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Military Orders between Sava and Drava Rivers – Sculpture

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Summary

The aim of this study is to investigate, on the basis of the most recent results in the field, the works of sculpture – predominantly Romanesque – which could be associated with localities that were in the Middle Ages held by the orders that emerged in the Crusader context – the military orders (the Templars and the Hospitallers) and the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre.

The sculpture of the Crusaders has been collected and analyzed in this study for the first time. It indicates that the military orders in the area between Sava and Drava rivers used the same formal, narrative, and

symbolic elements as elsewhere, which represents another important link of Croatia with the society and culture of medieval Europe. Our examples either fully confirm the results of other historical disciplines (Brekovljani, Martin, Glogovnica, Prozorje), provide important evidence that makes it possible to ascribe to the military orders certain places where such evidence was relatively scarce or ambiguous (Križovljan, Koška), or open totally new possibilities (Lobor); in one case (Nova Rača), the interpretation of an apparently Crusader relief within the known Crusader context remains dubious.

Key words: *Crusades, Military Orders, Croatia, Romanesque Sculpture, Pannonia, Medieval Slavonia, Medieval Art*

There is hardly an area in medieval studies that has attracted such keen public interest as the great epic of the Crusades. Images of Christian masses inflamed by the great propagandists from Urban II to St Bernard of Clairvaux, taking the Cross and enduring unspeakable hardships to reach Jerusalem, wrestling it both by their courage and by miracle from the heathen hands, while the shadows of semi-mythical and larger-than-human heroes such as Raymond of Toulouse, Bohemond of Taranto, Richard the Lionheart, St Louis and their likes loom over the Crusaders' hard-won victories and their noble defeats, have proven fertile ground for various acts and ideas, ranging from the noblest display of bravery and sacrifice to the most blatant apologies of colonialism.

A central element of that popular Crusading lore is the phenomenon of the military orders, of the warrior monks joining the ideals of medieval chivalry and service to the Lord into a single Christian body and soul. Among those, the masses, which are always dazzled by the superstitious and the superfluous, have mostly been attracted to the Templars: the knights of the Temple of Solomon, a bunch of creatures veiled in dark mysteries and associated with the Assassins and with hashish, practitioners of strange rituals, which may have included both the most holy and the most impure, and famous for their fanatical Christian bravery and of equally fanatical obscure

heresies, which led them on their romantic journey to an equally romantic end in the flames of thousands of pyres. But who knows: there may still be riddles, mysteries, and treasures in our midst left by the Brethren of the Holy Temple after their fiery holocaust.

Of course, historical scholarship has painted a more restrained picture of the Crusades.¹ Maybe even too restrained, since Western scholarship has been suffering from a sort of guilt complex with respect to the Crusaders' »crimes« – which is easily understandable in the world of anti- and post-colonialism – albeit the behaviour of the Crusaders was not too different from that of other fanaticized armies in history – and not just European ones. Objectively speaking, the Crusades marked the political and military apogee of the reawakening that Europe was experiencing in the 11th and the early 12th century, »The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century«.² In the course of the Crusades, large portions of »Christian« world were reclaimed that had been taken by the »infidels« – the Iberian Peninsula, Sicily, or the Holy Land itself. The Mediterranean (at least central and eastern) was again the »Christian lake« and would remain so for two centuries, until the Turkish conquests, owing to the Christian enclaves in the Orient, though outside Palestine. From Iceland to the Euphrates, there was certain unity, particularly spiritual and cultural, and some of its fea-

tures we still fail to understand as we cope to find a proper place in Western European culture for the phenomena such as Cyprus, Rhodes, or Malta, with their populations developing from the mixture of native and immigrant elements through centuries and generations as new native »brands«, which our western Eurocentrism may never be able to reconstruct and understand; to say nothing of the Christian states and cultures such as Armenia and Georgia. I submit that Turkey joining the European Union would be an ultimate triumph of the Crusading idea, whereas at the same time it would realize the old unfulfilled Ottoman dream of conquering Vienna by conquering Brussels.

Within the enormous body of Crusader scholarship, a fair share has been dedicated to the military orders, which were in the period between the 12th and the 14th centuries one of the most powerful factors in the Western Christian society, embodying the ideal of »fight and pray« and establishing themselves as a vigorous parallel factor in the mundane and the spiritual spheres, with respect to both the established Church and the emerging national state, the latter being, after all, one of the key factors in their violent – in case of the Templars – or gradual – in case of other military orders – demise.³ At the peak of their popularity and influence, the military monks controlled enormous wealth, both immovable and movable, and had a commensurate political and spiritual influence. The territory of medieval Croatia was no exception. From the moment when King Géza II (1142–1164) invited the first Templars, the military orders became major landowners and a major economic, religious, and social power.⁴ Their leaders, from the Templar Pontius de Cruce to the Hospitallers Ivan of Palizna and Petar Berislavić, determined the history of the Kingdom on more than one occasion.⁵ No wonder that their presence has attracted modern Croatian historical scholars from Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski to Juraj Belaj.⁶ No wonder that these orders, their leaders and their possessions, have been the subject of numerous studies and controversies, many of which still ongoing, apparently unsolvable by the efforts of one historical discipline alone. This paper is a modest effort to help resolve some issues related to the location of Crusaders' »homes« in the area of continental Croatia between Sava and Drava rivers. In doing so, we shall present the reader with a small, but in our opinion highly reliable list of evidence – of carved stones, which are today still distinctive monuments that can be associated with the military orders with a high degree of certainty.

Saxa loquuntur, but they keep their silence if there are no ears to listen. One of the great medieval scholars of the past century, Paolo Verzone, said that the old stones tell it all if approached and listened to with loving care.⁷ We have offered anything but »loving care« to our old stones (and brick) in continental Croatia; and it is high time to change our attitude. As we do it, they indeed begin to talk. But do we understand their language?

It has often been pointed out, and not without a reason, that there is no such thing as distinct »Crusader art«. Let alone the art of the military orders. Yet, as the great pioneers of research in the field of art in the Crusaders states – Camille Enlart and Paul Deschamps – have shown, there is certainly more than

a touch of local *differentia specifica* in the Romanesque and Gothic art of the Crusader states in the Near East. In fact, one is inclined to believe that some of the key problems related to that art have never been solved to full satisfaction because we have always tried to find links to and imports from the West,⁸ forgetting that artists were just like other people and that, by the time of the fall of Acre in 1291, some five generations or more of native Christian descendants of the first Crusaders had been born in the Holy Land; that they may have travelled within the above-mentioned Western Christian *oikoumene*, worked both in Jerusalem and Chartres, and come back with new ideas and visions, just like their colleagues visiting from the West. Anyone familiar with the 12th–14th century art knows what we owe to the *materia orientalis* – in Apulia, in Dalmatia, in Languedoc, and elsewhere.⁹ So while there may not exist some particular sort of »Crusader art«, the Crusades have provided a mechanism for the expansion of a joint substratum of »European« medieval culture and art.

Medieval Croatia is again no exception. It has often been said that there is no such thing as the »Crusader architecture« in Croatia and that the Crusaders in Croatia followed the rule that seems to hold for the rest of Europe, that of using local talent and design when constructing their churches and other buildings.¹⁰ And yet, some scholars have made attempts, in my opinion quite well-founded, at identifying the *typical* Crusaders structures, without, however, bringing the matter to a safe conclusion.¹¹ Even fewer conclusive attempts, with the exception of some obvious cases to which we shall come back presently, have been made to identify the »Crusader sculpture in Croatia«. We believe, however, that this could and should be done.

Our optimism is based on research done by a young Italian scholar, Gaetano Curzi, professor of art history at the Università di Chieti. In his recent valuable book, *La pittura dei Templari*, Curzi stops short of declaring that there is a specific Templar style or repertoire of forms, but at the same time he provides, in our opinion, some extremely important insights as to the Templar *differentia specifica*.¹² Three such insights prove to be of great value for our research. They are: 1. The Templars tended to depict themselves or their own deeds more often than other patrons did; 2. They had a certain inclination towards the non-iconic; maybe one could formulate this by saying that the Templars preferred symbolic or non-iconic expression more than the average patrons, bearing in mind that some of those forms – lilies, crosses – were commonly shared by patrons of medieval art; and 3. These two Templar propensities were shared and/or taken over by other orders, the Hospitallers in particular.¹³ Curzi's book is, of course, dedicated to the Templar painting, but sculpted examples he lists show that there is really little difference between painted and sculpted motifs. We shall follow the pointers of Professor Curzi's path-breaking research starting with the insight number two, as that seems to be the least explored and possibly most controversial issue. As the array of symbolic forms is not limited to the art of the military orders, we shall apply it as evidence only when it reinforces the existing evidence and/or can be said to dominate overwhelmingly the work of art under consideration.¹⁴



1. Brckovljani, church of St Brcko, keystone
Brckovljani, Crkva sv. Brcka, ključni kamen

Monuments

1. Church of St Brcko (Brixius) in Brckovljani

The church is situated on a hill rising from the »beam« running in the southeast – northwest direction, from Sesevete to the east of Zagreb, above the flatlands of upper Lonja, upper Zelina, and Kašina streams to the north, and lower Zelina and lower Lonja streams to the south. It is incised in the promontories of Mount Medvednica by the stream of Vugra and cut through by Zelina and Lonja streams, to the west and east of Brckovljani respectively. Beyond Brckovljani, the beam continues towards Vrbovec and passes through Lovreška Varoš and Gornji Tkalec in order to reach the promontories of Kalnik around Križevci. It is an ideal position for human settlements, especially of the prehistoric and medieval types, since it offers considerable security, but also proximity to fertile soil in the valleys and to the main roads on both sides of the beam.¹⁵ No wonder that medieval settlements have been attested all along the beam – Sesevete, Prozorje, Brckovljani, Vrbovec – Lovreška Varoš, Gradec, and Gornji Tkalec, some of them being centres of parishes as early as the 14th century and most likely even much earlier. Since a section of the north-western slope of Brckovljani bears the name of »Gračec« (fort), the hill must have been protected not just by nature, but also by the work of human hands.

The present-day church, which possibly incorporates elements from the late 13th century, is a one-nave building with a tower

and a two-bay, polygonal sanctuary. It has been thoroughly refurbished recently and some medieval elements have been destroyed during the construction works, including the fragments of very valuable and possibly very early wall paintings in the sanctuary. We refer the reader to the rather copious literature concerning the church's architecture, which continues to baffle the scholars.¹⁶

The foundations of its »Gothic« sanctuary (as well as its »Baroque« nave) are most likely quite early and they may have determined the current format of the building, including the sanctuary itself, which is of our foremost interest. Namely, the vaulting of the sanctuary is supported by adjoining semi-columns with decorative capitals, whereas two rounded pieces displaying stylized lilies serve as keystones (Figs. 1–4).

The supports are single, with an exception of those between the two bays, which consist of three upright shafts. The entire construction, vaulting included, is probably a result of several rebuilding campaigns, but capitals, shafts and bases seem to be original and form one systematic and decorative unit, which is also symbolic, as we shall presently demonstrate.¹⁷

The capitals of the single-shaft supports carry circular rosettes with four leaves each, surmounted by an indented frieze. The lilies on the keystone are an obvious reference to the military orders, though not necessarily to the Hospitallers, as the lily is an almost obsessive sign of the Templars. Equally obsessive are numerous rosettes and wheels with multiple petals and spikes, often set within circular or polygonal frames. Their



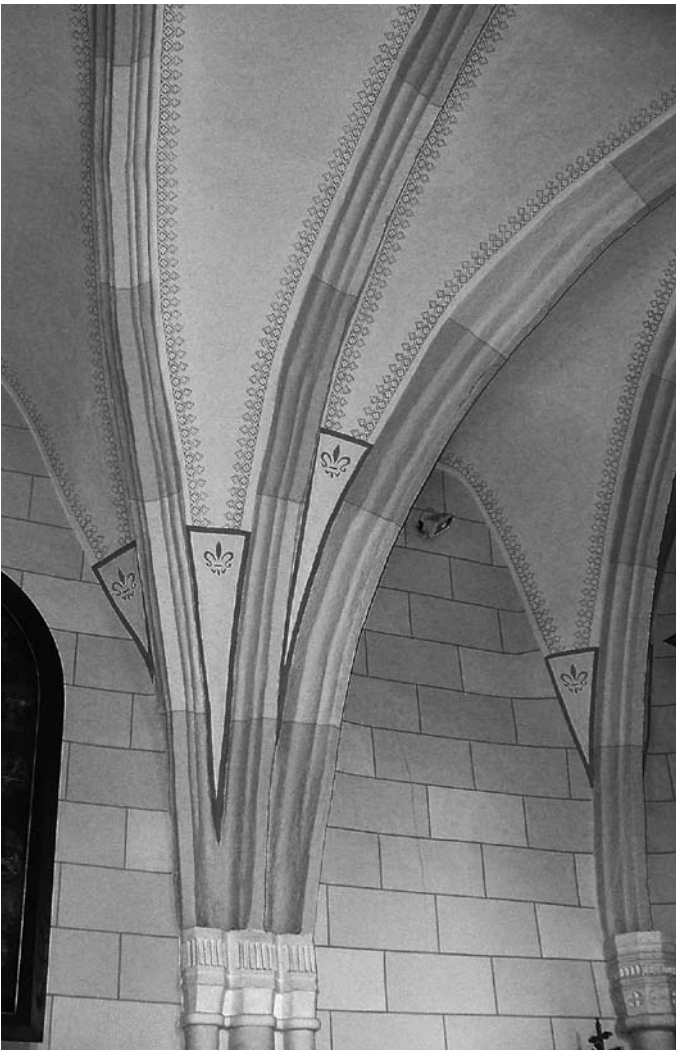
2. Brckovljani, church of St Brcko, capital
Brckovljani, Crkva sv. Brcka, kapital



3. Brckovljani, church of St Brcko, triple support
Brckovljani, Crkva sv. Brcka, trostruki nosač

symbolic, cosmographic function has been well demonstrated and documented. They may share spaces and surfaces with human figures – as on the eastern end of the Templar chapel at Cressac – or even dominate them – as in the sanctuary of the church at Montsaunès – where the vaulting shows an almost encyclopaedic display of those floral and geometric, wheeled forms that represent a cosmographic vision, judging from the appearance of the Sun and the Moon (also highly stylized) on the lower registers of the barrel vaulting.¹⁸ The slim crosses between the high windows on the eastern end introduce an obvious Christian dimension. Thus, under the vaulting of the Montsaunès sanctuary, we raise our hearts to the Lord under the broad image of the Heavens. Just as in the case of our capitals, there is a »decorative« band of smaller discs of the same sort at Montsaunès, with an indented frieze above them!¹⁹ Bearing in mind that the sanctuary walls at Brckovljani were once covered by paintings, one can assume that our decorative/symbolic elements used to form part of a more complex programme, which also involved figures such as those appearing in the lower and secondary sections of the

sanctuary at Montsaunès, in a more prominent role at another Templar sanctuary, that of San Bevignate in Perugia, or on the mosaic floors at Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux (a vision of Heavenly Jerusalem) and Die.²⁰ Something of the sort may well have existed at Brckovljani, given the fact that the two keystones (most likely reused, but at their original position or close to it) bear some sort of a double lily, exactly of the same kind as that on the just mentioned mosaic floor at Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux.²¹ Attempts have been made to link these lilies to various 14th century Hospitaller seals; however, that is hardly necessary, since lilies were, as mentioned above, a hallmark of the Templars' monuments and were then taken over by the Hospitallers.²² Close cooperation between the military orders and the Cistercians, as attested by St Bernard and his *De laudibus novae militiae*, easily explains the omnipresence of Our Lady's symbol, as the Templars shared her cult with their Cistercian sponsors. One just needs to take a look at the famous Templar frescoes at Cressac to notice how frequently the lily serves as a surface-filler, even in the well-known battle scenes, almost to the point of *horror vacui*.²³ Its presence can



4. Brckovljani, church of St Brcko, view of the vaults
Brckovljani, Crkva sv. Brcka, pogled na lukove



5. Martin, church of St Martin, coat-of-arms
Martin, Crkva sv. Martina, grb

thus be detected in the two keystones from the Brckovljani vaulting as possibly carrying an additional message, namely that the most fervent servants of Our Lady, the Christian knights, looked over and protected this world by serving as agents of Her Love.

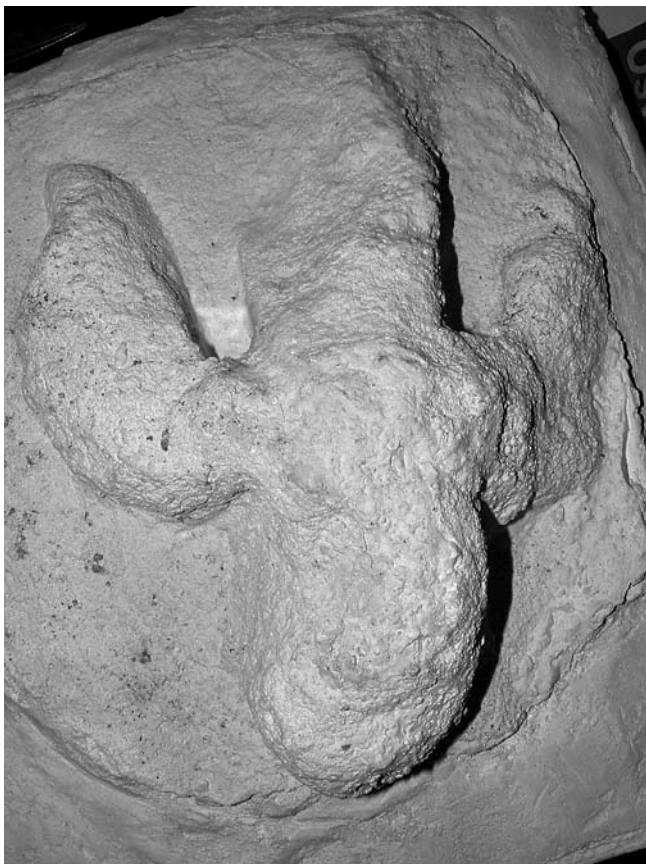
What remains is to explain the capitals of the triple supports. These are much simpler than the rest, but they were obviously carved from the same stone, since the body of the capital tapers off in exactly the same way and the mouldings are likewise of the same type. However, the surface of the capitals is bare today (we may only try to imagine what was depicted if they were once painted) and there is a relief only in the upper and rather tall zone, in the form of elongated indentation topped by a simple straight line. One of the triple supports shows obvious damage in its upper section, which points to the possibility that this area was re-carved at some time. Still, even in the form in which they have survived, they formally harmonize with the rest.

The sanctuary of St Brcko appears to be the most completely preserved example of Crusader interior decoration in conti-

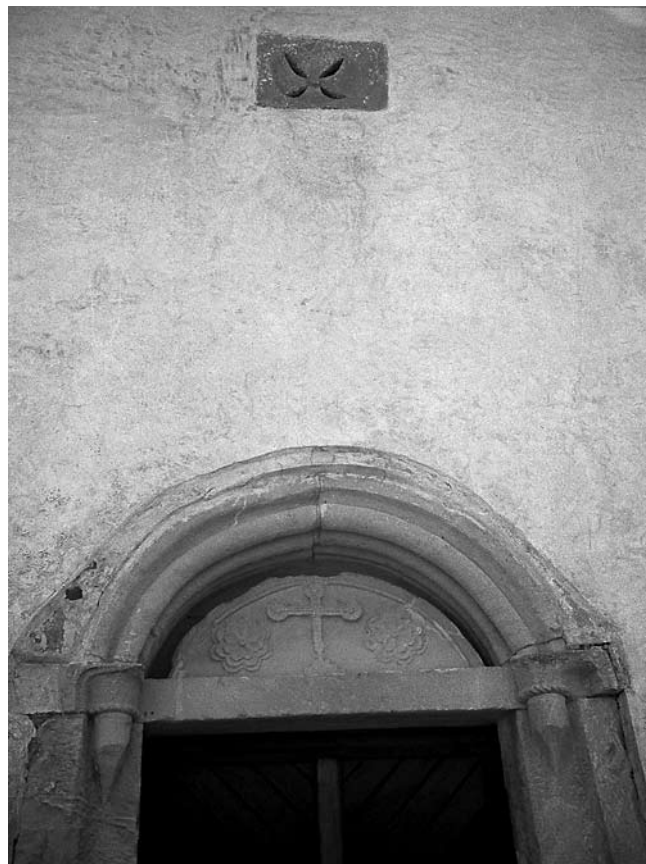
ental Croatia. Albeit incomplete, it shows that the artists working for the knight-monks were quite aware of what was appropriate for a sanctuary sponsored by the military orders, be it the Templars or the Hospitallers. Since our knowledge of medieval art in continental Croatia is still very limited, it is difficult to suggest the date with any certainty. The forms of the capitals, in particular of the single supports, with their polygonal plan and yet rather restricted mouldings, might indicate precisely the end of the Templar period. Could it be that the church was damaged in the Tartar invasion and then repaired in the second half of the 13th century?²⁴

2. St Martin, Martin near Našice

The church of St Martin is situated within a fortress on the steep hill northwest of Našice.²⁵ The hill itself forms part of the »beam« that runs east – west, above an important communication line following roughly the same direction. The fortress with the church stands almost exactly above the intersection. There is a fairly wide plateau on top of the beam, with a com-



6. Martin, church of St Martin, relief of the lily
Martin, Crkva sv. Martina, reljef lilijana



7. Koška, church of St Peter and St Paul, western façade
Koška, Crkva sv. Petra i Pavla, zapadno pročelje

manding view of Eastern Slavonia and Southern Hungary. From the fortress with the church, one can directly see Našice, itself an important medieval fortified settlement, as well as the castle of Bedemgrad some ten kilometres to the southwest. Nowadays, the village of Martin occupies the wide plateau, with fields belonging to the villagers. The situation was most likely identical in the 13th century, in which the Templars are first attested in the area.

The church is among the best preserved Romanesque buildings in Slavonia. It is a one-nave structure with an elongated apse. The nave is covered by an open timberwork construction and the apse is vaulted. Such solutions are frequent in the neighbouring Hungary; a similar structure also stands at Koprivna, southeast of Našice, on a strip of land belonging to the military orders.²⁶

Two sculptural fragments linked to the church can be explicitly related to the military orders in their character. These are the shield/coat-of-arms from the collection of the Franciscan monastery at Našice (58 cm tall) and a fragment of the lily (29 cm in



8. Nova Rača, church of Our Lady, coat-of-arms at the tower entrance (photo: Goran Jakovljević)
Nova Rača, Crkva Uznesenja Bl. Dj. Marije, grb na ulazu u toranj



9. Nova Rača, church of Our Lady, coat-of-arms at the top of the stairway (photo: G. Jakovljević)
Nova Rača, Crkva Uznesenja Bl. Dj. Marije, grb na vrhu stubišta

radius), built into the western façade of the church, a model of which is displayed at the Našice Regional Museum. The shield carries a cross, with a smaller cross within a shield carved at its centre. Both pieces are badly damaged (Figs. 5–6).

The relationship between these two pieces is unknown, but lilies and shields are frequent companions in the iconography of the military orders. One might just refer again to the frescoes at Cressac, where lilies do not occur only as space-fillers between the mounted knights carrying shields with crosses, but also appear on the shields of some knights displaying crosses on their clothing. Crosses and lilies are also associated on the sanctuary vaulting and the walls of Montsaunès.²⁷

The crosses on the shield of Našice are rather simple Latin crosses, with just a slightly longer lower section of the vertical arm. Such cross was not unknown in the Templar milieu; it is present on the two images of Templars presented by Lelja Dobronić and should lead us to discuss, at least briefly, the form of the cross associated with the Templars and the Hospitallers.²⁸

Contrary to the general opinion, there seem to be no absolute formulas. Coming back to Dobronić's work, we should say that the Templar on the cover of her 2002 book bears a cross on his mantle that could be described as a »flat cross«, whereas the one on the staff he is holding is actually a »Maltese cross«. ²⁹ The knights at Cressac bear crosses that are similar to that at Martin, but with a slight widening at the ends of the

arms, recalling what is known as the *crux ancorata* and the *crux patibulata*.³⁰ The well-known central figure wears an obvious *crux ancorata* on his shield, while his banner displays something close to the Maltese cross, but with an extended lower vertical arm!³¹ Four different crosses of the varieties described so far can be seen in a fragment of the fresco from San Bevignate in Perugia reproduced by Curzi!³² The form of the shield with the cross and its proportions are extremely close to the shields painted as the main ornament on the vaulting of the Crypt of the Crucifix at Ugento, leaving no doubt that the two fragments from Martin belong to a programme and unequivocally defining the church as belonging to the Crusader knights, more precisely the Templars.³³

It should be added that the motif of cross within a cross appears on the Crusader knight's sword found in the river Bednja, where a little cross is inserted below the intersection between the blade and the handle.³⁴

3. St Peter and St Paul, Koška

Another church attributed to the Crusaders is that of St Peter and St Paul at Koška, northeast of Našice and along the main road leading to Osijek.³⁵ The church is situated in the plane and surrounded by a system of lowland fortresses, the traces of which are still quite visible, especially to the southwest of



10. Križovljan, church of the Holy Cross, relief with seven heads
Križovljan, Crkva Uzvišenja sv. Križa, reljef sa sedam glava

the building. It is a one-nave Romanesque building with a rectangular sanctuary, which has been enlarged westwards in Gothic style and has an 18th century tower at its southern flank. Elements of the Romanesque phase were moved westwards when the church was extended in the Gothic period. There is a complete Romanesque portal with a round-headed lunette and a small rosette above (Fig. 7).³⁶

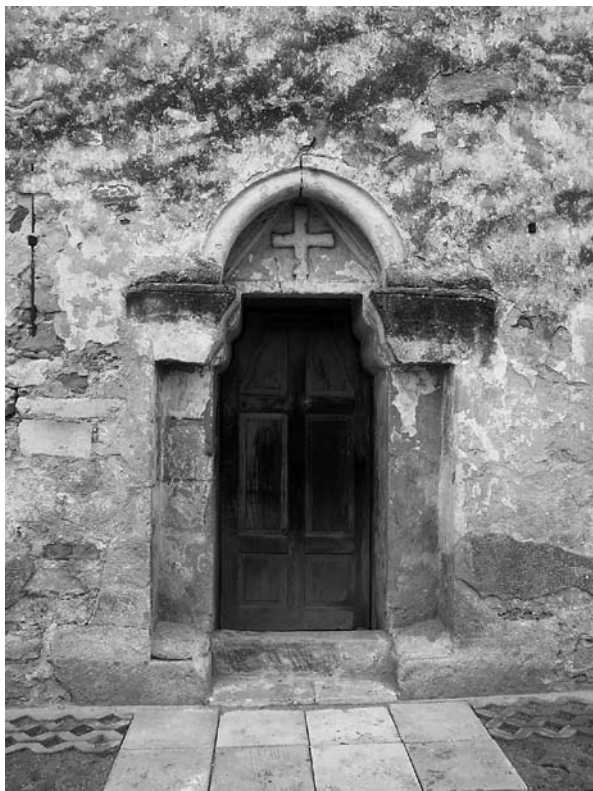
The lunette features a cross with small discs (the »apple cross«) at the end of the horizontal and the upper arm. It is set on a podium consisting of three steps narrowing down towards the top, such as can be found in some varieties of the so-called »Archangel's Cross« (three steps) and the »The Four-Evangelists Cross« (four steps). The cross is flanked by two large, eight-lobed rosettes, almost touching the cross arms. The lunette at Koška recalls the wall painting in lunette on the eastern wall of the square chancel at San Bevignate in Perugia, where the cross, which is a Latin cross on top of a narrow holder, flanked by two cross-shaped »suns« (a cross with widening ends, not unlike the Maltese cross, inscribed within a circle) and smaller »stars«. The arms of the central cross also widen toward the ends, which bear small pointed notches. These crosses again testify of the inconsistency in the use of various forms of the cross by the military orders.³⁷

The Koška cross undoubtedly represents a Triumphal Cross surrounded by celestial bodies, a concise image of the Christian Universe, same as its more complex painted counterpart at Perugia. One should add here the Triumphal Cross at

Montsaunès, where, however, the cosmic elements appear at the base of the cross. The quatrefoil rosette, high above the portal at Koška, which can also be read as a cross, is another element of cosmic triumph and fits well to the programme as a whole.³⁸

A composition quite similar in spirit to that of Koška is found on two coats-of-arms above the entrance and at the top of the staircase turret at the church of the Assumption of Our Lady at Nova Rača.³⁹ However, since there are uncertainties as to its belonging to the military orders, we shall not treat it as a separate unit. It is an almost identical coats-of-arms, bearing a Latin cross with broadening arms, a »flat cross«, which is compatible with the Templar imagery, as we have already seen (Figs. 8 and 9). To the sides and above the cross, there is a star (the sun) with the moon, which may be considered an abridged, symbolic image of the Crucifixion and of the cosmic triumph of the cross. The imagery is temptingly Templar and the letters F and R, which flank the cross, were interpreted as *fratres rubri* and associated with the Templars, although that link is far from certain.⁴⁰ Especially so because the form of the coat-of-arms can hardly be dated before ca. 1500.⁴¹

The church is situated within a spacious fortress at an important intersection of ancient roads, in an area that is very rich in mostly unexplored history. Its present-day form dates from the Baroque period, but late Gothic and possibly »post-Gothic« elements are clearly visible. Goran Jakovljević has discovered a whole series of layers of earlier architecture underneath



11. Križovljan, church of the Holy Cross, portal
Križovljan, Crkva Uzvišenja sv. Križa, portal



12. Križovljan, church of the Holy Cross, a cross in lunette
Križovljan, Crkva Uzvišenja sv. Križa, križ u luneti

and along the sanctuary, which go back at least as far as the 13th century.⁴²

The second section of our catalogue contains two sites bearing images that are, or might be, those of the members of Crusader communities.

1. Church of the Holy Cross, Križovljan

The church is situated at an important intersection, where the main east-west thoroughfare of the Drava valley meets a side road leading to Varaždinske Toplice, the famous ancient *Aquae Iassae*, which have retained some of its glory throughout the Middle Ages as an important possession of the bishops of Zagreb.⁴³ The church stands north of the main road, slightly raised above the rest of the landscape, which abruptly falls at the northern side of the building towards the alluvial plane of Drava River. The church is Romanesque, with a polygonal Gothic sanctuary.

The western façade has several elements of interest, the central one being a relief of seven male heads within a rough, low, trapezoidal frame (Fig. 10). The relief has been analysed a number of times and it was considered either a Roman provincial work or Romanesque. In a recent special study, we have considered all options that still seem open and, although inclined to see the relief as a Romanesque piece modelled on earlier styles, we have concluded that at this point there is no context that would allow us to propose a definite solution.⁴⁴

However, even those who see the work as *bona fide* Roman, agree that it was »re-semanticized« in the Middle Ages and, in our opinion, it may well be representing the military knights who had their *domus* in Križovljan, another controlling point on the key east-west communication line. We refer the reader to our recent study, in which we have stated that the figures are no saints (since they have no haloes) and could hardly represent a family of donors, as they are all male, which would rather be fitting for the house of a religious order; moreover, it combines well with the above-mentioned proclivity of members of the military orders to depict themselves and their feats (Cressac, Perugia, Artins, Hautot-sur-Seine, Alaiza, Lugaut, Novara, etc.).⁴⁵

The church is accessed through a Romanesque portal, considerably rearranged and incomplete (Figs. 11 and 12). It may have been narrowed down in the process to accommodate a slab with a Latin cross inserted in the lunette, a slab that, according to some scholars, was originally a part of the interior decoration.⁴⁶ The cross is covered by a heavy layer of whitewash, but still rather interesting. Namely, the lower arm bears at its bottom something that looks like irregular dents and slight protrusions. May one see here the traces of an outline of the body of the Crucified? Some preliminary research indicates that this is not impossible and that such forms may correspond to the world of the military orders in Eastern Europe. However, nothing can be concluded without a thorough cleaning of the cross and an extensive study of comparative materials.⁴⁷



13. Glogovnica, parish house in Donja Glogovnica, upper part of a figure

Glogovnica, župni dvor u Donjoj Glogovnici, gornji dio figure



14. Glogovnica, parish house in Donja Glogovnica, lower part of a figure

Glogovnica, župni dvor u Donjoj Glogovnici, donji dio figure

2. Church of Our Lady, Glogovnica

Glogovnica is a stretch of hilly land around the stream of the same name, situated to the north of Križevci. Fertile and fairly well sheltered, backed by the southern slope of Mount Kalnik and yet very close to one of the key thoroughfares in the area (Pannonia – Koprivnica – Križevci – Zagreb – the Adriatic) and to a major medieval settlement (Križevci), it has been densely populated since prehistoric times. The entire southern slope of Kalnik with Glogovnica represents potentially one of the largest archaeological museums *sub divo* in Croatia.

No wonder Glogovnica was coveted by many, among them by the Crusader orders; thus, we encounter there, in addition to the Templars and the Hospitallers, another, non-military order, which nonetheless emerged within the context of the early Crusades – the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem. Their church of Our Lady and its surroundings feature the second largest group of Romanesque figurative sculpture between Sava and Drava rivers.⁴⁸

This is not an appropriate place to enter into extensive controversies of historical, archaeological, and art-historical nature concerning Glogovnica.⁴⁹ One is compelled to remain at the stage of conjectures unless extensive archaeological investigations have been carried out. The fact is that, although we are reasonably sure that the present church of Our Lady, positioned within the well-protected fortress, was the seat of the Canons,

we have no idea about the locations of the houses belonging to the other two orders or of many other medieval sites that are either mentioned or suspected within the area.⁵⁰

We should not enter into any extensive discussion of the church architecture either. However, initial excavations by Zoran Homen have revealed a semicircular apse along the northern wall of the present sanctuary.⁵¹ This may be the northern side apse of a rather large church underneath the present one, which received its form mainly in the late and post-Gothic period. The two composite supports (in my opinion definitely Romanesque), which today separate the aisles of the two-aisled nave, may mark the division between the northern and the central nave of the Romanesque church. Its existence, regardless of its form, corroborates the accepted opinion that the five pieces of sculpture (in six fragments, since one is horizontally cut into two), nowadays scattered between the church interior, the 19th century tower, the 19th century parish house, the basement of the house at Gornja Glogovnica No. 61, and the Museum of Križevci, indeed formed part of the church decoration.⁵²

Their identification presents no particular problem. By wearing a *crux gemina*, they are revealing themselves as members of the Order of the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre, whereas the head preserved at the Museum of Križevci (most likely a console) clearly belongs to the same group. Three of the figures, tall and powerfully carved, represent the members of



15. Glogovnica, figure in the basement of No. 61 Gornja Glogovnica
Glogovnica, figura u podrumu kuće br. 61 u Gornjoj Glogovnici

the order in various poses. Two of them are positioned high above the ground and thus difficult to describe and evaluate with precision. The front of the tower (consecrated in 1871) bears an apparently squatting (or kneeling) figure with hands crossed over its chest and in between them there is a *crux gemina*. Something like a purse, a key and a knife are hanging from its belt. A similar figure with its hands crossed over its stomach is set high on the wall of the southern aisle, next to the triumphal arch. The third figure (Figs. 13 and 14), cut crosswise in two, is built into the wall of the parish house, constructed in 1861 (ca. 70 x 45). The proximity of the figure allows for a close inspection, which reveals a large cylindrical head, with ears that appear pasted and positioned frontally, bulging eyes encircled by another ellipse, a long powerful nose broadening toward the tip, and a small, slightly open mouth with pouting lips. It also has a powerful, slightly tapering cylindrical neck; the upper part of its body and the arms also form a series of cylindrical forms. Its hands are clasped in the manner of the figure on the tower and behind them there is also a *crux gemina*. The figure has been cut in two

somewhere above the waist; thus, its lower portion – a cubic trunk and two narrow, tube-like legs with slightly protruding feet – must be viewed separately. The figure wears a belt with several objects hanging on it – one can recognize a purse and a key, possibly a weapon and yet another object. The figure is in principle shown frontally, but as it is cut out of a prismatic piece of stone, its axis coincides with one of the edges of the block, thus leaving the impression that it was meant to mark the edge of the wall. The style is very consistent (a sort of naïve proto-Fernand Leger!) and can be recognized in the other two figures as well, in spite of their distance from the ground. The same style is identifiable in the head-console at the Museum of Križevci, only the detail is more emphasized and subtler at the same time – the large, bulging eyes and the fleshy, pouting lips.⁵³

The fifth member of the group is concealed in the muddy basement of a storage house adjacent to the family farm at Gornja Glogovnica No. 61 and is accessible only by crawling down through a narrow hole (Fig. 15). However, those who undertake this trip to the netherworld will be rewarded by the

presence of one of the most impressive Romanesque figures in the entire South-Eastern Europe. It is a regal apparition sitting on the throne, in a pose of subtly modified frontality, and holding a *crux gemina*. Unfortunately, the surface of this almost one-meter tall relief (ca. 97 x 45) is rather damaged, which makes it difficult to read details. Yet the style, which is evidently that of the other Glogovnica fragments, is here elevated to a higher level of spiritual dignity. Lelja Dobronić made an excellent suggestion when she proposed to interpret that regal figure as the presumed founder of the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre, Godefroy de Boulogne, the liberator of Jerusalem, a suggestion which is probably difficult to prove, but should not be discarded lightly.⁵⁴ It is a truly amazing demonstration of how the same stylistic vocabulary can be applied on two different levels, that of a somewhat naïve, though not unattractive populism and that of aristocratic serenity. Ms Dobronić has also correctly pointed out that the Glogovnica figures were fragments of church decoration, but their place and role cannot be established until it has been identified with certainty which church they belonged to and what it was like.

The style of the Glogovnica pieces may be seen as typically Romanesque – their large, powerful, and clearly delineated forms are nonetheless rich in linear detail and obey »the law of the block« and »the law of the cadre«. It should not be too difficult to find parallels elsewhere in the Pannonian basin; indeed, there are analogous pieces within the 12th century output of the workshop of Pécs Cathedral (consoles and capitals in the Lapidarium with heads and mythical creatures – sirens, centaurs, etc.), as well as at Madocsa (a capital from ca. 1180–1200), and Somogyvár (capitals, 1210–1220).⁵⁵ There, one can again observe clearly cut and firmly outlined »cubist« forms with softened, rounded edges, linear detail – a very similar treatment of eyes, nose, and mouth – and the general sense of bulkiness. This would confirm the date of our sculptures as coinciding with the arrival of the Canons at Glogovnica around the turn of the century.⁵⁶

There are three more sites where recent discoveries have revealed stonework related to the military orders. They are still unpublished and will certainly be presented to the public by their discoverers; therefore, we shall just make notice of them here as items that may be added to our list in the future.

The first such item is a wall-niche (*sacrarium*) discovered by Krešimir Filipec in the church of Our Lady of the Mount (Marija Gorska) at Lopor. The piece bears a »repeated cross«, exactly the same as the Templar presented by Ms Dobronić,⁵⁷ which is relatable to a number of crosses we have dealt with above (the apple cross, *crux patibulata*, *crux ancorata*). Underneath the cross, there are two wings, which makes the entire composition very similar to that of the shields on the frescoes at Cressac (an eagle spreading its wings underneath a *crux ancorata*).⁵⁸

The other item is a fragmentary tomb plaque from St Martin at Prozorje (now in the parish house of Dugo Selo), discovered by Juraj Belaj. Strictly speaking, it is not a work of art,

but a competent work of stonecutting, bearing an engraved shield and a sword. The motifs are compatible with those on the tombs of many medieval noblemen, but they also fit well within the context of the military orders, which were well established at the site.⁵⁹

This category of carvings includes a square panel bearing an engraving with the flat cross, which now forms part of the pavement in the chapel of St Peter at Apatovac (Abbot's Village), located on a steep hill (and within the fortress) northeast of Glogovnica (Fig. 15). Its function is not clear and its format is not compatible with that of a tomb plaque, but it certainly belongs to the world of the military orders (the Templars?). The small, one-nave church was rebuilt several times (last time in 1984) and shows no medieval features except for its position and the traces of a fortress. The slab and the place-name make a good case for the presence of the knight-monks at Apatovac or nearby. Mr Vladimir Palošika, an amateur-archaeologist from Križevci, showed us the slab when this text was almost complete and we would like to express our gratitude, with expectations that he will publish a more detailed report.

Let us conclude: the works of Crusaders sculpture, which were collected and analyzed for the first time in this study, indicate that the military orders in Continental Croatia, in the area between Sava and the Drava rivers, used the same formal, narrative, and symbolic elements as elsewhere. This, in our opinion, represents another important link of Croatia with the society and culture of medieval Europe. Our examples either fully confirm the results of other historical disciplines (Brckovljani, Martin, Glogovnica, Prozorje) and provide important evidence that helps ascribe to the military orders certain places for which such evidence used to be relatively scarce or ambiguous (Križovljan, Koška, Apatovac), or open totally new possibilities (Lopor); in one case (Nova Rača), the interpretation of an apparently Crusader relief within the known Crusader context remains dubious.

Our research in medieval and specifically Romanesque sculpture of Continental Croatia has demonstrated how difficult it is to classify, interpret, and date individual works without a suitable context. Many of the pieces seem to resist classification into any context.⁶⁰ Our main task is to overcome such a predicament. This can happen only through new discoveries, which will widen the contexts (in this case, such discoveries have occurred recently at Lopor and Prozorje), or by recognizing contexts that have previously escaped our attention and understanding. By doing the latter, we can now bring together works that are as distant in space as Brckovljani and Koška. Medieval Slavonia was not a *tabula rasa* in terms of art. The fact that it has remained a *terra incognita* for historical sciences is due mostly to our own inertia. Although much has been damaged and destroyed by the ravages of history, we are surrounded by a large and valuable body of artistic monuments that we just need to learn how to see and listen to.

Notes

- 1
From the enormous literature on the Crusades and the military orders in particular, here are some of the more recent and relevant titles: Malcolm Barber, *The Trials of the Templars*, Cambridge, 1978; Id., *La storia dei Templari*, Casale Monferrato, 1997; Helen Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers, and Teutonic Knights: Images of the Military Orders*, 1128–1291, Leicester, 1993; Id., *The Knights Templar – A New History*, Stroud, 2001; Alain Demurger, *Vita e morte dell'Ordine dei Templari*, Milan, 1996. Still the classics are: Carl Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade* (transl. Marshal W. Baldwin and Walter Goffert), Princeton, 1977; Paul Alphandéry and Alphonse Dupront, *La chrétienté et l'idée de croisade* (pocket edition), Paris, 1995; Anthony Luttrell, *The Hospitallers in Cyprus, Rhodes, Greece and the West*, London, 1978; James Brundage, *The Crusades, a Documentary Survey*, Milwaukee, 1962.
- 2
CHARLES HOMER HASKINS, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, Princeton, 1927.
- 3
See note 1.
- 4
LELJA DOBRONIĆ, *The Military Orders in Croatia*, in: *The Meeting of the Two Worlds*, ed. by Vladimir P. Goss et al., Kalamazoo, 1986, pp. 431–445 and 432.
- 5
LELJA DOBRONIĆ, *Templari i ivanovci u Hrvatskoj* (Templars and Knights of St John in Croatia), Zagreb, 2002, 77–79 and 203–204. In addition to this, Ms. Dobronić has devoted several more studies to the issue of the military orders in Croatia: *Posjedi i sjedišta templara, ivanovaca i sepulkralaca u Hrvatskoj* (Estates and sees of the Templars, Knights of St John, and Canons of the Holy Sepulchre in Croatia), in: *Rad JAZU*, 406 (1984); *Viteški redovi* (Military orders), Zagreb, 1984; *Glogovnica, regularni kanonici Sv. Groba Jeruzalemskog, glogovnički prepoziti i crkva Blažene Djevice Marije* (Glogovnica, canons regular of the Holy Sepulchre, provosts of Glogovnica, and the church of Our Lady), in: *Tkalčić*, 2 (1998), 49–104.
- 6
An extensive bibliography is included in: JURAJ BELAJ, *Arheološko naslijeđe viteških redova na sjeverozapadnom prostoru središnje Hrvatske* (Archeological heritage of the military orders in the north-western region of central Croatia) (M.A. Thesis), Zagreb, 2001, 261–277.
- 7
PAOLO VERZONE, *L'architettura religiosa dell'alto Medio Evo nell'Italia settentrionale*, Milan, 1942, 3.
- 8
CAMILLE ENLART, *Les monuments des Croisés dans le Royaume de Jérusalem*, Paris, 1926; id., *Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus* (transl. David Hunt), London, 1987; PAUL DESCHAMPS, *Terre sainte romane, La Pierre-qui-Vire*, 1964.
- 9
See, for example, MARIA STELLA CALÒ MARIANI, *L'arte del duecento in Puglia*, Turin, 1944; PINA BELLI D'ELIA, *Puglia romanica*, Milan, 2003.
- 10
LELJA DOBRONIĆ (as in note 4), 436. For the general issue, see: LAURENT DAILLEZ, *La France des Templiers*, Paris, 1974, p. 36.
- 11
JOSIP STOŠIĆ, *Srednjevjekovna umjetnička svjedočanstva o zagrebačkoj biskupiji* (Medieval art of Zagreb bishopric), in: *Sveti trag*, Zagreb, 1994, 101–130 and 123.
- 12
GEATANO CURZI, *La pittura dei Templari*, Milan, 2002, 103–121.
- 13
GAETANO CURZI (as in note 12), 91–101.
- 14
A fascinating survey of symbolic forms that are often seen as purely »decorative« has been provided by PATRIK REUTERSWÄRD, *The Forgotten Symbols of God*, Uppsala, 1986. For the links of Templar iconography with cosmographic representation (including St. Isidore's *De natura rerum*), see also GAETANO CURZI (as in note 12), 108–109, figs. 68–71.
- 15
St Brcko is situated on a large estate called Božjakovina, which the Templars received in 1209. For the history of the estate and the vicissitudes of the church itself (with additional literature), see JURAJ BELAJ (as in note 6), 150–156, and LELJA DOBRONIĆ (as in note 5, 1984a), 66–67, id. (as in note 5, 1984b), 126–129, and id. (as in note 5, 2002), 219–221.
- 16
See note 15, especially JURAJ BELAJ.
- 17
See note 15.
- 18
GAETANO CURZI (as in note 12): Cressac (3rd quarter of the 12th c.), figs. 2, 4, 6, and 9, 23–30; Montsaunès (before 1150), figs. 12–14 and 19–21, 30–39. PATRIK REUTERSWÄRD (as in note 14), 102–123.
- 19
GAETANO CURZI (as in note 12), figs. 16, 19, and 21.
- 20
GAETANO CURZI (as in note 12): San Bevignate (ca. 1256–1266), 39–51; figs. 23, 29; Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux, 34–35, fig. 17; Die, 38, fig. 22.
- 21
GAETANO CURZI (as in note 12), fig. 17.
- 22
LELJA DOBRONIĆ (as in note 5, 1984b), 161–163.
- 23
GAETANO CURZI (as in note 12), 10–11, figs. 2 and 6.
- 24
Although simpler, the mouldings of the bases and capitals, as well as the form of the capitals, are not unlike those in St Stephen's Chapel at Zagreb Cathedral (and even the Cathedral's sacristy), or those in the chapel of Medvedgrad. I am aware of the recent tendencies to date St Stephen's Chapel to the 14th century, with which I simply do not agree. St Stephen's Chapel is, in my opinion, a »Notkirche« constructed in the aftermath of the Tartar invasion of 1242. It requires a careful study, since some of its pieces may have been made for another place and some may indeed be later than mid-13th century, as I intend to show in a study that I am currently preparing. As for now, see, ANA DEANOVIĆ and ŽELJKA ČORAK, *Zagrebačka katedrala* (Zagreb Cathedral), Zagreb, 1988, 24–39, figs. 102, 104–106, and 137.
- 25
Templars came to Našice between 1221 and 1230, according to LELJA DOBRONIĆ (as in note 5, 1984b), 67.
- 26
ILONA VALTER, *Árpád-kori téglatemplomok Nyugat-Dunántúlon* (Transdanubian brick churches from the Arpadian period), Budapest, 2004, Alsóújlak (fig. 28), Balogunyom (fig. 32), and Búcsú (fig. 40). LELJA DOBRONIĆ (as in note 5, 2002), 236.

- 27
GAETANO CURZI (as in note 12), figs. 5, 6, 19, and 20.
- 28
LELJA DOBRONIĆ (as in note 5, 1984b), 17, id. (as in note 5, 2002), 10.
- 29
LELJA DOBRONIĆ (as in note 5, 2002), title page and p. 10.
- 30
GAETANO CURZI (as in note 12), figs. 1 and 5. On the forms of the crosses, here and hereafter: ANĐELKO BADURINA et al., *Leksikon ikonografije, liturgike i simbolike zapadnog Kršćanstva* (Lexicon of iconography, liturgy, and symbolism of Western Christianity), Zagreb, 1979, 358–359.
- 31
GAETANO CURZI (as in note 12), fig. 1.
- 32
GAETANO CURZI (as in note 12), fig. 33.
- 33
GAETANO CURZI (as in note 12), fig. 57, 74–76 (Ugento near Lecce is datable to the 13th century and some scholars attribute it to the Teutonic Knights).
- 34
The sword is dated to the 14th century. JURAJ BELAJ (as in note 6), 58, fig. 12. LELJA DOBRONIĆ (as in note 5, 2002), 202.
- 35
On the issue of the presence of the military orders in Koška, see LELJA DOBRONIĆ (as in note 5, 2002), 233–234. Cf. also: BOŽICA VALENTIĆ and TONE PAPIĆ, *Župna crkva Sv. Petra i Pavla u Koški* (Parish church of St Peter and St Paul at Koška), Koška, 1992, 8.
- 36
BOŽICA VALENTIĆ and TONE PAPIĆ (as in note 35), *passim*.
- 37
GAETANO CURZI (as in note 12), figs. 23 and 25.
- 38
BOŽICA VALENTIĆ and TONE PAPIĆ (as in note 35), 8. GAETANO CURZI (as in note 12), figs. 23 and 18. We would also like to draw attention to the façade at Strö (Sweden), which shows a quatrefoil rosette above the cross (close to the Maltese Cross), inscribed in a circle, PATRIK REUTERSWÄRD (as in note 14), fig. 8.
- 39
According to JURAJ BELAJ (as in note 6), 106, the Templars had acquired Nova Rača by 1230. A very complex issue of location and chronology is discussed *ibid.*, 106–113.
- 40
See note 39. Cf. LELJA DOBRONIĆ (as in note 5, 1984a), 129–132 and *id.* (as in note 5, 1984b), 72–74.
- 41
JURAJ BELAJ (as in note 6), 110–111.
- 42
GORAN JAKOVLJEVIĆ, *Rača i župna crkva Uznesenja Blažene Djevice Marije u svjetlu povijesnih i arheoloških istraživanja* (Rača and the parish church of the Assumption of the Virgin in the light of historical and archaeological research) (MA Thesis), Zagreb, 1998 (with an additional bibliography of author's studies on the same locality). Special thanks to Mr Jakovljević for his photos and the permission to reproduce them.
- 43
On controversies surrounding the question of the presence of the military orders at Križovljan, see: JURAJ BELAJ (as in note 6), 80–82; LELJA DOBRONIĆ (as in note 5, 1984b), 41–44; KATARINA HORVAT-LEVAJ, Križovljan, in: *Umjetnička topografija Hrvatske – Ludbreg*, Zagreb, 1997, 277–279. Also: JOSIP STOŠIĆ (as in note 11), 123.
- 44
VLADIMIR PETER GOSS, »Stone from Križovljan« following the »Stone from Belec«, in: *Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu*, 22 (2005), 187–198, with relevant bibliography; JOSIP STOŠIĆ (as in note 11), 123.
- 45
VLADIMIR PETER GOSS (as in note 44), 195. GAETANO CURZI (as in note 12), figs. 1, 5–11 (Cressac); 32, 33 (Perugia), 40 (Artins, stained glass), 49 (Hautot-sur-Seine), 53–55 (Alaiza), 61, 63 (Lugaut), and 73 (Novara).
- 46
KATARINA HORVAT LEVAJ (as in note 43), 279.
- 47
I owe the information to my young colleagues, Ms Nikolina Maraković and Mr Tin Turković, who are hereby encouraged to continue research in that direction.
- 48
The most thorough research on the Canons of the Holy Sepulcher is that by LELJA DOBRONIĆ (as in note 5, 1998), *passim*; *id.* (as in note 5, 1984a), pp. 132–138; *id.* (as in note 12, 2002), 91–92 and 216–218; JURAJ BELAJ (as in note 6), 131–140. A fine summary of art historical problems with additional literature has been offered by ANĐELKO BADURINA, Glogovnica, in: *Umjetnička topografija Hrvatske, Križevci – grad i okolica*, Zagreb, 1993, 309–312. A pioneering but largely superseded study is that by ANĐELA HORVAT, *Prilozi povijesno-umjetničkim problemima u nekoć templarskoj Glogovnici kod Križevaca*, in: *Peristil*, 4 (1961), 29–45.
- 49
See note 48.
- 50
Again, see note 48.
- 51
ZORAN HOMEN, *Rezultati prve etape arheoloških istraživanja u Glogovnici pokraj Križevaca*, in: *Vijesti muzealaca i konzervatora*, 3–4 (1998), 22–26; *id.* Glogovnica pokraj Križevaca – rezultati arheoloških istraživanja tijekom 1998 i 1999, *Obavijesti Hrvatskog arheološkog društva*, 1 (2000), 80–86.
- 52
See the studies of Dobronić, Horvat, and Badurina quoted in note 48.
- 53
The best analysis of the Glogovnica sculptures so far is that of LELJA DOBRONIĆ (as in note 5, 1998), 79–86. Her comparative material is also well selected, but needs to be supplemented. The 19th century tower was repaired in winter 2005, which gave an opportunity to Mr Vladimir Palošika, a local amateur-archaeologist, to make a cast of the figure and inspect its form very closely.
- 54
LELJA DOBRONIĆ (as in note 6, 1998), 84. Mr Palošika is to be credited with the discovery. See VLADIMIR PALOŠIKA, *Otkriće srednjovjekovne arhitektonske plastike u Glogovnici kraj Križevaca*, in: *Muzejski vjesnik*, 11 (1988), 46–47. Also: *Id.*, Glogovnica kraj Križevaca – još jedno otkriće srednjovjekovne arhitektonske plastike, *ibid.*, 13 (1990), 50–53.
- 55
Paradisium plantavit: Benedictine Monasteries in Medieval Hungary, Exhibition Catalogue, ed. by IMRE TAKÁCS, Pannonhalma,

2001, fig. V.39 (Madocsa); *Pannonia regia*, Exhibition Catalogue, ed. by Árpád Mikó and Imre Takács, Budapest, 1994, figs. I–65 (Pécs) and IV–15 (Somogyvár); also: VIRGIL VATAȘIANU, *Arhitectura și sculptura romanică în Panonia medievală*, Bucharest, 1966, figs. 16, 18, 19, and 23 (Pécs).

56

LELJA DOBRONIĆ (as in note 5, 1998), 83.

57

LELJA DOBRONIĆ (as in note 5, 1984b), 16.

58

GAETANO CURZI (as in note 12), fig. 11.

59

JURAJ BELAJ (as in note 6), pp. 145–149, with additional literature.

60

VLADIMIR PETER GOSS (as in note 44), passim; id., Uvodno o »Kamenu iz Belca« (Preliminary remarks on the »Stone of Belec«), *Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu*, 21 (2004), 223–228.

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Sažetak

Vladimir Peter Goss

Skulptura viteških redova između Save i Drave

Na temelju najnovijih znanstvenih rezultata u studiji se donosi katalog skulpture, prvenstveno romaničke, u međurječju Save i Drave, koja se može povezati s prisutnošću viteških redova – templara ili ivanovaca, te kanonika Sv. Groba u Jeruzalemu.

Istraživanje se temelji na radu mladoga talijanskog znanstvenika Gaetana Curzija, profesora na Università di Chieti. U svojoj nedavno objavljenoj vrijednoj knjizi *La pittura dei Templari* Curzi izrijekom ne tvrdi da postoji »templarski stil«, no ipak donosi neke vrlo važne uvide u »diferenciju specifičnu« templarskoga kruga. Posebice su važna tri njegova zaključka: 1. da templari prikazuju sebe i svoja djela češće nego drugi naručitelji; 2. da postoji određena sklonost neikoničnom izrazu, iako stručnjaci to nikada osobito ne naglašavaju kako ih se ne bi optuživalo da dovode templarski izraz automatski u svezu s neikoničnom umjetnošću islama. Možda bi se to moglo preciznije izraziti tako da se kaže da templari više nego drugi naručitelji pokazuju tendenciju prema neikoničnom izrazu, imajući ipak na umu da se takvim oblicima – ljljanima, rozetama i sl. – koriste i drugi srednjovjekovni naručitelji; 3. da te templarske sklonosti slijede i drugi redovi, ponajprije ivanovci (hospitalci). Curzijeva je knjiga, dakako, posvećena templarskom slikarstvu, no primjeri kiparstva pokazuju da

nema razlike između slikarske i kiparske motivike. Budući da se ti i takvi oblici pojavljuju i izvan križarskoga kruga, koristimo se njima kao dokaznim materijalom samo u slučajevima gdje se slažu sa spoznajama drugih povijesnih znanosti, ili gdje ih nadopunjuju, ili kad očito dominiraju djelom koje istražujemo.

Ti radovi, ovdje prvi put sakupljeni i analizirani kao skupina, pokazuju da su se križarski redovi između Save i Drave koristili istim oblikovnim, narativnim i simboličkim rječnikom kao i drugdje u kršćanskom svijetu. To je još jedna važna veza hrvatskoga srednjovjekovnog društva i kulture s kulturom Europe. Naši primjeri ili u potpunosti potvrđuju nalaze drugih povijesnih znanosti (Brckovljani, Martin, Glogovnica, Prozorje), ili donose važne dokaze u slučajevima kad su drugi materijali oskudni ili teško razumljivi (Križovljan, Koška), te čak otvaraju potpuno nove mogućnosti (Lobor). U jednom slučaju (Nova Rača) materijal koji se u načelu može pripisati križarskom krugu ostaje pod znakom sumnje.

Ključne riječi: križari, viteški redovi, romanička skulptura, Hrvatska, Panonija, srednjovjekovna Slavonija, srednjovjekovna umjetnost

