should get busy looking for them.



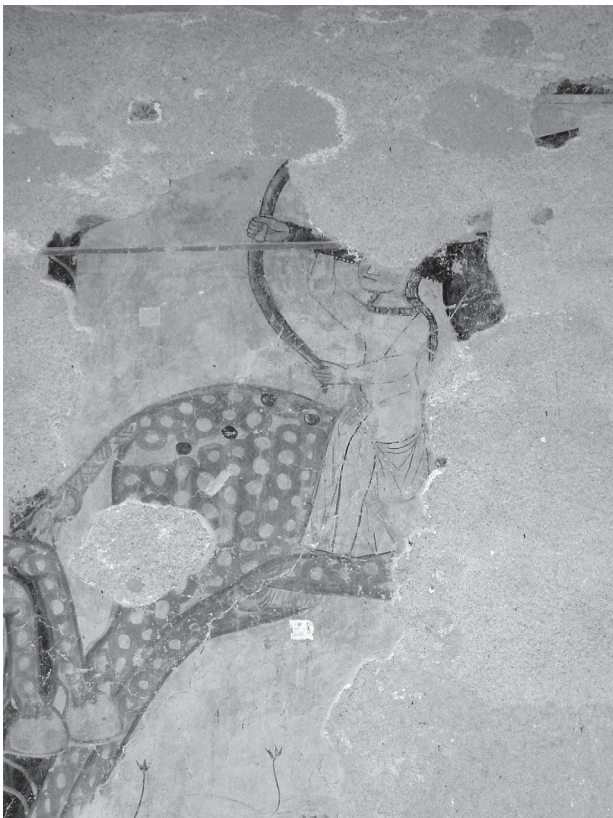
31. Novo Mesto Zelinsko, St. Peter, early 13th ct.; sanctuary vault. (photo: Goss/Jukić) / Novo Mesto Zelinsko, St. Petar, rano 13. st., svod svetišta. (foto: Goss/Jukić)

Right / Desno:
28. Stupčanica, castle, 12th ct. (?) tower, quoining. (photo: Goss/Jukić) / Stupčanica, dvorac, 12. st. (?) kula, ugaoni kvadri. (foto: Goss/Jukić)



30. Novo Mesto Zelinsko, St. Peter, early 13th ct.; legend of St. Ladislav, early 14th ct. (photo Goss/Jukić) / Novo Mesto Zelinsko, Sv. Petar, rano 13. st.; legenda o Sv. Ladislavu, rano 14. st. (foto: Goss/Jukić)

29. Garić Grad, castle, 13th ct. and earlier, quoining. (photo: Goss/Jukić) / Garić Grad, dvorac, 13. st. i ranije, ugaoni kvadri. (foto: Goss/Jukić)





32. Žehra (Slovakia), Holy Spirit, 1245. (photo: Goss/Jukić) / Žehra (Slovačka), Sveti duh, 1245. (foto: Goss/Jukić)



33. Žehra (Slovakia), Holy Spirit, 1245, sanctuary. (photo: Goss/Jukić) / Žehra (Slovačka), Sveti duh, 1245., svetište (foto: Goss/Jukić)

4. Quite closely linked to the previous point and in the light of Stopar's research, I would like to come back to McClelland's views on quoining which he sees as an equivalent to joining ends of the beams at the corners of a building³¹. The latter practice has been brought to perfection in Croatian architecture in wood (fig. 27) in the "Horvaški vez" (Croatian Tying), a system of firm, regular and safe joining of beams without any use of metal. Indeed, after Lobar we should be much less shy about discussing interactions between stone and wood. I have myself developed ideas comparable to those of McClelland observing the quoining of some among the oldest preserved buildings of Slavonian secular architecture, such as the keep at Stupčanica, and the castle of Garić (figs. 28 and 29).

5. In 2001 Bibiana Pomfyová has defended her doctoral thesis "Spišská sakrálna architektúra 13. storočia. K problému počiatkov Gotiky na Slovensku," parts of which she has subsequently made public in a series of very interesting articles. A huge number of the 96 monuments she has analyzed represent aisleless churches with a rather short aisle, the rectilinear choir in most cases square, and a western tower providing for an entrance with a portal. There is often a sacristy to the north of the sanctuary, and an additional, not infrequently more ornate portal in the center of the southern wall of the nave (figs. 32-34). The nave was originally covered by a wooden ceiling, however, in the late Gothic almost all of the naves were rebuilt and vaulted using a sin-

gle (only exceptionally two) pier in the middle of the nave which thus becomes two aisled. Shingles are used as roof cover and as an interesting concession to rich Carpathian architecture in wood (fig. 39), a timber "dach reiter" turret sometimes appears on the roof of the sanctuary. Portals are often quite rich featuring quality vegetal, but also animal and human decoration (fig. 35), which is also true of consoles and key stones (figs. 36 and 37). Placed conspicuously within the landscape, on a hillfort surrounded by peasant homes (marking, possibly, a prehistoric location), or, in plains, protected by creeks and canals (little wasserburgs), neatly whitewashed, richly frescoed inside (fig. 38), with some of their original painted and sculpted Gothic altarpieces still in situ, with imaginative Baroque onion spires and "dach reiters," the rural churches of the Spiš area are an excellent example that rural art and architecture need not be rustic. Much to the contrary, most of them are limited in scale but accomplished works of art. As Spiš was spared Turkish occupation, and in general suffered fewer storms of history, its monumental landscape may serve as a model of what less fortunate areas of Central Europe looked like between the 12th and the 15th century. In fact, that landscape has not changed all that much in its major lines and assets³².

Also, Spiš is outside the Roman limes. Doing research you will not run into the ubiquitous Roman bricks or provincial Roman stela. With a Hunic and Germanic interlude, the Slavs more or less directly settled over a Celtic land,



34. Bijacovce (Slovakia), SS. Cosmas and Damian, mid-13th ct. (photo: Goss/Jukić) / Bijacovce (Slovčka), Sveti Kuzma i Damjan, sredina 13.st. (foto: Goss/Jukić)



35. Batizovce (Slovakia), All Saints, ca. 1260, portal. (photo: Goss/Jukić) / Batizovce (Slovačka), Svi sveti, oko 1260., portal. (foto: Goss/Jukić)

probably inheriting their predecessors' territorial organization³³. Is that the reason that a rounded apse is practically unknown, and it appears only in the most important of courtly commissions such as St. Martin at Spišská Kapitula, and 2 or 3 archeologically established small 12th or early 13th century buildings³⁴? Not a single standing aisleless building with a rounded apse, not a single "Zusammengesetzter Raum!"

The Spiš (Zips) area was heavily populated by Germanic colonists in the course of the 13th century. Historically, almost all of the places bear also a German name (in addition to Slovak and Hungarian). In Hrabušice, Kapsdorf, the kostelnik who opened the church for us was Pan Kapsdorfer! Thus, the omnipresent rectilinear church with a western tower could be seen as a form linked to the colonists' ethnic origins. But there were "Saxons" in other portions of the Land of the Crown of St. Stephen, and the same type of the church (usually without the western tower) is an exception rather than a rule!

The Spiš area was, naturally, baptized centuries before the "Saxon" colonization. There must have been churches in durable materials as the remains of those very few small 12th century buildings testify. The rest must have been built in wood. With massive colonization, there was an urgent need for church building. The immigrants were used to building in durable material. Masons and stone cutters were present in Spiš ever since ca. 1100 when a monstrously huge

rounded tower was built where today stands the Spišski Hrad (Castle), constructed under the aegis of Herceg Koloman³⁵. Whereas the builders and carvers active at Spišski Hrad and the church of St. Martin and the Canons' homes at Spiška Kapitula or the Cistercian monastery at Spišski Štavník were imported, they may have provided training for the basic core of the local mason force³⁶. It would not be surprising if some of those had been trained as builders in timber, too. Indeed, they reached for the basic form of church architecture they knew, a form well-suited to both architecture in wood and in stone. A form the colonists would have also recognized as something they may have seen, but maybe to a lesser extent, at home. That the link with timber remained strong is witnessed by the fantasies introduced into old stone buildings from architecture in wood in the Baroque (fig. 39). A visit to the open-air museum at Stara Lubovna shows how some seemingly very archaic forms were still in use in domestic architecture less than a century ago.

Central Pannonian plain, classic land of the brick, and largely within the Roman limes is a different story. So the type of an aisleless church with a rounded apse is heavily dominant, but less so in Slavonia, another land of forests and wood construction, albeit also fertilized by centuries of Roman presence. After all, the Lopor discovery should remind us that the *ecclesia lignea* was built in massive numbers all over Europe between the 6th and the 13th



36. Matejovce (Slovakia), St. Stephen the King, 1287, the Wild Man. (photo: Goss/Jukić) / Matejovce (Slovačka), Sv. Stjepan kralj, 1287., Divlji čovjek. (foto: Goss/Jukić)

century, as place names such as “Holzkirche” (“...in loco qui vocatur holzkirche...”) eloquently testify³⁷.

Another form which could be seen as closely related to the type we have been discussing is an aisleless church with a narrower polygonally terminated sanctuary. It may be seen as a version of the “Zusammengesetzter Raum,” in which the polygonal ending replaced the rounded apse. Or as a rectilinear building expanded by a polygonal chevet in order to resemble the “Zusammengesetzter Raum³⁸.” Whereas the type is known throughout Europe (with numerous variants in terms of length, width, and height of the sanctuary, and its relation to the nave, all of which does not interest us here), it is worth noting that in some cases the polygonal ending is a part of a building which is otherwise perfectly “Romanesque,” or, in other words, shows no alterations to a unified original concept. Such buildings, mostly from the later 13th century have been identified in southwestern Hungary (Bük, Csesztreg, Szenyér, Velemér; Csesztreg used to be in Zagreb Bishopric)³⁹. Buildings which seem to belong to the same type are Holy Spirit at Bedenica, Holy Spirit at Prigorac, and the controversial church of Holy Cross at Križ⁴⁰. However, there is another possibility which has to be born in mind in the case of the buildings which have not been subject to a thorough archeological excavation. As the church at Spišská Bela shows, the polygonal ending was added to the choir square, turning the building into “true Gothic.” One wonders how often buildings with a square choir were subject to such transformations. Our church at Mali Raven, built toward the end of the 15th ct., replaced a wooden church⁴¹ (figs. 22 and 23).

Our inventory of aisleless buildings with rectangular sanctuaries has somewhat grown in the last two decades. Unfortunately, as most of them still await a thorough archeological investigation, many questions must remain unanswered. Yet, one may quite safely conclude that we are dealing with an internationally well-known type, of northern origin, and not unlikely linked to the architecture in wood, although much remains to be done until one can speak more precisely about the nature and history of that relationship. Slavonia possesses a fair number of such buildings, unfortunately none in a particularly good condition. Yet such buildings as SS. Petar and Pavao in Koška, St. Petar in Novo Mesto Zelinsko, and St. Martin in Martinščina, incomplete as they appear to us today, can stand their ground when compared to the Spiš examples. Like them, our buildings are small but accomplished works of art (figs. 6, 30, 31) in terms of their architectural concept, sculptural decor, and color, a little corner of paradise our ancestors created to escape to from the vicissitudes of an unruly, hard and sinful

37. Hrabušice (Slovakia), St. Lawrence, second half of the 13th ct., vault. (photo: Goss/Jukić) / Hrabušice (Slovačka), Sv. Lovro, druga polovica 13. st., svetište. (foto: Goss/Jukić)





38. Velka Lomnica (Slovakia), St. Catherine, second half of the 13th ct., legend of St. Ladislav (14th ct.). (photo: Goss/Jukić) / Velka Lomnica (Slovačka), Sv. Katarina, druga polovica 13. st., legenda o Svetom Ladislavu (14.st.) (foto: Goss/Jukić)

39. Stara Lubovna (Slovakia), Open Air Museum, wooden church of St. Martin from Matysova, 1833. (photo: Goss/Jukić) / Stara Lubovna (Slovačka, muzej na otvorenom, drvena crkva Sv. Martina iz Matysova, 1833. (foto: Goss/Jukić)



everyday world. Both physically and spiritually they are a clearly identifiable form of our medieval cultural landscape, a recognizable element contributing to its rich variety.

BILJEŠKE

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2 Everything is, of course, relative. But in comparison with what our part of the world has gone through, the named regions appear as peaceful and placid.

3 A good example of a study depicting those upheavals is S. PAVIČIĆ, *Moslavina i okolina*. Zbornik Moslavine, I, 1968, 7-168.

4 For the earliest types of dwellings and agglomerations, L. MUMFORD, *The City in History*, New York, 1961, pp. 3-28.

5 A. MOHOROVIČIĆ, *Problem tipološke klasifikacije objekata srednjovjekovne arhitekture na području Istre i Kvarnera*, Zagreb, 1957, pp. 488-489; M. PRELOG, *Poreč, grad i spomenici*, Beograd, 1957, pp. 116-118; A. ŠONJE, *Crkvena arhitektura zapadne Istre*, Zagreb, 1982, pp. 22-24. For a most recent review of the earliest Christians dwellings, C. B. McCLENDON, *The Origins of Medieval Architecture*, New Haven, 2005, pp. 3-4.

6 E. ROGGE, *Einschiffige romanische Kirche in Friesland und ihre Gestaltung*, Oldenburg, 1943.

7 E. ROGGE (1943.), pp. 47, 76, 77-91, 92-98.

8 E. ROGGE (1943.), p. 30.

9 C. McCLENDON (2005.), p. 60, 65.

10 Ibid., pp. 72-83.

11 Ibid., p. 82.

12 Ibid, loc. cit. and pp. 40-41, 43-46.G

13 Ibid., pp. 104-105, 152-153, 153-158, 171-172.

14 Ibid., pp. 60-64.

15 As the beginning and the end of a long chain I would just list my Ph. D. Thesis *Pre-Romanesque and early Romanesque Architecture in Croatia*, Cornell University, 1972, and based on that research, V. P. GOSS, *Early Croatian Architecture*, London 1987, pp. 42-43; and V. P. GOSS, *Josef Strzygowski and Early Medieval Art in Croatia*, »Acta Historiae Artium«, XLVII, 2006, 335-343. Also, J. STRZYGOWSKI, *Starohrvatska umjetnost*, Zagreb, 1927, pp. 186-187.

16 K. FILIPEC, *10 Jahre archäologischer Grabung in Lobor (1998-2007)*, »Hortus artium medievalium«, XIII/2, 2007, 411-422.

17 For an up-to-date introductory to the art of the Romanesque in medieval Slavonia, with copious literature, V. P. GOSS, *A Reemerging World - Prolegomena to an Introduction to Earlier Medi-*

eval Art Between the Sava and the Drava Rivers, »Starohrvatska prosvjeta«, 3rd ser. XXXII, 2005, 91-112.

18 L. OKROŠA-ROŽIĆ, *Ostaci romaničke crkve u Kamešnici*, »Cris«, V, 2003, pp. 80-83.

19 M. ZADNIKAR, *Romanska umetnost*, Ljubljana, 1970, p. 76.

20 I. WALTER, *Árpád-kori téglatemplomok nyugat-dunántúlon*, Budapest, 2004. A good albeit brief survey of typology of the Romanesque architecture in Slavonia has been provided by VANDA KARAČ, *Romanička sakralna arhitektura na području Slavonije, Srijema, Baranje i Bačke*, abstract of the paper presented at Arheološka istraživanja u Slavoniji i Baranji, Osijek 27-29, 05. 92. We are very grateful to Vanda and Zlatko Karač for generously sharing the results of their research with us.

21 Here is a selection of my works dealing with the building, and with the problem of dissemination of architectural forms of rural Romanesque throughout Northern, Central, and Eastern Europe: V. P. GOSS, *Crkva Sv. Bartola u Novim Miklavcima - romanika između Save i Drave i Europska Kultura*, »Peristil«, LXVI, 2004, 5-12; *Sv. Marija u Bapskoj - ponovo nakon trideset i pet godina*, »Peristil«, LXVII, 2004, 5-14; *A Reemerging World - Prolegomena to an Introduction to Earlier Medieval Art Between the Sava and the Drava Rivers*, »Starohrvatska prosvjeta«, 3rd ser. XXXII, 2005, 91-112; V. GVOZDANOVIĆ, *Crkva Majke Božje u Moroviću*, »Peristil«, XII-XIII, 1969-70, 15-22; *Vrijednost romaničke arhitekture u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj i kapela Sv. Marije u Bapskoj*, »Arhitektura«, CVI, 1970, 64-68; *Sv. Dimitrije u Brodskom Drenovcu*, »Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu«, 3rd ser. V, 1971, 211-222.; V. GVOZDANOVIĆ-GOSS, *Moravia's History Reconsidered, the Tomb of St. Methodius and the Church of Our Lady at Morović*, »East European Quarterly«, XVI, 1980, 487-498. My 1969-70 study contains a very large list of buildings of the »Zusammengesetzter Raum« type in eastern Central Europe.

22 We would like to remind the reader that this is not an attempt to deal with the buildings individually, but with their significance within the cultural landscape of the medieval Slavonia. Therefore, we refrain from treating any of the buildings in a monograph way, for which, in most of the cases, there is at this point no sufficient preparatory archeological research. Here are some basic references: For the examples in Zagorje (Transmontane Croatia) please see D. VUKIČEVIĆ-SAMARŽIJA, *Gotičke crkve Hrvatskog Zagorja*, Zagreb, 1993, pp. 46-47, 148-151, 175-177, 217 (Beletinec, Gotalovec, Martinščina, Bartolovec; the author also lists the church in Sopot as Renaissance). There seems to be another such church in the area, the remains of which have been excavated by J. Belaj in Ivanec. Please see, J. BELAJ, *Arheološko naslijeđe viteških redova na sjeverozapadnom prostoru središnje Hrvatske*, Master's Thesis, University of Zagreb, 2001, p. 65. It may date from early 13th ct., or even earlier. For Slavonija; D. VUKIČEVIĆ-SAMARŽIJA, *Sakralna gotička arhitektura u Slavoniji*, Zagreb, 1986, pp. 33-34, 102, 141, 151-152, 155-156 (Glogovica, Srednji Lipovac, Velika, Zdenci); and B. VALENČIĆ and T. PAPIĆ, *Župna crkva Sv. Petra i Pavla u Koški*, Koška, 1992 for Koška; for Zagreb Cismontana (Prigorje), L. DOBRONIĆ, *Po starom Moravcu*, Zagreb, 1979, pp. 57-61, 65-70, 97-98 (Kladišćica, Novo Mesto Zelinsko), I. SRŠA, *Kapela Sv. Petra u Novom Mestu*, »Kaj«, XXXI, 1998, 67-96, A. AZINOVIĆ, *Novo Mesto - Kapela Sv. Petra*, »Obavijesti«, XXXI, 2002, 130-141 (Novo Mesto Zelinsko); for the Moslavina - Bilogora region, S. KOŽUL, *Sakralna umjetnost bjelovarskog kraja*, Zagreb, 1999, pp. 269, 497-500, 698 (Dišnik, Gornji Križ, Veliki Grđevac), and T. TKALČEC, *Srednjovjekovna*

- gradišta u Hrvatskoj*, Master Thesis, University of Zagreb, 2004, pp. 124–127 (Mala Črešnjevica) and D. VUKIČEVIĆ-SAMARŽIJA, *Tri priloga istraživanju sakralne gotičke arhitekture u Slavoniji*, »Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti«, XXVII, 2003, 55–65 (Mala Črešnjevica); for the Kalnik Cismontana (Prigorje), Ž. DOMLJAN, ed., *Križevci – grad i okolica*, Zagreb, 1993, pp. 348–351, 358–360, 365–366 (Miholec, Mali Raven, Sv. Helena).
- 23 E. ROGGE (1943.), figs. 116–127. Rogge sees this type also as a form of *Zusammengesetzter Raum*.
- 24 I. WALTER (2004.), figs. 50, 78, 86, 87, 88, 95, 96.
- 25 D. MILETIĆ, *Župna crkva Uznesenja B.D. Marije u Gori*, »Godišnjak zaštite spomenika kulture Hrvatske«, XXIII, 1997, 127–152. V. P. GOSS, *Kamen iz Križovljana nakon kamena iz Belca*, »Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju«, XXII, 2005, 187–198.
- 26 V. P. GOSS, *Renesansa 12. st. i Hrvatska*, in print by Dani Cvite Fiskovića 2003. Here are some key studies on the topic, in addition to my own listed in the note 21: E. DEN HARTOG, *De Oudste Kerken van Holland*, Utrecht, 2002; C. REITSCHEL – B. LANGHOF, *Dorfkirchen in Sachsen*, Berlin, 1968; E. ROGGE, *Einschffige Romanische Kirchen in Friesland und Ihre Gestaltung*, Oldenburg, 1943; V. ROTH, *Die Deutsche Kunst in Siebenbürgen*, Berlin, 1936; A. TUULSE, *Scandinavia Romanica*, Wien and München, 1968; S. J. VAN DER MOLEN – P. VOGT, *Romanse Kerken van het Noordereft*, Zutphen, 1981; M. ZADNIKAR, *Die Chorturmkirchen in Slowenien*, »Særtryck ur Fornvännen«, IV, 1967, 241–256. Also, Z. KARAČ, *Urbanistički razvitak srednjovjekovnog Vukovara*, »Starohrvatska prosvjeta«, 3rd ser. 21, 1995, 24–273.
- 27 D. VUKIČEVIĆ-SAMARŽIJA (1986.), pp. 33–34, Ead. (1993.), pp. 46–47.
- 28 See note 16. Also M. MORDOVIN, *The Building History of Zalavár-Récéskút Church*, »Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU«, XII, 2006, 9–32.
- 29 I. STOPAR, *Karolinška arhitektura na Slovenskem*, Ljubljana, 1987, especially plates I–X. Also notes 10–14 above.
- 30 K. GINHART et. al, *Die Bildende kunst in Oesterreich – Vorromanische und Romanische Zeit*, Vienna, 1937, pp. 18–19, 59–61; P. VON BALDAS, W. BUCHOWIECKI, and W. MRAZEK, *Romanische Kunst in Oesterreich*, Vienna, n.d., pp. 6–7; H. KÜCHNEL, ed., *Romanische Kunst in Oesterreich*, Exhibition Catalogue, Krems an der Donau, 1964, pp. 35, 234–235, 273; I. STOPAR (1987), pp. 39–40. There is apparently one candidate for Chorturmkirche in medieval Continentla Croatia, at Kolunić in Western Bosnia (14th ct.), now in ruins. Please see Enciklopedija likovnih umjetnosti, III, Zagreb, 1964, p. 209.
- 31 Above, note 10. Lj. TOPALI, *Drvene crkvice i seljačko drveno graditeljstvo u Turopolju*, Zagreb, 1941. especially figs. 36–38.
- 32 BIBIANA POMFYOVA, *Spiška sakralna arhitektura 13. storočia – k problemu počiatkov gotyki na Slovensku*, Ph. D. Thesis, Bratislava, 2001. Also by the same author: B. POMFYOVA, VACLAV MENCL, *A spiška sakralna architecture 13. storočia*, in: *Život a dielo Vaclava Mencla na Slovensku*, Bratislava, 1999, pp. 89–98; *K niektorým otazkam hodnotenia stredovekej architektury na Slovensku*, »Ars«, I–III, Bratislava, 2000, 33–60; *Sučasny obraz soiškej sakralnej architektury do konca 13. storočia*, »Studia archeologica Slovaca medievalia«, III–IV, 2000–2001, 295–315; *Výbrane problémy k dejinam Spiškej stredovekej architektury*, in: *Terra Sepulcensis*, Levoča, 2003, pp. 177–189: *Gotika*, in: DUŠAN BURAN, ed., *Dejiny slovenskeho vytvarneho umenia*, Bratislava, 2003, pp. 38–109. Here are some examples from Ms. Pomfyova's dissertation: Batizovce (ca. 1264), Bijacovce (ca. 1260), Brutovce (1319), Ganovce (second half of the 13th ct.), Janovce (ca. 1280), Križova Ves (late 13th ct.), Mengusovce (1398), Poprad/St. Egidius (1326), Spiška Bela (mid-13th ct.), Žehra (mid-13th ct.), see sub nomine. Also, figs. 40, 50, 62, 84, 96, 101, 104, 131, 137, 143, pl. VII.
- 33 I. CHALUPECKY et al, *Spiški Hrad*, Košice, 2003, pp. 17, 99.
- 34 B. POMFYOVA (2001), pp. 173 (Kežmarok), 221–226 (St. Martin at Spiška Kapitula), 258 (Vlkova), to which one may add St. Mikulaš at Stara Levoča (oral information by the author). There are, however, some centrally planned buildings. Please see MARTIN VANČO, *Stredoveke rotundy na Slovensku*, Bratislava, 2000.
- 35 I. CHALUPECKY et al. (2003), p. 18.
- 36 Ibid, p. 19.
- 37 W. ZIMMERMANN, *Ecclesia lignea et ligneis tabulis fabricata*, »Bonner Jahrbuch«, CLVIII, 1958, 414–453
- 38 I have dealt with this question in a preliminary way in my article in »Starohrvatska prosvjeta« (GOSS, 2005), pp. 100–101, and in What Josef Strygowski did not Know in Immagine e ideologia. Studi in Onore di Arturo Carlo Quintavalle, Parma, 2007 pp. 583–593.
- 39 I. WALTER (2004), pp. 141, 143, 166, 168.
- 40 L. DOBRONIĆ (1979), pp. 14–16; D. VUKIČEVIĆ-SAMARŽIJA (1993), pp. 188–189, Z. HORVAT, *Nove spoznaje o župnim crkvama u Kloštar Ivaniću, Križu i Dubravi*, »Godišnjak zaštite spomenika kulture Hrvatske«, XXIII, 1997, 95–110.
- 41 B. POMFYOVA (2001), pp. 217–218. Indeed, no expert could tell from the outside that the southern chapel of the totally rebuilt church at Bartolovec (fig. 19) is in fact a square sanctuary of a medieval church. Or, take for example the church at Mali Raven (figs. 22 and 23), where a curving Baroque termination was added to a square sanctuary. How many surprises may still await us! For Mali Raven. Ž. DOMLJAN ed. (1993), pp. 358–359.

Sažetak

Vladimir P. Goss, Nina Šepić

Osvrt na neke crkve s pravokutnim svetištem u srednjovjekovnoj Slavoniji

Cilj ovog rada je istražiti mjesto i ulogu fenomena koji se pojavio u srednjovjekovnoj Slavoniji s naglaskom na prostoru između Save i Drave u periodu između 9. i 15. stoljeća, a riječ je o jednobrodnoj crkvi s kvadratnim ili pravokutnim svetištem, ne pozivajući se na stilska obilježja predromanike, romanike ili gotike jer njihova uloga ovdje nije toliko važna. Nažalost, mnogobrojne srednjovjekovne građevine kontinentalne Hrvatske uništene su turskim ratnim razaranja potkraj 15. stoljeća do kraja 17. stoljeća. Kako su one mogle izgledati i kako je uopće mogao izgledati srednjovjekovni kulturni krajobraz Slavonije koji je nepovratno izgubljen pitanje je koje se provlači ovim člankom. U približavanju moguće slike autori posežu za primjerima u krajevima koji su nasreću izbjegli takve ratne strahote i u kojima se bolje sačuvao srednjovjekovni kulturni pejzaž. U našem širem okružju to je ponajprije područje Spiša u Slovačkoj i dijelovi Transilvanije koji pomažu u rekonstruiranju mogućeg izgleda srednjovjekovnog kulturnog pejzaža Slavonije. U obzir su također uzeta i istraživanja ruralne romanike, posebice Elimara Roggea o romaničkoj umjetnosti u Friziji, gdje su predstavljeni gotovo svi tipovi romaničkih ruralnih crkvenih objekata od Sjevernog mora do Poljske i Transilvanije te od Skandinavije do Balkana, a neke od njih poznavala je i srednjovjekovna Slavonija, točnije tri tipa građevina. Ponajprije to je jednobrodna crkva s polukružnom apsidom koja se u periodu od 1100. do 1300. godine često pojavljuje na području između Save i Drave (Stenjevec, Gračani, Petrova Gora, Kamešnica, Turnišće, Rudina, Podborje, Ratkovića, Lovčić, Martin, Koprivna, Đakovački Selci, Vinkovci – Meraja, Borinci, Bapska, Lapovac, Rakovačka zidina), a ima i primjera kada je polukružna apsida vjerojatno zamijenjena kasnijim oblicima kao npr. u Novim Mikanovcima, Markuševcu, Vugrovcu, Pregradi i Dragotinu, ili je pak srušena apsida te je »romanička građevina« pretvorena u gotičku s pravokutnim svetištem kao što to pokazuje primjer u Kamešnici. Iako te građevine pripadaju istoj tipologiji, postoje znakovite razlike i nepodudarnosti u tretiranju oblika. Zatim »Zusammengesetzter Raum« – građevina s polukružnom apsidom, nadsvođenim kvadratnim ili pomalo produljenim korom i širokim nenadsvođenim brodom s mogućnošću tornja (kod nas Naša Gospa u Moroviću). Tip je čest u Friziji, Saskoj i Schleswig-Hollsteinu, odakle je dopro do Skandinavije, istočne i jugoistočne Europe, pa sve do Kosova. Ima je i u Transilvaniji, ali nije česta u drugim krajevima zemalja Krune sv. Stjepana. I naposljetku jednobrodna građevina s pravokutnim ili kvadratnim svetištem sa crkvenim tornjićem ili bez njega (Beletinec, Gotalovec, Martinščina, Bartolovec, Kladišćica, Novo Mesto Zelinsko, Dišnik, Mala Črešnjevica, Veliki Grđevac, Glogovica, Srednji Lipovac, Brodski Zdenci, Koška). Takav tip građevine autori definiraju kao nordijski, dok je onaj s apsidom »ortodoksno humanistički« mediteranski. Važnu ulogu u formiranju arhitektonskih oblika u Karpatskom bazenu odigrali su doseljenici iz donjonjemačkih krajeva koji su u periodu »renesanse 12.stoljeća« kolonizirali dijelove Slavonije donoseći i stil gradnje naučen u matičnoj zemlji. Autori se pitaju je li pritom riječ o jednobrodnoj crkvi s pravokutnim svetištem? Unatoč identifikaciji brojnih crkava s pravokutnim svetištem u posljednja dva desetljeća, među kojima mnoge čekaju arheološko istraživanje i prema tome mnogi odgovori ostaju nedorečeni, ipak se može ustvrditi kako je to tip građevine čiji korijeni sežu put sjevera kao i vjerojatna veza s gradnjom u drvu. Tu nam kao poseban putokaz služe otkrića i radovi Krešimira Filipeca na Loboru, Ivana Stopara o karolinškoj arhitekturi u Sloveniji, nova sinteza Charlesa McCledona o arhitekturi ranog srednjeg vijeka koja ne zaobilazi pitanje gradnje u drvu te nerimskih uzora i istraživanja srednjovjekovne arhitekture u Spišu Bibiane Pomfyove. Nažalost ni jedna od slavonskih crkava s pravokutnim svetištem nije dobro sačuvana, ali ipak, neke građevine – primjerice crkvu sv. Petra i Pavla u Koški, crkvu sv. Petra u Novome Mestu Zelinskom i crkvu sv. Martina u Martinščini – možemo usporediti s onima u Spišu. Slično kao i u Spišu, one su mala, ali dotjerana i vrijedna umjetnička djela koja odražavaju duh jednog vremena i ostavljaju mu svoj pečat kao važna sastavnica srednjovjekovnog kulturnog pejzaža.