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A Note on Some Pre-Roman Sources of Medieval Art in Pannonia

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Summary

The aim of this study is to raise awareness of the pre-Classical sources of medieval art, Romanesque sculpture in particular. The author has selected several examples of sculpture from two key southern Pannonian sites, the Benedictine abbey of Rudina, and the Cathedral of Pécs. Rudina has rightly been recognized as the key site of the Romanesque in Slavonia, especially for its collection of bracket heads in a very unique and expressive style. Among them, the so-called »Cat« with three faces, has direct analogies with Celtic stone and clay sculpture, and the eyes of many Rudina pieces, as well as of those of Glogovnica, are analogous to

those of the three-headed pearls found on the Iapodic territory (Croatian Highlands), and to some other prehistoric materials (Gornja Vrba). This is also true of some of the brackets from Pécs, which show certain similarities in terms of concept and format with those of Rudina. A small sample of Romanesque sculpture between the Sava and the Drava Rivers has yielded some very firm analogies with the pre-Roman materials, so this is in an avenue of research which may be profitably applied on a larger European scale.

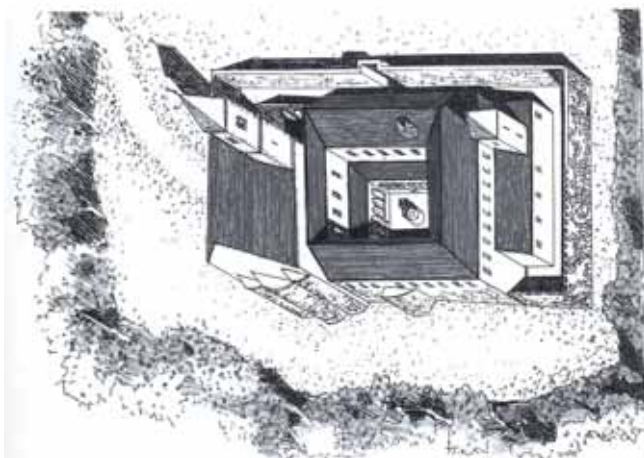
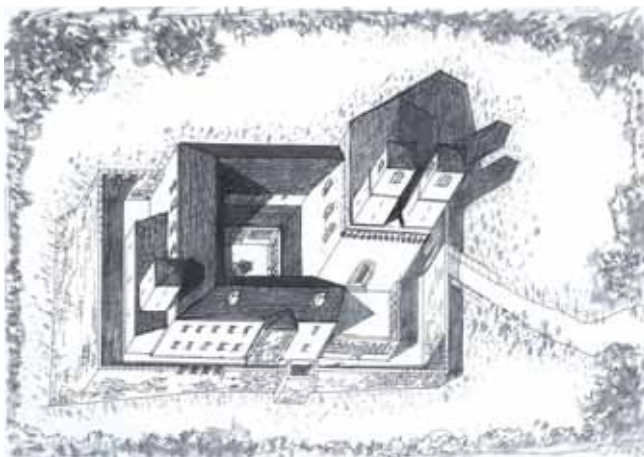
Key Words: Romanesque, Slavonia, Pannonia, Rudina, Pécs, Glogovnica, Croatia, medieval sculpture, the Celts

The year 2007 saw the monumental exhibition entitled »Rome and the Barbarians – The Birth of the New World«, held in Venice in the Palazzo Grassi. One would expect that the title by itself might lead to the reopening of the old controversies formulated as »Orient oder Rom«, »The North or the Mediterranean«, »The Romans or the Germans«, etc., of course not just along the lines of a clash of civilizations (although it did occur), but in terms of the creation of a new common European Culture.¹ The debate that raged during the first half of the 20th century has considerably subsided, which actually is not all too good for art history. One has to bear in mind that the »Humanists«, advocates of the role of the classical tradition of Rome and Greece, and of Judeo-Christian spirituality, did an outstanding job for later periods over the course of some one hundred years, whereas the contribution of the »Barbarian« component has been argued with much less precision and clarity.² As the discussion has been invariably tinged by nationalism and regionalism, it has often been couched in terms of unnecessary acrimony and exclusiveness. Decades ago Brozzi and Tagliaferri masterfully rejected such extreme positions arguing that any theory relying on just one single factor is without exception wrong.³ The fact, however, remains, that the »humanist« side is still highly prevalent in art history,

and that a sober and careful reevaluation of the »barbarian« component may be in order.

Should we embark upon such a project, we would quickly notice that the materials are scarce, and that there are few precise studies such as those presented by the »humanists« linking a particular Ancient, Greco-Roman, or Classical piece with a work of art of a later period.⁴ The goal of this study is, therefore, to indicate that such research on non-classical sources of medieval art is possible, useful, and needed. In our case, we are not dealing with some marginal pieces, but with the materials from the most valuable sites of Romanesque art in Southern Pannonia, the Benedictine abbey of Rudina, and the cathedral of its diocese at Pécs.

As a locality, Rudina was mentioned for the first time in a donation of some land to the Templars in 1210. There is also a panel with a Glagolitic inscription which Putanec has read as »1129, possibly the date of the founding of the abbey«. Seven abbots were mentioned between 1279 and 1524. A little more than a decade after the latter date, the Turks took Rudina (1536). They used it as a cemetery. As rulers changed so did the population, erasing memories of the past. On the 18th century maps Rudina is marked as »Rudina Castle«, recalling the fortified nature of the abbey while forgetting its religious role. The destruction of the



1 Rudina, St. Mihovil, reconstruction by Sena Gvozdanović-Sekulić (iz ostavštine Sene Sekulić-Gvozdanović)

Rudina, Sv. Mihovil, rekonstrukcija Sena Sekulić-Gvozdanović

abbey by local population was carried out throughout the 19th and the 20th century. New churches and entire villages, Čečavac, Kujnik, Šnjegavić, etc., were built by the new, Orthodox, immigrants. Attempts to save Rudina have been going on for more than a century, since 1906 and 1907, when Julije Kempf and Đuro Szabo visited the site. Fragments of sculpture and architectural decoration have been reaching museums and collections ever since. But the devastation of Rudina continued, and it was only about 25 years ago that serious investigations were launched by the City Museum in Požega under supervision of Dubravka Sokač-Štimac, and with active support from the late Bishop Đuro Kokša. Unfortunately, in spite of enthusiasm and the efforts of the investigators, the excavations ground to a halt several years ago. A recent visit, in the spring of 2009, found Rudina again overgrown by thistle and blackberry, the ashlar of the apse were dislocated and some possibly stolen, the tombs broken up. This is unfortunately what happens all too often to the key monuments of art in Continental Croatia.⁵

The investigations have recovered an aisled, three-apsed basilica built of fine ashlar, and tastefully decorated by blind arches, diamond beads, palmettes, and the typical Roma-

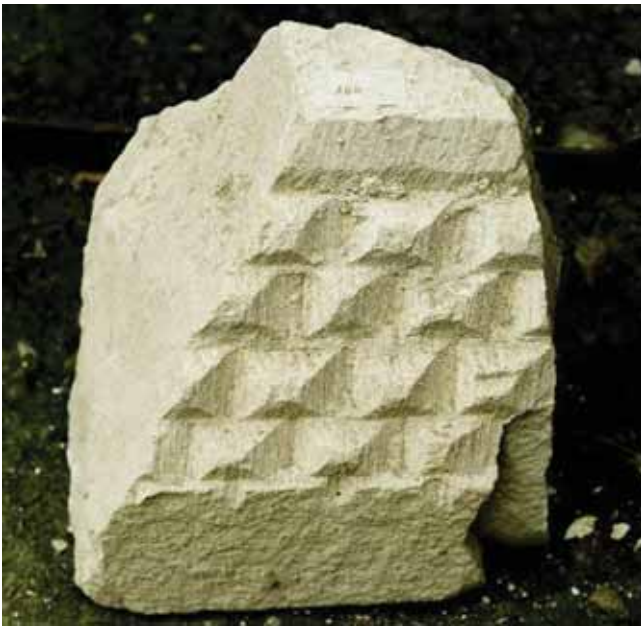


2 Rudina, St. Mihovil, Palmette, the Town Museum in Požega (foto: AMZ)

Rudina, Sv. Mihovil, palmeta, Gradski muzej Požega

nesque sausage-like moldings (fig. 1–4). Small size bricks, typical of Romanesque Slavonia have been discovered, but also Roman bricks. The bricks were probably used for the vaults. Dimensions of the church are modest (14 x 8 meters), but the quality of the masonry, the harmony of the ground plan and architectural masses, and the architectural and figured décor are on the level of the contemporary Pannonian art. One should note, in particular, the similarity of spatial concept to that of Somogyvár and Ellésmonostor (both 12th ct.). There were two towers at the western façade, following a well-established Pannonian practice going back to the 11th century, and an atrium in front of them.⁶ A smaller chapel with no aisles but with a wide round apse has been found to the west of the main complex. It recalls the church of St. Elijah in Vinkovci, and, in general, a number of early Romanesque buildings on both sides of the Drava.⁷ To the north of the main church there is a sacristy, the capitulary hall with the cloister and a cistern, and other monastic buildings. The investigations have located traces of an early Christian phase along the southern wall of the main church, Gothic additions in the same area, and, possibly, traces of Early Byzantine fortifications at the north-western corner of the site, as well as a number of Turkish tomb stones. The main topic of this study are, however, the Rudina heads which, together with the rest of the Rudina fragments, represent the richest collection of Romanesque sculpture between the Sava and the Drava rivers.⁸

Thanks to Kempf and Szabo the first sculptures from Rudina reached museum collections in 1906, a key-stone with a cross was brought to the City Museum in Požega, and a head to the Archeological Museum in Zagreb (fig. 5). Today, one hundred years later, the collection of Rudina faces counts twenty pieces of stone with a total of twenty-one face. They were all parts of an architectural complex, most likely brackets, or capital zones. Eighteen stones bear one head or



3 Rudina, St. Mihovil, Diamond Beads, the Town Museum in Požega (foto: AMZ)

Rudina, Sv. Mihovil, kamen s dijamantnim zrcima, Gradski muzej Požega



face each, one used to have three, but today it has two (figs. 6, 7). Additionally there is a lozenge shaped panel with a face engraved in the same style. It is probably a fragment of a base, possibly even an unfinished and rejected piece. Seventeen fragments with faces are being held by the City Museum in Požega, and one by the Archeological Museum and the Glasnović Collection in Zagreb.⁹

Matko Peić, writing in 1957, identified the Rudina faces as an important artistic phenomenon, with which all subsequent writers have fully agreed. They have been described as supreme examples of Romanesque stylization, perhaps somewhat rustic but deeply expressive in their strict linearity which, however, does not restrict the life of the sculptural detail. If we take a careful look at each of the stones, we will realize that in spite of an apparent uniformity we encounter an endless number of variations. In general, it has proved impossible to find direct analogies within the Carpathian basin, or beyond, which leads to the logical conclusion that the specific Rudina style came into being on the slope of the Požega mountains. One is aware of the unifying spirit of the whole, within which one can distinguish several hands.¹⁰

The »Head Master« (fig. 8), the presumed leader of the Rudina workshop, displays a sovereign control of an artistic dictionary consisting of rectilinear and slanted grooves, which gives his art a great artistic depth, but also some classical equilibrium and economy. His bearded head is a good example of such sense for the frame, but also for the interplay of convex and concave surfaces, and straight and curving lines. His style is furthermore defined by a mouth shown as a small elongated rectangle, and strongly protruding

4 Rudina, St. Mihovil, Romanesque Molding, the Town Museum in Požega (foto: AMZ)

Rudina, Sv. Mihovil, romanička profilacija, Gradski muzej Požega

5 Rudina, St. Mihovil, Head, Archeological Museum in Zagreb (foto: AMZ)

Rudina, Sv. Mihovil, glava, Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu

eyes with a hole for the pupil surmounted by a straight block forehead. *Vox populi, vox Dei*, and so this head has been universally recognized as a badge of the Rudina style. We find it on posters, key-chains, T-shirts, neckties, and on the seal of the City Museum in Požega. It is the most frequently asked for cast. The same head is featured among the only 25 color plates in the Proceedings of the Parma Symposium in 2004, where it was reproduced as an illustration to my article along with five other Rudina heads, and selected for



6 Rudina, St. Mihovil, Stone with Two Heads, the Town Museum in Požega (foto: AMZ)

Rudina, Sv. Mihovil, kamen s dvije glave, Gradski muzej Požega

7 Rudina, St. Mihovil, Head with Bulging Eyes, the Town Museum in Požega (foto: AMZ)

Rudina, Sv. Mihovil, glava s izbuljenim očima, Gradski muzej Požega

8 Rudina, St. Mihovil, Head by the »Head Master«, the Town Museum in Požega (foto: AMZ)

Rudina, Sv. Mihovil, glava »Glavnog Majstora«, Gradski muzej Požega

color reproducing without any suggestions on my part. The editor independently recognized its value as the hallmark of the style. Elsewhere, I have dealt with the complicated issue the various artists of the Rudina heads, so I will not go into the matter here.

Rather, we will let another piece claim the center of the stage. This is the »Cat«, a piece with three faces, three noses and four eyes (fig. 9). This artist works in flat, parallel planes, successively removing the layers of the stone while carefully inscribing clear, sharp details. If we take a closer look, we will notice that its central and right side (the left side from the viewer's point of view) nose, eye, whiskers, and mouth are on the same level, higher than those on the left. Here, the eye is markedly lower, placed within a saucer-like cavity which we do not find on the right. This appears to be a fairly strong indication that the piece of stone was worked by two

artists, a telling detail concerning the division of work within a medieval workshop.¹¹

What are the sources of the Rudina style? In 2004 I suggested that at Rudina there used to be some late Antique, most likely Oriental, model. A fresco painted by some itinerant Eastern Christian painter? Or, if Rudina had indeed been a *castrum* of Justinian's Reconquest, maybe some Byzantine soldier, from Egypt, might have left some little object made of wood, clay or bone, or a toy such as fascinated the public at the Coptic art exhibition »After the Pharaoh« in Budapest in 2005. It is known that Coptic wares circulated in Pannonia even during the Avar Khaganate. It is possible that the continuity of population and of Christian cult at Rudina was never interrupted. Non-figured fragments, such as the cross made of interlacing and the fragments with palmettes (fig. 2), fit in well with the figured sculpture. The palmettes are strikingly similar to those



9 Rudina, St. Mihovil, the »Cat«, the Town Museum in Požega (foto: AMZ)

Rudina, Sv. Mihovil, »Mačak«, Gradski muzej Požega

on Coptic textiles, and they have at least one very close analogy in Pannonia, at Madocsa (12th century). I still think that such sources should be considered, but for some Rudina pieces we have now quite certain local precedents.¹²

The key piece in those terms is the above mentioned »Cat« (fig. 9). Such three-faced, four-eyed faces are well-known in the art of the Celts, for example, two such heads from Reims (2nd century), or the clay (thus portable!) head from Bavay in Belgium. The bulging eyes of a number of the Rudina pieces now also seem to be easier to account for (figs. 6, 7). An interesting precedent is found in the three-faced pearls from the territory of the Iapodes in the Croatian and Bosnian Highlands (Kompolje, Prozor, Donja Dolina, with a note that here we are dealing with three faces and six eyes, although to the northwest of our territory there are also examples with four eyes). They are believed to originate from Pontus, and reached their finding places through the Celts, in the tombs of which they are frequently found (fig. 10). The little rounded eyes of the sculptures of the Canons of the Holy Sepulcher of Jerusalem from Glogovnica near Križevci (ca. 1200, fig. 11), may be due to a similar model.¹³

Relatively little has been written about the pre-classical sources of the Romanesque art, especially so in Croatia. I touched upon the issue when dealing with the seven-headed stone from Križovljan, and similar possible sources have been invoked in the case of the multi-headed »lunette« from Somogyvár (12th ct.).¹⁴ A bracket from the Cathedral of Pécs, which by its linear detail and fascinating asymmetry somewhat recalls Rudina, also recalls a face on the sword from Szab in Hungary (first half of the 3rd ct. B.C.). A head shaped pot from Donja Vrbica in the Archeological Museum of Đerdap in Serbia (1st ct. B.C.) is strikingly similar to the heads of the Glogovnica Canons.¹⁵



10 Three Face Pearls from Kompolje, Archeological Museum in Zagreb (foto: AMZ)

Perle s tri lica iz Kompolja, Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu



11 Glogovnica, parish house, Canon of the Holy Sepulcher (foto AMZ)

Glogovnica, župni dvor, lik sepulkralca



12 Pécs, Cathedral Museum, Bracket (foto: Goss-Jukić)
Pečuh, konzola, Muzej katedrale.

14 Visoko, Head in the Bell Tower (foto: Goss-Jukić)
Visoko, glava u zvoniku crkve

The same bulging and rounded »Celtic« eyes are found on the brackets at Pécs, especially those bearing animal, but also human heads. One of those (fig. 13) with rounded eyes and just barely sketched lines of hair and beard around a squarish face, a true masterpiece of curving surfaces and lines, has an analogy in a face built into the top story of the bell-tower at Visoko below Kalnik (fig. 14). This unpublished sculpture, shown to us by Vladimir Palošika, amateur historian from Križevci, may be pre-historic (Celtic?), but also medieval.

Some of the Pécs cathedral brackets display a rudimentary power recalling Rudina. There is also a certain similarity in the format of the bracket, in particular between the triangular



13 Pécs, Cathedral Museum, Bracket (foto: Goss-Jukić)
Pečuh, konzola, Muzej katedrale

»Ram« head from Rudina and some among the triangular brackets at Pécs (figs. 15, 16).¹⁶ It is possible that some of the Rudina carvers adopted the concept and the format of the brackets from the cathedral church of their diocese, some eighty kilometers to the North. It is also possible that the sculptors from Pécs and from Rudina shared some common sources (see the little blind arches, which are practically identical), but the interpretations of those sources are quite different. I have written about that elsewhere, and the reader is referred to those pages.¹⁷

The presumed indigenous character of the Rudina sculptures is quite »in« in terms of some recent views on the Romanesque art which pay less attention to the amount and importance of travel presumably done by the people and ideas (e.g., Xavier Barral i Altet in *Contre l'art roman?*, 2006).¹⁸ Although such a position may be overdone and run against the historical sources, I agree that far reaching conclusions concerning the »travel of forms« (i.e., people, as the forms do not travel, but people who disseminate them do) should not be reached on stylistic grounds alone. It is not too difficult to recognize the essence of a Romanesque work of art be it in Ireland or Transylvania, but it is equally easy to distinguish between the Romanesque in Scandinavia or Spain. Local conditions, experiences, models, or memories define how a local dialect may emerge from within that universal language.¹⁹

At Rudina one can find certain firm points, such as the Celtic sources for the »Cat«, prehistoric models for the unusual eyes. Further research may make the list of Rudina Pre-



15 Rudina, St. Mihovil, the »Ram«, the Town Museum in Požega (foto: AMZ)

Rudina, Sv. Mihovil, »Ovan«, Gradski muzej Požega



16 Pécs, Cathedral Museum, Bracket (foto: Goss-Jukić)
Pečuh, konzola, Muzej katedrale.

Roman sources even longer. However, we believe that there were also examples of Roman provincial sculpture at Rudina, and that the classical balance between the horizontals and the verticals, and between the projections and the cavities in the art of the »Head Master« (fig. 8) could be accounted for by invoking such models.²⁰ Points of contact between Rudina and the workshop, more exactly, one of the workshops at Pécs, are also worth restudying, although I do not think that they are crucial for an understanding of the genesis of the Rudina style.²¹

In the study of the sources of the Romanesque sculpture, models of »Barbarian«, »Oriental«, or »Prehistoric« kind have, of course, been invoked in a general sense. Rarely do we find, however, a precise definition of a source, or the class of objects to which, as in the case of our »Cat«, the source belongs.²² One should, however, remember that the entire western European tradition is essentially Indo-European, and that even the non-Indo-European peoples in European territory have undergone a strong influence from their Indo-European neighbors (e.g., the Hungarians and the Finns have). The Greeks and the Romans are equally Indo-European as the Celts or the Langobards. By saying this we are not denying that the Romanesque might incorporate also Arabic or Far Eastern models. The links, of course, existed, and for »nice« motifs there were always ready eyes and hands. The Classical art of the Mediterranean, of the Greeks and the Romans, is only one aspect (and this holds true for some of its phases only) of the anthropomorphic, idealized expression, evidently linked to the urban character

of the Greek polis and the Roman municipium. Make just a small sidestep either in time or space, and you enter another world of rich decorative fantasy, of an animal and vegetal genius in which the human figure, highly stylized, comes forward as a participant in that world of teeming, sacred decoration. It, the figure, plays that role not just in the world of the »Barbarians«, but also in pre-Classical Greece, and in rural and provincial Rome. There is much more important pair of opposites than the customary one of Rome versus the Barbarians – the one of the *Urbs* and the *Rus*. The early Middle Ages and the Romanesque are period of the *Rus*, within which, in the course of the Romanesque, the *Urbs* gradually makes its reappearance, to claim as the key bearer of the elite and elitist culture its capital role until the present day. This does not mean that along the urban foci of the Renaissance, the Enlightenment, and the Liberal Capitalism, the spirit of the rural magic has ceased to create. We can recognize it in the Renaissance, even more in the populism of the Baroque and of today.²³ The problem is that art history, as a typically elitist discipline, has been stuck on the »100 great monuments«, and has consistently kept silent about the existence of the »silent majority.«²⁴ If we ever happen to stoop »that low«, we call it »folklore«, »exotic«, »primitive«. The Pre-Romanesque, the Romanesque, and, I would venture to suggest, in some aspects the Baroque, were the great moments of the assertion of the »*Rus*«. Within such a framework it should be possible much more precisely to define the role of the non-urban elements of both the Antique civilization, and of its co-travelers – the Celts, Illyrians, the

new settlers such as the Germans and the Slavs, and of the European peoples of Asian origin. The Caucasus, the Altay, the steppe, the Irish and the Vikings, Perun and Veles did not reach the West in the 4th, or the 5th, or the 6th century. They had been a permanent component of the European cultural experience; in Athens and Rome they did not walk the Acropolis or the Capitol, but they hid in the huts, or on the mountain tops or in the marshes, places they themselves have selected and defined.²⁵

It is significant that in a relatively small sample of some one hundred figured, animal, and vegetal fragments of the Romanesque sculpture in medieval Slavonia we have identified several cases in which with a high degree of certainty we can point to non-classical, even pre-classical sources. This should encourage us to a new and systematic reevaluation of not just the Romanesque, but of the entire non-urban art expression of our country, and, naturally, of our entire common Europe.

Bilješke

- 1
JEAN-JACQUES AILLAGON, ed., *Rome and the Barbarians – The Birth of a New World*, Exhibition Catalogue, Venice, Palazzo Grassi, 2008.
- 2
As a fine example of such efforts we propose: ARTURO CARLO QUINTAVALLE, ed., *Medioevo: il tempo degli Antichi*, Parma, 2003, with some 50 excellent contributions by major scholars.
- 3
MARIO BROZZI and AMELIO TAGLIAFERI, *Arte Longobarda – la scultura figurativa su marmo e su metallo*, Cividale, 1961, pp. 18–22.
- 4
ARTURO CARLO QUINTAVALLE, ed. (Note 2)
- 5
For the newest conclusions on Rudina see VLADIMIR P. GOSS, *Sva lica Rudine*, Split (in press; hereafter: SLR), IDEM, *Stotinu kameničića izgubljenog raja – Romanička skulptura u muzejima i zbirnkama između Save i Drave*, Exhibition Catalogue, Zagreb, 2007. (hereafter: SKIR), pp. 26–30, and the Catalogue entries no. 41–66 (by Dubravka Sokač-Štimac), 85 (by Katica Simoni), and 106 (by Vjekoslav Jukić).
- 6
Please see note 5, and SENA GVOZDANOVIĆ-SEKULIĆ, *Utvrdjeni samostani na tlu Hrvatske*, Zagreb, 2007, pp. 39–45, and BELA ZSOLT SZAKÁCS, *Western Complexes of Hungarian Churches in the Early 11th Century*, in: *Hortus artium medievalium* 3 (1997), pp. 149–163.
- 7
VLADIMIR P. GOSS, *A Reemerging World – Prolegomena to an Introduction to Earlier Medieval Art Between the Sava and the Drava Rivers*, in: *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, III. ser., 32 (2005), 91–112. SKIR, p. 20, ILONA WALTER, *Árpád-kori téglatemplomok nyugat-dunánántúlun*, Budapest, 2004, ground plans 6, 37, 40, 44, 47, etc. Recently a possibility of an Early Christian origin of the chapel has also been raised (an oral communication by Branka Migotti, for which I remain grateful).
- 8
SKIR, pp. 27–29.
- 9
SKIR, pp. 26, and the Catalogue, nos. 41–57, 85, 106.
- 10
MATKO PEIĆ, *Likovne i ostale umjetnosti Požege*, in: *Požega 1227–1977*, Požega, 1977, pp. 486–494. SLR (in print).
- 11
SLR (in press), SKIR, p. 30; VLADIMIR P. GOSS, *Oriental Presence and Medieval Art in Croatian Pannonia*, in: *Medioevo Mediterraneo: L'Occidente, Bisanzio e l'Islam*, Parma, 2007, pp. 447–455, especially pp. 453–454.
- 12
Ibid., p. 454, IMRE TAKÁCS, ed., *Paradisium plantavit*, Exhibition Catalogue, Pannonhalma, 2001, p. 236; LASZLO TÖRÖK, *After the Pharaohs*, Exhibition Catalogue, Budapest, 2005, pp. 170, 171, 246–248.
- 13
JACQUES MOREAU, *Die Welt der Kelten*, Stuttgart, 1961, p. 105, figs. 74, 75. DUBRAVKA BALEN-LETUNIĆ, *Perle s tri lica pronađene na području Like*, in: *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu*, III. ser. 23 (1990), pp. 41–54, SKIR, pp. 30–34 and the Catalogue nos. 31–35 (by Lana Okroša Rožić).
- 14
VLADIMIR P. GOSS, *Kamen iz Križovljana nakon Kamena iz Belca*, in: *Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju* 22 (2005), 187–198, IMRE TAKÁCS (as in note 12), 421–422.
- 15
VENCESLAS KRUTA et al., eds., *The Celts*, Exhibition Catalogue, Venice, Palazzo Grassi, 1991, pp. 330, 381.
- 16
More in SLR (in press).
- 17
More in SLR (in press).
- 18
Xavier Barral i Altet, *Contre l'art roman?*, Paris 2006.
- 19
More in SLR (in press).
- 20
SKIR, pp. 26–28.
- 21
SKIR, p. 28, Catalogue, no. 48, and SLR (in press).
- 22
Much has been done by Jurgis Baltrusaitis in a series of works such as *Formations, deformations: la stilistique ornamentale dans la sculpture romane*, Paris 1931, new edition, Paris 1986.
- 23
»The Renaissance« as a specific art style exists in one place in the world only – in Florence, and even there within its elite circles.

The Baroque possesses an elitist, academic, classicist trend, but its greatness lies in the works based on a renewed populist religiosity. Let us also recall the phenomenon of the »Naive art« as a constitutive part of the Croatian »Moderna«.

24

VLADIMIR P. GOSS, Rural Romanesque in Central and Eastern Europe. A Voice for a Silent Majority, in: *Integrazione, Assimilazione, Esclusione e Reazione Etnica*, Venice (in press).

25

VITOMIR BELAJ, *Hod kroz godinu*, 2nd ed., Zagreb, 2007.

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Sažetak**Vladimir Peter Goss****Nekoliko mogućih predrimskih modela za srednjovjekovnu skulpturu u Panoniji**

Cilj ove studije je razmatranje izvora romaničke umjetnosti, konkretno skulpture u svjetlu predrimskih, predklasičnih modela. Autor pritom koristi građu s dvaju ključnih spomenika romanike u južnoj Panoniji, s benediktinske opatije Rudina u Požeškoj kotlini i s Katedrale u Pečuhu. Rudina je s razlogom poznata po svojoj skulpturi kao ključni spomenik romanike u Slavoniji, a posebice po svojim glavama-konzolama izrazito ekspresivnog stila, unutar kojega postoji više inačica, dakle nekoliko majstora klesara. Za temu je najvažnija skulptura nazvana »Mačak«, s tri lica, tri nosa i četiri oka. Takvi prikazi javljaju se nerijetko u keltskoj umjetnosti, a navode se i analogije iz Reimsa (2. st.) i Belgije. Sličan motiv troglavosti javlja se na perlama pronađenim na Japodskom području Like i u Bosni (Kompolje, Prozor, Donja Dolina), s tom razlikom da je tu riječ o tri lica i šest očiju, premda sjeverozapadno od našeg područja ima primjera i s četiri oka. Te su perle vjerojatno pontski rad, a do nas su doprle posredstvom Kelta, u čijim se grobovima nalaze. Izbuljene oči tih perli, a i nekih drugih pretpovijesnih (keltskih) predmeta iz Panonije, mogle su poslužiti

kao uzor za formiranje izbuljenih očiju rudinske skulpture, ali i za formiranje glava i detalja lica na figurama iz Glogovnice pokraj Križevaca. Slične analogije nalazimo i na ograničenom broju konzola s katedrale u Pečuhu, koje su koncepcijom i formatom slične rudinskim, ali s iznimkom rudinskog »Ovna«, s Rudinom nemaju nekih izrazitijih dodirnih točaka. Rudinski stil je najvjerojatnije nastao na Rudini, a potvrda je suvremenim razmišljanjima (Barral i Altet) o lokalnim izvorima romanike, te daleko manjoj količini putovanja ljudi i oblika nego što se to ranije tvrdilo. Dakako, znanstvenici su i ranije ukazivali na predklasične izvore srednjovjekovnih oblika (npr. Jurgis Baltrušaitis), no rijetko kada se mogu naći tako eklatantni primjeri kao što je naš »Mačak«. U skromnom uzroku romaničke skulpture očuvanom na području između Save i Drave našli smo nekoliko uvjerljivih analogija, što pokazuje na mogućnosti koje se otvaraju za slična istraživanja na europskoj razini.

Ključne riječi: Romanika, Slavonija, Panonija, Rudina, Pécs, Glogovnica, Hrvatska, srednjovjekovna skulptura, Kelti.