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Građa za arhitektonsku rekonstrukciju romaničko- gotičke katedrale sv. Tripuna u Kotoru

U radu je prikazana građa za novu arhitektonsku rekonstrukciju katedrale u Kotoru na temelju nove detaljne analize objavljenih materijala. Prvi su put objašnjene topografske i hidrološke promjene položaja katedrale, kao i štete nastale djelovanjem potresa, što je pak izazvalo naknadne preobrazbe crkve. Objavljena je različita kronologija postupka izgradnje na temelju nove analize poznatih grafičkih izvora. Novo tumačenje postojećih grafičkih izvora omogućilo je novu arhitektonsku rekonstrukciju crkve i njezinog položaja u regionalnoj arhitektonskoj skupini.

Ključne riječi: Kotor, katedrala sv. Tripuna, arhitektonska rekonstrukcija.

Evidence for the architectural Reconstruction of romano – gothic Cathedral of St Triphon in Kotor, Montenegro

The article presents the evidence for the new architectural reconstruction of the Cathedral in Kotor based on a new detailed analysis of already published material. For the first time are explained the topographical and hydrological changes of the location of the Cathedral as well as the damage inflicted by earthquakes, what in turn resulted with the subsequent transformations of the church. The different chronology of the construction process is published based on the new analysis of already known graphic sources. The new interpretation of extant graphic sources provided the possibility for the new architectural reconstruction of the church and its placement in the regional architectural group.

Keywords: Kotor, St Triphon cathedral, architectural reconstruction.

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Per Tonči Burić, in signum reverentiae amicissimi



Sl. 1. Katedrala sv. Tripuna prije Hauserove restauracije (izvor: Zbirka S. O. Živkova)

Fig. 1 *St Triphon Cathedral before the Hauser restoration (source: Collection of S. O. Živkov)*

Grad Kotor je utvrđena morska luka na južnome kraju Kotorskoga zaljeva, na malenoj aluvijalnoj ravnici otprilike trokutastog oblika, smještenoj između rijeke Škurde na sjeveru i izvora Gurdića na jugu. Srednjovjekovni grad Kotor nije prvo naselje na tome mjestu. Akruvij (*Acruvium*) prvi se put spominje već 167. g. pr. Kr.¹, ali za povijest izgradnje katedrale i njezinu lokaciju najvažnije je da je prva gradska jezgra bila smještena na istočnome dijelu aluvijalne ravnice, uz samo podnožje lovcenskoga masiva, gdje je na blago povišenom položaju² bio podignut Dekadoron, koji je opisao Porfirogenet, na čijem se istoku nalazio početak vrlo strmoga stjenovitog područja okruženog utvrdama od rijeke Škurde i izvora Gurdića.³

¹ Mijović 1975, str. 38.

² Mijović 1975, sl. 30, str. 39.

³ Aluvijalna ravnica zapravo je formirana na točki kontakta naslaga vapnenca i fliša koje se redovito nalaze duž istočne obale Jadrana, a zbog tog kontakta vodonepropu-

The city of Kotor, a fortified seaport, is located at the south end of Kotor Bay, on a small alluvial plane, roughly triangular in shape, placed between the river Škurda on the north and Gurdić spring on the south. The medieval city of Kotor is not the first settlement on the same location. The earliest mention of *Acruvium* can be dated as early as 167 bc¹, but for the building history of the Cathedral and its location, most important is the fact that the earliest city core was placed on the eastern part of the alluvial plane, directly along the foot of the Lovćen massif, where Dekadoron, described by Porphirogenitus was built on the slightly elevated position², where immediately on the east starts the very steep rocky area also surrounded with the fortifications which start directly from Škurda river and Gurdić spring.³

The present day altitude of Kotor starts at the level of 3 meters, but the complete area of the lower city actually has an inclination which rises towards the east. Thus, the present day altitude of the eastern part of the lower city is ~ +6m. If the progressive sinking of the east Adriatic coast is taken into account, the original altitude of Kotor in XII century was at least 90 cm higher⁴. The remains of the original pavement of the square in front of the west facade of the cathedral was discovered at the level – 60 cm under the present pavement, and furthermore, it was discovered that this pavement on ~ +5,40 meters also has an inclination towards South East, what in turns confirms that the Cathedral was built on a location whose topography was much different than the present one.⁵

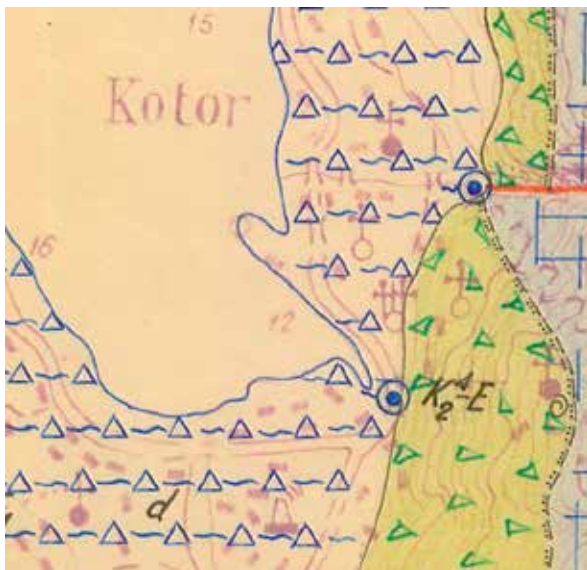
¹ Mijović 1975, p. 38.

² Mijović 1975, Fig. 30, p 39.

³ The alluvial plane is actually formed at the contact of limestone and fish formations which are regularly found along the east coast of Adriatic, and this contact of waterproof and water permeable layers, results with the wide spread appearances of fresh water located along the Adriatic coast. This was confirmed during the mapping of the geomochanical properties of the location and the surrounding area, it was discovered the average level of the subterrain waters oscilates between 120 and 150 cm under the surface of the terrain Milojević 1933, pp. 130-132; Grujić 1963, pp. 10-11.

⁴ Mijović 1975, p. 41.

⁵ The original pavement was constructed with the use of square blocks made alternately out of gray and pink limestone from Đurići quarry near Kotor. Dimensions of blocks are 200 x 200 mm. However the central part in front of the entrance to the Cathedral was paved with the bigger plates, also alternately made from grayish and pink limestone from Đurići (Križanac 1995, p. 210).



Sl. 2. Geološka mapa Kotora u mjerilu 1 : 25.000.

Aluvijalna ravnica (plavi trokuti) u kontaktu s vapnencem (žuto) (izvor: Zbirka S. O. Živkova)

Fig. 2 Geological map of Kotor in scale 1 : 25.000.

Alluvial plane (blue triangles) in contact with limestone (yellow) (source: Collection of S. O. Živkov)

Današnja najniža nadmorska visina Kotora iznosi tri metra, ali cijelo područje donjega grada zapravo je na nagibu koji se povećava prema istoku. Dakle, današnja nadmorska visina istočnoga dijela donjega grada iznosi $\sim +6$ m. Ako se uzme u obzir progresivno spuštanje istočnojadranske obale, prvotna nadmorska visina Kotora u 12. stoljeću bila je viša za najmanje 90 cm⁴. Ostaci izvornoga pločnika trga ispred zapadnoga pročelja katedrale otkriveni su na razini od 60 cm ispod sadašnjega pločnika. Usto je otkriveno da taj pločnik također ima nagib prema jugoistoku na $\sim +5,40$, što pak potvrđuje da je katedrala sagrađena na mjestu čija se topografija znatno razlikovala od današnje.⁵

Nadalje, otprilike 160 cm ispod današnje razine otkriveni su ostaci prve crkve podignute na toj lokaciji, Andreazzijeve memorije, kao i kanali za odvod vode, što ne čudi, budući da je glavna gradska ko-

snih i vodopropusnih slojeva duž jadranske obale široko je rasprostranjena slatka voda. Ovo je potvrđeno tijekom kartiranja geomehaničkih karakteristika lokacije i okolice, kada je otkriveno da prosječna razina podzemnih voda oscilira između 120 i 150 cm ispod površine terena (Milojević 1933, str. 130–132; Grujić 1963, str. 10–11).

⁴ Mijović 1975, str. 41.

⁵ Izvorni pločnik izveden je od naizmjenično postavljenih četverokutnih blokova od sivog i ružičastog vapnenca iz kamenoloma Đurići kod Kotora. Dimenzije blokova su 200 x 200 mm (Križanac 1995, str. 210).



Sl. 3. Zračna snimka kotorskog područja (izvor: Google Earth)

Fig. 3 Aerial view of Kotor area

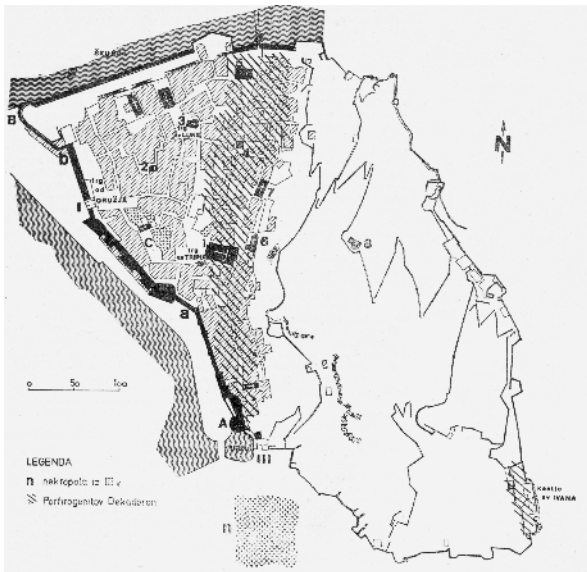
(source: Google Earth)

Furthermore, the remains of the first church built on the same location, the Andreazzi's memoria, were discovered cc 160 cm below the present day level as well as the channels for the water drainage and this was not a surprise because the main N – S city communication, today street originally was on somewhat elevated position, but now it is actually on a much higher level than the square in front of the cathedral,⁶ and even in the time of the construction of Andreazzi's church in 9th century there was a problem with the drainage of underground waters coming from the rocky terrain further to the east.⁷ The fact that the new cathedral was built on a much higher level indicates that the only solution for the problem of underground waters was the new construction on a higher level. Furthermore, the progressive sinking of the terrain throughout the history of the cathedral also have resulted with the necessity for the rising of the level of the floor.⁸ It is known that the complete area of the lower city, together with the site of St Tryphon cathedral is actually built over the system of subterranean water cours-

⁶ The most probable reason for the subsequent raising of the street level are the earthquakes and the clearing of the ruined structures which crammed the communications

⁷ Martinović 1990b, p. 6.

⁸ Križanac 1995, p. 210.

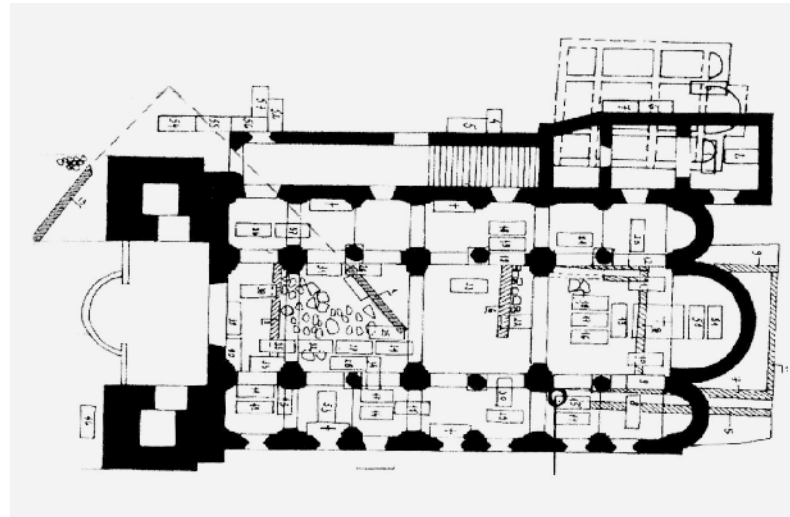


Sl. 4. Plan grada s naznačenim povišenim istočnim dijelom, sjedištem nekadašnjeg Dekadrona (izvor: Mijović 1975)

Fig. 4 Plan of the city with indicated elevated eastern part, the seat of former Dekadron (source: Mijović 1975)

munikacija, položena u smjeru sjever-jug, odnosno današnja ulica, izvorno bila na nešto povišenome položaju, dok je sada zapravo na puno višoj razini od trga ispred katedrale.⁶ Još u vrijeme izgradnje Andreazzijeve crkve u devetome stoljeću odvodnja podzemnih voda sa stjenovitoga terena dalje prema istoku predstavljala je problem.⁷ Činjenica da je nova katedrala izgrađena na znatno višoj razini, ukazuje da je jedino rješenje problema podzemnih voda bila novogradnja na višoj razini. Nadalje, progresivno spuštanje terena tijekom postojanja katedrale također je rezultiralo potrebom za podizanjem razine poda.⁸ Poznato je da je cjelokupno područje donjega grada, zajedno s lokalitetom katedrale sv. Tripuna, zapravo izgrađeno iznad sustava podzemnih vodotoka koji izvire na dnu litice na istoku. Tijekom arheoloških istraživanja unutrašnjosti katedrale otkriveni su, između ostaloga, najstariji odvodni kanali ispod ostataka Andreazzijeve memorije.⁹

Tijekom austrijske obnove 1899. godine otkriveno je da je stariji sustav odvodnje oštećen, a pro-



Sl. 5. Tlocrt iskopanih ostataka ispod katedrale sv. Tripuna (izvor: Križanac 1995)

Fig. 5 Plan of the excavated remains under the Cathedral of St Triphon (source: Križanac 1995)

es which are springing at the bottom of the cliff on the east, and the archaeological excavations of the interior of the cathedral resulted, among the other things, with the discovery of earliest drainage channels under the remains of Andreazzi's memoria.⁹

In 1899, during the Austrian restoration, it was discovered that the earlier drainage system was damaged and the streaming of the underground waters was blocked during the reconstruction after the 1667 earthquake.¹⁰ The new drainage channel was constructed with the use of blocks of romanescque facade during Hauser¹¹ reconstruction, and this latest drainage channel was discovered during the archaeological excavations after the 1979 earthquake.¹² Although the exact date when the construction process of the Cathedral was commenced, is actually unknown, it is generally accepted that the construction of the cathedral was commenced in 1124 when the Church donated the abandoned monastery complex on Prevlaka peninsula to the city of Kotor, and this, the oldest preserved historical document related to Kotor, was written by Kotor bishop Ursatius.¹³ The construction process continued steadily until 1166,¹⁴ when the progress of

⁹ Martinović 1990, p. 10.

¹⁰ Piplović 2002, p. 129.

¹¹ In the text the restoration of 1895 will be mentioned as Hauser reconstruction, after its chief architect

¹² Križanac 1995, p. 205.

¹³ Stjepčević 1938, p. 5; Martinović 2010, p. 282.

¹⁴ In his article about the Romanesque sculpture of Zadar

⁶ Razlog za naknadno podizanje razine ulice najvjerojatnije su bili potresi i raščišćavanje porušenih građevina kojima su bile zatrpane komunikacije.

⁷ Martinović 1990b, str. 6.

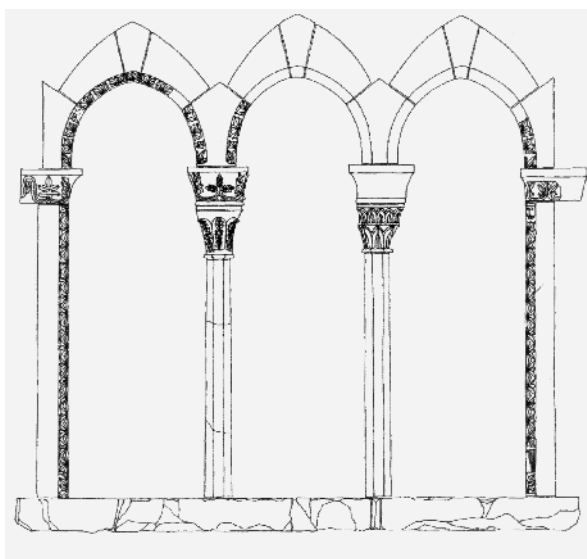
⁸ Križanac 1995, str. 210.

⁹ Martinović 1990b, str. 10.



Sl. 6. Trifora na glavnoj apsidi katedrale
(izvor: zbirka I. Tomića)

Fig. 6 Trifora on the main apse of the Cathedral
(source: collection of I. Tomić)



Sl. 7. Jedna od trifora nadgradnje glavnog broda
(izvor: Čanak Medić 1997)

Fig. 7 One of the triforas of the superstruction od the
main nave (source: Čanak Medić 1997)

tok podzemnih voda blokiran je tijekom obnove nakon potresa 1667. godine.¹⁰ Novi odvodni kanal izgrađen je od blokova romaničkoga pročelja tijekom Hauserove¹¹ rekonstrukcije. Taj najnoviji odvodni kanal otkriven je tijekom arheoloških istraživanja nakon potresa 1979. godine.¹² Premda je točan da-

the works was in such state of advance that at least main altar of the cathedral could be consecrated as documented in historical document.¹⁵ However the construction process was continued because there is the evidence that some 20 years later incomes from wood selling were directed towards the St Tripun cathedral.¹⁶ The Cathedral was originally planned and started as a Romanic three nave basilica build under the influence of Tuscan and Lombard Romanic architecture whose influences were already wide spread along the eastern coast of Adriatic,¹⁷ but due to the extended construction process the Cathedral was actually finished as romano gothic structure, as judged by the altar trifora as well as three pairs of triforas on the superstructure of the central nave.¹⁸ The change of architectural design during the construction process required substantial changes in already finished structures of the Cathedral like the altar trifora.¹⁹

Beside this, the change of the architectural style was clearly visible on the lateral walls. The four gothic windows of the south wall, which stood intact until the Hauser restoration, were the only sources of the light for the south nave while the corresponding windows of the north wall, which is almost completely preserved, were actually alternating with the smaller Romanic windows. This might indicate that either the building process of

cathedral Petricioli explains that the particular church can be consecrated when the construction process is so advanced that that the rites may be performed in the church. (Petricioli 1996, p. 220).

¹⁵ Martinović 2010, p. 285.

¹⁶ Martinović 2011a, p. 576.

¹⁷ The striking similarity with Tuscan and Lombard Romanesque architecture is visible on the architecture of St Anastasia Cathedral in Zadar, Church of St Grisogonus in Zadar, and Cathedral in Rab...

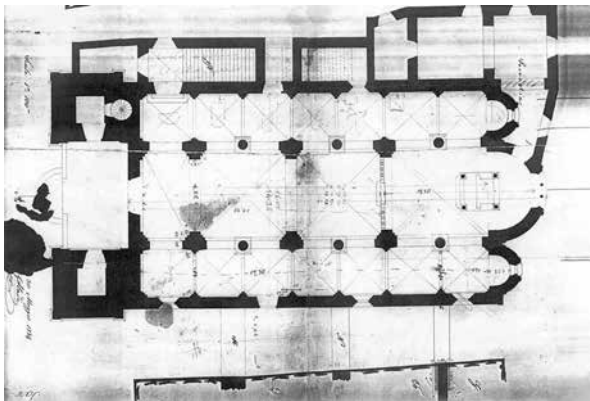
¹⁸ These triple windows in literature, without any grounds, were constantly described as emporae although both lateral walls of the Cathedral were overbuilt much later, during the reconstruction of the Cathedral after the earthquake of 1667 This is confirmed with the graphic representation of Cathedral by Giacomo Franco from 1575 where the three naved structure of the church is clearly visible (Kozličić 1995).

¹⁹ The change of architectural design was verified during the archaeological excavations of the interior of the Cathedral It was discovered that the foundations of the westernmost pillar are constructed with the use of the blocks of dressed stone, while the foundations of the main body of the church were constructed with the use of broken stones and large pebbles. Čanak Medić 1997, p. 93.

¹⁰ Piplović 2002, str. 129.

¹¹ Restauracija iz 1895. u tekstu se naziva Hauserovom obnovom, prema njezinome glavnom arhitektu.

¹² Križanac 1995, str. 205.



Sl. 8. Hauserov tlocrt katedrale
(izvor: Čanak Medić, Čubrović 2010)

Fig. 8 Plan of the Cathedral drawn by Hauser
(source: Čanak Medić, Čubrović 2010)

tum početka izgradnje katedrale zapravo nepoznat, općenito je prihvaćena 1124. godina, kada je Crkva darovala gradu Kotoru napušteni samostanski kompleks na poluotoku Prevlaci na temelju najstarijega sačuvanog povijesnog dokumenta vezanog za Kotor, a koji je sastavio kotorski biskup Urzacije.¹³ Izgradnja je nastavljena do 1166. godine,¹⁴ kada su radovi već toliko napredovali da je barem glavni oltar katedrale mogao biti posvećen, kao što je to navedeno u povijesnom dokumentu.¹⁵ Izgradnja je nastavljena, budući da postoje dokazi kako je dvadesetak godina kasnije prihod od prodaje drva bio namijenjen za potrebe katedrale sv. Tripuna.¹⁶ Katedrala je prvotno bila planirana i započeta kao romanička trobrodna bazilika pod utjecajima toskanske i langobardske romaničke arhitekture koji su već bili rašireni duž istočne obale Jadrana.¹⁷ Međutim, zbog produžene izgradnje katedrala je dovršena kao romaničko-gotička građevina, sudeći prema oltarnoj trifori i tri para trifora na gornjemu dijelu srednjega broda.¹⁸ Izmjene u arhitektonskome projektu za

¹³ Stjepčević 1938, str. 5; Martinović 2010, str. 282.

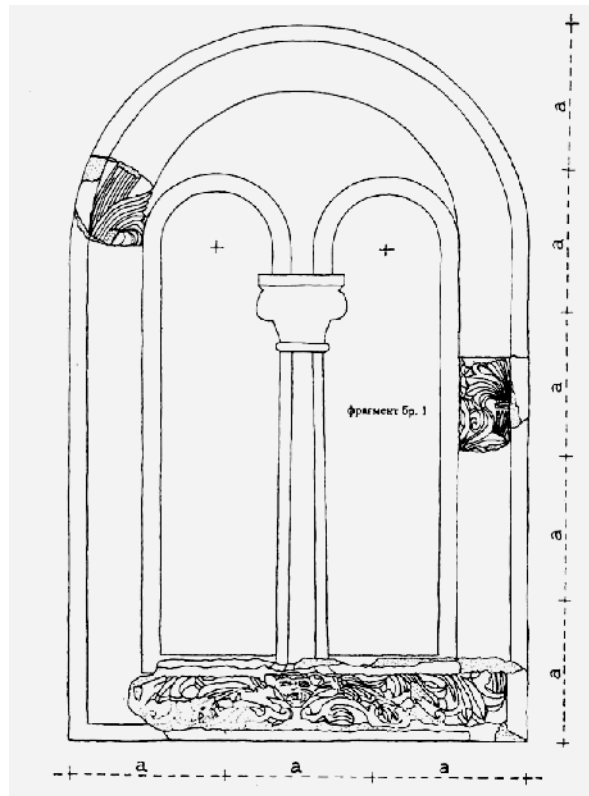
¹⁴ Petricioli u svojem članku o romaničkoj skulpturi zadarske katedrale objašnjava da su crkve mogle biti posvećene kada su bile izgrađene u tolikoj mjeri da je bilo moguće obavljanje obreda u njima (Petricioli 1996, str. 220).

¹⁵ Martinović 2010, str. 285.

¹⁶ Martinović 2011a, str. 576.

¹⁷ Izrazita sličnost s toskanskom i langobardskom romaničkom arhitekturom vidljiva je u arhitekturi katedrale sv. Stošije i crkve sv. Krševana u Zadru te katedrale u Rabu.

¹⁸ U literaturi su ti trostruki prozori bez ikakva temelja uvijek opisivani kao triforiji, premda su oba bočna zida katedrale nadograđena znatno kasnije, odnosno tijekom obnove katedrale nakon potresa 1667. godine. To potvrđuje grafički prikaz katedrale Giacomina Franca iz 1575.



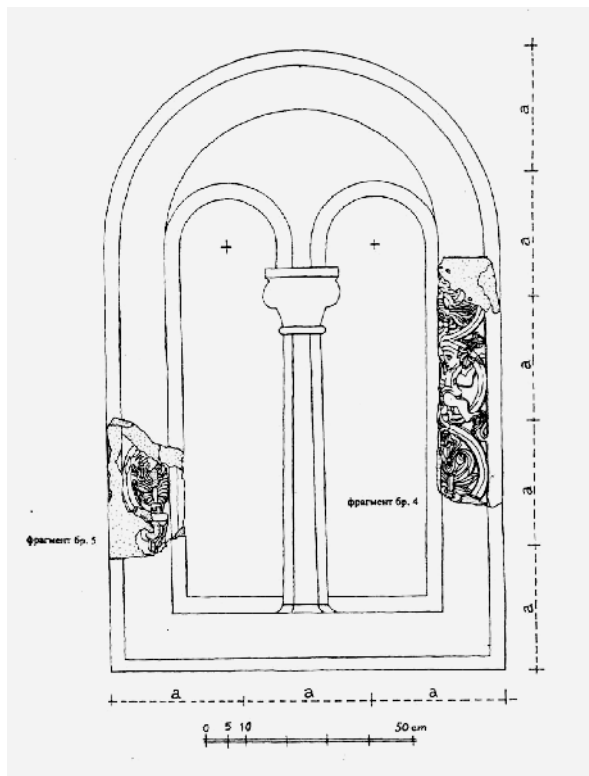
Sl. 9. Crtež bifore koja se vjerojatno nalazila na bočnoj apsidi (izvor: Čubrović 1999-2001)

Fig. 9 Drawing of the bifora, possibly on lateral apse
(source: Čubrović 1999-2001)

the north wall progressed more than the south and the gothic windows were actually introduced at the same time when the south wall reached the height of the bottom sill of the windows. The Sacristy was also the part of the original conception but during the completion at the end of 13. Century an upper floor was added and the original entrance from the north nave annulled. Anyway the south wall was completely preserved until the Hauser restoration and fortunately enough, Hauser has left a detailed ground plan of the Cathedral before the works were started, and on this drawing are shown two stepped pilasters along the interiors of the south and north wall, and the remains of these pilasters were discovered during the last restoration works and this finally proved that the south wall was actually original.²⁰

Very similar in style with the outer frame of the altar trifora, are the remains of two biforas discov-

²⁰ Although the plan drawn by Hauser was known, Stjepčević wrongly interprets the great amount of burned lime as a proof that the south wall was rebuilt in 1591. (Stjepčević 1940, p. 8). However the south portal of the Cathedral was reconsecrated in 1613, as judged by the inscription which stood over the portal.



Sl. 10. Crtež bifore koja se vjerojatno nalazila na bočnoj apsidi (izvor: Čubrović 1999-2001)

Fig. 10 Drawing of the bifora, possibly on lateral apse (source: Čubrović 1999-2001)

vrijeme izgradnje zahtijevale su značajne promjene zgotovljenih elemenata katedrale, primjerice oltarne trifore.¹⁹

Povrh toga, promjena arhitektonskoga stila bila je jasno vidljiva na bočnim zidovima. Četiri gotička prozora na južnome zidu, koja su stajala netaknuta do Hauserove restauracije, bila su jedini izvori svjetlosti južnoga broda, dok su se prozori na sjevernome zidu, koji je gotovo u cijelosti sačuvan, zapravo izmjenjivali s manjim romaničkim prozorima. To bi moglo značiti da je sjeverni zid bio izgrađeniji od južnoga, a gotički prozori zapravo dovršeni kada je južni zid podignut do visine donjega praga prozora. Sakristija je također bila dio izvorne koncepcije, ali tijekom dovršetka, koncem 13. stoljeća, dodan je gornji kat i negiran je izvorni ulaz iz sjevernoga broda. U svakom slučaju, južni je zid bio u cijelosti

godine, na kojemu je jasno vidljiva trobrodna struktura crkve. Kozličić 1995.

¹⁹ Izmjena arhitektonskoga projekta potvrđena je tijekom arheoloških istraživanja unutrašnjosti katedrale. Otkriveno je da su temelji najzapadnijeg stupa napravljeni od blokova klesanoga kamena, dok su temelji glavnoga dijela crkve izvedeni od lomljenoga kamena i većih oblutaka. Čanak Medić 1997, str. 93.

ered during the consolidation of the baroque bell towers after the 1979 earthquake. Most probably they have belonged to the lateral apses.²¹

Regarding the altar trifora it was earlier noticed that there is a discrepancy between the style character of its outer frame and the columns, arches and lunette.²² Although the window frame is clearly Romanesque, the columns capitels, and arches are similar in style with those from the superstructure of the central nave. This clearly indicates the possibility of the somewhat later replacement of the original components of the original altar window which was part of the altered project which also included the replacement of the original Romanesque small windows with the larger gothic ones. These interpolations of the windows could have been done either as a part of the second phase of church construction when it was decided that the windows over the lateral naves either should replace some earlier, or more probably, as a part of the rebuilding which became necessary after some kind of damage. It is well known that the complete east coast of Adriatic is seismically very active area, and various catastrophic earthquakes were documented during the last two millennia. Although the earthquake chronicle of Adriatic has significant gaps in the archival sources, the very strong earthquake in Durres (Drač) which destroyed that city in March 1273, is well documented.²³ If the aerial distance between Durres and Kotor is taken into account (135 km) it is obvious that Kotor was heavily damaged in this earthquake, and the nature and the extent of the damages on the Cathedral required the heavy rebuilding and alterations before the construction process could be resumed. All this, in turn, indicates that the building process of the cathedral lasted much longer after the dedication of the altars in 1166, and that this process was continued well into XIV century when the Cathedral was finally completed. The duration of the construction process was recently acknowledged and the sculptural decoration of some windows, as well as the superstructure of the main nave were attributed to the later part of the construction process.²⁴ As judged by the presence of gothic

²¹ Čubrović 2002.

²² Mijović 1980, p. 121; Čubrović 1999-2001, pp. 17-18.

²³ The tremors and heavy rumbling which lasted the whole day were followed with the heavy tremors and the whole city became a ruin (Kišpatić 1891, p. 93).

²⁴ Čubrović 2016b, 553 but with the wrong interpretation of the chronology. It is well documented that the roofs of

očuvan do Hauserove restauracije. Hauser je srećom ostavio detaljan tlocrt katedrale prije početka radova, na kojemu su prikazani pilastri na dvjema stepenicama duž unutrašnjih strana južnog i sjevernog zida. Ostaci tih pilastara otkriveni su tijekom posljednjih restauratorskih radova, čime je konačno dokazano da je južni zid zapravo bio izvoran.²⁰

Ostaci dviju bifora otkrivenih tijekom konsolidacije baroknih zvonika nakon potresa 1979. godine stilski su vrlo slični vanjskom okviru oltarne trifore. Najvjerojatnije pripadaju bočnim apsidama.²¹

Što se tiče oltarne trifore, već prije je uočen nesklad između stilskoga karaktera njezinog vanjskog okvira i stupova, lukova i lunete.²² Iako je okvir prozora očito romanički, kapiteli i lukovi stupova stilski su slični onima s gornjega dijela srednjega broda. To jasno ukazuje na mogućnost nešto kasnije zamjene izvornih dijelova originalnoga oltarnog prozora, u sklopu izmijenjenoga projekta koji je također obuhvaćao zamjenu izvornih malih romaničkih prozora većim gotičkim. Te interpolacije prozora mogle su biti obavljene u sklopu druge faze izgradnje crkve, nakon odluke o zamjeni prijašnjih prozora na bočnim brodovima, ili, što je vjerojatnije, u okviru obnove koja je postala neophodna nakon nekog oštećenja. Dobro je poznato da je cijela istočna obala Jadrana seizmički vrlo aktivno područje te da je u zadnja dva tisućljeća zabilježeno više katastrofalnih potresa. Premda postoje značajne praznine u arhivskim izvorima u vezi s potresima na Jadranu, dobro je dokumentiran vrlo snažan potres u Draču, koji je taj grad razorio u ožujku 1273. godine.²³ Ako se uzme u obzir zračna udaljenost između Drača i Kotora (135 km), očito je da je Kotor znatno oštećen u tom potresu, a narav i obuhvat oštećenja na katedrali zahtijevali su velike zahvate na obnovi i izmjene prije nastavka izgradnje. Sve to pak ukazuje na to da je izgradnja katedrale trajala mnogo dulje nakon posvete oltara 1166. godine te da je nastavljena sve do 14. stoljeća, kada je

windows on the Cathedral Treasure, the Treasure chamber was also completed simultaneously with the superstructure of the main nave.²⁵ Such breaks during the construction processes of a cathedral or a church, as well as the changes of the plans were a common practice of the period and the best examples are the Cathedral in Zadar, which was extended westward,²⁶ and the church of St Grisogonus whose facades, after the construction break, were finished with different material and different stonemasons' technique.²⁷

There are further reasons for the prolonged period of construction process. Originally there were two main churches in Kotor: preromanesque Andreazzi's's memoria possibly with the adjacent cloister and other spaces of a convent attached further to the south,²⁸ and a three naved basilica under the present day church of St Mary which served as a first Kotor Cathedral. It is obvious that the construction of the Cathedral actually was a part of a greater building program which also included the construction of the new church of St Mary which is located in the northern square in the medieval city core of Kotor.²⁹ This, the first Kotor cathedral, was partly rebuilt and redesigned sometime the period of IX – XI c and also was decorated with the preromanesque sculpture.³⁰ Meanwhile, at the beginning of IX century, the memoria of Andreazzi was also built on the site of the present day cathedral, but the

the lateral naves were covered with lead plates in 1326 (Stjepčević 1938, p. 6) and this automatically eliminates any possibilities of the building of the galleries over the lateral bays in XIII and XIV century. Furthermore, these galleries are not shown in the engraving drawn by Franco in 1579. Also Čubrović 1994, p. 155.

²⁵ Stjepčević 1938, 8

²⁶ Detailed study about the chronology and recomposition of the original façade (Vežić 2019).

²⁷ Iveković 1931, pp. 31-32.

²⁸ Križanac 1995, p. 212.

²⁹ During the archeological excavations it was discovered that the earliest, three naved church, with a baptistery most probably built at the end of 5th or beginning of 6th century on the same location, was actually the first cathedral of Kotor because only the seats of bishops could have the baptisteries. These archaeological excavations also resulted with the discovery of the original ground level of the earlier church which is -160 cm below the present floor level. It was also discovered that the hydrogeological situation on that level is identical with the hydrogeological situation under the Cathedral (Martinović 1990a, p. 22, 27).

³⁰ Martinović 1990a, p. 28.

²⁰ Premda je Hauserov projekt bio poznat, Stjepčević pogrešno tumači veću količinu pečenoga vapna kao dokaz da je južni zid obnovljen 1591. godine (Stjepčević 1940, str. 8). Međutim, južni portal katedrale ponovno je posvećen 1613. godine, sudeći prema natpisu koji se nalazio iznad portala.

²¹ Čubrović 2002.

²² Mijović 1980, str. 121; Čubrović 1999 – 2001, str. 17–18.

²³ Nakon cjelodnevnoga podrhtavanja i snažne tutnjave uslijedili su snažni potresi i cijeli je grad pretvoren u ruševine. Kišpatić 1891, str. 93.



Sl. 11. Sjeverni brod katedrale s arheološkim prikazom starijih vrata koja su bila blokirana tijekom dovršetka katedrale prije 1331. (izvor: Zbirka D. Mergela)
Fig. 11 North nave of the Cathedral with the archeological presentation of earlier doors which were blocked during the completion of the Cathedral before 1331. (source: collection of D. Mergel)

katedrala konačno zgotovljena. Trajanje izgradnje nedavno je potvrđeno, a plastični ukrasi nekih prozora, kao i gornji dio glavnoga broda, pripisani su kasnijoj fazi izgradnje.²⁴ Sudeći prema prisutnosti gotičkih prozora na riznici katedrale, ona je dovršena istovremeno s gornjim dijelom glavnoga broda.²⁵ Takve stanke tijekom izgradnje katedrala ili crkava, kao i promjene projektnih planova, bile su uobičajena praksa tog razdoblja. Najbolji primjeri su katedrala u Zadru, proširena prema zapadu,²⁶ i crkva sv. Krševana, čija su pročelja nakon stanke u izgradnji dovršena uz upotrebu drugačijeg materijala i klesarske tehnike.²⁷

Postoje i dodatni razlozi za produljeno trajanje izgradnje. Prvotno su u Kotoru postojale dvije glav-

newly introduced cult of St Triphon became wide spread and this required the building of a new cathedral on the site of earlier memoria and adjoining cloister. The construction process of the new Cathedral was commenced in 1124, some of the altars were consecrated in 1166, but the construction was far from the completion and surely was still in progress during XIII c. The fact that actually two cathedrals were simultaneously built in Kotor, surely was a burden for the city finances, and the reason for the prolongation of the works on St Triphon Cathedral. The church of St Mary was completed first and later throughout the history had the concathedral status,³¹ while the construction process was continued on the Cathedral of St Triphon. The final stages of the construction are well documented. It is known that the roofs with very low slopes over the lateral naves,³² were covered with lead plates in 1326, what enabled the further works in the interior.³³ The fact that in 1331 Greek painters were engaged for the painting of the frescoes in the interior of the Cathedral, indicates that the construction process was already finished by that year, and the definitive conclusion of the works in the interior was the completion of the new ciborium in the main apse in 1362. During the construction of the Cathedral, the old cathedral on the site of St Maria was pulled down and on the area over its main nave a construction of the present day church of St Mary was commenced, and this church was consecrated in 1221. There are striking similarities not only between the Cathedral and the church of St Mary, but also with the other Romanesque churches in Kotor regarding the building technique, construction system, disposition of plan and elevation as well as the shape and position of the windows and this is a result of the wider building action in the City.³⁴

³¹ Martinović 1990, p. 30.

³² The very low inclination of the roof was necessity caused by the presence of triforas on the superstructures of the lateral walls of the main nave.

³³ Stjepčević 1938, .6 and n. 22 on p. 66.

³⁴ The domes were built over the churches of St Maria, St Lucas and St Anne. The main apse of the Cathedral has the identical division with pilasters as the apses of the churches of St Mary, St Anne and St Lucas. The constructive system of the vaults in all these churches was accomplished with the precisely constructed monumental vault ribs with the use of high-quality limestone. Pointed arches are regularly applied in all these churches and the building technique with the use of very precisely dressed stone blocks is identical as

²⁴ Čubrović 2016b, str. 553, ali s pogrešnim tumačenjem kronologije. Dobro je dokumentirano da su krovovi bočnih brodova bili natkriveni olovnim pločama 1326. godine (Stjepčević 1938, str. 6), što automatski otklanja bilo kakvu mogućnost izgradnje galerija iznad bočnih traveja u 13. i 14. stoljeću. Povrh toga, te galerije nisu prikazane na grafici koju je Franco izradio 1579. godine. Vidi i Čubrović 1994, str. 155.

²⁵ Stjepčević 1938, str. 8.

²⁶ Detaljna studija kronologije i preoblikovanja izvornoga pročelja: Vežić 2019.

²⁷ Iveković 1931, str. 31–32.

ne crkve: predromanička Andreazzijeva memorija, moguće s prilježim klaustrom i drugim sadržajima samostana s južne strane²⁸ te trobrodna bazilika ispod današnje crkve sv. Marije, koja je služila kao prva kotorska katedrala. Očito je da je izgradnja katedrale zapravo bila dio većega programa izgradnje, koji je obuhvaćao i podizanje nove crkve sv. Marije na sjevernome trgu u srednjovjekovnoj gradskoj jezgri Kotora.²⁹ Ta prva kotorska katedrala djelomično je obnovljena i reprojektirana negdje u razdoblju od devetoga do jedanaestoga stoljeća. Usto je bila ukrašena predromaničkom plastikom.³⁰ U međuvremenu, početkom devetoga stoljeća također je sagrađena Andreazzijeva memorija na mjestu današnje katedrale. Međutim, novouvedeni kult sv. Tripuna postao je široko rasprostranjen, što je zahtijevalo izgradnju nove katedrale na mjestu memorije i susjednoga klastra. Izgradnja nove katedrale započeta je 1124. g., a neki su oltari posvećeni 1166. g., kada izgradnja još uvijek nije bila dovršena i zasigurno je još uvijek bila u tijeku u 13. stoljeću. Činjenica da su u Kotoru istodobno građene dvije katedrale, zasigurno je predstavljala teret za gradske financije i razlog za produljenje radova na katedrali sv. Tripuna. Prvo je dovršena crkva sv. Marije, koja je kasnije imala status konkatedrale,³¹ a građevinski radovi na katedrali sv. Tripuna su nastavljeni. Završne faze izgradnje dobro su dokumentirane. Poznato je da su krovovi s vrlo malim nagibima iznad bočnih brodova³² bili pokriveni olovnim pločama 1326. godine, što je omogućilo daljnje radove u unutrašnjosti.³³ Činjenica da su 1331. g. za oslikavanje fresaka u unutrašnjosti katedrale bili angažirani grčki slikari, ukazuje na to da je izgradnja bila zgotovljena do navedene godine. Radovi u unutrašnjosti konačno su okončani dovršetkom novoga ciborija u glavnoj apsidi 1362. godine. Tijekom izgradnje

It is known that the Cathedral was damaged on several occasions and that also reconstructions were conducted, mainly after the earthquakes of 1559. 1563. 1608 and 1667.³⁵ These reconstructions have significantly altered the original appearance of the Cathedral, the first reconstruction was executed between 1584. and 1613.³⁶ Degli Oddi's engraving from 1584 does not show the dome of the Cathedral because it was removed earlier, most probably after the earthquake of 1563. Beside the removal of the dome and its replacement with the vault, the vault of the western bay of the main nave was replaced as well. The second reconstruction followed after the earthquake of 1667, and it was executed between 1671 and 1683. The general idea for the nature and intensity of the damages that occurred on the Cathedral during the earthquake can be deduced from the report about the damage after the 1979 earthquake.³⁷

Heavy cracks appeared on the contacts of the original Romanesque structures with the baroque walls chiefly in the NW corner of north nave, as well as on the contact of baroque replacement vaults with the replacement vault from the reconstruction after 1563 over the west semi bay; as well as with Hauser walls (contact of Hauser's south wall with south apse). Although the western wall of the nave as well as the central portal somehow partially survived the earthquake,³⁸ and although there were attempts for their consolidation, this eventually became unsuccessful, and after that, it was finally decided that the portal had to be dismantled together with the remainder of the west wall.³⁹ This work required the dismantlement of the vaults over the two western bays of the main nave as well as what remained of the westernmost vault which corresponds with the present day western half bay together with

²⁸ Križanac 1995, str. 212.

²⁹ Tijekom arheoloških istraživanja otkriveno je da je najranija trobrodna crkva s krstionicom, najvjerojatnije izgrađena koncem petog ili početkom šestog stoljeća na istoj lokaciji, zapravo prva kotorska katedrala jer su samo sjedišta biskupa mogla imati krstionice. Ta su arheološka istraživanja također rezultirala otkrićem izvorne razine poda starije crkve 160 cm ispod sadašnje. Također je otkriveno da je hidrogeološka situacija na toj razini identična onoj ispod katedrale (Martinović 1990a, str. 22, 27).

³⁰ Martinović 1990a, str. 28.

³¹ Martinović 1990, str. 30.

³² Vrlo blagi nagib krova bio je nužan zbog trifora na gornjim dijelovima bočnih zidova glavnoga broda.

³³ Stjepčević 1938, str. 6 i bilj. 22 na str. 66.

well. Regarding the windows and their disposition, there is a striking similarity between the high windows of the lateral walls of the Cathedral and the high windows on the northern wall of the church of St Mary.

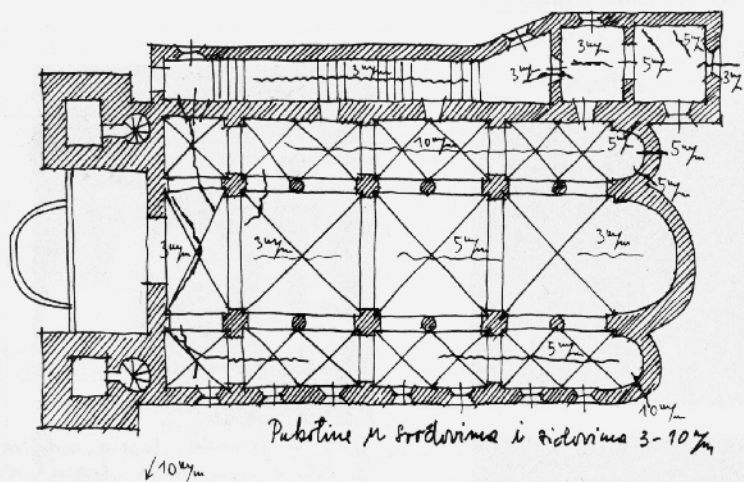
³⁵ About the earthquakes on Adriatic: Albini 2004 pp. 28- 29.

³⁶ Stjepčević 1938, p. 8.

³⁷ Kotor šteta, pp. 66-70.

³⁸ Stjepčević 1938, p. 8.

³⁹ There is no evidence for the latter history of the members of the portal, and only few spolia built into latter buildings were attributed to the original portal so far. About the dismantling in Stjepčević 1938, p. 8; about the spolia: Čubrović 2016a, p. 86, Fig 2a and Fig. 2b.



Sl. 12. Skica oštećenja nastalih u potresu 1979:
(izvor: Kotor 1981)

*Fig. 12 Sketch of the damages in 1979 earthquake
(source: Kotor 1981)*

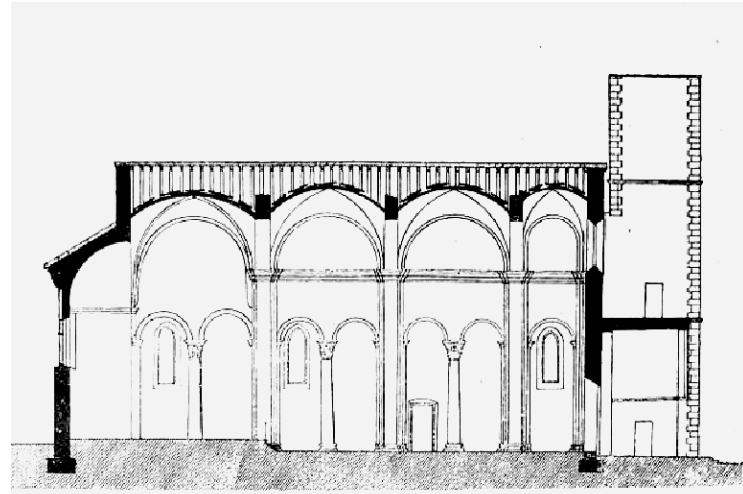
katedrale srušena je stara katedrala na mjestu sv. Marije, a na prostoru iznad njezinoga glavnog broda započeta je izgradnja današnje crkve sv. Marije, koja je posvećena 1221. godine. Vidljive su izrazite sličnosti ne samo između katedrale i crkve sv. Marije, nego i ostalih romaničkih crkava u Kotoru, i to u pogledu građevinske tehnike, sustava građenja, tlocrta i pročelja, kao i oblika i položaja prozora, što je ishod širega graditeljskoga djelovanja u gradu.³⁴

Poznato je da je katedrala pretrpjela oštećenja u nekoliko navrata, kao i da je obnavljana, uglavnom nakon potresa 1559., 1563., 1608. i 1667. godine.³⁵ Obnovama je značajno promijenjen izvorni izgled katedrale. Prvi takav zahvat izvršen je između 1584. i 1613. godine.³⁶ Na grafici Degli Oddija iz 1584. godine ne vidi se kupola katedrale jer je već bila uklonjena, najvjerojatnije nakon potresa 1563. godine. Osim uklanjanja kupole i njezine zamjene svodom, zamijenjen je i svod zapadnoga traveja

³⁴ Kupole su izgrađene na crkvama sv. Marije, sv. Luke i sv. Ane. Glavna apsida katedrale podijeljena je pilastrima na istovjetan način kao apside crkava sv. Marije, sv. Ane i sv. Luke. Konstruktivni sustav svodova u svim navedenim crkvama ostvaren je precizno izrađenim monumentalnim rebrima svoda uz upotrebu visokokvalitetnoga vapnenca. Šiljati lukovi redovita su pojava u svim tim crkvama, a tehnika gradnje vrlo precizno obrađenim kamenim blokovima također je identična. Što se tiče prozora i njihovog rasporeda, visoki prozori bočnih zidova katedrale izrazito su slični onima na sjevernome zidu crkve sv. Marije.

³⁵ O potresima na Jadranu: Albini 2004, str. 28–29.

³⁶ Stjepčević 1938, str. 8.



Sl. 13. Presjek katedrale prije Hauserove rekonstrukcije gledajući s juga; vidljivi su originalni gotički prozori (izvor: Stratimirović 1895)

Fig. 13 Cross section of the Cathedral before Hauser reconstruction looking south; visible are the original gothic windows (source: Stratimirović 1895)

the area of the atrium.⁴⁰ In order to commence the construction of the new west structures, all remains of the collapsed bell towers had to be removed as well as their foundation platform, together with the west wall with the portal.⁴¹ This indicates that the old foundations were in bad condition, most probably heavily weakened by underground water leaking and numerous cracks which appeared due to the torsion of the collapsing superstructures. The bell towers were replaced with a pair of new ones in a manner that the reconstructed west front loosely resembled the architecture of the original church.

However, after the archaeological excavations which were conducted as a part of the reconstruction after the earthquake in 1979, the analysis of the published excavation plans enabled us to precisely locate the position of the original bell towers.⁴² Third reconstruction of Cathedral was executed between 1892. and 1908 after a project by Viennese architect Alois Hauser.⁴³ Unfortunately, most of the original architectural documentation for the works executed during this reconstruction is today missing.⁴⁴ The

⁴⁰ The existence of the atrium will be explained in the chapter reconstruction of the original architecture of the Cathedral of St. Triphon.

⁴¹ Stjepčević 1938, p. 8; Križanac 1995, p. 202 and plan 1.

⁴² Križanac 1995, p. 203 plan 1; Križanac 2015, p. 210, Fig. 3.

⁴³ Piplović 2002, pp. 127-133.

⁴⁴ In the Historical archive in Zadar are preserved the fol-

glavnoga broda. Druga je obnova uslijedila nakon potresa 1667. g., a izvedena je između 1671. i 1683. g. Općenita predodžba o prirodi i intenzitetu oštećenja katedrale tijekom potresa 1979. g. može se steći na temelju izvještaja o šteti.³⁷

Na spojevima izvornih romaničkih građevina s baroknim zidovima pojavile su se velike pukotine, uglavnom u sjeverozapadnom kutu sjevernoga broda, kao i na spoju baroknih zamjenskih svodova i zamjenskoga svoda iz obnove nakon 1563. godine iznad zapadnoga polutraveja te s Hauserovim zidovima (spoj Hauserova južnog zida s južnom apsidom). Iako zapadni zid broda i središnji portal dijelom nisu razrušeni u potresu³⁸ i premda je bilo pokušaja da ih se popravi, na koncu od toga nije bilo ništa pa je konačno odlučeno da portal valja razgraditi zajedno s ostatkom zapadnoga zida.³⁹ Za te je radove bila potrebna razgradnja svodova iznad dvaju zapadnih traveja glavnoga broda, kao i ostataka najzapadnijega svoda, što odgovara današnjem zapadnom polutraveju zajedno s prostorom atrija.⁴⁰ Prije početka izgradnje novih zapadnih građevina trebalo je ukloniti sve ostatke srušenih zvonika, kao i njihovu temeljnu ploču, zajedno sa zapadnim zidom i portalom.⁴¹ To ukazuje da su stari temelji bili u lošem stanju, najvjerojatnije jako oslabljeni djelovanjem podzemnih voda i brojnim pukotinama koje su se pojavile zbog torzije urušenih gornjih dijelova građevina. Zvonici su zamijenjeni novim parom, tako da je rekonstruirano zapadno pročelje približno nalikovalo arhitekturi izvorne crkve.

Međutim, analiza objavljenih tlocrta arheoloških istraživanja provedenih u sklopu obnove nakon potresa 1979. godine omogućila je precizno lociranje položaja izvornih zvonika.⁴² Treća obnova katedrale izvedena je između 1892. i 1908. godine prema projektu bečkog arhitekta Aloisa Hausera.⁴³ Nažalost, danas nemamo većinu izvorne arhitektonske do-

Hauser restoration was too radical and great parts of the original building structures were unnecessarily destroyed and wrongly restored.⁴⁵ Only important part that was correctly restored was the north apse which was previously removed for the extension of the sacristy. The Cathedral, as well as the whole city core of Kotor was heavily damaged in the Montenegro earthquake of 1979, and the latest reconstruction of the Cathedral was executed between 1987 and 2001.⁴⁶ Beside the constructive consolidation of the cathedral the main works which were executed were the reconstructions of the original vaults of north nave, central and western pairs of triforas of main nave, as well as the reconstruction of the supporting structure of the vaults of the central nave. Unfortunately, during this reconstruction several blunders were made. On the first place, the floor was reconstructed on a higher level than original and the plinths of the bases of the columns in the lateral colonnades are now completely obstructed.⁴⁷ The eastern part of the exterior of the Cathedral still remains partly buried, as well as the eastern parts of its lateral walls, and today the base under the recesses on the apses of the east façade is completely obscured. Although it was possible with the relative ease to reconstruct the original disposition

lowing materials in the Archive collection of Builders section of the Proconsulate (Građevinski odjel Namjesništva). In the bundles no 140 and 159 is preserved a total of cc 270 pages larger than A4 size related to the works of the restoration of the Kotor Cathedral between 1902 and 1917 as well as a single drawing of the ground plan of the Cathedral. Information supplied by Ms Karolina Ražov, e-mail from December 31th, 2020. At present no materials related to the reconstruction of the Kotor Cathedral were available in the collection of the Federal Monuments Authority Austria (information supplied by Sonja Chvatlinsky, e-mail from November 24th 2020).

³⁷ Kotor, šteta od potresa, str. 66–70.

³⁸ Stjepčević 1938, str. 8.

³⁹ Nema dokaza za kasniju povijest elemenata portala, a do sada je izvornome portalu pripisan samo manji broj spolija ugrađenih u novije građevine. O razgradnji: Stjepčević 1938, str. 8, o spolijima: Čubrović 2016a, str. 86, sl. 2a i 2b.

⁴⁰ Postojanje atrija pojašnjeno je u poglavlju o rekonstrukciji izvorne arhitekture katedrale sv. Tripuna.

⁴¹ Stjepčević 1938, str. 8, Križanac 1995, str. 202 i tlocrt 1.

⁴² Križanac 1995, str. 203 tlocrt 1; Križanac 2015, str. 210, sl. 3.

⁴³ Piplović 2002, str. 127–133.

⁴⁵ The complete south wall with the vaults of the south nave as well as the vaults of the north nave. During these works eastern pair of the triphoras of the central nave was discovered together with some members of their architecture but subsequently they were restored wrongly as well. Although the fragments of the original windows were extracted from the walls and they gave the evidence for their original pointed arches, during the reconstruction this was dismissed, and the windows were reconstructed as Romanesque. The preserved fragments are still in Kotor lapidarium and for completely unknown reasons, during the last reconstruction windows from Hauser restoration were retained unchanged!

⁴⁶ Čanak Medić, Čubrović 2010, pp. 62–67.

⁴⁷ The original level of the floor is clearly visible in the cross section published by Statimirović in 1895, Pl. II.

kumentacije radova izvedenih tijekom te obnove.⁴⁴ Hauserova restauracija bila je previše radikalna i veliki dijelovi izvornih građevinskih konstrukcija nepotrebno su srušeni i pogrešno obnovljeni.⁴⁵ Jedinu pravilno obnovljen važan dio je sjeverna apsida, koja je bila prethodno uklonjena radi proširenja sakristije. Katedrala je teško oštećena u crnogorsko-me potresu 1979. godine, kao i cijela gradska jezgra Kotora. Katedrala je zadnji put obnavljana između 1987. i 2001. godine.⁴⁶ Pored konstruktivne sanacije katedrale, glavni izvedeni radovi bili su rekonstrukcija izvornih svodova sjevernoga broda, središnjeg i zapadnog para trifora glavnoga broda, kao i rekonstrukcija potporne konstrukcije svodova središnjega broda. Nažalost, tijekom te obnove napravljeno je nekoliko pogrešaka. Kao prvo, pod je obnovljen na višoj razini od izvornoga pa su plinte stupova u bočnim kolonadama sada sasvim zaklonjene.⁴⁷ Istočni dio vanjskoga dijela katedrale i dalje je djelomično ukopan, kao i istočni dijelovi njezinih bočnih zidova. Baza ispod niša na apsidama istočnoga pročelja potpuno je zaklonjena. Premda je bilo relativno lako obnoviti izvornu dispoziciju južnoga zida jednostavnom rekonstrukcijom originalnih prozora na njihovim odgovarajućim položajima uz upotrebu izvornih blokova prozora prenamijenjenih i djelomično preoblikovanih za krovni vijenac⁴⁸ te premda su svodovi južnoga broda pogrešno rekonstruirani u

of the south wall simply with the reconstruction of the original windows on their proper position with the use of the original blocks of the windows which were discovered reused and partly re-cut for the roof cornice,⁴⁸ although the vaults of the south nave were wrongly reconstructed in previous campaign this was not corrected. Furthermore, in the interior of the church a real chaos was created as a result of the idea of partial presentation of the architecture of various phases.⁴⁹ Beside all this, hall above the easternmost part of the north nave, which was demolished during the restoration of 1892 -1908, together with its pair placed over the south nave, was also restored, and now the Cathedral has an asymmetrical eastern part, what was not a part of any of its historical phases.

The history of the Cathedral was extensively published only twice until now, but unfortunately the publication from 1938 still remains the most complete and detailed until now.⁵⁰ Until 1979, and the earthquake damage followed with archeological and architectural research, the architecture of Kotor Cathedral was discussed almost without any knowledge about the original architectural appearance but with various theoretical discussions and theories written without any clear idea how the Cathedral actually looked like. During these decades, on the architecture of the Cathedral were recognised all possible influences. The alleged byzantine influences were recognised because the three bays of the main nave with the dome over the central one in the Cathedral of Kotor were interpreted as a derivative of the central plan of the byzantine church although there was no cruciform superstructure. The best example which clearly shows the complete misunderstanding of the architecture of the Cathedral was published in 1997, where the Cathedral is classified as the monument of byzantine- lombard type whose architecture comes from the local architectural tradition combined with the structural system from the northern Italy, and immediately after that

⁴⁴ U Povijesnom arhivu u Zadru postoji sačuvana građa u arhivskoj zbirci Građevinskog odjela Namjesništva. U svežnjevima br. 140 i 159 sačuvano je ukupno oko 270 stranica većih od formata A4 u vezi s radovima na obnovi kotorske katedrale između 1902. i 1917. godine, kao i jedan crtež tlocrta katedrale. Informacije je e-poštom dostavila Karolina Ražov dana 31. prosinca 2020. Trenutno u zbirci Savezne uprave za spomenike Austrije nema građe koja se odnosi na obnovu kotorske katedrale (informacije je e-poštom dostavila Sonja Chvatlinsky dana 24. studenog 2020. godine).

⁴⁵ Cijeli južni zid sa svodovima južnoga i sjevernoga broda. Tijekom radova otkriven je istočni par trifora središnjega broda zajedno s nekim elementima njihove arhitekture. Međutim, kasnije su pogrešno restaurirani. Premda su dijelovi izvornih prozora izvađeni iz zidova, čime je dokazano da su izvorno imali šiljate lukove, tijekom obnove to nije uzeto u obzir pa su prozori rekonstruirani kao romanički. Sačuvani dijelovi i dalje se nalaze u kotorskom lapidariju. Tijekom posljednje obnove prozori iz Hauserove restauracije su iz potpuno nepoznatih razloga zadržani u nepromijenjenom obliku!

⁴⁶ Čanak Medić, Čubrović 2010, str. 62–67.

⁴⁷ Izvorna razina poda jasno je vidljiva na presjeku koji je Stratimirović objavio 1895. godine, T. II.

⁴⁸ Čubrović 1994, str. 155.

⁴⁸ Čubrović 1994, p. 155.

⁴⁹ The west bay of the main nave the baroque cornice was partially retained and cut with the reconstructed triforas, and springing of the original Romanic vaults were reconstructed under the cornice on the east side of that bay, while on the west side the baroque layer was completely retained, similarly as in the west semi bay where is even not clear what was actually preserved of the original architecture.

⁵⁰ Stjepčević 1938; Čanak Medić, Čubrović 2010.

okviru prethodne obnove, ništa od navedenoga nije ispravljeno. Nadalje, u unutrašnjosti crkve stvoren je pravi kaos zbog zamisli o djelomičnome prikazu arhitektura različitih faza.⁴⁹ Povrh toga je obnovljen i prostor iznad najistočnijega dijela sjevernoga broda, srušen tijekom obnove 1892. – 1908. g., zajedno s njegovim parom iznad južnoga broda. Katedrala sada ima asimetrični istočni dio, što nema veze ni sa jednom njezinom povijesnom fazom.

Povijest katedrale do danas je opsežno objavljena samo dvaput. Nažalost, publikacija iz 1938. i dalje je najcjelovitija i najdetaljnija.⁵⁰ Do 1979. godine i šteta od potresa nakon kojih su uslijedila arheološka i arhitektonska istraživanja, o arhitekturi kotorske katedrale raspravljalo se gotovo bez ikakvih saznanja o izvornom arhitektonskom izgledu, i to u raznim teoretskim raspravama i teorijama napisanim bez ikakve jasne predodžbe o stvarnome izgledu katedrale. Tijekom tih desetljeća u obzir su uzimani svi mogući utjecaji na arhitekturu katedrale. Navodni bizantski utjecaji prepoznati su jer su tri traveja glavnoga broda s kupolom u kotorskoj katedrali protumačena kao derivat centralnoga tlocrta bizantskih crkava, premda nije bilo križne nadgradnje. Najbolji primjer koji jasno pokazuje potpuno nerazumijevanje arhitekture katedrale objavljen je 1997. godine, kada je katedrala klasificirana kao spomenik bizantsko-langobardskog tipa čija arhitektura potječe iz lokalne arhitektonske tradicije u kombinaciji s konstrukcijskim sustavom iz sjeverne Italije, nakon čega su na istoj crkvi prepoznati apulski utjecaji!⁵¹ Pored toga je katedrala u Kotoru bez ikakvih opravdanih razloga također bila povezana sa samostanskim redom iz Monte Cassina, iako je izvorna crkva tog samostana bila davno uništena i otkriveni su samo njezini nepotpuni temelji.⁵² S druge strane su prepoznati i romanički utjecaji iz Apulije, uglavnom zato što je katedrala prvotno imala dva zvonika na zapadnome pročelju.⁵³ To po-

on the same church recognises the apulian influences!⁵¹ Furthermore, without any reasonable grounds, the Cathedral in Kotor was also associated with the monastic order of Monte Cassino, although the original church of that monastery was destroyed a long time ago, and only the incomplete foundations were discovered.⁵² On the other hand, the roman- esque influences from Apulia were recognised as well, mostly because the Cathedral originally had two bell towers on the west front.⁵³ This association with the architecture of St Nicholas church in Bari which was made because of the presence of two bell towers in Bari is groundless as well because the disposition of the bell towers in Bari is completely different, and furthermore these towers were never finished.⁵⁴ The association with the several churches in Italy where the galleries were built over the lateral bays and the idea of the possible origin of the emporas over the lateral bays of the Cathedral in Kotor is also groundless, because the „galleries“ in Kotor are not a part of the original architecture but a much later adaptation and a definitive proof are the representations on the engravings by Franco (1579) and Rosaccio from 1598 where the three naved structure of the church with separate roofs over the main and north naves is clearly visible.⁵⁵ Furthermore, beside the knowledge of the original shape and distribution of the windows on the bell towers in Kotor, the origin of their architecture was allegedly found even further, in Norman architecture of Sicily.⁵⁶ The latest publication of the architecture as well as the reconstruction of the original church (2010),⁵⁷ actually does not bring anything new because it is simply an adaptation of existing architectural documentation of Hauser reconstruction: the arcaded frieze is actually adaptation of Hauser reconstruction, inclinations of the roofs are also taken from the existing situation. Beside that, some of the extant and already published graphic sources were

⁴⁹ Barokni vijenac u zapadnome traveju glavnoga broda djelomično je zadržan i prekinut rekonstruiranim triforama, a pete izvornih romaničkih svodova obnovljene su ispod vijenca na istočnoj strani tog traveja, dok je na zapadnoj strani barokni sloj u potpunosti zadržan, slično kao u zapadnome polutraveju, gdje čak nije jasno što je zapravo sačuvano od izvorne arhitekture.

⁵⁰ Stjepčević 1938; Čanak Medić, Čubrović 2010.

⁵¹ Čanak Medić 1997, str. 91.

⁵² Čanak Medić, Čubrović 2010, str. 47, 77.

⁵³ Čanak Medić 1997, str. 86; Čanak Medić 2006, Čanak Medić, Čubrović 2010.

⁵¹ Čanak Medić 1997, p. 91.

⁵² Čanak Medić, Čubrović 2010, p. 47, 77.

⁵³ Čanak Medić 1997, p. 86; Čanak Medić 2006; Čanak Medić, Čubrović 2010.

⁵⁴ Čanak Medić 1997, p. 86.

⁵⁵ Engraving by Giacomo Franco from 1579, published by Kozličić 1995, p. 150, k-118. Giuseppe Rosaccio from 1598, repeats the drawing by Franco. Probably the same plates were reused. Kozličić 1995, p. 211, K-195.

⁵⁶ Čanak Medić 1997, p. 86.

⁵⁷ Čanak Medić, Čubrović 2010

vezivanje s arhitekturom crkve sv. Nikole u Bariju zbog dvaju zvonika također je neutemeljeno jer je dispozicija zvonika u Bariju sasvim drugačija, a osim toga nikada nisu ni dovršeni.⁵⁴ Neutemeljeno je i povezivanje s nekoliko talijanskih crkava s galerijama iznad bočnih traveja te pomisao na moguće podrijetlo triforija iznad bočnih traveja katedrale u Kotoru, jer „galerije” u Kotoru nisu dio izvorne arhitekture, nego znatno kasnija adaptacija. Konačan dokaz su prikazi na grafikama Franca (1579. g.) i Rosaccija iz 1598. godine, na kojima je jasno vidljiva trobrodna crkvena građevina s odvojenim krovovima iznad glavnoga i sjevernoga broda.⁵⁵ Povrh toga, pored saznanja o izvornom obliku i rasporedu prozora na zvonnicima u Kotoru, podrijetlo njihove arhitekture navodno je pronađeno još dalje, u normanskoj arhitekturi na Siciliji.⁵⁶ Najnovija publikacija o arhitekturi i rekonstrukciji izvorne crkve (2010. g.)⁵⁷ zapravo ne donosi ništa novo, jer se radi o preradi postojeće arhitektonske dokumentacije Hauserove rekonstrukcije: arkadni friz zapravo je adaptacija Hauserove rekonstrukcije, a nagibi krovova također su preuzeti iz postojeće podloge. Osim toga, neki od postojećih i već objavljenih grafičkih izvora namjerno su izostavljeni, dok su drugi pogrešno protumačeni.⁵⁸ Rekonstrukcija iz 2010. također se dijelom temelji na hipotetskoj, nedokazanoj i nevjerojatnoj, ali ipak izvedenoj lažnoj auto-rovoj rekonstrukciji⁵⁹, dok je drugi izvor te takozvane rekonstrukcije bio nekritičko kopiranje arhitektonskih elemenata drugih crkava kako bi se nekako popunili dijelovi koji nedostaju.⁶⁰ Sve je to zapravo

intentionally omitted, other were misinterpreted.⁵⁸ The 2010 reconstruction is also partly based on the hypothetical, unproven and improbable, but executed false reconstructions of their author⁵⁹, while another source for this so called reconstruction was the uncritical copy – pasting of architectural elements of other churches in order to somehow fill the missing parts of the reconstruction.⁶⁰ All this is actually just a continuation of decades long so-called scientific approach of Serbian architecture historians made in order to support the theory of the existence of so-called maritime construction school,⁶¹ which in turn was partly based on the enforced association of the church of St Maria on Mljet with the purely byzantine church of St Nicholas near Kuršumlija and other Serbian medieval churches and the result of this “scientific tradition” was the inclusion of all Romanesque churches in Kotor in the group of churches from the period of Stefan Nemanja together with the church on Mljet,⁶² and the latest “invention” was the inclusion of Kotor cathedral into the series of churches with “double towers on the facades of churches from Nemanja’s period” where it was written that “one of the most important questions of the Serbian medieval architecture is the origin and meaning of double towers on the facades of the churches”.⁶³ Until now, two hypothetical reconstructions of the Cathedral were

⁵⁴ Čanak Medić 1997, str. 86.

⁵⁵ Grafika Giacomina Franca iz 1579. godine, objavljena u: Kozličić 1995, str. 150, k-118. Giuseppe Rosaccio 1598. godine ponavlja Francov crtež. Vjerojatno su ponovno korištene iste matrice. Kozličić 1995, str. 211, K-195.

⁵⁶ Čanak Medić 1997, str. 86.

⁵⁷ Čanak Medić, Čubrović 2010.

⁵⁸ Drugi kat s arkadama na zapadnome pročelju protumačen je kao balkon.

⁵⁹ Donji dio kupole katedrale izravno je preslikan iz teoretske rekonstrukcije navodno izvornog, a nikad izvedenog projekta kupole crkve u Studenici, koji je pak zasnovan na četvrtastoj kupoli crkve svete Marije na Mljetu, dok je tambur kupole rekonstruiran kao mješavina arhitekture kupola na crkvama u Sopoćanima i Đurđevim stupovima kod Novoga Pazara.

⁶⁰ Teorijska rekonstrukcija zvonika kotorske katedrale zapravo je kombinacija zvonika katedrale u Cefalu s dodanim najvišim katom izvedene obnove najvišega kata crkve Svetog Spasa u manastiru Žiča. Čanak Medić 1995, str. 36, 51.

⁵⁸ The second story with the arcades on the west façade was interpreted as the balcony.

⁵⁹ The lower part of the dome of the Cathedral was directly copied from the theoretical reconstruction of the alleged original but never executed project for the dome of the church in Studenica which in turn was based on the square dome of the church of St Mary on Mljet, while the drum of the dome was reconstructed as a conflation of architecture of the domes on churches in Sopoćani and Đurđevi stupovi near Novi Pazar.

⁶⁰ The theoretical reconstruction of the bell towers of Kotor Cathedral actually is a conflation of bell towers of Cefalu cathedral with the addition of the uppermost floor of the executed reconstruction of the uppermost floor of the St Savior church in Žiča monastery. Čanak Medić 1995 p. 36, 51.

⁶¹ Main promoter of this theory was Vojislav Korać whose PhD thesis “Graditeljska škola pomorja”, Beograd 1963 became the source book for his successors, especially Milka Čanak Medić who continued to publish articles where she included Kotor Cathedral into Serbian medieval architecture.

⁶² The publication by Čanak Medić from 1989 for the first time was commented in scientific literature by Stošić in: Stošić 1998, p. 20.

⁶³ Čanak Medić 2000, 181



Sl. 14. Rekonstrukcija katedrale koju je načinio Tripo Raffaelli (izvor: Stjepčević 1938)

Fig. 14 Reconstruction of the Cathedral by Tripo Raffaelli (source: Stjepčević 1938)

samo nastavak višedesetljetnog takozvanog znanstvenog pristupa srpskih povjesničara arhitekture čija je svrha podupiranje teorije o postojanju takozvane primorske škole graditeljstva,⁶¹ koja se pak dijelom temeljila na usiljenu povezanost crkve sv. Marije na Mljetu s potpuno bizantskom crkvom sv. Nikole kod Kuršumlje i drugim srpskim srednjovjekovnim crkvama. Rezultat te „znanstvene tradicije” bilo je uvrštavanje svih romaničkih crkava u Kotoru u skupinu crkava iz razdoblja Stefana Nemanje, zajedno s crkvom na Mljetu.⁶² Najnoviji je „izum” uvrštavanje kotorske katedrale u niz crkava s „dva zvonika na pročeljima crkava iz Nemanjinog razdoblja”, pri čemu je napisano da je „jedno od najvažnijih pitanja srpske srednjovjekovne arhitekture porijeklo i značenje dvaju zvonika na pročelju crkava”.⁶³ Do sada su objavljene dvije hipotet-

published. The first, drawn by Tripo Raffaelli was published in 1938,⁶⁴ and reprinted in 1940.⁶⁵

The main features of this reconstruction are: the dome was reconstructed as octagonal dome modeled after the dome of the church of St Mary Collegiate in Kotor. Pairs of triforas are reconstructed on the upper walls of the central nave after the reconstruction of the eastern pair executed during the previous reconstruction of the cathedral but as Romanesque windows. The western facade is actually redrawn extant baroque façade with the addition of the small bell tower over the top of the pediments. The bell towers were reconstructed as five stories structures with cornices over the arcaded frieze above every floor. The entrances to the bell towers are placed on their west side while on all sides of their upper stories a bifora is reconstructed. The bell towers are topped with the rectangular pyramid. Between the bell towers was reconstructed a balcony supported with five columns. This reconstruction was redrawn with corrections, and reprinted again in 1980,⁶⁶ but few years earlier, for the first time the original architecture of the dome was interpreted and published as a direct continuation of the Montenegrin - Zeta architectural school and its construction practices.⁶⁷ In brief: the main characteristics of this architectural group was the constructive system under the dome which included two wider transversal supporting arches, and two narrower longitudinal supporting arches, and these supporting arches allowed the dome to protrude directly from the roof, without rectangular dome base, identically as on St Lucas church in Kotor.⁶⁸ The second ideal reconstruction was published in 2010.⁶⁹ It includes rather spurious elements and ideas copied from various sources. The dome was reconstructed as a conflation of two various sources and the author proposes two phases of the construction of the dome, although the dome is visible standing in its full height on the model on the golden altarpiece.

⁶¹ Glavni promicatelj ove teorije bio je Vojislav Korać, čiji je doktorski rad „Graditeljska škola pomorja”, Beograd 1963, postao priručnik za njegove nasljednike, posebno Milku Čanak Medić, koja je nastavila objavljivati članke u kojima je kotorsku katedralu uključivala u srpsku srednjovjekovnu arhitekturu.

⁶² Objava Čanak Medić iz 1989. godine prvi je put u znanstvenoj literaturi komentirao Stošić u: Stošić 1998, str. 20.

⁶³ Čanak Medić 2000, str. 181.

⁶⁴ Stjepčević 1938, Pl. VII, 2.

⁶⁵ Monograph by Stjepčević was also published as a supplement for Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku vol. LI.

⁶⁶ Mijović 1980, pp.118-120.

⁶⁷ The complete chronology of Zeta architectural group was published as well as the development of its construction technique for the domes of the churches in the series Mijović 1976, pp. 385-387 Mijović 1980, pp. 119-120.

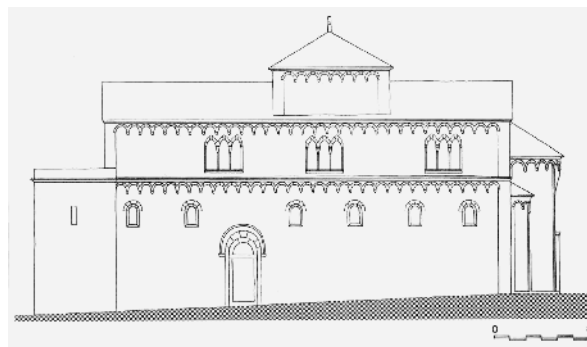
⁶⁸ Mijović 1976, p. 386.

⁶⁹ Čanak Medić, Čubrović 2010.

ske rekonstrukcije katedrale. Prva, koju je nacrtao Trifo Raffaelli, objavljena je 1938. godine,⁶⁴ a pretiskana 1940.⁶⁵

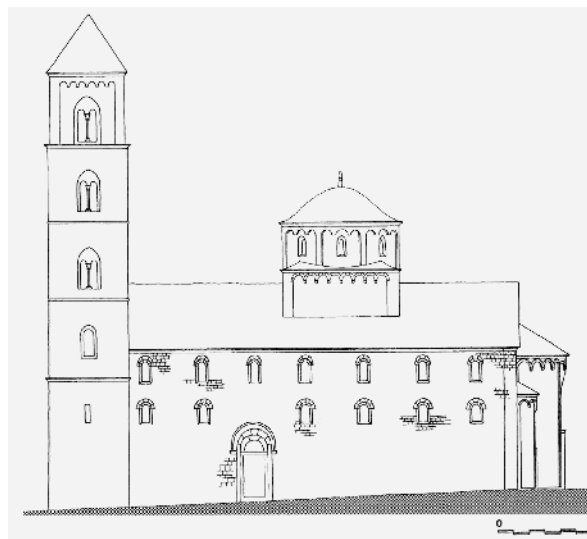
Glavne značajke te rekonstrukcije su sljedeće: kupola je prikazana kao osmerokutna po uzoru na kupolu crkve sv. Marije Koledate u Kotoru. Parovi trifora rekonstruirani su na gornjim zidovima središnjega broda nakon prethodne obnove istočnoga para, ali kao romanički prozori. Zapadno pročelje zapravo je precrtano sačuvano barokno pročelje s dodanim manjim zvonikom iznad zabata. Zvonici su rekonstruirani kao peterokatne građevine s vijencima na arkadnome frizu iznad svakoga kata. Ulazi u zvonike postavljeni su na njihovoj zapadnoj strani, dok je na svim stranama njihovih gornjih katova rekonstruirana bifora. Na vrhu zvonikā je četverostrana piramida. Između zvonikā rekonstruiran je balkon koji drži pet stupova. Ta je rekonstrukcija precrtana s ispravcima te je pretiskana 1980. godine.⁶⁶ Međutim, nekoliko godina prije toga je izvorna arhitektura kupole prvi put protumačena i objavljena kao izravan nastavak crnogorsko-zetske arhitektonske škole i njezine graditeljske prakse.⁶⁷ U kratkim crtama, glavno obilježje te arhitektonske skupine bio je konstruktivni sustav ispod kupole, koji je obuhvaćao dva šira poprečna potporna luka i dva uža uzdužna potporna luka. Ti potporni lukovi omogućavali su kupoli da bude isturena na krovu, a bez pravokutne baze, jednako kao na crkvi sv. Luke u Kotoru.⁶⁸ Druga idealna rekonstrukcija objavljena je 2010. godine.⁶⁹ Sadržava poprilično patvorene elemente i zamisli preuzete iz raznih izvora. Kupola je rekonstruirana kao kombinacija dvaju različitih izvora, a autorica predlaže dvije faze izgradnje kupole, premda se na maketi na zlatnoj pali vidi kupola u punoj visini.

Samo je kvadratična osnova pripisana prvoj fazi.⁷⁰ Međutim, konačni dokaz da autorica te re-



Sl. 15. Rekonstrukcija navodne prve faze katedrale prema M. Čanak Medić (izvor: Čanak Medić, Čubrović 2010)

Fig. 15 Reconstruction of alleged first phase of the Cathedral by M. Čanak Medić (source: Čanak Medić, Čubrović 2010)



Sl. 16. Rekonstrukcija navodne druge faze katedrale prema M. Čanak Medić (izvor: Čanak Medić, Čubrović 2010)

Fig. 16 Reconstruction of alleged second phase of the Cathedral by M. Čanak Medić (source: Čanak Medić, Čubrović 2010)

To the first phase only a cubic base was attributed.⁷⁰ However the final proof that the author of this reconstruction was not sure what should she theoretically reconstruct at all, is her earlier article where she proposed the reconstruction of the cu-

⁶⁴ Stjepčević 1938, T. VII, 2.

⁶⁵ Stjepčevićeva monografija objavljena je i kao dodatak *Vjesniku za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku*, sv. LI.

⁶⁶ Mijović 1980, str. 118–120.

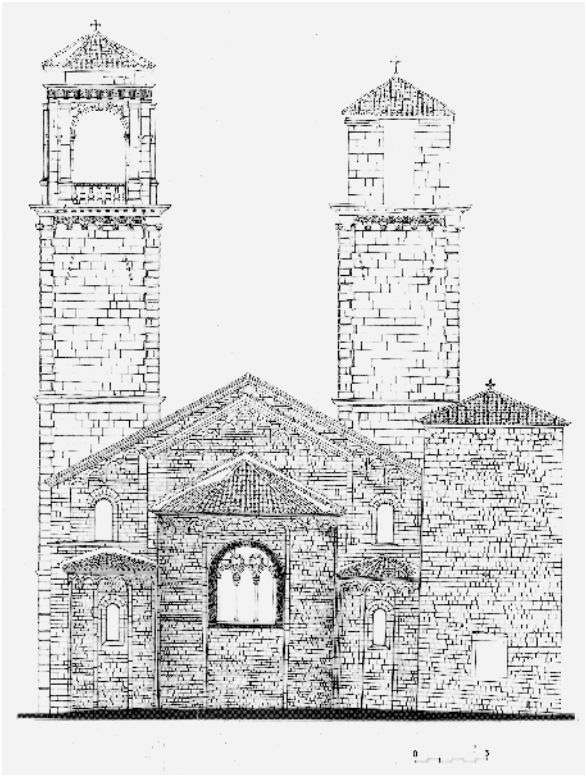
⁶⁷ Cijela kronologija zetske arhitektonske skupine, kao i razvoj njezine tehnike gradnje kupola crkava, objavljena je u seriji Mijović 1976, str. 385–387, Mijović 1980, str. 119–120.

⁶⁸ Mijović 1976, str. 386.

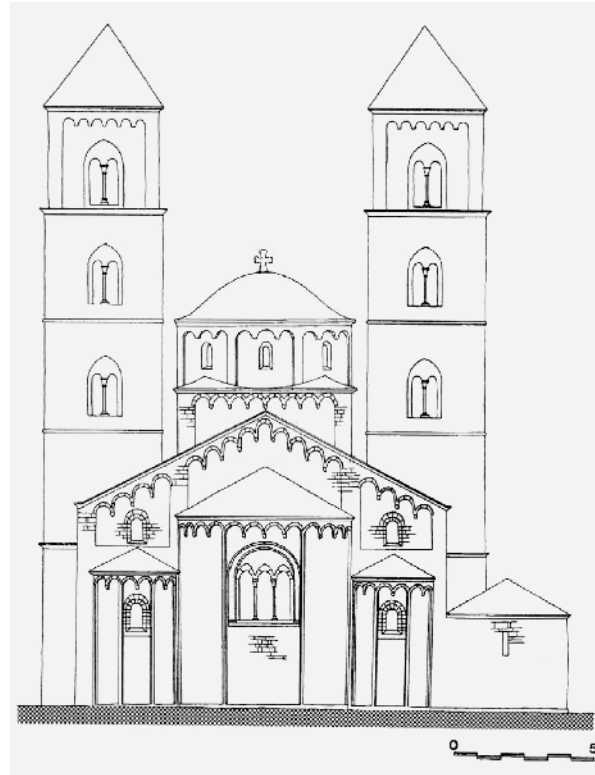
⁶⁹ Čanak Medić, Čubrović 2010.

⁷⁰ Kvadratični donji dio zapravo je izveden iz prethodno objavljenoga hipotetskog i nikada izvedenog originalnog arhitektonskog projekta kupole crkve Djevice Marije u samostanu Studenica, koji je navodno oblikovan po uzoru

⁷⁰ This cubic lower part is actually derived from previously published hypothetical and never executed original architectural project for the dome of Virgins church in Studenica monastery, which is allegedly modeled after the square dome of the church of St Mary on Mljet Island which the author connects with the architecture of byzantine church of St Nicholas near Kuršumlja and finds the origin of the cubic domes in the church of St Peter in Priko near Omiš!!! Čanak Medić 1989, pp. 37, 39–41.



Sl. 17. Istočno pročelje katedrale prije posljednje restauracije (izvor: Zbirka S. O. Živkova)
 Fig. 17 East facade of the Cathedral before the last restoration (source: Collection of S. O. Živkov)



Sl. 18. Rekonstrukcija katedrale s istočne strane prema M. Čanak Medić (izvor: Čanak Medić, Čubrović 2010)
 Fig. 18 Reconstruction of the Cathedral from east by M Čanak Medić (source: Čanak Medić, Čubrović 2010)

konstrukcije nije bila sigurna što bi uopće trebala teoretski rekonstruirati jest njezin stariji članak, u kojemu je predložila rekonstrukciju kvadratične osnove bez ikakvog arkadnog friza, a kotorsku katedralu uvrstila u niz crkava s dva zvonika iz doba vladavine Stefana Nemanje, premda ta skupina obuhvaća i ranobizantske bazilike iz Caričina Grada i Kuršumlje!⁷¹

Tambur kupole kotorske katedrale s pilastrima i arkadnim frizom rekonstruiran je kao spoj kupola crkava manastira Đurđevi stupovi i Sopoćani, navodno zato što su tijekom radova na obnovi otkriveni „neki dijelovi” koji zasigurno nisu pripadali sjevernoj apsidi, ali ti „dijelovi” nikada nisu objavljeni!⁷²

Tambur kupole pripisan je drugoj fazi izgradnje, koja je navodno istovremena s dogradnjom katova

na četvrtastu kupolu crkve sv. Marije na otoku Mljetu, koju autor povezuje s arhitekturom bizantske crkve sv. Nikole kod Kuršumlje i pronalazi podrijetlo kvadratičnih kupola u crkvi sv. Petra u Priku kod Omiša!!! Čanak Medić 1989, str. 37, 39–41.

⁷¹ Čanak Medić 2010, str. 191–192, sl. 6.

⁷² Čanak Medić, Čubrović 2010, str. 67.

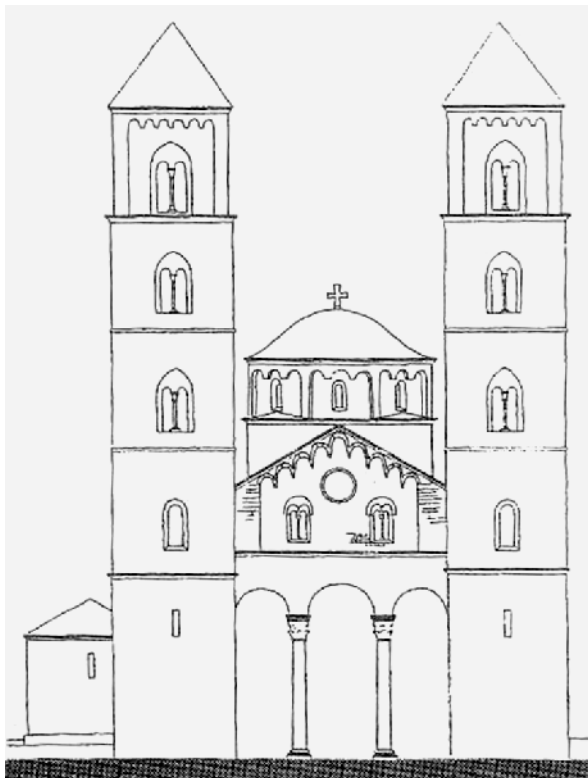
bic base without any arcaded frieze, but this time, the Kotor Cathedral was included in the series of the churches with double towers from the reign of Stephan Nemanja although this series also includes the early byzantine basilicas from Caričin Grad and Kuršumlja!⁷¹

The drum of the dome of Kotor cathedral with the pilasters and arcaded frieze was reconstructed as a conflation of the domes of churches of Đurđevi Stupovi and Sopoćani monasteries, allegedly because “some parts” were discovered during the reconstruction works which surely did not belong to the northern apse, but these “parts” were never published!⁷²

The drum of the dome is attributed to the second phase of the construction which allegedly occurred simultaneously with the addition of the second floors over the lateral naves although the dome is visible in its full height on the model on Golden altarpiece and the second floor over the lateral

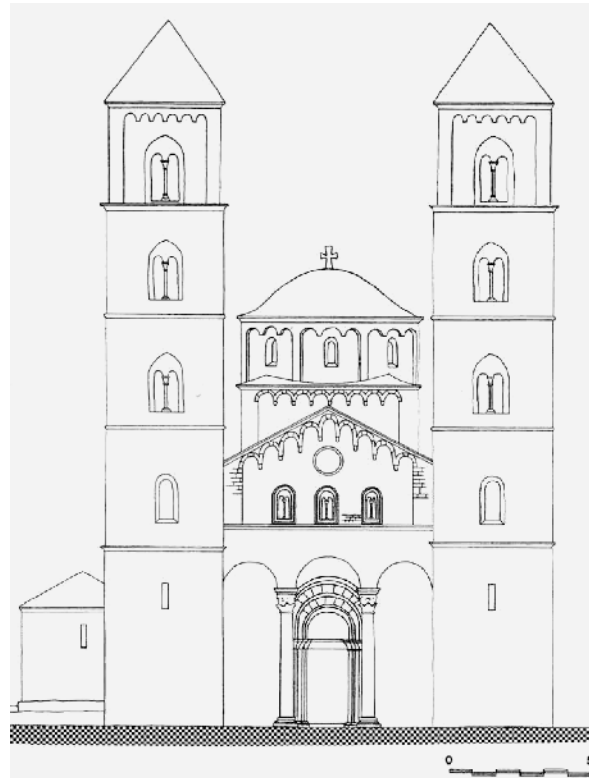
⁷¹ Čanak Medić 2010, pp. 191 – 192, Fig. 6.

⁷² Čanak Medić, Čubrović 2010, p. 67.



Sl. 19. Prva rekonstrukcija zapadnog pročelja prema M. Čanak Medić (izvor: Čanak Medić 2000)

Fig. 19 First reconstruction of the west facade by M Čanak Medić (source: Čanak Medić 2000)



Sl. 20. Druga rekonstrukcija zapadnog pročelja prema M. Čanak Medić (izvor: Čanak Medić, Čubrović 2010)

Fig. 20 Second reconstruction of the west facade by M Čanak Medić (source: Čanak Medić, Čubrović 2010)

iznad bočnih brodova, premda je kupola vidljiva u punoj visini na maketi na zlatnoj pali, dok je drugi kat iznad bočnih brodova dodan koncem 17. stoljeća!! Zvonici su ponovno rekonstruirani kao peterokatne građevine s vijencima na vrhovima katova i masivnijim vijencima iznad četvrtih katova zvonika. Peti kat je rekonstruiran kao izravna kopija obnovljenoga gornjeg kata zvonika crkve Svetog Spasa u manastiru Žiča!⁷³

Na svim katovima zvonikā rekonstruirane su bifore sa šiljatim lukovima kao izravne kopije s katedrale u Cefalū,⁷⁴ iako su dva odvojena prozora na najvišoj etaži jasno vidljiva na maketi na srebr-

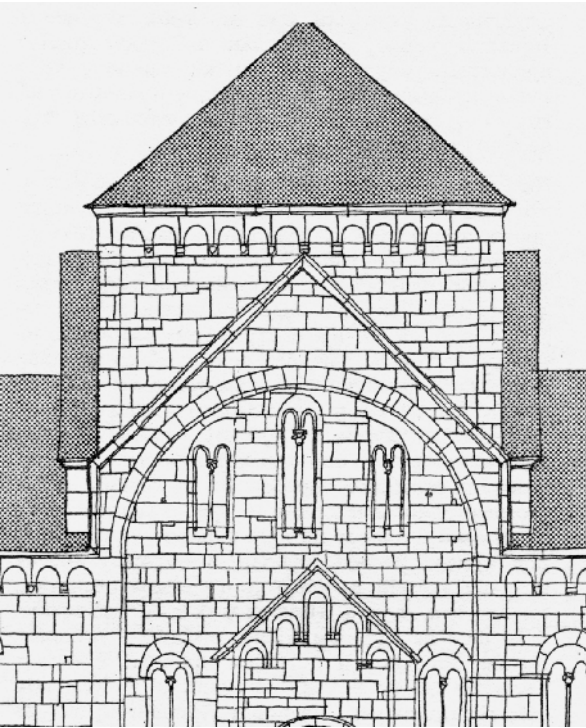
naves were added at the end of XVII century!! The bell towers were again reconstructed as five stories' structures with the cornices over the tops of the floors and the more massive cornices over the fourth floors of the bell towers. The fifth floor was reconstructed as a direct copy of the reconstructed upper floor of the bell tower of the church of St Saviour in Žiča monastery!⁷³

On all floors of the bell towers biphoras with the pointed arches on their tops were reconstructed as an element directly copied from the cathedral

⁷³ Obnova u Žiči zapravo je realizirana. Rekonstruirana je uvlaka na gornjemu katu jer je tijekom radova na novijim zidovima „otkriven jedan blok s dvije isklesane strane, što je bio dokaz za uvlaku na gornjemu katu”. Obnova Žiče jednostavno je kopirana u kotorskoj teorijskoj rekonstrukciji zajedno s arkadnim frizom za koji na Žiči nije bilo dokaza, a cijeli arkadni friz na crkvi rekonstruiran je kao kreativni doprinos autora rekonstrukcije, također bez ikakvih dokaza! O rekonstrukciji zvonika u Žiči: Čanak Medić 1995, str. 37, 42–43, 51, 103, 105.

⁷⁴ Čanak Medić, 1997, str. 91–92 i sl. 5.

⁷³ This reconstruction in Žiča was actually realized and the indentation of the top floor was reconstructed because during the works in the latter walls “a single block with two carved sides was discovered and this was the evidence for the indentation of the top floor” and the executed Žiča reconstruction was simply copied on Kotor theoretical reconstruction together with the arcaded frieze for which there was no any evidence on Žiča, and the complete arcaded frieze on the church was reconstructed as a creative contribution of the author of the reconstruction also without any evidence! About the reconstruction of Žiča Bell tower: Čanak Medić 1995, pp. 37, 42–43, 51, 103, 105.



Sl. 21. Hipotetska rekonstrukcija originalnog projekta kupole crkve Blažene Djevice Marije u Studenici (izvor: Čanak Medić 1985)

Fig. 21 Hypothetical reconstruction of of the original projetc for the dome of Virgins chuch in Studenica (source: Čanak Medić 1985)

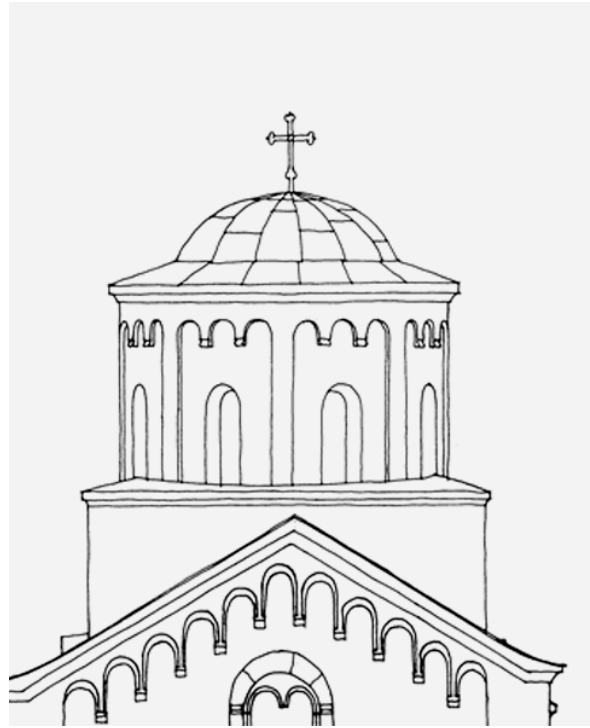


Fig. 22. Kupola crkve u manastiru Sopoćani (izvor: Zbirka M. R. Jovina)

Fig. 22 The dome of the church in Sopoćani monastery (source: collection of M. R. Jovin)



Fig. 23. Kupola crkve sv. Đorđa u manastiru Đurđevi stupovi (izvor: Zbirka S. O. Živkova)

Fig. 23 The dome of St George church in Đurđevi Stupovi monastery (source: Collection of S. O. Živkov)



Sl. 24. Gornji kat zvonika crkve Hristova Vaznesenja (Sv. Spasa) u manastiru Žiča prema rekonstrukciji M. Čanak Medić (izvor: Zbirka S. O. Živkova)

Fig. 24 Upper floor of the bell tower of St Savior church in Žiča Monastery, as reconstruted by M Čanak Medić (source: Collection of S. O. Živkov)



Sl. 25. Zapadno pročelje katedrale u Cefalu
(izvor: Zbirka S. O. Živkova)

*Fig. 25 West facade of the cathedral in Cefalu
(source: Collection of S. O. Živkov)*

noj škrinji! Između zvonikā rekonstruiran je balkon koji nose dva stupa, a iznad balkona tri prozora,⁷⁵ jednostavno zato što su prikazi na zlatnoj pali i srebrnoj škrinji pogrešno protumačeni pa je razina s nizom lukova prepoznata kao prizemlje sa stupovima! Što se tiče bočnih zidova, rekonstruiran je niz romaničkih prozora na južnome zidu kao preslike nekoliko sačuvanih prozora na sjevernome zidu, i to samo zbog simetrije, iako zapravo nikada nisu ni postojali. Nadalje, čitavo istočno pročelje, kao i istočni dijelovi sjevernog i južnog zida, rekonstruirani su kao djelomično ukopani, premda je dobro poznato da postoji zidna traka koja na nekim mjestima strši iznad znatno kasnijeg uličnog pločnika! Što se tiče arkadnoga friza na vrhu zidova, većim je dijelom uništen tijekom potresa ili nakon njega, a sadašnja se rekonstrukcija zapravo uglavnom temelji na Hauserovoj obnovi, koja je pak izvedena nakon otkrivanja nekih tragova tijekom radova. Nadalje, tijekom konstruktivne sanacije katedrale iz novijih su zidova izvađeni brojni ulomci izvornih stupova. Ti su nalazi svjedočili da su izvorni stupovi koji razdvajaju glavni brod od bočnih traveja s naizmjeničnim antičkim stupovima s korintskim kapitelima zapravo bili peterostrani stupovi rekonstruirani tijekom restauracije katedrale.⁷⁶ Nažalost, unutarnja podjela glavnoga broda, koja se sastojala

in Cefalu,⁷⁴ although two separate windows on the top floor are clearly visible on the model on Silver casket! Between the bell towers a balcony supported with two columns was reconstructed, and over the balcony three windows were reconstructed,⁷⁵ simply because the representations on Golden altarpiece and silver casket were misinterpreted and the level with the series of arches was recognized as the ground floor level with columns! Regarding the lateral walls, just for the sake of symmetry, this reconstruction restores on the south wall a series of Romanesque windows which there actually never existed, as a plain copy of few preserved window on the north wall. Furthermore, the complete east façade, as well as the eastern parts of the north and south walls are reconstructed as partially buried, although it is well known that there exists a wall base which on some places protrudes over the much latter street pavement! Regarding the arched frieze at the top of the walls, most of it was destroyed during or after the earthquake, and the present reconstruction is actually based mostly on Hauser reconstruction which in turn was executed after some traces were discovered during the works. Furthermore, during the constructive consolidation of the Cathedral numerous fragments of the original pillars were extracted from the later walls and these finds gave the evidence that the original pillars which are separating the main nave from the lateral bays with the alternation of ancient columns with Corinthian capitals actually were five-leafed pillars and they were reconstructed during the restoration of the Cathedral.⁷⁶ Unfortunately, neither in the published reconstruction from 1938, nor in the reconstruction published in 2010, the internal division of the main nave which comprised 3 more or less square bays with the half bay on the west side was properly explained. Although in the byzantine architecture the central dome is regularly placed over the cruciform vaulted superstructure, despite the fact that the Kotor Cathedral is a three naved structure without any transept, all of the architects who researched the Cathedral have recognized the disposition of the main nave consisting out of three

⁷⁴ Čanak Medić, 1997, pp. 91-92 and Fig. 5.

⁷⁵ The actual remains of these biforas were extracted from the baroque walls of the bell towers and were studied and published in Čubrović 2002.

⁷⁶ Čanak Medić 1997; Čanak Medić, Čubrović 2010, pp. 84-92.

⁷⁵ Stvarni ostaci bifora izvađeni su iz baroknih zidova zvonika te analizirani i objavljeni u Čubrović 2002.

⁷⁶ Čanak Medić 1997; Čanak Medić, Čubrović 2010, str. 84-92.

od triju uglavnom kvadratnih traveja s polutravejem na zapadnoj strani, nije odgovarajuće objašnjena ni u objavljenj rekonstrukciji iz 1938. godine ni u rekonstrukciji objavljenoj 2010. godine. Iako se u bizantskoj arhitekturi središnja kupola redovito nalazi iznad križaste nadsvođene nadgradnje, unatoč činjenici da je kotorska katedrala trobrodna građevina bez transepta, svi arhitekti koji su istraživali katedralu prepoznali su dispoziciju glavnoga broda, koji se sastoji od triju traveja s kupolom iznad središnjega, po uzoru na Bizant.⁷⁷ Pored svega toga, katedrala je na silu uspoređivana s raznim crkvama centralnoga tlocrta,⁷⁸ a sve kako bi se pronašla karika koja nedostaje za utvrđivanje bizantskoga porijekla arhitekture, premda je katedrala čisti primjer romaničko-gotičke arhitekture. Grozničava potraga za apulskim porijeklom arhitekture kotorske katedrale iznjedrila je i prilično patvorenu usporedbu sa spomenicima s potpuno drugačijim konstrukcijskim sustavom.⁷⁹ Dodatni problem u istraživanju predstavlja činjenica da je katedrala radikalno restaurirana i da je izvorna arhitektura postala zaklonjenija neoromaničkim slojem Aloisa Hausera, kao i starijim dodacima. Još jedan problem u pravilnome razumijevanju izvorne arhitekture jest činjenica da su grafički izvori izvorne arhitekture južnoga zida katedrale – vedute, crteži i fotografije – vrlo oskudni, kao i tehnička dokumentacija, koje gotovo i nema. Srećom, Stratimirovićev presjek objavljen 1895. godine zajedno s nekoliko fotografija zapravo nudi trag izvorne arhitektonske koncepcije katedrale. Izuzetno jednostavan južni zid probijen je trima gotičkim prozorima i jednostavnim portalom. Nadalje, Stratimirovićev presjek također pruža uvid u izvornu situaciju na zapadnoj strani katedrale, pri čemu je zapadni polutravej glavnoga broda protumačen kao kasnije proširenje izvornoga glavnog broda.⁸⁰ Međutim, problem najzapadnijega polutraveja glavnoga broda zapravo je riješen već 1976. godine, kada je na tlocrtu katedrale predložena mogućnost postojanja cijeloga zapadnog traveja.⁸¹ U kratkim crtama, tlocrt katedrale zamišljen je s pet dijelova u glavnome brodu: istočni odgovara glavnoj apsidi, srednja tri odgovaraju brodu s kupolom iznad središnjega dijela, dok zapadni dio odgovara

bays with the dome over the central one, as a byzantine influence,⁷⁷ and beside all this the Cathedral was perforce compared with various churches with central plan,⁷⁸ all in order to find a missing link for byzantine origin of the architecture, although the Cathedral is a pure example of Romano gothic architecture. The hectic search for the Apulian origin of the architecture of Kotor Cathedral, also resulted with rather spurious comparing with the monuments with completely different constructive system.⁷⁹ Further problem for the research is the fact that the Cathedral was radically restored and the original architecture became much more obscured with the neoromanesque layer of Alois Hauser as well as earlier accretions. Another problem for the proper cognition of the original architecture is the fact that the graphic sources for the original architecture of the south wall of the Cathedral: vedutas drawings and photographs are very scarce, as well as the technical documentation which is almost non extant. Fortunately the cross section made by Stratimirović published in 1895, together with few photographs actually gives the clue for the original architectural conception of the Cathedral. The extremely placid south wall was perforated with three gothic windows as well as with a simple portal. Furthermore Stratimirović s cross section also gives a clue for the original situation on the west side of the Cathedral where a western half bay of the main nave was interpreted as a latter extension of the original main nave.⁸⁰ However, the problem of westernmost half bay of the main nave was actually solved as early as 1976 when the possibility of the existence of the full western bay in the plan of the Cathedral was proposed.⁸¹ In short: the plan of the Cathedral was conceived with five parts in the main nave: the eastern corresponding to the main apse, the middle three corresponding to the nave with a dome over the central part, while the western part corresponds to the atrium and western semi bay of the nave. Only this disposition allowed the cognition of the original architectural form of Kotor Cathedral and its niceities.

⁷⁷ Karaman 1955, str. 10, 13; Tomasović 2006, str. 160, 161.

⁷⁸ Čanak Medić Čubrović 2010, str. 80–81.

⁷⁹ Tomasović 2006, str. 162-163.

⁸⁰ Karaman 1955, str. 10, 13.

⁸¹ Mijović 1976, str. 386.

⁷⁷ Karaman 1955, p. 10, 13; Tomasović 2006, pp. 160-161.

⁷⁸ Čanak Medić Čubrović 2010, pp. 80-81.

⁷⁹ Tomasović 2006, pp. 162-163.

⁸⁰ Karaman 1955, p. 10, 13.

⁸¹ Mijović 1976, p. 386.

atriju i zapadnome polutraveju broda. Samo je ta dispozicija omogućavala razumijevanje izvornog arhitektonskog oblika kotorske katedrale i njezinih detalja.

Izvori za rekonstrukciju kotorske katedrale

Budući da je posljednja objavljena rekonstrukcija bila vrlo problematična, rad na sadašnjoj rekonstrukciji zahtijevao je temeljito prikupljanje i detaljnu analizu svih dostupnih izvora.⁸² Glavna građa za rekonstrukciju izvorne arhitektonske koncepcije katedrale sv. Tripuna u Kotoru sastoji se od ovdje navedenih skulpturalnih, grafičkih i povijesnih izvora, a dodatni dokazi za rekonstrukciju zapadnoga dijela katedrale dobiveni su analizom preliminarnog izvještaja arheoloških istraživanja⁸³ te iz niza publikacija vezanih za određene vrste arheoloških nalaza⁸⁴ i identifikacije plastike.⁸⁵ Nažalost, nikada nije objavljeno konačno izvješće o arheološkim istraživanjima, kao ni detaljni planovi s presjecima iskopina ispod nove razine poda. Također nedostaju pojedinosti u vezi s temeljima crkve, čija točna dubina nikada nije objavljena. Na sreću, preliminarno izvješće dokazuje izvornu razinu pločnika trga ispred katedrale, što je pak ukazalo da je izvorno stanje terena oko katedrale bilo puno drugačije od današnjega.

KATALOG STARIH PRIKAZA KATEDRALE SV. TRIPUNA

Premda stariji grafički i skulpturalni izvori za rekonstrukciju izvorne arhitekture katedrale nisu toliko brojni, sačuvana građa jasan je dokaz za rekonstrukciju izvorne arhitekture katedrale. Postojeći izvori za rekonstrukciju izvorne arhitektonske koncepcije katedrale sv. Tripuna u Kotoru mogu se podijeliti u dvije skupine.

1. U prvu skupinu spadaju sačuvani reljefni prikazi koje su izradili kotorski zlatari: reljefni prikazi na srebrnoj škrinji sv. Tripuna i prikaz na takozvanoj zlatnoj pali

Sources for the reconstruction of the Kotor Cathedral

Since the last published reconstruction was highly problematic, work on the present reconstruction required the thorough collection and detailed analysis of all available sources.⁸² The main evidence for the reconstruction of the original architectural conception of the Cathedral of St Triphon in Kotor is provided from the sculptural, graphic and historical sources as listed below, while the further evidence for the reconstruction of the western part of the cathedral was provided from the analysis of the preliminary report of the archaeological excavations,⁸³ as well as the series of the publications related to the specific kinds of archaeological finds,⁸⁴ and identification of sculptures.⁸⁵ Unfortunately, the final report of the archaeological excavations was never published, as well as the detailed plans with cross sections of the excavations under the recent floor. Also missing are details regarding the foundations of the church, their exact depth was never published, but fortunately, the preliminary report gave the evidence for the original level of the pavement of the square in front of the Cathedral, what in turn proved that the original situation of the terrain surrounding the Cathedral was much different than it is today.

THE CATALOGUE OF OLD REPRESENTATIONS OF ST TRIPHON CATHEDRAL

Although the earlier graphic and sculptural sources for the reconstruction of the original architecture of the Cathedral are not so numerous, what survives gives the clear evidence for the reconstruction of the original architecture of the Cathedral. The extant sources for the reconstruction of the original architectural conception of the Cathedral of St Triphon in Kotor can be divided in two groups.

1. The first group includes the preserved relief representations executed by Kotor goldsmiths: the relief representations on the silver chest of St Triphon, and the representation on the so-called Golden altarpiece (zlatna pala)

⁸² Čanak Medić, Čubrović, 2010.

⁸³ Križanac 1995.

⁸⁴ Križanac 1991-1992; Križanac 1997; Križanac 2001; Križanac 2015; Križanac 2018.

⁸⁵ Čubrović 2016a; Čubrović 2016b.

⁸² Čanak Medić, Čubrović 2010.

⁸³ Križanac 1995.

⁸⁴ Križanac 1991-1992; Križanac 1997; Križanac 2001; Križanac 2015; Križanac 2018.

⁸⁵ Čubrović 2016a; Čubrović 2016b.

1.1. Reljefni prikaz na zlatnoj pali⁸⁶

Takozvana zlatna pala nalazi se u središnjoj apsidi. Izrađena je u prvoj polovici 15. stoljeća. Do nas nije dospjela u izvornom obliku. Novijim istraživanjima zlatne pale prepoznat je doprinos četiriju zlatara.⁸⁷ To je jedina sačuvana srebrna pala na istočnoj obali Jadrana. Pala sadržava dvadeset prikaza svetaca. Lik sv. Tripuna s maketom Kotora danas se nalazi u prvome redu. Maketa je zapravo najvažniji izvor za rekonstrukciju izvornog izgleda zapadnoga pročelja katedrale. Razvidno je da je izrađena prema pripremljenoj crteži napravljenoj na lokaciji s druge strane Kotorskoga zaljeva jer prikazuje središnji dio gradske jezgre Kotora zajedno s pojednostavnjenim kompleksom gradskih zidina gornjega grada te s crkvom sv. Ivana i tvrđavom sv. Ivana. U prvome planu prikazan je dio gradskih zidina na obali zajedno s gradskim vratima flankiranim dvama bastionima. Ti se bastioni mogu identificirati kao današnji Venier i Correr, dok se zapadni ulaz u grad, današnja Morska vrata, iako je prikazan između navedenih bastiona, zapravo nalazi u neposrednoj blizini sjeverno od bastiona Venier. Na maketi nema dvaju gradskih blokova između zidina tvrđave i katedrale. Prikazan je samo gornji dio katedrale iznad bedema. Jasno se vidi da je donji dio glavnoga pročelja zaklonjen zidovima, dok se neposredno iza zida vidi niz okomitih konstrukcija – žljebova, čija visina odgovara najnižoj vidljivoj razini sjevernog zvonika. Na vrhu razine s okomitim konstrukcijama je zabat – goli zid s rozetom u središtu. Početak zabata otprilike je na istoj razini, koja približno odgovara središtu druge vidljive razine sjevernog zvonika, dok vrh zabata odgovara razdjelnome vijencu između druge i treće vidljive razine sjevernog zvonika. Iznad zabata je vidljiva kupola bez ikakve kvadratične osnove, kao i bez ikakvoga razdjelnog vijenca ispod prozora. Krov na kaloti kupole podijeljen je u segmente, što pak ukazuje da su krov i tambur kupole bili poligonalni. Činjenica da je vidljivo pet segmenata krova – potpuno vidljivi zapadni dio, sjeverozapadni i jugozapadni djelomično smanjeni, a sjeverni i južni prikazani s boka – ukazuje na to da je bilo ukupno osam segmenata kojima odgovara osam strana tam-

1.1. Relief representation on golden altarpiece (Zlatna Pala)⁸⁶

The so-called golden altarpiece (zlatna pala) is placed in the central apse. It was made in the first half of XV c. It did not come to us in its original form. Recent studies of the golden altarpiece had recognized the work of four goldsmiths.⁸⁷ This is the only preserved silver altarpiece on the east coast of Adriatic. The altarpiece comprises twenty representations of saints. The figure of St Triphon with the model of Kotor, today is placed in the first row. This model is actually the most important source for the reconstruction of the original appearance of the west front of the Cathedral. It is obvious that it was carved after a preparatory drawing made from the vantage point across the Kotor Bay, because it presents the view of the central part of the city core of Kotor together with the simplified complex of city walls of the upper town together with the church of St John and upper fort - St John castle with on the top. In the first plan the segment of the city walls on the coast is seen together with a city gate flanked with two bastions. These bastions can be identified with the present day bastions Venier and Correr, while the west entrance to the city, the present day Maritime gate, although shown between these bastions, actually is located immediately to the north of the bastion Venier. The two city blocks between the fortress walls and the Cathedral, are omitted in the model and only the upper part of the Cathedral is shown standing over the walls. It is clearly visible that the lower part of the main façade is obscured with the walls, while immediately over the wall, is visible a series of vertical structures - grooves whose height corresponds with the lowest visible level of the north bell tower. The level with the vertical structures is topped with a pediment – a plain wall with a rose window in the center. The pediment starts roughly at the same level which roughly corresponds to the center of the second visible level of the north bell tower while the top of the gable corresponds with the dividing cornice between second and third visible levels of the north bell tower. Over the pediment is visible the dome without any cubic base, as well as without

⁸⁶ Objavljen nekoliko puta u kontekstu teorijske rekonstrukcije katedrale: Stjepčević 1938, T. IV, 1; Čanak Medić, Čubrović, 2010, str. 125, sl. 84.

⁸⁷ Više o povijesti i umjetnosti zlatne pale: Jakšić 2009; Jakšić 2013.

⁸⁶ Published several times in context of the theoretical reconstruction of the Cathedral: Stjepčević 1938, Pl. IV, 1; Čanak Medić, Čubrović 2010, p. 125, Fig. 84.

⁸⁷ More about the history and art of the Golden altarpiece: Jakšić 2009; Jakšić 2013.



Sl. 26. Dio zlatne pale; ploča sa stojećom figurom sveca koji drži model grada Kotora (foto: S. Kordić, ljubaznošću don Roberta Tonsatija)

Fig. 26 Golden altarpiece; panel with the standing figure of saint holding a model of the city of Kotor (photo S. Kordić, courtesy of don Robert Tonsati)

bura kupole. Ispod vijenca kupole prikazan je niz prozora.

Bilo je lako locirati položaj na kojemu je izrađen pripremni crtež. Radi se o mjestu na južnoj strani Kotorskoga zaljeva, moguće samo nekoliko metara iznad razine mora. Činjenica da je donji dio pročelja bio zaklonjen gradskim bedemom, potvrđena je nešto kasnije, na maketi sa srebrne škrinje, gdje je također prikazan samo gornji dio pročelja katedrale, kao i na brojnim kasnijim prikazima, od kojih su neki izrađeni na približno istome položaju na kojemu je skicirana maketa. Na koncu, brojni prikazi Kotora s južne strane, na kojima se vidi južna strana gradskih zidina s nadgrađem katedrale i zvonnicima, definitivno nedvojbeno dokazuju da nije bilo moguće vidjeti ili nacrtati donji dio zapadnoga pročelja katedrale s položaja na južnoj strani Kotorskoga zaljeva.



Sl. 27. Model grada Kotora (foto: S. Kordić, ljubaznošću don Roberta Tonsatija)

Fig. 27 Model of the city of Kotor (photo: S. Kordić, courtesy of don Robert Tonsati)

any dividing cornice under the windows. The roof on the calotte of the dome is divided into segments, what in turn indicates that the roof, as well as the drum of the dome, was polygonal. The fact that five segments of the roof are visible: fully visible west, NW and SW partly contracted, and N and S viewed from a side indicates that there were a total of eight segments corresponding to eight sides of the drum of the dome. A series of windows is shown under the cornice of the dome.

It was easy to locate the position from where the preparatory drawing was made; the location is on the south side of Kotor Bay, possibly only few meters higher than sea level. The fact that the lower part of the façade was obstructed with the city wall is confirmed slightly later, on the model from the Silver Casket, where also only the upper part of the façade of the cathedral is shown, as well as on the numerous latter views, some of them drawn roughly from the same position where the model was sketched. Finally, the numerous views of Kotor, made from the south, all showing the south side of the city walls with the superstructure of the Cathedral and bell towers above them, definitely prove that it was not possible to see or draw the lower part of the west façade of the Cathedral from the position on the south side of Kotor Bay.

1.2. Reljefni prikaz na srebrnoj škrinji⁸⁸

1.2. Relief representation on the silver casket⁸⁸



Sl. 28. Srebrni kovčeg; ploča poklopca; stojeća figura s modelom grada Kotora
(foto: S. Kordić, ljubaznošću don Roberta Tonsatija)

*Fig. 28 Silver casket: panel of the lid, standing figure of with the model of the city of Kotor,
(photo: S. Kordić, courtesy of don Robert Tonsati)*

Druga sačuvana maketa izrađena je kao ukras srebrne škrinje sv. Tripuna iz 15. – 16. stoljeća.⁸⁹ Prikazi sv. Tripuna s maketom grada Kotora smješteni su u središtu obiju dužih strana poklopca škrinje. Svetac je prikazan kako stoji s maketom grada na lijevome dlanu. Premda je kompozicija više ili manje ponovljeni prikaz sa zlatne pale, ipak je stiliziranija i manje vjerna. Bedemi donje tvrđave vjernije su prikazani, s četiri bastiona umjesto dva. Morska vrata su na svojem mjestu, ali bočni zidovi gornje tvrđave, kao i tvrđava na vrhu, prikazani su samo skicozno, skoro bez gotovo okomite visoke stijene iza grada. Prikazan je samo zabat zapadnoga pročelja katedrale s tri otvora umjesto rozeete s makete na zlatnoj pali. Ispod zabata je s desne strane pored krunske utvrde bastiona prikazan i dio arkade drugoga kata pročelja. Kupola je praktički

The second surviving model was created for the decoration of the silver casket of St Triphon which was created in XV-XVI century.⁸⁹ The representations of St Triphon carrying the model of the city of Kotor are placed on the central position of both longer sides of the casket lid. The Saint is represented standing with the model of the city on his left palm. Although the composition more or less repeats the representation from the golden altarpiece, it is more stylized and less faithful than the earlier model. This time the walls of the lower fortress are shown more faithful, now, instead of two, four bastions are shown. The maritime gate is shown on their proper place, but the lateral walls of the upper fortress as well as the fortress at the top are shown

⁸⁸ Objavljeno nekoliko puta u vezi s rekonstrukcijom izvorne arhitekture katedrale: Stjepčević 1938, T. IV, 2; Čanak Medić, Čubrović 2010, str. 125, sl. 85.

⁸⁹ O povijesti i umjetnosti srebrne škrinje: Živković 2019.

⁸⁸ Published several times in connection with the reconstruction of the original architecture of the Cathedral Stjepčević 1938, Pl. IV, 2; Čanak Medić, Čubrović 2010, p. 125, Fig. 85.

⁸⁹ About the history and art of the Silver Casket see: Živković 2019.



Sl. 29. Model grada Kotora (foto: S. Kordić, ljubaznošću don Roberta Tonsatija)

Fig. 29 Model of the city of Kotor (photo S. Kordić, courtesy of don Robert Tonsati)

nevidljiva i uglavnom prekrivena prikazom maloga kasnijeg zvonika koji se nalazio na vrhu zabata. Međutim, u drugome planu s desne strane i iza antefiksa malog zvonika vidljive su okomite konstrukcije tambura kupole i dijelova njezine kalote. Glavni zvonici prikazani su s manje detalja, a prozori na donjim katovima kao puke točkice, dok je najviši kat detaljnije predložen. Na razinama poda, na vrhu parapeta i petama prozorskih lukova nalaze se vijenci, a najviši su vijenci postavljeni ispod krovova. Krovovi su također detaljnije prikazani. Krovna piramida je znatno viša, sam nagib je daleko strmiji i jasno je vidljivo da je krovna piramida osmerokutna, jer su na prednjoj strani prikazane tri strane piramide s malim prozorom.

1. Druga skupina sastoji se od prikaza na fresci u crkvi sv. Bazilija u Stolivu te nekoliko prikaza kotorske katedrale na starim crtežima i grafikama, koji u kombinaciji s reljefnim prikazima daju potpuno nov uvid u izvornu arhitektonsku kompoziciju kotorske katedrale.

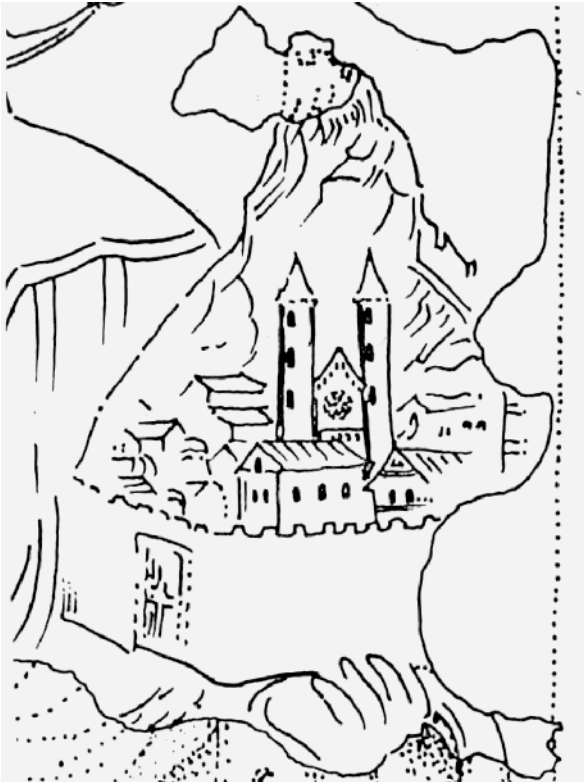
only summarily, practically without the almost vertical high rock behind the city. Only the pediment of the west façade of the cathedral is actually shown, with the three openings in place of the rose window which is shown on the model on golden altarpiece. Under the pediment, on the right side, beside the kronenwerk of the bastion, a part of an arcade of the second floor of the façade is also shown. The dome is practically invisible, mostly covered with the representation of the small later bell tower which stood on the top of the pediment, but in the second plan on the right, and also behind the antefix of the small bell tower, are visible vertical structures of the drum of the dome and parts of its calotte. The main bell towers are shown less detailed; windows on their lower floors are carved just as dots, while the uppermost floor is represented in greater detail. There are cornices at the levels of the floor, top of the parapet and springing of the window arches, and the topmost cornices are placed under the roofs. The roofs are also represented in greater detail. The roof pyramid is considerably higher, the slope itself being far steeper, and it is clearly visible that the roof pyramid is octagonal, because three sides of the pyramid are shown with the small window on the frontal side.

1. The second group includes one graphic source, a representation on a fresco in the Church of St Basil in Stoliv, as well as several graphic sources with views of Kotor Cathedral on vintage drawings and engravings, which combined with the relief representations, give the completely new aspect of the original architectural composition of Kotor Cathedral:

2.1 Fresco in the church of St Basil in Stoliv, XVI century.⁹⁰

The Cathedral is seen from an elevated position, from north west. The simplified fortifications are seen in the foreground with some building between the city wall with maritime city gate, and the Cathedral. The bell towers are painted with five floors and high pyramidal roof. The west facade is painted with much details: the arcaded frieze is visible under the cornice of the gable, under the gable a large

⁹⁰ Drawing of the fresco made by D. Todorović was published twice: Čanak Medić 1997; Čanak Medić, Čubrović 2010, p. 126, Fig. 86.



Sl. 30. Prikaz katedrale sv. Tripuna na fresci u crkvi sv. Blaža u Stolivu na crtežu D. Todorovića (izvor: Čanak Medić, Čubrović 2010)

Fig. 30 Representation of the Cathedral of St Triphon on the fresco in St Basil church, drawn by D. Todorović (source: Čanak Medić, Čubrović 2010)

2.1. Freska u crkvi sv. Bazilija u Stolivu, 16. stoljeće⁹⁰

Katedrala je prikazana s povišenoga položaja iz smjera sjeverozapada. U prednjemu planu vide se pojednostavnjene utvrde s nekom građevinom između gradskih zidina s Morskim vratima grada i katedralom. Zvonici su prikazani kao peterokatne građevine s visokim piramidalnim krovom. Zapadno je pročelje naslikano s mnoštvom detalja: ispod vijenca zabata vidljiv je arkadni friz, ispod zabata jasno se vidi velika rozeta, na razini prvoga kata djelomično je vidljiv niz lučnih niša, kao na reljefu na zlatnoj pali i grafikama Degli Oddija i Davile.

⁹⁰ Crtež freske D. Todorovića objavljen je dvaput: Čanak Medić 1997; Čanak Medić, Čubrović 2010, str. 126, slika 86.

rose – window is clearly visible, at the level of the first floor partly visible is the series of the arched recesses, as seen on relief on Golden altarpiece and engravings by Degli Oddi and Davila.

2.2. Engraving by Anghelo Degli Oddi,⁹¹ dated 1584, first time published in *Viaggio de la provincie di mare della Signoria di Venetia di Anghelo degli Oddi di Padovano, in Venetia del MDLXXXIII, Cattaro XXVIII*⁹²

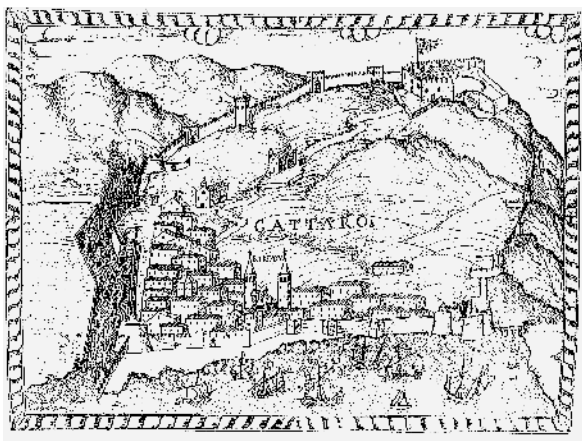
This drawing was published several times,⁹³ but only recently it was properly interpreted regarding the west façade of the Cathedral.⁹⁴ The drawing was made from the vantage point on a slightly elevated position from the south side of Kotor Bay. The elevation of the vantage point mostly corresponds to the elevation from which the model on the golden altarpiece was prepared. The focus is slightly moved towards the south and as a result, the west facades as well as south facades (with the perspective contraction) of both bell towers are visible. The top floor of both bell towers includes a pair of windows with arched endings with two cornices under them. Due to the perspective contraction, only one window is visible on south sides of bell towers. A total of six levels is visible on both bell towers. On the lower levels of bell towers are visible windows placed alternately arranged on floors. Between the bell towers is visible the upper part of the west façade of the nave. Over the top floor of both bell towers is visible a pyramidal roof with the same steep inclination as shown on the model on silver casket, but this time as a rectangular pyramid. There is no dome above the pediment. Over the top of the pediment is visible the small bell tower. In the center of the pediment is visible a rose window

⁹¹ The exact dates of birth and death of Anghelo Degli Oddi, as well as his relations with Degli Oddi family from Perugia are not known. However, it is known that Degli Oddi served as an engineer at the service of the Republic of Venice. He subsequently traveled to Candia (Crete) in 1584 and has prepared a book *Viaggio de la provincie di mare della Signoria di Venetia, Venezia 1584*. As a part of this book was published a series of 72 engraved vedutas of the cities Degli Oddi has visited during his trip.

⁹² Also published in Kozličić 1995, p. 167, K-149; Čanak Medić, Čubrović, 2010, p.126, Fig. 87; Vučenović 2012.

⁹³ Kozličić 1995; Čanak Medić, Čubrović 2010; Vučenović 2012, p. 128, Fig. 62.

⁹⁴ Vučenović 2012, p. 128.



Sl. 31. Anghelo degli Oddi, pogled na Kotor (izvor Kozličić 1995)

Fig. 31 Anghelo degli Oddi, view of Kotor (source: Kozličić 1995)

2.2. Grafika Angela degli Oddija⁹¹ iz 1584. g., prvi put objavljena u *Viaggio de la provincie di mare della Signoria di Venetia di Anghelo degli Oddi di Padova*, in *Venetia del MDLXXXVIII, Cattaro XXVIII*⁹²

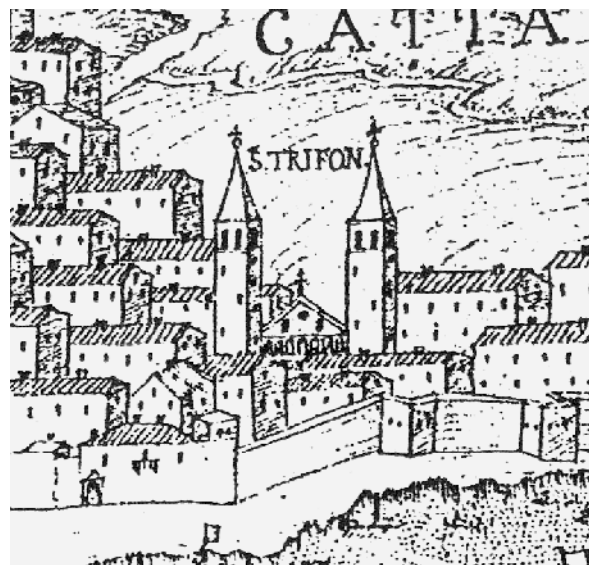
Ovaj je crtež objavljen nekoliko puta,⁹³ ali tek nedavno je pravilno protumačen u vezi sa zapadnim pročeljem katedrale.⁹⁴ Crtež je izrađen na blago povišenoj lokaciji s južne strane Kotorskoga zaljeva. Razina te lokacije uglavnom odgovara onoj koja je poslužila za izradu zlatne pale. Fokus je malo pomaknut prema jugu pa se vide zapadna i južna pročelja oba zvonika (s perspektivnim skraćivanjem). Na najvišem katu obaju zvonika nalazi se par prozora s lučnim završecima i dva vijenca ispod njih. Zbog perspektivnog skraćivanja na južnim je stranama zvonikā vidljiv samo jedan prozor. Na oba zvonika vidljivo je ukupno šest katova. Na nižim katovima zvonikā vidljivi su naizmjenično raspoređeni prozori. Između zvonikā vidljiv je gornji

⁹¹ Nisu poznati točni datumi rođenja i smrti Anghela degli Oddija, kao ni njegovi odnosi s obitelji Degli Oddi iz Perugie. Međutim, poznato je da je Degli Oddi bio u službi Republike Venecije kao inženjer. Nakon toga je 1584. putovao u Kandiju (Kretu) i pripremio knjigu *Viaggio de la provincie di mare della Signoria di Venetia*, Venecija 1584. U sklopu te knjige objavljena je serija od 72 grafike veduta gradova koje je Degli Oddi posjetio tijekom svojega putovanja.

⁹² Također objavljeno u Kozličić 1995, str. 167, K-149; Čanak Medić, Čubrović, 2010, str. 126, sl. 87; Vučenović 2012.

⁹³ Kozličić 1995; Čanak Medić, Čubrović 2010; Vučenović 2012, str. 128, sl. 62.

⁹⁴ Vučenović 2012, str. 128.



Sl. 32. Anghelo degli Oddi, detalj s katedralom sv. Tripuna (izvor Kozličić 1995)

Fig. 32 Anghelo degli Oddi, detail with the Cathedral of St Triphon (source: Kozličić 1995)

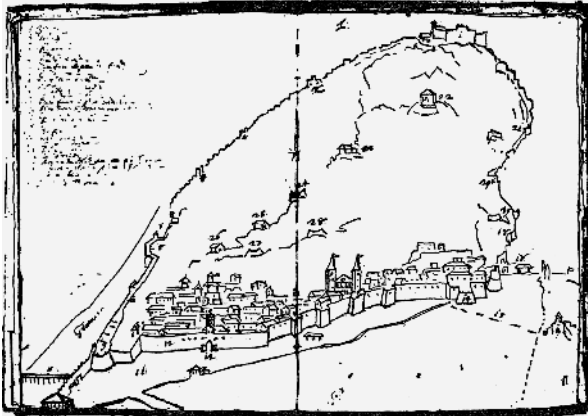
which is flanked on both sides with a window with the semicircular ending whose top corresponds with the bottom of the rose window. The cornice separates the pediment from the underlying level of the façade where are visible arched recesses.

2.3. Engraving by Enrico Caterino Davila⁹⁵

The engraving most probably was drawn during the period between 1618 – 1621, when Davila served as the governor of Venetian properties in Kotor. At present it is not known where it was originally published. As far as it is known, the engraving was published twice.⁹⁶ The fortifications are drawn with the detail, while the buildings inside the lower city are given with less detail except for the Cathedral. The drawing was made from an elevated vantage point place directly opposite the historical city core of Kotor. The topography of the walls of the lower city is given in full detail together with Škurda River and Gurdić spring. The Cathedral is

⁹⁵ Enrico Caterino Davila (1576 – 1631) Italian historian and diplomat. Served as a governor of the Venetian possessions of Cattaro (1618–1621) and Zara (1623–1628). Davila was murdered, while on his way to take possession of the government of Cremona for Venice in May 1631.

⁹⁶ As far as it is known, the engraving was published as an illustration in Novak 1972; article G. Novak, Potres u Kotoru 1667 in *Stoljeća bokeljske mornarice*, It was also reprinted in small scale in Mijović Kovačević 1975, p. 39,



Sl. 33. Enrico Caterino Davila, pogled na Kotor (izvor: Novak 1972)

Fig. 33 Enrico Caterino Davila, view of Kotor (source: Novak 1972)

dio zapadnoga pročelja broda. Iznad najvišega kata obaju zvonika vidljiv je piramidalni krov jednako-ga strmog nagiba kao što je prikazano na maketi na srebrnoj škrinji, ali ovaj put kao četverostrana piramida. Iznad zabata nema kupole. Na vrhu zabata vidljiv je mali zvonik. U središtu zabata vidljiva je rozeta flankirana s obje strane prozorom s polukružnim završetkom čiji vrh odgovara dnu rozete. Vije-nac razdvaja zabat od temeljne razine pročelja gdje su vidljive nadsvođene niše.

2.3. Grafika Enrica Caterina Davile⁹⁵

Grafika je najvjerojatnije nastala u razdoblju između 1618. i 1621. g., kada je Davila služio kao providur u Kotoru. Zasad nije poznato gdje je izvorno objavljena. Koliko je poznato, grafika je objavljena dva puta.⁹⁶ Utvrde su vrlo detaljno prikazane, a građevine unutar donjega grada s manje detalja, osim katedrale. Crtež je napravljen na povišenoj lokaciji izravno nasuprot povijesnoj gradskoj jezgri Kotora. Topografija zidina donjega grada prikazana je sa svim pojedinostima zajedno s rijekom Škurdom i izvorom Gurdićem. Katedrala je vidljiva iza gradskih zidina, zajedno s kućama između bedema i trga ispred katedrale. Jasno je vidljiva cijela prva

⁹⁵ Enrico Caterino Davila (1576. – 1631.), talijanski povjesničar i diplomat. Služio je kao providur u Cattaru (1618. – 1621.) i Zari (1623. – 1628.). Davila je ubijen u svibnju 1631. godine dok se spremao preuzeti vlast u Cremoni u ime Venecije.

⁹⁶ Koliko je poznato, grafika je objavljena kao ilustracija u Novak, 1972: Potres u Kotoru 1667. u: Stoljeća bokeljske mornarice. Također je pretiskana u malome mjerilu u Mijović Kovačević 1975, str. 39.



Sl. 34. Enrico Caterino Davila, detalj s katedralom sv. Tripuna (izvor: Novak 1972)

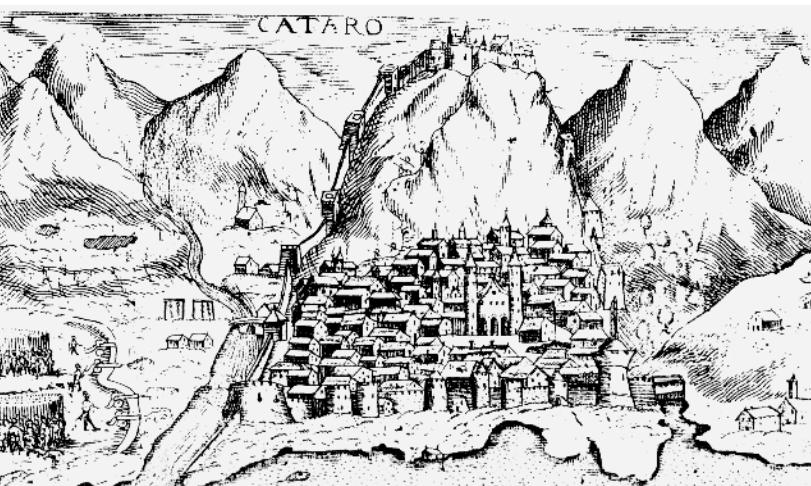
Fig. 34. Enrico Caterino Davila, detail with the Cathedral of St Triphon (source: Novak 1972)

visible behind the city walls and together with some houses between the wall and the square in front of the Cathedral. The complete first level of the west façade is clearly visible including the series of arcades which are partially visible on engraving by Degli Oddi. A rose window at the center of the pediment is also visible, as well as wider windows of the uppermost floor of the bell towers. Over the uppermost floor is a pyramidal roof very similar with those on representations on silver casket and Degli Oddi engraving.

2.4. Engraving by Giacomo Franco from 1579,⁹⁷ originally published in: *Viaggio da Venetia a Constantinopoli per mare e per terra* from 1574 and Al Sereniss. Cosmo Gran Principe di Toscana, *Il viaggio per Mare, e per Terra di Constantinopoli, e di tera Santa*

The drawing was made from elevated vantage point, somewhere to the west if compared with the drawing of Degli Oddi. The complete city is seen from northwest. The cathedral is clearly visible as well as the square in front of it. Both bell towers are shown as six level structures with a high pyramidal roof. The west and north sides of bell towers are visible. Entrances to the bell towers are visible on the west. Between the towers the west facade of the cathedral is seen. The west facade has greater

⁹⁷ Published in Kozličić 1995, p. 150, k-118. The same plates were used for the printing of the engraving by Giuseppe Rosaccio in 1598.



Sl. 35. Giacomo Franco, pogled na Kotor
(izvor: Kozličić 1995)

*Fig. 35 Giacomo Franco, view of Kotor,
(source: Kozličić 1995)*



Sl. 36. Giacomo Franco, detalj s katedralom
sv. Tripuna (izvor: Kozličić 1995)

*Fig. 36 Giacomo Franco, detail with the Cathedral of
St. Tripun (source: Kozličić 1995)*

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razina zapadnoga pročelja, uključujući niz arkada koje se djelomično vide na grafici Degli Oddija. Vidi se i rozeta u središtu zabata te širi prozori najvišega kata zvonikā. Nad najvišim katom je piramidalni krov vrlo sličan onome na prikazima na srebrnoj škrinji i grafici degli Oddija.

2.4 Grafika Giacoma Franca iz 1579. g.,⁹⁷ izvorno objavljena u: *Viaggio da Venetia a Constantinopoli per mare e per terra* iz 1574. g. i Al Sereniss. Cosmo Gran Principe di Toscana, *Il viaggio per Mare, e per Terra di Constantinopoli, e di tera Santa*

Crtež je napravljen na povišenoj lokaciji negdje zapadnije u odnosu na crtež Degli Oddija. Cijeli se grad vidi sa sjeverozapada. Katedrala je jasno vidljiva, kao i trg ispred nje. Oba zvonika prikazana su kao šesterokatne građevine s visokim piramidalnim krovom. Vidljiva je zapadna i sjeverna strana zvonikā. Na zapadu se vide ulazi u zvonike. Između zvonikā prikazano je zapadno pročelje katedrale. Zapadno pročelje više je od glavnog korpusa crkve. Ne vidi se ni trijem sa stupovima u prizemlju ni balkon iznad njega. U prizemlju su vidljiva tri vrata s lučnim vrhovima. Sve je to dio debljega zida. Točkasta struktura iznad tih lukova ukazuje na neku vrstu profilacije. Kroz lučne otvore u prizemlju vide se neki detalji unutrašnjosti, odnosno

height than the main corpus of the church. Neither the porch with columns on the ground floor, nor the balcony over it are visible. On the ground floor visible are three doors with arched tops. All this is part of the thicker wall. Over these arches a dotted structure indicate some kind of profilation. Through the arched openings on the ground floor are visible some details of the interior: parts of the openings of the nave itself. On the upper part of the west facade, immediately over the arches there is a plain zone whose height corresponds with the height of the roof of the north nave of the church. Over this zone of the facade is visible a series of openings, the reduced representation of the arcades shown on Degli Oddi drawing. In the center of the pediment a rose window is visible. To the left of the north tower a three naved corpus of the naos is clearly visible as well as windows of the superstruction of the central nave together with some on the wall of the north nave and the Sacristy.

Reconstruction of the original architecture of the Cathedral in Kotor

+Since the construction of the Cathedral was finished sometime after 1326, when the roofs were covered with lead plates, the reconstruction we are publishing is the reconstruction of the romanogothic cathedral as it was after 1326. Since most of the details of the original architecture were destroyed, the new reconstruction is based on the style and architectural elements of the Cathedral architec-

⁹⁷ Objavljena u Kozličić 1995, str. 150, k-118. Za grafike Giuseppea Rosaccia iz 1598. godine upotrijebljene su iste matrice.

dijelovi otvora samoga broda. Na gornjemu dijelu zapadnoga pročelja, neposredno iznad lukova, nalazi se neukrašena zona čija visina odgovara visini krova sjevernoga broda crkve. Iznad te zone pročelja vidljiv je niz otvora, reducirani prikaz arkada s crteža Degli Oddija. U središtu zabata vidi se rozeta. S lijeve strane sjevernoga zvonika jasno je vidljiv trobrodni korpus naosa, kao i prozori gornjega dijela središnjega broda te nekoliko njih na zidu sjevernoga broda i sakristije.

Rekonstrukcija izvorne arhitekture katedrale u Kotoru

Budući da je gradnja katedrale okončana negdje nakon 1326. godine, kada su krovovi prekriveni olovnim pločama, naša se rekonstrukcija odnosi na romaničko-gotičku katedralu kakva je bila i nakon 1326. godine. Budući da je većina detalja izvorne arhitekture uništena, nova se rekonstrukcija temelji na stilu i sačuvanim arhitektonskim elementima katedrale. Zapravo, sačuvanih elemenata ima dovoljno za zaključak da je prvi cjeloviti arhitektonski sloj katedrale bio romaničko-gotički, sudeći prema prozorima na gornjemu dijelu glavnoga broda. Međutim, trebalo je riješiti nekoliko glavnih problema kako bi se stekao uvid u izvornu arhitekturu.

Građa za rekonstrukciju prvotnoga položaja i izvorne arhitekture zvonikā kotorske katedrale

Arheološki dokazi izvornoga položaja zvonikā pronađeni su tijekom arheoloških istraživanja katedralnoga kompleksa provedenih u sklopu projekta obnove nakon potresa.⁹⁸ Glavni rezultati tih istraživanja svode se na sljedeće: sačuvani dijelovi izvornoga pločnika trga ispred zapadnoga pročelja otkriveni su na znatno nižoj visinskoj koti, što jasno pokazuje da je najniža točka izvorne razine katedrale bila 0,67 m niža od današnje. Na toj su razini otkriveni dijelovi izvornoga pločnika i uzorak opločenja.⁹⁹ Tijekom arheoloških istraživanja pronađen

ture that survived. Enough has actually survived to show that the first complete architectural layer of the Cathedral was romano gothic, as judged by the windows on the superstruction of the main nave. However, there were several chief problems that had to be solved in order to get the idea of the original architecture.

Evidence for the reconstruction of the original position and the original architecture of the bell towers of Kotor Cathedral

Archaeological evidence for the original position of the bell towers was provided during the archaeological excavations of the Cathedral complex which were executed as a part of the reconstruction project after the earthquake.⁹⁸ The main results of these excavations are the following: the preserved parts of the original paving of the square in front of the west facade were discovered on a much lower level which clearly shows that the original elevation of the Cathedral started 0,67 m lower than the present one. At this level, the parts of the original pavings were discovered as well as the pattern of the pavement.⁹⁹ During the archaeological excavations a series of tombs was excavated in the interior of the cathedral as well along its northern wall. Disposition of these tombs gave the clue for the reconstruction of the original spatial disposition of the bell towers and the nathex of the Cathedral.

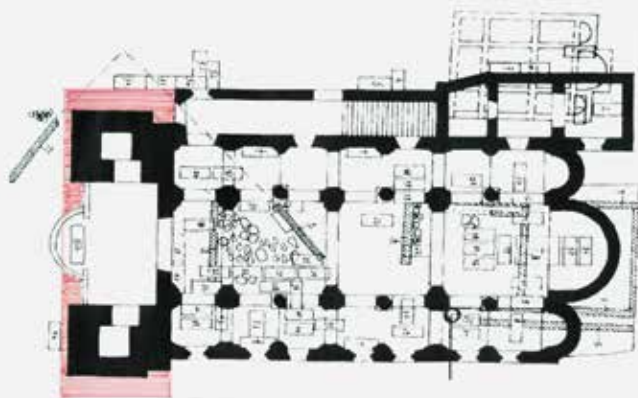
The tomb No 56 has the N to W orientation and is placed along the north wall while the tombs 55 and 54 have the same orientation and are similarly aligned continuing the line of the north wall further to the west indicating that there was a much wid-

⁹⁸ Nažalost, objavljen je samo prethodni izvještaj 1995. godine. Vidi Križanac 1995.

⁹⁹ Također je otkriveno da je katedrala izgrađena na zidovima najmanje dviju građevina, starije crkve s klaustom ispod istočnoga dijela katedrale, više ili manje jednake orijentacije, dok su ispod zapadnoga dijela tijekom iskapanja otkriveni zidovi starije građevine potpuno drugačije orijentacije. Ispod poda zapadnoga traveja glavnoga broda u unutrašnjosti katedrale otkriven je zid 1, orijen-

⁹⁸ Unfortunately, only the preliminary report was published in 1995. See: Križanac 1995.

⁹⁹ It was also discovered that the Cathedral was built over the walls of at least two buildings, the earlier church with the cloister under the eastern part of the cathedral with the more or less identical orientation while under the western part the walls of an earlier building with the complete different orientation were discovered during the excavations. In the interior of the cathedral a wall 1 oriented SE to NE was discovered under the floor of the western bay of the main nave. The continuation of this wall towards NW was completely removed but another wall 2 with SW to NE orientation was discovered in front of the north bell tower. This wall together with the first one most probably originally had a joint with the angle of 90 degrees, just to the north of the tomb No 54. Križanac 1995, p. 201 plan 1.



Sl. 37. Tlocrt arheoloških nalaza ispod katedrale s označenim područjem temeljne platforme originalnih zvonika prema Križanac 1995

(izradili: S. O. Živkov & Ivan Tomić)

Fig. 37 Plan of the archaeological finds under the Cathedral with marked area of the foundation platform of the original bell towers after Križanac 1995 (made by: S. O. Živkov & Ivan Tomić)

je niz grobnica u unutrašnjosti katedrale i uz njezin sjeverni zid. Dispozicija tih grobnica ponudila je tragove za rekonstrukciju izvornoga prostornog rasporeda zvonikā i nartekisa katedrale.

Grobnica br. 56 orijentirana je u smjeru sjever-zapad i nalazi se uz sjeverni zid, dok su grobnice 55 i 54 iste orijentacije i slično su postavljene te nastavljaju crtu sjevernoga zida dalje prema zapadu, što ukazuje na to da je razmak između izvornih zvonika bio znatno veći. Nagli prekid starijega zida 2 ukazuje na najzapadniji položaj izvornoga temelja zapadnoga dijela katedrale, kao i na prostorni raspored toga dijela crkve. Grobnice 63 i 64, otkrivene neposredno zapadno od južnoga zvonika, označavaju izvornu granicu temelja ranijih zvonika. Očito je da je cijela izvorna temeljna ploča morala biti potpuno uklonjena da bi mogla biti započeta izgradnja baroknih zvonika. Tijekom arheoloških istraživanja otkriveno je da su današnji najzapadniji zvonici podignuti na temeljima izgrađenim od razli-

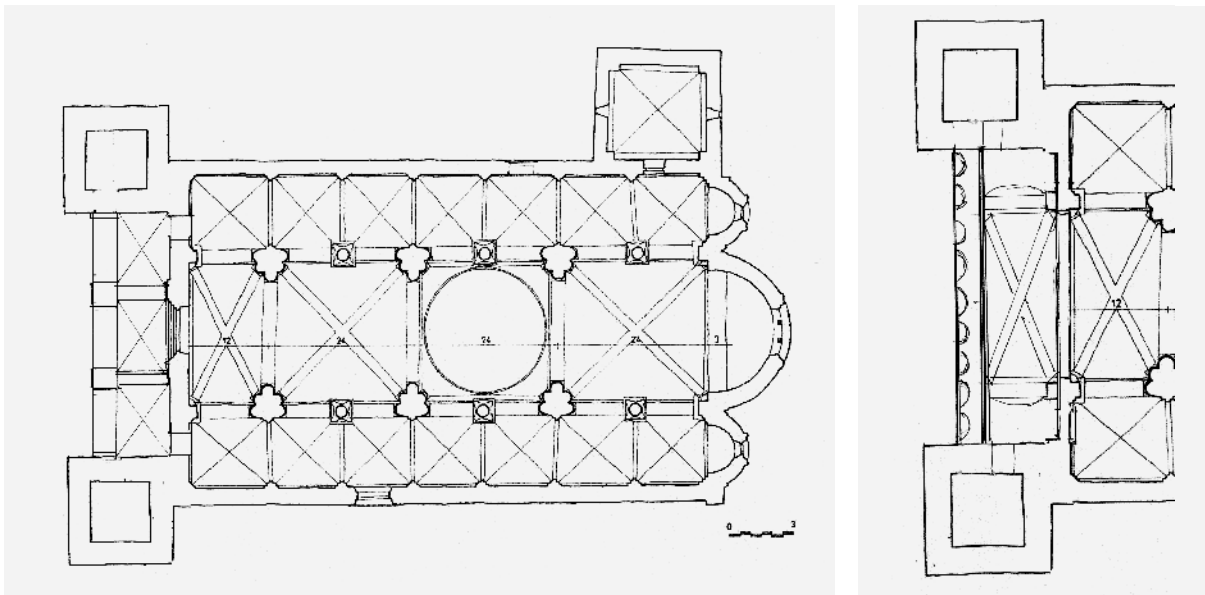
er span between the original bell towers. The abrupt break of the earlier wall 2 indicates the westernmost position of the original foundation of the western part of the cathedral and also gives the indications for the spatial disposition of this part of the church. The tombs No 63 and 64, which were discovered immediately to the west of the south bell tower marks the original limit of the foundations of the earlier bell towers. It is obvious that the complete original foundation platform had to be completely removed in order to start the building of the baroque bell towers. During the archaeological excavations it was discovered the the present bell towers were built over the foundations which were constructed with the use of various spolia of the earlier superstructure.¹⁰⁰ During the static consolidation of the baroque bell towers, it was discovered that they were also constructed with the extensive use of the earlier spolia.¹⁰¹ Furthermore the ossuary (tomb 67) was constructed between the foundation of the baroque bell towers. The wider span between the bell towers allows the construction of separate entrances into the lateral naves. Regarding the reconstruction of the architectural composition of the bell towers, the evidence was provided on the representation on the Golden altarpiece, Silver Casket, fresco in Stoliv and engravings. The published reconstruction of the windows on the original bell towers of the Cathedral of St Triphon is highly controversial because the proposed windows, biforas are actually copy pasted, without any logic, from the cathedral of Cefalu. Regarding the original appearance of the top floor, it is clearly visible on the model executed on the Silver Casket that the top floor had two windows on each side, decorated with the profiliated cornice at the levels of the window floors and springing of the window arches, without any inward indentation of this floor, and without any pilasters and arcaded frieze, it was reconstructed as a exact copy of the executed architectural reconstruction of the upper floor of the bell tower in Žiča, which in turn was realised practically without any proof.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ Križanac 1995, p. 212.

¹⁰¹ Details in Čubrović 2002.

¹⁰² In the publication of this reconstruction it was noted that the indentation was made because a single stone block was found what in turn indicates that the upper floor in Žiča had an indentation although on the preserved parts of the walls no remains of such indentation are preserved. See: Čanak Medić, Kandić 1995, p. 42, 51, Fig. 22; p. 105 Fig. 60.

tacije JI – SI. Nastavak toga zida prema sjeverozapadu u cijelosti je uklonjen, ali je ispred sjevernoga zvonika otkriven još jedan zid 2, orijentacije JZ – SI. Taj je zid najvjerojatnije izvorno bio spojen s prvim pod kutom od 90 stupnjeva sjeverno od groba 54. Križanac 1995, str. 201 tlocrt 1.



Sl. 38. i 38. a. Rekonstruirani tlocrt prizemlja katedrale, razina atrija i razina galerije (izradili: S. O. Živkov & Ivan Tomić)

Fig. 38 and 38a Reconstructed plan of the ground floor of the Cathedral, the level of atrium, and the level of gallery (made by: S. O. Živkov & Ivan Tomić)

čitih spolija starije nadgradnje.¹⁰⁰ Tijekom sanacije statike baroknih zvonika otkriveno je da su i oni izgrađeni uz obilatu uporabu starijih spolija.¹⁰¹ Nadalje, kosturnica (grobnica 67) izgrađena je između temelja baroknih zvonika. Veća udaljenost između zvonika omogućuje izgradnju zasebnih ulaza u bočne brodove. Što se tiče rekonstrukcije arhitektonske kompozicije zvonika, pruženi su dokazi o prikazima na zlatnoj pali, srebrnoj škrinji, fresci u Stolivu i grafikama. Objavljena rekonstrukcija prozora na izvornim zvoncima katedrale sv. Tripuna iznimno je kontroverzna jer su predloženi prozori, bifore, zapravo kopirani bez ikakve logike iz katedrale u Cefalùu. Što se tiče izvornog izgleda najvišega kata, na maketi izvedenoj na srebrnoj škrinji jasno je vidljivo da je gornji kat sa svake strane imao po dva prozora, ukrašena profiliranim vijencem na razini donjega dijela prozora i petama prozorskih lukova, bez ikakvih uvlaka na tome katu te bez pilastara i arkadnoga friza. Rekonstruiran je kao vjerna kopija izvedene arhitektonske obnove gornjega kata zvonika u Žiči, koja je pak realizirana praktički bez ikakvih dokaza.¹⁰² U skladu s praksom u

According to the practice in the romanesque architecture where the most elaborate windows are placed on the top floor of the bell towers, we are reconstructing the windows on the top floor as biforas. The original bell towers had a ground floor with five levels above it, as represented on the engravings by Degli Oddi, Rosaccio and Franco.

Reconstruction of the original spatial conception of the Cathedral

The plan of the Cathedral was usually interpreted with the following distribution: Main nave with three bays, and a half bay at the west. A column supporting two arches divides the bay of the main nave from two smaller bays of the lateral naves whose 7 bays with size $\frac{1}{4}$ of the those in central nave are bordering the main nave on north and south. There was no satisfactory explanation for the appearance of the half bay of the main nave at the west. The analysis of the integrated plan of the Cathedral with the added archaeological situation gave the evidence for the complete new architectural composition of the original architectural plan of the Cathedral. It was already noted that the another interpretation if the spatial composition was published in 1976, and the plan of the cathedral for the first time was interpreted with four bays in main nave with the western half bay where the fourth bay in the east actually includes the central apse. The analysis of

¹⁰⁰ Križanac 1995, str. 212.

¹⁰¹ Pojediniosti u: Čubrović 2002.

¹⁰² U objavi ove obnove zabilježeno je da je uvlaka napravljena jer je pronađen jedan kameni blok, što pak ukazuje da je gornji kat u Žiči imao uvlaku, iako na sačuvanim dijelovima zidova nema ostataka takve uvlake. Čanak Medić, Kandić 1995, str. 42, 51, sl. 22; str. 105, sl. 60.

romaničkoj arhitekturi, gdje su najsloženiji prozori postavljeni na najvišem katu zvonikā, prozore na najvišem katu rekonstruiramo kao bifore. Izvorni zvonici imali su prizemlje iznad kojih je bilo pet katova, kako su to na grafikama prikazali degli Oddi, Rosaccio i Franco.

Rekonstrukcija izvorne prostorne koncepcije katedrale

Tlocrt katedrale obično je tumačen na sljedeći način: glavni brod s tri traveja i jednim polutravejem na zapadu. Stup koji nosi dva luka dijeli travej glavnoga broda od dva manja traveja bočnih brodova, čijih se sedam traveja veličine $\frac{1}{4}$ od onih u središnjem brodu nalaze na sjevernoj i južnoj strani glavnoga broda. Nije bilo zadovoljavajućeg objašnjenja za polutravej glavnoga broda na zapadu. Analiza integriranoga tlocrta katedrale s dodanom arheološkom podlogom pružila je dokaz o kompletno novoj arhitektonskoj kompoziciji izvornog arhitektonskog tlocrta katedrale. Već je zabilježeno da je 1976. objavljeno jedno tumačenje prostorne kompozicije, a tlocrt katedrale prvi je put protumačen s četiri traveja u glavnome brodu sa zapadnim polutravejem i četvrtim travejem na istoku, koji zapravo uključuje i središnju apsidu. Analiza dostupne arheološke dokumentacije, kao i poznatih vizualnih izvora (reljefi i grafički prikazi), omogućili su nam da predložimo još noviju rekonstrukciju izvornoga prostornog rasporeda katedrale, koja se temelji na koncepciji s pet kvadratnih traveja (A) koji odgovaraju glavnoj apsidi (A1), tri postojeća traveja glavnoga broda (A 2, 3, 4), dok je peti smješten na zapadu, što odgovara zapadnome polutraveju i atriju (A5a, A5b) u prizemlju, koji se nalazio zapadno od sačuvanoga polutraveja, te unutarnjoj galeriji iznad njega koja odgovara današnjemu balkonu iznad svoda. Nadalje, arheološka istraživanja pokazala su da se izvorna temeljna ploča zvonika pružala dalje prema sjeveru i jugu.

Izvorna razina poda katedrale

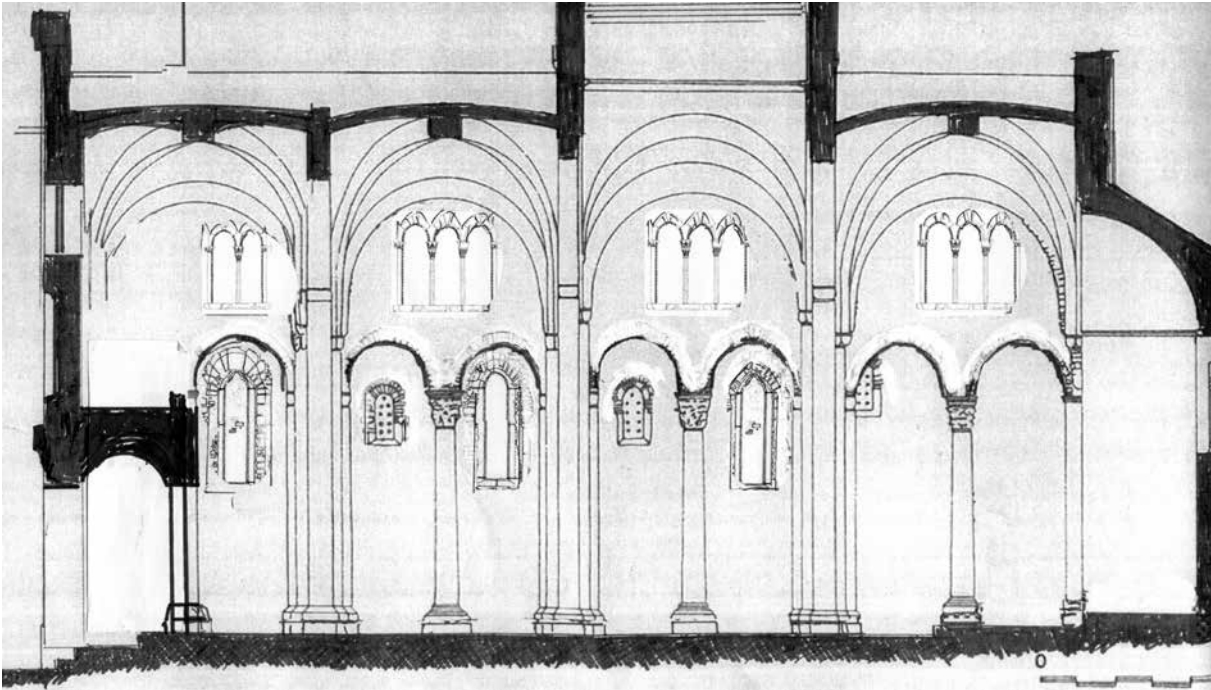
Razina današnjega poda katedrale kombinacija je razina poda postavljenoga tijekom Hauserove restauracije i nekritičkih i proizvoljno utvrđenih razina predviđenih i izvedenih tijekom posljednje obnove, bez ikakva pokušaja obnavljanja izvornog unutarnjeg rasporeda katedrale. Srećom, imamo tlocrt katedrale prije Hauserove restauracije, na ko-

the available archaeological documentation as well as the known visual sources (reliefs and graphic representations) enabled us to propose yet newer reconstruction of the original spatial disposition of the Cathedral which is based on a conception with five square bays (A) which correspond to the main apse (A1), three extant bays of the main nave (A 2,3,4), and the fifth placed on the west which corresponds to the west semibay and the atrium (A5a, A5b) on the ground floor which stood to the west of preserved half bay, and inner gallery over it which corresponds with the present day balcony over the vault. Furthermore, the archaeological excavations gave the evidence that the original foundation platform of the bell towers extended further to the north and south

Original level of the floor of the Cathedral

The level of the present floor of the Cathedral is a result of conflation of the levels of the floor which was placed during Hauser restoration, and uncritical and arbitrarily determined levels projected and executed during the last restoration, without any attempt to restore the original internal disposition of the Cathedral. Fortunately we have plan of the Cathedral before the Hauser restoration where it is clearly visible that the lateral naves had even floor levels throughout their entire length with a single step at the mouths of the apses. The main nave, however had a different solution, and a platform with the access from the west via three steps between the easternmost pair of pillars was formed over the complete area of the eastern bay of the main nave and also has covered the complete main apse. On this level was constructed the extant altar cyborium and the plynths of its columns are standing on this level. Although the complete trabeation together with the column capitels of the cyborium is standing at the identical height, the fact that the eastern pair of the columns of the cyborium are shorter because their plynths have double height than the plynths of the western part, indicates that the original level of the floor of the main apse, actually was also higher for one step than the area in front of it. With this solution, a visual effect was achieved where the column bases of the same height are placed over the plynths whose height is identical under all columns.¹⁰³ Thus

¹⁰³ This was obviously the common practice because the identical situation with the columns of different height



Sl. 39. Rekonstrukcija uzdužnog presjeka katedrale nakon njezina dovršetka 1331. gledajući prema sjeveru (izradili: S. O. Živkov & Ivan Tomić)

Fig. 39 Reconstructed longitudinal section of the cathedral after the completion in 1331, looking to the north (made by: S. O. Živkov & Ivan Tomić)

jemu je jasno vidljivo da su razine podova bočnih brodova bile jednake u cijeloj dužini, sa po jednom stepenicom na ulazima apsida. Međutim, za glavni je brod primijenjeno drugačije rješenje, a pristup sa zapada putem triju stepenica između najistočnijeg para stupova izrađen je na cijeloj površini istočnoga traveja glavnoga broda te je također pokrivaio i cijelu glavnu apsidu. Na toj je razini izgrađen postojeći oltarni ciborij, a na njoj se nalaze i plinte njegovih stupova. Premda je cijela trabeacija s kapitelima stupova ciborija na jednakoj visini, činjenica da je istočni par stupova ciborija niži jer su njihove plinte dvostruko više od onih zapadnoga dijela, ukazuje da je izvorna razina poda glavne apsida također bila viša za jednu stepenicu od površine ispred nje. Tim rješenjem ostvaren je vizualni efekt, pri čemu su baze jednako visokih stupova postavljene na plintama jednake visine pod svim stupovima.¹⁰³ Time je svetište određeno kao platforma na dvjema stepenicama. Situacija je istovjetna s kolonadama između glavnoga broda i bočnih brodova. Istočni par stupova zapravo je također niži, a i nešto uži od središnjega i zapadnog para za visinu plinte stupa,

the sanctuary was determined as a two stepped platform. The identical situation exists in the colonades between the main and the lateral naves. The eastern pair of columns actually is also shorter, and slightly narrower as well, than the central and western pair for the height of the column plynth, while the superstructure of both lateral collonades has identical height. This indicates that the original level of the floor of the eastern bay of the main nave originally had different disposition. The western part of this bay had elevated level of the floor over which were visible eastern columns of the lateral collonades with the visible plynth, while the eastern part of this bay was elevated higher by two steps and over this higher level originally rose the cyborium. Once again, with this solution, a visual effect was achieved where the column bases of the same height are placed over the plynths whose height is identical under all columns in the lateral colonades. All this gives the evidence for the original level of the floor in the central and western parts of the Cathedral at $-0,35$ m (the height of the plynths of the columns) compared to the present level of the floor in that area. The actual area between the

¹⁰³ Ovo je očito bila uobičajena praksa, budući da je istovjetna situacija sa stupovima različite visine iz nešto kasnije katedrale na Korčuli.

was was created in the Cathedral in Korčula somewhat later.

dok je nadgradnja obiju bočnih kolonada jednake visine. To ukazuje na to da je izvorna razina poda istočnoga traveja glavnoga broda izvorno bila drugačija. Razina poda zapadnoga dijela toga traveja bila je povišena, a na njemu su bili vidljivi istočni stupovi bočnih kolonada s vidljivom plintom, dok je istočni dio toga traveja bio povišen za dvije stepenice, a na toj višoj razini izvorno se nalazio ciborij. I tim je rješenjem postignut vizualni efekt, pri čemu su baze stupova iste visine postavljene na plinte jednake visine pod svim stupovima u bočnim kolonadama. Sve to svjedoči o izvornoj razini poda u središnjem i zapadnom dijelu katedrale na -0,35 m (visina plinti stupova) u odnosu na sadašnju razinu poda u tim prostorima. Razina poda površine između zvonikā je na -0,35 m u odnosu na naos sa stepenicom na sadašnjem portalu. Činjenica da je naos bio odvojen od nartekse pregradnim zidom s tri ulaza – središnjim portalom i bočnim vratima, kao i to da je prvotna razina pločnika trga ispred zapadnoga pročelja otkrivena na -0,60 m ispod današnjega trga ukazuje da su izvorno postojale dvije dodatne denivelacije: prva, s dvjema stepenicama unutar portala i ispred njega, te druga, između stupova nartekse, gdje je jedna stepenica pokrivala razliku u razinama pločnika nartekse i trga.

Građa za rekonstrukciju izvorne kupole katedrale

Jedini trag za rekonstrukciju izvorne arhitekture kupole je njezin prikaz na zlatnoj pali. Iznad zabata je vidljiva kupola bez ikakve kvadratične osnove, kao i bez ikakvoga razdjelnog vijenca ispod prozora. Krov na kaloti kupole podijeljen je u segmente, što pak ukazuje da su krov i tambur kupole bili poligonalni. Činjenica da je vidljivo pet segmenata krova – potpuno vidljivi zapadni dio, sjeverozapadni i jugozapadni djelomično smanjeni, a sjeverni i južni prikazani s boka – ukazuje na to da je bilo ukupno osam segmenata, kojima odgovara osam strana tambura kupole. Ispod vijenca kupole prikazan je niz prozora, čiji broj odgovara broju segmenata kalote. Sekundarni usporedni izvor je nešto manja kupola crkve sv. Marije, vanjskoga promjera 5,4 m. Unutarnji promjer kupole katedrale potvrđen je nalazom nekoliko ulomaka njezinog unutarnjeg vijenca koji je pripadao kupoli unutarnjega promjera 5,95 m.¹⁰⁴ Tako je kupola rekonstruirana s osmero-

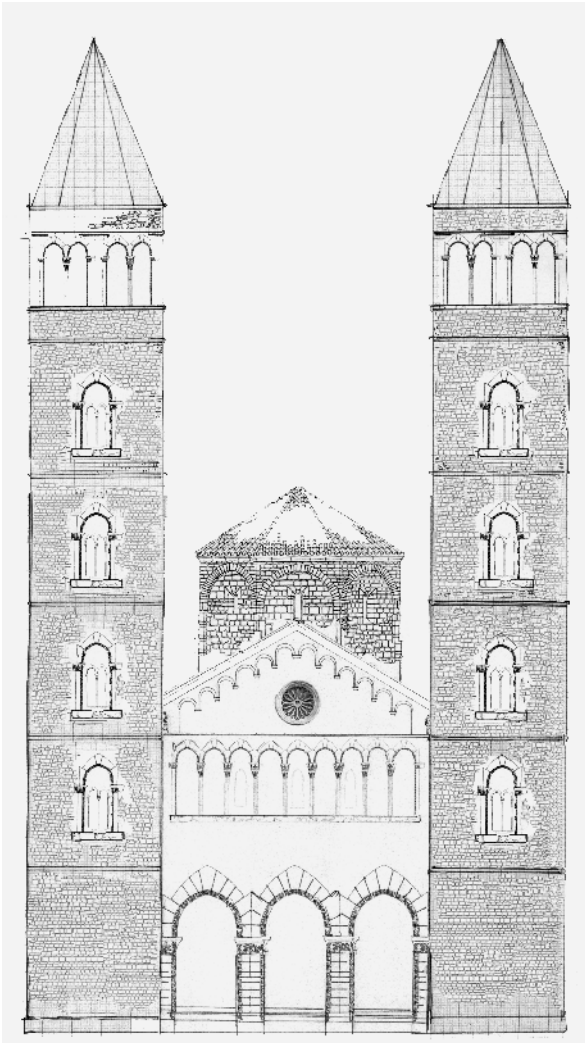
bell towers has the level of the floor at - 0,35 m compared to the naos with a step in the present portal. The fact that the naos was divided from narthex with a partition wall with three entrances – central portal and lateral doors and that the original level of the pavement of the square in front of the west facade was discovered at the level -0,60m under the present level of the square, indicates that originally were two further denivelations: first with two steps placed inside the portal and in front of it and a second placed between the pillars of the narthex where a single step covered the difference of the levels of the pavements of narthex and square.

Evidence for the reconstruction of the original dome of the Cathedral

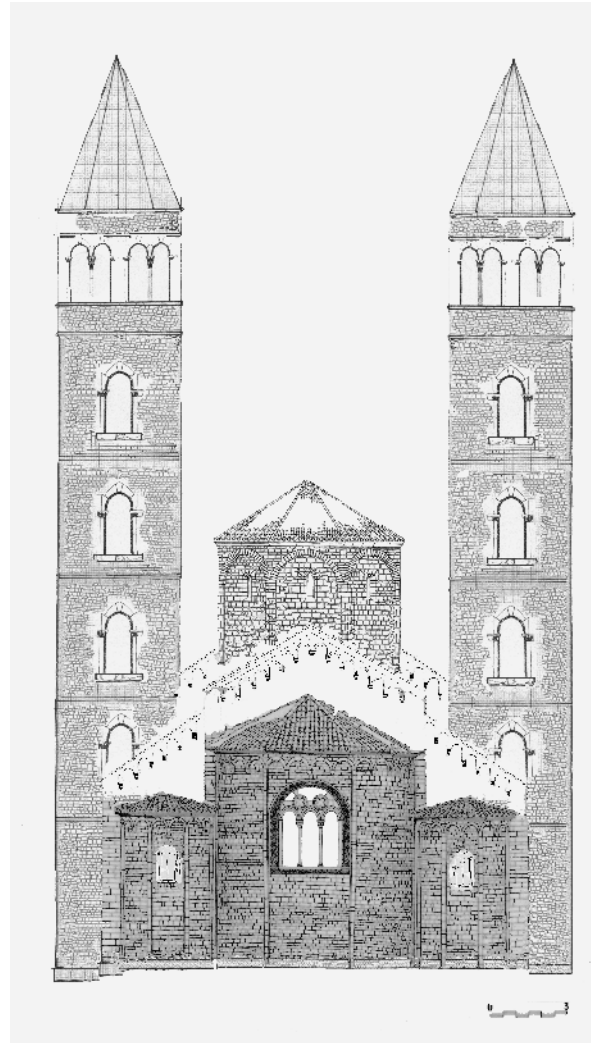
The sole evidence for the reconstruction of the original architecture of the dome is its presentation on the Golden Altarpiece. Over the pediment is visible the dome without any cubic base, as well as without any dividing cornice under the windows. The roof on the calotte of the dome is divided into segments, what in turn indicates that the roof, as well as the drum of the dome, was polygonal. The fact that five segments of the roof are visible: fully visible west, NW and SW partly contracted, and N and S viewed from a side indicates that there were a total of eight segments corresponding to eight sides of the drum of the dome. A series of windows is shown under the cornice of the dome, their number corresponding to the number of the segments of the calotte. The secondary comparative source is the slightly smaller dome of the church of St Mary with the outer diameter of 5,4 m. The interior diameter of the dome of the Cathedral was verified with the find of several fragments of its interior cornice which belonged to a dome with the interior diameter of 5,95m.¹⁰⁴ Thus the dome is reconstructed with an octagonal drum with a window on every side, similar with the dome of the church of St Mary, but higher, in accordance with the representation on the golden altarpiece. The extended height of the dome was a necessity needed for the opening of the windows on all eight sides of the dome, because the east and west window on the dome of the church of St Mary had to be omitted due to the contact with the east and west parts of the roof. In general, the new reconstruction of the dome follows the recon-

¹⁰⁴ Čanak Medić, Čubrović, 2010, str. 96.

¹⁰⁴ Čanak Medić, Čubrović 2010, p. 96.



Sl. 40. Rekonstrukcija zapadnog pročelja katedrale sv. Tripuna (izradili: S. O. Živkov & Ivan Tomić)
 Fig. 40 Reconstruction of the west facade of the Cathedral of St Triphon (made by: S. O. Živkov & Ivan Tomić)



Sl. 41. Rekonstrukcija istočnog pročelja katedrale sv. Tripuna (izradili: S. O. Živkov & Ivan Tomić)
 Fig. 41 Reconstruction of the east facade of the Cathedral of St Triphon (made by: S. O. Živkov & Ivan Tomić)

kutnim tamburom s prozorom na svakoj strani, slično kupoli crkve sv. Marije, ali viša, u skladu s prikazom na zlatnoj pali. Viša kupola bila je nužna radi otvaranja prozora na svih njezinih osam strana, jer je istočni i zapadni prozor na kupoli crkve sv. Marije morao biti izostavljen zbog dodira s istočnim i zapadnim dijelovima krova. Općenito uzevši, nova rekonstrukcija kupole u skladu je s onom koju je objavio Raffaelli,¹⁰⁵ a precrtao i objavio Mijović,¹⁰⁶ uglavnom na temelju sačuvane arhitekture crkve sv. Marije, ali s određenom razlikom u proporcijama.

struction published by Raffaelli,¹⁰⁵ and redrawn and published by Mijović,¹⁰⁶ mostly based on the preserved architecture of the Church of St Mary, but with some difference in proportions

Reconstruction of the west facade of the cathedral

Main problem for the reconstruction of the west facade is the fact that it had a completely different architecture, and the theoretical reconstruction from 2010 did not use all of the available evidence. Main evidence for the reconstruction of the original ar-

¹⁰⁵ Stjepčević 1938, T. VII, 2.

¹⁰⁶ Mijović 1980, str. 118–119.

¹⁰⁵ Stjepčević 1938, Pl. VII, 2.

¹⁰⁶ Mijović 1980, pp. 118–119.

Rekonstrukcija zapadnog pročelja katedrale

Glavni problem rekonstrukcije zapadnoga pročelja jest činjenica da joj je arhitektura bila sasvim drugačija, a u teorijskoj rekonstrukciji iz 2010. nije korištena sva dostupna građa. Glavni dokazi za rekonstrukciju izvorne arhitekture zapadnoga pročelja prikazani su na reljefima na zlatnoj pali, srebrnoj škrinji, fresci u crkvi sv. Bazilija i grafikama Degli Oddija i Davila, što omogućuje rekonstrukciju svih konstrukcija vidljivih na grafici Degli Oddija i objema maketama. Okomite konstrukcije koje se vide na razini prvoga kata zapadnoga pročelja detaljnije su vidljive na grafičkome prikazu Angela degli Oddija iz 1584. godine, kao i na Davilinoj grafici. Jasno se vidi da je zapravo postojao niz arkada na razini prvoga kata zapadnoga pročelja, što nije nepoznat element na istočnoj obali Jadrana.¹⁰⁷ Nadalje, postojeći grafički izvori¹⁰⁸ jasno pokazuju da ispred zapadnoga pročelja kotorske katedrale nije bilo terase, nego se u prizemlju nalazio atrij s trima lukovima izgrađenim na trima stupovima, a lunete tih lukova očito su bile profilirane sudeći prema prikazu na grafici Rosaccia (1598). Na svim navedenim grafičkim izvorima jasno se vidi da se zid s arkadama na prvome katu izravno nastavlja prema gore u istoj liniji iznad lukova u prizemlju. Jedini trag postojanja arkadnoga friza ispod koso-ga vijenca zabata prikazan je na fresci u Stolivu. Iako je Degli Oddijeva grafika bila poznata i čak objavljena 2010. godine,¹⁰⁹ rekonstrukcija objavljena u istoj publikaciji namjerno izostavlja arkade i pogrešno određuje tu razinu pročelja kao prizemlje, a umjesto arkada zapadni portal flankiraju dva vrlo visoka stupa kao analogija antičkim stupovima ponovno upotrijebljenima u unutarnjim kolonadama.

chitecture of the west facade are shown on the reliefs on Golden Altarpiece, Silver Casket, fresco in St Basil church, and engravings by Degli Oddi and Davilla, and this allows the reconstruction of all of the structures visible on Degli Oddi engraving and the both models. The vertical structures visible at the level of the first floor of west façade are visible in more details on the graphic representation by Angelo Degli Oddi from 1584 as well on the engraving by Davilla. It is clearly visible that there actually was a series of the arcades at the level of first story of the west façade and this distribution is not unknown on the east coast of Adriatic.¹⁰⁷ Furthermore the extant graphic sources,¹⁰⁸ clearly show that there was not a terrace in front of the west facade of the Kotor cathedral but on the ground floor there was an atrium with three arches built over the three pillars and the lunettes of these arches were obviously profiled as judged by the representation on the engraving by Rosaccio (1598). From all these graphic sources it is clearly visible that the wall with the arcades on the first floor directly continued upwards in the same line over the arches on the ground floor. The sole evidence for the existence of the arcaded frieze under the raking cornice of the pediment was represented on the frescoes in Stoliv. Although the engraving by Degli was known and even published in 2010,¹⁰⁹ the reconstruction published on the same place deliberately omits presence of the arcades and wrongly identifies this level of the façade with the ground floor, and instead of arcades, two columns of great height are placed flanking the west portal, as the analogy with the ancient columns reused in the interior colonnades.

¹⁰⁷ Budući da glavna pročelja katedrale sv. Stošije i crkve sv. Krševana u Zadru također imaju niz arkada na gornjim dijelovima zapadnih pročelja. Međutim, u ovome slučaju postoji još jedan primjer arkada u arhitektonskoj dispoziciji pročelja crkve. Riječ je o katedrali sv. Marije na otoku Rabu, s dvije razine dodanih arkada izgrađenih duž zapadnoga pročelja u njezinoj romaničkoj fazi. Arkade su građene naizmjenično postavljenim slojevima kamena u boji.

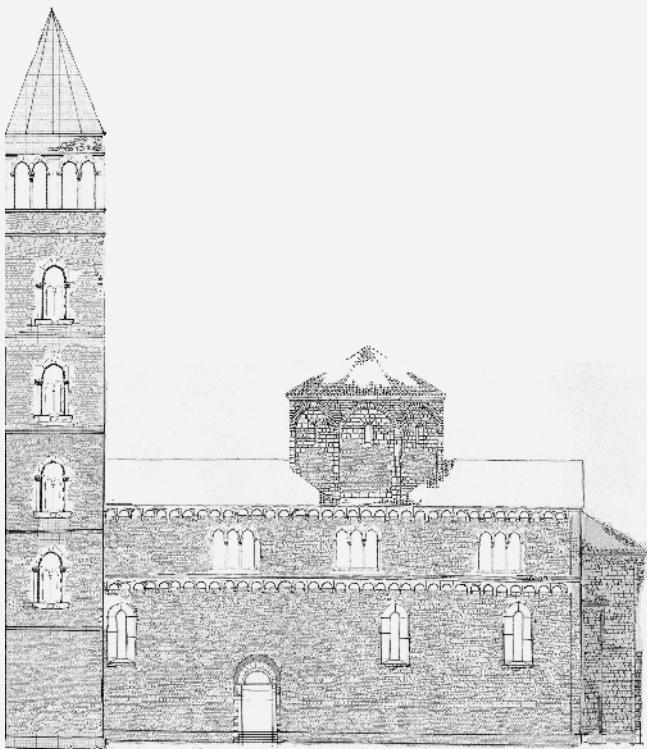
¹⁰⁸ Davila, degli Oddi, reljef na zlatnoj pali, reljef na zlatnoj škrinji, freska u sv. Baziliju.

¹⁰⁹ Čanak Medić, Čubrović, 2010, str. 129, sl. 89.

¹⁰⁷ Because the main facades of the Cathedral of St Anastasia and the church of St Grisogonus in Zadar also have series of arcades on upper parts of their western facades. But in this case, there is another example of the arcades in the architectural disposition of the church façade. That is the Cathedral of St Mary on Rab Island where in its Romanic phase two levels of superimposed arcades were built along the west façade. These arcades were built with the use of alternative layers of coloured stone.

¹⁰⁸ Davila, Degli Oddi, relief on Golden altarpiece, relief on Golden Casket, Fresco in St Basil.

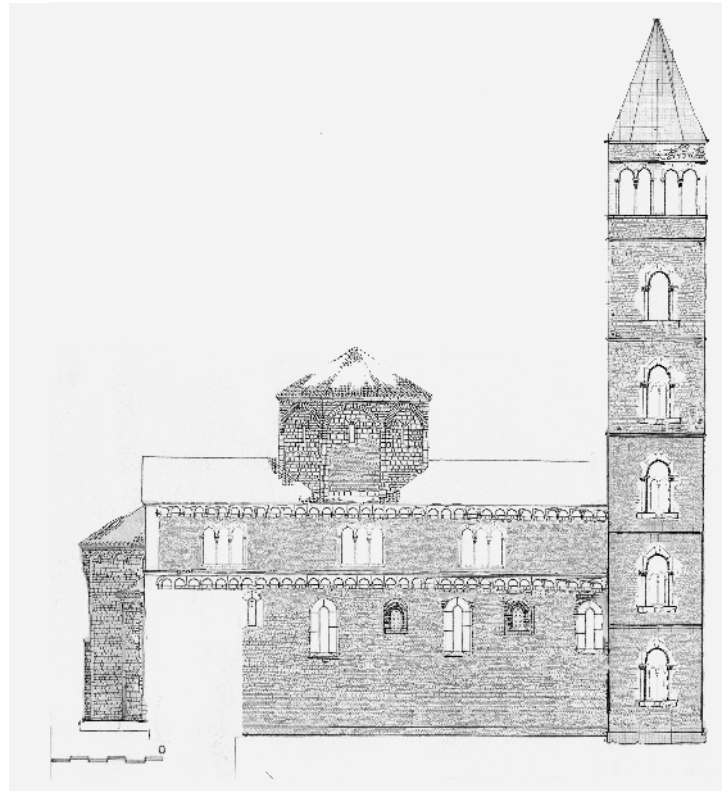
¹⁰⁹ Čanak Medić, Čubrović 2010, p. 129, Fig. 89.



Sl. 42. Rekonstrukcija južnog pročelja katedrale sv. Tripuna (izradili: S. O. Živkov & Ivan Tomić)
Fig. 42 Reconstruction of the south facade of the Cathedral of St Triphon (made by: S. O. Živkov & Ivan Tomić)

Rekonstrukcija izvorne arhitekture bočnih zidova

U rekonstrukciji izvorne arhitekture obaju bočnih zidova postoji nekoliko problema. Kao prvo, zidovi nisu sačuvani u izvornoj visini. Zapravo su sačuvani samo veći dijelovi izvornoga sjevernog zida, građeni od vrlo pomno klesanih kamenih blokova u jednakim redovima. Ta starija konstrukcija doseže pete lukova romaničkih prozora na tom zidu. Kasnije je taj dio zida probijen radi interpolacije viših gotičkih prozora čiji je gornji dio, kao i lukovi romaničkih prozora, također interpoliran u stariju zidanu strukturu koja je na toj visini sačuvana samo na jednome mjestu, zapadno od gotičkoga prozora u traveju 6 s istoka. Dakle, razvidno je da je izvorni zid izgrađen u punoj visini barem na tom mjestu, dok je na ostalim dijelovima zidanje nastavljeno drugačijom građevinskom tehnikom, identičnom onoj zida kasnijega prostora nad sjevernim zidom. Jedini dokaz o postojanju arkadnoga friza vidljiv je s unutarnje strane sjevernoga zida, gdje se na ek-



Sl. 43. Rekonstrukcija sjevernog pročelja katedrale sv. Tripuna, prazno područje predstavlja sakristiju (izradili: S. O. Živkov & Ivan Tomić)
Fig. 43 Reconstruction of the north facade of the Cathedral of St Triphon, the blank area corresponds to the sacristy (made by: S. O. Živkov & Ivan Tomić)

Reconstruction of the original architecture of the lateral walls

There are several problems for the reconstruction of the original architecture of both lateral walls. On the first place is the fact that the original height of the walls is not preserved. Actually only on the north wall are preserved large sections of the original walls constructed with the use of very carefully dressed stone blocks build in even rows. This older structure reach up to the springing of the arches of the romanesque windows on that wall. Later, this part of the wall was pierced for the interpolation of the higher gothic windows whose upper part as well as the arches of the romanesque windows were also interpolated into the earlier wall structure which is on that height preserved only on one place, to the west of the gothic window in bay 6 from the east. Thus it is obvious that the original wall was built in its complete height at least on this point, while on the other sections the continuation of construction was executed with the different building technique,

stradosu ostataka izvornih svodova sjevernoga broda vidi da je cijeli zid izravnani slojem vodoravno postavljenih kamenih ploča, na kojemu su stajale izvorne arkade. Kao ispuna upotrijebljen je sloj od lomljenoga kamena, iznad kojega je napravljen novi zid tijekom izgradnje hodnika nad bočnim brodovima.¹¹⁰ Poznato je da je izgradnja bila prekinuta, a moguće je da je do sada nepoznati potres u Draču 1273. godine oštetio katedralu. Tijekom sanacije oštećenja gotički su prozori interpolirani u intaktnu zidnu strukturu. Međutim, sljedeća je obnova bila radikalnija. Osim uklanjanja kupole i izgradnje dvaju novih svodova glavnoga broda, obnova je obuhvaćala uklanjanje i ponovnu izgradnju bočnih zidova poremećene i oslabljene strukture, nakon čega su izgrađene i galerije na bočnim travejima s dodanim nizom lučnih prozora. Dakle, arkadni friz iz rekonstrukcije objavljene 2010. godine zapravo je ponovno upotrijebljeni friz iz Hauserove obnove i nema nikakve veze s izvornom arhitekturom katedrale. Što se tiče arkadnoga friza, navodno su tijekom austrijske obnove uočeni neki tragovi, na temelju kojih je obnovljen friz duž istočnoga dijela gornjega dijela glavnoga broda, kao i ostatak južnoga zida. Također je vidljivo da je arkadni friz glavne i južne apside uglavnom rezultat Hauserove restauracije, a ostaje otvoreno pitanje izvornoga izgleda arkadnoga friza cijele crkve, jer brojni radovi obavljani tijekom Hauserove obnove nisu dobro dokumentirani. Zid južne katedrale još uvijek je postojao do rekonstrukcije 1894. godine, kada je razgrađen i obnovljen, ali ne prema izvornome stanju. Dokumentirana je njegova izvorna arhitektonska dispozicija, ali rekonstrukcija objavljena 2010. godine potpuna je izmišljotina: nije bilo romaničkih prozora, a na južnome pročelju katedrale bila su samo tri visoka gotička prozora s trolisnim lukovima u prvom, trećem i sedmome traveju računajući s istoka, dok se u petome traveju umjesto prozora nalazio jednostavan portal. Dispozicija zidova na sjevernome zidu bila je nešto drugačija. Gotički prozori prve faze smješteni su u treći, peti i sedmi travej, dok je kasniji gotički prozor postavljen u drugi travej. Djelomično sačuvani „romanički” prozori postavljeni su u četvrtom i šestom traveju. Problem rekonstrukcije izvorne arhitekture crkve predstavlja i činjenica

identical to the wall of the later hall over the north wall. The only evidence for the existence of the arcaded frieze is visible on the interior side of north wall where over the extrados of the remains of the original north nave vaults is visible that the whole wall was evened with horizontally placed layer of stone plates, over which stood the original arcades. Their position was filled in with the wall layer constructed with the use of broken stone, and only over that layer, a new wall was constructed during the construction of the hall over the lateral naves.¹¹⁰ It is known that there was a hiatus during the construction process, and it is possible that the previously unknown Durres earthquake from 1273 has damaged the Cathedral. During the repairs of the damage, the gothic windows were interpolated into the undisturbed wall structure. But the next reconstruction was more radical. Beside the removal of the dome and construction of two new vaults over the main nave, the reconstruction included the removal of the disturbed and weakened wall structure of the lateral walls, as well as its rebuilding, and after that the galleries over the lateral bays were constructed, with the superimposed series of arched windows. Thus, the arcaded frieze included in the reconstruction published in 2010 actually is a reutilization of the frieze reconstructed during Hauser reconstruction, and does not have anything at all with the original architecture of the Cathedral. Regarding the arcaded frieze, allegedly some traces were recognised during the Austrian reconstruction, and based on these traces, the frieze was reconstructed along the eastern part of the superstructure of the main nave, as well as the remainder of the south wall. It is also visible that the arcaded frieze of the main and south apses is mainly the result of the Hauser restoration, and the open question is the original appearance of the arcaded frieze of the whole church, because numerous things that were executed during the Hauser reconstruction were not well documented. Although the south cathedral wall was still standing until the reconstruction of 1894, when it was dismantled and unfaithfully rebuilt, its original architectural disposition was documented, the reconstruction published in 2010 is complete fabrication

¹¹⁰ Zbog svih tih radova nije ostalo ništa od nekadašnjeg arkadnog friza, iako je moguće da su njegovi elementi ponovno iskorišteni kao sirovi građevinski materijal tijekom obnove i izgradnje zidova galerije.

¹¹⁰ Due to all these works, nothing remained in situ of the former arcaded frieze although it is possible that its elements were reutilized as raw building material during the reconstruction and construction of the walls of the gallery.

da objavljena rekonstrukcija iz 2010. godine jednostavno izostavlja sve konstrukcije na sadašnjoj razini terena, koju usto tumači kao izvornu. Tako cijela katedrala u objavljenoj rekonstrukciji djeluje kao „neutemeljena” građevina. Srećom, na lokaciji katedrale ima dovoljno dokaza za rekonstrukciju izvorne razine terena. U prvome redu radi se o otkriću izvornoga pločnika trga ispred katedrale, što je srećom, usprkos naknadnim izmjenama, omogućilo detaljnu rekonstrukciju izvorne razine unutarnjeg opločenja poda, čija se dispozicija zapravo odražava na bočne zidove katedrale.

Kotorska katedrala i njezino mjesto među romaničkim crkvama na istočnoj obali Jadrana

Romanika kao arhitektonski stil pojavila se u 11. stoljeću istodobno u svim zemljama zapadne Europe kao izravni nastavak arhitekture predromanike. Od početka je jedna od glavnih značajki romaničkih crkava bila raznolikost osnovnih arhitektonskih tipova, pri čemu su prevladavale jednobrodne ili trobrodne bazilike. Najvažnije crkve na istočnoj obali Jadrana izgrađene su na lokacijama starijih crkava ili su pak romanički elementi i čitavi dijelovi građevina izgrađeni kao preinake ili potpuno novi elementi crkava. Najvažnije crkve izgrađene su ili prilagođene praktički duž cijele istočne obale Jadrana: crkva sv. Martina u Lovreču, sv. Marije u Vrsaru, katedrala u Senju, faza izgradnje rapske katedrale sa zvonikom, katedrala u Zadru s nedovršenim zvonikom¹¹¹, crkva i klaustar sv. Krševana u Zadru s nedovršenim zvonikom¹¹² i Sv. Marijom Malom,

¹¹¹ Romanička katedrala u Zadru izgrađena je na lokaciji starije bazilike, a njezina današnja arhitektura potječe iz dviju faza iz 12. i 13. stoljeća, kada je proširena ponovnom uporabom brojnih ulomaka pročelja iz 12. stoljeća. Na donjoj su zoni tri portala s dvama nizovima slijepih lukova iznad kojih su dvije rozete. Osim toga, langobardsko je podrijetlo arhitekture prikazano i naizmjeničnim postavljanjem nosivih i nenosivih stupova u obliku višelišnog sveznja. Nadalje, iz iste je arhitektonske radionice i projekt opatije sv. Krševana u Zadru. Uporaba raznobojnih kamenih blokova u izgradnji pročelja još je jedno obilježje iz sjeverne Italije.

¹¹² Samostan sv. Krševana u Zadru bio je među najznačajnijim benediktinskim opatijama na istočnoj obali Jadrana. Samostan se prvi put spominje u drugoj polovici desetog stoljeća, a vrlo malo se zna o najstarijoj (benediktinskoj) građevini. Današnja crkva sv. Krševana, posvećena 1175. godine, monumentalna je trobrodna bazilika i jedan od najznačajnijih romaničkih vjerskih spomenika na istoč-

: there were no romanesque windows and originally on the south facade of the cathedral there were only three high gothic windows with trilobal arches in the first, third and seventh bay counting from the east, while in the fifth bay, instead of window there was a simple portal. On the north wall the disposition of the walls was somewhat different. The gothic windows of the first phase were placed in the third, fifth and seventh bay while a later gothic window was placed in the second bay. Partially preserved „romanic“ windows are placed at the fourth and the sixth bay. Another problem for the reconstruction of the original architecture of the church is the fact that the published reconstruction from 2010 simply omits the presence of any structures under the present level of terrain and also interprets this level as an original one. Thus, the whole Cathedral was reconstructed and published as an „unfounded“ building. Fortunately, there is enough evidence for the reconstruction of the original level of the terrain on the Cathedral site. On the first place there is the discovery of the original pavement of the square in front of the Cathedral and fortunately, despite later changes it was possible to reconstruct in detail the original levels of the interior floor pavement whose disposition is actually reflected on the lateral walls of the Cathedral.

Kotor Cathedral and its place among the romanesque churches on the east coast of Adriatic

Romanesque as an architectural style, appeared in 11th century simultaneously in all that time countries of the West Europe, as a direct continuation of the architecture of Praeromanesque. From the beginning, one of the main characters of the romanesque churches was a variety of fundamental architectural types, where the predominant models were either a single or three naved basilica. On the east coast of Adriatic most important churches were either built over the site of earlier churches, or the romanesque elements and whole parts of the buildings were built simply either as a remodeling or completely new elements of the churches. The most important churches were built or adapted practically along the complete eastern coast of Adriatic: Church of St Martin in Lovreč, St Mary in Vrsar, Cathedral in Senj, a phase of the construction of the Cathedral in Rab together with the bell tower, the



Sl. 44. Katedrala u Zadru
(izvor: Zbirka S. O. Živkova)
Fig. 44 The Cathedral in Zadar
(source: collection of S. O. Živkov)



Sl. 45. Crkva sv. Krševana u Zadru
(izvor: Zbirka S. O. Živkova)
Fig. 45 Church of St. Grisogonus in Zadar (source:
collection of S. O. Živkov)

zvonici Sv. Marije Male i nedovršeni zvonici katedrale i crkve sv. Krševana u Zadru, bivša katedrala u Ninu, katedrala u Trogiru, zvonik u Splitu, druga katedrala i nedovršeni zvonik u Dubrovniku, katedrala u Kotoru i katedrala sv. Jurja u Starome Baru u Crnoj Gori.

Među najvažnijim navedenim spomenicima su oni koji su izgrađeni kao trobrodne bazilike. Očito je da su se romaničke crkve na istočnoj obali Jadrana pojavile pod utjecajem glavnih umjetničkih središta sa zapadne obale Jadrana. Na objema obalama zajedničko je bilo i isprepletanje romaničkoga i gotičkog stila na istim spomenicima zbog produžene izgradnje. Značajan je primjer katedrale u Carrari, proširene prema istoku, na kojem je dijelu postavljen romanički arkadni friz nad gotičkim prozorima.¹¹³

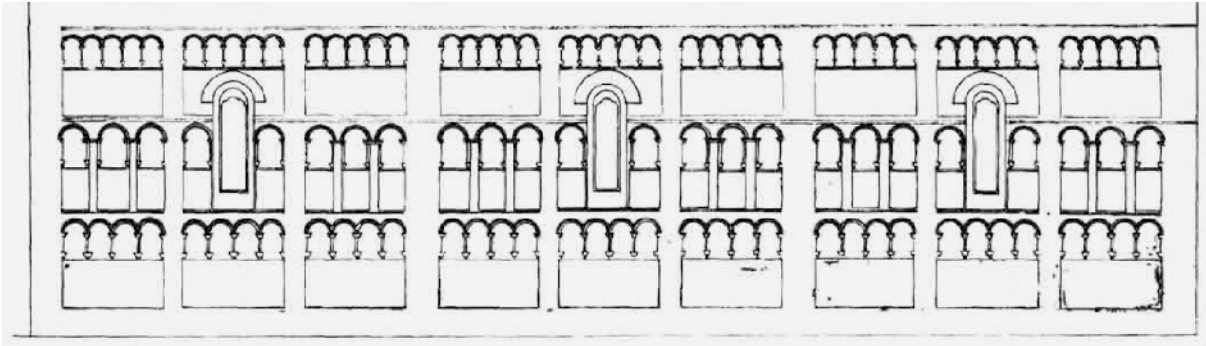
nome Jadrana. Više o arhitekturi i prostornome razvoju: Vežić 1990 i Bavčević 1990.

¹¹³ Prva pisana dokumentacija katedrale u Carrari potječe iz 1099. godine. Godine 1151. započeta je druga faza gradnje, koja je trajala do otprilike 1235. g.

Cathedral in Zadar with the unfinished bell tower¹¹¹, church and cloister of St. Grisogonus in Zadar with its unfinished bell tower¹¹² and St. Mary Minor, Bell

¹¹¹ The Romanesque Cathedral in Zadar was built on the site of an earlier basilica and its present architecture comes from two phases in 12th century and 13th when it was extended with the reuse of numerous fragments of the 12th century façade on a present one. There are three portals on the lower zone with two series of blind arches and two rose windows over them. Beside this the Lombard origin of the architecture is also presented with the alternate placing of the columns and pillars shaped as multifoiled bundle. Furthermore, from the same architectural workshop comes the project for the building of the Abbey of St. Grisogonus in Zadar. Use of multicoloured stone blocks for the construction of the facades is another feature coming from the northern Italy.

¹¹² The monastery of St. Chrysogonus in Zadar was one of the most notable Benedictine abbeys on the eastern Adriatic coast. The monastery was first mentioned in the second half of the tenth century, but there is very little knowledge about the earliest (Benedictine) building. The present-day church of St. Chrysogonus, consecrated in 1175, is a monumental three-nave basilica and one of the most significant Romanesque religious monuments in the eastern Adriatic. More about the architecture and spatial development in Vežić 1990 and Bavčević 1990.



Sl. 46. Rekonstrukcija južnog pročelja katedrale u Senju (izvor: Viličić 1968)

Fig. 46 Reconstruction of the south facade of the Cathedral in Senj (source: Viličić 1968)



Sl. 47. Zapadno pročelje katedrale u Rabu (izvor: Zbirka S. O. Živkova)

Fig. 47 West facade of the Cathedral in Rab (source: collection of S. O. Živkov)



Sl. 48. Zapadno pročelje katedrale u Genovi (izvor: Zbirka S. O. Živkova)

Fig. 48 West facade of the Cathedral in Genova (source: collection of S. O. Živkov)

Sljedeći je primjer katedrala u Genovi, koja je također građena dulje vrijeme.¹¹⁴ Na njezinome zapadnom pročelju nalaze se bifore koje su gotovo identične triforama na gornjemu dijelu glavnoga broda u Kotoru. Nadalje, raspored visokih prozora na bočnim zidovima kotorske katedrale, odnosno njihovo postavljanje u svakom drugom traveju, izrazito je slično onome u senjskoj katedrali. Premda je znatno manjih dimenzija u usporedbi s drugim katedralama na istočnoj obali Jadrana, katedrala u Kotoru u mnogome je jedinstveno djelo. Prije svega, Kotor je bio jedini srednjovjekovni grad na istočnoj obali u kojemu su gotovo istodobno izgrađene dvije katedrale – sv. Tripuna i sv. Marije. Kotorska katedrala jedina je prvotno imala dva dovršena zvonika, kasnije zamijenjena baroknim

towers of St Mary Minor as well as the unfinished bell towers of the Cathedral and church of St Grisonus all in Zadar, former Cathedral in Nin, Cathedral in Trogir, Bell tower in Split, second Cathedral and unfinished bell tower Dubrovnik, the Cathedral in Kotor as well as St. George's Cathedral in Old Bar, Montenegro.

Among all of these monuments the most important were built as the three nave basilicas. It is obvious that the romanesque churches appeared on the eastern coast of adriatic as the result of the influences from main artistic centres from the west coast of Adriatic. Another common feature on both coasts is the interlacing of Romanesque and Gothic styles on the same monument due to the prolonged period of construction. Important example is the cathedral in Carrara which was extended to the east and on this part gothic windows of the lateral naves are surmounted with the romanesque arcaded frieze.¹¹³

¹¹⁴ Izgradnja današnje građevine započeta je 1155. g. Nakon požara 1296. godine crkva je obnovljena u razdoblju između 1307. i 1312. g., pročelje je dovršeno, unutarnje kolonade ponovno podignute s kapitelima i dodanim matronejem, dok su romaničke konstrukcije ostale prilično netaknute.

¹¹³ The first written documentation of the Carrara Cathedral dates to 1099. In 1151 the second building phase began, lasting until about 1235.



Sl. 49. Južno pročelje katedrale u Carrari
(izvor: Zbirka S. O. Živkova)

*Fig. 49 South facade of the Cathedral in Carrara
(source: collection of S. O. Živkov)*

konstrukcijama. Jedina poznata kupola nekoć je stajala nad glavnim brodom, a postoje i dokazi o njezinom izvornom izgledu. Kotorska je katedrala srećom preživjela brojne potrese i obnove, a veći dio izvorne arhitekture sačuvan je ili poznat iz grafičkih izvora, što pak omogućuje spoznaju ljepote njezine izvorne romaničko-gotičke arhitekture.

(D. G.)

Another example is the cathedral in Genoa also with prolonged period of construction,¹¹⁴ and on its west facade there are almost identical biforas with the triforas on main nave superstructure in Kotor. Furthermore the distribution of high windows on the lateral walls of Kotor Cathedral, where they are placed on every second bay has the striking similarities with the cathedral in Senj. Although much smaller in size, if compared to other cathedral on the east coast of the Adriatic, the Cathedral in Kotor is in many ways unique creation. On the first place Kotor was the only medieval city on the east coast that almost simultaneously has built two cathedrals: St Trifon and St Mary. The Kotor Cathedral is the only one which originally had two completed bell towers, which were later replaced with baroque structures. The only known dome once stood over the main nave and there is evidence for its original appearance. Fortunately enough, the Kotor Cathedral has survived numerous earthquakes and reconstructions, and much of its original architecture is preserved or known from graphical sources what in turn allows the cognition of the splendour of its original romano – gothic architecture.

¹¹⁴ The construction of the present building started in 1155. After the fire of 1296, the church was reconstructed between 1307 and 1312 and the façade was completed, the inner colonnades rebuilt with capitals and matronei added and the Romanesque structures remained pretty untouched.

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