

Ivanovačka kapela u Pakracu - prikaz graditeljskog razvoja

Belaj, Juraj; Papić, Iva

Source / Izvornik: **Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu, 2021, 54, 509 - 528**

Journal article, Published version

Rad u časopisu, Objavljena verzija rada (izdavačev PDF)

<https://doi.org/10.52064/vamz.54.1.23>

Permanent link / Trajna poveznica: <https://um.nsk.hr/um:nbn:hr:291:229336>

Rights / Prava: [Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International/Imenovanje-Nekomercijalno-Bez prerada 4.0 međunarodna](#)

Download date / Datum preuzimanja: **2024-09-21**



INSTITUT ZA
ARHEOLOGIJU

Repository / Repozitorij:

[RIARH - Repository of the Institute of archaeology](#)



IVANOVAČKA KAPELA U PAKRACU — PRIKAZ GRADITELJSKOG RAZVOJA

THE HOSPITALER CHAPEL IN PAKRAC — A STUDY OF ARCHITECTURAL STRATIFICATION

Juraj Belaj
Institut za arheologiju
Jurjevska 15
HR – 10000 Zagreb
jbelaj@iarh.hr

Iva Papić
Ministarstvo kulture i medija Republike Hrvatske
Konzervatorski odjel u Osijeku
Kuhačeva 27
HR – 31000 Osijek
ivapapic@gmail.com

Juraj Belaj
Institute of Archaeology
Jurjevska 15
HR – 10000 Zagreb
jbelaj@iarh.hr

Iva Papić
Ministry of Culture and Media of the Republic of Croatia
Conservation Department in Osijek
Kuhačeva 27
HR – 31000 Osijek
ivapapic@gmail.com

UDK / UDC: UDK: 726.033.5(497.541 Pakrac)
Prethodno priopćenje / Preliminary communication
<https://doi.org/10.52064/vamz.54.1.23>

Tema je ovoga rada prikaz graditeljske slojevitosti srednjovjekovne ivanovačke kapele u Pakracu. Kapela je sačuvana u arheološkom sloju. Tijekom višegodišnjih arheoloških istraživanja, započelih 2017. godine, utvrđena su dva srednjovjekovna graditeljska sloja: izvorna ivanovačka kapela i kasnije utvrđena crkva. Ivanovačka je kapela bila dvoranska crkva ravno zaključenog svetišta (Saalkirche) koja je utvrđena tijekom drugoga graditeljskog sloja. Pronađeni su kameni ulomci arhitektonske plastike in situ i u šuti te je njihovom arhitektonskom analizom, uz analizu komparativnih primjera, potvrđeno postojanje dvaju srednjovjekovnih graditeljskih slojeva, a izvedena je i djelomična rekonstrukcija tlocrta izvorne kapele i kasnije utvrđene crkve.

Ključne riječi:
ivanovci, Pakrac, ivanovačka kapela, utvrđena crkva, vladislavska gotika, viteški redovi

The topic of this paper is a study of the architectural stratification of the medieval Hospitaller chapel in Pakrac. The chapel is preserved in the archaeological layer. During perennial archaeological research, started in 2017, two medieval architectural layers have been confirmed: the Hospitaller chapel and a later fortified church. The Hospitaller chapel was a one-aisled church with a rectangular sanctuary as wide as the church (Saalkirche type of church), which was, during the second medieval architectural layer, fortified. Various stone fragments were found in situ and in debris, and their stylistic and architectural analysis, as well as their comparison with similar examples of architectural sculpture, has confirmed the existence of two medieval layers of the Pakrac church and, also, allowed for a partial reconstruction of the layout of the original Hospitaller chapel and the later fortified church.

Key words:
Hospitallers, Hospitaller chapel, fortified church, Early Gothic style, Czech Gothic style, military orders

U ovome ćemo se radu¹ usredotočiti na ivanovačku kapelu otkrivenu 2017. godine na području Staroga grada u Pakracu,² dok se pitanjem samog Staroga grada nećemo baviti. Prikazat ćemo

In this paper¹ we are focusing on the Hospitaller chapel discovered in 2017 in the area of the medieval castle “Pakrac-Stari Grad”,² while we are not addressing the castle “Pakrac-Stari

1 Ovaj je rad sufinancirala Hrvatska zaklada za znanost projektom *Razvoj i naslijeđe viteških redova u Hrvatskoj* (milOrd; HRZZ, IP-2019-04-5513).

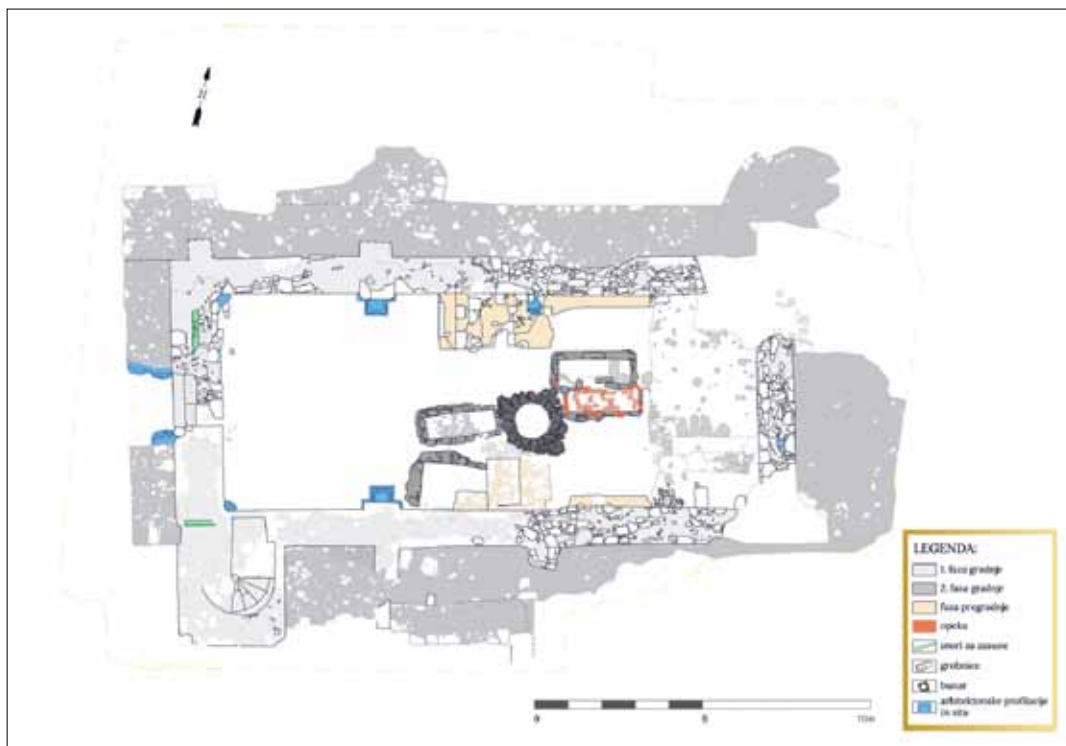
2 U arheološkim istraživanjima lokaliteta Pakrac-Stari grad, koje vodi Juraj Belaj (Institut za arheologiju), u prvju su kampanji otvorene tri pokusne sonde. Premda su sve ponudile vrlo vrijedne rezultate, u kasnijim kampanjama istraživana je isključivo kapela – predmet ovog rada. Istraživanja se i dalje nastavljaju, za sažeti prikaz dosadašnjih istraživanja, vidjeti Belaj 2018, 54–60; 2019, 101–106; 2020, 122–134.

1 This paper has in part been supported by the Croatian Science Foundation within the project *Development and Heritage of the Military Orders in Croatia* (milOrd; HRZZ, IP-2019-04-5513).

2 During the first campaign of the archaeological research of the site of castle “Pakrac-Stari Grad”, led by Juraj Belaj of the Institute of Archaeology, Zagreb, three test probes were opened. Although all three showed valuable results, in later campaigns only the chapel, which is the topic of this paper, was thoroughly researched. The research continues to this day. For more about previous research see: Belaj 2018, 54–60; 2019, 101–106; 2020, 122–134.

SLIKA 1. Tlocrt ivanovačke kapele u Pakracu (izradile V. Gligora, J. Maslač).

FIGURE 1. Layout of the Hospitaller chapel in Pakrac (made by V. Gligora, J. Maslač).



povijesno-graditeljsku slojevitost ivanovačke kapele te uz pomoć komparativne analize srodnih tlocrtnih rješenja opisati dva utvrđena srednjovjekovna sloja: izvornu kapelu, nastalu u ranom 13. stoljeću, te njezinu adaptaciju u crkvu-tvrđavu na prijelazu 15. u 16. stoljeće (sl. 1). Analiza tlocrta bit će popraćena analizom arhitektonske plastike nađene *in situ*, kao i u arheološkim slojevima, koja je upotpunila i potvrdila datiranje dviju srednjovjekovnih graditeljskih faza.

U novijoj historiografiji prevladava mišljenje da su zemlju Pakrac ivanovci stekli od kralja Emerika ili Andrije II., dakle između 1196. i 1235. godine.³ Tako je zapisano u ispravi koju je 29. 1. 1238. godine izdao kralj Bela IV., ako prihvatimo da se u iskrivljenom obliku *Petriz* može prepoznati ime Pakraca.⁴ Činjenica da su jezgru pakračkog posjeda ivanovci dobili „prije prvog okretanja Slavoniji 1238. godine“ čini Pakrac, prema mišljenju mađarskog povjesničara ovog reda Zsolta Hunyadija, jednim od njihovih najvažnijih preceptorata južno od Drave.⁵ Smijemo pretpostaviti da nije prošlo mnogo vremena od stjecanja ovog posjeda na iznimno važnom geostrateškom položaju do izgradnje ivanovačkog sjedišta – *domusa*. Također, možemo pretpostaviti da se u njegovu sklopu nalazila i kapela, kako je bilo uobičajeno,⁶ štoviše – da su građeni istovremeno.

Grad” itself. We will show the architectural and historical stratification of the Pakrac chapel and, with the aid of comparative analysis of similar architectural solutions, describe two medieval architectural layers: the original Hospitaller chapel, built in the early 13th century, and its adaptation as a Hospitaller church-fortress at the turn of the 16th century (Fig. 1). Analysis of the architectural layout is accompanied by the analysis of architectural sculpture found *in situ* and during the archaeological research, which has confirmed the dating of two medieval architectural layers.

In recent historiography, the assumption prevails that the Order of St John acquired land at Pakrac from King Emeric or King Andrew II, meaning between 1196 and 1235.³ That is written in a document which was issued on 29 January 1238 by King Bela IV, if we accept that the distorted name *Petriz* can be recognized as Pakrac.⁴ The plain fact that the Hospitallers gained the Pakrac estate “prior to their turning towards Slavonia in 1238” makes Pakrac one of the most important Hospitaller preceptories south of the River Drava, according to Zsolt Hunyadi, a Hungarian historian of this Order.⁵ We may assume that the Hospitallers built their *domus* not long after they gained this possession on an extremely important geostrategic position. We may also assume that within it there existed a chapel, as was common⁶ – moreover, they were probably built at the same time.

3 Dobronić 1984a, 102–103; 1984b, 60; 2002, 133, 229. B. Križan smatra da su ivanovci zemlju Pakrac stekli kasnije, 1238./1239. godine (Križan 2006).

4 O različitim nazivima Pakraca, vidjeti u Dobronić 1984a, 102–103; 1984b, 60; 2002, 133, 229; Herman Kaurić 2014, 499; Štrk 2017, osobito tablica na str. 54–56.

5 Hunyadi 2010, 130.

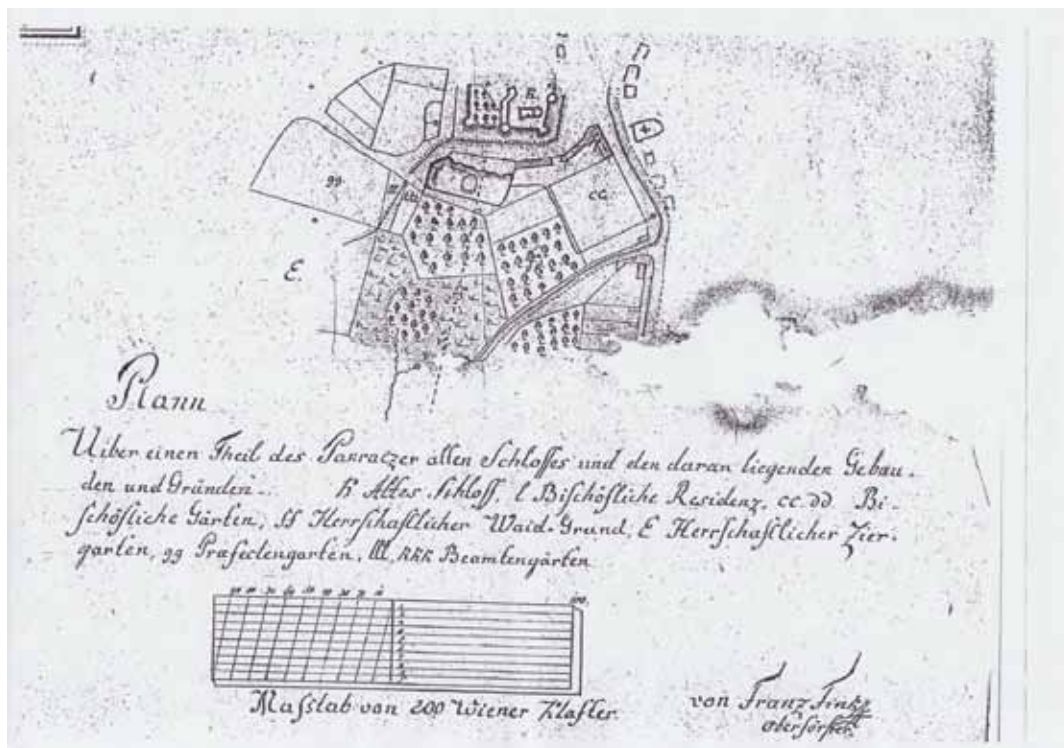
6 Dobronić 2002, 82.

3 Dobronić 1984a, 102–103; 1984b, 60; 2002, 133, 229. B. Križan considers that the Hospitallers acquired the land of Pakrac later, in 1238/1239 (Križan 2006).

4 About different ways of naming the estate of Pakrac in medieval written sources, please see: Dobronić 1984a, 102–103; 1984b, 60; 2002, 133, 229; Herman Kaurić 2014, 499; Štrk 2017, especially the table on p. 54–56.

5 Hunyadi 2010, 130.

6 Dobronić 2002, 82.



SLIKA 2. F. Fink, Plan jednoga dijela pakračkoga starog dvorca i uz njega ležećih zgrada i zemljišta iz 1755. (Muzej Srpske pravoslavne crkve Beograd, Ostavina Radoslava Grujica, Dokumenti, br. 175).

FIGURE 2. F. Fink, Plan of a part of the castle "Pakrac-Stari Grad" in Pakrac and adjacent buildings and areas of 1755 (SOC Museum Belgrade, Ostavina Radoslava Grujica fund, Dokumenti, no. 175).

No o tome nemamo tragova u dokumentima. Naime, *cruciferi de Pukruch* (pakrački križnici)⁷ prvi se put u dokumentima spominju dosta kasnije, 1266. godine, ali s funkcijom vjerodostojnog mjesta (*locus credibilis*),⁸ što podrazumijeva postojanje nekoga čvrstog objekta i velike važnosti ove institucije u to vrijeme. Ivanovački preceptor se, pak, u Pakracu izrijeком spominju tek od 1278. (brat Hugo, ujedno i zamjenik vrhovnog starješine ivanovača) te 1293. (nažalost, ime mu nije navedeno)⁹ i, možda, 1294. godine.¹⁰ Tijekom 14. stoljeća spominju se kaštelani (pakračkog) utvrđenoga grada Svetog Ivana (1326., 1349. i 1361. godine). Sam pojam ivanovačke kuće, sjedišta preceptorata, *domusa*, nalazimo tek u ispravi iz 1367. godine¹¹ u kojoj stoji da prior ivanovača Ugarske i Slavonije, Baudon Cornuti, ujedno i župan Dubice, boravi u „našem“ domusu u Pakracu (*in domo nostra Pukricza*).¹²

Nažalost, povijesni izvori o kapeli još su malobrojniji nego oni o gradu. Stoga, vrlo je važan izvor *Plan jednoga dijela pakračkoga starog dvorca i uz njega ležećih zgrada i zemljišta* iz 1755. godine koji spominje još Szabo,¹³ ali ne donosi njegovu reprodukciju. Nacrt je izradio Franz Fink, nadšumar, a nalazi se u arhivu Pakračke eparhije koja je od 1990-ih na čuvanju u Muzeju Srpske

But, for all these assumptions, we have no evidence in written sources. As a matter of fact, the earliest mention of *cruciferi de Pukruch* (Knights Crusaders of Pakrac)⁷ is of a much later date, in the year 1266, when they are mentioned as holding a place of authentication (*locus credibilis*),⁸ which implies the existence of a building of some sort and the importance of this institution at that time. Hospitaller preceptors have been mentioned in Pakrac since 1278 (brother Hugo, also a vice-prior), 1293 (name unfortunately unknown)⁹ and, perhaps, 1294.¹⁰ During the 14th century, castellans of the fortified Castle of St John (of Pakrac) are mentioned in the years 1326, 1349 and 1361. The first mention of a Hospitallers' *domus*, the headquarters of their preceptory, can be found in a document of 1367¹¹ which states that the prior of the Hungarian-Slavonian Priory and prefect (*župan*) of Dubica Baudon Cornuti was staying at "our" *domus* in Pakrac (*in domo nostra Pukricza*).¹²

Unfortunately, historical records about the Hospitaller chapel are even scarcer than those of the castle. Therefore, one plan is of utmost importance: *Plan of a part of the castle "Pakrac-Stari Grad" and adjacent buildings and areas* of 1755, which was

7 O pojmu križnici (cruciferi, oni koji su označeni križem na odjeći), a koji obuhvaća i ivanovačce i templare, ali i sepulkralce, opširnije u Dobronić 1984b, 10–14.

8 Dobronić 1984b, 59; Hunyadi 2010, 131; 2018, 314.

9 Dobronić 1984b, 59–60.

10 Lucchetus/Loketo (Loquetus Busque) preceptor *Ypocrice* (Dobronić 2002, 138–139; Hunyadi 2010, 130–131, bilj. 200, 205).

11 U hrvatskoj historiografiji navodi se 1357. godina, ali Hunyadi upozorava da je to posljedica krivog Fejérová datiranja isprave, a grešku su dalje prenosili Smičiklas, Dobronić i drugi (Hunyadi 2010, 131, bilj. 210).

12 Dobronić 1984b, 60.

13 Szabo 1911, 59.

7 About the term *cruciferi*, marked by a cross on their clothes, which implies both the Knights Templar and Knights Hospitaller, please see Dobronić 1984b, 10–14.

8 Dobronić 1984b, 59; Hunyadi 2010, 131; 2018, 314.

9 Dobronić 1984b, 59–60.

10 Lucchetus/Loketo (Loquetus Busque) preceptor *Ypocrice* (Dobronić 2002, 138–139; Hunyadi 2010, 130–131, n. 200, 205).

11 In Croatian historiography, the year 1357 is mentioned, but Hunyadi interprets that as a consequence of Fejér's misreading and misdating of a document, whose error was followed by Smičiklas, Dobronić and others (Hunyadi 2010, 131, n. 210).

12 Dobronić 1984b, 60.

SLIKA 3. Pogled na pakrački Stari grad prije njegova rušenja u prvoj polovini 20. stoljeća (Ministarstvo kulture i medija, Zbirka fotografske dokumentacije, inv. br. 56432).

FIGURE 3. A photograph of the towers of castle "Pakrac-Stari Grad", before their demolition in the first half of the 20th century (Ministry of Culture and Media, Archive of Photographic Documentation, inv. no. 56432).



pravoslavne crkve u Beogradu (sl. 2).¹⁴ Na njemu se može vidjeti relativno precizan tlocrt kapele u južnom dijelu Grada te uz njezin istočni dio prislonjena cilindrična kula. Riječ je o Szabovoj „glavnoj“ kuli „ponešto potkovastog oblika“.¹⁵ Sačuvane su i pojedine fotografije te „glavne kule“, ali bila je porušena u vrijeme kada je Szabo opisivao pakrački Grad (sl. 3). Od ranijih autora, Friedrich Wilhelm von Taube spominje kapelu u prvoj knjizi o Slavoniji i Srijemu, objavljenoj u Njemačkoj 1778. godine. No sve što o crkvi kaže jest da „leži u štiti“, spominje njezine „ruševine“ te „pukotinu starog crkvenog zida“.¹⁶ Johann von Csaplovics je još 1819. godine „raspoznao gotičku crkvu“ unutar ruševina staroga grada.¹⁷ Poznat je i crtež Ernesta Krambergera iz 1874. godine, danas pohranjen u Gradskom muzeju Požega, na kojem je vidljivo da je već tada kapela bila u izrazito ruševnom stanju, bez krova i, uslijed niveliranja dvorišta grada, u velikoj mjeri zasuta. Uskoro je kapela porušena i razgrađena, pri čemu je vađen i građevinski materijal iz zidova koji su se tada već nalazili pod zemljom. To se vjerojatno dogodilo nakon što je Julije grof Janković 1877. godine prodao dvije katastarske čestice sa starim pakračkim gradom Pravoslavnoj crkvenoj općini u Pakracu. „Dvije godine poslije u starom gradu više nitko nije živio i služio je kao kamenolom za nasipavanje glavnih zemaljskih prometnica“.¹⁸

made by Franz Fink, senior forester, and which is mentioned by Gjuro Szabo as well, although he did not give us the reproduction of the *Plan*.¹³ The *Plan* was kept at the archive of the Pakrac Eparchy, which, since the 1990s, has been stored at the Serbian Orthodox Church Museum in Belgrade (Fig. 2).¹⁴ The *Plan* shows a relatively detailed and precise layout of the chapel in the southern part of the castle "Pakrac-Stari Grad", as well as a cylindrical tower at the east end of the chapel. That tower was depicted by Szabo as "the main tower" of "somewhat horseshoe-like shape".¹⁵ Some photographs of that "main tower" are preserved, but the tower was greatly torn down at the time when Szabo was describing the castle "Pakrac-Stari Grad" (Fig. 3). Of earlier authors, Friedrich Wilhelm von Taube mentions the Pakrac chapel in his first book on Slavonia and Syrmia, published in Germany in 1778. He describes the chapel as "lying in debris", ruinous, with "a big crack of the old chapel wall".¹⁶ Johann von Csaplovics, in 1819, was still able to "recognize a gothic church" inside the ruins of the castle "Pakrac-Stari Grad".¹⁷ A drawing by Ernest Kramberger of 1874, today at the Požega Town Museum, shows that the chapel was then already in a ruinous state, without a roof, and, due to the levelling of the castle's courtyard, a great portion of the chapel was buried under the debris. The

14 Čuva se u fondu „Ostavina Radoslava Grujica“, Dokumenti, br. 175.

15 Szabo 1920, 115.

16 von Taube 1778, 33.

17 von Csaplovics 1819, 42.

18 Herman Kaurić 2014, 515.

13 Szabo 1911, 59.

14 The plan is stored at the "Ostavina Radoslava Grujica" fund, Dokumenti, no. 175.

15 Szabo 1920, 115.

16 von Taube 1778, 33.

17 von Csaplovics 1819, 42.



SLIKA 4. Pogled iz zraka na arheološka istraživanja ivanovačke kapele i utvrđene crkve u Pakracu (snimila V. Gligora).

FIGURE 4. Aerial view of the archaeological research on the Hospitaler chapel, i.e. fortified church in Pakrac (photo by V. Gligora).

Danas je cijeli srednjovjekovni grad sačuvan samo u arheološkom sloju. Spomenuta su arheološka istraživanja kapele za sada ograničena na njenu unutrašnjost (sl. 4). Tijekom njih, ispod gotovo dvometarskih slojeva urušenja, zasipa prigodom niveliranja terena te štete ubačene u rovove, nastale vađenjem građevinskog materijala, otkriveni su brojni slojevi različitih debljina: zemlje raznih sastava, starijih urušenja, gline, štete, paljevine, popločenja od opeke... U pojedinim su slojevima uočeni ukopi, od onih za stupove i stupiće do grobnih ukopa i onih za razne strukture. Dok su mlađe grobnice bile zidane i uglavnom ekshumirane, stariji su grobovi ukopani u zemljane rake. Pokojnici su u njih polagani u drvenim ljesovima čije su daske međusobno spajane drvenim moždanicima. Zbog specifičnoga anoksičnog okruženja, daske lijesova ostale su dobro očuvane. Premda unutrašnjost kapele nije još do kraja istražena, čini se da gustoća pokopa nije bila osobita. Niti nalaza – kako u grobovima tako i u istraženim slojevima – nije za sada mnogo pronađeno.¹⁹

chapel was soon torn down, while its stones were taken out and used as secondary building material. That probably occurred after 1877, when Count Julius Janković sold two cadastral parcels including the castle in Pakrac to the Orthodox Church in Pakrac. “Two years later nobody lived in the castle, and it served as a quarry for the embankment of major land roads”.¹⁸

Today, the medieval castle “Pakrac-Stari Grad” is preserved only in the archaeological layer. The aforementioned archaeological research is at present limited to the interior of the chapel (Fig. 4). Under a pile, nearly two metres deep, of material that has collapsed or been torn down, many fills due to levelling of the area, and much debris placed in the ditches made when the construction material was pulled out, many layers were discovered during archaeological research: various soils, older ruins, clay, debris, char, old paving made of bricks... In some layers, diggings were found, some for columns, some for burials, and others for various structures. Later tombs were built out of masonry and mainly exhumed, while the earlier graves were buried in grave pits. The deceased were laid in wooden coffins of boards joined by wooden pegs. Due to the specific anoxic surroundings, the boards remained well preserved. Although the interior of the chapel is far from being completely researched, it seems that the density of burials inside the chapel was not great. Also, so far, not many finds have been made in the burial places or archaeological layers during the research.¹⁹

19 O najvažnijim nalazima, vidjeti radove navedene u bilj. 2.

18 Herman Kaurić 2014, 515.

19 About the most important findings during the perennial archaeological research, please see the literature in note 2.

Analiza graditeljskih slojeva

Tlocrt

Tijekom višegodišnjih arheoloških istraživanja kapele utvrđena su dva srednjovjekovna graditeljska sloja. Prvi je nastao izgradnjom kapele kao dvoranske crkve ravno zaključenog svetišta, dok drugi srednjovjekovni graditeljski sloj obuhvaća pojačanje zidova kapele, odnosno njezino utvrđivanje te, vjerojatno, dogradnju okrugle kule uz istočni zid svetišta.

Prvi srednjovjekovni graditeljski sloj – kapela kao viteška dvorana

Izvorna je kapela bila jednobrodna dvoranska crkva (*Saalkirche*), ravno zaključenog svetišta, u cijelosti okružena potpornjacima. Takav tlocrt prezentira crkvu kao vitešku dvoranu i čest je u tipologiji arhitekture viteških redova – možda je najbliži primjer templarska, a zatim ivanovačka crkva u Gori, čiji je izvorni tlocrt templarske faze utvrđen tijekom arheoloških i konzervatorskih istraživanja.²⁰ Unutrašnje dimenzije pakračke kapele su: 16 x 6,27 – 6,48 m. Kapela je sačuvana do visine oko 1,3 m iznad hodne površine u vrijeme gradnje. Lice i naličje zidova kapele zidani su klesanim kamenom, a lomljenim je kamenom ispunjena unutrašnjost zida.²¹ Pročelja su bila razvedena potpornjacima, dok je unutrašnjost kapele bila presvođena s tri traveja svoda, vjerojatno križno-rebrastog. Svodove su nosila četiri para polustupova (ukupno 8 polustupova); sačuvane su četiri baze polustupova te donja razina polustupova. Polustupovi uz zapadni zid užeg su promjera od polustupova uz bočne zidove crkve – ta je razlika vjerojatno povezana sa zapadnom emporom koja nije sačuvana, ali vjerojatno je nadvisivala zapadni dio crkve, zajedno s manjim polustupovima, koji su je djelomično nosili. Do empor je vodilo vretenasto kameno stubište za emporu, zidano uz jugozapadni ugao kapele, te sačuvano do razine oko 2,5 m. Tijekom istraživanja pronađeni su ulomci svodnih rebara koji se na temelju stilske analize mogu pripisati svodovima koje su nosili nađeni polustupovi. Ulaz u kapelu bio je na zapadnom pročelju, ali tijekom istraživanja nisu pronađeni tragovi zapadnog portala – jedan kameni blok nađen *in situ* u ravnini s izvornim zapadnim zidom moguće je tumačiti kao prag izvornog portala.

Unutar najranijih utvrda viteških redova u Svetoj Zemlji također su postojale kapele, većinom naslonjene na obrambeni zid: to su bile jednobrodne crkve ravno zaključenog svetišta s upisanom polukružnom apsidom, u unutrašnjosti svodene dvama ili trima travejima križnog ili bačvastog svoda. Primjerice, kapela utvrde Kerak,²² kapela ivanovačke utvrde Crac des Chevaliers iz

Analysis of architectural stratification

The layout

During the perennial archaeological research on the Hospitaler chapel in Pakrac, two medieval architectural layers have been confirmed. The first medieval layer was created during the building of a chapel as a *Saalkirche* church with a rectangular sanctuary, while the other medieval layer originated from fortification of the chapel and, probably, addition of a round tower next to the eastern wall of the chapel.

The first medieval architectural layer – the Hospitaler *Saalkirche* chapel

The original chapel was a one-aisled church with a rectangular sanctuary as wide as the nave (*Saalkirche*) and completely supported by buttresses. Such a layout presents the chapel as a knights' hall, or aula, and is common in architecture of military orders; perhaps the nearest similar example of such architectural typology is an originally Templar, later Hospitaller, church in Gora, whose primary layout has been confirmed during architectural and archaeological research.²⁰ The inner dimensions of the Pakrac chapel are: 16 x 6.27–6.48 m. The chapel has been preserved to a height of 1.3 m above the walking surface made at the time of its erection. The face and reverse of the walls are built with blocks of carved stone, while the interior of the walls is filled with raw, uncarved stones.²¹ The facades of the chapel were articulated with buttresses, while the interior was divided into three vaults, presumably rib groined vaults. The vaults were supported by four pairs of semi-columns (8 original columns); only the bottom parts of four columns with profiled bases are preserved. The semi-columns along the west wall are of narrower diameter than the semi-columns along the side walls of the church – that difference in diameter is probably connected with the western tribune, which is not preserved, but probably towered over the western part of the chapel, as well as the semi-columns which partly supported it. A spiral staircase led to the western tribune, built by the south-western corner of the chapel and preserved to a height of about 2.5 m. Also, stone fragments of vault ribs were found during the archaeological research; and, through architectural analysis, they can be attributed to a vault construction supported by the semi-columns. The chapel could have been entered through a western portal, which was not found during research, but one stone slab found *in situ* at the centre of the western wall could be interpreted as a portal's doorstep.

20 Miletić 1999, 127–150; Belaj, Sirovica 2012, 58–62; Miletić, Valjato Fabris 2014, 49–70.

21 Način gradnje zid-ispuna-zid karakterističan je za srednjovjekovno graditeljstvo uopće, bilo da se izvodi u kamenu ili u opeci. Specifičnost pakračke kapele predstavljaju vrlo uredno i pravilno klesani klesanci, što svjedoče, uz klesanu arhitektonsku plastiku, o kojoj će biti riječi u nastavku teksta, o prisustvu vještih majstora.

22 Dechamps 1964, 44–47.

20 Miletić 1999, 127–150; Belaj, Sirovica 2012, 58–62; Miletić, Valjato Fabris 2014, 49–70.

21 The 'wall – debris filling – wall' way of building is characteristic of medieval constructions in general, whether it was done in stone or in brick. The specificity of the Pakrac chapel is well carved building stones, which testify to the presence of foreign master-carvers, who will, along with the chapel's architectural sculpture, be elaborated on in the following text.



SLIKA 5. Pogled s jugozapada na Crkvu Uznesenja Blažene Djevice Marije u Gori (snimio J. Belaj).

FIGURE 5. View from the south-west of the church of the Assumption of the Holy Virgin Mary, in Gora (photo by J. Belaj).



SLIKA 6. Pogled na unutrašnjost Crkve Uznesenja Blažene Djevice Marije u Gori (snimio J. Belaj).

FIGURE 6. View of the interior of the church of the Assumption of the Holy Virgin Mary, in Gora (photo by J. Belaj).

vremena kraja 12. odnosno početka 13. stoljeća,²³ kapela utvrde Margat s kraja 12. stoljeća.²⁴ No primjere gotovo identične pakračkoj kapeli nalazimo najviše na tlu današnje Francuske: izvorno templarska, a zatim ivanovačka kapela komanderija/preceptorata d’Avalleur,²⁵ osnovanog 1167. ili 1172. godine, danas u blizini francuskog mjesta Bar-sur-Seine; srodna je i templarska kapela Saint-Martin-des-Champs s kraja 12. stoljeća, u blizini Coulommiersa,²⁶ a tog je tlocrtnog tipa i templarska te ivanovačka kapela u Coulommiersu iz 1173. godine, kao i templarska kapela iz 12. stoljeća u Libdeau, nedaleko od Nancyja;²⁷ srodna je i templarska kapela u Courteixu, iz 12. stoljeća, kao i templarska kapela Notre-Dame-de-la-Boissière u Châteaudunu, datirana u 13. stoljeće.²⁸ Svi navedeni francuski primjeri sakralne arhitekture viteških redova slijede jednaku tipologiju: riječ je o dvoranskim ravno zaključenim crkvama u cijelosti uokvirenim potpornjacima, svodenim dvama do trima travejima križ-

Chapels existed within the earliest castles of military orders in the Holy Land: most were built against a defensive wall as one-aisled churches with an apse set into the western wall, vaulted with two or three barrel or groined vaults. For example, the chapel at Kerak Castle,²² the chapel of the Hospitaller castle of Crac des Chevaliers, of the late 12th century or early 13th,²³ and the chapel of Margat Castle, of the 12th century.²⁴ Examples identical to the Hospitaller chapel in Pakrac can be found on the territory of today’s France: the chapel, originally Templar then Hospitaller, of d’Avalleur²⁵ preceptory, founded 1167 or 1172, near Bar-sur-Seine; another similar church is the Templar chapel of Saint-Martin-des-Champs of the end of the 12th century, near Coulommiers;²⁶ the exact architectural layout can be found at the chapel, first Templar then Hospitaller, in Coulommiers, founded 1173, as well as at the Templar chapel of the end of the 12th century in Libdeau, near Nancy;²⁷ another simi-

23 Dechamps 1964, 84–95, T. 38–40.

24 Dechamps 1964, 145–151, T. 43–44.

25 Alanièce, Gilet 1995, 41–50; Roms, Venault, Verbrugge 2013, 243–278.

26 Aubarbier 2007, 317.

27 Simonin 1992a, 21–25; 1992b, 15–25; 2014, 7–9; Henry 2006, 354.

28 Métais 1902, 263.

22 Dechamps 1964, 44–47.

23 Dechamps 1964, 84–95, T. 38–40.

24 Dechamps 1964, 145–151, T. 43–44.

25 Alanièce, Gilet 1995, 41–50; Roms, Venault, Verbrugge 2013, 243–278.

26 Aubarbier 2007, 317.

27 Simonin 1992a, 21–25; 1992b, 15–25; 2014, 7–9; Henry 2006, 354.

no-rebrastog ili bačvastog svoda, koje nose stupovi, polustupovi ili konzole, osvijetljene rozetom na zapadnom, odnosno biforama na istočnom pročelju. Tom graditeljskom tipu pripada i templarska, a zatim ivanovačka crkva u Gori (sl. 5–6).

U kronologiji nastanka templarskih i ivanovačkih preceptorata unutar Ugarsko-slavonskog priorata Zsolt Hunyadi navodi kako su do kraja 12. stoljeća templari na prostoru nekadašnje Ugarske imali posjede samo u Dalmaciji: Vrana, Senj, Bojišće i Tinj, ali već do 1209. godine smjestili su se i u Slavoniji.²⁹ S obzirom na to da su templarski preceptorati u današnjoj Mađarskoj nastali nakon preceptorata na tlu današnje Hrvatske, nije moguće utjecaje za prethodno opisanu tlocrtnu tipologiju kapela viteških redova u današnjoj Hrvatskoj tražiti u središtu Ugarske pa se može pretpostaviti kako su utjecaji za razvoj toga tlocrtnog tipa došli direktno iz Francuske, kada na darovane im posjede dolaze stranci vitezovi-templari.³⁰ Takav je tlocrtni tip ostvaren, kao što je već rečeno, u izvorno templarskoj crkvi u Gori, koja je u literaturi datirana u drugu četvrtinu 13. stoljeća, ali noviji arheološki nalazi datiraju gorsku crkvu na kraj 12. stoljeća.³¹ Za razliku od templara, ivanovci su, zaključuje Zsolt Hunyadi, prve posjede stekli u samom srcu kraljevstva te su se „širili“ na jug.³² Isti povjesničar navodi kako su ivanovci stekli Pakrac „prije prvog okretanja Slavoniji 1238. godine.“³³ No arhitektonski tip crkve kao viteške dvorane – dvoranske crkve ravno zaključenog svetišta, uokvirene potpornjacima i presvođene dvama do trima travejima križno-rebrastog svoda – razvio se već tijekom druge polovine 12. stoljeća u arhitekturi viteških redova u Francuskoj, gdje je jednako zastupljen u sakralnoj arhitekturi templara i ivanovaca. Vjerojatno je s područja Francuske taj tlocrtni tip uvezen i ostvaren na najranijim crkvama viteških redova u ugarskom kraljevstvu – na templarskoj crkvi u Gori, kao i ivanovačkoj kapeli u Pakracu, iz razdoblja s kraja 12., odnosno početka 13. stoljeća. Naime, taj tip crkve nije mogao doći iz Ugarske kao sekundarni utjecaj (Francuska – Mađarska – Hrvatska), već je vjerojatnije stigao direktno iz Francuske jer je templarska crkva u Gori, sudeći prema recentnoj dataciji, najraniji ostvareni primjer takvog „francuskog“ tipa crkve kao viteške dvorane u srednjovjekovnoj Ugarskoj.³⁴

Arhitektura viteških redova na prostoru današnje Mađarske slabo je očuvana, što otežava komparacije s pakračkom kapelom: sačuvana je ivanovačka Kapela sv. Ivana Krstitelja u Sopronu, poligonalno zaključena dvoranska crkva, a arheološki je istraživana ivanovačka arhitektura u Székesfehérváru i Újudvaru, ali bez značajnijih rezultata u pogledu sakralne arhitekture unutar

lar church is the Templar chapel in Courteix of the 12th century, as well as the Templar chapel of Notre-Dame-de-la-Boissière in Châteaudun of the 13th century.²⁸ All these French examples of the sacral architecture of military orders follow the same typology: they are one-aisled churches with a rectangular sanctuary as wide as the nave, strengthened with buttresses, with interiors vaulted with two or three barrel or rib groined vaults, carried by columns, semi-columns or consoles, lit by a rosette in the western wall and windows (mainly *biforas*) in the eastern wall. The church in Gora, originally Templar, then Hospitaller, belongs to that architectural type (Figs 5–6).

Hungarian historian Zsolt Hunyadi has given a chronology of the development of Templars' and Hospitallers' preceptories within the Hungarian-Slavonian Priory, stating that, by the end of the 12th century, on the territory of medieval Hungary, Templars had estates only in Dalmatia (being those of Vrana, Senj, Bojišće and Tinj); by 1209 they had also settled in Slavonia.²⁹ Considering that the Templars' preceptories in today's Hungary are of a later date than those in today's Croatia, it is not possible that the stylistic influences for development of the earlier described architectural type in Croatia came from the centre of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom. Therefore, it can be assumed that the influences came directly from France, when foreign members of military orders acquired estates in today's Croatia that had been given to them by Hungarian kings.³⁰ As has been said, that architectural type, similar to the aforementioned French examples, has been realized at the originally Templar church in Gora, which is dated in the literature to the second quarter of the 13th century, although recent archaeological research has moved the datation of the church in Gora to the late 12th century.³¹ Unlike the Templars, states Hunyadi, Hospitallers acquired their first estates in the Hungarian-Slavonian Priory in the very heart of the Kingdom, from where they 'spread' towards the south.³² The same historian claims that the Hospitallers gained Pakrac "prior to their turning towards Slavonia in 1238".³³ Yet the architectural type of the church as a knights' hall, or *aula* – a one-aisled church with the rectangular apse as wide as the aisle, strengthened with buttresses and vaulted with two or three rib groined vaults – had already developed during the 12th century in the architecture of military orders in French lands, where it was used equally by the Templars and Hospitallers. It is possible that that specific architectural type was imported from French territories and then realized in two of the earliest churches of military orders in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary: the Templar church in Gora and the Hospitaller chapel in Pakrac, both built at the end of the 12th century or at the beginning of the 13th century. That type of church (church as a knights' hall) could not have come from Hungary as a result

29 Hunyadi 2011, 184–186.

30 Hunyadi 2005, 142–154; Belaj 2007, 103, 112; Dobronić 1984b, 126–128.

31 Miletić, Valjato Fabris 2014, 49. Istraživanja metodom C-14 još nisu objavljena, a provedena su na uzorcima otkrivenim tijekom arheoloških istraživanja 2008. – 2011. godine, koja je na lokalitetu vodio dr. sc. Juraj Belaj, Institut za arheologiju.

32 Hunyadi 2011, 197.

33 Hunyadi 2010, 130.

34 Za crkvu u Gori su i Miletić i Valjato Fabris naveli kako su je gradili francuski graditelji (Miletić, Valjato Fabris 2014, 57) te kao crkvi u Gori srodne primjere navodi francuske templarske kapele u Coulommiersu, Chevreu, Cressacu, Avallleuru, Saint Martin des Champsu, Fouillouxu i Marchesoifu (Miletić, Valjato Fabris 2014, 58).

28 Métais 1902, 263.

29 Hunyadi 2011, 184–186.

30 Hunyadi 2005, 142–154; Belaj 2007, 103, 112; Dobronić 1984 b, 126–128.

31 Miletić, Valjato Fabris 2014, 49. Research done using the C-14 method has not been published yet: it has been conducted on specimens retrieved during the archaeological research of 2008 – 2011, which was led by Dr Juraj Belaj, the Institute of Archaeology.

32 Hunyadi 2011, 197.

33 Hunyadi 2010, 130.

tih preceptorata.³⁵ Ruttkay donosi tlocrte četiri crkve ivanovačkog reda na prostoru srednjovjekovne Ugarske, među kojima je crkva u Sziráku jednobrodna crkva ravno zaključenog svetišta, ali većina primjera koje donosi Ruttkay pokazuju ipak drugačiju tipologiju te su sačuvani samo u arheološkom sloju.³⁶ Iako su ivanovci svoje „širenje“ počeli u središtu današnje Mađarske pa se spuštali prema jugu, pakračka je crkva, ako je suditi po ulomcima arhitektonske plastike, rijetkim pisanim izvorima te navođenjima Zsolta Hunyadija, vjerojatno istovremena s prvim ivanovačkim crkvama u Ugarskoj. No u odnosu na sačuvane tlocrte mađarskih ivanovačkih crkvi, pakračka crkva pokazuje kako je francuski tip templarske crkve kao viteške dvorane prihvaćen vrlo rano i od strane ivanovaca.³⁷

Osim crkvi u Gori i Pakracu, ostale crkve viteških redova na području kontinentalne Hrvatske ne ostvaruju tip crkve kao viteške dvorane: riječ je uglavnom o dvoprostornim crkvama s jednim brodom i apsidom ili četvrtastim svetištem. Vjerojatno je tip crkve kao viteške dvorane ostvaren na onim crkvama koje su bile od većeg značaja unutar ivanovačkog priorata – Hunyadi navodi nekoliko sjedišta ugarskog priorata, među kojima je naveo i Pakrac, koji je neko vrijeme bio i *locus credibilis*.³⁸ U kontekstu te pretpostavke, moguće je kako su manje značajni preceptorati unutar ugarsko-slavonskog ivanovačkoga priorata prihvatili prethodno opisanu jednostavniju tipologiju gradnje, učestalu u gradnji srednjovjekovnih manjih župnih crkvi na prostorima Panonskog bazena (u ta jednostavna ostvarenja viteških crkvi, na tragu lokalne srednjovjekovne tradicije, ubrajaju se, primjerice, ivanovačke crkve u Koprivni, Koški, Ivanču i dalje).

of a secondary stream of influence (France–Hungary–Croatia), but it did, more likely, come directly from France, because the Templar church in Gora is, according to its latest datation, the earliest example of such ‘French’ type of military orders’ church in medieval Hungary.³⁴

The architectural legacy of military orders in today’s Hungary is scarcely preserved, which makes comparison with the Pakrac chapel difficult: the Hospitaller church of St John the Baptist in Sopron is preserved, while archaeological research has been conducted in Székesfehérvár and Újudvar, but without distinctive results concerning chapels or churches in these preceptorates.³⁵ Alexander Ruttkay offers four layouts of Hospitaller churches in medieval Hungary, among which is the church in Sziráka, a one-aisled church with a rectangular sanctuary, but other examples are of a different type and are mainly preserved only in the archaeological layer.³⁶ Although the Hospitallers started spreading south from the heart of the Hungarian Kingdom, the Pakrac chapel is – according to the stone fragments of architectural sculpture, rare written sources and historical research of Hunyadi – most likely contemporaneous with the first Hospitallers’ churches in Hungary. But, in comparison to the preserved examples of Hospitallers’ architecture in Hungary, the Pakrac chapel shows that the French type of the Templar church as a knights’ hall was also accepted early by the Hospitallers.³⁷

Apart from the churches in Gora and Pakrac, other churches belonging to military orders in the continental parts of Croatia do not follow the described type of a church as a knights’ hall: they are mainly one-aisled churches with an apse or a rectangular sanctuary. It is possible that the type of church as a knights’ hall was reserved for churches of greater importance within the Hospitaller’s priory – Hunyadi enumerates several residences of the Slavonian-Hungarian priory, among which he lists Pakrac, which for a brief time had the function of *locus credibilis* as well.³⁸ In the context of that assumption, it is probable that the preceptorates of lesser importance in the Hospitaller Slavonian-Hungarian priory accepted the simpler church typology described above, common in the construction of smaller parish churches in the territories of the Pannonian basin. (These examples of military orders’ churches, which follow the local building tradition, include, for instance, Hospitaller churches in Koprivna, Koška, Ivanec and farther.)

35 Siklósi 1990, 83; Hunyadi 2004, 380.

36 Ruttkay 1996, 178; Hunyadi 2004, 379; 2011, 196, sl. 35.

37 O prodoru francuske gotike na prostor srednjovjekovne Ugarske, vidjeti: Takács 2015, 5–88; 2018; Duda, Jóźwiak, Wiewióra 2018, 115–132 i drugi. Tezu o stilskim vezama crkvi viteških redova u Gori i Pakracu s mađarskim primjerima na kojima je ustanovljena prisutnost utjecaja i radionica francuske gotike, J. Belaj i I. Papić su prezentirali na predavanju: J. Belaj, I. Papić, Artistic Legacy of Military Orders in Croatia – A Network of Traces and Influences (Case Studies), *Networks – Cooperation – Rivalry, The Fourth Biennial Conference of the Medieval Central Europe Research Network (MECERN)*, Online organized by the University of Gdańsk, 8. 4. 2021.

38 Hunyadi 2004, 146, 221.

34 Miletić and Valjato Fabris have also described the Templar church in Gora as being built by French masons (Miletić, Valjato Fabris 2014, 57), and they have mentioned, as similar examples, French Templar churches in Coulommiers, Chevre, Cressac, Avalleur, Saint Martin des Champs, Fouilloux and Marchesoif (Miletić, Valjato Fabris 2014, 58).

35 Siklósi 1990, 83; Hunyadi 2004, 380.

36 Ruttkay 1996, 178; Hunyadi 2004, 379; 2011, 196, Fig. 35.

37 For more about the spreading of the French Gothic style on the territories of medieval Hungary, see: Takács 2015, 5–88; 2018; Duda, Jóźwiak, Wiewióra 2018, 115–132 and others. Belaj and Papić have presented a thesis about the stylistic relations between the military orders’ churches in Gora and Pakrac and the Hungarian examples on which the presence of French Gothic influences and workshops have been determined, in a lecture: J. Belaj, I. Papić, Artistic Legacy of Military Orders in Croatia – A Network of Traces and Influences (Case Studies), *Networks – Cooperation – Rivalry: The Fourth Biennial Conference of the Medieval Central Europe Research Network (MECERN)*, Online, organized by the University of Gdańsk, 8/4/2021.

38 Hunyadi 2004, 146, 221.

SLIKA 7. Pogled na podnicu utvrđene crkve u Pakracu (snimio J. Belaj).

FIGURE 7. View of the pavement of the fortified church in Pakrac (photo by J. Belaj).



Drugi srednjovjekovni graditeljski sloj – utvrđena crkva

U drugom su srednjovjekovnom graditeljskom sloju zidovi kapele u cijelosti bili ojačani/podebljani te postaju široki 270 – 280 cm. Ta dogradnja nije zidana pravilnim klesancima, kao izvorna kapela, već je izvedena lomljenim kamenom i neurednim vezom. Znatnim ojačanjem zidova nekadašnja crkva-viteška dvorana vjerojatno postaje utvrđena crkva.³⁹ Unutrašnjost je kapele tada izmijenjena: u velikoj su mjeri otučeni polustupovi s bazama, a sačuvane već opisane baze ostale su ispod znatno podignute hodne površine, odnosno nove podnice od opeke; vjerojatno je tada ispred svetišta interpoliran trijumfalni luk koji je nasjeo na ranije baze (sl. 7). Sukladno podebljanju zida, na zapadno je pročelje postavljen novi monumentalni portal, čija su tri kamena bloka nađena *in situ*. Vjerojatno je tada uz istočni zid kapele dograđena i kružna kula, što se nastavljala na zidove ojačanja izvorne crkve. Kula je danas fragmentarno sačuvana u arheološkom sloju – sjeverozapadni je dio kule potvrđen uglavnom u negativima uklonjenih temelja.

The second medieval architectural layer – the Hospitaller fortified church

In the second medieval architectural layer, the walls of the chapel are fortified and therefore become 270 – 280 cm wide. That fortification was not made with blocks of carved stone, but with raw, uncarved stones and irregular wall binding. With this significant fortification of the walls, the chapel as the knights' hall became a fortified church.³⁹ The interior of the chapel was also rapidly changed: the semi-columns with bases were demolished to a large extent, while the preserved bases with lower parts of the columns remained under a new brick pavement; probably at that time, in front of the sanctuary a triumphal arch was installed, for which previous bases served as a foundation (Fig. 7). In accordance with the fortification of the church walls, a new western portal was installed, three of whose profiled stone blocks were found *in situ*. It is likely that a round tower was added to the east chapel wall at the same time; the north-western part of the tower is confirmed by the negatives of the foundations removed.

39 Termin „utvrđena crkva“, koji koristimo u ovom tekstu za definiranje drugoga graditeljskog sloja ivanovačke kapele u Pakracu, ni po čemu ne odgovara graditeljskom tipu *Kirchenburg*, od kojega se razlikuje, ne samo po tipologiji (kod tipa *Kirchenburg* zvonik je najčešće smješten iznad središnjeg kora, između svetišta i broda crkve) već i po tome što se graditeljski tip *Kirchenburg* uglavnom vezuje uz manje ili seoske župne crkve, udaljene od tvrđave kao mjestom zbjega, a nikako uz arhitekturu redovničkih zajednica. Stoga, termin „utvrđena crkva“ u ovom se tekstu koristi na tragu Sene Sekulić-Gvozdanović i njezine knjige *Crkve-tvrđave u Hrvatskoj*, gdje se pod crkvom-tvrđavom smatrala crkva u kojoj je bila ostvarena mogućnost zbjega i obrane (Sekulić-Gvozdanović 1994).

39 The term ‘fortified church’, which we use in this paper for defining the second medieval layer of the Hospitaller chapel in Pakrac, does not correspond to the *Kirchenburg* type of church, from which it differs in typology (with, in the *Kirchenburg* church type, a belfry being commonly situated above the central choir, between the aisle and the nave) and by the fact that the *Kirchenburg* church type is related to smaller or village parish churches, distant from some fortress as a place of refuge, and by no means is *Kirchenburg* related to the architecture of monastic communities. Therefore the term ‘fortified church’, in this paper, is used in the wake of the book *Church-fortresses in Croatia*, by Sena Sekulić-Gvozdanović, where the term ‘church-fortress’ implies a church which incorporated a place of refuge and defence (Sekulić-Gvozdanović 1994).

Nameće se pitanje zašto su zidovi izvorne kapele podebljani u tolikoj mjeri? Pretpostavlja se kako je kapela tada dobila i obrambenu funkciju, ali kakav je novi oblik dobila tom funkcijom? Jesu li zidovi ojačani radi nadogradnje kata pa je ranija kapela postala dvoetažna utvrđena crkva s kružnom kulom na istočnoj strani, s čijom se visinom približno izjednačila? Vjerojatno je kula dograđena uz crkvu prilikom jedne od faza izgradnje obrambenog zida s kulama, ali tlocrt drugoga graditeljskog sloja ipak govori u prilog kako je gradnja kule, građene također lomljenim kamenom neurednog veza, vezana uz ojačanje zidova izvorne crkve. Također, sama utvrda još nije bila predmet arheoloških istraživanja stoga nije moguće definirati odnos između utvrđivanja crkve i izgradnje fortifikacije. Sličan materijal gradnje – lomljeni kamen različitih dimenzija – kao i neuređan način zidanja, govore u prilog pretpostavci kako su ojačanja zidova kapele i okrugla kula građeni istovremeno.

Tip crkve-tvrđave, ili utvrđene crkve, prisutan je u arhitekturi viteških redova. Jedan od najimpozantnijih primjera je svakako templarska utvrda s kraja 12. stoljeća, Chastel Blanc u sirijskom gradu Safita, gdje je na donjoj etaži crkve-tvrđave bila templarska kapela, svodena trima travejima bačvastoga šiljatog svoda, osvjetljena samo kroz zapadni prozor, dok je na gornjoj etaži bila dvobrodna viteška sala, do koje se dolazilo unutrašnjim stubištem.⁴⁰ Slično je rješenje ostvareno i na jugu Francuske, u Hyèresu, gdje su templari početkom 13. stoljeća sagradili crkvu-tvrđavu, danas naziva Chapelle Saint-Blaise (Kapela sv. Blaža), odnosno Tour des Templiers (Kula templara): u prizemlju je crkva, a na gornjoj etaži velika dvorana (aula).⁴¹ Crkvu-tvrđavu sv. Ivana (St. Xoán) u Portomarínu, u Španjolskoj, ivanovci su podigli u 12. stoljeću: bačvasto svodenu crkvu s polukružnim svetištem na donjoj etaži nadvisuje krunište s četiri ugaone kule, a dva nartarnja vretenasta stubišta uz glavni portal vode do obrambene staze iza kruništa i tornjeva.⁴² Iako su navedeni primjeri nastali tijekom kasnog 12. ili u 13. stoljeću, a izgradnja je pakračke crkve-tvrđave datirana u vrijeme oko 1500. godine, što će biti opisano u nastavku teksta, ovi su primjeri prije svega navedeni kao svjedočanstvo postojanja graditeljskog tipa crkve-tvrđave unutar arhitekture viteških redova, pri čemu je kapela zauzimala donju etažu, a viteška dvorana ili aula gornju etažu, dok je cijela građevina završavala obrambenim kruništem. Nije moguće utvrditi izgled pakračke crkve-tvrđave u elevaciji putem komparativnih primjera. Primjer ivanovačke Crkve sv. Bartola u Novim Mikanovcima (nedaleko od Vinkovaca) također ilustrira pojavu dogradnje obrambene kule uz raniju jednobrodnu crkvu s užim svetištem – kula okrugla tlocrta, ali poligonalnog zaključka, dograđena je zajedno sa zapadnim produžetkom crkve, čime je ona postala utvrđena.⁴³ Kapela sv. Helene (ili sv. Jelene) nedaleko od Sv. Ivana Zeline ilustrira dvostruku funkciju utvrđene crkve, gdje je prizemlje bilo sakralni prostor, odnosno kapela, a u potkrovlju je bio organiziran obrambeni prostor, gdje su i danas

The question arises of why the walls of the original chapel were fortified. It is probable that the chapel gained a defensive function, but what was the final form that the original chapel acquired by that fortification? Were the walls fortified because of the possible raising of another floor, by which the chapel became a two-storey fortified church with a round tower on the east side, which was, perhaps, of the same height? It is possible that the round tower was erected during one of the phases of building of a fortified wall with towers, but the layout of the second medieval layer speaks in favour of the assumption that the round tower, built also with raw, uncarved stones and irregular wall binding, was erected as part of the fortifying of the original chapel. Also, the fort itself has not yet been the subject of archaeological research, so it is not yet possible to determine the relations between the fortifying of the church and the erection of the fortified wall. However, similar construction material – raw, uncarved stone of various dimensions – as well as irregular wall binding, imply that the fortified walls of the chapel and the round tower were built simultaneously.

The architectural type of a church-fortress or fortified church is common in the architecture of military orders. One of the most impressive examples is the Templar fort of the end of the 12th century, Chastel Blanc, in Safita, Syria, where the chapel was located on the ground floor, while on the upper floor there was the knights' hall or aula, to which an inner staircase led; the chapel was vaulted with three barrel vaults, lit by a window to the west.⁴⁰ A similar solution is realized in the south of France, in Hyères, where Templars in the early 13th century built a church-fortress, today called Chapelle Saint-Blaise or Tour des Templiers: the chapel is on the ground floor, while the knights' aula is on the upper floor.⁴¹ Hospitallers built the church-fortress of St John (St Xoán) in Portomarín, Spain, in the 12th century: the church, with barrel vaults and semicircular apse, is crowned by crenellations with four towers, while the two inner staircases lead to the defensive walkway and towers.⁴² Although all the abovementioned examples are from the 12th or 13th century, and the erection of the Pakrac church-fortress is dated to the period around 1500, which shall be described in detail below, these examples are listed primarily as a record of existence of the architectural type of the church-fortress in the context of the architecture of military orders, where the chapel occupied the bottom floor, and the knights' aula the upper floor, while the whole structure was crowned with defensive crenellations. It is not possible to give a complete reconstruction of the Pakrac church-fortress based on the comparative examples. The example of the Hospitaller church of St Bartol in Novi Mikanovci (near Vinkovci) illustrates the practice of adding a round fortification tower alongside the earlier one-aisled church with a narrower sanctuary: a round tower with a polygonal ending was added along with the western extension of the church, by which the

40 „En effet c'est une église fortifiée“ (Dechamps 1964, 157). Crkva-tvrđava Chastel Blanc dužine je 31 m, širine 18 m i visine 28 m.

41 Do aule se dolazilo vanjskim rastavljivim stubištem, dok je unutarnje stubište vodilo do obrambene terase na vrhu građevine (Chapelle Saint-Blaise 2021).

42 d'Emilio 2015, 34, 37, 39.

43 Papić 2019, 329–330.

40 “En effet c'est une église fortifiée” (Dechamps 1964, 157). The church-fortress of Chastel Blanc is 31 m long, 18 m wide and 28 m tall.

41 An outer detachable staircase led to the knights' aula, while the inner staircase led to the defensive terrace at the top of the building (Chapelle Saint-Blaise 2021).

42 d'Emilio 2015, 34, 37, 39.

vidljive puškarnice.⁴⁴ Izvorno je kapela bila okružena opkopom, a vjerojatno i palisadom.⁴⁵

Utvrđivanje je izvorne viteške kapele uz dogradnju istočne kule moguće vezati uz opasnost od osmanskih prodora, što se intenzivira u vremenu prijelaza 15. u 16. stoljeće, kada su, uostalom, dograđeni i obrambeni zvonici uz sjeverni brod nekoliko crkvi na posjedu zagrebačkih biskupa u ivaničko-čazmanskome kraju.⁴⁶ Zvonici Crkve Blažene Djevice Marije u Kloštar-Ivaniću, Crkve sv. Križa u Križu i Crkve sv. Margarete u Dubravi mahom su dograđeni oko 1500. godine uz sjeverni zid broda crkve: u prizemlju je zvonika bila kapela, a gornje su etaže bile namijenjene obrani i/ili zbjegu.⁴⁷ Zvonici sličnog oblikovanja, ali smješteni uz zapadno pročelje crkve, prisutni su u okolici Čazme: zvonici Crkve sv. Ivana u Svetom Ivanu Žabnom, Crkve sv. Stjepana u Novom Štefanju, župne Crkve u Dragancu.⁴⁸ Premda su zvonici ivaničko-čazmanskog kraja vjerojatno građeni iz istoga razloga kao i pakračka kula – neposredna opasnost od osmanskih prodora (Z. Horvat dodaje i višu razinu gospodarskih i graditeljskih mogućnosti stanovništva)⁴⁹ – vidljive su razlike u poziciji obrambene kule i tlocrtu, gdje pakračka kula pokazuje kružni tlocrt, dok su zvonici ivaničko-čazmanskog kraja kvadratnog tlocrta. Moguće su srodnosti u pojavi utvrđivanja crkve unutar utvrđenog kaštela: poput utvrđene pakračke kapele, Crkva sv. Margarete u Dubravi izvorno se nalazila unutar prostora ograđenog bedemima s polukulama, a za Crkvu sv. Križa u Križu Z. Horvat, po eskarpama vidljivima na katastarskim planovima, smatra da je također bila smještena unutar kaštela s ugaonim polukulama.⁵⁰ Z. Horvat navodi kako je „U susjednoj Sloveniji i Austriji bila raširena gradnja ‘tabora’ – utvrđenih crkava – za sklanjanje pučanstva. Redovito je riječ o crkvi okruženoj bedemima i kulama, smještenoj na položaju povoljnom za obranu.“⁵¹

Iako su razlozi za utvrđivanje crkvi vjerojatno slični za sve navedene primjere utvrđenih crkvi, pakračka se crkva razlikuje po smještaju kružne kule tik uz istočni zid. Vjerojatno je u prizemlju kule bio uređen sakralni prozor (jer inače bi kula u cijelosti zaklonila prirodno osvjetljenje svetišta), što pokazuje veće srodnosti s primjerima koji su vezani uz ivanovački red nego s navedenim primjerima utvrđivanja crkvi koje su zadržale svoju funkciju župne crkve.

Arhitektonska plastika

Dio je arhitektonske plastike ostao sačuvan *in situ*: riječ je, prije svega, o bazama polustupova koji su „nosili“ tri traveja svoda i donje zone istih polustupova, zatim o donjoj razini stubišta za emporu te o trima klesanim i profiliranim kamenim ulomcima zapadnog portala. Tijekom arheoloških istraživanja u štiti unu-

church became fortified.⁴³ The St Helen chapel, near Sv. Ivan Zelina, illustrates the existence of a double function for the fortified church, where the chapel was situated on the ground floor, whilst the defensive or fortified function was placed in the attic, where loopholes are still visible.⁴⁴ Originally, the chapel was surrounded by a ditch and, probably, a wooden palisade.⁴⁵

It is possible to connect the fortification of the original Hospitaller chapel, alongside the construction of a round tower, with the danger of Ottoman raids, which intensified at the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th, at which time, after all, fortified belfries were constructed by the northern wall of several churches on the estates of the Zagreb Diocese in the Ivanić-Čazma area.⁴⁶ The belfries of the churches of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Kloštar-Ivanić, of the Holly Cross in Križ, and of St Margaret in Dubrava were all constructed around 1500 alongside the northern wall of the church aisle: a chapel was situated on the ground floor, while the upper storeys were meant for refuge and/or for defence.⁴⁷ Similar belfries, only situated along the western wall of the church, can be found close to Čazma: the belfries of the churches of St John in Sveti Ivan Žabno, of St Stephen in Novo Štefanje, and of the parish church in Draganeč.⁴⁸ Although the belfries of the Ivanić-Čazma area are probably built for the same reason as the tower of the Pakrac chapel – the imminent danger of Ottoman raids (while Z. Horvat adds a higher level of economic and building opportunities for the local population)⁴⁹ – differences between them are visible in the position of the defensive tower/belfry and in the layout, where the Pakrac tower shows a circular layout, whilst the belfries of the Ivanić-Čazma area have a rectangular layout. Similarities can be seen in the fortifying of the church within the fortified castle: like the Pakrac chapel, the church of St Margaret in Dubrava was originally surrounded with a defensive wall with semi-towers, while the church of the Holly Cross in Križ was, according to Horvat, judging by the escarps seen on historical cadastral maps, also situated inside a castle with corner towers.⁵⁰ Horvat claims that the construction of ‘tabors’ – fortified churches – was common in neighbouring Slovenia and Austria for the refuge of the population, and that it was regularly a church surrounded by ramparts and towers, placed at a position well suited to defence.⁵¹

Although the reasons for fortifying churches are probably similar for all the examples of church-fortresses mentioned above, the Hospitaller chapel in Pakrac differs from other examples in the positioning of the round tower by the eastern wall of the church. It is probable that a sacral space was placed inside the ground floor of the tower (for otherwise the tower would completely block the natural light in the sanctuary), which demonstrates greater similarities with the examples that are connected

44 Horvat 1999, 109.

45 Horvat 1999, 109.

46 Horvat, 1999, 95–110.

47 Horvat, 1999, 95–107.

48 Horvat, 1999, 108.

49 Horvat, 1999, 108.

50 Horvat, 1999, 105, 109.

51 Horvat, 1999, 110.

43 Papić 2019, 329–330.

44 Horvat, 1999, 109.

45 Horvat, 1999, 109.

46 Horvat, 1999, 95–110.

47 Horvat, 1999, 95–107.

48 Horvat, 1999, 108.

49 Horvat, 1999, 108.

50 Horvat, 1999, 105, 109.

51 Horvat, 1999, 110.



SLIKA 8. Baza polustupa u jugoistočnom uglu broda ivanovačke kapele u Pakracu s ornamentom *griffea* na uglovima baze (snimio J. Belaj).

FIGURE 8. The south-western column base of the Hospitaller chapel in Pakrac with spurs on the base corners (photo by J. Belaj).

tar kapele pronađeni su kameni ulomci, koje je, uz pomoć arhitektonske i stilske analize, moguće atribuirati prvom ili drugom graditeljskom sloju, odnosno ivanovačkoj kapeli ili utvrđenoj crkvi.

Arhitektonska plastika ivanovačke kapele

Jedan od najznačajnijih nalaza arhitektonske plastike su četiri baze polustupova dekoriranih ornamentom *griffea* (u francuskoj literaturi), koji se još nazivaju i *spur* (u engleskoj literaturi). Izvorno je bilo osam baza. Baze se sastoje od dva torusa s profilima i jednog trohila, a *griffe* ili *spur* povezuje donji torus s plintom na stilobatu koji na plinti završava u obliku volute. Sačuvani donji dijelovi polustupova pokazuju da su kružni polustupovi bili djelomično pričvršćeni uz površinu unutarnjih širokih lezna koje su preuzele funkciju unutarnjih potpornjaka. U stilskoj analizi cjelokupne kompozicije nosača svodova karakterističan je element *griffe* ili *spur* (sl. 8–9).⁵²

Najstariji primjeri elementa *griffe* ili *spur* u kontekstu europske romanike mogu se pronaći u kriptama te ih se nalazilo u različitim oblicima i formama, ali kasnije se razvio u složeni ornament u obliku lista koji se radi svoje dekorativnosti često koristio u francuskoj i engleskoj arhitekturi ranog 13. stoljeća;



SLIKA 9. Baza polustupa u brodu ivanovačke kapele u Pakracu s ornamentom *griffea* na uglovima baze (snimio J. Belaj).

FIGURE 9. The lateral column base of the Hospitaller chapel in Pakrac with spurs on the base corners (photo by J. Belaj).

to the Order of the Hospitallers than with the fortified churches described which have retained their primary function as parish churches.

Architectural sculpture

Parts of the architectural sculpture were found *in situ*: four bases of semi-columns with the bottom parts of semi-columns that carried the rib groined vaults, the bottom part of a spiral staircase, which, presumably, led to the inner western tribune, and, lastly, three carved and profiled stone blocks, parts of the western portal. During the archaeological research, other stone fragments were found in debris which have, with the help of architectural analysis, been attributed to the first or second medieval architectural layers, i.e. to the chapel or the fortified church.

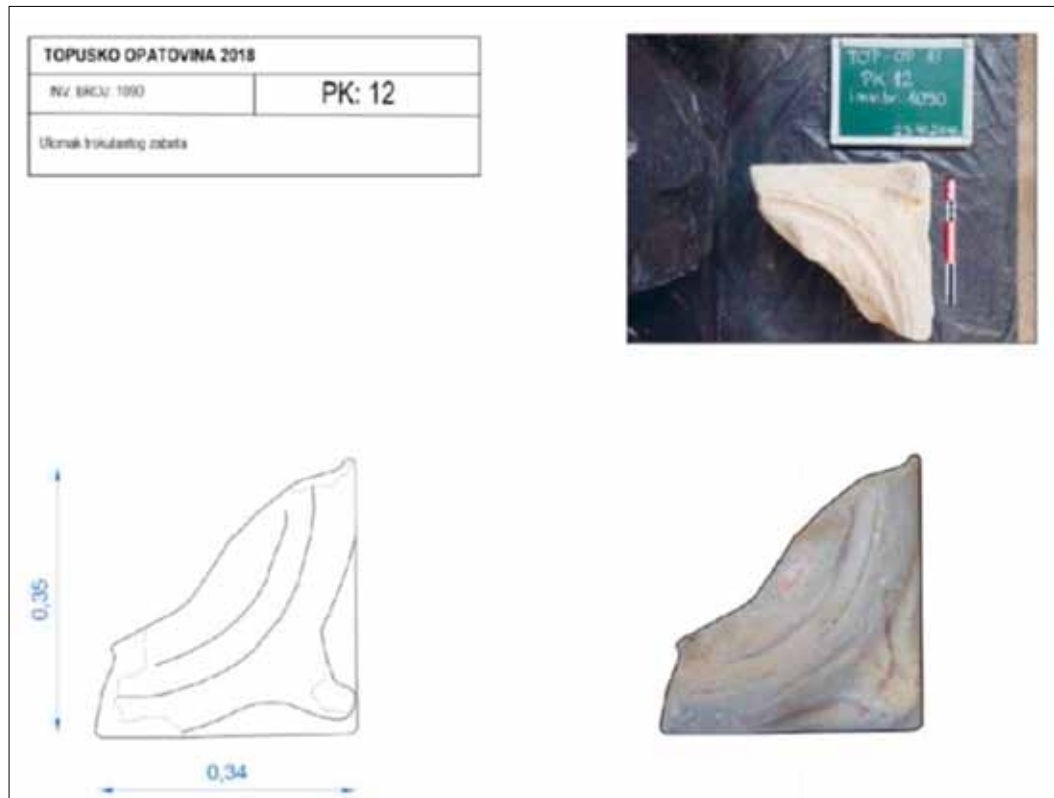
Architectural sculpture attributed to the Hospitaller chapel

The most significant findings among all the stone fragments are four semi-column bases decorated with an ornament of a spur or *griffe* (in French). Originally, there were eight bases. Each base consists of two profiled toruses and one trochilus, while the spur/*griffe* connects the bottom torus with a plinth on a stylobate and ends on a plinth in the shape of a volute. According to the preserved bottom parts of the semi-columns, the semi-columns were round and partially attached to the wide inner lesenes with the function of inner buttresses. In the stylistic analysis of the whole composition of girders at Pakrac, the most characteristic element is the spur or *griffe* (Fig. 8–9).⁵²

The oldest examples of spurs in the context of European Romanesque architecture are to be found in crypts, carved in various forms and shapes, but later the spur developed into an elaborate leaf-like ornament which was, due to its decorative qualities, often used in French and English Gothic architecture of the early 13th century. Sometimes that ornament was carved in the shape of a fantastic animal, a griffin; hence, possibly, the

SLIKA 10. Baza stupa s ornamentom *griffea* iz cistercijske crkve u Topuskom (Janeš, Gligora 2018, 52).

FIGURE 10. Column base with a spur in the Cistercian church, Topusko (Janeš, Gligora 2018, 52).



ponekad je taj ornament imao oblik fantastične životinje, kao grifona, odakle je, vjerojatno, potekao i naziv ornamenta.⁵³ *Griffe* s pakračkih baza polustupova izveden je u formi izduljene volute, a karakterizira ga mekoća klesanja izdužene i stanjene forme te oblikovanje završne volute kao dvoroge volute koja se izdiže poput ornamenta pupoljka. Srodne primjere nalazimo u francuskoj gotičkoj arhitekturi, primjerice, *griffe* svežnjastih nosača crkve Saint-Julien-le-Pauvre, u Parizu, iz druge polovine 12. stoljeća⁵⁴ ili *griffe* katedrale u Chartresu,⁵⁵ Langresu, kao i u njemačkoj gotičkoj arhitekturi, primjerice, u refektoriju izvorno cistercijskog samostana Marienthal (bei Helmstedt), s kraja 12. stoljeća.⁵⁶ *Griffe* nalazimo u umjetnosti nekadašnjega ugarskog kraljevstva na bazama stupa izvorno benediktinske opatije u Zselicszentjakabu iz 11. stoljeća, kao i na bazama stupova benediktinske opatije u Nuštru iz 12. stoljeća – *griffe* se na tim primjerima oblikuje kao stilizirani plošni akant ili kao jednostavno zadebljanje uglova baza.⁵⁷ U 13. stoljeću element *griffea* nastavlja formu akantovog lista, ali sklopljenih bridova koji završavaju u obliku pupoljka, a javlja se i *griffe* u obliku životinjske šape: primjeri su takvog *griffea* na bazi stupova u sklopu dvorske kapele u Esztergomu iz prijelaza 12. u 13. stoljeće,⁵⁸ na bazama stupova katedrale u Gyulafehérváru iz 13. stoljeća,⁵⁹

name *griffe* (in French) originated from it.⁵³ The spur of Pakrac is shaped in the form of an elongated volute, and it is characterized by softness of carving and stylization of the volute as a two-horn volute that arises from the base like the ornament of a flower bud. Similar examples are to be found in French architecture: for instance, the spurs of the columns of Saint-Julien-le-Pauvre, Paris, of the second half of the 12th century,⁵⁴ or the spurs of the cathedrals in Chartres or Langres,⁵⁵ as well as in German Early Gothic architecture, as in the *refectorium* of the originally Cistercian monastery in Marienthal (bei Helmstedt), of the end of the 12th century.⁵⁶ The ornament of the spur can be found in medieval Hungarian architecture as well, the earlier ones being from the originally Benedictine abbeys in Zselicszentjakab, of the 11th century, and Nuštar, of the 12th century; in these examples the spur is shaped as a stylized and flat acanthus or a simple leaf-like thickening of the corners of the column bases.⁵⁷ In the 13th century, spurs in Hungary were commonly carved as an acanthus, but with folded edges that take the shape of a bud, or as an animal's claw; such are the spurs of the castle chapel in Esztergom, of the turn of the 13th century,⁵⁸ on the column bases of the cathedral in Gyulafehérvár of the 13th century,⁵⁹ on the column bases of the second building phase

53 „Spur“ (Chisholm (ed.) 1911, 742).

54 Dumoulin *et al.* 2008, 118–119.

55 Bames Jr. 1963, 63–74.

56 Raabe 1995.

57 Tóth 2001a, 648; 2001b, 345; Goss 2007, 93; Papić 2019, 162–164, T. 49. Zahvaljujemo se kolegi Béli Zsolt Szakácsu na poslanim fotografijama primjera *griffea* s prostora današnje Madarske.

58 Marosi 1984, 333, Fig. 226.

59 Muresanu 2001, 200.

53 “Spur” (Chisholm (ed.) 1911, 742).

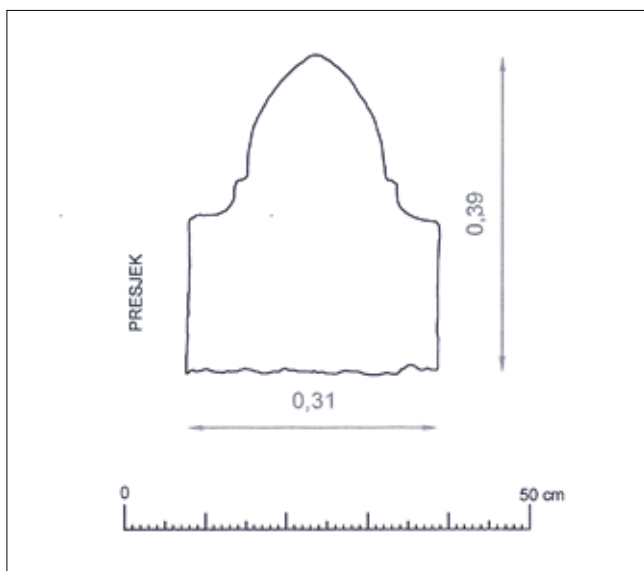
54 Dumoulin *et al.* 2008, 118–119.

55 Bames Jr. 1963, 63–74.

56 Raabe 1995.

57 Tóth 2001a, 648; 2001b, 345; Goss 2007, 93; Papić 2019, 162–164, T. 49. Many thanks to our colleague Béla Zsolt Szakács for sending photographs of Hungarian examples of spurs.

58 Marosi 1984, 333, Fig. 226.



SLIKA 11. Rebro bademaste profilacije ivanovačke kapele u Pakracu (izradila J. Maslač).

FIGURE 11. An almond-shaped vault rib of the Hospitaller chapel in Pakrac (made by J. Maslač).



SLIKA 12. Rebro bademaste profilacije ivanovačke kapele u Pakracu (snimila V. Gligora).

FIGURE 12. An almond-shaped vault rib of the Hospitaller chapel in Pakrac (photo by V. Gligora).

na bazama stupova iz druge graditeljske faze benediktinske opatije u Pannonhalma iz 13. stoljeća⁶⁰ te na bazama stupova izvorno premonstratenske crkve u Ócsi, također iz 13. stoljeća, danas kalvinske crkve.⁶¹ Dok je ornament akanta ili životinjske šape u oblikovanju *griffea* dominirao na navedenim ugarskim primjerima, pakračkom srodan volutasti *griffe* na prostoru srednjovjekovne Ugarske nalazimo u kontekstu cistercijske arhitekture, na stupovima ruševine cistercijske crkve u Pilisu, danas Pilisszentkereszt, s kraja 12. stoljeća,⁶² a gotovo jednak *griffe* nalazimo i na bazama zapadnog svežnjastog nosača uz portal izvorno cistercijske crkve u Topuskom iz ranog 13. stoljeća (sl.10).⁶³

of the Benedictine church in Pannonhalma, of the 13th century,⁶⁰ and on the bases of the originally Premonstratensian church in Ócsa, of the 13th century, today a Protestant church.⁶¹ While the ornament of acanthus or an animal claw was predominantly used in the carving of spurs in medieval Hungary, spurs shaped as a volute, which are similar to the spurs of Pakrac, are to be found in Cistercian architecture, on the column bases of the originally Cistercian church in Pilis, today Pilisszentkereszt, of the end of the 12th century,⁶² while an almost identical spur to those in Pakrac is to be found on the column bases in the ruinous Cistercian church in Topusko, of the early 13th century (Fig. 10).⁶³

60 Csóka, Szovák, Takács 2000.

61 Takács 2012, 15–43.

62 Hervay, Marosi 1994, 546.

63 Janeš, Gligora 2018, 52; Hrvatski restauratorski zavod, Dosjei 166, 1093, Topusko – Kompleks ruševina cistercijske opatije, fotografije: Drago Miletić, 1983, 1999 i 2004. Napomene radi, *griffe* jednak pakračkom ostvaren je na dva primjera u dubrovačkoj gotičkoj i kasnogotičkoj arhitekturi: primjerice, baze stupova s volutastim ornamentom *griffea* nalazimo na portalu dominikanske crkve iz 13. stoljeća, ali i na katu palače Divone/Sponze, koji je datiran u rano 16. stoljeće.

59 Muresanu 2001, 200.

60 Csóka, Szovák, Takács 2000.

61 Takács 2012, 15–43.

62 Hervay, Marosi 1994, 546.

63 Janeš, Gligora 2018, 52; Croatian Conservation Institute, Division for Archaeological Heritage – files 166, 1093, Topusko – Complex of ruins of Cistercian abbey, photographs by Drago Miletić from 1983, 1999 and 2004. We should note that spurs almost identical to the Pakrac spurs were realized in Gothic and Late Gothic architecture in Dubrovnik: for example, the spurs on the bases of columns on the first-floor atrium of the Divona/Sponza Palace, of the early 16th century, and spurs on the bases of the portal of the Dominican church in Dubrovnik, of the 13th century. The Dubrovnik examples of spurs are shaped in the form of a volute.



SLIKA 13. Pogled na svežnjasti nosač i rebro bademaste profilacije, Crkva Uznesenja Blažene Djevice Marije u Gori (snimio J. Belaj).

FIGURE 13. A view of a column with an almond-shaped vault rib in the church of the Assumption of the Holy Virgin Mary in Gora (photo by J. Belaj).

Tijekom arheoloških istraživanja otkrivena su dva identična ulomka svodnih rebara bademaste profilacije s četvrtastim profilom i žlijebom, dimenzija 39 x 31 cm (prvi ulomak), odnosno 37 x 28 cm (drugi ulomak; sl. 11–12).⁶⁴ Rebra su vjerojatno bila sastavni dio križno-rebraste svodne konstrukcije izvorne ivanovačke kapele, koje su nosili polustupovi s bazama ukrašenim ornamentima *griffes*. U izradi rebara korišten je omjer 1:2, prisutan i u klesanju rebara iz cistercijske crkve u Topuskom, što, vjerojatno, kao i prethodno opisani *griffe*, odaje cistercijski utjecaj u gradnji ivanovačke kapele.⁶⁵ Tip svodnog rebara s bademastom profilacijom nalazimo u ranogotičkim samostanskim crkvama u Hrvatskoj: u franjevačkoj crkvi u Našicama, Crkvi sv. Marije

During the archaeological research, two identical fragments of vault ribs were found, with an almond-shaped profile, a square profile, a gutter, and dimensions: 39 x 31 cm (the first rib) and 37 x 28 cm (the second rib; Figs 11–12).⁶⁴ It is most likely that the ribs were part of the vault construction of a rib groined vault of the first Hospitaller chapel, supported by eight semi-columns on bases decorated with spurs. The ribs were made using the Cistercian ratio of measures of 1:2, which was also used in carving the ribs of the Cistercian church in Topusko, which, just like the spur described above, indicates that Cistercian influence was adopted in the building of the Hospitaller chapel in Pakrac.⁶⁵ The type of vault rib with an almond-shaped profile is realized in Early Gothic monastery churches in today's Croatia: such are the ribs of the Franciscan church in Našice, the St Mary Magdalen Church in Čazma, the Cistercian church in Topusko, and the Templar church in Gora, all dating from the early 13th century (Fig. 13).⁶⁶ Similarities between the Pakrac ribs and these examples allow us to attribute the ribs in Pakrac to the first Hospitaller chapel and to date them to the early 13th century.

By the south-western corner of the chapel, a spiral staircase was built, consisting of spiralling monolithic stone slabs forming a common axis with a base profiled with a semi-torus and a gutter on a circular plinth. A similar staircase is realized by the north-western corner of the Hospitaller church of St John the Baptist in Sopron, Hungary, of the 13th century, where the staircase led to the western inner tribune (Fig. 14).⁶⁷

Architectural sculpture attributed to the church-fortress

In the centre of the western facade, in the full width of the fortified wall, three stone fragments of the western portal were discovered: two on the north side, and one on the south. The portal leaned on an outer wall of the original Hospitaller chapel (Fig. 15). The profiling of the portal is as follows: two gutters with centrally-placed semi-torus profiles, then a pear-shaped or wedge-shaped profile with cannelures, and a semi-column at the far west. It could be that two semi-columns spread from the base of the portal and continued to the lunette. Similar examples of Late Gothic portals can be found in the originally Pauline church on Moslavačka Gora, or 'Bela crkva' ('White Church'), and in the originally Franciscan church of St Mary, in Voćin, of the early 16th century, which also has a cannelured pear-shaped profile.⁶⁸ The pear-shaped or wedge-shaped profile dominant in the Pakrac western portal is very similar to the vault ribs in Croatian Late Gothic churches, built in the style of Czech Gothic architecture at the turn of the 16th century: for instance,

64 Dimenzije profila manjeg rebara: bademasta profilacija – 20,1 x 20,1 cm; žlijeb – 6,7 x 6,7 cm; utor – 3,5 cm. Dimenzije profila većeg rebara: bademasta profilacija – 20,1 x 23 cm (širina); žlijeb – 6,7 x 8,04 cm (širina); utor – 3,5 cm.

65 Horvat 1989, 62, sl. 94.

64 Dimensions of profiles of the smaller rib: almond-shaped profile, 20.1 x 20.1 cm; gutter, 6.7 x 6.7 cm; square profile, 3.5 cm. Dimensions of profiles of the bigger rib: almond-shaped profile, 20.1 x 23 cm; gutter, 6.7 x 8.04 cm; square profile, 3.5 cm.

65 Horvat 1989, 62, sl. 94.

66 Horvat 1989, 62, 74, sl. 94, 117; Miletić 1999, 145, sl. 45; Ivanišec 2010, 76.

67 Hunyadi 2004, 379.

68 Vukičević-Samaržija 2013, 256–263; Pisk 2017.

Magdalene u Čazmi, cistercijskoj crkvi u Topuskom i templarskoj crkvi u Gori (bočno rebro), mahom s početka 13. stoljeća (sl. 13).⁶⁶ Srodnost s navedenim primjerima navodi na to da se i pakračka svodna rebra pripisuju prvoj kapeli te se datiraju u 13. stoljeće.

Uz jugozapadni je ugao kapele građeno stubište koje čini niz kamenih monolitnih stuba, koje vezane čine zajedničku os s profiliranom bazom, oblikovanom polutorusom te žlijebom na kružnoj plinti. Srodno je tlocrtno rješenje stubišta ostvareno uz sjeverozapadni ugao izvorno ivanovačke Crkve sv. Ivana Krstitelja u Sopronu, u Mađarskoj, iz 13. stoljeća – stubište je vodilo na prostor zapadne empole (sl. 14).⁶⁷

Arhitektonska plastika crkve-tvrđave

U središtu zapadnog pročelja, u punoj širini dograđenog ojačanja zida, otkrivena su tri ulomka zapadnog portala – dva na sjevernoj i jedan na južnoj strani. Dograđeni je zapadni portal prislonjen uz vanjski zid izvorne kapele (sl. 15). Profiliranje portala je sljedeće: dva žlijeba s centralno postavljenim poluštavnim profilima, zatim kruškoliki profil s kanelurama i polustup na krajnjem zapadu. Vjerojatno su dva polustupa izlazila iz baze portala i nastavljala se do lunete. Srodni primjer kasnogotičkog portala je kasnosrednjovjekovni portal pavlinske crkve na Moslavačkoj Gori – „Bela crkva“, kao i zapadni portal franjevačke crkve u Voćinu iz ranog 16. stoljeća, gdje je ostvaren kanelirani kruškoliki profil.⁶⁸ Kruškoliki profil ili profil ravnog zaključka, dominantan u nizu profilacija pakračkog portala, vrlo je sličan profiliranim svodnim rebrima iz kasnogotičkih crkvi, uređenih u stilu vladislavske gotike s kraja 15. i početka 16. stoljeća: primjerice, Crkve sv. Petra i Crkve sv. Ane u Iloku ili franjevačke Crkve sv. Marije u Voćinu.⁶⁹ Vrlo srodan primjer pakračkom portalu je portal Kapele sv. Ane u Székesfehérváru, izgrađene u stilu vladislavske gotike na kraju 15. stoljeća, gdje se iz jednostavnog skošenja baze portala uzdižu užljebine u središtu profilirane poluštavnim profilom – slično rješenje kao na portalu pavlinske „Bele crkve“.

Sačuvani ulomci pakračkog portala omogućuju prepoznavanje stilskih karakteristika, poput jednostavno klesane neprofilirane baze portala, oblikovane skošenjem iz kojeg se uspinju profilacije, a konkavne profilacije su dodatno profilirane centralno postavljenim poluštavnim profilom (profilom u obliku polutorusa). Te stilske su karakteristike prepoznate i na drugim već navedenim primjerima kasnogotičkih crkvi, a uočena je i srodnost s ostvarenjima vladislavske gotike, koji se na prostoru današnje Hrvatske vežu uz dolazak Jagelovića na vlast.⁷⁰ Stilske karaktere-



SLIKA 14. Pogled na vretenasto stubište uz jugozapadni ugao ivanovačke kapele u Pakracu (snimio J. Belaj).

FIGURE 14. View of the spiral staircase next to the south-western corner of the Hospitaller chapel in Pakrac (photo by J. Belaj).

the church of St Peter and the church of St Anne in Ilok, as well as the Franciscan church in Voćin.⁶⁹ Very similar to the Pakrac portal is the portal of St Anne's Chapel in Székesfehérvár, built in the style of Czech Gothic architecture at the end of the 15th century, where gutters (centrally additionally profiled with a semi-torus profile) arise from a simple bevelled base, as is the solution of the portal of the Pauline 'Bela crkva'.

The preserved fragments of the western portal in Pakrac allow recognition of some stylistic characteristics, like a simply bevelled base out of which profiling arises, gutters centrally profiled with a semi-torus profile, and a dominant diagonally-placed pear-shaped profile with canelures. These characteristics are recognized on other Late Gothic portals, and similarities have also been discerned with the profiled rib vaults of Czech Gothic architecture, whose influences came to the territories of today's Croatia during the reign of Vladislaus II of Hungary.⁷⁰ These stylistic characteristics also serve as a base for an attempt to determine the date of adapting the previous chapel as a church-fortress in Pakrac: according to the abovementioned examples, similar to the portal of Pakrac, and dated to the late

66 Horvat 1989, 62, 74, sl. 94, 117; Miletić 1999, 145, sl. 45; Ivanušec 2010, 76.

67 Hunyadi 2004, 379.

68 Vukičević-Samaržija 2013, 256–263; Pisk 2017.

69 Zorislav Horvat navodi kako su iločka i voćinska rebra jednaka rejtovskim rebrima s „Reiterstiege“ na Hradčanima u Pragu, kao i rebrima iz Crkve sv. Barbare na Kutnoj Hori i Crkve sv. Nikole u Lounyju. Iločko rebro složeni je profilacije slično je rebru iz Vladislavove dvorane na Hradčanima u Pragu (Horvat 1977, 11; Papić 2019, 143–148).

70 Papić 2019, 143–148.

69 Zorislav Horvat accentuates the similarities between vault ribs in Ilok and Voćin and the vault ribs of Benedikt Rejt (or Ried) in 'Reiterstiege', Hradčani, Prague, as well as ribs from the church of St Barbara in Kutná Hora and the church of St Nicolas in Louny. The Ilok rib is, according to Horvat, of a complex profiling and very much like the ribs in the Vladislav Hall, Hradčani, Prague (Horvat 1977, 11; Papić 2019, 143–148).

70 Papić 2019, 143–148.

SLIKA 15. Pogled na kamene ulomke zapadnog portala utvrđene crkve u Pakracu (snimio J. Belaj).

FIGURE 15. View of the fragments of the western portal of the fortified church in Pakrac (photo by J. Belaj).



ristike zapadnog portala pružaju uporište za pokušaj određivanja vremena adaptacije izvorne kapele u crkvu-tvrđavu: prema komparativnim primjerima, kojima je pakrački portal srodan, a koji su datirani u kasno 15. ili rano 16. stoljeće, moguće je i cjelokupno ojačanje zidova uz pretpostavljenu istovremenu dogradnju okrugle kule datirati također u vrijeme oko 1500. godine.⁷¹

Istražena graditeljska i umjetnička ostavština ivanovačke kapele, kao i kasnije crkve-tvrđave, pokazuje visoku razinu poznavanja suvremenih stilskih struja, ali i umijeća gradnje i klesanja kamena. Arhitektura pakračke kapele pripada stilski najranijim ostvarenjima gotike na prostoru današnje Hrvatske, uz templarsku crkvu u Gori, cistercitsku crkvu u Topuskom, Crkvu sv. Marije Magdalene u Čazmi te franjevačke crkve u Požegi i Našicama, s kojima pokazuje i značajne srodnosti, prije svega u odabiru profilacija te korištenju cistercitskih omjera u klesanju. Zapadni portal crkve-tvrđave, kao paradigma stila i vještine klesanja primijenjenih u adaptaciji kapele u crkvu-tvrđavu, minuciozno je profiliran u stilu vladislavske gotike te, kao i sačuvani ulomci ranogotičke kapele, svjedočanstvo visoke graditeljske i umjetničke kvalitete arhitekture ivanovačkog reda.

15th or early 16th century, it is possible to date the fortification of the Pakrac church with the simultaneous erection of the round tower to around the year 1500.⁷¹

The architectural and artistic legacy of the Hospitaller chapel and later church-fortress manifests a high level of comprehension of contemporary artistic styles, as well as a high level of craftsmanship. The Hospitaller chapel in Pakrac is one of the earliest Early Gothic churches in today's Croatia, alongside the Templar church in Gora, the Cistercian church in Topusko, the St Mary Magdalen Church in Čazma, and the Franciscan churches in Požega and Našice. The Pakrac chapel shows similarities with all of them, especially in the choice of profiles (almond-shaped rib) and the use of the Cistercian ratio of measures. The western portal of the church-fortress, as a paradigm of style and craftsmanship used in the adaptation of the chapel as a church-fortress, is meticulously carved in Czech Gothic style; and this, therefore, as well as the older stone fragments from the original chapel, is testimony to the high-quality architectural and artistic legacy of the Hospitaller Order of Saint John in Croatia.

71 U prilog dataciji crkve-tvrđave u vrijeme oko 1500. godine svjedoči i nekolicina kamenih ulomaka prozorskih špaleta i, vjerojatno, portala nepoznate lokacije, otkrivenih također tijekom istraživanja. Ulomke karakterizira kontinuirano nizanje štapnih ili S-profila bez jasne distinkcije između profila (obično se profili međusobno „razdvajaju“ utorom ili malim žlijebom), što je karakteristično za kasnosrednjovjekovno razdoblje. Ulomci su protumačeni kao dijelovi profiliranih prozorskih špaleta i atribuirani drugoj graditeljskoj fazi, odnosno crkvi-tvrđavi. Srodni primjeri portala koji koriste slično nizanje S-profila poluštapnih profila su: Kapela sv. Petra u Zdencima, zapadni portal, 15. stoljeće, franjevačka crkva u Kloštar-Ivaniću, 15. stoljeće, zapadni portal (Horvat 1989, 86, sl. 150, 152).

71 Several other stone fragments, found during archaeological research, testify to the dating of the church-fortress around 1500: these are fragments that can be recognized as parts of carved and profiled windows and portals. The fragments are characterized by the continuous flow of S-profiles or semi-torus profiles, without any distinction between them, which is specific to Late Gothic style. Therefore, the fragments have been attributed to the second architectural layer, the church-fortress. Similar examples of such profiling are found in the western portal of St Peter's Church in Zdenci, of the 15th century, and the western portal of the originally Franciscan church in Kloštar-Ivanić, also of the 15th century (Horvat 1989, 86, sl. 150, 152).

BIBLIOGRAFIJA

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alanièce, Gilet 1995 – V. Alanièce, F. Gilet, *Les templiers et leurs commanderies, l'exemple d'Avallieur en Champagne*, Dominique Gueniot, 1995.
- Aubarbier 2007 – J. L. Aubarbier, *La France des Templiers*, Sud-Ouest Bordeaux, 2007.
- Barnes Jr. 1963 – C. F. Barnes Jr., The Cathedral of Chartres and the Architect of Soissons, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 22/21963, 1963, 63–74.
- Belaj 2007 – J. Belaj, *Templari i ivanovci na zemlji Svetoga Martina*, Pučko otvoreno učilište Dugo Selo, 2007.
- Belaj 2018 – J. Belaj, Prva arheološka istraživanja lokaliteta Stari grad u Pakracu godine 2017, *Annales Instituti Archaeologici* 14/1, 2018, 54–60.
- Belaj 2019 – J. Belaj, Arheološka istraživanja lokaliteta Pakrac-Stari grad 2018. godine, *Annales Instituti Archaeologici* 15/1, 2019, 101–106.
- Belaj 2020 – J. Belaj, O arheološkim istraživanjima ivanovačke kapele na lokalitetu Pakrac-Stari grad 2019. godine, *Annales Instituti Archaeologici* 16/1, 2020, 122–134.
- Belaj, Sirovica 2012 – J. Belaj, F. Sirovica, Arheološka istraživanja crkve Uznesenja Blažene Djevice Marije u Gori od 2008. do 2011. godine, *Annales Instituti Archaeologici* 8, 2012, 58–62.
- Chapelle Saint-Blaise 2021 – notice no PA00081636, base Mérimée, Ministère Français de la Culture, <https://www.pop.culture.gouv.fr/notice/merimee/PA00081636>, (31 August 2021).
- Chisholm (ed.) 1911 – H. Chisholm (ed.), *Encyclopædia Britannica* 25, Cambridge University Press, 1911.
- Csóka, Szovák, Takács 2000 – G. Csóka, K. Szovák, I. Takács, *Pannonhalma – Képes kalauz a bencés Főapátság történetéhez és nevezetességeihez / Guide to Pannonhalma Archabbey: history and sightseeings*, Pannonhalma Főapátság, 2000.
- Dechamps 1964 – P. Dechamps, *Terre Sainte Romaine*, Zodiaque, 1964.
- Dobronić 1984a – L. Dobronić, *Viteški redovi. Templari i ivanovci u Hrvatskoj*, Kršćanska sadašnjost, Biblioteka Analecta Croatica Christiana 18, 1984.
- Dobronić 1984b – L. Dobronić, *Posjedi i sjedišta templara, ivanovaca i sepulkralaca u Hrvatskoj*, Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti 406, Razred za likovne umjetnosti 11, Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1984.
- Dobronić 2002 – L. Dobronić, *Templari i ivanovci u Hrvatskoj*, Dom i svijet, 2002.
- Duda, Józwiak, Wiewióra 2018 – M. Duda, S. Józwiak, M. Wiewióra, Did French Architects, Builders, Stonemasons, and Sculptors Operate in the Hungarian Kingdom in the Second Half of the 12th Century and in the 13th Century?, *Mediævistik* 31, 2018, 115–132.
- Dumoulin et al. 2008 – A. Dumoulin, A. Ardisson, J. Maingard, M. Antonello, P. Rosenberg, *Reconnaître Paris d'église en église*, Massin, 2008.
- d'Emilio 2015 – J. d'Emilio, The Paradox of Galicia. A Cultural Crossroads at the Edge of Europe, in d'Emilio, J. (ed.), *Culture and Society in Medieval Galicia. A Cultural Crossroads at the Edge of Europe*, Brill, 2015.
- Goss 2007 – V. P. Goss, *Stotinu kameničića izgubljenog raja. Romanička skulptura u muzejima i zbirkama između Save i Drave*, Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu, 2007.
- Harris (ed.) 2003 – C. M. Harris (ed.), *Dictionary of Architecture and Construction*, McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc., 2003.
- Henry 2006 – M. Henry, *Les ordres militaires en Lorraine*, Éditions Serpenoise, 2006.
- Herman Kaurić 2014 – V. Herman Kaurić, Značaj i sudbina pakračke utvrde kroz povijest, in Karbić, M., Kekez, H., Novak, A., Horvat, Z. (eds.), *Ascendere historiam. Zbornik u čast Milana Kruheka*, Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2014, 497–518.
- Hervay, Marosi 1994 – F. L. Hervay, E. Marosi, Pilis 3, in Kristó, G., Engel, P., Makk, F. (eds.), *Korai magyar történeti lexikon (9 – 14. század) / Encyclopedia of the Early Hungarian History (9th – 14th centuries)*, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1994.
- Horvat 1977 – Z. Horvat, Neke profilacije svodnih rebara u srednjovjekovnoj arhitekturi kontinentalne Hrvatske, *Peristil* 20/1, 1977, 5–12.
- Horvat 1989 – Z. Horvat, *Strukture gotičke arhitekture*, Društvo povjesničara umjetnosti Hrvatske, 1989.
- Horvat 1999 – Z. Horvat, Nove spoznaje o župnim crkvama u Kloštar-Ivaniću, Križu i Dubravi, *Godišnjak zaštite spomenika kulture Hrvatske* 22–23, 1999, 95–110.
- Hunyadi 2004 – Z. Hunyadi, *Hospitallers in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary c. 1150 – 1387*, unpublished PhD thesis, Central European University, 2004.
- Hunyadi 2005 – Z. Hunyadi, Hospitaller Officials of Foreign Origin in the Hungarian-Slavonian Priory (Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries), in Nicholson, H. J., Burgtorf, J. (eds.), *International Mobility in the Military Orders, Twelfth to Fifteenth Centuries: Travelling on Christ's Business (Religion & Culture in the Middle Ages)*, University of Wales Press, 2005.
- Hunyadi 2010 – Z. Hunyadi, *The Hospitallers in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary c. 1150 – 1387*, METEM Könyvek – METEM Books 70, Central European University Medievalia 13, 2010.
- Hunyadi 2011 – Z. Hunyadi, The formation and territorial structure of the Templars and Hospitallers in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary, in Borchardt, K., Jan, L. (eds.), *Die Geistlichen Ritterorden in Mitteleuropa: Die geistlichen Ritterorden in Mitteleuropa: Mittelalter*, Matice moravská für Das Forschungszentrum für die Geschichte Mitteleuropas: Quellen, Länder, Kultur, 2011, 183–197.
- Hunyadi 2018 – Z. Hunyadi, Uloga hospitalaca u dubičkoj županiji u ugarsko-slavonskom prioratu s posebnim osvrtom na njihovo djelovanje kao mjesto autentičnosti (locus credibilis), in Piplović, F. (ed.), *Dubički arhidakonat u razvijenom srednjem vijeku i njegovi tragovi kroz kasnija stoljeća*, Banjalučka biskupija – Europska akademija u Banjoj Luci, 2018, 307–316.
- Ivanušec 2010 – R. Ivanušec, *Franjevačka crkva sv. Antuna Padovanskog sa samostanom: konzervatorsko istraživanje i obnova*, Franjevački samostan sv. Antuna Padovanskog, Zavičajni muzej Našice, 2010.
- Janeš, Gligora 2018 – A. Janeš, V. Gligora, *Izveštaj o radovima dokumentiranja kamenih arhitektonskih elemenata cistercijske opatije Blažene Djevice Marije u Topuskom*, unpublished report, Hrvatski restauratorski zavod, Služba za arheološku baštinu, 2018.
- Križan 2006 – B. Križan, Najranija povijest Pakraca i okolice u kontekstu tri vladarske isprave, *Zbornik povijesnog društva Pakrac-Lipik* 3, 2006, 28–52.
- Marosi 1984 – E. Marosi, *Die Anfänge der Gotik in Ungarn. Esztergom in der Kunst des 12. – 13. Jahrhunderts*, Akadémiai kiadó, 1984.
- Métais 1902 – C. Métais, *Les Templiers en Eure-et-Loir, Histoire et Cartulaire*, Archives du diocese de Chartres 7, 1902.
- Miletić 1999 – D. Miletić, Župna crkva B. D. Marije u Gori, *Godišnjak zaštite spomenika kulture Hrvatske* 22–23, 1999, 127–150.
- Miletić, Valjato Fabris 2014 – D. Miletić, M. Valjato Fabris, Rekonstrukcija templarskog sloja župne crkve Uznesenja Blažene Djevice Marije u Gori, *Portal – Godišnjak Hrvatskog restauratorskog zavoda* 5, 2014, 49–70.
- Muresanu 2001 – C. Muresanu, *John Hunyadi: Defender of Christendom*, The Center for Romanian Studies, 2001.
- Papić 2019 – I. Papić, *Srednjovjekovna sakralna arhitektura istočne Slavonije, Baranje i Srijema te njezine preobrazbe u vremenu osmanske vlasti*, unpublished PhD thesis, Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2019.
- Pisk 2017 – S. Pisk, *Pustinjaci podno Garić planine. Pavlinski samostan Blažene Djevice Marije na Gariću (Moslavačka gora) i njegova uloga u regionalnoj povijesti*, Leykam international d.o.o., 2017.

- Raabe 1995 – C. Raabe, *The Cistercian Monastery Mariental 1138 to 1337: The property and economic history including the political and religious position*, Duncker & Humblot, 1995.
- Roms, Venault, Verbrugge 2013 – C. Roms, S. Venault, G. Verbrugge, Le devenir de la commanderie d'Avallieur à l'époque hospitalière, in *Les templiers dans l'Aube: Cycle de conférences organisé dans le cadre de l'exposition "Templiers, une histoire, notre trésor"*, La Vie en Champagne, 2013, 243–278.
- Ruttkey 1996 – A. Ruttkey, Military and Religious Orders Offering Medical Care (Archaeological and Written Sources in Slovakia), in Kajzer, L., Paner, H. (eds.), *Castrum Bene: Castle and Church 5*, Muzeum Arcaeologiczne w Gdąnsku, 1996, 173–192.
- Sekulić-Gvozdanović 1994 – S. Sekulić-Gvozdanović, *Crkve-tvrđave u Hrvatskoj*, Školska knjiga, 1994.
- Siklósi 1990 – G. Siklósi, *Adattár Székesfehérvár középkori és törökkori építészetéről / Repertory of the Architecture of Székesfehérvár in the Middle Ages and during the Turkish Occupation*, Megyei Művelődési Központ, 1990.
- Simonin 1992a – P. Simonin, L'ancienne chapelle des Templiers de Libdeau, *Études Toulouses* 61, 1992, 21–25.
- Simonin 1992b – P. Simonin, Quatre chapelles du temple en Lorraine, *Le Pays Lorrain* 73/1, 1992, 15–25.
- Simonin 2014 – P. Simonin, La chapelle de la commanderie de Libdeau, *Études Toulouses* 150, 2014, 7–9.
- Szabo 1911 – G. Szabo, Prilozi za povjesnu topografiju Požeške županije, *Vjesnik Hrvatskog arheološkog društva* 11, 1911, 40–60.
- Szabo 1920 – G. Szabo, *Sredovječni gradovi u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji*, Matica hrvatska, 1920.
- Štrk 2017 – V. Štrk, O nazivlju Pakraca kroz stoljeća, *Zbornik Povijesnog društva Pakrac – Lipik* 10, 2017, 51–57.
- Takács 2012 – I. Takács, The first sanctuary of the second cathedral of Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia, RO), *Acta Historiae Artium* 53/1, 2012, 15–43.
- Takács 2015 – I. Takács, The Tomb of Queen Gertrude, *Acta Historiae Artium* 56, 2015, 5–88.
- Takács 2018 – I. Takács, *A Francia Gótika recepciója Magyarországon II. András korában*, Balassi kiadó, 2018.
- Tóth 2001a – S. Tóth, Benedictine Churches in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries, in Takács, I. (ed.), *Paradisum plantavit, Bencés monostorok a középkori Magyarországon*, Pannonhalmi Bencés Főapátság, 2001, 637–650.
- Tóth 2001b – S. Tóth, Zselincszentjakab, in Takács, I. (ed.), *Paradisum plantavit, Bencés monostorok a középkori Magyarországon*, Pannonhalmi Bencés Főapátság, 2001, 683–686.
- von Csaplovics 1819 – J. v. Csaplovics, *Slavonien und zum Theil Croatien. Ein Beitrag zur Völker- und Länderkunde. Theils aus eigener Ansicht und Erfahrung (1809 – 1812), theils auch aus späteren zuverlässigen Mittheilungen der Inassen 1*, Ansichten des Landes, topographische Fragmente, Volk, dessen Haus- und Feldwirthschaft, Sitten, Gebräuche, Sprache, Hartleben's Verlag, 1819.
- von Taube 1778 – F. W. von Taube, *Historische und geographische Beschreibung des Königreiches Slavonien und des Herzogthums Syrmien: sowol nach ihrer natürlichen Beschaffenheit, als auch nach ihrer itzigen Verfassung und neuen Einrichtung in kirchlichen, bürgerlichen und militärischen Dingen III.*, Kaiser, König wirklichen N. Oestr. Regierungsrathe, 1778.
- Vukičević-Samaržija 2013 – D. Vukičević-Samaržija, Crkva Majke Božje u Voćinu i kasna gotika u Slavoniji, in Žuljević, I. (ed.), *Voćin. Crkva i svetište. Zbornik radova s međunarodnoga znanstvenog skupa, Požega – Voćin, 9. – 10. prosinca 2011.*, Biskupski ordinarijat Požega, 2013, 256–263.