

Stanislav Ožujski Živkov
Muzej *Mente et Malleo*
Mente et Malleo Museum
Karađorđeva 68, RS - 26 000 Pančevo
stanislav.zivkov1@gmail.com

Elementi za arhitektonsku rekonstrukciju crkve sv. Sergija i Bakha (Kisha e Shirgjit) na rijeci Bojani (Buni) kraj Skadra u Albaniji

U radu su prikazani elementi za arhitektonsku rekonstrukciju gotovo u cijelosti uništene crkve, prikupljeni iz objavljenih i dosad nepoznatih izvora. Prvi se put obrazlažu topografske i hidrološke promjene koje su izazvale postupno razaranje crkve. Nove analize poznatih i novootkrivenih grafičkih dokumenata omogućavaju arhitektonsku rekonstrukciju crkve i njeno svrstavanje u regionalnu arhitektonsku skupinu.

Ključne riječi: *Skadarsko jezero, Buna, Shirgjit, crkva, arhitektonska rekonstrukcija.*

Evidence for the architectural reconstruction of the church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus (Kisha e Shirgjit) on the Bojana (Buna) River near Skhodra, Albania

The article presents the evidence for the architectural reconstruction of the almost completely destroyed church, collected from published and hitherto unknown sources. Topographical and hydrological changes, which resulted in the gradual destruction of the church, are elaborated for the first time. New analyses of known and newly-discovered graphic documents have provided the possibility for architectural reconstruction of the church and its placement in the regional architectural group.

Keywords: *Skhodra Lake, the Buna, Shirgjit, church, architectural reconstruction.*

*Mate Zekan Dicata,
Ad maiorem Dei gloriam inque hominum salute¹*

S arhitektonske točke gledišta, crkva sv. Sergija i Bakha na rijeci Bojani (albanski: Buna), poznata i kao **crkva Shirg** (alb.: *Kisha e Shirqit/Shirgjit*), vjerojatno je najvažniji sakralni spomenik izgrađen na najjužnijemu kraju bivše provincije Prevalis. Pripada regionalnoj arhitektonskoj školi zajedno s katedralama u Baru i Ulcinju te manjim crkvama u Danju i Svaču¹. Crkva je bila dio nekadašnjega benediktinskoga samostana, za čije postojanje znamo iz literature. Međutim, osim dijela crkve nije sačuvan nijedan drugi objekt te bivše opatije. Nažalost, uslijed promjena u topografiji širega područja crkve koje je izazvala erozija tla, nije moguće pronaći ikakve ostatke, jer je cijelo područje crkve osim njenoga jugozapadnoga dijela erodirala rijeka Buna (Bojana).

Lokacija crkve i promjene na njoj

Nekadašnji samostanski kompleks s crkvom nalazi se desetak kilometara južno od Skadra. Njene točne koordinate su 41,9905°N 19,4399°E. Sadašnja hidrološka situacija znatno se razlikuje od one u srednjemu vijeku. Izvorno je Buna (Bojana) otjecala samo iz Skadarskoga jezera i bila je sliv rijeke Morače (površine oko 3,300 km²)². Znatno kasnije se Buni južno od Skadra priključio rukavac rijeke Drin (Drim) pa je tako nastala rijeka postala pri-

*Mate Zekan Dicata,
Ad maiorem Dei gloriam inque hominum salute¹*

The church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus on the river Bojana (Albanian: Buna), also known as the **Shirg Church** (Alb.: *Kisha e Shirqit/Shirgjit*), is probably the most important sacred monument built in the southernmost end of the former province of Praevalitana, from the architectural point of view. It belongs to the regional architectural school together with the cathedrals in Bar and Ulcinj, as well as the smaller churches in Danj and Svač¹. The church was a part of the former Benedictine monastery, whose existence is known from the literature. However, except for a part of the church, no other buildings of the former abbey have been preserved. Unfortunately, due to the changes in the topography of the wider area around the church, caused by the erosion of the terrain, it is not possible to find any remains, because the complete area, except for the SW part of the church, has been eroded by the Buna (Bojana) river.

Location of the church and its changes

The former monastery complex with the church is located ca. ten kilometres south of Skhodra. Its exact coordinates are 41.9905°N 19.4399°E. The present hydrological situation is much different than in the Middle Ages. The Buna (Bojana) was originally an outflow of Skhodra Lake only and the

¹ Dva značajna događaja zbila su se prije skoro četrdeset godina: autorov susret s tlocrtom gotovo razorene crkve u Shirgju, kao i prvi posjet Muzeju hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika u Splitu, u kojemu je Mate Zekan tada bio kustos. Održali smo kontakt čak i tijekom agresije na Hrvatsku, a potom smo obnovili naše prijateljstvo. Nažalost, Mate nas je prerano napustio.

Ovaj rad ne bi bio moguć bez vrlo značajne ljubazne pomoći brojnih kolega: Silvana Matković (Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika u Splitu), Arsen Duplančić (Arheološki muzej u Splitu), Andrea Dautović (Zemaljski muzej u Sarajevu), Helidon Sokoli (Regionalna uprava nacionalne kulture, Skadar), prof. dr. Nasser Ferri (Albanološki institut – Priština), Mimoza Zereci (arhiv Instituta za spomenike kulture Albanije, Tirana), prof. dr. Aleksandar Kadrijević (Filozofski fakultet, Beograd), Aleksandra Golubov, Barbara Lunazzi (Sveučilište Ca' Foscari u Veneciji), Siniša Temerinski (Republički zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture, Beograd), Bojan Šikoparija (Copy centar Kup, Beograd), Đura Hadžić (Laguna, Pančevo), Josip Kirhrot (Fotobata Pančevo).

² Na temelju geološke dokumentacije Veljka Živkova, danas u muzeju MENTE ET MALLEO u Pančevu.

¹ Two important things happened almost forty years ago: this author's encounter with a plan of the almost destroyed church in Shirgj, and the first visit to the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments in Split, where Mate Zekan was a curator at the time. We had stayed in touch even during the aggression on Croatia, and subsequently renewed our friendship. Unfortunately, Mate left us prematurely.

This article would not have been possible without the very important kind help from numerous colleagues: Silvana Matković (Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments in Split), Arsen Duplančić (Archaeological Museum in Split), Andrea Dautović (National Museum in Sarajevo), Helidon Sokoli (Regional Directorate of National Culture, Skodra), Prof. Dr. Nasser Ferri (Instituti Albanologjik – Prishtinë), Mimoza Zereci (Archive of the Institute of Monuments of Culture of Albania, Tirana), Prof. Dr. Aleksandar Kadrijević (Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Belgrade), Mr Sci Aleksandra Golubov, Barbara Lunazzi (Ca' Foscari University of Venice), Siniša Temerinski (National Institute for Protection of Cultural Monuments, Belgrade), Bojan Šikoparija (Copy centar Kup, Beograd), Đura Hadžić (Laguna, Pančevo), Josip Kirhrot (Fotobata Pančevo).



Sl. 1. Satelitski prikaz širega područja južno od Skadra. Na desnoj strani je rukavac Drina s označenom lokacijom crkve u Shirqu

Fig. 1 Satellite view of a greater area south of Skhodra. On the right, the distributary of Drin, with the location of the church in Shirq marked

rodni izljev riječnih slivova vrlo velikoga područja, koje je obuhvaćalo ne samo sliv Morače, nego i većinu sliva Drina, što je uključivalo dijelove Albanije, Kosova i Sjeverne Makedonije na ukupnoj površini od 19,700 kvadratnih kilometara³. (Sl. 1.) Spajanje rukavca Drina s Bojanom zasigurno se dogodilo nakon 1688., budući da je na karti koju je izradio Vincenzo Coronelli prikazana lokacija jednoga starijeg i rukavca Drina pokrivenoga nanosima (Antico alneo del Fiume Drinasto), koji se pak spajao s drugim rukavcem Bune sjeverno od Skadra⁴. Coronellijeva karta ustvari je jedina na kojoj je prikazana lokacija Sv. Sergija, kao i brojnih drugih spomenika na rijeci Buni. (Sl. 2.)

Zbog velikoga porasta vodostaja Skadarskoga jezera uslijed topljenja snijega u proljeće, površina sezonski oscilira između 370 km² (140 kvadratnih milja) i 530 km² (200 kvadratnih milja). Vodostaj sezonski varira između 4,7 i 9,8 m nadmorske visine, a u proljeće, zbog daleko višega vodostaja Skadarskoga jezera i znatno većega dotoka vode u rijeku Drin, rijeka Buna (Bojana) ima vrlo bujični karakter te često mijenja svoj tok i plavi svoje obale



Sl. 2. Detalj stare Coronellijeve karte: Corso delli Fiumi Drino, e Boiana nella Dalmatia, 1690.

Označena je lokacija crkve; nekadašnji rukavac Drina je sjeveroistočno od Skadra (Scutari). Zbirka Stanislava Živkova

Fig. 2 Detail of the vintage map by Coronelli: Corso delli Fiumi Drino, e Boiana nella Dalmatia, 1690.

The location of the church is marked; the ancient distributary of Drin is to the NE of Skhodra (Scutari). Collection of Stanislav Živkov

catchment basin for the Morača River (covering an area of ca. 3.300 km²)². Much later, a distributary of the Drin (Drim) River joined the Buna south of Skhodra, and the thus formed river became the natural outflow of river basins in a very large area, comprising not only the Morača catchment basin but also the bulk of the Drin basin, which includes parts of Albania, Kosovo, and Northern Macedonia, on a total surface of 19.700 sq km³. (Fig. 1) The joining of the Drin distributary with the Bojana must have happened after 1688, because a map made by Vincenzo Coronelli displays a location of an older and silted distributary of the Drin (Antico alneo del Fiume Drinasto), which joined another tributary of the Buna, north of Skhodra⁴. The Coronelli map is indeed the only one that also shows the location

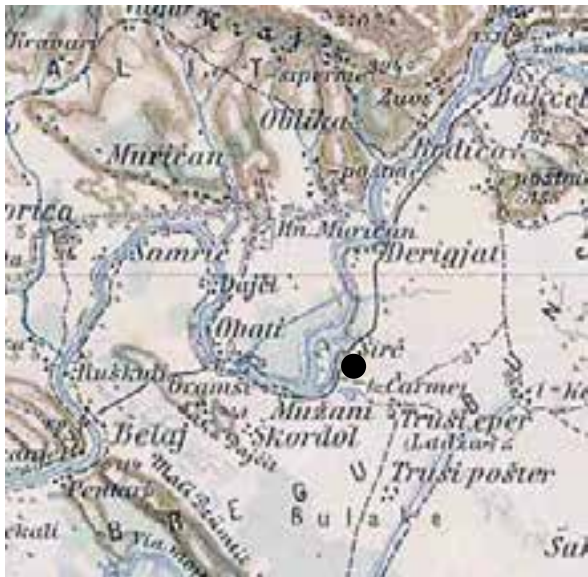
³ Iz geološke dokumentacije Veljka Živkova, danas u muzeju MENTE ET MALLEO u Pančevu.

⁴ Coronelli, Vincenzo Maria: Corso delli Fiumi Drino, e Boiana nella Dalmatia: descrito dal P. Mro. Coronelli Cosmografo della Seren. Republica di Venezia: Dedicato Agli Em[inentissimi], e Reu[erendissimi] Signori Cardinali della Sacra Congregatione de Propaganda Fide: in Venetia Con Priuilegio dell'Eccel. Senato. U: Coronelli, V. M., *Atlante Veneto*, 1690.

² Based on Veljko Živkov's geological documentation, today in the MENTE ET MALLEO Museum in Pančevo.

³ From Veljko Živkov's geological documentation, today in the MENTE ET MALLEO Museum in Pančevo.

⁴ Coronelli, Vincenzo Maria: Corso delli Fiumi Drino, e Boiana nella Dalmatia: descrito dal P. Mro. Coronelli Cosmografo della Seren. Republica di Venezia: Dedicato Agli Em[inentissimi], e Reu[erendissimi] Signori Cardinali della Sacra Congregatione de Propaganda Fide: in Venetia Con Priuilegio dell'Eccel. Senato. In: Coronelli, V. M., *Atlante Veneto*, 1690.



Sl. 3a. Detalj s austrougarske vojne topografske karte u mjerilu 1:75.000 III. Mjerni listovi 37–42. Zbirka Stanislava Živkova

Fig. 3a Detail from an Austro-Hungarian military topographic map in the scale of 1:75000 III. Measurement sheets 37–42. Collection of Stanislav Živkov



Sl. 3b. Detalj s ruske vojne topografske karte u mjerilu 1:50000, list K 34-63-G. Zbirka Stanislava Živkova

Fig. 3b Detail from a Russian military topographic map in the scale of 1:50000, sheet K 34-63-G. Collection of Stanislav Živkov



Sl. 3c. Detalj s jugoslavenske topografske karte u mjerilu 1:25000, list Fraskanjel, 170-2.2. Zbirka Stanislava Živkova

Sl. 3c Detail from a Yugoslav topographic map in the scale of 1:25000, sheet Fraskanjel, 170-2.2. Collection of Stanislav Živkov



Sl. 3d. Sadašnja situacija, Google Earth
Fig. 3d Present-day situation, Google Earth.

i okolne ravnice. Budući da je cijelo područje duž korita Bune (Bojane) uglavnom aluvijalna ravnica koju pretežno čini riječni sediment, ne iznenađuje činjenica da se tok Bune (Bojane) uvelike mijenjao, što se vidi na nizu topografski karti iz 20. stoljeća. (Sl. 3.)

of St. Sergius, as well as of other numerous monuments along the Buna River. (Fig. 2)

Due to an immense rise in water levels in Skhodra Lake, which comes as a result of snow melting in spring, the surface area seasonally fluctuates between 370 km² (140 sq mi) and 530 km² (200 sq mi). The water level of the lake varies seasonally from 4.7 to 9.8 m above sea level and in the spring, due to a much higher water level in Skhodra Lake, as well as a significantly greater inflow of water



Sl. 4. Postojeće stanje crkve. Nekadašnji erodirani dijelovi sada su puni nanosa. Ispis slike iz snimke Terenca Pepe

Fig. 4 Present condition of the church. Formerly eroded parts are now fully silted. Printscreen from Terenc Pepa's footage

Iako se na rijeci sada nalaze brane, područje crkve i dalje je povremeno izloženo poplavama⁵. Rijeka Buna (Bojana) je donedavno neposredno sjeveroistočno od crkve pritjecala u dva odvojena riječna korita koja su okruživala jedan riječni otok, a ta dva glavna vodotoka su se spajala u snažan riječni tok istočno od samostanskoga kompleksa. Voda je postepeno erodirala lokaciju i razorila samu crkvu, što je vrlo dobro dokumentirano. Međutim, čak se ni u najstarijim izvorima ne spominju nikakvi ostaci samostanskoga kompleksa. Činjenica da su istočno, zapadno i južno pročelje bili bogato raščlanjeni ukazuje da su se drugi samostanski objekti – klastar, spavaonica, blagovaonica – mogli nalaziti samo sjeverno od crkve, odnosno u području koje je prvo razoreno. Propadanje crkve vrlo je dobro dokumentirano u objavljenim materijalima. Erozijska je dosegla vrhunac negdje između 1947. i 1960., sudeći prema Mušičevome nacrtu stanja⁶. Početkom 1960-ih urušio se veći dio sačuvanoga dijela

in the Drin River, the Buna (Bojana) River shows a very torrential character and has been known to frequently change its course and flood its banks and the surrounding plains. Since the whole area along the waterbed of the Buna (Bojana) is mostly alluvial plain composed mainly of river sediments, it is no surprise that the Buna (Bojana) was heavily changing its course in the past, as shown in a series of topographic maps from the 20th century. (Fig. 3)

Although the riverbed is now partly flanked with dams, the area of the church is still occasionally flooded⁵. Immediately northeast of the church, the Buna (Bojana) River until recently used to flow into two separate riverbeds which surrounded a river island and these two main watercourses joined in a strong river stream east of the monastery complex. The force of the stream gradually eroded the site and destroyed the church itself, which is very well documented. However, even the earliest sources do not mention any remains of the monastic complex. The fact that the east, west and south façades were richly articulated indicates that other monastic buildings – the cloister, dormitory, dining room – could only have been placed to the north of the church, i.e. the area that was devastated first. The destruction of the church is very well documented in published material. The maximum erosion was reached sometime between 1947 and 1960, judging by a situation sketch by Mušič⁶. In the early 1960s, a greater part of the preserved section of the west façade collapsed, and one of the inscriptions was retrieved from the ruins and transferred to the Skhodra Historical Museum⁷. Meanwhile, the Buna (Bojana) River further changed its course, and the east watercourse was, for the most part, silted, whereas today the once eroded part of the church location is now again on dry land⁸. (Fig. 4)

⁵ Flooding of the church location is visible on the video clip *Ora News – Kisha e Shirqit në mes të ujit, monumenti i rrallë po dëmtohet nga përmbytja* (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9GQDNW8Slcw>); accessed on 11 May 2020.

⁶ Mušič 1952, 183.

⁷ The History Museum in Skhodra (Muzeu Historik Shkoder) was founded in 1947, originally as the People's Museum, but very soon it was transformed into a historical museum with archaeological, ethnological and art collections. Unfortunately, there are no vintage photographs of the church in the museum collection (message from 7 November 2019).

⁸ The raw footage of the location of the church filmed with a drone for the TV programme *KISHA E SHIRQIT DHE XHAMIA E PLUMBIT NË HAR-*

⁵ Poplavljena lokacija crkve vidljiva je na videoisječku *Ora News – Kisha e Shirqit në mes të ujit, monumenti i rrallë po dëmtohet nga përmbytja* (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9GQDNW8Slcw>); zadnji pregled: 11. svibnja 2020.

⁶ Mušič 1952, 183.

zapadnoga pročelja, a jedan od natpisa je izvučen iz ruševina i prebačen u Skadarski povijesni muzej⁷. U međuvremenu se opet promijenio tok rijeke Bune (Bojane), pri čemu je istočni vodotok većim dijelom bio pokriven nanosima, dok se danas nekoć erodirani dio lokacije crkve opet nalazi na suhome tlu⁸. (SI. 4.)

Povijesni pregled spomenika

Prema natpisu koji je bio postavljen na zapadno pročelje, posvećenome svecima Sergiju i Bakhu, gradnju današnje crkve započela je srpska kraljica Jelena Anžijska godine 1290⁹.

(I)+ MEM(en)TO D(omi)NE FAMULE TUE(II) HELENE REGINE SERVIE DVO(III)CLIE ALBANIE CHILMIE DALM(IV)ACIE ET MARITIME REGIONI(s) (V)QVE VNA CV(m) FILIIS SVIS REG(VI)I(bu)S VROSIO ET STEPHA(n)O EDIFICA(VII)VIT D(e) NOVO IS(ta)M ECCL(es) IA(m) AD HONO(VIII)RE(m) BEATO(rum) M(a) RTYRU(m) SERGI(i) ET BACHI ET AD FINE(m) VSQVE CO(m)PLEV(IX)IT ANN(o) D(omi)NI MCCLXXX¹⁰

Izgradnju crkve je dovršio njen sin, kralj Milutin, čiji se natpis također nalazio na zapadnome pročelju¹¹.

(I)+ IN NO(m)I(n)E D(omi)NI AM(en) EXIMINE VIRGINIS FILII ANNO MC..XVIII MAGNIFIC(us) D(omi)S D(omi)N(u)S VROSI(us) D(e)I G(ratia) (II)RASIE REX ILLVSTRIS MAGNIFICI REGINE EDIFICAVIT HA(N)C ECC(lesiam) (III)IN (h)ONORE(m) S(an)C(t)O(rum) M(artirum) S(er)GII ET BACHI A FVNDAM (en)

Historical outline of the monument

The construction of the present church was started by the Serbian Queen Helen of Anjou in 1290, according to the inscription which stood on the west façade dedicated to the saints Sergius and Bacchus⁹. (I)+ MEM(en)TO D(omi)NE FAMULE TUE(II) HELENE REGINE SERVIE DVO(III)CLIE ALBANIE CHILMIE DALM(IV)ACIE ET MARITIME REGIONI(s) (V)QVE VNA CV(m) FILIIS SVIS REG(VI)I(bu)S VROSIO ET STEPHA(n)O EDIFICA(VII)VIT D(e) NOVO IS(ta)M ECCL(es) IA(m) AD HONO(VIII)RE(m) BEATO(rum) M(a) RTYRU(m) SERGI(i) ET BACHI ET AD FINE(m) VSQVE CO(m)PLEV(IX)IT ANN(o) D(omi)NI MCCLXXX¹⁰

The building of the church was finished by her son, King Milutin, whose inscription also stood on the west façade¹¹.

(I)+ IN NO(m)I(n)E D(omi)NI AM(en) EXIMINE VIRGINIS FILII ANNO MC..XVIII MAGNIFIC(us) D(omi)S D(omi)N(u)S VROSI(us) D(e)I G(ratia) (II)RASIE REX ILLVSTRIS MAGNIFICI REGINE EDIFICAVIT HA(N)C ECC(lesiam) (III)IN (h)ONORE(m) S(an)C(t)O(rum) M(artirum) S(er)GII ET BACHI A FVNDAM (en) TIS VS(que) AD FIN(em) (assi)STENTE ANNATE PETRO DOCHNE SCVTAREN(si)

(Figs. 5 & 6)

Although there is no archaeological evidence, there are indications that the present church was built on the site of an earlier monument from the Justinian era, when the cult of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus began to spread¹². The only indirect evidence of

⁷ The History Museum in Shkodra (Muzeu Historik Shkoder) was founded in 1947, originally as the People's Museum, but very soon it was transformed into a historical museum with archaeological, ethnological and art collections. Nažalost, u muzejskoj zbirci nema starih fotografija crkve (poruka od 7. studenoga 2019.).

⁸ Sirovu snimku dronom lokacije crkve za televizijsku emisiju KISHA E SHIRQIT DHE XHAMIA E PLUMBIT NË HARRESË! (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NuEBKOYkDac&t=162s>) ljubazno je ustupio snimatelj Terenc Pepa, koji je naveden kao autor svih ispisa slika iz snimke.

⁹ Više o natpisima u: Erdeljan 2016, str. 129–143.

¹⁰ Prijepis i dopuna teksta natpisa: g. Aleksandra Golubov, arheolog.

¹¹ Prijepis i dopuna teksta natpisa: g. Aleksandra Golubov, arheolog.

RESË! (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NuEBKOYkDac&t=162s>) was kindly provided by its cinematographer, Terenc Pepa, who will be named as the author of all printscreens made out of this footage.

⁹ For more details on these inscriptions cf. Erdeljan 2016, pp. 129–143.

¹⁰ The text of the inscription was transcribed and completed by Mr Sci Aleksandra Golubov, an archaeologist.

¹¹ The text of the inscription was transcribed and completed by Mr Sci Aleksandra Golubov, an archaeologist.

¹² Recently an important article was published on the origin of the cult of Sts. Serghius and Bacchus, as well as on the possibility for the existence of an earlier monument on the site of the present church: Hoxha 2017.



Sl. 5. Nadvoj zapadnoga pročelja s natpisom kralja Milutina (J. Erdeljan)
 Fig. 5 The lintel of the west portal with the inscription of King Milutin (J. Erdeljan)



Sl. 6. Sačuvani ulomci zapadnoga portala (J. Erdeljan)
 Fig. 6 Preserved fragments of the west portal (J. Erdeljan)

TIS VS(que) AD FIN(em) (assi)STENTE
 ANNATE PETRO DOCHNE SCVTAREN(si)

(Sl. 5. i 6.)

Premda nema arheološke građe, postoje naznake da je današnja crkva bila izgrađena na lokaciji jednoga starijega spomenika iz Justinijanovoga doba, kada se počeo širiti kult svetoga Sergija i Bakha¹². Jedini neizravni dokaz te starije građevine zabilježili su Degrand¹³ i Ippen¹⁴. Obojica su spomenula otkrivanje ulomaka mozaika prilikom kopanja grobova. Godine 1961. pored unutarnje stijenke južnoga zida još uvijek je stajao ostatak granitnoga stupa. (Sl. 7.)

Postojanje najmanje jedne starije crkve na lokaciji sadašnje potvrđuje *Ljetopis popa Dukljanina*, srednjovjekovni povijesni izvor u kojemu je navedeno da je crkva služila kao kraljevski mauzolej za nekoliko članova dinastije Vojislavljevića iz Duklje, koji su u njemu sahranjeni: Mihailo I. (oko 1050.–1081.), Konstantin Bodin (1081.–1101.), Dobroslav

the earlier structure was noted by Degrand¹³ and Ippen¹⁴. Both mentioned that fragments of mosaics had been unearthed during grave digging. In 1961, a stump of a granite column still stood by the interior face of the southern wall. (Fig. 7)

The existence of at least one earlier church on the location of the present church is confirmed by *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*, a mediaeval historical source indicating that the church was used as the royal mausoleum for several members of the Vojislavljević dynasty of Duklja, who were buried there, such as Mikhail I (ca. 1050–1081), Constantine Bodin (1081–1101), Dobroslav, and their descendants Vladimir and Gradinja¹⁵. The location of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus in the mediaeval period was also known as Sveti Srđ (St. Sergius, abbreviated), because somewhere in the vicinity of the Benedictine monastery there existed a mediaeval village and a marketplace, an important trading place where contingents of salt were transferred. At the time, salt was an article whose trade was controlled by government monopoly¹⁶. Although the presence

¹² Nedavno je objavljen važan članak o porijeklu kulta sv. Sergija i Bakha te o mogućnosti postojanja starijega spomenika na lokaciji današnje crkve: Hoxha 2017.

¹³ Degrand 1901, str. 94–96.

¹⁴ Ippen 1899, str. 17.

¹³ Degrand 1901, pp. 94–96.

¹⁴ Ippen 1899, p. 17.

¹⁵ *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*, p. 95.

¹⁶ Jireček, *Trgovački drumovi i rudnici*, pp. 103 & 104.



Sl. 7. Stara fotografija iz 1961. s prikazom patrljka granitnoga stupa. Negativ br. 34361, Služba za zaštitu spomenika u Tirani

Fig. 7 Vintage photograph from 1961 showing the stump of a granite column. Negative No. 34361, the Monuments Protection Service Tirana

te njihovi nasljednici Vladimir i Gradinja¹⁵. Lokalitet Sv. Sergija i Bakha u srednjemu je vijeku bio poznat i pod nazivom Sveti Srd (skraćeno za Sv. Sergije), budući da je negdje u blizini benediktinskoga samostana postojalo srednjovjekovno selo i trgovište, koje je bilo značajno mjesto za trgovanja solju. U to je doba trgovina soli bila pod kontrolom državnoga monopola¹⁶. Premda je prisutnost benediktinskoga reda na tom području potvrđena u nekoliko povijesnih dokumenata¹⁷, nema baš nikakvih dokaza o starijoj crkvi na lokaciji ona današnje prije doba Jelene Anžujске. Međutim, moguće je čak i da su postojale dvije starije crkve, starokršćanske memorije¹⁸, što dokazuju nalazi ulomaka mozaika koje je spominjao Ippen¹⁹. Na njihovom se mjestu pak kasnije mogao nalaziti kraljevski mauzolej Vojislavljevića. Opatija sa selom je zajedno s ostatkom crnogorske srednjovjekovne Zetske države postala dio srednjovjekovna kraljevine Srbije za vladavine

of the Benedictine order in the area is confirmed in several historical documents¹⁷, there is absolutely no evidence of an earlier church on the location of the present-day one before the time of Helen of Anjou. However, it is even possible that there were two earlier churches, early Christian memoriae¹⁸, as corroborated by the finds of mosaic fragments mentioned by Ippen¹⁹. They, in turn, could have been succeeded by the royal mausoleum of the Vojislavljević dynasty. Together with the remainder of the mediaeval Montenegrin Zeta State, the Abbey with the village became a part of the mediaeval kingdom of Serbia during the reign of Stefan Nemanja (1168–1196). However, the present church was built as a new monument, because there are no traces of any rebuilding or reconstruction. The second inscription by King Milutin, from ca. 1318, should be interpreted as phase two of the construction, according to an altered plan, because the present church was obviously not built in a single building campaign. It is known that the church was abandoned as early as in 1452²⁰. M. Bici, the archbishop of Tivat, gave clear evidence that the church had been abandoned in 1610²¹. Although it was known that the church had been dedicated to Sts. Sergius and Bacchus, in the 19th and 20th centuries it was simply referred to as Kisha e Shirgit, i.e. the Church in Shirgi. The fact that the church had been abandoned was also confirmed by old engravings depicting the area between Skhodra and the Adriatic coast. Neither Camocio²² in 1574 nor Rosaccio²³ in 1598 depic-

¹⁵ *Ljetopis popa Dukljanina*, str. 95.

¹⁶ Jireček, *Trgovački drumovi i rudnici*, str. 103 & 104.

¹⁷ Hoxha, napomena 33: *Acta Albaniae I*, 76 (v. 1100), 93 (v. 1247), 421 (v. 1200), 469 (v. 1283), 487 (v. 1284).

¹⁸ Stanje je bilo slično onome s katedralom u Ulcinju, izgrađenom na ostacima starije memorije; v. Ulcinj (1981) str. 199–116, tlocrt na str. 133.

¹⁹ Degrand 1901, str. 94–96, Ippen 1899, 17.

¹⁷ Hoxha, note 33: *Acta Albaniae I*, 76 (v. 1100), 93 (v. 1247), 421 (v. 1200), 469 (v. 1283), 487 (v. 1284).

¹⁸ This situation was similar to the cathedral in Ulcinj, which had been built over the remains of an earlier memoria; cf. Ulcinj (1981) 199–116, the plan on p. 133.

¹⁹ Degrand 1901, 94–96, Ippen 1899, p. 17.

²⁰ Sirdani (1930), who re-published the note of Father Nicholas V – “a Monachis fere desertum” – originally published in “*La Civilita Cattolica*”, 6 July 1929, p. 15.

²¹ Bici 1610, 82 (103).

²² Giovanni Francesco Camocio (1501–1575/77), Italian cartographer, printer and publisher. From 1558 he started drawing various very detailed vedutas of islands or cities. His work represented a breakthrough in the mapping of the period. His main works, including *Isole famose porti, fortezze, e terre maritime sottoposte alla Ser.ma Sig.ria di Venetia, ad altri Principi Christiani, et al Sig.or Turco* (Venice, alla libreria del segno di S. Marco), were published between 1571 and 1574.

²³ Giuseppe Rosaccio (1530–ca. 1621), doctor, traveller, geographer and cartographer, published several im-

Stefana Nemanje (1168.–1196.). Međutim, današnja je crkva izgrađena kao novi spomenik, budući da nema nikakvih tragova obnove ili rekonstrukcije. Drugi natpis kralja Milutina, koji datira iz otprilike 1318. godine, valja tumačiti kao drugu fazu izgradnje, prema izmijenjenome planu, budući da današnja crkva očito nije izgrađena u samo jednoj etapi. Poznato je da je crkva napuštena još 1452. godine²⁰. M. Bici, tivatski nadbiskup, pružio je jasan dokaz da je crkva bila napuštena godine 1610²¹. Premda je bilo poznato da je crkva posvećena sv. Sergiju i Bakhu, u 19. i 20. stoljeću bila je nazivana Kisha e Shirgjit, tj. crkva u Shirgiju. Činjenicu da je crkva bila napuštena također potvrđuju stare gravire na kojima je prikazano područje između Skadra i jadranske obale. Ni Camocio²² 1574. ni Rosaccio²³ 1598. nisu prikazali ništa pokraj zavoja Bune (Bojana), a isto vrijedi i za Busbecqovo djelo²⁴ iz godine 1664. Daniele Farlati je spomenuo Sv. Sergija kao crkvu s freskama na zidovima i na šest stupova kvadratnoga presjeka u njenome unutarnjem prostoru²⁵.

ted anything near the bend of the Buna (Bojana), and the same applies to Busbecq²⁴ in 1664. Daniele Farlati mentioned St. Sergius as a church with frescoes on its walls and on the six square pillars in its interior²⁵. There exist several detailed descriptions of the condition the church was in during the 19th century: according to Ivan Jastrebov²⁶, the church was located a two hour's walk from Skhodra; it was roofless, with only its walls still standing, whereas the northern apse had already collapsed into the river Buna (Bojana) which was flowing by the church and undermining its walls. Furthermore, he noted that two rows of three columns each were dividing the nave. The oldest known graphic source is an engraving made by C. Steinicken after the drawing by E. Schweinfurt²⁷, published in 1855²⁸. (Fig. 8) The existence of this engraving has been known from 1933, when it was published by Pera Popović²⁹. Although the existence of this engraving was already known, since 1931 it has never been published. Furthermore, Korać published only a completely wrong interpretation of the engraving, but he did not publish the engraving itself³⁰. The engraving obvio-

²⁰ Sirdani (1930), koji je ponovno objavio poruku fra Nikole V. – „a Monachis fere desertum” – izvorno objavljenu u „La Civiltà Cattolica”, 6. srpnja 1929., str. 15.

²¹ Bici 1610, 82 (103).

²² Giovanni Francesco Camocio (1501.–1575./77.), talijanski kartograf, tiskar i izdavač. Od 1558. crtao je razne vrlo detaljne vedute otoka ili gradova. Njegovi radovi predstavljali su napredak u kartiranju toga doba. Njegova glavna djela, uključujući *Isole famose porti, fortezze, e terre marittime sottoposte alla Ser.ma Sig.ria di Venetia, ad altri Principi Christiani, et al Sig.or Turco* (Venecija, alla libreria del segno di S. Marco), objavljena su između 1571. i 1574. godine.

²³ Giuseppe Rosaccio (1530.–oko 1621.), liječnik, putnik, geograf i kartograf. Objavio nekoliko značajnih djela: *Viaggio da Venetia a Constantinopoli per mare e per terra* (1574), *Al Sereniss. Cosmo Gran Principe di Toscana, Il viaggio per Mare, e per Terra di Constantinopoli, e di tera Santa* (1601). Sva njegova izdanja bila su bogato ilustrirana gravirama veduta utvrda, gradova, otoka itd. U knjizi *Viaggio* nalaze se i brojni kartografski prikazi lokacija na ruti putovanja.

²⁴ Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq (1522.–1592.); Augier Ghislain de Busbecq, flamanski pisac, travar i diplomat 16. stoljeća, u službi triju generacija austrijskih monarha. Bio je veleposlanik u Osmanskome Carstvu. Godine 1581. objavio je svoju najpoznatiju knjigu o svom boravku u Carigradu, *Itinera Constantinopolitana et Amasianum*, pregled privatne korespondencije sa svojim prijateljem i kolegom, ugarskim diplomatom Nicholasom Michaultom, u Flandriji te među prvim putopisima na svijetu.

²⁵ Farlati 1751, *Illyricum sacrum* VI, 440. Posljednje ostatke fresaka nedavno je očistio i konzervirao Helidon Sokoli.

portant works: *Viaggio da Venetia a Constantinopoli per mare e per terra* (1574), *Al Sereniss. Cosmo Gran Principe di Toscana, Il viaggio per Mare, e per Terra di Constantinopoli, e di tera Santa* (1601). All his books were richly illustrated with engravings of vedutas of fortresses, cities, islands, etc. The book *Viaggio* also includes a number of cartographic representations of the locations along the travel route.

²⁴ Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq (1522.–1592); Augier Ghislain de Busbecq, a 16th-century Flemish writer, herbalist and diplomat in the employ of three generations of Austrian monarchs. He served as ambassador to the Ottoman Empire in Constantinople and in 1581 published his best-known book about his time there, *Itinera Constantinopolitanum et Amasianum*, a compendium of personal correspondence with his friend and fellow Hungarian diplomat, Nicholas Michault, in Flanders and some of the world's first travel literature.

²⁵ Farlati 1751, *Illyricum sacrum* VI, 440. The last remains of the frescoes were recently cleaned and conserved by Helidon Sokoli.

²⁶ Jastrebov 1880, p. 366.

²⁷ Until the completion of this article, it was not possible to find any biographical information both on Steinicken and Schweinfurt except that they often collaborated in the preparation of engravings.

²⁸ Print portfolio was published in Trieste by Literarisch-Artistische abtheilung der Osterreichische Lloyd in 1855, and it consists of 24 engravings. A total of seven engravings were prepared by Steinicken and Schweinfurt.

²⁹ Vardar kalendar 1933, XXI, p. 50.

³⁰ Korać 1965. p. 22, 24. Due to a happy coincidence



Sl. 8. Gravira C. Steinickena prema crtežu E. Schweinfurta: „Ruinen eines christlichen Tempel an der Bojana”, Album malerischer ansichten aus Dalmatien, br. 23, Trst, 1855. Zbirka Stanislava Živkova

Fig. 8 Engraving by C. Steinicken after the drawing by E. Schweinfurt: “Ruinen eines christlichen Tempel an der Bojana”, Album malerischer ansichten aus Dalmatien, No 23, Trieste, 1855. Collection of Stanislav Živkov

Postoji nekoliko iscrpnih opisa stanja crkve tijekom 19. stoljeća: prema Ivanu Jastrebovu²⁶, crkva se nalazila na dva sata hoda od Skadra; bila je bez krova, a čitavi su bili samo njeni zidovi, dok se sjeverna apsida već bila urušila u rijeku Bunu (Bojanu) koja je tekla pokraj crkve i podrivala njene zidove. Povrh toga je zabilježio da su brod dijelila dva niza stupova, i to po tri u svakome redu. Najstariji poznati grafički izvor je gravira koju je izradio C. Steinicken prema crtežu E. Schweinfurta²⁷, objavljenom 1855²⁸. (Sl. 8.) Ta je gravira poznata još od

usly depicts a view from an elevated position near the end of the preserved section of the west façade, because the north pilaster in the interior is visible in the first plan. Vintage photographs and Ippen’s engraving reveal that an enormous beech tree stood by the western wall, and the drawings were possibly made from that position. The engraving is precious because it shows the state of preservation of the central apse, which was still standing in full height at the time. While the northern apse, as well as the northern wall, were already missing, a part of the southern apse was depicted, but the artist Schweinfurt deliberately omitted a section of it, as well as the southern wall and two pairs of interior pillars, in order to emphasize the most prominent part of the interior: the apse with two biforate windows and the rectangular column dividing them. The existence of

²⁶ Jastrebov 1880, str. 366.

²⁷ Do dovršetka ovoga rada nije bilo moguće pronaći biografske podatke kako za Steinickena tako ni za Schweinfurta, osim da su često surađivali u izradi gravira.

²⁸ Mapu grafika je 1855. godine objavio Literarisch-Artistische abtheilung der Osterreichicche Lloyd u Trstu. Sastoji se od 24 gravire. Ukupno sedam gravira izradili su Steinicken i Schweinfurt.

during the preparation of this article, this author discovered and purchased a copy of the engraving from a collector in Šabac.



Sl. 9. Sačuvana baza stupa bifore središnje apside
(foto: L. Bondarenko)

Fig. 9 Preserved base of a column from a biforated window of the central apse (photo: L. Bondarenko)

1933., kada ju je objavio Pera Popović²⁹. Premda je već bilo poznato da postoji predmetna gravira, ona uopće nije objavljena od 1931. Nadalje, Korać je objavio samo potpuno pogrešno tumačenje gravire, no ne i samu graviru³⁰. Predmetna gravira očito prikazuje pogled s nekoga povišenog mjesta pokraj krajnje točke sačuvanoga dijela zapadnoga pročelja, budući da se u prvome planu vidi sjeverni pilastar u unutrašnjosti. Stare fotografije i Ippenova gravira pokazuju da je pored zapadnoga zida stajala ogromna bukva, a crteži su možda napravljeni na tom položaju. Gravira je dragocjena jer prikazuje stanje očuvanosti središnje apside, koja je tada još stajala u punoj visini. Sjeverne apside i sjevernoga zida tada već nije bilo, ali je prikazana južna apside, no Schweinfurt je namjerno izostavio jedan njen dio, kao i južni zid i dva para unutarnjih stupova, a u namjeri da naglasi najistaknutiji dio unutrašnjosti: apsidu s dvije bifore i stup kvadratnoga presjeka između njih. Postojanje tih bifora potvrđuje nedavna identifikacija baze jednoga stupa koja je očuvana među prikupljenim kamenim blokovima u jugozapadnome dijelu crkve. (Sl. 9.) Nadalje, nekoliko važnih pojedinosti s navedene gravire potvrđeno je



Sl. 10. Jugoistočni dio unutrašnjosti crkve; gravira prema Ippenovoj fotografiji (1899.). Vidljiv je četvrtstup kraj ostataka apside gornjega dijela srednjega broda te nagib krova na južnome brodu (30 stupnjeva)

Fig. 10 South-eastern part of the church interior; engraving after Ippen's photograph (1899). Visible are the quarter-column by the apse remains of the superstructure of the central nave and the inclination of the roof over the southern nave (30 degrees) are visible

these biforate windows has been corroborated by a recent identification of one column base which has been preserved among the collected stone blocks in the SW corner of the church. (Fig. 9) Furthermore, several important details from this engraving were confirmed in the engravings published by Ippen³¹: the springing of the Gothic triumphal arch, the position of the eastern biforate window (shown by Ippen in the remaining south end of the central apse), and, finally, the existence of a somewhat thinner upper part of the pillars. Another very important detail, subsequently also published by Ippen, concerns the existence of the final (south-eastern) remains of the central nave superstructure. (Fig. 10)

Furthermore, the existence of the hollows for wooden beams which were part of the superstructure of dividing arches, visible in the engraving, is confirmed by a low-quality photograph on several Albanian web sites³². Its current location is unknown. (Fig. 11) This photograph is also important

³¹ Ippen 1899.

³² <http://besibekteshi-info.blogspot.com/2011/07/shirqi-dhe-kisha-e-vjeter-ku.html>, <https://www.kultplus.com/trashegimia/miratohet-projekti-per-restaurimin-e-kishes-se-shirqit-vendit-ku-martoheshin-princerit/> <https://konica.al/2018/09/abacia-e-shirgjit-drejt-restaurimit/>

²⁹ Vardar kalendar 1933, XXI, str. 50.

³⁰ Korać 1965 str. 22, 24. Sretnom slučajnošću za vrijeme pisanja ovoga rada autor je otkrio i otkupio primjerak gravire od jednoga kolekcionara u Šapcu.

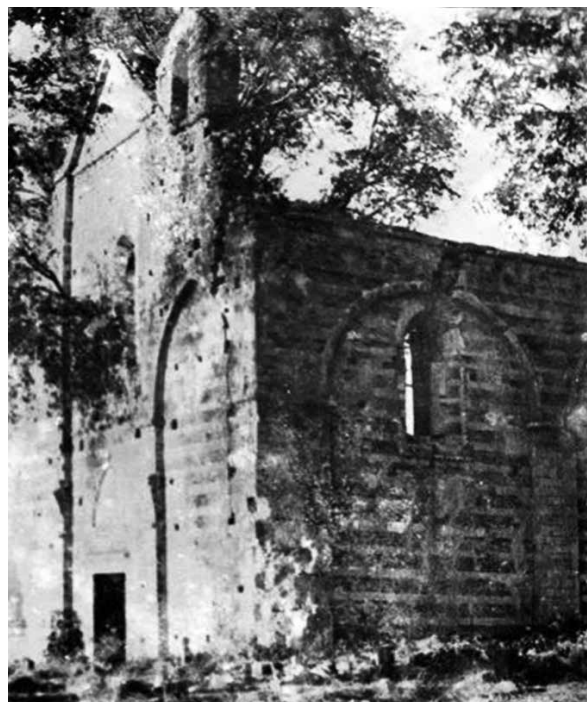


11. Stara fotografija snimljena s istoka. Vidljive su šupljine na gornjim dijelovima stupova gdje su prolazile drvene grede, freska u luneti jugoistočnoga traveja južnoga zida te ostaci središnje apside.

Fig. 11 Vintage photograph taken from the east. The cavities on the upper parts of the pillars where the wooden passed, the fresco in the lunette of the SE bay of the south wall, and the remains of the central apse are visible

u gravirama koje je objavio Ippen³¹: peta gotičkoga trijumfalnoga luka, položaj istočne bifore (koju je Ippen prikazao u preostalom južnome kraju središnje apside), ta na koncu i postojanje nešto tanjega gornjeg dijela stupova. Još jedan vrlo značajan detalj, koji je također kasnije objavio Ippen, odnosi se na postojanje zadnjih (jugoistočnih) ostataka gornjega dijela srednjega broda. (Sl. 10.)

Pored toga, jedna nekvalitetna fotografija na nekoliko albanskih internetskih stranica potvrđuje postojanje utora za drvene grede gornjega dijela razdjelnih lukova, vidljivih na graviri³². Njena sadašnja lokacija nije poznata. (Sl. 11.) Navedena fotografija važna je i zato što je na njoj prikazana velika hrpa ruševina djelomice urušene središnje apside; na njoj već nema sjeveroistočnoga stupa, dok se na istočnome traveju južnoga zida izgleda nalazila golema freska – portret koji je opisao Degrand. Jedna druga fotografija iz istog izvora, malo kvalitetnija, glavna je podloga za točnu rekonstrukciju zapadnoga pročelja. (Sl. 12.) Razvidno je da ni Smirnov



Sl. 12. Najstarija poznata fotografija snimljena s jugozapada. Jasno se vidi zabat na srednjemu brodu, kao i zvonik

Fig. 12 The oldest known photograph taken from the SW. The gable over the central nave, and the belfry are clearly visible

because it shows a huge heap of ruins of the partly collapsed central apse; the NE pillar is already missing, while in the east bay of the southern wall, it seems that there was a colossal fresco portrait as described by Degrand. Another photograph from the same source, of somewhat better quality, is the principal component for an exact reconstruction of the west façade. (Fig. 12) It is obvious that both Smirnov and Korać did not know about this photograph. The new element it reveals is the fact that the central recess of the west façade used to be crowned with a gable at the top, divided by a cornice flush with the springing of the central nave roof. Furthermore, the tops of the lateral pilasters of this upper part were finished as a horizontal continuation of the raking cornice, while the lateral beginnings of either side of the central nave roof were aside these horizontal parts. The triangular gable was formed with an inclination of 50 degrees, while the inclination of the geison over the lateral north nave was

³¹ Ippen 1899.

³² <http://besibekteshi-info.blogspot.com/2011/07/shirqi-dhe-kisha-e-vjeter-ku.html>, <https://www.kultplus.com/trashegimia/miratohet-projekti-per-restaurimin-e-kishesse-shirqit-vendit-ku-martoheshin-princerit/> <https://konica.al/2018/09/abacia-e-shirgjit-drejt-restaurimit/>

Važno je napomenuti da je tijekom pisanja ovoga rada fotoarhiv muzeja Marubi u Skadru bio zatvoren od 2017.; informaciju o tome dostavio je dr. Nasser Ferri.

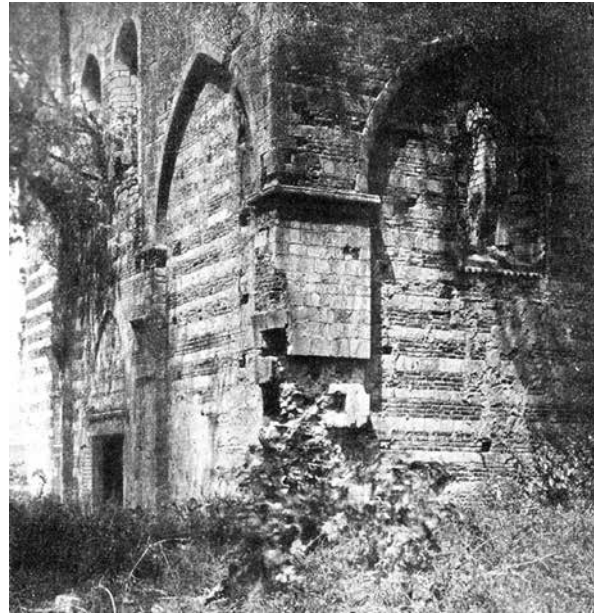
It is important to note that during the work on this article the Marubi Museum photoarchive in Skhodra had been closed since 2017; the information was provided by Dr. Nasser Ferri.



Sl. 13. Preostali dio zapadnoga pročelja s dijelom vodoravnoga vijenca *in situ* (foto: L. Bondarenko)
Fig. 13 Remaining part of the west façade with a part of the horizontal cornice in situ
(photo: L. Bondarenko)

ni Korać nisu znali za tu fotografiju. Novi element koji ona otkriva je činjenica da se na vrhu središnje niše zapadnoga pročelja nalazio zabat odijeljen vijencem u ravnini strehe krova srednjega broda. Nadalje, vrhovi bočnih pilastara toga gornjeg dijela bili su izrađeni kao vodoravni nastavak kosoga vijenca, dok su se bočni počeci svake strane krova srednjega broda nalazili postrance od tih vodoravnih elemenata. Trokutasti zabat bio je izrađen s nagibom od 50 stupnjeva, dok je kosi vijenac iznad bočnoga sjevernog broda iznosio 45 stupnjeva. **(T. I.)** Zvonik se nalazio neposredno južno od navedenoga vodoravnog kraja južnoga pilastra, a njegov sjeverni stup bio je postavljen iznad kosoga vijenca južnoga dijela pročelja, dok je ostatak zvonika bio izgrađen u nastavku zida. Krajevi kosoga vijenca na sjeverozapadnom i jugozapadnom kutu crkve također su bili vodoravni, a onaj na jugozapadnome kutu sačuvan je *in situ*. **(Sl. 13.)** Među važnim posjetiteljima lokaliteta bio je i francuski diplomat i pisac Jules Alexandre Théodore Degrand³³, koji

³³ Jules Alexandre Théodore Degrand (1844.–1911.) je bio francuski konzul u Skadru od 1893. do 1899. godine. Posebno ga je zanimala povijest toga kraja, a poglavito prapovijest i antika. Posjećivao je utvrde, srednjovjekovne crkve i ruševine. Bilježio je ono što je vidio i čuo od ljudi s kojima je razgovarao. Dvije



Sl. 14. Fotografija s jugozapada koju je objavio Degrand (Degrand 1901, str. 94–95)
Fig. 14 Photograph from the SW published by Degrand (Degrand 1901, pp. 94–95)

45 degrees. **(Pl. I)** The belfry was placed immediately to the south of this horizontal ending of the southern pilaster and its northern pillar was located above the inclined cornice of the south part of the façade, while the rest of the belfry was built as a continuation of the wall. The endings of the raking cornice over the NW and SW corners of the church were also horizontal, and the ending in the SW corner is still preserved *in situ*. **(Fig. 13)** Another important visitor was the French diplomat and writer, Jules Alexandre Théodore Degrand³³, who published a photograph of the church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus taken from the south-west³⁴. **(Fig. 14)**

Degrand wrote: *The entire side of the church located on the riverside has already disappeared, swept away in a landslide, constantly eaten away by this dangerous neighbour. The façade is sparse; probably some material from the remains of the*

³³ Jules Alexandre Théodore Degrand (1844–1911), served as French consul in Shkoder from 1893 to 1899. He was especially interested in the history of the region, in particular its prehistory and antiquity, and visited fortresses, mediaeval churches and ruins, recorded what he saw and what he was told by the people he spoke to. Two years after his departure from Albania he published his *Souvenirs de la Haute-Albanie (Memories of High Albania)*, Paris 1901, a well-documented description of northern Albania at the time, with a number of exceptional photographs.

³⁴ Degrand 1901, pp. 94–95.

je objavio fotografiju crkve sv. Sergija i Bakha snimljenu s jugozapada³⁴. (SI. 14.)

Degradand je napisao sljedeće: *Cijela strana crkve koja se nalazi na obali rijeke već je nestala, odnesena klizanjem tla, a taj opasni susjed je neprestano nagriza. Pročelje je skromno, a za obnovu objekta vjerojatno je iskorišten materijal ostataka staroga hrama, što se može pretpostaviti zbog prisutnosti mramornih ulomaka zidova, na kojima se vide tragovi šarki vrata i klinova. Vani na tlu još leže granitni stupovi okrugloga presjeka, vjerojatno iz istoga izvora, kao i jedan lijepi ulomak friza od bijeloga mramora na kojemu je vrlo elegantno isklesan motiv lišća. Tužno stoje veliki stupovi pravokutnoga presjeka, visine jednoga metra, s tragovima boje na njihovom premazu žbuke; prazna apsida je turobna silueta, cela na desnoj strani je odvojena djelovanjem divovske divlje smokve, a na njenim zidovima još se vide zanimljivi tragovi slika; na vrhu kupole³⁵ je ogromni torzo nekoga sveca s gustom crnom bradom, na čijem žalosnome licu se odražavaju tužne misli o neprestanom i polaganom uništavanju njegovoga svetišta, koje su ljudi i započeli i nastavili u nadi da će pronaći neko blago, a postepeno ga je dovršavala voda i djelovanje stabala izraslih iz sjemenja koja nosi vjetar ili ptice³⁶. Premda je Degrand*

old temple was used for the reconstruction of the building, as can be assumed from the presence of marble fragments in the walls, bearing the traces of door hinges and tenons. Outside, round granite columns are still lying on the ground, probably from the same source, as well as a very nice fragment of a frieze in white marble, with very elegantly sculpted foliage. Large and solid square columns, one meter in length, with traces of paint left on their stucco coating, are standing sadly; the gutted apse cuts gloomily against the sky, the cella on the right, disjointed by the force of a gigantic wild fig, its walls still bearing interesting vestiges of paintings; the top of the dome³⁵ is occupied by an enormous half-body of a saint with a thick black beard, whose dismal face contemplates sadly this incessant and slow destruction of his sanctuary, started by people, continued by them in the hope of discovering some treasure, gradually completed by water and the powerful sap which circulates in the trees out of a seed carried by the wind or some bird³⁶. Although Degrand published only one photograph of the church, it is important because it had been taken from the identical position as the earlier one, but it only covers in greater detail the SW corner up to the level above the biforate windows of the

godine nakon odlaska iz Albanije objavio je *Souvenirs de la Haute-Albanie (Sjećanja na gorsku Albaniju)*, Pariz 1901., dobro dokumentirani opis sjeverne Albanije toga doba, s više iznimnih fotografija.

³⁴ Degrand 1901, str. 94–95.

³⁵ Najvjerojatnije se odnosi na unutarnji luk najistočnije-ga traveja južnoga zida.

³⁶ Toute la partie latérale de l'église, située du côté du fleuve, a déjà disparu, emportée dans l'éboulement des terres sans cesse rongées par ce dangereux voisin. La façade est peu soignée, on a probablement employé, pour la reconstruction de l'édifice, les matériaux provenant des débris de l'ancien temple, ainsi que permet de le supposer la présence dans les murs de fragments de marbre portant la trace de gonds de porte ou de tenons. A l'extérieur se trouvent encore à terre des fûts de colonnes rondes en granit probablement de même source, ainsi qu'un très joli fragment de frise en marbre blanc représentant des feuillages fort élégamment sculptés. De larges et solides colonnes carrées, d'un mètre de côté, conservant encore sur leur enduit stucqué des traces de peinture, sont tristement debout; l'abside éventrée se découpe lugubrement dans le ciel, la cella de droite, disjointe par la poussée d'un gigantesque figuier sauvage, contient encore d'intéressants vestiges de peintures; le haut de la coupole est occupé par un énorme mi-corps de saint à épaisse barbe noire, dont les yeux mornes contemplent tristement cette incessante et lente destruction de

³⁵ Most probably meaning the interior arch of the easternmost bay of the southern wall.

³⁶ Toute la partie latérale de l'église, située du côté du fleuve, a déjà disparu, emportée dans l'éboulement des terres sans cesse rongées par ce dangereux voisin. La façade est peu soignée, on a probablement employé, pour la reconstruction de l'édifice, les matériaux provenant des débris de l'ancien temple, ainsi que permet de le supposer la présence dans les murs de fragments de marbre portant la trace de gonds de porte ou de tenons. A l'extérieur se trouvent encore à terre des fûts de colonnes rondes en granit probablement de même source, ainsi qu'un très joli fragment de frise en marbre blanc représentant des feuillages fort élégamment sculptés. De larges et solides colonnes carrées, d'un mètre de côté, conservant encore sur leur enduit stucqué des traces de peinture, sont tristement debout; l'abside éventrée se découpe lugubrement dans le ciel, la cella de droite, disjointe par la poussée d'un gigantesque figuier sauvage, contient encore d'intéressants vestiges de peintures; le haut de la coupole est occupé par un énorme mi-corps de saint à épaisse barbe noire, dont les yeux mornes contemplent tristement cette incessante et lente destruction de son sanctuaire, commencée par les hommes, continuée par eux dans l'espérance de découvrir quelque trésor, achevée peu à peu par les eaux et par la sève puissante qui circule dans les arbres sortis d'une graine portée par le vent ou quelque.

objavio samo jednu fotografiju crkve, ona je značajna jer je snimljena s istoga mjesta kao i prethodna, no na njoj je detaljnije prikazan samo jugozapadni kut do razine iznad bifora zapadnoga pročelja. Bez obzira na to, Degrandov opis je važan jer ukazuje da je središnja apsida još uvijek bila čitava u vrijeme njegovoga posjeta. Stanje je već bilo drugačije kada je Theodore Ippen³⁷ posjetio crkvu prije 1899. pa objavio tri članka o njoj³⁸, kao i nekoliko gravira prema danas izgubljenim fotografijama³⁹. Ippen je zabilježio da se crkva nalazi na sat hoda od Skadra niz rijeku, a za nju je koristio naziv Sv. Veneranda ili crkva u Shirqu, prema imenu obližnjega sela. Ippen je također napisao da je sjeverni zid crkve već bio sasvim nestao, a pretpostavio je da će se erozija nastaviti i da će cijeli „otok” na kojemu se crkva nalazila biti zbrisan zajedno s velikim stablima koji su rasli na njemu. Ippen je opisao zapadno pročelje s natpisima i sastavio prijepis teksta s ploče postavljene sjeverno od okvira portala. Ippen je također opisao crkvu i tehniku gradnje zidova, spomenuo je dva reda unutarnjih stupova, kao i pilastre južnom i zapadnom zidu. Usto je zabilježio da su sjeverna i središnja apsida već bile urušene. Gravire koje je objavio Ippen značajne su jer su jedini dokaz postojanja odvojenih krovova na trima brodovima crkve, gornjega dijela na unutarnjim kolonadama, oblika južne apsida, položaja bifora središnje apsida, kao i razlike u nagibima kosoga vijenca zapadne fasade. Ippen je također objavio gravire obaju natpisa sa

son sanctuaire, commencée par les hommes, continuée par eux dans l'espérance de découvrir quelque trésor, achevée peu à peu par les eaux et par la sève puissante qui circule dans les arbres sortis d'une graine portée par le vent ou quelque.

³⁷ Theodor Anton Max Ippen (1861.–1935.) bio je istaknuti austrougarski albanolog i diplomat koji je radio u austrougarskome konzulatu u Skadru u Albaniji, tada pod vlašću Osmanlija, a kasnije i kao konzul u Skadru (1897.–1904.).

³⁸ Ippen 1899, 1902, 1907. Prvi rad iz 1899. ponovno je tiskan na njemačkome 1902. godine, dok je treći bio dio jednoga opširnijeg djela.

³⁹ Ippen je u svojim djelima (1899., 1902., 1907.) objavio ukupno tri gravire arhitekture crkve, izrađene prema fotografijama dvaput, od kojih dvije po treći put, svaki put različite kvalitete tiskanja, dok su izvorne fotografije najvjerojatnije bile izgubljene. Gđa Andrea Dautović je tražila te fotografije u zbirnama Narodnoga muzeja u Sarajevu, ali nije ih uspjela pronaći. Zasad nije poznato gdje se čuva Ippenova znanstvena arhiva pa ni je li uopće sačuvana (prema informacijama iz Državnoga arhiva Austrije). Za ovaj su rad upotrijebljene najbolje tiskane gravire (iz 1899. i 1907.).

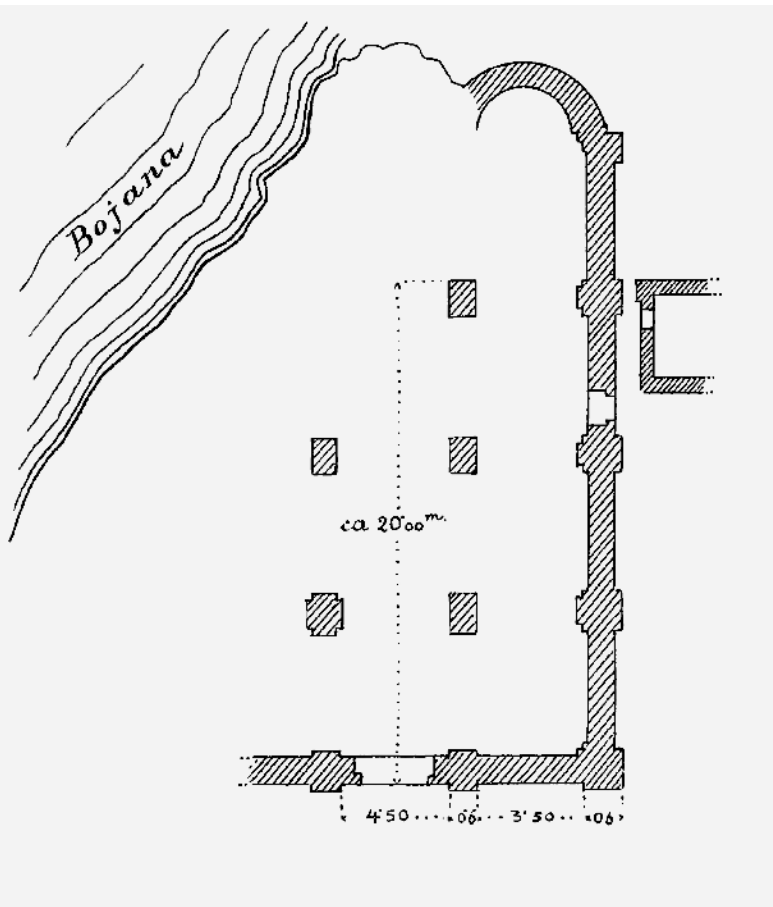
west façade. Notwithstanding, Degrand's description is important because it shows that the central apse was still standing at the time of his visit. The situation changed by the time Theodore Ippen³⁷ visited the church before 1899 and published three articles related to it³⁸, as well as several engravings made after the currently lost photographs³⁹. Ippen noted that the church was located an hour's walk from Shkodra down the river and referred to it as St. Veneranda or the Shirq church, after the nearby village of Shirq. Ippen also wrote that the northern wall of the church was completely gone and presumed that the erosion would continue and the complete "island" where the church was located would be swept away together with the huge trees which grew on it. Ippen described the west façade with inscriptions and also transcribed the plate placed to the north of the portal frame. Ippen also described the church and the building technique used to erect the walls, mentioned two rows of internal pillars, as well as the pilasters on the southern and western walls. He also noted that the northern and central apses had already collapsed. The engravings published by Ippen are important because they are the only evidence of the existence of separate roofs over the three church naves, the superstructure above the interior colonnades, the shape of the southern apse, the position of the central apse biforate windows, as well as the different angles of the inclined cornice of the west façade. Ippen also published engravings of both inscriptions on the west façade, and, sometime later, the plan of the church ruins⁴⁰.

³⁷ Theodor Anton Max Ippen (1861–1935) was a prominent Austro-Hungarian Albanologist and diplomat who worked in the Austro-Hungarian consulate in the Ottoman-held Shkodër in Albania, and later as a consul in Shkodër (1897–1904).

³⁸ Ippen 1899, 1902, 1907. The first article from 1899 was reprinted in German in 1902, while the third was a part of a larger work.

³⁹ In his works (1899, 1902, 1907), Ippen published a total of three engravings of the church architecture, made after the photographs twice and two of them for the third time every time with the different quality of printing while the original photographs most probably were lost. Ms Andrea Dautović searched for these photographs in the collections of the National Museum in Sarajevo, but was unable to find them. At present, it is not known where is Ippen's scientific archive kept, or whether it has been preserved at all (as per information from the State Archive of Austria). For this article, the best printed copies of engravings (1899 and 1907) were used.

⁴⁰ Ippen 1902, str. 143.

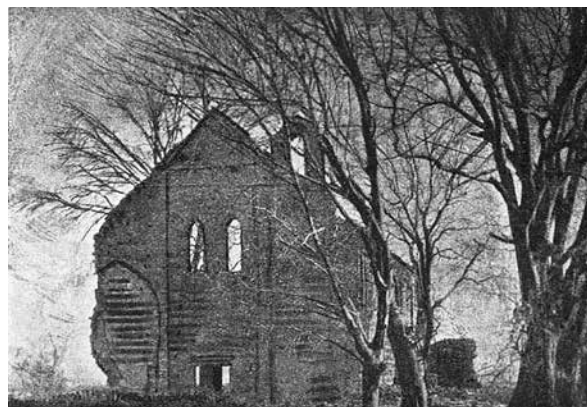


Sl. 15. Tlocrtni prikaz koji je objavio Ippen
 Fig. 15 Situation plan published by Ippen

zapadnoga pročelja, a nešto kasnije i tlocrt ruševina crkve⁴⁰. (Sl. 15.) Na trima objavljenim gravirama prikazani su pogledi iz daljine na južno (sl. 16.) i zapadno pročelje (sl. 17.), kao i pogled na južnu polovicu unutrašnjosti crkve, uključujući južnu apsidu i ostatke središnje apside. Ippenova gravira južne fasade je dokaz da je svjetlo za jugozapadni dio unutrašnjosti crkve osiguravao samo prozor na južnome zidu. Vidljiv je i južni portal, kao i kasnija nadogradnja crkve, no najvažniji detalj odnosi se na ostatke istočnoga zida na južnoj apsidi, koji se bolje vidi na graviri s prikazom unutrašnjosti, što dokazuje da je nagib krova koji je nosio taj zid bio sasvim različit, mnogo manji od onoga na zapadnoj fasadi⁴¹. Nadalje, obje Ippenove gravire južnoga zida, kao i ona s prikazom unutrašnjosti, također dokazuju postojanje zidova gornjega dijela iznad kolonada u unutrašnjosti, što znači da je na vanjskoj konstrukciji crkve bila vidljiva struktura triju bro-



Sl. 16. Južno pročelje crkve. Gravira prema fotografiji koju je objavio Ippen (1899.)
 Fig. 16 South façade of the church. Engraving after the photograph published by Ippen (1899)

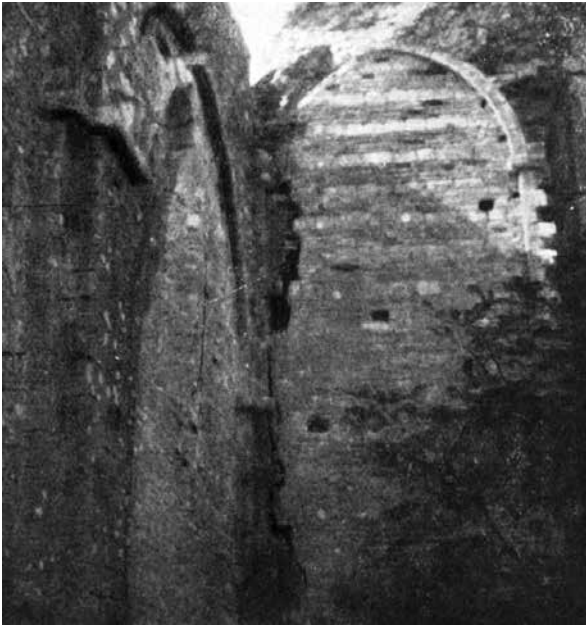


Sl. 17. Zapadno pročelje crkve. Vidljivi su različiti nagibi vijenaca središnjega zabata (55 stupnjeva) i sjevernoga dijela pročelja (45 stupnjeva), kao i trokutasti zabat na portalu i prozori. (Gravira prema fotografiji koju je objavio Ippen 1899.)
 Fig. 17 West façade of the church. Different inclinations of cornices of the central gable (55 degrees) and the northern part of the façade (45 degrees), as well as the triangular gable over the portal and windows are visible. (Engraving after the photograph published by Ippen in 1899.)

(Fig. 15) The three published engravings provide us with the views from a distance of the south (Fig. 16) and west façades (Fig. 17), and a view of the south half of the church interior, including the southern apse and the remains of the central apse. Ippen's engraving of the south façade is evidence that only the window on the southern wall gave some light to the SW bay of the church. The south portal is also visible, as well as the later building attached to the church, but the most important detail concerns the remains of the eastern wall over the southern apse, better visible on the engraving of the interior, which

⁴⁰ Ippen (1902) str. 143.

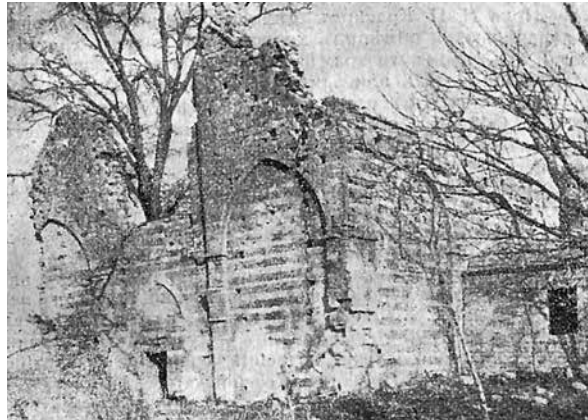
⁴¹ Ippen 1899, str. 13, 1.



Sl. 18. Jugozapadni kut južnoga broda (foto: Sergio Bettini, 1937)

Fig. 18 SW corner of the southern nave (photo: Sergio Bettini, 1937)

dova. Na graviri unutrašnjosti prikazani su i ostaci središnje apside na južnoj strani, i to s prazninom na mjestu urušene južne bifore. Unutarnja stijenka južnoga zida bila je raščlanjena četirima lukovima postavljenim iznad pilastara, a iznad južne apside i unutarnje strane južnoga traveja zapadne fasade stajali su gotički lukovi, što potvrđuje novija fotografija snimljena tijekom Bettinijevog istraživanja za Fondazione Cini,⁴² a koja se danas čuva u Veneciji⁴³. (Sl. 18.) Ippenova gravira unutrašnjosti također dokazuje i gotički četvrtstup na južnome kraju apside, kao i ostatke gotičkih lukova uz trijumfalni zid oko središnje apside. Na tlocrtu koji je Ippen objavio nešto kasnije⁴⁴ razvidno je stanje očuvanosti crkve koncem 19. stoljeća: sjevernoga zida i sjeveroistočnoga stupa više uopće nije bilo, sjeverna apside je u cijelosti erodirana, rijeka Buna (Bojana) je tekla preko sjeverne apside i sjeveroistočnoga dijela crkve, dok je na središnjoj apsidi ležala hrpa ruševina. Južni zid još je bio čitav, ali je u izradi plana napravljena pogreška: noviji objekt je



Sl. 19. Pogled s jugozapada. Već se urušio veći dio zapadnoga pročelja sa zabatom i prozorima. Vidljiv je i objekt povezan s drugim travejem južnoga zida
Fig. 19 View from the south-west. The greater part of the west façade with the gable and windows has already collapsed. The building attached to the 2nd bay of the south wall is also visible

proves that the angle of the roof borne by this wall was completely different, much lower than that on the west façade⁴¹. Furthermore, both Ippen's engravings of the southern wall, as well as the one of the interior, also give evidence to the existence of the walls of the superstructure above the colonnades in the interior, meaning that the church had three naved structures visible on its outer composition. The engraving of the interior also depicts the remains of the central apse on the south side, with a void in the place of the collapsed south biforate window. The interior of the southern wall was articulated with four arches constructed above the pilasters, while the Gothic arches stood above the southern apse and the inner side of the south bay of the west façade, as confirmed by a later photograph made during the research by Bettini for the Fondazione Cini,⁴² today kept in Venice⁴³. (Fig. 18) Ippen's engraving of the interior also gives evidence to a Gothic quarter-column in the south end of the apse, as well as the remains of Gothic arches attached to a triumphal wall which framed the central apse. The plan that Ippen

⁴² Više o Bettiniju i njegovoj zbirci fotografija: <https://www.cini.it/fototeca/fondi-fotografici/fondo-bettini>.

⁴³ Objavljene i neobjavljene fotografije danas se čuvaju u zbirci Dipartimento di Filosofia e Beni Culturali, Dorsoduro 3484/D, Complesso Malcanton Marcorà, Università Ca' Foscari, Venezia. Ljubazno su mi ustupljene za potrebe ovoga rada.

⁴⁴ Ippen 1902.

⁴¹ Ippen 1899, str. 13, 1.

⁴² For more details on Bettini and his collection of photographs cf. <https://www.cini.it/fototeca/fondi-fotografici/fondo-bettini>.

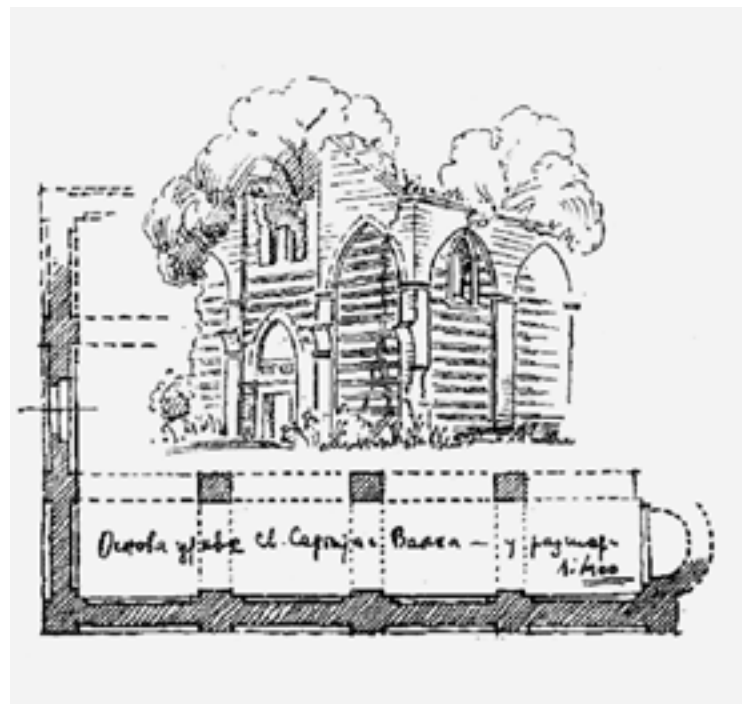
⁴³ The published and unpublished photographs are now kept in the collection of Dipartimento di Filosofia e Beni Culturali, Dorsoduro 3484/D, Complesso Malcanton Marcorà, Università Ca' Foscari, Venezia. They were kindly put at my disposal for the purposes of this article.



Sl. 20. Sačuvani dijelovi morta krova razorenoga južnog objekta (ispis slike iz snimke Terenca Pepe)
 Fig. 20 Preserved parts of mortar jointing of the roof of the destroyed south building. (Printscreen made from Terenc Pepa's footage.)

ustvari bio dograđen na drugi travej južnoga zida, a ne na treći kao što je to nacrtao Ippen. To je dodatno potvrđeno dvjema fotografijama koje je objavio Smirnov godine 1927⁴⁵. (Sl. 19.) Nadalje, sačuvan je mort između južnoga zida crkve i krova novijeg objekta. (Sl. 20.) Nije poznato kada je razorena ta dogradnja, no ona nije prikazana na Derokovom tlocrtu i skici. Ippenova gravira zapadnoga pročelja bila je loše otiskana i brojne važne detalje skrivaju tri grane, no najznačajnije je da potvrđuju postojanje trokutastoga zabata s čije obje strane su se nalazili podjednako obrađeni pilastri oko srednjega broda crkve, kao i različite nagibe vijenaca sjevernog i središnjeg traveja pročelja! Deroko je 1929. posjetio crkvu za svojeg izleta u sjeveroistočnoj Albaniji i izvijestio da je oko $\frac{3}{4}$ crkve već erodirala rijeka Buna (Bojana)⁴⁶.

(Sl. 21.) Također je objavio kombinirani crtež s prikazom crkve s jugozapada i djelomičnim tlocrtom na kojemu je još bila čitava južna unutarnja kolonada južnoga zida i većina zapadnoga zida, dok južne apside i južnoga kraja trijumfalnoga luka očito već tada više nije bilo. Važno je napomenuti da



Sl. 21. Derokova skica tlocrta i pogleda (izvor: Deroko 1930.)

Fig. 21 Plan and view sketched by Deroko (source: Deroko 1930.)

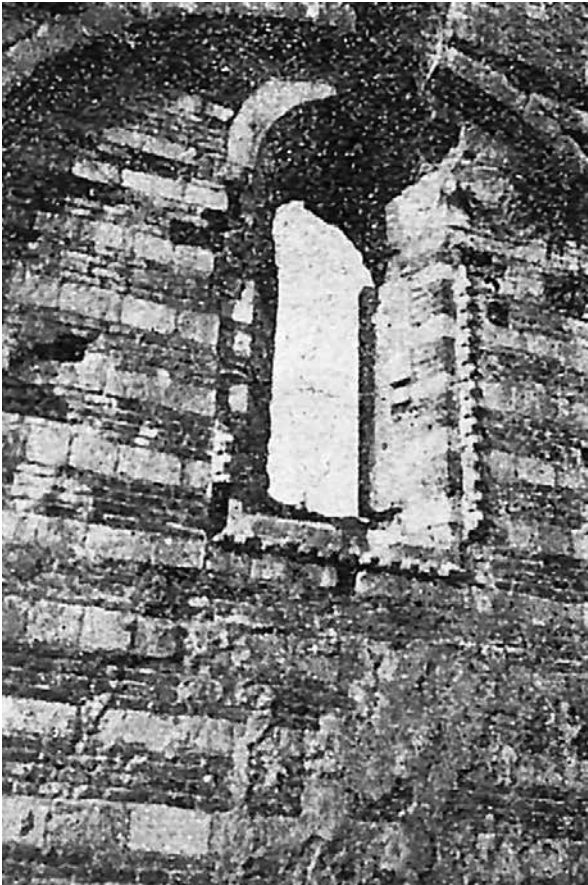
published sometime later⁴⁴ reveals the state of preservation of the church at the end of the 19th century: the northern wall and the NE pillar in the interior were completely missing, the northern apse was completely eroded, the Buna (Bojana) River flowed over the northern apse and the NE part of the church, while a heap of ruins was still prostrate over the central apse. The southern wall was standing and complete, but a mistake was made during the preparation of this plan, that is, the later building was in fact attached to the second bay of the southern wall, rather than the third as drawn by Ippen. This is further confirmed by two photographs published by Smirnov in 1927⁴⁵. (Fig. 19) Furthermore, mortar joints between the southern wall of the church and the roof of this later building have been preserved. (Fig. 20) It is not known when this annexe was destroyed, but it is not visible in Deroko's plan and sketch. Ippen's engraving of the west façade was poorly printed, and numerous significant details were obscured by three branches, but the most important thing is that they confirm the existence of a triangular gable flanked by evenly finished pilasters

⁴⁵ Smirnov 1927, str. 121, br. 2; str. 123, br. 3.

⁴⁶ Deroko 1930, str. 142–144.

⁴⁴ Ippen 1902.

⁴⁵ Smirnov 1927, p. 121, No. 2; p. 123, No. 3.



Sl. 22. Fotografija gotičkoga prozora na južnome zidu (izvor: Smirnov 1927.)

Fig. 22 Photograph of the Gothic window on the south wall (source: Smirnov 1927.)

se gornji dio središnjega traveja zapadnoga pročelja iznad prozora u međuvremenu bio urušio, što vrijeđi i za zvonik. Deroko je, suprotno tome, prikazao samo dva zapadna traveja južnoga zida kao as stojeće strukture. Deroko je u svom relativno kratkom opisu razmatrao mogućnost jednoga krova na crkvi i jasno je istaknuo gotičke utjecaje na crkvenim prozorima. Smirnovljeva studija objavljena je godine 1927⁴⁷. U nju je uvrstio dvije Ippenove fotografije (zapadno i južno pročelje), ali i one iz 1924.⁴⁸ i 1923.⁴⁹, na kojima se vidjelo da su čitava bila još samo dva zapadna traveja južnoga zida. Objavljena je i jedna lijepa fotografija prozora južnoga zida; tada je puno više njegove nazubljenosti bilo sačuva-



Sl. 23. Unutarnja strana zapadnoga pročelja. Vidljiva je stražnja strana lunete portala i rasteretni luk iza nadvoja s natpisom (izvor: Smirnov 1927.)

Fig. 23 Inner side of the west façade. The back of the lunette of the portal and the relieving arch behind the lintel with the inscription are visible (source: Smirnov 1927.)

framing the central nave of the church, as well as the different angles of the cornices of the north and central bay of the façade! In 1929, Deroko visited the church during his field trip in north-east Albania and reported that ca. $\frac{3}{4}$ of the church had already been eroded by the Buna (Bojana) River⁴⁶.

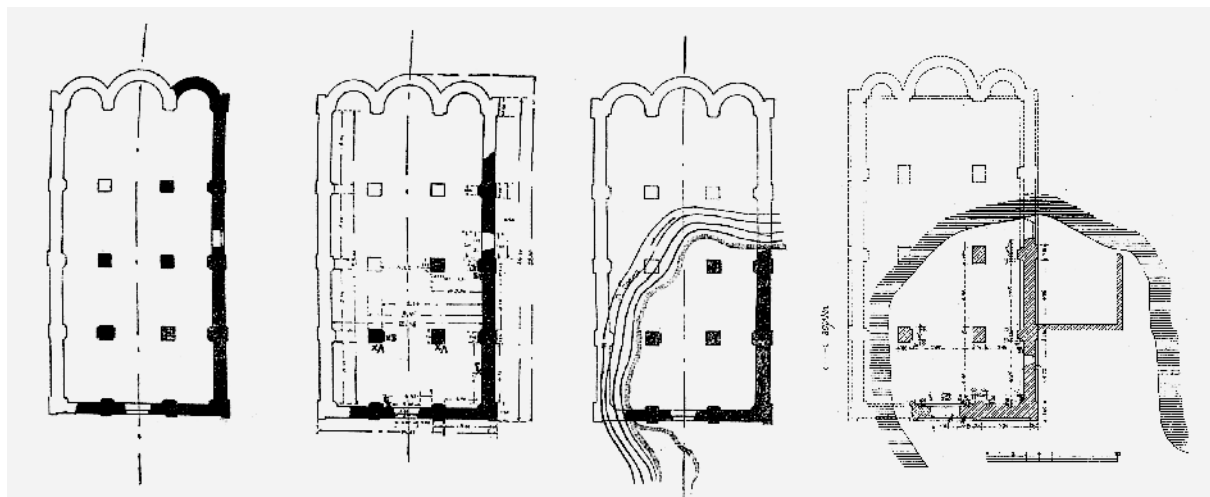
(**Fig. 21**) He also published a combined drawing, which included a view of the church from the SW, as well as a partial plan, in which the southern wall south interior colonnade and most of the western wall were drawn as still standing, while the southern apse and the south end of the triumphal arch were apparently already gone. It is important to note that the upper part of the central bay of the west façade above the windows had meanwhile collapsed, as well as the belfry. Contrary to this, Deroko depicted only two western bays of the southern wall as

⁴⁷ Arhitekt Smirnov je bio angažiran na arhitektonskim mjerenjima u području Skadarskoga jezera. Na tu je temu objavio jedan rad (Smirnov 1927). Njegova se arhiva danas čuva u Narodnoj biblioteci Srbiji, a trenutno se razvrstava.

⁴⁸ Smirnov 1927, fotografija 2 bis, str. 121.

⁴⁹ Smirnov 1927, fotografija 3, str. 123.

⁴⁶ Deroko 1930, pp. 142–144.



Sl. 24. Razaranje crkve. Slijeva nadesno (Ippen, prije 1899; Novicki, Smirnov, Mušič 1947.)

Fig. 24 Destruction of the church. From left to right (Ippen, before 1899; Novicki, Smirnov, Mušič 1947.)

608

no *in situ*⁵⁰. (Sl. 22.) Objavljena je i unutrašnja stijenka zapadnoga pročelja s detaljima izvedbe zabata portala (sl. 23.)⁵¹. Do Smirnovljeve posjete crkvi gornji je dio zapadnoga pročelja već bio urušen, ali je izvorni izgled unutrašnje strane prozora i portala poznat s jedne starije fotografije, također otkrivene na internetu (sl. 24.)⁵². Smirnov je također objavio seriju crteža (br. 11) na kojima je prikazano postupno razaranje crkve od 1900. (prema Ippenu) te stanje godine 1923. (Smirnov) i 1924. (Novicki). Između 1900. i 1923. nije više bilo južne apside, veći dio istočnoga traveja južnoga zida, kao i dva stupa u unutrašnjosti, dok je između 1923. i 1924. nestala cijela istočna polovica južnoga zida, zajedno s većim dijelom južnoga portala. Ruševine crkve ostale su u takvome stanju očuvanosti do 1947., kada je crkvu posjetio Mušič (sl. 24.)⁵³. Smirnov je napravio nekoliko pogrešaka u svom članku, posebno inzistirajući na tome da su sjeverni i južni zid imali po četiri prozora⁵⁴, iako je samo jedan bio vidljiv još 1910. godine. Istu pogrešku ponovio je Korać⁵⁵. Međutim, Smirnov je prvi pokušao rekonstruirati zapadno pročelje i presjek crkve (sl. 25.)⁵⁶. Smirnov je s pravom uzeo u obzir činjenicu da su gotička rebra bila vidljiva na južnome kraju trijumfalnog luka⁵⁷, ali to ga je dovelo u zabludu pa je rekonstruirao mo-

standing structures. In his relatively brief description, Deroko also discussed the possibility of a single roof over the church and clearly noted the Gothic influences on the church windows. Another study was published by Smirnov in 1927⁴⁷. He reprinted two Ippen's photographs (the west and south façades), but he also published photographs made in 1924⁴⁸ and 1923⁴⁹, which showed that only two western bays of the southern wall were still standing. A nice photograph of the southern wall window was published as well; much more of its denticulation was preserved at the time *in situ*⁵⁰. (Fig. 22) The interior of the west façade was also published with details of the portal gable construction (Fig. 23)⁵¹. By the time Smirnov visited the church, the upper part of the west façade had already collapsed, but the original appearance of the inner side of the windows and the portal is known from an earlier photograph, also discovered on the internet (Fig. 24)⁵². Smirnov also published a series of drawings (No. 11) which presented the gradual destruction of the church from 1900 (according to Ippen), as well as the situation in 1923 (Smirnov) and 1924 (Novicki). Between 1900 and 1923, the southern apse, a greater part of the ea-

⁵⁰ Smirnov 1927, fotografija 6b, str. 128.

⁵¹ Smirnov 1927 fotografija 7, str. 131.

⁵² V. uputu 32.

⁵³ Izvještaj je objavio Mušič 1952..

⁵⁴ Smirnov 1927, str. 143, br. 12.

⁵⁵ Korać 1965, str. 25.

⁵⁶ Smirnov 1927, str. 143, br. 12.

⁵⁷ Ippen 1899.

⁴⁷ Architect Smirnov was engaged for the architectural measurements in the area of Skhodra Lake. As a result, he published an article (Smirnov 1927). His archive is now kept in the National Library of Serbia and is presently being sorted.

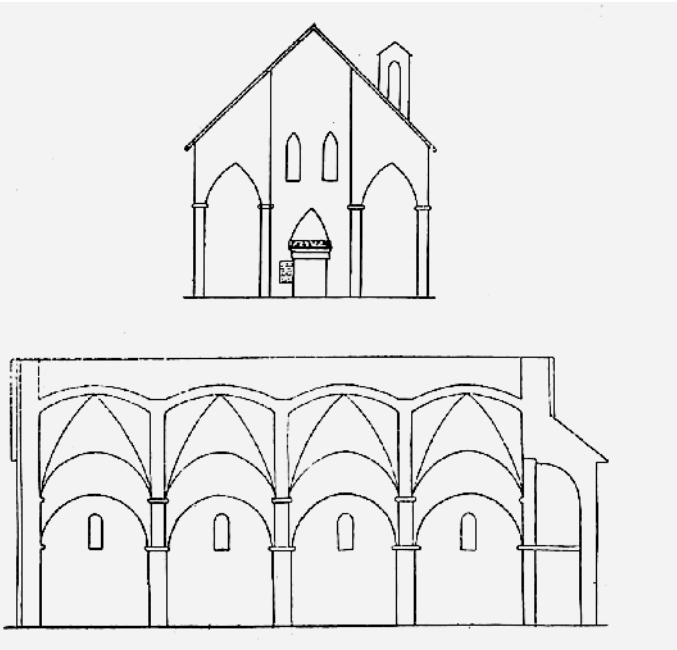
⁴⁸ Smirnov 1927, photo 2 bis, p. 121.

⁴⁹ Smirnov 1927, photo 3, p. 123.

⁵⁰ Smirnov 1927, photo 6b, p. 128.

⁵¹ Smirnov 1927 photo 7, p. 131.

⁵² Cf. reference 32.



Sl. 25. Smirnovljeva rekonstrukcija zapadnoga pročelja i presjek (izvor: Smirnov 1927.)

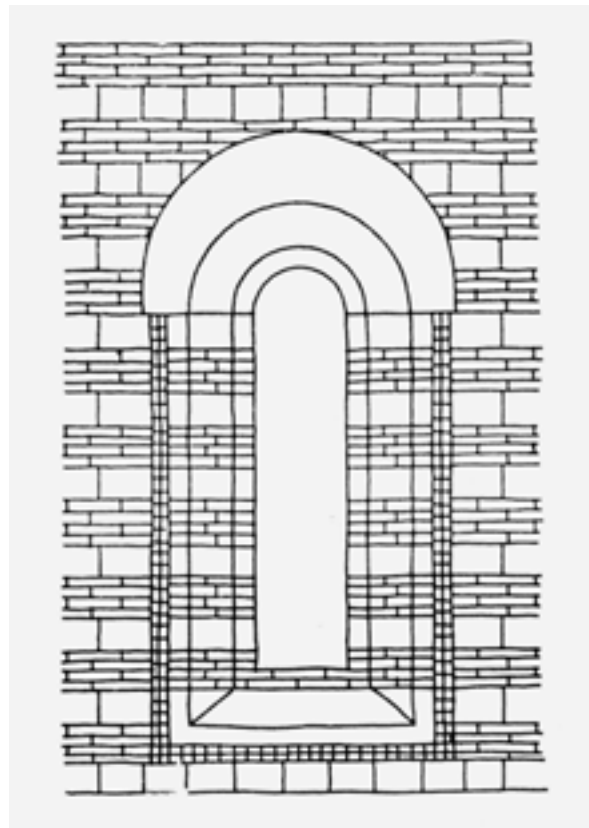
Fig. 25 Reconstruction of the west façade and a cross-section by Smirnov (source: Smirnov 1927.)

gući sustav svodova iznad srednjega broda. Očito nije ni znao za starije fotografije crkve niti je detaljno proučio Ippenove tiskane gravire jugoistočnoga dijela unutrašnjosti i zapadnoga pročelja. Stoga na Smirnovljevoj rekonstrukciji pročelja nema zabata iznad središnjega traveja fasade, vodoravnih vrhova središnjega para pilastara, dok je središnja niša iste visine kao crkva, a i zvonik je pogrešno postavljen i rekonstruiran. Korać je 1965. uglavnom ponovio Smirnovljeve zaključke⁵⁸, uključujući sve njegove pogreške, ali glavni problem rekonstrukcije koju je objavio Korać jest činjenica da ili nije uočio ili nije želio uočiti neke važne činjenice. Iako je s fotografija koje je objavio Smirnov bilo poznato da je sačuvani prozor na južnome zidu bio izrađen s gotičkim šiljatim lukom, Korać ga je rekonstruirao u romaničkome stilu⁵⁹. (Sl. 26.) Premda se na Ippenovoj graviri vidi da je iznad vrha središnjega traveja zapadne fasade postojao trokutasti zabat, Korać je pak rekonstruirao nišu duž cijele visine⁶⁰. (Sl. 27.) Premda su na Ippenovoj graviri vidljivi ostaci gornjega dijela srednjega broda, zajedno s gotičkim rebrima, Korać to jednostavno nije uzeo u obzir, nego je umjesto toga izradio vrlo malo vjerojatnu

⁵⁸ Korać 1965, str. 21–27.

⁵⁹ Smirnov 1927, str. 128, br. 6.

⁶⁰ Korać 1965, T. XXXIII, br. 6.



Sl. 26. Koraćev crtež prozora na južnome zidu (izvor: Korać 1965)

Fig. 26 Drawing of the window on the south wall by Korać (source: Korać 1965.)

stern bay of the southern wall, as well as two pillars in the interior, were all gone, whereas between 1923 and 1924 the complete eastern half of the southern wall was also gone, together with a greater part of the south portal. The church ruins were left in this state of preservation until 1947, when Mušič visited the church (Fig. 24)⁵³. Smirnov made several mistakes in his article, notably in his insistence that the northern and southern walls had four windows each⁵⁴, although only one was visible even in 1910. The same mistake was repeated by Korać⁵⁵. However, for the first time, Smirnov attempted to make a reconstruction of the west façade and the cross-section of the church (Fig. 25)⁵⁶. Smirnov was right to take into account the fact that the Gothic ribs were visible on the south end of the triumphal arch⁵⁷, but this misled him to reconstruct a possible system of vaults above the central nave. He obviously neither

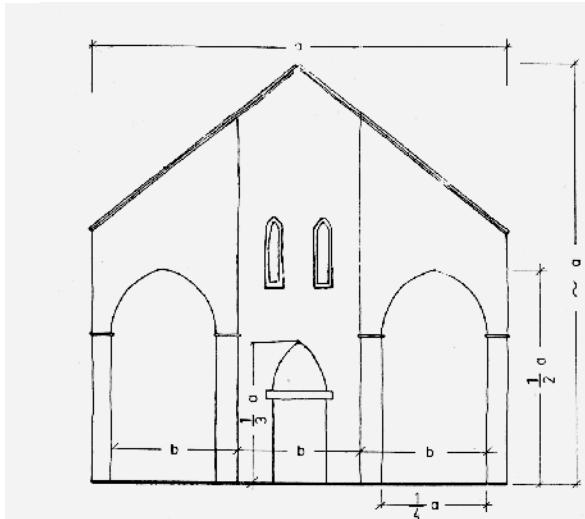
⁵³ The report was published by Mušič 1952.

⁵⁴ Smirnov 1927, p. 143, No. 12.

⁵⁵ Korać 1965, p. 25.

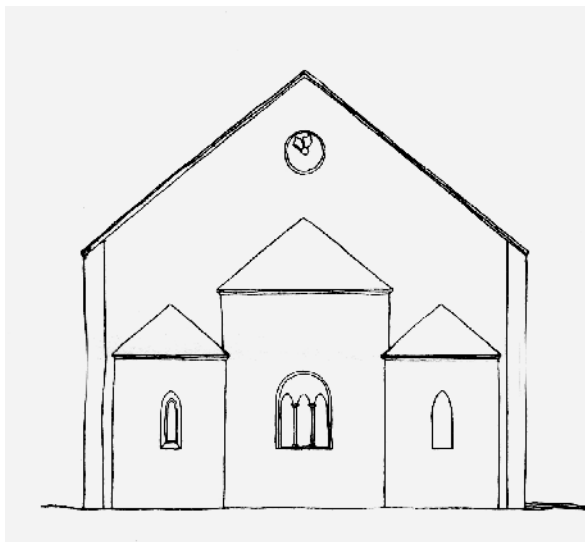
⁵⁶ Smirnov 1927, p. 143, No. 12.

⁵⁷ Ippen 1899.



Sl. 27. Koraćeva rekonstrukcija zapadnoga pročelja.
(izvor: Korać 1965, T. XXV, br. 2.)

Fig. 27 Reconstruction of the west façade by Korać.
(source: Korać 1965, Pl. XXV, No. 2.)



Sl. 28. Koraćeva rekonstrukcija istočnoga pročelja
(izvor: Korać 1965, T. XXXV, br. 4.)

Fig. 28 Reconstruction of the east façade by Korać
(source: Korać 1965, Pl. XXXV, No. 4.)

rekonstrukciju crkve pod jednim krovom⁶¹. (Sl. 28.) Povrh toga, premda je Mušič već bio objavio prve izmjere zapadnoga pročelja godine 1952.⁶², čime je prvi put utvrdio izvornu visinu njegovoga sačuvanog dijela, kao i unutarnjih stupova, Korać ni to nije uzeo u obzir, nego je sastavio rekonstrukciju znatno niže crkve s dodatnim tehničkim pogreškama, kao što je uctavanje poluelipsi umjesto polukrugova lukova na južnome zidu i unutarnjim kolonadama⁶³!

⁶¹ Korać 1965, T. XXV, br. 2.

⁶² Mušič 1952, str. 182, 183, 184, sl. 6, 7.

⁶³ Korać 1965, T. XXV, br. 3.

knew of any earlier photographs of the church nor made a detailed study of Ippen's printed engravings of the south-east part of the interior and the west façade. Therefore, Smirnov's reconstruction of the façade does not include the gable above the central bay of the façade, the horizontally finished tops of the central pair of pilasters, while the central recess is of the same height as the church, and, finally, the belfry is wrongly positioned and reconstructed. The conclusions made by Smirnov were mostly repeated by Korać in 1965⁵⁸, including all his mistakes, but the main issue in the reconstruction as published by Korać is the fact that he either failed to perceive or did not want to perceive some important facts. Although it was known from the photographs published by Smirnov that the preserved window on the southern wall had been finished with a Gothic pointed arch, Korać reconstructed it in the Romanic style⁵⁹. (Fig. 26) Though Ippen's engraving shows that there had been a triangular gable above the top of the central bay of the west façade, Korać instead reconstructed a recess along the whole height⁶⁰. (Fig. 27) Even though the remains of the superstructure of the central nave are visible on Ippen's engraving, together with the Gothic ribs, Korać simply did not take this into account; instead he made a highly improbable reconstruction of the church under a single roof⁶¹. (Fig. 28) Furthermore, although the first measured elevations of the west façade had already been published in 1952 by Mušič⁶², for the first time establishing the original height of the preserved part of the west façade, as well as of the interior pillars, Korać did not take anything of this into account either, and made a reconstruction of a much lower church with further technical errors, such as a drawing of semi-ellipses instead of semicircles of the arches on the southern wall and the interior colonnades⁶³! (Fig. 29) In 1947, Mušič visited the church and published drawings of the west façade and the plan in 1952⁶⁴. (Fig. 30) Meanwhile, between 1947 and ca. 1960, most of the preserved part of the west façade, as well as two interior pillars collapsed. After 1960, a series of the photographs was made, today kept in

⁵⁸ Korać 1965, pp. 21–27.

⁵⁹ Smirnov 1927, p. 128, No. 6.

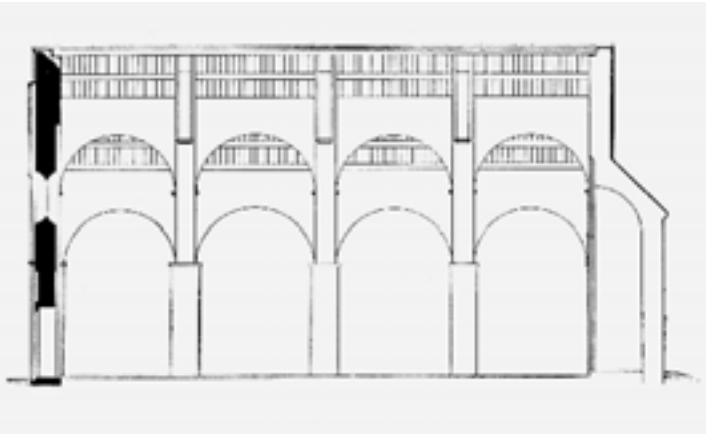
⁶⁰ Korać 1965, Pl. XXXIII, No. 6.

⁶¹ Korać 1965, Pl. XXV, No. 2.

⁶² Mušič 1952, pp. 182, 183, 184, ill. 6, 7.

⁶³ Korać 1965, Pl. XXV, No. 3.

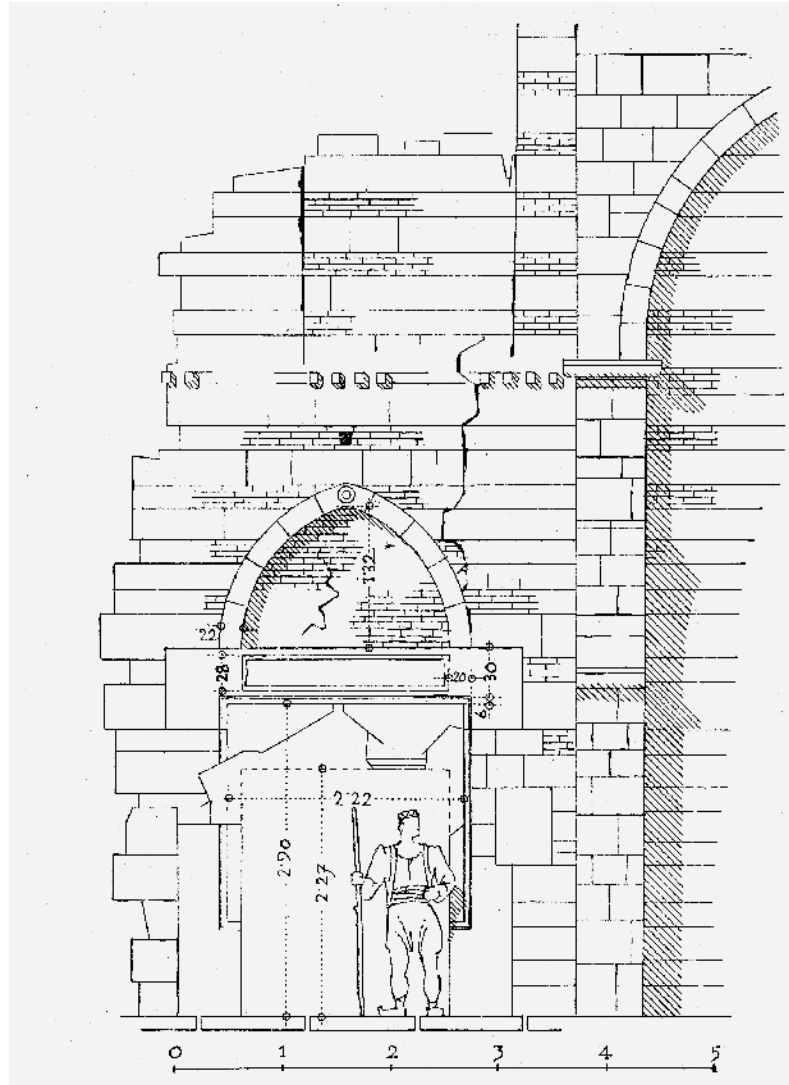
⁶⁴ Mušič 1952.



Sl. 29. Koraćeva rekonstrukcija presjeka
(izvor: Korać 1965, T. I.)

*Fig. 29 Cross-section reconstructed by Korać
(source: Korać 1965, Pl. I.)*

str(Sl. 29.) Mušič je posjetio crkvu 1947., a crteže zapadnoga pročelja i tlocrt je objavio 1952. godine⁶⁴. (Sl. 30.) U međuvremenu, između 1947. i početka 1960-ih, urušio se veći dio sačuvanoga dijela zapadnoga pročelja te dva unutarnja stupa. Nakon 1960. godine snimljen je niz fotografija koje se danas čuvaju u arhivi Albanske službe za zaštitu spomenika⁶⁵. Prvo arhitektonsko mjerenje južnoga zida obavljeno je prije 1970., a objavio ga je Meksi⁶⁶. Međutim, zbog pogreške nastale prilikom pripreme za tisak objavljena izmjera bila je smanjena 15 %. U međuvremenu je cijelo očuvano područje crkve ojačano zaštitnim zidom i gabionima duž zapadnoga pročelja. Erodirane površine prema sjeveroistoku u međuvremenu su postale sasvim pokrivene nanosima. Služba za zaštitu spomenika iz Skadra je tijekom zadnjega desetljeća pojačala statiku sačuvanoga dijela južnoga zida i sačuvanoga stupa u unutrašnjosti⁶⁷. Pored toga, crkva je opet bila predmet istraživanja⁶⁸, a nedavno je objavljena i nekoliko puta objavljena eventualna potpuna rekonstrukcija crkve⁶⁹. Ruševine i cijelo područje crkve snimljeno je dronom u visokoj razlučivosti 2019.



Sl. 30. Mušičev kotirani nacrt zapadnoga pročelja iz 1947. godine (izvor: Mušič 1952, sl. 7.)

Fig. 30 Measured drawing of the west façade made by Mušič in 1947 (source: Mušič 1952, Fig. 7.)

the archive of the Albanian Monuments Protection Service⁶⁵. The first architectural measurement of the southern wall was done before 1970 and published by Meksi⁶⁶. However, due to a mistake made during the preparation for printing, the published elevation was contracted horizontally by 15 %. Meanwhile, the whole preserved area of the church was reinforced with a protective wall and gabions along the west façade. The eroded areas to the NE were meanwhile completely silted. During the last decade, the preserved part of the southern wall, as well as

⁶⁴ Mušič 1952.

⁶⁵ Datoteke u formatu PDF iz arhiva Službe ljubazno je ustupila gđa Mimosa Ceresi.

⁶⁶ Meksi Kishat e Shqipërisë së Mesme dhe të Veriut, *Monumentet 2.*, Tirana 1983.

⁶⁷ Radove je organizirao i nadzirao moj kolega Helidon Sokoli, koji mi je dostavio pojedinosti o radovima, kao i fotografije sačuvanih fresaka i probnih iskopavanja uz južni portal.

⁶⁸ Hoxha 2017.

⁶⁹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C2csN7Tt81M>

⁶⁵ PDF files from the archive of the Service were kindly provided by Ms Mimosa Ceresi.

⁶⁶ Meksi Kishat e Shqipërisë së Mesme dhe të Veriut, *Monumentet 2.*, Tirana 1983.



Sl. 31. Pogled na restaurirani prozor na južnome zidu (ispis slike iz snimke Terenca Pepe)

Fig. 31 View of the restored window on the south wall (printscreen from Terenc Pepa's footage)



Sl. 32. Pogled na ostatke izvornih crepova na vrhu sačuvanoga dijela južnoga zida (ispis slike iz snimke Terenca Pepe)

Fig. 32 View of the remains of the original roof tiles on the top of the preserved part of the south wall. (Printscreen from Terenc Pepa's footage.)

godine⁷⁰. Ta je snimka omogućila prve detaljne prikaze sačuvanoga prozora na južnome zidu (sl. 31.), ostataka izvornoga krova i crepova na južnome zidu (sl. 32.), kao i opće stanje područja crkve⁷¹. (Sl. 33.)

Stanje očuvanosti: danas u punoj visini stoje samo dva zapadna traveja južnoga zida. (Sl. 34.) Jugoistočni kut crkve sačuvan je s vrlo malim dijelom zapadne fasade, kao i s glavnim dijelom jugoistočnoga stupa u unutrašnjosti crkve. U unutrašnjosti



Sl. 33a-b. Pogled na sačuvani dio crkve sa sjevera (ispis slike iz snimke Terenca Pepe)

Fig. 33a-b Preserved part of the church viewed from the north (Printscreen from Terenc Pepa's footage)

the preserved pillar in the interior were structurally reinforced by the Monument Protection Service from Skhodra⁶⁷. Furthermore, the church was again a subject of research⁶⁸, and recently the possibility for a complete reconstruction of the church has been announced and published on several occasions⁶⁹. In 2019, the ruins and the complete area of the church

⁷⁰ <https://www.starplus-tv.com/kisha-e-shirqit-dhe-xhamia-e-plumbit-ne-harrese/>

⁷¹ Ispisi slika iz snimke izrađeni su uz ljubaznu pomoć g. Terenca Pepe iz kuće Star TV, koji je ustupio sirove snimke.

⁶⁷ The work was organized and supervised by my colleague Helidon Sokoli, who has provided me with the details of the works, as well as the photographs of preserved frescoes and of trial excavations by the south portal.

⁶⁸ Hoxha 2017.

⁶⁹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C2csN7Tt81M>



Sl. 34. Očišćene i konsolidirane freske na južnome zidu (Helidon Sokoli)

Fig. 34 Cleaned and consolidated frescoes on the south wall (Helidon Sokoli)

crkvi na hrpi se nalazi veliki broj raznih kamenih blokova urušenih zidova te baza jednoga stupa prozora apside. Natpis sa zapadnoga portala sada se nalazi u Skadarskome muzeju. Područje južno od crkve još služi kao mjesno groblje, a razina tla je zbog ukopa podignuta za najmanje metar i pol, dok se izvorna razina vidi samo na položaju južnoga portala. Za nedavnih konzervatorskih radova uz južni je portal iskopan manji rov kako bi se utvrdila izvorna visina zidova⁷². (Sl. 35.) Osim toga, unutrašnjost jugozapadnoga dijela crkve nikada nije arheološki istražena, što ostavlja mogućnost da je očuvana arheološka stratigrafija, kao i temelji dvaju stupova i dijela zapadnoga pročelja koji su se urušili između 1947. i 1960.

Elementi za arhitektonsku rekonstrukciju crkve

Struktura nekadašnje opatije: budući da nije bilo dogradnji crkve na njenom zapadnom, istočnom i južnom pročelju, nekadašnji kompleks samostana mogao se nalaziti isključivo u području sjeverno od crkve. Uslijed djelovanja prirodnih sila – erozije koju je izazvala rijeka Buna (Bojana) – nema baš nikakvih dokaza o strukturi i tlocrtu samostansko-

⁷² Neobjavljeno; fotografiju je ljubazno ustupio Helidon Sokoli.



Sl. 35. Iskop rova uz južni portal (Helidon Sokoli)

Fig. 35 Excavation trench by the south portal (Helidon Sokoli).

ch were filmed with a drone in high resolution⁷⁰ and this footage for the first time provided detailed views of the preserved window on the southern wall (Fig. 31), the remains of the original roof and tiles over the southern wall (Fig. 32), and the general status of the church area⁷¹. (Fig. 33)

State of preservation: today, only the two western bays of the southern wall are standing in full height. (Fig. 34) The SE corner of the church is preserved with a very small portion of the west façade, as well as the main part of the SE pillar in the church interior. In the interior of the church, a great number of various stone blocks collected from the collapsed walls are piled together with the base of one of the apse window columns. An inscription from the west portal is now in the Skhodra Museum. The area to the south of the church is still used as a local graveyard, and the ground level of the area, due to burials, has been elevated by at least 1.5 meters, whereas the original level is visible only

⁷⁰ <https://www.starplus-tv.com/kisha-e-shirgjit-dhe-xhamia-e-plumbit-ne-harrese/>

⁷¹ Screenshots from this footage were made with the kind help of Mr Terenc Pepa from Star TV, who provided raw footage.

ga kompleksa. Jedino se pitanje odnosi na podatak prema kojemu je kompleks sadržavao visoki zvonik⁷³. Logično se nameće pitanje zašto bi netko izgradio još jedan zvonik kao odvojeni objekt ako je crkva već imala zvonik, za koji se pretpostavlja da je bio visok 14 metara. Postojanje starije crkve dokumentirao je samo Ippen, koji je spomenuo ulomke mozaika pronađene prilikom kopanja grobova u brodu crkve⁷⁴. Nisu provedena nikakva arheološka istraživanja, a jedini spoliji dokumentirani *in situ* su ulomak stupa fotografiranog 1961. godine⁷⁵ i baza prozorskoga stupa, danas na hrpi s ostalim blokovima urušenih zidova.

Tlocrt

Crkva je planirana kao trobrodna bazilika, omjera duljine i širine svih triju brodova 2:3:2, a puna duljina je obuhvaćala trijem ispred zapadnoga pročelja, sudeći po petama njenih bočnih lukova samo na unutarnjim pilastrima zapadnoga pročelja⁷⁶. **(Sl. 36.)** Budući da su zapadno i južno pročelje bili u potpunosti vidljivi, samostanski se kompleks sigurno nalazio sjeverno od crkve. Zapadno i južno pročelje bili su raščlanjeni pilastrima spojenim sa šiljatim lukovima na bočnim travejima zapadnoga pročelja, dok su lukovi spojeni s pilastrima na južnome pročelju bili polukružni. U unutrašnjosti crkve su se nalazili pandani jednostavnih pilastara pročelja, no nalazili su se na dvjema stepenicama, kao i kutni polupilastri. Na navedenim unutarnjim elementima raščlanjivanja bili su lukovi, šiljati u unutrašnjem dijelu bočnih traveja na zapadu i na istoku, a polukružni duž unutarnjih stijenki sjevernog i južnog zida. Apside su bile polukružnoga tlocrta, a zbog niskoga terena i rijeke Bune (Bojane)

in the position of the south portal. During the recent conservation works, a small trench was excavated by the south portal to determine the original height of the walls⁷². **(Fig. 35)** Furthermore, the interior of the SW part of the church has never been archaeologically excavated, which leaves the possibility that archaeological stratigraphy and the foundations of the two pillars and a part of the west façade which collapsed between 1947 and 1960 could be preserved.

Elements for the architectural reconstruction of the church

The structure of the former abbey: since the church did not have any attached buildings to the west, east and south façades, the former complex of the monastery could only have been located in the area to the north of the church. Due to natural causes – erosion caused by the river Buna (Bojana) – there is absolutely no evidence of the structure and layout of the monastery complex. The only question regards the information that the complex included a high belfry⁷³. It is logical to ask why would someone build another belfry as a separate building if the church already had one, estimated to be 14 metres in height. The existence of the earlier church was documented only by Ippen, who mentioned that fragments of mosaics had been unearthed during grave-digging in the church nave⁷⁴. No archaeological excavations have been conducted there, and the only spolia recorded *in situ* are a fragment of the column photographed in 1961⁷⁵ and a base of a window column, today piled among other collected blocks from ruined walls.

The plan

The church was planned as a three-apsed basilica, with the ratio of the width to the length for all three of 2:3:2, while the complete length comprised a porch in front of the western façade, judging by the presence of the springing of its lateral arches

⁷³ Zvonik se u povijesnim izvorima spominje jednom. Objavio ga je Theiner u *Verera Monumenta Slavorum Meridionalium illustrantia* II, 218, 1875.: „un bellissimo campaniele quale per la sua altezza scope tutto il paese di Scutari”.

⁷⁴ Ippen 1899, str. 17.

⁷⁵ Negativ br. 34361, zbirka Albanske službe za zaštitu spomenika.

⁷⁶ Bettini 1937: *Prova stampa 2 SS Sergio e Bacco Buna* (Bojana), Albania; Mušič 1952, 184, 185. Sjeverni pilastar pročelja ceđ je bio razoren, a njegovi ostaci nepoznati, dok je južni sačuvan, ali bez ikakvih tragova pete spojnoga luka. Međutim, Meksi je nacrtao navodnu petu luka, ali na prilično višoj poziciji u odnosu na pete lukova koje su dokumentirali Bettini and Mušič. Stoga se pitanje tlocrta i izmjere bočnih dijelova trijema može riješiti samo idealno.

⁷² Unpublished; the photograph was kindly provided by Helidon Sokoli.

⁷³ There is a single mention of the belfry in the historical sources. It was published by Theiner in *Verera Monumenta Slavorum Meridionalium illustrantia* II, 218, 1875: “un bellissimo campaniele quale per la sua altezza scope tutto il paese di Scutari”.

⁷⁴ Ippen 1899, 17.

⁷⁵ Negative No. 34361, Collection of the Albanian Monuments Protection Service.



Sl. 36. Pogled na crkvu s jugozapada 1937. godine
(Sergio Bettini)

Fig. 36 View of the church from the south-west in 1937
(Sergio Bettini)

u blizini valja isključiti mogućnost postojanja krip-te. Umjesto toga je pod središnje apside najvjerojatnije bio podignut za par stepenica. (T. VI.) Unutarnja i vanjska stijenska glavnoga korpusa zidova izgrađene su od naizmjenično postavljenih slojeva četiriju opeka i kamenih blokova, dok su pilastri i unutarnji stupovi od kamenih blokova. Međutim, postoji naznaka koja se odnosi ili na moguću izmjenicu tlocrta crkve, provedenu nakon dovršetka izgradnje njenih obodnih zidova, ili na zamjenu cjelokupne unutarnje strukture u nekome trenutku. To je mogao biti razlog za postavljanje dvaju memorijalnih natpisa na zapadno pročelje. Ippen je u svom tlocrtu f nacrtao sjeverozapadni stup sjeverne unutarnje kolonade s pilastrima sa sve četiri strane⁷⁷. Taj je nacrt preuzeo i objavio Smirnov. No, u njegovom tlocrtu iz 1923. i onome koji je Novicki izradio 1924. godine⁷⁸ nacrtan je samo pilastar na južnoj strani stupa, što je potvrdio Mušič svojim jednakim prikazom⁷⁹. Taj pilastar na južnoj strani stupa potvrđuju i stare fotografije. (Sl. 37.) Pored toga, svi tra-veji na unutarnjim stijenkama zida bili su odvojeni

⁷⁷ Ippen tlocrt.

⁷⁸ Smirnov 1927, str. 141, br. 11.

⁷⁹ Mušič 1952, str. 193, br. 6.

only on the interior pilasters of the west façade⁷⁶. (Fig. 36) Since the west and south façades were completely visible, the monastic complex must have been located north of the church. The west and south façades were articulated with the pilasters joined with the arches with pointed arches on lateral bays of the west façade, while the arches joining the pilasters on the south façade were semicircular. In the interior of the church, the simple pilasters of the façades had their counterparts, but here the pilasters were two-stepped, as were the corner semi-pilasters. All this internal articulation was crowned with arches, again pointed on the interior of the lateral bays in the west and east, and semicircular along the interior of the northern and southern walls. The apses had a semicircular plan, and due to a low terrain and the nearby Buna (Bojana) River, the possibility of a crypt must be excluded. Instead, most probably, the floor of the central apse was raised by a few steps. (Pl. VI) The inner and outer faces of the main corpus of the walls were built of alternating layers of four bricks and stone blocks, while the pilasters and interior pillars were made of stone blocks. However, there is an indication related either to a possible change of the church plan, which occurred after its perimeter walls were already built, or a replacement of the complete interior structure at some time. This might have been the reason for the placement of two memorial inscriptions on the west façade. In his plan f, Ippen drew the NW pillar of the north interior colonnade with pilasters on all four sides⁷⁷. This was republished by Smirnov. However, in his 1923 plan and the one made by Novicki in 1924⁷⁸, only the pilaster on the south side of the pillar had been drawn, as confirmed by Mušič, whose depiction was the same⁷⁹. Vintage photographs also confirm the presence of the pilaster on the south side of the pillar. (Fig. 37)

⁷⁶ Bettini 1937: Prova stampa 2 SS Sergio e Bacco Buna (Bojana), Albania; Mušič 1952, 184, 185. The north pilaster of the façade was already destroyed, and remains unknown, while the south one has been preserved, but without any trace of the springing of the connecting arch. However, Meksi drew an alleged springing of the arch, but this place is much higher than the springing of the arches as documented by Bettini and Mušič. Therefore, the question of the plan and elevation of the lateral parts of the porch can be solved only ideally.

⁷⁷ Ippen plan

⁷⁸ Smirnov 1927, p. 141, No. 11.

⁷⁹ Mušič 1952, p. 193, No. 6.



Sl. 37. Najstarija poznata fotografija unutarnjega dijela zapadnoga pročelja s prozorima i pilastrom na sjeverozapadnome stupu

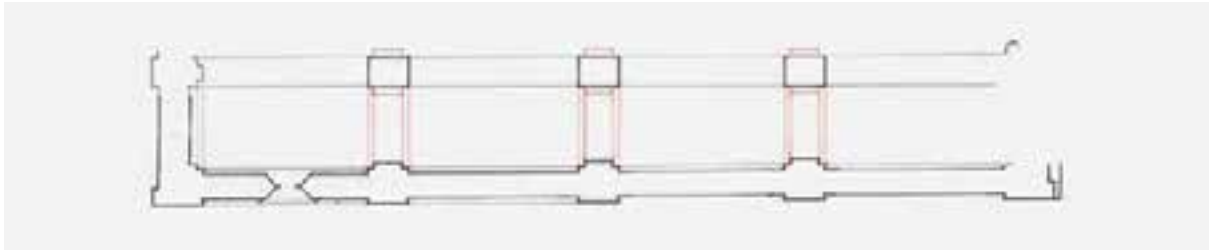
Fig. 37 The oldest known photograph of the interior of the west façade with windows and a pilaster on the north-western interior pillar

pilastrima na dvjema stepenicama, no takvih pilastrara nema na unutarnjim stupovima. Za razliku od zidova crkve koji su izgrađeni od naizmjeničnih slojeva klesanoga kamena i četiriju opeka, svi unutarnji stupovi sastojali su se isključivo od slojeva klesanoga kamena. Unutarnji stupovi koji su dijelili brodove crkve bili su jednostavnoga pravokutnog tlocrta te, s izuzetkom jugozapadnoga stupa, nisu imali nikakve pilastre koji bi nosili spojne lukove s pilastrima na bočnim zidovima, čime se isključuje mogućnost bilo kakvih svodova u gornjemu dijelu bočnih brodova. Stupovi su imali okruglu bazu u ravnini vrha pilastrara, a gornji dio im je bio zamjetno uži, sudeći po Ippenovoj staroj fotografiji i graviri⁸⁰. Prisutnost lukova između unutarnjih pilastrara mogla bi ukazivati da je izvorno bila zamišljena izgradnja svodova koji bi natkrivali središnji travej i bočne traveje, što pak nikada nije ostvareno. Umjesto toga je podignut samo gornji dio iznad unutarnjih kolonada na stupovima prilikom njihove iz-

Furthermore, all bays on the interior side of the walls were separated with two-stepped pilasters, but there are no such pilasters on the interior pillars. Unlike the walls of the church, which were built of alternating courses of dressed stone and layers of four bricks, all interior pillars were made only of courses of dressed stone. The interior pillars, which divided the naves of the church, had a simple rectangular plan, and, except for the SW pillar, did not have any pilasters that could support the joining arches with the pilasters on the lateral walls, which excludes the possibility of any vaults constructed as a superstructure of the lateral naves. The pillars had a rounded plinth flush with the top of the pilasters, and their upper part was noticeably slimmer, judging by Ippen's vintage photograph and engraving⁸⁰. The presence of attached arches between the interior pilasters might indicate that the original idea had been to build vaults in order to cover the central and lateral bays, which never happened. Instead, only the superstructure over the interior colonnades was built above the pillars as they were erected, and everything was covered with a tripartite roof. **(Fig. 38)** The main entrance to the church was in the central bay of the west façade, and this portal was relatively well documented. In front of the portal, there was a porch, most probably supported by pillars, because no remains of any walls continuing further west are visible in the preserved SW corner of the church. The springing of the connecting arches between the west façade of the church and the porch was flush with the upper lintel of the west portal, which indicates that the central arch of the porch was somewhat higher than the lunette of the portal, and that this arch was wider than the lateral ones, which in turn indicates that the three vaults of the porch were supported by pillars because it was the easiest way to prop up arches of different heights. With regard to the arches, the lateral ones of the west portal were in line with the shape of the arches of the lateral bays of the façade itself, and were pointed, while the central arch, which was higher and wider, mirrored the shape of the lunette of the portal. The arch on the south side could have been constructed as a continuation of the semicircular arches on the south façade, while on the north there might have stood an arch similar to the south one, but there is a possibility that it was attached to the southern wall of the west wing of the monastic

⁸⁰ Ippen 1899.

⁸⁰ Ippen 1899.



Sl. 38. Tlocrt izvedenih elemenata južnoga broda crkve; izvorni tlocrt označen crvenom bojom (Stanislav Živkov)

Fig. 38 Plan of the executed structures of the southern nave of the church with the original plan marked red (Stanislav Živkov)

gradnje, a sve je natkriveno trostrešnim krovom. (Sl. 38.) Glavni ulaz u crkvu nalazio se u središnjem traveju zapadnoga pročelja, a taj je portal relativno dobro dokumentiran. Ispred portala nalazio se trijem, koji su najvjerojatnije nosili stupovi, jer u sačuvanome jugozapadnom kutu crkve nema nikakvih vidljivih ostataka zidova prema zapadu. Pete spojnih lukova između zapadnoga pročelja crkve i trijema bile su u ravnini gornjega nadvoja zapadnoga portala, što ukazuje da je središnji luk trijema bio nešto viši od lunete portala te da je taj luk bio širi od bočnih, što pak znači da su tri svoda trijema nosili stupovi, jer to je bio najjednostavniji način držanja lukova različitih visina. Što se tiče lukova, bočni na zapadnome portalu oblikom su bili u skladu s onima bočnih traveja samoga pročelja i bili su šiljati, dok je središnji luk bio viši i širi te je oblikom održavao lunetu portala. Luk na južnoj strani je mogao biti izgrađen kao nastavak polukružnih lukova na južnome pročelju, dok je na sjevernome mogao stajati luk sličan onome južnome, no postoji mogućnost da je bio spojen s južnim zidom zapadnoga krila samostanskoga kompleksa. Pete svih lukova najvjerojatnije su bile u ravnini središnjega para, no za to nema definitivnoga dokaza. Glavni zapadni portal je danas poznat s nekoliko starih fotografija, među kojima su najznačajnije one koje je snimio Bettini⁸¹ 1937. godine, dok je Mušič 1947. izradio tehničku dokumentaciju s mjerama i objavio je 1952. godine⁸². Vratnice portala činile su tri glavne sastavnice: profilirani blokovi u donjemu dijelu, širine cjelokupne vratnice sa svake strane. Gornji dio vratnice bio je drugačiji: gornji dio bio je izrađen od

complex. Most probably, the springing of all arches was flush with the central pair, but there is no definitive evidence to this effect. The main west portal is now known from several vintage photographs, those taken by Bettini⁸¹ in 1937 being the most important, while the Mušič prepared technical documentation with measurements in 1947 and published it in 1952⁸². The doorframes of the portal were constructed with three main components: profiled doorframe blocks in the bottom part, which had the width of the complete doorframe on each side. The upper part of the doorframe was built differently: the upper part was made of several rows of precisely carved blocks in the outer parts of the doorframes, while the inner part consisted of a new pair of monolithic blocks which followed the profile of the bottom part, and above those there stood the lower lintel, whose bottom followed the profile of the doorframes. Above this lower lintel there stood the upper lintel, also monolithic, carved from a single block of yellowish limestone. It included the later dedicatory inscription⁸³, while the earlier inscription was incorporated as part of the south doorframe. The lunette of the portal was constructed with voussoirs and made of bricks⁸⁴. The appearance of the inner side of the portal is known from two photographs, one of which was published by Smirnov⁸⁵. Behind the lintel, a relieving arch was constructed

⁸¹ SS Sergio e Bacco Bojana, Albania negative 02040006, Prova stampa 2 SS Sergio e Bacco Bojana, Albania, Dipartimento di Filosofia e Beni Culturali, Dorsoduro 3484/D, Complesso Malcanton Marcorà, Università Ca' Foscari, Venezia.

⁸² Mušič 1952.

⁸¹ SS Sergio e Bacco Bojana, Albania negative 02040006, Prova stampa 2 SS Sergio e Bacco Bojana, Albania, Dipartimento di Filosofia e Beni Culturali, Dorsoduro 3484/D, Complesso Malcanton Marcorà, Università Ca' Foscari, Venezia.

⁸² Mušič 1952.

⁸³ This inscription was salvaged from the ruins after the collapse of the southern half of the west façade and transferred to the Historical Museum in Skhodra after 1960. Recently, it has been published by Erdeljan.

⁸⁴ Prova stampa 2 SS Sergio e Bacco Bona (Bojana), Albania.

⁸⁵ Smirnov 1927, p. 131, No. 7.



Sl. 39. Pročelje crkve sv. Marije u Svaču (zbirka Stanislava Živkova)

Fig. 39 *Façade of the church of St. Mary in Svač (collection of Stanislav Živkov)*

nekoliko redova precizno klesanih blokova u vanjskim dijelovima vratnica, dok se unutarnji dio sastojao od novoga para monolitnih blokova u skladu s profilom donjega dijela, a iznad njih je bio postavljen donji nadvoj, čiji je donji dio profiliran kao i vratnice. Iznad toga donjeg nadvoja nalazio se gornji nadvoj, također, monolitan, isklesan od jednoga bloka žućkastoga vapnenca. Sadržavao je noviji posvetni natpis⁸³, dok je stariji natpis bio dio južne vratnice. Luneta portala građena je od klinastoga kamenja i izrađena od opeke⁸⁴. Izgled unutarnje strane portala poznat je s dviju fotografija, od kojih je jednu objavio Smirnov⁸⁵. Iza nadvoja izgrađen je rasteretni luk od opeke i kamenja. Luneta je bila vrlo plitka, a imala je šiljati luk od klinastoga kamenja. Portal je bio širi iza vanjskih renesansnih vratnica. Na južnoj strani zabata srednjega broda, pokraj vodoravnoga kraja kose krune, bio je podi-

with bricks and stones. The lunette was very shallow, with a pointed arch made of voussoirs. Behind the outer Renaissance doorframes, the portal was wider. On the south side of the gable of the central nave, next to the horizontal ending of a raking geison, a single-arched belfry was erected. Its northern pillar was built over the raking geison, while the geison continued horizontally below the opening and the southern pillar. However, there was no geison further to the south of the belfry. Instead, there was a step and a vertical ending next to the horizontal geison of the SW corner of the church. The belfry was somewhat lower than the central corpus of the church, while its opening had a pointed arch and its top was triangular in shape. The arch of the opening was flush with the gable, and the geison separated the pillars from the pediment.

(Pl. I) An almost identical structure was planned and executed on the single-naved church of St. Mary in Svač, with a more elaborate decoration, and placed to the north rather than the south. (Fig. 39) A secondary entrance to the church was provided on the west end of the third bay of the southern wall. This portal was also Gothic, and is now the only partly preserved entrance to the church. Other preserved parts are the inner door-jamb, as well as a section of the outer lintel, made of a single block of stone, whereas the inner lintel was constructed with voussoirs, of which the westernmost is still in its place. (Figs. 40 & 41) The back of the gable was made with alternating layers of stone and four bricks, similar to all the walls of the church, while the lunette was most likely composed of bricks, like the lunette of the west portal. The preserved structures of the south portal enable the reconstruction similar to the west portal, now unfortunately lost, which consisted of Renaissance outer door-jamb with a Gothic lunette made of bricks. For structural reasons, the lunette surely had a shallow Gothic frame made of voussoirs, as well, while in the interior, similar to the west portal, voussoirs were slightly protruding from the inner surface of the wall. Since the monastic complex was situated to the north of the church, another portal might have been placed opposite to the south portal. Its chief purpose was to connect the church and the monastic complex. Since the main corpus of the church (four bays in length) was expanded in the west with a porch, there is a possibility that the west wing of the monastic complex might have been aligned with the porch

⁸³ Natpis je izvučen iz ruševina nakon urušavanja južne polovice zapadnoga pročelja te je prebačen u Povijesni muzej u Skadru nakon 1960. godine. Nedavno ga je objavio Erdeljan.

⁸⁴ Prova stampa 2 SS Sergio e Bacco Buna (Bojana), Albania.

⁸⁵ Smirnov 1927, str. 131, br. 7.



Sl. 40. Zapadni dio južnoga portala (zbirka Stanislava Živkova)

Fig. 40 West part of the south portal (collection of Stanislav Živkov)

gnut jednolučni zvonik. Njegov sjeverni stup bio je podignut na kosoj kruni, koja se nastavljala vodoravno ispod otvora i južnoga stupa. Međutim, krune nije bilo južnije od zvonika. Umjesto nje stajala je jedna stepenica i okomiti kraj pored vodoravne krune jugozapadnoga kuta crkve. Zvonik je bio nešto niži od središnjega korpusa crkve, na otvoru je imao šiljati luk, a vrh mu je bio trokutast. Luk otvora bio je u ravnini zabata, a krana je odvajala stupove od zabatnoga trokuta. **(T. I.)** Gotovo identična struktura je planirana i izvedena na jednobrodnoj crkvi sv. Marije u Svaču, uz nešto detaljnije ukrasne elemente, ali je postavljena na sjevernoj, a ne na južnoj strani. **(Sl. 39.)** Drugi ulaz u crkvu nalazio se na zapadnome kraju trećega travaja južnoga zida. Taj je portal također bio gotički, a danas je jedini sačuvani ulaz u crkvu. Ostali sačuvani dijelovi su unutarnji dovratnik te dio vanjskoga nadvoja od jednoga kamenog bloka, dok je unutarnji nadvoj bio izrađen



Sl. 41 Sačuvani dio nadvoja južnoga portala (zbirka Stanislava Živkova)

Fig. 41 Preserved part of the lintel of the south portal (collection of Stanislav Živkov)

and that another entrance existed from the porch to the monastic complex. Obviously, the main façade of the monastery complex was the west one, because the Buna (Bojana) River flowed along the monastery and, furthermore, this façade of the complex was the most representative. **(Fig. 43)** The south façade is now preserved in part, the first and second bays from the west are standing in their full height, while the south portal is partly preserved. Vintage graphic sources reveal that the church was illuminated through two Gothic windows placed high above the west portal. Their shape, position and dimensions can be clearly defined from the photographs. The single graphic source for the windows of the central apse is an engraving published in 1855⁸⁶. Their position and dimensions are more precisely defined in Ippen's engraving⁸⁷. The south façade had only one window placed in the west bay, which has been preserved. This window was constructed similarly to the main structure of the walls (alternating layers of dressed stone and four bricks). Its outer jambs were made in this manner, while its sill, inner jambs and the upper part in the shape of a pointed arch were made of precisely carved stone blocks. This became visible after a recent restoration of this area⁸⁸. It is also important to note that the

⁸⁶ See Fig. 8.

⁸⁷ Ippen 1899.

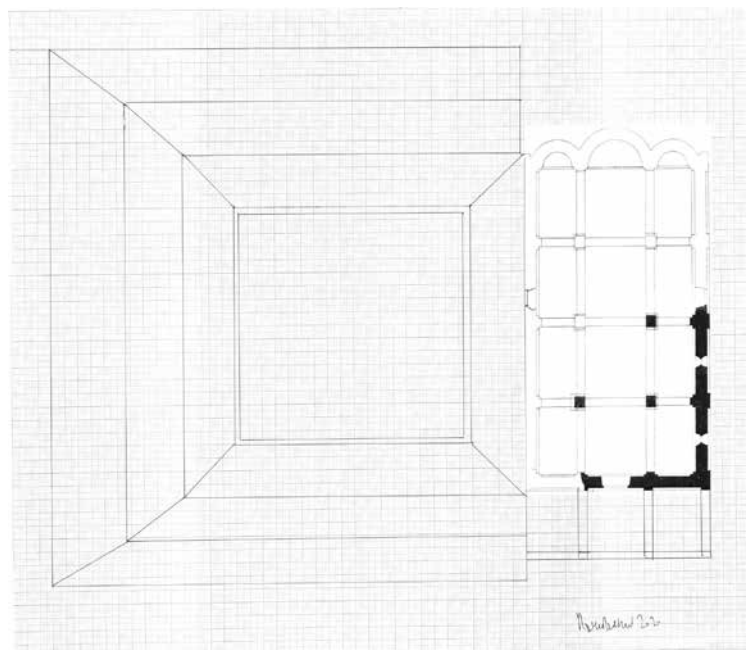
⁸⁸ Printscreen from the footage by Pepa.



Sl. 42. Katedrala u Baru, detalj Coronellijeve gravire: Antivari, Vincenzo Coronelli – *Repubblica di Venezia p. IV. Citta, Fortezze, ed altri Luoghi principali dell' Albania, Epiro e Livadia, e particolarmente i posseduti da Veneti descritti e delineati dal p. Coronelli, Venezia, 1688.*

Fig. 42 The cathedral in Bar, a detail of an engraving by Coronelli: Antivari, Vincenzo Coronelli – Repubblica di Venezia p. IV. Citta, Fortezze, ed altri Luoghi principali dell' Albania, Epiro e Livadia, e particolarmente i posseduti da Veneti descritti e delineati dal p. Coronelli, Venezia, 1688.

od klinastoga kamenja, od kojih je najzapadniji još uvijek na svome mjestu. (Sl. 40. i 41.) Stražnja strana zabata bila je izrađena od naizmjenično postavljenih slojeva kamenja i četiriju opeka, slično svim zidovima crkve, dok je luneta najvjerojatnije bila sastavljena od cigli, poput lunete zapadnoga portala. Sačuvani elementi južnoga portala omogućavaju rekonstrukciju sličnu onoj zapadnoga portala, danas, nažalost, izgubljenoga, a koji se sastojao od renesansnih vanjskih dovratnika s gotičkom lunetom od opeke. Luneta je zbog konstrukcijskih razloga zasigurno imala plitki gotički okvir također od klinastoga kamenja, dok je klinasto kamenje u unutrašnjosti bilo blago izvučeno iz unutarnje površine zida. Budući da se samostanski kompleks nalazio sjeverno od crkve, moguće je da je nasuprot južnoga portala bio postavljen još jedan portal. Njegova glavna namjena bila je povezivanje crkve sa samostanskim kompleksom. Zbog nadograđivanja glavnoga korpusa crkve (duljine četiri traveja) trije-



Sl. 43. Rekonstrukcija tlocrtnoga prikaza samostanskoga kompleksa (Stanislav Živkov)
Fig. 43 Reconstruction of the situation plan of the monastery complex (Stanislav Živkov)

stone members were obviously placed first, at least up to the height of the beginning of the pointed arch, because the alternating layers of stone and bricks in the window jambs do not correspond to the structure of the main wall. Furthermore, the whole window up to the level of the pointed arch was surrounded by sculpted decoration with Gothic denticulation, now preserved almost completely on the east side, and partly below the window, as well as in small parts on the west side. If we assume that the monastic complex was placed to the north of the church, it is highly improbable that any windows existed on the northern wall, because the complete north façade must have been incorporated into the structures of the monastic complex, and therefore invisible. In that case, it probably did not have outer articulation like the south façade, but merely a simple plain wall⁸⁹. In the engraving prepared and published by Ippen, depicting the southern part of the central nave together with the south colonnade and the part of the apse, the following Gothic elements are visible: a quarter-column placed between the eastern pilaster of the colonnade and the beginning

⁸⁹ The same situation was in the Benedictine Abbey of St. Grisogonus in Zadar, where the south façade was richly articulated, while the north remained plain because of the cloister built to the north of the church.

mom sa zapadne strane, moguće je da je zapadno krilo bilo u ravnini s trijemom te da je postojao još jedan ulaz iz trijema u samostanski kompleks. Razvidno je da je glavno pročelje samostana bilo ono zapadno, budući da je rijeka Buna (Bojana) tekla uz samostan, a usto je to pročelje kompleksa bilo i naj-reprezentativnije. (Sl. 43.) Južno pročelje danas je djelomice sačuvano, prvi i drugi travej sa zapada stoje u punoj visini, dok je južni portal dijelom očuvan. Stari grafički izvori otkrivaju da je crkva bila osvijetljena putem dvaju gotičkih prozora visoko iznad zapadnoga portala. Njihov oblik, položaj i dimenzije jasno se mogu definirati na temelju fotografija. Jedini grafički izvor za prozore središnje apside je gravira objavljena 1855. godine⁸⁶. Njihov položaj i dimenzije preciznije su određeni u Ippenovoj graviri⁸⁷. Na južnome je pročelju bio samo jedan prozor, postavljen na zapadnome traveju, a danas je očuvan. Taj je prozor bio izveden slično glavnoj konstrukciji zidova (naizmjenično postavljeni slojevi klesanoga kamena i četiriju opeka). Njegovi unutarnji okviri bili su izrađeni na navedeni način, dok su njegov prag, unutarnji okviri i gornji dio u obliku šiljatoga luka bili napravljeni od precizno klesanih kamenih blokova. Ti su detalji postali vidljivi nakon nedavnoga restauriranja⁸⁸. Također je važno napomenuti da su očito najprije postavljeni kameni elementi, barem do visine početka šiljatoga luka, budući da naizmjenično postavljeni slojevi kamenja i opeke ne odgovaraju konstrukciji glavno-ga zida. Nadalje, cijeli je prozor do razine šiljatoga luka bio okružen profiliranim ukrasima s gotičkim nazubljenjima, danas gotovo u cijelosti sačuvanima na istočnoj strani, a djelomice ispod prozora te u manjim dijelovima na zapadnoj strani. Pretpostavimo li da se samostanski kompleks nalazio sjeverno od crkve, vrlo je malo vjerojatno da su na sjevernome zidu postojali ikakvi prozori, budući da je cijelo sjeverno pročelje zasigurno bilo priključeno konstrukcijama samostanskoga kompleksa pa stoga nije bilo vidljivo. U tom slučaju vjerojatno nije izvana bilo raščlanjeno kao južno pročelje, nego se sastojalo od jednostavnog običnog zida⁸⁹. Na graviri koju je izradio i objavio Ippen, a na kojoj je prik-

of the apse; its capital is flush with the top of a void left by the collapse of the south biforate window of the apse. Gothic ribs spring from this capital, one oriented N–S, framing the triumphal arch of the apse, while another springs towards the west, framing the superstructure of the colonnade. It is also visible that this rib did not correspond to the upper part of the pillar, which is noticeably smaller in diameter than the bottom part. Furthermore, near the top of the easternmost pillar there is a visible rectangular hollow, identical to those which can be seen on vintage photographs and the 1855 engraving. All this indicates that the complete superstructure above the bottom parts of the pillars, which included arches and windows over the roofs of the lateral naves, was made of wooden beams which served as lashings in order to strengthen the walls above the arches. The last remnants of the superstructure of the central nave above the Gothic ribs are also visible, like on the Ippen's engraving of the south façade. There is another evidence of the tripartite roof over the church. Behind the top of the easternmost pillar of the colonnade, the top of the eastern wall of the southern apse is visible. It ended with an inclination towards the south. At the time of Ippen's visit, this wall stood in its full height, and this inclination represents the sloping of the roof, which was relatively low, ca. 30 degrees, aiming to enable the construction of windows in the central nave and its proper illumination. The inner side of the southern wall was articulated with attached arches between two stepped pilasters as counterparts to the outer articulation of the same wall. It is obvious that a second step of the pilasters was planned as support to the vaulted superstructure, but due to a change in the plan, it was instead used as support to a wooden beam which bore the roof. The roof itself was covered with the so-called "kanalica", i.e. barrel roofing tiles, whose last remains are still standing on top of the preserved section of the southern wall. The architecture of the church clearly belonged to the regional Romano-Gothic architectural school⁹⁰. It is patent that the Gothic tendency towards verticality was fully applied in the elevation of the church. The articulation of the west façade with lateral recesses crowned with pointed arches, the portal with a Gothic lunette and two Gothic windows above it corroborate this tendency. The eastern wall of the central nave, which stood over the central apse, was in

⁸⁶ V. sl. 8.

⁸⁷ Ippen 1899.

⁸⁸ Ispis slike iz Pepine snimke.

⁸⁹ Ista je situacija vrijedila za benediktinsku opatiju sv. Krševana u Zadru: južno je pročelje bilo bogato raščlanjeno, dok je sjeverno bilo jednostavno zbog klaustra izgrađenoga sjeverno od crkve.

⁹⁰ For more details on this cf. Živkov 2001.

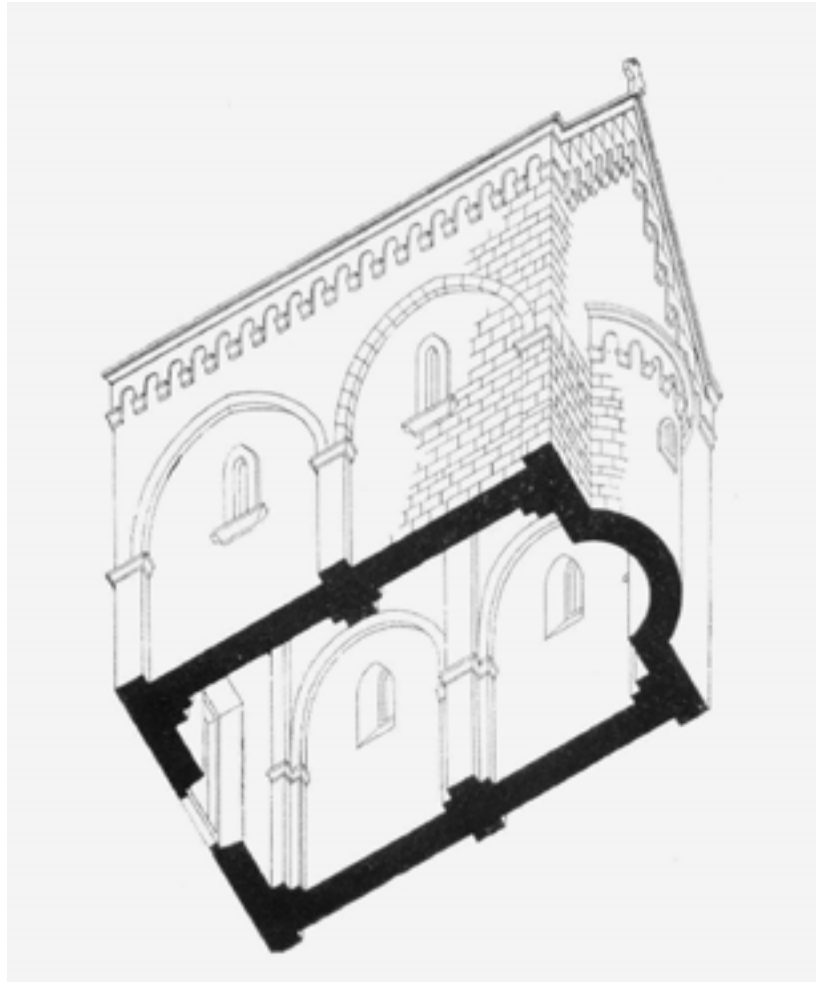
zan južni dio srednjega broda s južnom kolonadom i dijelom apside, vidljivi su sljedeći gotički elementi: četvrtstup između južnoga pilastra kolonade i početka apside; njegov kapitel je u ravnini vrha šupljine nastale urušavanjem južne bifore apside. Iz kapitela izviru gotička rebra, jedno orijentacije sjever-jug, koje uokviruje trijumfalni luk apside, dok se drugo pruža prema zapadu i uokviruje gornji dio iznad kolonade. Također je vidljivo da to rebro nije odgovaralo gornjemu dijelu stupa, zamjetno manjega promjera od donjega dijela. Nadalje, pri vrhu najistočnijega stupa vidljiva je pravokutna šupljina, istovjetna onima na starim fotografijama i graviri iz 1855. godine. Sve navedeno ukazuje da je cijeli gornji dio iznad donjih dijelova stupova, koji je obuhvaćao lukove i prozore iznad krovova bočnih brodova, bio izrađen od drvenih greda koje su služile za učvršćivanje, odnosno pojačavanje zidova iznad lukova. Također su vidljivi posljednji ostaci gornjega dijela srednjega broda iznad gotičkih rebara, kao na Ippenovoj graviri južnoga pročelja. Postoji još jedan dokaz u prilog teze o trostrešnome krovu crkve. Iza vrha najistočnijega stupa kolonade vidljiv je vrh istočnoga zida južne apside. Završavao je nagibom prema jugu. U vrijeme Ippenovoga posjeta taj je zid stajao u svojoj punoj visini, a nagib predstavlja kosinu krova, koja je bila relativno blaga (oko 30 stupnjeva), u cilju omogućavanja izrade prozora srednjega broda i njegovog odgovarajućeg osvjetljivanja. Unutarnja stijenka južnoga zida bila je raščlanjena lukovima između dvaju stupova na stepenicama kao pandanima vanjske raščlanjenosti toga zida. Razvidno je da je planirana i druga stepenica pilastara kao nosač nadsvođenoga gornjeg dijela, ali je zbog promjene plana umjesto toga iskorištena kao nosač drvene grede koja je nosila krov. Sam krov je bio natkriven zaobljenim crepovima, takozvanim kanalicama, čiji posljednji ostaci još stoje na sačuvanom dijelu južnoga zida. Crkva je po gradnji očito pripadala regionalnoj romaničko-gotičkoj arhitektonskoj školi⁹⁰. Razvidno je da je gotička sklonost vertikalnosti u cijelosti primijenjena primijenjena u vidu visine crkve. Tu tendenciju potvrđuje raščlanjenost zapadnoga pročelja bočnim nišama sa šiljatim lukovima na vrhu te portal s gotičkom lunetom i dva gotička prozora iznad nje. Istočni zid srednjega broda, koji je stajao nad središnjom apsidom, bio je vizualno dominantan element pročelja. Gotičku sklonost vertikalnosti na

effect the visually dominant element of this façade. Another contribution to the Gothic tendency for verticality on the east façade concerns the construction of two Gothic biforate windows in the upper section of the central apse. The plan of the church is very similar to that of the cathedral in Bar, also a three-aisled basilica built of alternating courses of polished stone. (Fig. 42) They were erected under the building programme of the Benedictine and, later, Franciscan monastic orders in the province of Praevalis. Some basic elements are common to all such basilicas: a nave consisting of four bays in length, with the aisles separated by rectangular piers bearing the vaults (Bar) or a wooden roof. All such basilicas were built of local stone or in combination with bricks; their central naves were much higher and lit through the windows placed on the clerestory. There were no domes above the central naves. The Cathedral of St. George in Stari Bar, of which only the foundations have remained, had the same architectural composition. Fortunately, the appearance of the cathedral in Bar is known from old drawings and photographs, and the discovered elements of its superstructure give enough evidence as to the original appearance of the church. Apart from the plan, very little is known about the superstructure of the cathedral in Ulcinj. Notwithstanding, the fact that it was built over an earlier church opens the possibility that the church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus might have been erected over the remains of an earlier church memoria from the early Middle Ages. The unfinished basilica “B” in the Franciscan convent at Ratac should also be added to this group. This is another building founded by Queen Helen of Anjou. This church was also planned as a true three-aisled basilica. Its outer walls had been begun with alternating courses of red and white polished stone, but due to subsequent problems, the basilica was never finished and only the crypt and the lowest parts of perimeter walls were built. The articulation of the façades with pilasters and pointed arches has its counterpart in the architecture of the now demolished church in Danj. (Fig. 44) The off-centre placing of the belfry over the west façade also has its counterpart in the church in Svač. The same applies to the horizontal ending of the façade cornices, also used on the cathedral in Bar. Finally, it must be said that the church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus on the Buna (Bojana) River was one of the most important architectural monuments on the east coast of the

⁹⁰ Opširnije o ovome: Živkov 2001.

istočnome pročelju potvrđuje izgradnja dviju gotičkih bifora u u gornjemu dijelu središnje apside. Tlocrt crkve vrlo je sličan onome katedrale u Baru, koja je također trobrodna bazilika izgrađena naizmjenično postavljenim slojevima glačanoga kamena. (Sl. 42.) Obje su podignute u sklopu programa izgradnje benediktinskoga, a kasnije i franjevačkoga samostanskog reda u provinciji Prevalitani. Neki osnovni elementi zajednički su svim takvim bazilikama: brod duljine četiriju traveja s bočnim brodovima odvojenim stupovima pravokutnoga presjeka koji nose svodove (Bar) ili drveni krov. Sve takve bazilike izgrađene su od lokalnoga kamena ili u kombinaciji s opekom; srednji brodovi su im bili poprilično viši i osvijetljeni putem prozora u njihovim gornjim dijelovima. Iznad srednjega broda nisu imale kupolu. Katedrala sv. Jurja u Starome Baru, od koje su sačuvani samo njeni temelji, bila je iste arhitektonske kompozicije. Srećom, izgled katedrale u Baru poznat je sa starih crteža i fotografija, a otkriveni elementi njenoga gornjeg dijela pružaju dovoljno dokaza o izvornom izgledu crkve. Osim tlocrta, vrlo malo toga je poznato o gornjemu dijelu katedrale u Ulcinju. Svejedno, činjenica da je izgrađena na starijoj crkvi otvara mogućnost da je crkva sv. Sergija i Bakha možda podignuta na ostacima starije memorije iz ranoga srednjeg vijeka. Navedenoj skupini valja dodati i nedovršenu baziliku "B" u franjevačkome samostanu na Ratacu. Radi se o još jednome objektu pod pokroviteljstvom Jelene Anžijske. Ta je crkva također planirana kao standardna trobrodna bazilika. Njeni vanjski zidovi započeti su u naizmjenično postavljenim slojevima crvenoga i bijeloga glačanog kamena, ali bazilika nije dovršena zbog naknadnih problema, nego je izgrađena samo njena kripta i najniži dijelovi obodnih zidova. Raščlamba pročelja pilastrima i šiljatim lukovima ima pandan u arhitekturi danas razorene crkve u Danju. (Sl. 44.) Postavljanje zvonika izvan središnje osi zapadnoga pročelja ima svoj pandan u crkvi u Svaču. Isto vrijedi i za vodoravni završetak vijenaca pročelja, što je detalj koji je također upotrijebljen na katedrali u Baru. Na koncu treba napomenuti da je crkva sv. Sergija i Bakha na rijeci Buni (Bojani) bila jedan od najznačajnijih arhitektonskih spomenika na istočnoj obali Jadrana, budući da je benediktinski red donio ne samo svoju religioznost, nego i umjetnost i arhitekturu sa zapadne obale Jadrana.

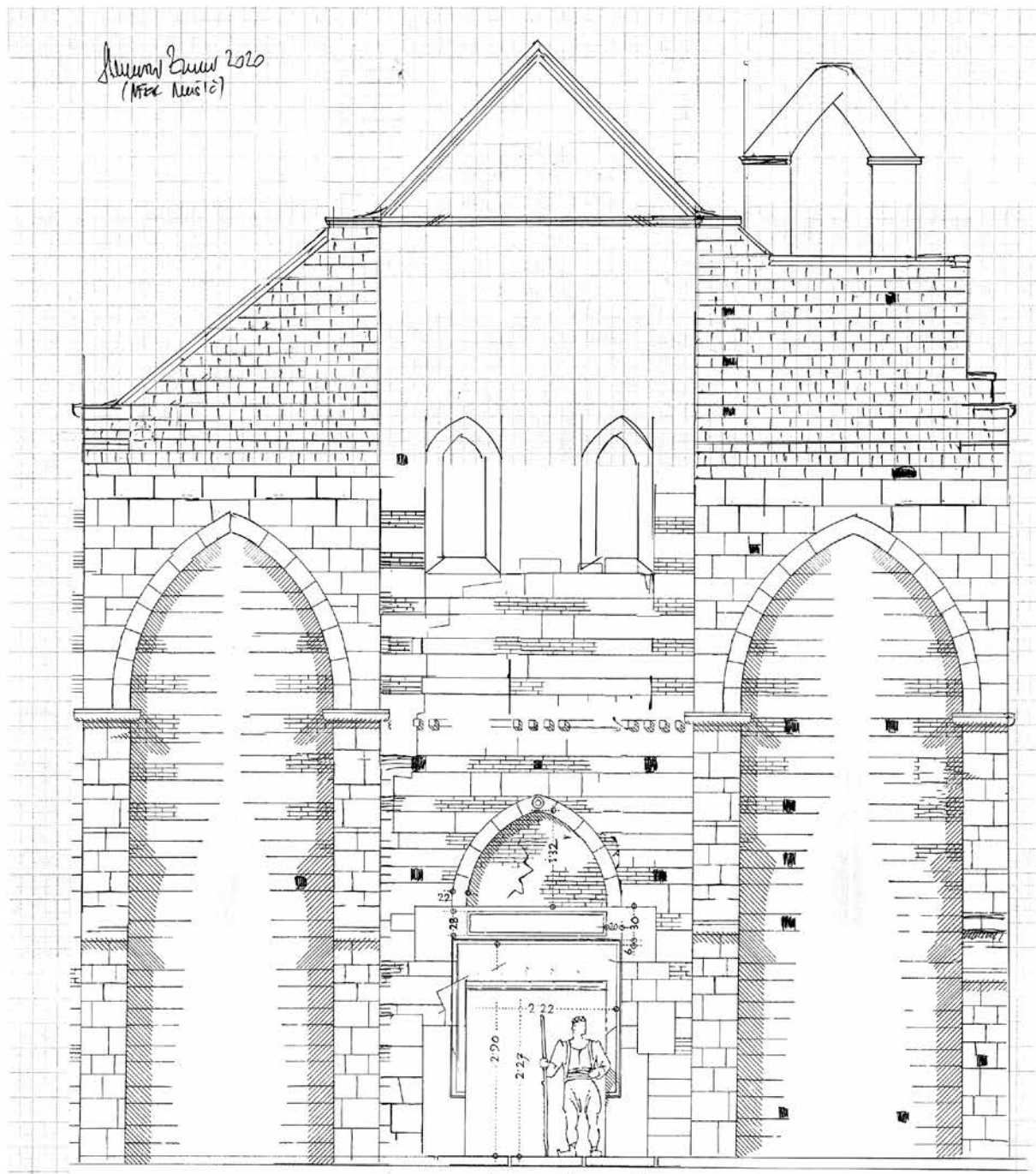
(D. G.)



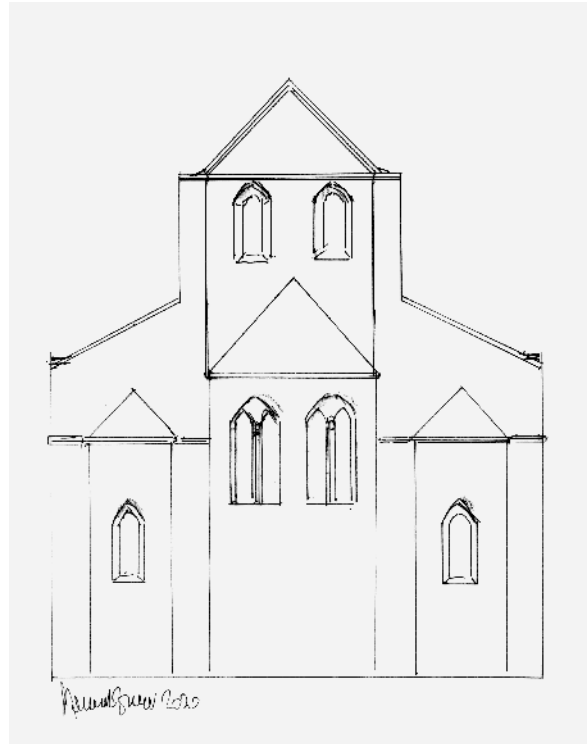
Sl. 44. Aksonometrijski crtež danas razorene crkve u Danju (Živkov 2001.)

Fig. 44 Axonometric drawing of the now destroyed church in Danj (Živkov 2001).

Adriatic, because the Benedictine order brought not only their religiosity, but also art and architecture from the western coast of the Adriatic.

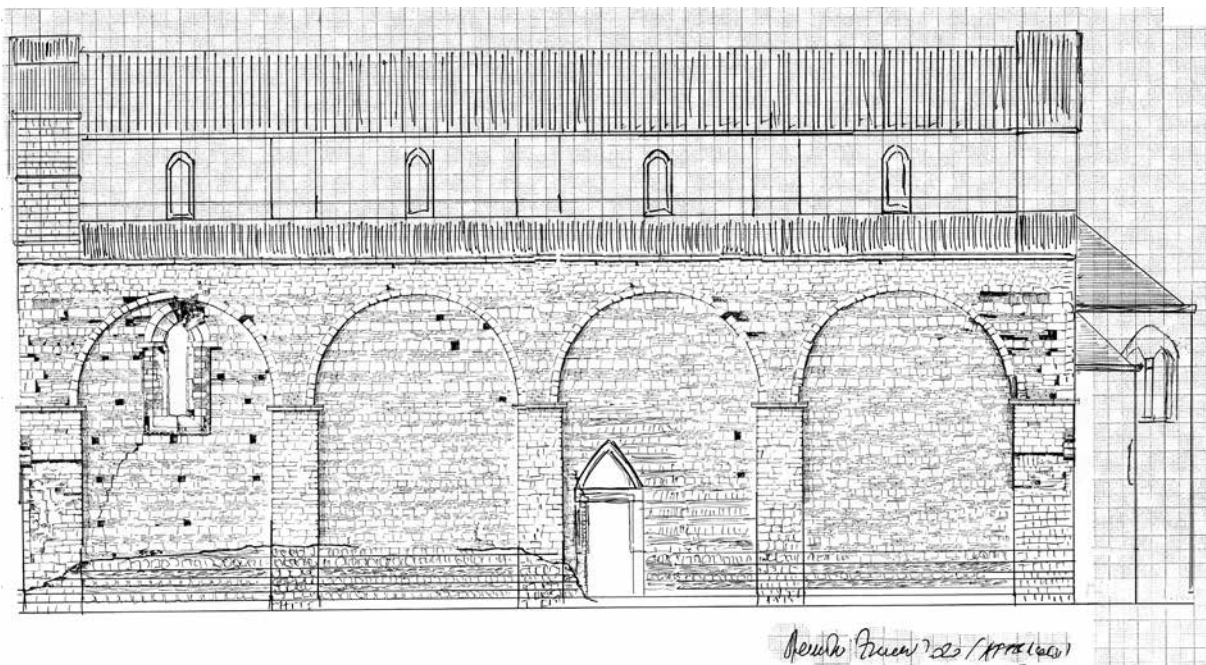


T. I. Rekonstrukcija zapadnoga pročelja crkve na temelju Mušičevih fotografija i crteža (Stanislav Živkov)
Pl. I Reconstruction of the west façade of the church based on Mušič's vintage photographs and drawing
(Stanislav Živkov)



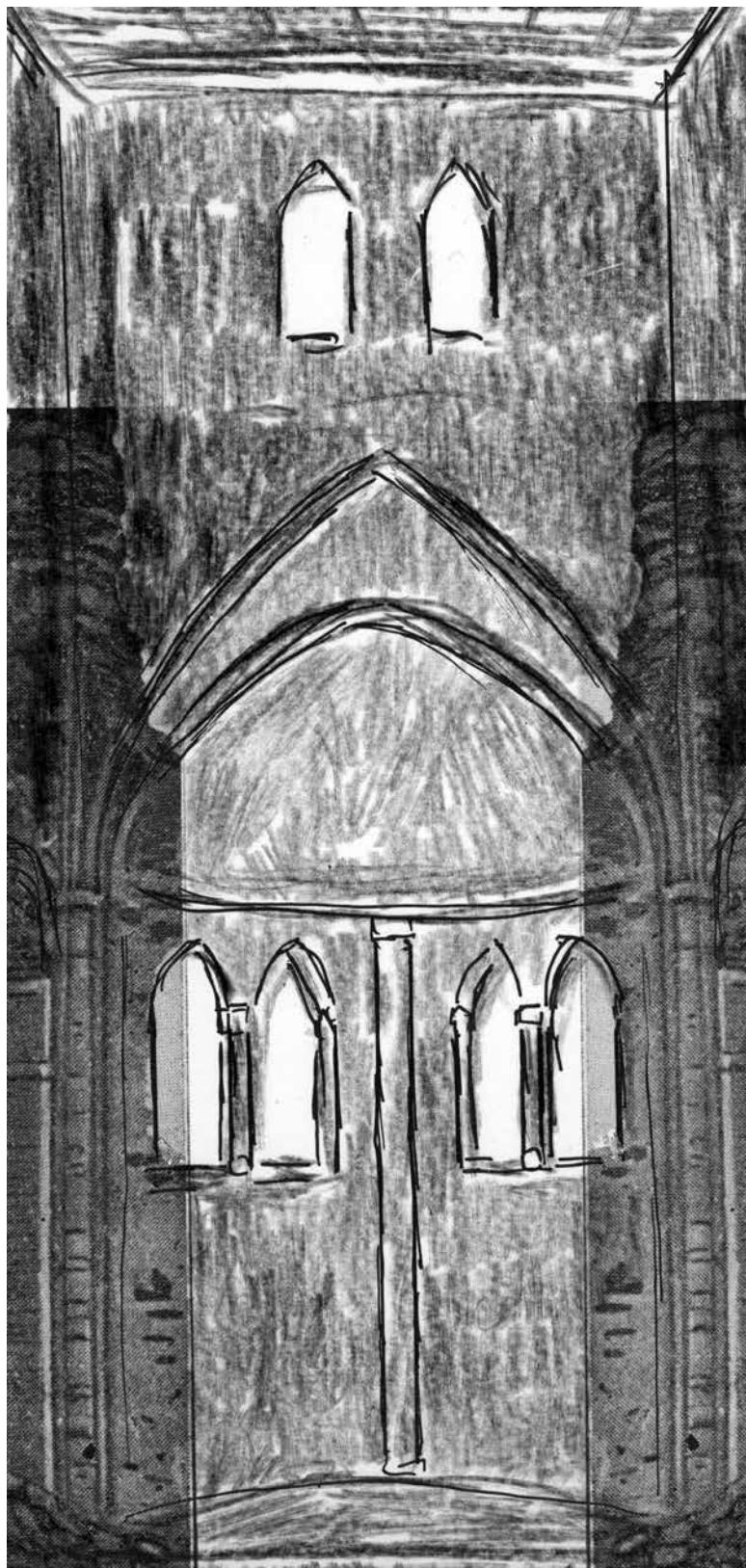
T. II. Rekonstrukcija istočnoga pročelja crkve na temelju gravira iz 1855. godine, Ippen (1899.) i starih fotografija zapadnoga pročelja *per analogiam* za gornji dio iznad središnje apside (Stanislav Živkov)

Pl. II Reconstruction of the east façade of the church based on the 1855 engravings, Ippen (1899) and vintage photographs of the west façade per analogiam for the superstructure above the central apse (Stanislav Živkov)



T. III. Rekonstrukcija južnoga pročelja na temelju objavljene Meksijeve izmjere i Ippenove gravire (Stanislav Živkov)

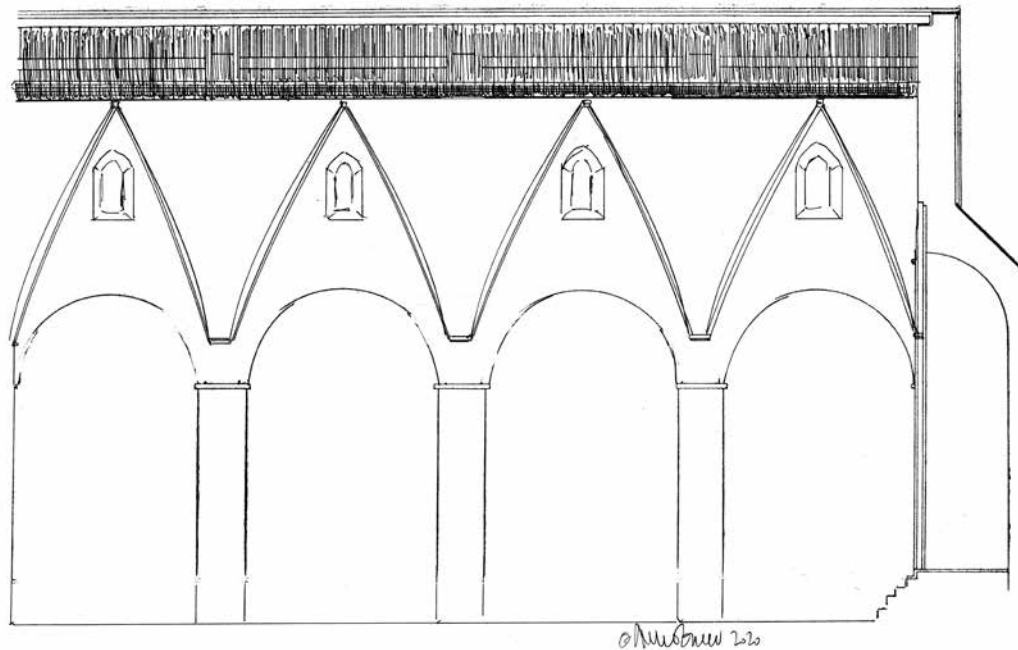
Pl. III Reconstruction of the south façade based on the published elevation by Meksi and Ippen's engraving (Stanislav Živkov)



T. IV. Kompozitna rekonstrukcija središnje apsida i njenoga gornjeg dijela na temelju gravire iz 1855. i Ippenove gravire iz 1899. (Stanislav Živkov)
Pl. IV Composite reconstruction of the central apse and its superstructure based on the 1855 engraving and the 1899 Ippen's engraving (Stanislav Živkov)



T. V. Perspektivna rekonstrukcija unutrašnjosti crkve (Stanislav Živkov)
Pl. V Perspective reconstruction of the church interior (Stanislav Živkov)



T. VI. Rekonstrukcija presjeka crkve na temelju Ippenove gravire i Smirnovljeve rekonstrukcije (Stanislav Živkov)
Pl. VI Reconstruction of the church's cross-section based on Ippen's engraving and Smirnov's reconstruction (Stanislav Živkov)

Kratice / Abbreviations

A.Alb	Acta et Diplomata res, Albaniae Mediae Aetatis Illustrantia
GZMS	Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu [Journal of the National Museum in Sarajevo]
HAM	Hortus artium mediaevalium, Zagreb
SANU	Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, Beograd [Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Belgrade]
WMBH	Wissenschaftliche Mitteilungen aus Bosnien und Herzegovina, Sarajevo
ZKB	Zur Kunde der Balkanhalbinsels, Sarajevo
ZZSK	Zbornik zaštite spomenika kulture, Beograd [Journal of the Protection of Cultural Monuments, Belgrade]

Izvori/Sources**A. Alb, I**

Acta et Diplomata res, Albaniae Mediae Aetatis Illustrantia (Collegerunt et Digesserunt: L. Thalloczy; C. Jirecek et E. Sufflay Vol. I, Vindobonae) MCMXIII.

Literatura / Bibliography**A. Alb, II**

Acta et Diplomata res, Albaniae Mediae Aetatis Illustrantia (Collegerunt et Digesserunt: L. Thalloczy; C. Jirecek et E. Sufflay Vol. II, Vindobonae) MCMXVIII.

Bettini 1939

S. Bettini, Testimonianze di civiltà e d'arte in Albania, u/in: "*Albania P*", Venezia, 1939, 107–136

Degradand 1901

A. Degrand, *Souvenirs de la Haute Albanie*, Paris 1901

Deroko 1931

A. Deroko, U Bodinovoj prestonici: putopisne i arhitektonske zabeleške iz Skadra – Grada Rocafa i okoline, *Starinar* IIIs V, Beograd 1928–1930, 142–144

Erdeljan 2016

J. Erdeljan, Two inscriptions from the church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus near Shkodër and the question of text and image as markers of identity in mediaeval Serbia, u/in: E. Moutafov & J. Erdeljan (ur./eds.) *Texts/Inscriptions/Images – Art Readings* 2016, Vol. 1, 129–143.

Farlatti, Coletto 1817

D. Farlato, J. Coletto, *Illyrici Sacri, Tomus Septimus. Ecclesia Diocletana, Antibarensis, Dyrrhachensis, et Sirmiensis cum earum sufraganeis Venetiis*, MDCCCXVII (1817).

Hoxha (2017),

G. Hoxha, A return to the history of the church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus on the Buna riverbank (Shirqi, Shkodra – north-western Albania), u/in: *New Archaeological Discoveries in the Albanian Regions*, Vol. II, Tirana 2017, 695–721

Hoxha 2018a

G. Hoxha, *Rikthim në historinë e kishës së shenjtërve Sergius dhe Bacchus në bregun e lumit Buna*. Shkodër: Hylli i Dritës vj. XXXVIII. ff. 112–127

Hoxha 2018 b

G. Hoxha, *Optika e Theodor Ippen-it mbi ultësirën bregdetare të Shqipërisë Veriore kundrejt rezultateve të sotme të arkeologjisë (Theodor Ippen's Optics over the Albanian Coastal Lowlands versus current Archeology's Results)*, Studimet albanistike në vendet ku flitet gjermanisht, Prishtinë 2018, 546–566.

Ippen 1899

T. Ippen, Stare crkvene ruševine u Albaniji, *GZMS* XI, 1899, 13–17

Ippen 1900

T. Ippen, *WMBH* VII, Wien, 1900, 231–235

Ippen 1902

T. Ippen, *WMBH* VIII, Wien, 1902, 143

Ippen 1907

T. Ippen, Skutari und die nordalbanische kustenebene, *Zur Kunde der Balkanhalbinsels*, 5, Sarajevo 1907, 9–11

Korać 1965

V. Korać, *Graditeljska škola pomorja*. SANU, Posebna izdanja CCCLXXXIV, Beograd, 1965.

Mušić 1952

V. Mušić, *Gradivo za proučavanje srbske srednjeveške arhitekture v okolici Skadra*, *ZZSK* II, 1, Beograd 1952.

Smirnov 1927

S. N. Smirnov Monastyr Sv. Sergiya i Vakha na Boyane, bliz goroda Skadra v Albanii – *Sbornik ruskogo Arheologičeskogo obščestva v korolevste S.H.S.*, 1927, N 1, 119–147

Živkov 2001

S. Živkov, Western influences in mediaeval church architecture in Serbia and Montenegro: from Romanesque towards Gothic, *HAM 7*, Zagreb-Motovun 2001, 115–127

