

CROATICA CHRISTIANA PERIODICA

ČASOPIS INSTITUTA ZA CRKVENU POVIJEST
KATOLIČKOGA BOGOSLOVNOG FAKULTETA SVEUČILIŠTA U ZAGREBU

God. XXXIX

Zagreb, 2015.

Broj 76

rasprave i prilozi

UDK 73.03(4:497.5)“10/11”

7.033.4(497.5)“10/11”

Izvorni znanstveni rad

Primljeno: 20. siječnja 2015.

Prihvaćeno za objavljivanje: 14. travnja 2015.

SACRAL CONNECTION BETWEEN CONTINENTAL CROATIA AND THE WEST: EVIDENCE OF THE ROMANESQUE FIGURAL SCULPTURE

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This paper considers some aspects of the very inadequately studied field of the Romanesque figural sculpture in Continental Croatia. The main objective is to provide a balanced view of the local and foreign influences, i.e., to establish a context of both local tradition (e.g., the sculpture in wood albeit known only from non-visual sources), and imported models, i.e., medieval manuscripts, sculpture in metal, and coins all of which were present as imports from the West in the medieval Slavonia. The Romanesque sculpture of Continental Croatia, of the 12th ct. in particular, appears as »membra disiecta« and no definitive analogies with materials in question could be ascertained. Yet at least one can provide a framework for future in-depth studies of particular monuments. The art of the early 13th century, though, reflects a belated influence of the »Twelfth Century Renaissance« as witnessed by Topusko, Gora, and, in particular, the sculpture of Medvedgrad, and thus could be more successfully placed within a common European context.

KEY WORDS: *Figural sculpture, Romanesque art, Continental Croatia, Rudina, Sculpture in wood, Medieval manuscripts.*

The medieval art of Continental Croatia has been a subject of growing scholarly interest in the last two decades, both in terms of locating and detailed investigation of individual monuments.¹ Yet, adequate studies are still missing in case of many important monuments

¹ Vladimir Peter GOSS, *Registar položaja i spomenika ranije srednjovjekovne umjetnosti u međuriječju Save i Drave*, Institut za povijest umjetnosti, Zagreb, 2012, passim. This book is the best example that shows the progress made in terms of recognizing the medieval cultural layer on the territory of continental Croatia.

(e.g., the monasteries at Nuštar and Bijela), or some spots are studied in the past but did not properly researched so, only what we have today is an undoubtedly very important, but incomplete studies (best example is the Cathedral of Zagreb and very important but incomplete study made by Ana Deanović and several other researcher).² So, one may conclude that in some cases we are getting close to being able to place monuments and groups within their place and time. Also, some possible connections with the neighboring countries, Hungary in particular, are being recognized and thanks to those insights, a network of connections between Continental Croatia and the rest of the Romanesque Europe is being established.³

An interesting connection is the appearance of the »Renaissance of the twelfth century« that is in Southern Pannonia delayed to the early 13th century.⁴ This phenomenon is especially linked with the immigration of the »Saxons«, a conglomerate of rural population of the Northwestern Europe. But there are also phenomena in Continental Croatia that can be linked to the mainstream. Good examples are the churches at Gora and Topusko. The abbey at Topusko was built by the Cistercians invited by King Andrew II (1205 – 1235) in the best manner of French Gothic which reached Topusko via Pannonhalma.⁵ Gora was given to the Templars a few years earlier (probably by king Bela III in 1196, and confirmed by Andrew II on 1209),⁶ who constructed a wonderful Early Gothic church discovered underneath Baroque layers after the damage the building had suffered in the course of the Liberation War.⁷ These connections continue throughout the first half of the 13th century mostly thanks to a cultural »mini-Renaissance« in the *Pannonia Savia* (Southwestern Pannonia) under the patronage of Herceg (Duke) Koloman (1226 – 1241) and Bishop Stjepan II of Zagreb (1225 – 1247) revealed primarily by the presence of the royal workshops, such as one that did the décor at the Medvedgrad Chapel. Here, one is first of all referring to the two column biting lions behind the altar, and the pair of Atlantes above the entrance of the Chapel which, along with the last breath of the Romanesque, introduce the spirit of

² Ana DEANOVIĆ et al., *Zagrebačka katedrala*, Globus – Kršćanska sadašnjost, Zagreb, 1988. This study is good but mostly deals with later layers of the Cathedral of Zagreb.

³ This paper is published without any pictures because main topic is connection between Continental Croatia and the west. Still, any piece of sculpture mentioned in this paper could be found published in quoted literature.

⁴ For example: Vladimir Peter GOSS, *Četiri stoljeća europske umjetnosti 800. – 1200., pogled s jugoistoka*, Golden marketing – Tehnička knjiga, Zagreb, 2010, pp. 153-154; Vladimir Peter GOSS, »Renesansa 12. stoljeća i Hrvatska« in: *Renesansa i renesanse u umjetnosti Hrvatske, Zbornik Dana Cvita Fiskovića 2*, (edited by Predrag MARKOVIĆ – Jasenka GUDELJ), Institut za povijest umjetnosti, Zagreb, 2008, pp. 417-426; Danko DUJMOVIĆ – Vjekoslav JUKIĆ, »The “Koloman Renaissance” in: North Western Croatia – An Unfinished Project« in *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* (2010) III/ 37, pp. 171-182.

⁵ V. P. GOSS, *Četiri stoljeća europske umjetnosti*, pp. 191 and 210.

⁶ Tadija SMIČIKLAS (ed.), *Codex Diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae Vol. III*, HAZU, Zagreb, 1905, pp. 84-89, document 74.

⁷ Drago MILETIĆ, »Župna crkva uznesenja B. D. Marije u Gori« in: *Godišnjak zaštite spomenika kulture Hrvatske* (1997) 23, pp. 127-152; Juraj BELAJ, »Prikaz arheoloških istraživanja crkve Uznesenja Blažene Djevice Marije u Gori tijekom 2008 i 2009 godine« in: *Antiquam fidem. Zbornik radova sa znanstvenog skupa o Sisačkoj biskupiji* (edited by Darko TEPERT – Spomenka JURIĆ), Glas Koncila, Zagreb, 2011, pp. 121-147; Drago MILETIĆ – Marina VALJATO-FABRIS, »Rekonstrukcija templarskog sloja župne crkve Uznesenja Blažene Djevice Marije u Gori« in: *Portal* (2014) 5, pp. 49-70.

the mature Gothic *à la* Villard de Honnecourt.⁸ Also, the monumental western rose of St. Mary Magdalene at Čazma could be linked to the Cathedral at Bamberg.⁹

One of the key players in those European connections were the monastic orders, the Benedictines in the 12th ct., as demonstrated by the capital exhibition *Paradisum Plantavit* (Panninhalma 2001), showing their significance for the entire territory of the Lands of the Crown of St. Stephen.¹⁰ A key role was also played by the Templars, who built the already mentioned Early Gothic church at Gora, linked by Drago Miletić with the refined products of the early French Gothic. The Canons of the Holy Sepulcher who had their seat at Glogovnica (ca. 1200), albeit more conservative, have left us at least one future oriented piece of sculpture within their fundus at Glogovnica, an enthroned knight whose regal stance and serenity led some of the scholars to identify him as *Godefroy de Bouillon*, the founder and patron of the Canons. The most influential order in the 13th century are the Dominicans who became the trusted lever of the Hungarian royal policy. They stand behind the monumental church at Čazma, the sculpture of which, be it decorative or figural (only a fragment of a warrior's head has been preserved), can stand comparison with the quality production of the West.¹¹

All those examples, though, address primarily the question »wherefrom?«, rather than »how?« The quality of some of the examples indicates import not just of ideas but of masters themselves (royal workshops at Čazma and Medvedgrad in the years just before the Tartar invasion of 1242). However, what about some connections which are merely hinted at? Of other patrons, beyond the top secular and religious elites? What are the routes the influences were able to enter Continental Croatia? A rich field of inquiry still to be researched.

For example, in Topusko, the monks had a full support of the highest secular orders but this may not have been the rule. Even so, the key bearers of the new ideas must have been foreign, well versed in the newest trends prevalent in Western Europe. It is known that the Benedictine abbey at Somogyvár housed exclusively monks from St. Gilles-du-Gard in the Languedoc.¹² Also, it is hard to believe that every ecclesiastical community which

⁸ V. P. GOSS, *Četiri stoljeća europske umjetnosti*, pp. 215; Imre TAKÁCS, »The French Connection – On the Courtenay Family and Villard de Honnecourt a propos of the 13th century Incised Slab from Pilis Abbey« in: *Künstlerische Wechselwirkungen in Mitteleuropa* (edited by Jiří FAJT – Markus HÖRSCH), Thorbecke, Ostfildern, 2006, pp. 11-26.

⁹ Josip STOŠIĆ, »Srednjovjekovna umjetnička svjedočanstva o Zagrebačkoj biskupiji« in: *Sveti trag: devetsto godina umjetnosti zagrebačke nadbiskupije* (edited by Tugomir LUKŠIĆ – Ivanka REBERSKI), Muzejsko-galerijski centar – Institut za povijest umjetnosti – Zagrebačka nadbiskupija, Zagreb, 1994, pp. 110-130 and Josip STOŠIĆ, »Crkva sv. Marije Magdalene u Čazmi« in: *Čazma u prošlom mileniju* (edited by Josip PANDURIĆ – Nino ŠKRABE), Disput, Zagreb, 2001, pp. 69-72. He was first researcher of the church of St. Mary Magdalene at Čazma and he pointed out connections between Northwestern Croatia and West Europe. Please see also and Maja CEPETIĆ – Vladimir Peter GOSS, »A Note on the Rose Window in Čazma and on the Presence of the Royal Workshops in Medieval Slavonia« in: *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* (2010) III/37, pp. 179–187.

¹⁰ Imre TAKÁCS (ed.), *Paradisum plantavit: Bencés monostorok a középkori Magyarországon/ Benedictine monasteries in medieval Hungary*, Pannonhalmi Bencés Főapátság, Pannonhalma, 2001, passim.

¹¹ Maja CEPETIĆ, *Biskupski posjedi Dubrava, Ivanić i Čazma u 12. i 13. stoljeću: teritorijalna organizacija, naselja i spomenici*. (PhD Thesis), Filozofski fakultet, Zagreb, 2015, pp. 295-321.

¹² Miljenko JURKOVIĆ, »Jedan primjer hrvatsko-ugarskih veza u 12. stoljeću – PROPRIO SVMPTV HANC TURRIM SANCTAE MARIAE UNGARIAE DALMATIAE CHROATIAE CONSTRVI ET ERIGI IVSSIT

settled within the Lands of the Crown of St. Stephen was accompanied by a high quality workshop. But those that had come could have trained many a local hand. Is there the explanation of that wonderful style, so deeply linked to the *genius loci*, not any more Romanesque, never absolutely Gothic which came into being within the Lands of the Crown of St. Stephen around the end of the 12th ct.? And, what about the influences of other media i.e., sculpture in wood or metal, of manuscript illumination, or coinage?

As opposed to the above, the art of sculpture in wood is mainly a local phenomenon. Unfortunately, we can judge it only through extra-visual evidence, such as place names or narrative tradition, as there is no sculpture in wood preserved before the late medieval period. The territory of Continental Croatia was densely forested. The incoming Early Slavs had brought along the idea of wooden sanctuaries and wooden statuary. Unfortunately, the state of preservation of such works is none. There appears to be no preserved wooden church from the Middle Ages, except for meager traces of one such building from the 9th ct. at Lobar.¹³ Also, no traces of wooden sculpture have been preserved, and it can only be guessed at from a handful of place names (e.g., Stari kip, Kip, Treglava, Trojeglava, etc.). The impact of sculpture in wood has been noted in the case of the largest group of the 12th ct. fragments – Rudina. Writing about Rudina, Željko Tomičić has noted that »those were works by woodcutters which fired the sculptors' imagination when carving the unique figures of the frieze in stone in the late Romanesque period...«¹⁴ This »unskillful skill« of the workshop should be viewed in the light of the lack of experience in stone carving, and not in any lack of inspiration or artistic concept. Such a statement is, of course, difficult to support under the present-day circumstances, but distant references such as the carvings of Oseberg show the potentials of the art of carving in wood when done by real masters.¹⁵ Here one should point out two important factors. On one hand, it is difficult to assess problems occurring when switching from stone to wood as some of the motifs are harder to translate than the other, adding to the »crudeness« of the work. On the other, the Romanesque form is »looser«, as it is made with a clear emphasis on content and expression while paying less attention to symmetry or elegance as does the sculpture of later more idealizing periods. Both factors reveals that they are works clearly within the expectations of the time, while the level of expression shows that we are dealing with capable sculptors who, by using a few details (e.g., eyes, mouth), could convey a wide range of feelings from fear and despair to force and serenity.

This element of the narrative brings us to manuscripts as another possible source of figural sculpture. Manuscripts are portable, and they are also carriers of iconological elements as

REX COLOMANVS« in: *Hrvatska/Mađarska. Stoljetne književne i likovno-umjetničke veze [Horvátország/Magyarország. Évszázados irodalmi és képzőművészeti kapcsolatok]* (edited by Jadranka DAMJANOV), Društvo hrvatskih književnika, Zagreb, 1995, pp. 13-17; I. TAKÁCS (ed.), *Paradisum plantavit*, pp. 681.

¹³ Vladimir Peter GOSS, »A Reemerging World – Prolegomena to an Introduction to Earlier Medieval Art Between the Sava and the Drava Rivers« in: *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* (2005) III/32, pp. 99-101; Krešimir FILIPEĆ, *Arheološko – povijesni vodič po svetištu crkve Majke Božje Gorske u Loboru*, Općina Lobar – Župni ured sv. Ane – Odsjek za arheologiju, Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, Lobar – Zagreb, 2008, pp. 67-68.

¹⁴ Željko TOMIČIĆ, »Novije arheološke spoznaje o Rudini« in *Radovi zavoda za znanstveni i umjetnički rad u Požezi* (2013) 2, pp. 50.

¹⁵ V. P. GOSS, *Četiri stoljeća europske umjetnosti*, pp. 28.

books deal with the holy matter. They are indispensable in any ecclesiastical community. Donations of books not infrequently carry consequences of historical proportions, as well documented by the case of the early library of Zagreb Cathedral.¹⁶

A material witness of the use of sacred books have been established at Rudina by a discovery of fragments of metal book covers from the 15th ct.,¹⁷ and it is reasonable to assume that the monastery possessed a library at much an earlier date. The already mentioned Zagreb Cathedral library is a good example of the inflow of the sacred books, still to be fully explained and evaluated, e.g., Metropolitan Library MR 153, MR 164 and MR 138.¹⁸ At first they were linked to Duh, the first bishop of Zagreb, and now mostly to some Hungarian centers, in particular Győr or Esztergom. There are no obvious links with the figural sculpture of Continental Croatia but some mannerisms are rather interesting, e.g., St. Luke (MR 153), the large almond shaped eyes of whom, recall some of the Rudina brackets. Yet, the oldest preserved manuscripts of Zagreb show how in Continental Croatia and the adjacent lands there were books from various parts of Europe, potential models for figural sculpture. Here are a few examples.

It is Nataša Golob who greatly contributed to that area, dealing, in particular with the scriptorium of the Žiča Carthusian monastery from which some one hundred books are known today.¹⁹ The author has also dealt with the three oldest Žiča books from before 1200 known to have been made elsewhere.²⁰ Two of them (Cod. 1100/*Glossed Psalter*, and Cod. 755/work of *Hilarius Pictaviensis*) are illuminated and dated to the 12th ct. (the first to the third quarter, and the second to the very end of the century).²¹ Of special interest is the Cod. 1100 wherein in the psalm 1 the initial »B« (Beatus vir) shows a fantastic creature with bands forming bellies of the letters stemming forth from its mouth.²² The frowning figure seems to have horns and it angrily devours the bands with the letters. Thus it recalls the two column biting lions from Medvedgrad chapel, but also the heads from churches at Gora and Konjščina. Interesting is also the initial »D« of the psalm 109 (*Dixit dominus*) with interlaced animals and scrollwork somewhat reminiscent of the altar panel from unknown church nearby Beli Manastir.²³ This clearly shows the extent of how many the manuscripts circulated throughout Europe identifying them as a valuable comparative material when studying sculpture.

¹⁶ Radoslav KATIČIĆ, *Litterarum studia*, Matica Hrvatska, Zagreb, 1998, pp. 597-622.

¹⁷ Ž. TOMIČIĆ, »Novije arheološke spoznaje o Rudini«, pp. 47.

¹⁸ R. KATIČIĆ, *Litterarum studia*, pp. 597-622; Biserka RAUTER PLANČIĆ (ed.), *Prvih pet stoljeća hrvatske umjetnosti* (catalogue of exhibition), Galerija Klovičevi dvori, Zagreb, 2006, pp. 244-253.

¹⁹ For example see: Nataša GOLOB, »Srednjeveški rokopisi in fragmenti iz slovenskih provenienc v tujini (I) trojni psalter iz Žiče« in: *Zbornik za umetnostno zgodovino*, s. n., (1999) XXXV, pp. 147-170; Nataša GOLOB, »The so-called "Kopitar's Bosnian Gospel" and its position between Carolingian models and contemporary politics« in *Régionalisme et internationalisme. Problèmes de paléographie et de codicologie du moyen âge*, (edited by Otto KRESETN, – Franz LACKNER), Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, ÖAW, Wien, 2008, pp. 257-268; Nataša GOLOB, »Two romanesque manuscripts from Žička kartuzija/Charterhouse Seitz: (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Cod. 1100 and Cod. 755): Additions« in: *Codices manuscripti* (2008) 68, pp. 3-20.

²⁰ N. GOLOB, »Two romanesque manuscripts from Žička kartuzija«, pp. 3.

²¹ N. GOLOB, »Two romanesque manuscripts from Žička kartuzija«, pp. 8 and 20.

²² N. GOLOB, »Two romanesque manuscripts from Žička kartuzija«, pp. 5.

²³ N. GOLOB, »Two romanesque manuscripts from Žička kartuzija«, pp. 6.

One should also note Walter Cahn's work on illuminated manuscripts in France.²⁴ Some of the manuscripts described therein appear to have some visual analogies with the figural sculpture in Continental Croatia. *The Bible from Fleury*, today in the Municipal Library at Orléans from the second half of the 12th ct.²⁵ shows a Christ on the Throne whose face with projecting chin, rounded eyes, and puffy cheeks recalls one of the hands from Benedictine abbey at Rudina – the Master of Rounded Cheeks.²⁶

The Chronicle of Robert of Torigny today at Avranches, made in 1156 – 1157 at Mont Saint-Michel in Normandy,²⁷ shows Sigebert of Gembloux dictating his chronicle wearing a beard made from tidy parallel locks somewhat recalling the »Stone from Belec« (possible part of a lunette),²⁸ whereas the grotesque face of the scribe reminds one from churches of Gora or Konjščina.

The third and possibly the most interesting example is a three-volume *Bible* from the beginning of the 12th ct. made at Grand Chartreuse and kept at Grenoble.²⁹ Fantastic figures, recalling lions, by an intent gaze and long thin noses widening toward the tip remind one of the bracket No. 9 – *the Cat* – from Rudina, whereas a frowning figure within the initial »V«, several times repeated, recalls the Medvedgrad column biting lions.³⁰

Next, there is the *Liber Floridus* made in the third quarter of the 12th ct. in Northeastern France, and today is kept at Wolfenbüttel.³¹ Alexander in the scene of raiding on Bucefalus is shown in profile with a large almond shaped eye somewhat recalling the damaged knight's head from Čazma.³²

Finally there are a few more manuscripts worth mentioning such as *Glossed Psalter* from Angers in Amiens (beginning g of the 12th ct.), *the Bibles* from Vendôme today in Paris (mid 12th ct.), Flavius Josephus, *De bello Judaico*, from around 1100 (Saint-Pierre, Moissac) or Augustine's *Enarrationes in Psalmos* from mid 12th ct. from Marchiennes (today in the Municipal library in u Douai) wherein one can also notice the characteristic large almond shape eyes, the prominent foreheads and forehead bones, and noses reminiscent of some such detail in Croatian continental sculpture.³³

Manuscripts could certainly be an important tool in revealing possible influences in stone sculpture, and there, again, remains a lot of work to be done.

The third group of possible sources of influences are objects in metal, preserved in very limited numbers mostly as objects for liturgy. Not infrequently they are mass products,

²⁴ Walter CAHN, *Romanesque Manuscripts: The Twelfth Century*, vol. 2, Harvey Miller publisher, 1996, passim.

²⁵ W. CAHN, *Romanesque Manuscripts: The Twelfth Century*, pp. 28-30.

²⁶ Vladimir Peter GOSS, *Rudina-sva lica*, Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika, Split, 2010, pp. 19-25.

²⁷ W. CAHN, *Romanesque Manuscripts: The Twelfth Century*, pp. 31-33.

²⁸ Vladimir Peter GOSS, »Uvodno o "kamenu iz Belca«, in: *Prilozi instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu* (2004) 21, pp. 223-228.

²⁹ W. CAHN, *Romanesque Manuscripts: The Twelfth Century*, pp. 56-60.

³⁰ V. P. GOSS, *Rudina-sva lica*, pp. 18.

³¹ W. CAHN, *Romanesque Manuscripts: The Twelfth Century*, pp. 138-141.

³² M. CEPETIĆ, *Biskupski posjedi Dubrava, Ivanić i Čazma u 12. i 13. stoljeću...*, pp. 338.

³³ W. CAHN, *Romanesque Manuscripts: The Twelfth Century*, pp. 17-20, 25-27, 40-42, 129-132.

i.e., known through more than one example. They are easily portable and could exercise considerable influence.

The earliest example from Continental Croatia is the small cross from Lijevo Bara in Vukovar found in a tomb in 1963.³⁴ Its form is Latin but the wider arms ends and an extension at the top bring it close to being a Greek cross. The body of Christ is highly stylized with a stocky body and straight legs. The head without any beard or hair reminds one of a skull. The fists are too large, the fingers are spread. This head and the powerful oversized fists recall somewhat the Rudina brackets, and their powerful emotionalism.

Another metal crucifix, somewhat damaged, is from Martinščina near Lobar, nowadays in the Cathedral Treasury in Zagreb. All that has survived is the figure of the Christ Crucified. Its dimensions are 14 by 13 cm and it is dated to the 11th ct.³⁵ On the elegant Christ figure one immediately notices oversized hands (albeit anatomically correct), and equally oversized head, the long hair and a nose linked to the forehead. This Crucifix is less expressive, yet the head with its almond shaped eyes, the nose tied to the forehead and the treatment of the hair again may be compared to Rudina sculpture.³⁶

In the Archeological Museum in Zagreb there is yet another Crucifix from the second half of the 12th century.³⁷ This rather damaged object was found in the vicinity of Sisak at the beginning of the 20th ct.³⁸ Christ wearing a crown is represented as a beardless young man with gaping rounded eyes, and carefully executed robe, chest and legs. It seems to express restrained sorrow.

Although there is no way to link those sculptures to figured examples in stone, they clearly display the standard store of the Romanesque formal language. The head of the Crucifix from Martinščina is somewhat reminiscent of the style of the Head from Gornji Kneginec (from the parish church), and its almond shaped eyes of the heads from Rudina. The expressiveness of the Cross from Vukovar anticipates Rudina, whereas the Cross from Sisak with its increasing gracefulness seems to announce the Gothic.

Finally there are the coins which busily circulated throughout the land, as evident from rich collections in many a Croatian museum.³⁹ The coins display buildings; they also display groups of people or religious scenes (e.g., Birth of Christ). Of particular interest are coins showing just one figure or head. A good example is a hoard of Frisatics found in Čakovec in 1984, datable to the beginning of the 13th century, yet displaying some characteristics of somewhat earlier figural sculpture (expressiveness of the face, emphasize on the eyes, etc.).⁴⁰

³⁴ B. RAUTER PLANČIĆ (ed.), *Prvih pet stoljeća hrvatske umjetnosti*, pp. 178-179; Željko DEMO, *Ranosrednjovjekovno groblje bjelobrdske kulture: Vukovar – Lijevo Bara (X. – XI. stoljeće) vol. 1 and 2*, Arheološki muzej, Zagreb, 2009, pp. 324-325.

³⁵ B. RAUTER PLANČIĆ (ed.), *Prvih pet stoljeća hrvatske umjetnosti*, pp. 176-177.

³⁶ V. P. GOSS, *Rudina-sva lica*, pp. 11-18.

³⁷ B. RAUTER PLANČIĆ (ed.), *Prvih pet stoljeća hrvatske umjetnosti*, pp. 180-181.

³⁸ B. RAUTER PLANČIĆ (ed.), *Prvih pet stoljeća hrvatske umjetnosti*, pp. 180.

³⁹ For example see: Herbert BAN – Ivan MIRNIK, *Der Friesacherfund von Čakovec*, Ennerre, Milano 2010, passim; Zdenka DUKAT – Ivan MIRNIK, *Numismatic Collection: Guide*, Arheološki Muzej u Zagrebu, Zagreb, 2008., passim.

⁴⁰ For example see: H. BAN – I. MIRNIK, *Der Friesacherfund von Čakovec*, pp. 188, 190, 192, 196, 202, 210, 212, 234.

In Gora, along with the 14th century coinage of Louis I, several earlier Frisatic pfennigs were found, one of which displays a head with horns, reminiscent of the stone head from Gora.⁴¹ This is the closest visual analogy we have been able to find, and it should not be seen as a definitive source of the stone head. Yet, coins are also, same as manuscripts, important tool in revealing possible influences on stone sculpture, and something that should be considered in the future.

To conclude from the above, various media could serve as model for the figural Romanesque sculpture in Continental Croatia. They mostly had a primary function not linked with sculpture (e.g. the role in liturgy played by sacred books). Taking however into consideration that the sculpture (e.g., at Rudina) had a certain identifiable iconographic role, one may conclude, on one hand, that the sculptors, and/or the patrons had a solid knowledge what was iconographically »in«, whereas being unable to express it for the lack of experience of the art of the sculpture in stone. Hence the sense of the *genius loci*, and the presumed impact of the local art in wood. At the same time, though, this sculpture, in a hardly explicable and almost impalpable way, seems to indicate connections with a wider European context.

Sažetak

SAKRALNE VEZE KONTINENTALNE HRVATSKE I ZAPADA: NA PRIMJERIMA ROMANIČKE FIGURALNE SKULPTURE

Rad se bavi mogućim uzorima sakralne kamene plastike na prostoru kontinentalne Hrvatske u vremenu 11. i 12. stoljeća, od koje ona figuralna ima pedesetak ulomaka. Kako se u zadnjim dvama desetljećima povećao interes za istraživanje prostora kontinentalne Hrvatske u srednjem vijeku, tako se u literaturi javljaju (ili barem naslućuju) i poveznice s bližom, pa čak i daljom okolicom, iako je u velikom broju slučajeva naglasak stavljen na geografske uplive. Primjerice, spomenici poput Gore ili Topuskog vežu se uz francuske primjere bilo direktno bilo da su u Hrvatsku došli preko Mađarske. To je izrazito važno jer s jedne strane olakšava i učvršćuje pojedine datacije, ali i pokazuje prostor kontinentalne Hrvatske u jednom novom svjetlu – kao prostor povezan s tadašnjim velikim centrima. Što se tiče upliva, snažnu ulogu imaju crkveni redovi koji su dolaskom na prostor kontinentalne Hrvatske sa sobom donosili ideje i dašak novih tendencija iz središta svojih redova (npr. iz Francuske). No, to ne znači da je svaki samostan podignut na tom prostoru djelo stranih umjetnika koje su redovnici sa sobom dovodili. Čak naprotiv, dubinskom analizom skulpture može se uočiti kako je ona idejno vezana za Europu, no izvedbeno je često na toj skulpturi uočljiva povezanost s domaćim prostorom. Zbog toga je, kada se govori o mogućim europskim uzorima, zanimljivo pitanje na koji način su oni dolazili u te krajeve. Postoje primjeri direktnog uvoza majstora, kao što je to slučaj s ugarskom dvorskom radionicom koja je radila u Čazmi i na Medvedgradu netom prije provale Tatara 1241.

⁴¹ J. BELAJ, »Prikaz arheoloških istraživanja crkve Uznesenja Blažene Djevice Marije u Gori...«, pp. 142, 143.

godine, no većina lokaliteta ipak je nastala kao djelo domaćih umjetnika. Iz dokumentata se često može uočiti kako su na prostor kontinentalne Hrvatske dolazili redovnici, a nerijetko i opati. Oni su bili svjesni svih suvremenih tendencija pa je vjerojatno njihov upliv bio poveznica domaćih umjetnika i europskih centara. Iako nema čvrstih dokaza za potonju tvrdnju, dodatno ju učvršćuju veze kamene plastike i drugih medija kao što su primjerice drvena skulptura, manuskripti, metalni uporabni predmeti ili novci. Iako je primarna namjena tih medija bila nešto drugo, sličnost s pojedinim ostvarenjima pokazuje da su i oni nerijetko mogli poslužiti kao uzor domaćim majstorima.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI: *figuralna skulptura, romanika, kontinentalna Hrvatska, Rudina, drvena skulptura, srednjovjekovni rukopisi.*