

**Starohrvatska prosvjeta**  
III. serija – svezak/vol. 49/2022.

Stanislav Ožujski Živkov  
Muzej *Mente et Malleo*  
*Mente et Malleo museum*  
Karadorđeva 68, RS - 26000 Pančevo  
stanislav.zivkov1@gmail.com

UDK: Antivari(257)  
27-523.41Sv.Teodor(497.16Stari Bar)"8/10"  
27-523.41Sv. Juraj(497.16Stari Bar)  
27-523.41:28-523.42"711""1543"  
902.2:Antivari  
7.033.41:27-523.41  
69.059.7:27-523.41,Sv.Juraj(497.16Stari Bar)

Izvorni znanstveni rad / *Original scientific paper*

## Građa za arhitektonsku rekonstrukciju katedrala u Starom Baru (*Antivari*) u Crnoj Gori\*

*U radu su prikazani dokazi prvih arhitektonskih rekonstrukcija na katedralama u Starom Baru (Antivari) na temelju nove detaljne analize već objavljene građe i novootkrivenih grafičkih izvora. Detaljna analiza arheološke dokumentacije, kao i usporedba s drugim spomenicima u blizini, omogućile su arhitektonsku rekonstrukciju ranije katedrale sv. Teodora i njezino smještanje u razdoblje predromaničke arhitekture na istočnoj obali Jadrana. Revizija i nova interpretacija već poznatih i novih grafičkih izvora, kao i najnovija otkrića omogućili su prvu znanstvenu rekonstrukciju katedrale sv. Jurja u Antivariju.*

Ključne riječi: *Stari Bar, Antivari, katedrala sv. Teodora, katedrala sv. Jurja, džamija, arhitektonska rekonstrukcija.*

*Borislava Dimitrijević Živkov, ad matrem mea dicata*

\* Ovaj članak ne bi mogao biti napisan bez velike pomoći mojih dragih prijatelja i kolega, a to su: Ivan Tomić (*Timeline productions*), dr. Vinicije D. Lupis (Dubrovnik), Arsen Duplančić (Arheološki muzej u Splitu), Silvana Matković (Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika u Splitu), Aleksandra Ilijevski (Filozofski fakultet u Beogradu), arhitektica Tamara Tasić (Pančevo), arhitektica Evica Dimitrijević Rajšić (Pančevo), prof. dr. Katja Marasović (Fakultet građevinarstva, arhitekture i geodezije u Splitu), prof. Lucijan Roki (Split), Josip Weber (Pančevo), Ivana Abramović (Pančevo), arhitekt Siniša Temerinski (Beograd), Bojan Šikoparija (Beograd), Lisa i Tom Orr (Wongaling beach Australija), Josip Kirhrot (*Fotobata* Pančevo), a posebno Predrag Vranić (antikvarijat *Kuća za sunce*, Beograd), Zoran Božović (Novi Sad), i Ministarstvo kulture, Cetinje, Crna Gora.

## Evidence for the architectural reconstructions of the cathedrals in Stari Bar (Antivari), Montenegro\*

*This article presents evidence for the first architectural reconstructions of the cathedrals in Stari Bar (Antivari) based on a new and detailed analysis of already published material and newly discovered graphic sources. The detailed analysis of archaeological documentation as well as the comparison with other monuments in the vicinity have provided the possibility for the architectural reconstruction of the earlier cathedral of St Theodore and its placement in the Pre-Romanesque architecture of the Adriatic east coast, while the revision and new interpretation of already known and new graphic sources, but also the latest discoveries enabled the first scientific reconstruction of the cathedral of St George in Antivari.*

Key words: *Stari Bar, Antivari, cathedral of St Theodore, cathedral of St George, mosque, architectural reconstruction .*

*Borislava Dimitrijević Živkov, ad matrem mea dicata*

\* This article could not be written without the extensive help from my dear friends and colleagues: Ivan Tomić (Timeline productions), Dr. Vinicije D Lupis (Dubrovnik) Arsen Duplančić (Archaeological Museum Split); Silvana Matković (Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments, Split); Aleksandra Ilijevski (Faculty of Philosophy Belgrade), architect Tamara Tasić, (Pančevo), architect Evica Dimitrijević Rajšić (Pančevo), prof. dr. Katja Marasović (Faculty of Civil Engineering, Architecture and Geodesy in Split) prof. Lucijan Roki (Split); Mr. Josip Weber (Pančevo), Ivana Abramović (Pančevo), architect Siniša Temerinski (Beograd), Mr. Bojan Šikoparija (Belgrade) Lisa and Tom Orr (Wongaling beach, Australia), Josip Kirhrot (Fotobata Pančevo), and especially Mr. Predrag Vranić (antique bookshop Kuća za sunce, Belgrade), Zoran Božović (Novi Sad), and the Ministry of Culture, Cetinje, Montenegro



Sl. 1. Pogled na Antivari s jugozapada (izvor: Josip Weber)  
*Fig. 1 View of Antivari from the southwest (source: Josip Weber)*

Položaj današnjeg utvrđenoga grada poznat pod imenom Stari Bar nalazi se na brdu smještenom 3,5 km od mora i očito je bio odabran zbog svojih prirodnih prednosti.<sup>1</sup> Lokacija na nadmorskoj visini od preko 150 metara te na površini od približno 4 hektara bila je idealna za utvrđeni grad, zahvaljujući riječnoj dolini uzduž tri strane visoravni koje ga odvajaju od okolnih brda, dok je, zahvaljujući liticama, zapadna i dijelom južna strana visoravni potpuno nepristupačna. Visoravan ima opći nagib prema jugozapadu, što je diktiralo položaj glavnog ulaza u grad i razvodnu komunikacijsku mrežu samoga grada.

Arheološka istraživanja starije katedrale provedena 1952. te 1954. godine pokazala su da je, sudeći po nalazima helenističke i prapovijesne keramike koji su otkriveni tijekom iskopavanja grobova koji su bili smješteni među ostacima starije katedrale, tu već postojao nekakav prapovijesni i antički objekt.<sup>2</sup> Nažalost, iako su ovi nalazi ostali neobjavljeni, to je bio konačan dokaz da je ovo mjesto stalno bilo naseljeno, od prapovijesti te tijekom antičkog i srednjovjekovnog razdoblja.<sup>3</sup> Donedavno je postojalo malo dokaza o točnom datiranju nastanka Bara, no novija arheološka istraživanja pružila su dokaze da

The present day fortified city that is known as “Old Bar” is situated on a hill, 3.5 km away from the sea and its location had been obviously selected for its natural advantages.<sup>1</sup> Its height on an elevation of 151 m.a.s.l. and the surface area of approximately 4 ha were ideal for positioning a fortified city there due to the fact that the river valleys along three sides of the plateau are separating it from the surrounding hills and the cliff on the east and partly south side make the plateau completely inaccessible. The plateau has a general inclination towards the southwest, what in turn had dictated the position of the main entrance to the city and the distribution grid of the city communications.

The archaeological excavations conducted in 1952 and 1954 had shown that some prehistoric and ancient structure, as judged by the finds of Hellenic and prehistoric ceramic, which were discovered during the excavation of the tombs that were placed among the remains of the older cathedral, had already existed on the site of the older cathedral.<sup>2</sup> Although these finds unfortunately remained unpublished, they were definitive proof that this location had been constantly inhabited from the prehistory, through the ancient and medieval periods.<sup>3</sup> Until

<sup>1</sup> Iz praktičnih razloga u ovom tekstu će se koristiti naziv *Antivari* umjesto Stari Bar.

<sup>2</sup> Bošković 1962, str. 11, bilj. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Bošković 1962, str. 257; Mijović 1974, str. 29-30; Mijović 1995, str. 16, 33.

<sup>1</sup> For practical reasons, the name Antivari will be used instead of Stari Bar in this text.

<sup>2</sup> Bošković 1962, p. 11, n. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Bošković 1962, p. 257; Mijović 1974, pp. 29-30; Mijović 1995, p.16, 33.





Sl. 2. Zračna snimka Antivarija, kompleks katedrala dolje desno (izvor: Katastar Crne Gore)

*Fig. 2 Orthogonal view of Antivari, the complex of cathedrals is at the lower right (source: Cadaster of Montenegro)*

je sadašnji položaj utvrđenoga grada bio naseljen i mnogo ranije. Ostaci neolitičkog materijala pronađeni na širem području, naime, različiti predmeti kao, na primjer, eneolitske sjekire, bodeži, vaze neobične izrade i slično, dokaz su da je tijekom ilirskog, grčkog i rimskog doba na tom području postojala ilirska gradina u 9. stoljeću.<sup>4</sup> Međutim,

<sup>4</sup> Intervju mr. sci. Mladena Zagarčanina, glavnog istražitelja objavljen na, <https://www.slobodnaevropa.org/a/zagarcanin-stari-bar-je-pupak-istoka-i-zapada/25388585.html>. Mi smo sada nedvosmisleno dokazali da je Stari grad počeo da se razvija već u razdoblju kasnog eneolitika i početka ranog brončanog doba. Počeo je odjednom, iz razloga koje tek sada utvrđujemo, nestajati i blijedjeti na početku željeznodobnog razdoblja. To su rezultati koji su ostvareni uz pomoć arheometrijskih istraživanja. Koristili smo i metode C-14, odnosno proučavanja radio-karbonskog datiranja organskih materija, ali i druge arheometrijske metode, kao što su termoluminiscencija, arheozoološke i zoološko-botaničke metode. Prikupili smo jedan prilično velik broj podataka iz tog razdoblja. Fokusirali smo se na prilično velike lokalitete, koji se nalaze u okruženju Staroga grada, kao što je velika luka, koja se počela stvarati krajem četvrtog i početkom trećeg stoljeća prije nove ere, jedno značajno sidrište gdje se pretovarivala roba, sve do

recently, there was little evidence for dating the time of the founding of Bar, but recent archaeological research provided evidence that the present location of the fortified city was inhabited much earlier. Namely, the remains of Neolithic material found in the wider area, including various objects such as Eneolithic axes, daggers, vases of unusual workmanship, etc., testify that in the area, during Illyrian, Greek and Roman times, there was an Illyrian hillfort in the 9<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>4</sup> However, another agglomeration existed during the Roman rule on the Adriatic coast, but unfortunately it remained for the greater part unexcavated. This agglomeration was obviously inhabited during early Christianity between the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries when the famous Bar Trichonchos, which could be the first cathedral of Bar,<sup>5</sup> was constructed. Other ancient remains, possibly a roman villa, existed nearby based upon the accidental discovery of its remains which were encountered much earlier at the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>6</sup>

The geographic position also shows that the area of present-day Bar was ideal for being used as a harbor. This earlier agglomeration on the coast, together with the agglomeration on the site of present-day Stari Bar (Antivari), can therefore both be considered as the precedents of the present-day town of Bar. The site of Antivari was constantly inhabited almost until the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century when it heavily suffered during and after the liberation wars, and since has been abandoned and left in ruins which were almost completely overgrown in shrubs and

<sup>4</sup> Interview by the chief investigator Mr. Mladen Zagarčanin published on <https://www.slobodnaevropa.org/a/zagarcanin-stari-bar-je-pupak-istoka-i-zapada/25388585.html>: -We have now unequivocally proved that the Old Town began to develop already in the Late Eneolithic and the beginning of the Early Bronze Age. It suddenly began, for reasons we are only now determining, to disappear and fade at the beginning of the Iron Age. These are the results achieved with the help of archaeometric research. We also used the C-14 methods, i.e. the study of radio-carbon dating of organic matter, but also other archeometric methods, such as thermo luminescence, archaeozoological and zoological-botanical methods. We collected a fairly large amount of data from that period. We focused on fairly large sites, located in the vicinity of the Old Town of Bar, such as the large port, which began to be created in the late fourth and early third centuries BC, a significant anchorage where goods were transhipped.

<sup>5</sup> Mijović 1995, pp. 33-34.

<sup>6</sup> Mijović 1995, p. 34.



za vrijeme rimske vladavine na obali Jadrana postojala je još jedna aglomeracija, koja je nažalost većim dijelom ostala neistražena. Očigledno je da je ova aglomeracija bila naseljena u vrijeme ranoga kršćanstva između 6. i 7. stoljeća, kada je izgrađen čuveni barski trikonhos, za koji je moguće da je bio prva barska katedrala.<sup>5</sup> U blizini su postojali i drugi antički ostaci te, sudeći po slučajnom otkriću ostataka na koje se naišlo mnogo ranije, početkom 20. stoljeća, najvjerojatnije je tu bila rimska vila.<sup>6</sup>

Geografski položaj također ukazuje na to da je područje današnjega grada Bara bilo idealno da bude korišteno kao luka. Prema tome, ova ranija aglomeracija na obali, zajedno s aglomeracijom na mjestu današnjega Starog Bara (*Antivari*), može se smatrati pretečom današnjega grada Bara. Lokalitet *Antivari* bio je neprekidno naseljen gotovo do kraja 19. stoljeća, kada je teško stradao tijekom i nakon oslobodilačkih ratova, a od tada je napušten i ostavljen u ruševinama koje su u vrijeme istraživanja u ranim 1950-ima bile gotovo potpuno zarasle u grmlje i šumu. Tijekom svog postojanja grad *Antivari* imao je burnu povijest. U povijesnim izvorima ime Stari Bar prvi put se spominje u 9. stoljeću pod imenom *Antibareos*.<sup>7</sup> Prema Konstantinu Porfirogenetu Avari su „uništili“ Rimljane (ilirsko-romanske starosjedioce; „Grke“ i „Rimljane“ iz narodne predaje) koji su živjeli na ravninama, te su oni potražili utočište u utvrđenim primorskim gradovima (Ulcinj, Budva, osobito Kotor).<sup>8</sup> Pretpostavlja se da je tada naseljeno stanovništvo iz temelja podiglo grad Bar. U ranom srednjem vijeku *Antivari* (latinski: *Antibarium*) ostao je pod Bizantskim Carstvom kao dio teme Dirahij.<sup>9</sup>

Tijekom 11. stoljeća postaje prijestolnica slobodne crnogorske države u Zeti pod vodstvom Stefana Vojislava i Mihajla, a krajem istog stoljeća postaje sjedištem samostalne crkvene organizacije unutar Katoličke crkve poznate kao Barska nadbiskupija. Da je Bar, koji je stoljećima bio dobro utvrđen grad, bio veoma važno duhovno, kulturno i političko središte, svjedoči podatak da je do sredine 8. stoljeća bio sjedište biskupije.<sup>10</sup> To područje, tada



Sl. 3. Detalj austrougarske vojne karte s prikazom područja Antivarija (izvor: zbirka S. O. Živkov)  
 Fig. 3 Detail of an Austro-Hungarian military map showing the area of Antivari (source: collection of S. O. Živkov)

wood at the time of the research campaign conducted in the early fifties. Throughout its existence, the town of Antivari had a turbulent history. Historical sources mention the name Stari Bar for the first time in the 9<sup>th</sup> century under the name *Antibareos*.<sup>7</sup> According to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the Avars “destroyed” the Romans (Illyrian-Romanesque natives; “Greeks” and “Romans” from the folk tradition) who lived in the plains, so they sought refuge in fortified coastal towns (Ulcinj, Budva, especially in Kotor).<sup>8</sup> It is assumed that the settled population fundamentally built the town of Bar in this way. In the Early Middle Ages, **Antivari** (Latin: *Antibarium*) remained a subject of the Byzantine Empire, as part of the Theme of Dyrrhacium.<sup>9</sup>

During the 11<sup>th</sup> century, it became the capital of the free Montenegrin state in Zeta under Stefan Vojislav and Mihajlo, and at the end of the same century it became the seat of an independent church organization within the Catholic Church known as the

srednjeg vijeka, kada imamo najmlađe nalaze u okviru istraživanja koje je provedeno zadnjih godina.

<sup>5</sup> Mijović 1995, str. 33-34.

<sup>6</sup> Mijović 1995, str. 34.

<sup>7</sup> Mijović 1975, str. 62-69; Mijović 1995, str. 35.

<sup>8</sup> Mijović 1977, str. 53; Mijović 1995, str. 35.

<sup>9</sup> Mijović 1977, str. 52-54.

<sup>10</sup> Bošković 1962.

<sup>7</sup> Mijović 1975, pp. 62-69; Mijović 1995, p. 35.

<sup>8</sup> Mijović 1977, p. 53; Mijović 1995, p. 35.

<sup>9</sup> Mijović 1977, pp. 52-54.

još uvijek dio Bizantskog Carstva, 1042. godine, u znamenitoj „bitci kod Bara“ koja se vodila na padinama Rumije, oslobodio je zetski vladar Vojislav (1017. - 1050.). Pretpostavlja se da je već 1077. godine Mihailo Vojislavljević, prvi crnogorski kralj, okrunjen u Baru, a kao potvrdu tog čina primio je kraljevske insignije od pape Klementa III.<sup>11</sup> Nakon toga Barom je vladao kralj Bodin Vojislavljević (1082. - 1101.). Godine 1089., zahvaljujući Bodinovu zalaganju, Barska biskupija dobiva naslov nadbiskupije te time grad Bar postaje središte Bodinove države. Sredinom 11. stoljeća Bar ponovno pripada Duklji, a nakon 1183. godine opet postaje dio Bizantskog Carstva. Naime, s ostatkom Zete ulazi u sastav države nemanjičke Srbije do 1360. godine,<sup>12</sup> nakon čega slijedi vladavina crnogorske kraljevske obitelji Balšić<sup>13</sup>. Oko 1360. godine, dok se Srpsko Carstvo raspadalo, obitelj Balšić iz Zete preuzela je kontrolu nad Barom i na tom području stvorila nezavisni teritorij koji je nakratko kontrolirao Ludovik I. Ugarski. Tijekom tog razdoblja princeza Helena i Balša III. smatraju Antivari glavnim gradom države. Godine 1404. Antivari je nakratko pripojen Mletačkoj Republici, a godine 1412. je ponovno u rukama Balšića.<sup>14</sup> Godine 1421. Antivari je pod patronatom despota Stefana Lazarevića, a od 1427. pod patronatom despota Đurđa Brankovića, kada ponovo postaje prijestolnica Zete. Nakon kratkotrajne vladavine slavnoga bosanskog vladara Stefana Vukčića Kosače, Antivari, zajedno s primorskim krajevima, 1443. godine osvajaju Mlečani, čija vlast traje do 1571. godine, kada ulazi u sastav Turskog Carstva u sklopu osmanskog proširenja u Europi<sup>15</sup>. Turska vlast trajala je do 1878. godine, kada su Crnogorci oslobodili Antivari. Tada Crna Gora postaje nezavisna država. Međutim, 1908. godine Ministarsko vijeće Kneževine Crne Gore, potaknuto činjenicom da je Antivari bio gotovo potpuno uništen tijekom oslobodilačkog rata, donosi odluku da se pokrene izgradnja novoga grada, imena Bar, koji vrlo brzo dobiva na značenju i ugledu.

Utvrđeni grad Antivari ostao je praktički neistražen sve do 1952. godine, kada su provedena temeljita arhitektonska istraživanja grada i okolice te vrlo ograničena arheološka istraživanja koja su

Bar Archdiocese. Evidence that Bar, which was a well-fortified city for centuries by then, was a very important spiritual, cultural and political center is provided by the fact that the town was the seat of the diocese until the mid-8<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>10</sup> This territory, which was still part of the Byzantine Empire, was liberated by the Zeta ruler Vojislav (1017 - 1050) in 1042, i.e. in the famous “Battle of Bar”, which was fought on the slopes of Rumija. It is assumed that, as early as 1077, the first Montenegrin king Mikhail Vojislavljević was crowned in Bar, when he also received the royal insignia from Pope Clement III as a confirmation of this act.<sup>11</sup> Bar was then ruled by King Bodin Vojislavljević (1082 - 1101). With Bodin’s efforts, the diocese of Bar received the title of an archdiocese in 1089, and thus the town of Bar became the center of Bodin’s state. In the mid-11<sup>th</sup> century, Bar again belonged to Dioclea, while after 1183 it became part of the Byzantine Empire again, when it, with the rest of Zeta, became part of the Serbian state of the Nemanjić dynasty until 1360,<sup>12</sup> followed by the rule of Montenegrin royal family Balšić.<sup>13</sup> Around 1360, as the Serbian Empire crumbled, the Balšić family of Zeta gained control of Bar and created an independent territory in the area, which was briefly controlled by Louis I of Hungary. During that period, Princess Helena and Balša III considered Antivari the state capital. In 1404, Antivari was briefly annexed by the Republic of Venice, and in 1412, the city was again in the hands of the Balšić dynasty.<sup>14</sup> In 1421, Antivari was under the patronage of despot Stefan Lazarević, and from 1427 under the patronage of despot Đurađ Branković when it became the capital of Zeta again. After a brief period of rule of the famous Bosnian lord Stefan Vukčić Kosača, Antivari along with the coastal areas was conquered in 1443 by Venice, whose rule lasted until 1571 when it became part of the Turkish Empire within the Ottoman expansion into Europe.<sup>15</sup> The Turkish rule lasted until 1878 when Antivari was liberated by the Montenegrins and Montenegro became an independent state. However, the fact that Antivari was almost completely destroyed during the liberation war lead to the future decision of the Council of

<sup>11</sup> Mijović 1974, str. 30.

<sup>12</sup> Mijović 1995, str. 41.

<sup>13</sup> Mijović 1995, str. 49.

<sup>14</sup> Mijović 1995, str. 50-51.

<sup>15</sup> Mijović 1995, str. 51.

<sup>10</sup> Bošković 1962.

<sup>11</sup> Mijović 1974, p. 30.

<sup>12</sup> Mijović 1995, p. 41.

<sup>13</sup> Mijović 1995, p. 49.

<sup>14</sup> Mijović 1995, pp. 50-51.

<sup>15</sup> Mijović 1995, p. 51.





Sl. 4. Tlocrt Antivarija unutar zidina, katedrala je označena slovom C (izvor: Mijović, Kovačević 1975.)  
 Fig. 4 Plan of Antivari within the walls, the cathedral is marked with the letter C (source: Mijović, Kovačević 1975.)

zapravo provedena u sklopu detaljnijeg arhitektonskog istraživanja i mjerenja cjelovitoga grada unutar zidina.<sup>16</sup> Jedno od rijetkih istraženih arheoloških nalazišta u Antivariju bila je lokacija uništenih katedrala, koja je znanstveno istražena tijekom istraživačke kampanje čiji je glavni cilj bilo arhitektonsko mjerenje i urbanističko istraživanje srednjovjekovnoga grada. Najvažnija su bila iskopavanja lokaliteta katedrale, a obavljena su u dvije kampanje, 1952. te 1954. godine.<sup>17</sup> Iz narodne je predaje znano da je u više navrata bilo amaterskih istraživanja – prvo tijekom raščišćavanja ruševina nakon velike eksplozije baruta iz 1881. godine, a drugo prije Drugog svjetskog rata, slijedom kojih je cijeli lokalitet ostao u potpunom kaosu, s izrazito narušenom arheološkom stratigrafijom i vrlo oskudnim arheološkim nalazima, koji su u međuvremenu izgubljeni.<sup>18</sup> Nažalost, zidovi otkriveni pedesetih godina su nakon istraživanja ostali nezaštićeni i ne-

Ministers of the Principality of Montenegro to start the construction of a new city called Bar in 1908, which very soon gained in importance and prestige.

The fortified city of Antivari remained practically unexplored until 1952 when a thorough architectural research of the city and its environs was conducted as well as very limited archaeological research, which was actually conducted as part of the detailed research and architectural measurement of the complete city within the walls.<sup>16</sup> One of the few excavated archaeological sites in the city was the location of Antivari's destroyed cathedrals, which was scientifically investigated during the research campaign whose main target was the architectural measurement and urban research of the medieval city. The most important excavations were done at the site of the cathedral, which were conducted in two campaigns in 1952 and 1954.<sup>17</sup> From the local tradition, it was already known that there had been some amateur excavations on several occasions, the first were done during the clearing of the ruins after the great gunpowder explosion in 1881 and the second excavations were organized before WWII. As a result, the entire site was left in complete chaos with a heavily disturbed archaeological stratigraphy and very scarce archaeological finds that have been lost in the meantime.<sup>18</sup> Unfortunately, after the excavations in the 1950s, the discovered walls were left unprotected and have not been preserved and the excavation trenches were left unfilled. Consequently, the badly preserved remains of the walls have further deteriorated, while the archaeological finds from these excavations were fortunately transferred to the local museum and the lapidarium within the city walls.<sup>19</sup> The main result of the excavations in 1952 and 1954 was the discovery of superimposed architectural remains of two consecutive cathedrals. According to historical sources, it is known that the first cathedral was dedicated to St Theodore,<sup>20</sup> and the archaeological excavations confirmed the local tradition that the cathedral of St Theodore was destroyed in a conflagration but without the precise date of its occurrence. Its destruction in a fire was confirmed by the discovery of a layer of soot in the

<sup>16</sup> O istraživačkoj kampanji: Bošković 1962, XI.

<sup>17</sup> Bošković 1962, str. 9-10.

<sup>18</sup> Bošković 1962, str. 9, bilj. 1.

<sup>16</sup> About the research campaign: Bošković 1962, XI.

<sup>17</sup> Bošković 1962, pp. 9-10.

<sup>18</sup> Bošković 1962, p. 9, n. 1.

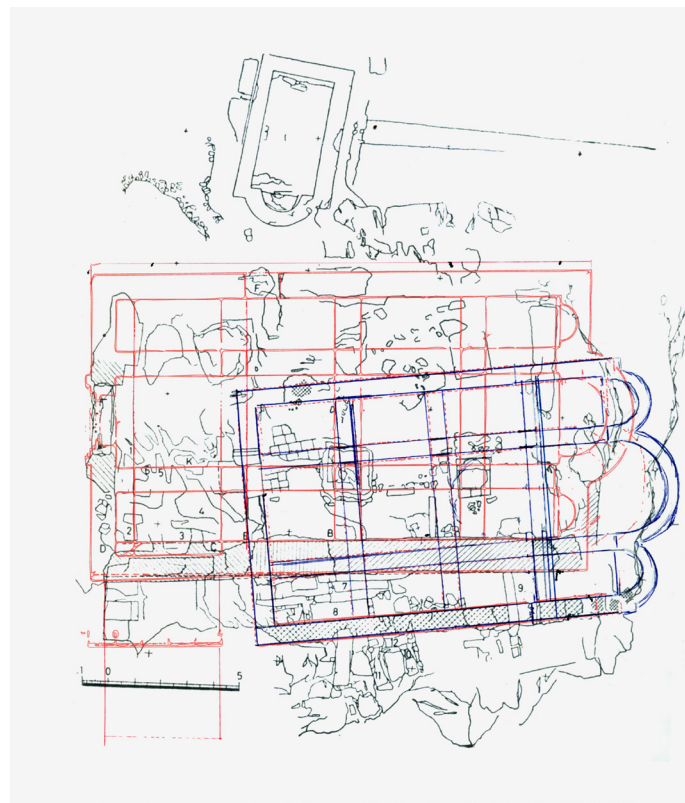
<sup>19</sup> About the excavations of Cathedral of St Theodore: Bošković 1962, pp. 11-12; Mijović 1995, pp. 69-95.

<sup>20</sup> Farlati VII, p. 12; Bošković 1962, p. 11.



očuvani, a iskopani rovovi nezatrpani. Stoga su loše očuvani ostaci zidova dodatno propadali. Na sreću, arheološki nalazi s ovih istraživanja preneseni su u zavičajni muzej i lapidarij unutar gradskih zidina.<sup>19</sup> Glavni rezultat istraživanja 1952. i 1954. godine bio je pronalazak preklapljenih arhitektonskih ostataka dviju uzastopnih katedrala. Povijesni izvori otkrivaju da je prva katedrala bila posvećena svetom Teodoru<sup>20</sup>, a arheološka istraživanja potvrdila su lokalnu predaju da je katedrala sv. Teodora stradala u požaru, no točno vrijeme požara nije poznato. Požar je potvrđen pronalaskom sloja čađe u ruševinama među ostacima zidova.<sup>21</sup> Srećom, povijesni izvor otkriva *terminus post quem* za postojanje druge katedrale, sv. Jurja.<sup>22</sup> Prvi spomen katedrale sv. Jurja vezan je uz zetskog kralja Grubješiu, koji je godine 1125. ondje pokopan, što pak otkriva podatak da je te godine katedrala sv. Jurja već bila dijelom izgrađena.<sup>23</sup> Nije poznato koliko je zapravo trajao proces izgradnje katedrale sv. Jurja. Međutim, prisutnost nekoliko građevinskih promjena koje su prepoznate tijekom iskopavanja te nedavna otkrića nekoliko arhitektonskih elemenata iz gotičke faze kao i dobro dokumentirani natpisi koji su nekad stajali na pročelju druge katedrale upućuju na to da je proces gradnje završen 1543. godine. Smatra se da je tada katedrala dobila svoj konačni oblik.

Glavni problem istraživanja arhitekture obiju katedrala u Antivariju leži u činjenici da izvorno izvješće o istraživanju nikada nije objavljeno. Kratko, uglavnom deskriptivno izvješće s fotografijama objavljeno je u sklopu monografije *Arhitektonske topografije Antivarija i okolice*.<sup>24</sup> Iako izrađen nakon arheoloških istraživanja, detaljni tlocrtni prikaz objavljen je bez opisnih legendi otkrivenih objekata koji su pomno numerirani. Na tlocrtnom prikazu nema oznaka mjesta gdje su napravljena tri presjeka arheološkog lokaliteta zapad – istok, a nema ni oznaka orijentacije crteža. Sve su to aspekti koji se moraju odrediti analizom crteža. Opisi nekih od



Sl. 5. Tlocrt istraženog područja katedrala (Bošković 1963.); ostaci katedrale sv. Teodora ekstrapolirani su plavom bojom, a ostaci katedrale sv. Jurja crvenom bojom (S. Temerinski i S. O. Živkov)

Fig. 5: Plan of the excavated area of the cathedrals (Bošković 1963), the remains of the cathedral of St Theodore is extrapolated in blue, the remains of the cathedral of St George is extrapolated in red (S. Temerinski and S.O. Živkov)

rubble among the remains of the walls.<sup>21</sup> Fortunately, the historical source provides the *terminus post quem* for the existence of the second cathedral of St George.<sup>22</sup> The first mention of the second cathedral of St George is related to the burial of the Zetan king Grubješiu, who was buried in 1125 AD in the church of St George, what in turns provides the fact that the cathedral of St George had already been partly built in that year.<sup>23</sup> It is not known how long the construction process of the cathedral of St George actually lasted, but the presence of several

<sup>19</sup> O istraživanjima katedrale sv. Teodora: Bošković 1962, str.11-12; Mijović 1995, str. 69-95.

<sup>20</sup> Farlatti VII, str.12; Bošković 1962, str. 11.

<sup>21</sup> Bošković 1962, str.11.

<sup>22</sup> Šišić 1928, Ljetopis popa Dukljanina.

<sup>23</sup> Praksu korištenja crkava tijekom gradnje opisao je Petricioli, koji 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).

<sup>24</sup> Bošković 1962, str. 9-20.

<sup>21</sup> Bošković 1962, p. 11.

<sup>22</sup> Šišić 1928, Ljetopis popa Dukljanina.

<sup>23</sup> The practise of use of the churches during the construction process was described by Petricioli In his article about the Romanesque sculpture of the Zadar cathedral, Petricioli explains that the particular church can be consecrated when the construction process is so advanced that the rites may be performed in a part of the church. Petricioli 1996, p. 220.

objavljenih fotografija nepotpuni su i potrebno je utvrditi s kojeg mjesta su fotografije snimljene. Nadalje, nema crteža i dimenzija objavljene predromaničke plastike. Još uvijek nije poznato gdje se nalazi izvorna arhitektonska i fotografska dokumentacija jer je izvorni izdavač, nekadašnji Savezni zavod za zaštitu spomenika u Beogradu, ugašen 1972. godine, a njegov znanstveni arhiv većim dijelom raspršen.<sup>25</sup>

### Arhitektura katedrale sv. Teodora

Najniži dijelovi južnog zida su u vrijeme iskopavanja bili sačuvani u gotovo cijeloj dužini. Položaj zapadnog pročelja naznačen je naglim prekidom južnog zida na zapadnoj strani, gdje je bio pričvršćen za uklesanu stijenu sa zaravnjenom gornjom površinom. Jasno je da je zapadni zid građen neposredno na površini stijene te da je zapadni ulaz u katedralu sv. Teodora postavljen na višoj razini od popločanja unutrašnjosti, a stepenice istočno od ulaza bile su potrebne za komunikaciju. Drugi važan arhitektonski element ranije crkve bilo je otkriće nosivog stupa iz temelja koji je služio za unutarnji stup broda koji je bio uklopljen u strukturu južnog zida druge katedrale. Dimenzije stupa su 68 x 68 cm, što je pak ukazivalo da bi stup ove veličine mogao nositi stup broda. Sjeverni je zid bio gotovo u potpunosti uništen, ali bilo je moguće zaključiti njegov položaj jer su ispod ostataka druge katedrale otkriveni ostaci žbuke i lomljenog kamena, kao i najbolje očuvani dijelovi popločanja od opeke sjevernog traveja. Ista situacija otkrivena je na istočnoj strani prve katedrale te je očito da se istočni dio stijene postupno urušavao tijekom njezine povijesti. U vrijeme pronalaska originalni pod prve katedrale bio je djelomično sačuvan na nekoliko mjesta u unutrašnjosti. Postoje dvije različite vrste popločanja. Najbolje očuvani dijelovi poda su prostori u sjeverozapadnom dijelu katedrale. Ti di-

construction changes recognized during the excavations, the recent discoveries of several architectural elements from the Gothic phase and well documented inscriptions which once stood on the façade of the second cathedral all indicate to the fact that the construction process was actually completed in 1543 when the cathedral received its final form.

The main problem for the research of the architecture of both cathedrals in Antivari is the fact that the original excavation report was never published. A brief and mostly descriptive report with photographs was published as part of a monograph – the architectural topography of Antivari and its environs<sup>24</sup>. Although a detailed situation plan was prepared after the archaeological excavations, it was published without the descriptive legends of the discovered structures which were carefully numbered. On the situation plan there are no indications for the place where the three West – East cross sections of the archaeological site were made, and there are no indications to show the orientation of the drawings. All this must be deduced from the analysis of the drawings. The descriptions of some of the published photographs are incomplete and the vantage point from which the photographs were taken must be deduced. There are no drawings and no dimensions of the published Pre-Romanesque plastic. At present, it is not known where the original architectural and photographic documentation is being held, because the original publisher, the former Federal Institute for Monuments Protection in Belgrade was shut down in 1972 and its scientific archive was for the greater part dispersed<sup>25</sup>.

<sup>25</sup> Nije obavljena službena primopredaja znanstvenog arhiva Federalnog zavoda Republičkom zavodu za zaštitu spomenika koji je preuzeo prostorije, knjižnicu i drugu imovinu Federalnog zavoda. No dio materijala sačuvan je u privatnoj zbirci, a dr. Pavle Mijović, prvobitni istražitelj katedrale, objavio je neke od fotografija iz svoje zbirke. Autor ove studije je 2012. godine otkrio arhitektonsku i fotografsku dokumentaciju za gradove Trogir i Hvar u privatnom vlasništvu, kao i fotografije i starinske arhitektonske planove iz *Kriegsarchive Wien* koji su ukradeni iz Federalnog zavoda. Sva ta građa je digitalizirana i donirana Institutu za povijest umjetnosti u Zagrebu.

<sup>24</sup> Bošković 1962, pp. 9-20.

<sup>25</sup> There was no official handover of the scientific archive of the Federal Institute with the Republic Institute for Monument Protection, which took over the premises, library and other possessions of the Federal Institute. However, some of the material was preserved in a private collection and the original excavator of the cathedral, Dr. Pavle Mijović has published some of the photographs from his collection. In 2012, the author of this study has discovered in private hands the architectural and photographic documentation for the cities of Trogir and Hvar, as well as photographs and vintage architectural plans from the *Kriegsarchiv Wien* that were stolen from the Federal Institute. All this material was digitalized and donated to the Institute of Art History in Zagreb.

jelovi su konstruirani pomoću pravokutnih ploča od opeke postavljenih preko zaravnjene površine stijene, ispunjene djelomice žbukom ili zemljom, ili jednostavno preko zaravnjene površine stijene, dok su dijelovi na istoku građeni ponovnom upotrebom ulomaka ranijeg mozaika koji je najvjerojatnije donesen s udaljene lokacije, bilo s barskog trikonhosa ili neke druge antičke građevine čiji su ostaci slučajno otkriveni početkom 20. stoljeća.<sup>26</sup> Činjenica da je popločanje od opeke korišteno u dva zapadna traveja, dok su ostaci već upotrijebljenog mozaika korišteni u travejima sjeverno i južno od kupole, ukazuje na to da je ovo područje namjerno popločano na način da ističe dekorativnost kako bi se naglasila njegova važnost. Također je moguće da su ostali elementi nadgradnje poput stupova i kapitela doneseni s drugih starijih lokacija u blizini. Za ovo postoji jasna analogija u kripti u ulcinjskoj tvrđavi, gdje su nađeni elementi iz ranije crkve: stupovi, temelji itd. ponovno su korišteni za izgradnju krip-te.<sup>27</sup> Sve donedavno nijedan stup ili fragment kapitela nije bio prepoznat kao dio izvorne arhitekture prve katedrale, ali neki od kapitela koji su ugrađeni u Spomenik oslobođenja izgrađen ispred grada vjerojatno bi mogli potjecati iz katedrale sv. Teodora.

Međutim, očuvani južni zid sa sačuvanim stupom južne kolonade i dokumentiranim položajem sjevernog zida zajedno s očuvanim dijelovima izvornog poda svjedoče o rekonstrukciji trobrodne bazilike, čiji su brodovi bili odvojeni kolonadama koje se sastoje od po tri stupa. Od 1952. objavljena je samo skica rekonstrukcije tlocrta bez ikakvog pokušaja rekonstrukcije cjelovitog pročelja katedrale sv. Teodora.<sup>28</sup> Nažalost, postojeći ostaci katedrale sv. Teodora nisu se sve do sada pokušali uklopiti u rekonstruirani tlocrt.

Kao posljedica toga, u objavljenoj rekonstrukciji tlocrta, bez ikakvog obrazloženja, istočni traveji katedrale rekonstruirani su kao usječeni oblici, iako sačuvani dio stijene dopušta rekonstrukciju katedrale s četiri traveja jednake duljine.<sup>29</sup> Iznimka je drugi

## The architecture of the cathedral of St Theodore

At the time of the excavations, the preserved parts of the remains were the lowest parts of the south wall, which were preserved almost in its full length. The position of the west façade was indicated by the abrupt break of the south wall on the west side where it was attached to a rock which was hewn and had an evened upper surface. It is obvious that the western wall was constructed directly on the surface of the bedrock and that the west entrance to the cathedral of St Theodore was placed higher than the paving of the interior and the steps to the east of the entrance were necessary for communication. Another important architectural element of the earlier church was the discovery of the supporting foundation pillar for an internal column of the nave, which was incorporated in the structure of the south wall of the second cathedral. The dimensions of the pillar are 68 x 68 cm, what in turn indicated that a pillar of this size could support the column of the nave. The north wall was almost completely destroyed, but it was possible to deduce its position because the remains of the mortar and broken stones were discovered under the remains of the second cathedral as well as the best preserved sections of the brick paving of the north bay. The same situation was discovered on the east side of the first cathedral and it is obvious that the east part of the rock had gradually collapsed during the history of the complex. The original floor of the first cathedral was discovered in a partly preserved state in several places in the interior of the church. There are two different kinds of paving. The best preserved sections of the floor are the areas in the NW part of the cathedral. These were constructed with the use of rectangular brick plates placed over the evened surface of the bedrock, partly filled with mortar or earth or simply over the leveled surface of the bedrock, while parts in the east were constructed with the reuse of fragments of an earlier mosaic which was obviously brought from a possibly distant location, either the Bar Triconchos or some other ancient building whose remains were accidentally discovered at the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>26</sup> The fact that the brick paving was used in two western bays while the remains of the reused mosaic were

<sup>26</sup> Bošković 1962, str. 12, T. XXVI; Mijović 1995, str. 11-29.

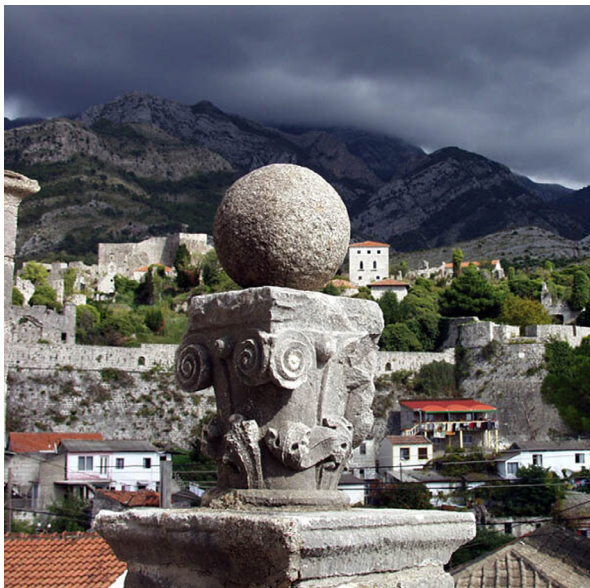
<sup>27</sup> Ulcinj I, str. 17-18, T. X.

<sup>28</sup> Bošković 1962, str. 10, sl. 13.

<sup>29</sup> Mijović je (Mijović 1967, str. 45, Mijović 1995, str. 78) bio jedini autor koji je pisao o mogućem urušavanju kamenog platoa s katedralom sv. Teodora. Činjenica da nisu otkriveni nikakvi ostaci središnje apside crkve sv. Teodora, jasno upućuje na to da se ovaj dio stijene urušio već tijekom gradnje katedrale sv. Jurja, a prilikom planiranja gradnje graditelji su očito bili svje-

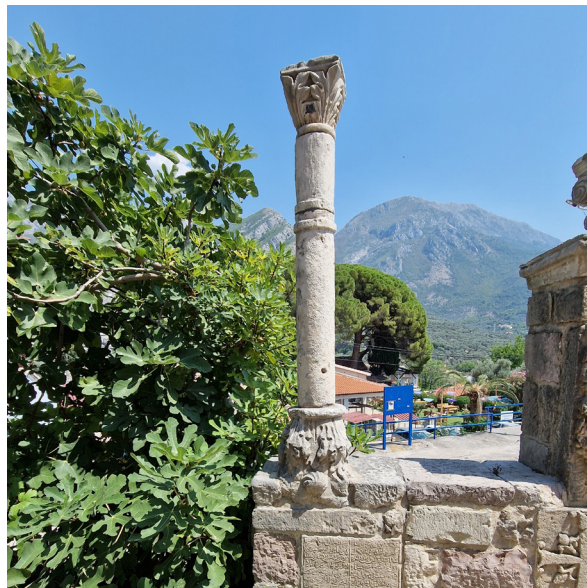
<sup>26</sup> Bošković 1962, p. 12, Pl. XXVI; Mijović 1995, pp. 11-29.





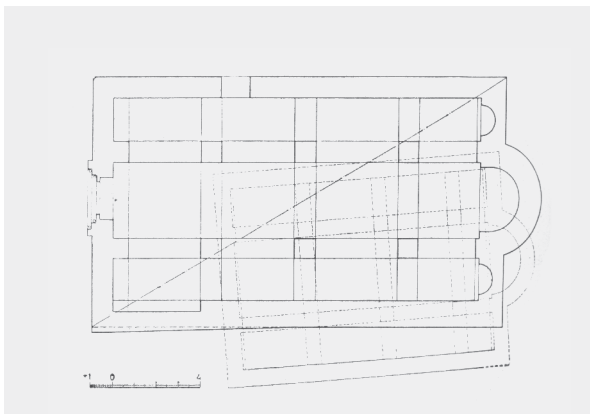
Sl 6. Detalj Spomenika oslobođenja u Antivariju, kapitel, vjerojatno iz katedrale sv. Teodora (izvor: Josip Weber)

*Fig. 6 Detail of the Liberation monument in Antivari, capital probably from the cathedral of St Theodore (source: Josip Weber)*



Sl 7. Detalj Spomenika oslobođenja u Antivariju, kapitel, vjerojatno iz katedrale sv. Teodora (izvor: Josip Weber)

*Fig. 7 Detail of the Liberation monument in Antivari, capital probably from the cathedral of St Theodore (source: Josip Weber)*



Sl 8. Rekonstruirani tlocrt katedrala sv. Teodora i sv. Jurja (izvor Bošković 1963.)

*Fig. 8 Restored plan of the cathedrals of St Theodore and St George (source: Bošković 1963.)*

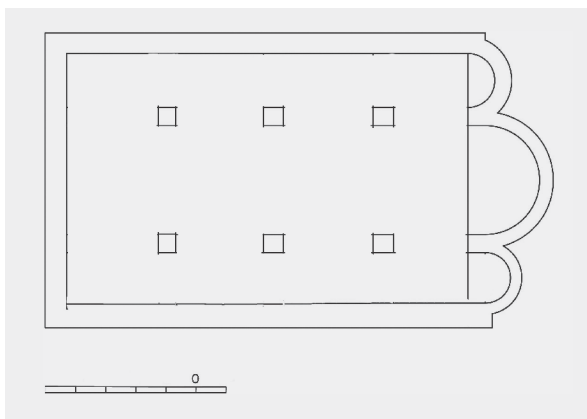
travej s istoka, koji je bio nešto širi, što pak ukazuje da se na križanju glavnog broda i traveja sa sjevera i juga može izvesti kupola flankirana sa sjevera i juga poprečnim krovom nad bočnim travejem. Uz to, nadgradnja katedrale sv. Teodora je bez ikakvog logičnog objašnjenja bila opisno rekonstruirana s drvenim krovom na vrhu.

sni jasne i neposredne opasnosti od daljnjeg urušavanja stijena, te su katedralu sv. Jurja namjerno postavili zapadnije. Kao rezultat toga, zapadni dio katedrale sv. Jurja izgrađen je preko ravne i klesane stijene.

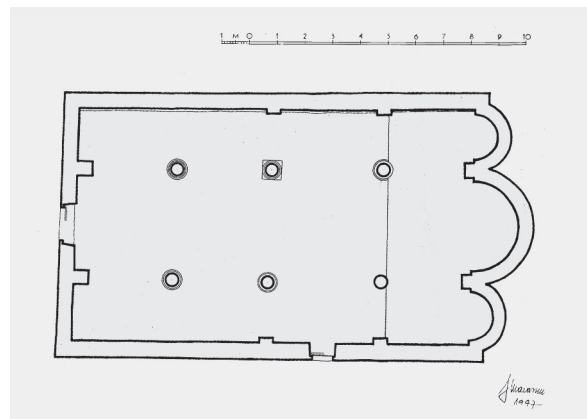
used in the bays to the dome's north and south side indicates that this area was deliberately paved in a more decorative manner in order to emphasize the importance of that area. It is also possible that the other elements of the superstructure, like columns and capitals, were brought from other older locations in the vicinity. There is a clear analogy for this in the crypt in the fortress of Ulcinj, where elements from an earlier church, such as columns, bases etc., were reused for the construction of the crypt.<sup>27</sup> Until recently, no column or capital fragments were recognized as parts belonging to the original architecture of the first cathedral, but some of the capitals incorporated into the Liberation monument built in front of the city might likely derive from the cathedral of St Theodore.

However, the preserved south wall together with the preserved pillar of the south colonnade and the documented position of the north wall, along with the preserved areas of the original floor provide evidence for the reconstruction of the three nave basilica, whose naves were separated with colonnades consisting three columns each. Only a sketchy reconstruction of the plan was published since 1952 without any attempt for the reconstruction of the complete elevation of the cathedral of

<sup>27</sup> Ulcinj I, pp.17-18, Pl. X.



Sl. 9. Rekonstruirani tlocrt katedrale sv. Teodora (Evica Dimitrijević Rajšić, S. O. Živkov)  
Fig. 9 Restored plan of the cathedral of St Theodore (Evica Dimitrijević Rajšić, S. O. Živkov)



Sl. 10. Rekonstruirani tlocrt crkve sv. Eufemije u Splitu, Jerko Marasović (izvor: dr. Katja Marasović)  
Fig. 10 Restored plan of the church of St Euphemia in Split, Jerko Marasović (source: dr. Katja Marasović)

78 |

Naša se rekonstrukcija tlocrta temelji dijelom na sačuvanim ostacima, dijelom na novoj analizi objavljenog tlocrta i fotografija te naposljetku dijelom na analogijama s arhitekturom ostalih predromaničkih spomenika u Dalmaciji i Prevalisu. Suvremena analiza objavljenog nacrtala dala je dokaze za novu rekonstrukciju tlocrta katedrale koja je izvorno bila duža od predložene skice rekonstrukcije objavljene 1963. godine.

Također je utvrđeno da se oltarna apsida glavnog broda urušila s nestabilnim dijelom litice, a loša statika na istočnom rubu litice poslije će biti razlogom gradnje nove katedrale na zapadnijoj lokaciji. Također, bilo je moguće utvrditi izvorne dimenzije crkve. Naime, ukupna vanjska duljina crkve iznosila je 16,30 metara, unutarnja duljina je bila 14,30 metara, vanjska širina 9,70 metara, a unutarnja širina iznosila je 8,20 metara. Sve navedene dimenzije imaju mogućnost odstupanja od 1 %. Ove dimenzije su nešto manje od dimenzija najbliže analogije za trobrodnu predromaničku crkvu, što je crkva sv. Eufemije u Splitu, koja je najbliža analogija i po svom tlocrtu i po svojim dimenzijama. Da je suvremena predromanička arhitektura bila važan dio razvoja umjetnosti u Prevalisu, potvrđuju i druga dva suvremena spomenika u regiji: dobro očuvana memorija u Prčnju i ostaci Andreazzijeve memorije u Kotoru.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Nažalost, do sada jedine izrađene objavljene rekonstrukcije Andreazzijeve memorije i crkve u Prčnju napravljene su bez ikakvog razumijevanja temeljnih principa predromaničke arhitekture u Dalmaciji i Prevalisu. Glavni problemi koje objavljene rekonstrukcije ovih spomenika jednostavno nisu uzele u obzir bili su odnos zabata i krovova, principi unutarnje konstrukci-

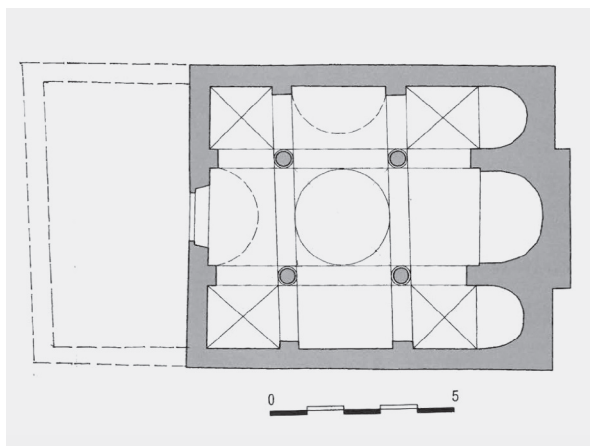
St Theodore.<sup>28</sup> Unfortunately, until now, there were also no attempts to integrate the extant remains of the cathedral of St Theodore into the reconstructed plan. As a result, in the published reconstruction of the ground plan and without any explanation, the eastern bays of the cathedral were reconstructed as truncated forms, although the preserved area of the rock allows the reconstruction of the cathedral with four bays of equal length.<sup>29</sup> An exception is the second bay from the east, which was somewhat wider and indicates that over the crossing of the main nave and bay to the north and south, a dome could have been constructed that is flanked to the north and south with a transverse roof over the lateral bay. Also without any logical explanation, the superstructure of the cathedral of St Theodore was only descriptively reconstructed topped with wooden roof.

Our reconstruction of the plan is based partly on the preserved remains, partly on the new analysis of the published plan and photographs and finally part-

<sup>28</sup> Bošković 1962, p.10, fig. 13.

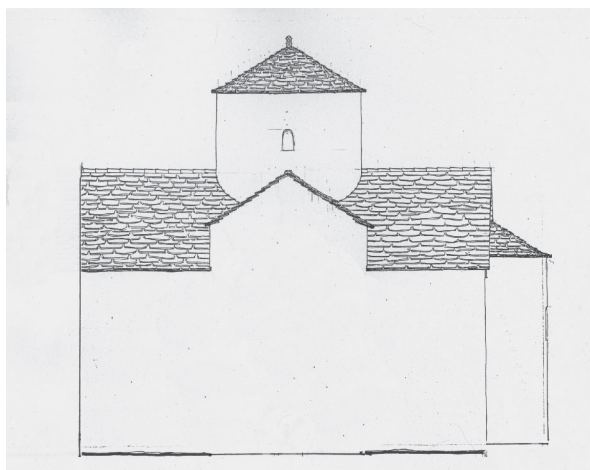
<sup>29</sup> Mijović in his publications (Mijović 1967, p. 45; Mijović 1995, p. 78) was the only author who discussed the possible crumbling of the rock Plateau with the cathedral of St Theodore. The fact that no remains were discovered of the central apse of St Theodore church clearly indicates that this part of the rock has already collapsed at the time of the construction of the cathedral of St George, and during the planning of the construction, the builders were obviously aware of the clear and imminent danger of further crumbling of the rock, and deliberately placed St George Cathedral further to the west. As a result, the west part of the cathedral of St George was built over the evened and hewn bedrock.





Sl. 11a. Rekonstruirani tlocrt predromaničke memorije u Kotoru (izvor: Milka Čanak Medić, 2010.)

*Fig. 11a Restored plan of the Pre-Romanesque memoria in Kotor (source: Milka Čanak Medić, 2010.)*



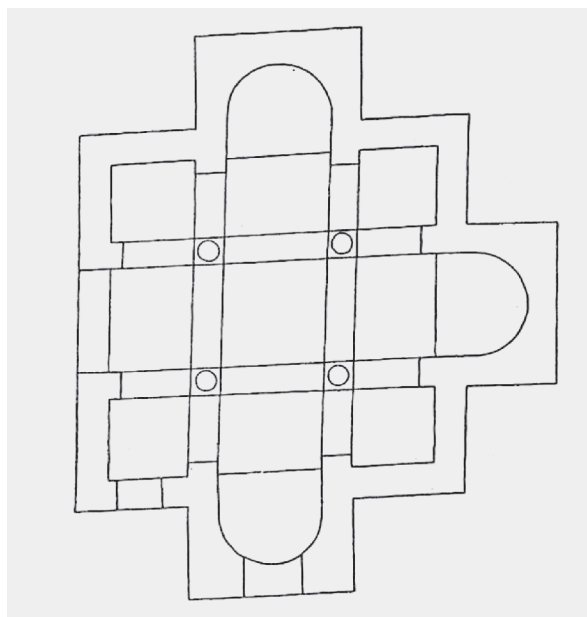
Sl. 11b. Rekonstruirano pročelje predromaničke memorije u Kotoru, crtež Jerka Marasovića, adaptirao S. O. Živkov (izvor: dr. Katja Marasović)

*Fig. 11b Restored elevation of the Pre-Romanesque memoria in Kotor; drawing by Jerko Marasović adapted by S.O. Živkov (source: dr. Katja Marasović)*

Izduženi tlocrt daje naznaku prisutnosti kupole nad drugim travejem središnjeg broda s istočne strane. Kupola je rekonstruirana s kružnim tamburom, ali bez ikakve kvadratne osnove, koji se diže izravno iz glavnog i poprečnog krova, što je bila i tradicija zetske graditeljske škole u Crnoj Gori.<sup>31</sup>

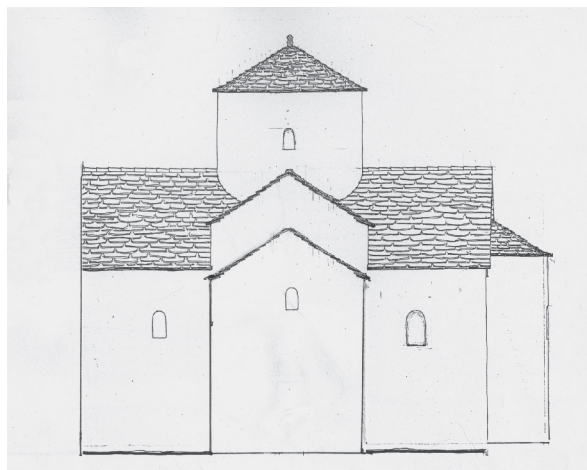
je kupola i tehnike pokrivanja kamenim pločama koje pokrivaju sloj žbuke preko ekstrados trezora. To nije ispravljeno ni u najnovijem katalogu predromaničke arhitekture. Vidi Marasović 2013, nakon Korać i Kovačević 1970 te Čanak Medić Ćubrović 2010.

<sup>31</sup> Cjelovita kronologija zetske arhitektonske skupine, kao i razvoj njezine građevinske tehnike za kupole crkava objavljena je u nizu radova Mijović 1976, str. 385-387, Mijović 1980, str. 119-120, nacrti u Mijović 1974, str. 52; Mijović 2020, str. 43-48.



Sl. 12a. Crkva sv. Tome u Prčanju

*Fig. 12a Church of St Thomas in Prčanj*



Sl. 12b. Crkva sv. Tome u Prčanju, rekonstruirano pročelje - crtež Jerka Marasovića adaptirao S. O. Živkov (izvor: dr. Katja Marasović)

*Fig. 12b Church of St Thomas in Prčanj, restored elevation - drawing by Jerko Marasović adapted by S.O. Živkov (source: dr. Katja Marasović)*

ly on the analogies with the architecture of other Pre-Romanesque monuments in Dalmatia and Praevalis. The new analysis of the published situation plan provided evidence for the new reconstruction of the plan of the cathedral which was originally longer than the reconstruction sketch, which was published in 1963, proposed.

It was also established that the altar apse of the main nave collapsed with the unstable part of the cliff. The unfavorable static situation on the eastern edge of the cliff was later the reason for the construction of the new cathedral on a site further to





Sl. 13. Ulomci predromaničke plastike otkrivene tijekom istraživanja (izvor: Bošković 1963.)

*Fig. 13 Fragments of the Pre-Romanesque sculpture discovered during the excavations (source: Bošković 1963.)*

Srećom, tijekom istraživanja otkriveno je i nekoliko fragmenata arhitektonske plastike, ali iz nepoznatih razloga konačan katalog sačuvanih fragmenata predromaničke reljefne skulpture iz prvostolnice s fotografijama i dimenzijama nikada nije objavljen.

Ipak, Pavle Mijović, jedan od izvornih istražitelja u kampanjama 1952. i 1954. godine, u nekoliko je navrata objavio više detalja o nekim od otkrivenih fragmenata, uz usporedbe s drugim materijalom iz predromanike na istočnoj obali Jadrana.<sup>32</sup> Osim kapitela, možda od trabeacija oltarne pregrade, i ulomka pilastra oltarne pregrade pronađeno je i nekoliko ulomaka ploča oltarne pregrade.<sup>33</sup> Većina ih je otkrivena u skupinama među temeljima prve katedrale.<sup>34</sup> Dimenzije i oblik važnog fragmenta oltarne pregrade mogli su se rekonstruirati prema otisku sačuvanom u žbuci na ulomku drugog objekta na zidu, gdje je reljef ponovno korišten kao građevinski materijal.<sup>35</sup> Ornament ove oltarne pregrade praktički je istovjetan izvrsno očuvanom pilastru oltarne pregrade crkve sv. Marije od Poljane u Trogiru.<sup>36</sup> Međutim, fotografija objavljena 1963. godine pokazuje da je najbolje očuvani ulomak pregrade

the west. It was possible to establish the original dimensions of the church. Its entire outer length was 16,30 m, the interior length was 14,30 m, while the external width was 9,70 m and the internal width was 8,20 m, all these dimensions are given with the tolerance of 1%. These dimensions are slightly smaller than the dimensions of the closest analogy for three nave Pre-Romanesque churches, the church of St Euphemia in Split, which represents the closest analogy, both in terms of its plan and its dimensions. Two other contemporary monuments in the region confirm that contemporary Pre-Romanesque architecture was an important part of the art development in Praevalis: the well preserved memoriae in Prčanj, and the remains of the Andreazzi memoria in Kotor.<sup>30</sup>

The elongated plan indicates to the presence of the dome over the second bay of the central nave from the east. The dome is reconstructed with a circular drum, but without any square base, rising directly from the main and transverse roofs what was also the tradition of the Zeta building school in Montenegro.<sup>31</sup> Fortunately, several fragments of the architectural plastic were also discovered during the excavation, but, for unknown reasons, the final catalogue of the preserved fragments of Pre-Romanesque relief sculpture from the first cathedral with photographs and dimensions was never published.

However, one of the original excavators in the campaigns of 1952 and 1954, Pavle Mijović, has published more details about some of the discovered fragments on several occasions, which also included the comparison of these fragments with

<sup>30</sup> Unfortunately, until now, the only published reconstructions of the Andreazzi Memoria and the church in Prčanj were prepared without any understanding of the fundamental principles of Pre-Romanesque architecture in Dalmatia and Praevalis. The main problems, which the published reconstructions of these monuments simply did not take into account, were the relation between the gables and roofs, the principles for the inner construction of domes and the technique of the roofing with the use of stone plates covering the mortar layer over the extrados of the vaults. This was not corrected even in the latest catalogue of Pre-Romanesque architecture. See Marasović 2013. after Korać and Kovačević 1970, and Čanak Medić Čubrović 2010.

<sup>31</sup> The complete chronology of the 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, plans in Mijović 1974, p. 52 Mijović 2020, p. 43-48.

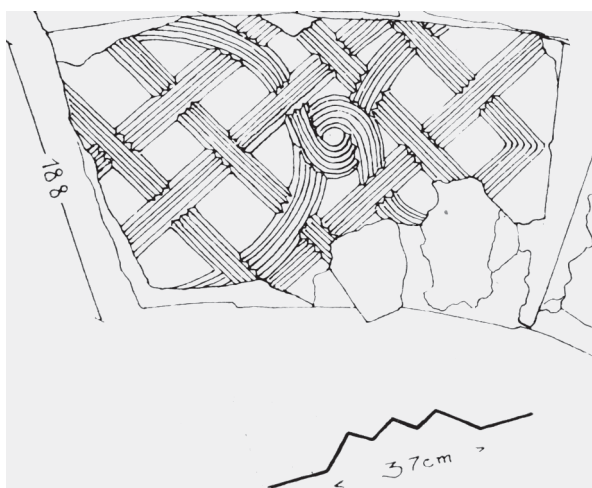
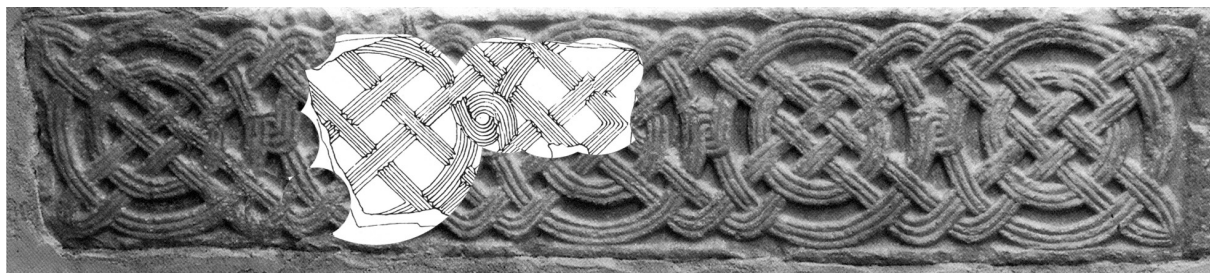
<sup>32</sup> Mijović 1967, str. 29-66, Mijović 1995, str. 69-95, Zagarčanin 2008, str. 19.

<sup>33</sup> Bošković 1962, str. 12-14, T. XXV.

<sup>34</sup> Bošković 1962, T. XV, Mijović 1995, str. 71.

<sup>35</sup> Bošković 1863, str. 14, sl. 20; Mijović 1995, str. 71, sl. 12.

<sup>36</sup> Babić 2016, str. 429.



Sl. 14a. Crtež otiska u žbuci izgubljenog ulomka oltarne ploče iz katedrale sv. Teodora (izvor: Bošković 1963.)

*Fig. 14a Drawing of the impression in mortar of the lost fragment of the altar panel from the cathedral of St Theodore (source: Bošković 1963.)*

bio u nešto boljem stanju u vrijeme istraživanja, a fotografija njezine očuvanosti neposredno nakon istraživanja 1952. svjedoči o postojanju barem još jedne oltarne pregrade s drugačijim ornamentom.<sup>37</sup>

Ona također omogućuje rekonstrukciju gornje grede ploče oltarne pregrade koja je imala ukras s trostrukim čvorovima. Najvažniji čimbenik, kada govorimo o dataciji prve katedrale, jest karakter ukrasa arhitektonske plastike. Iako je u objavljenom izvješću katedrala okvirno svrstana u 9. - 11. stoljeće,<sup>38</sup> Mijović analizom plastike svrstava crkvu u 9. - 10. stoljeće.<sup>39</sup> Međutim usporedba sa sačuvanim reljefom iz crkve sv. Marije od Poljane u Trogiru ukazuje da bi se starija katedrala u Antiva-

<sup>37</sup> Bošković 1962, T. XXV, pokazuje da je sačuvani dio trostruko uklesane trake bio simetrično postavljen ispod gornje ukrašene trake. Na kasnijim fotografijama koje je Mijović objavio 1967., 1974. i 1995. godine (Mijović 1967, str. 145; Mijović 1974, str. 29; Mijović 1995, str. 80) jasno se vidi da nedostaje mali dio s početkom lijeve ukrašene trake.

<sup>38</sup> Bošković 1962, str. 12.

<sup>39</sup> Mijović 1967, str. 41, 43; Mijović 1995.

Sl. 14b. Interpolacija ornamenta ulomka, prikazanog na 15a., u fotografiju reljefa iz crkve sv. Marije od Poljane u Trogiru (izvor: fotograf Babić, interpolirao S. O. Živkov)

*Fig. 14b Interpolation of the ornament of the fragment on 15a into the photograph of the relief from the church of St Maria De Platea in Trogir (source of the photograph Babić, interpolated by S. O. Živkov)*

other material from the Pre-Romanesque period on the Adriatic east coast.<sup>32</sup> Besides a capital possibly from the trabeation of the chancel screen and a fragment of the chancel screen pilaster, several fragments of chancel screen panels were recovered during the excavations.<sup>33</sup> Most of them were discovered grouped among the foundations of the first cathedral,<sup>34</sup> while the dimensions and the shape of an important fragment of a chancel screen could be reconstructed after its impression has been preserved in the mortar on a wall fragment of another object where the relief was reused as building material.<sup>35</sup> The ornament of this screen is practically identical with the excellently preserved pilaster of the altar screen of the church of St Maria De Platea in Trogir.<sup>36</sup> However, the photograph published in 1963 shows that the best preserved fragment of the screen was somewhat better preserved at the time of the excavations and the photograph of its state of preservation immediately after the excavations in 1952 provides evidence for the existence of at least another chancel screen with a different ornament.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Mijović 1967, pp. 29-66; Mijović 1995, pp. 69-95, Zagarčanin 2008, p. 19.

<sup>33</sup> Bošković 1962, p. 12, 14, Pl. XXV.

<sup>34</sup> Bošković 1962, Pl. XV; Mijović 1995, p. 71.

<sup>35</sup> Bošković 1863, p. 14, fig. 20; Mijović 1995, p. 71, sl. 12

<sup>36</sup> Babić 2016, p. 429.

<sup>37</sup> Bošković 1962, Pl. XXV, shows that the preserved section of the triple carved band was symmetrically placed under the upper decorated band. The later photographs published by Mijović in 1967, 1974 and 1995 (Mijović 1967, p. 145; Mijović 1974, p. 29; Mijović 1995, p. 80) clearly show that the small part with the beginning of the left decorated band is missing.



riju trebala datirati u 8. st. ili početak 9. stoljeća.<sup>40</sup> U svakom slučaju, moguće je barem steći predodžbu o izvornom izgledu oltarne pregrade katedrale sv. Teodora. Trabeaciji i zabatima oltarne pregrade nisu pripisani nikakvi ulomci, jedan kapitel ukazuje na oblik ostalih, dok se neki ulomci koloneta mogu prepoznati u lapidariju, kao i najgornji ulomak pilastra i ostaci barem dviju reljefnih ploča.

#### OBNOVA KATEDRALE SV. JURJA Arhitektura druge katedrale, sv. Jurja Povijest spomenika

Katedrala sv. Jurja predstavljena je na gravurama još 1598. godine, prije njezina pretvaranja u džamiju. Dodatne gravure te nekoliko starih fotografija dokumentirale su katedralu pretvorenu u džamiju. Postoje i opisi putnika koji potječu iz sredine 19. stoljeća te srećom pružaju opis spomenika neposredno prije njegova gotovo potpunog uništenja.<sup>41</sup> Također, uz opise, postoji i nekoliko fotografija iz tog doba. Arheološka istraživanja provedena 1952. i 1954. godine rezultirala su otkrićem najnižih dijelova južnog zida, temeljnih stupova za južnu kolonadu na kojima se jasno vide tragovi stupova kolonada katedrale<sup>42</sup>, oslonjeni na pod ranije katedrale, tragovi stupova za sjevernu kolonadu i sjeverni zid, kao i dijelovi zapadnog pročelja s pragom zapadnog portala. Uza sve to, otkriveni su i ostaci pravokutne konstrukcije na južnom glavnom pročelju katedrale s ostacima stepenica, a u publikaciji iz 1963. ti ostaci su prepoznati kao najniži dio zvonika koji je navodno stajao na tom položaju<sup>43</sup>, iako se na gravuri Rosaccia jasno vidi aneks, vjerojatno sakristija, dok je izvorni zvonik stajao istočnije. Uz to su otkrivene i brojne grobnice izgrađene između ostataka južnih zidova stare i nove katedrale, kao i posljednji ostaci platforme izgrađene uz južni zid blizu njegova zapadnog kraja. Što se tiče sačuvanih građevina, glavno otkriće je činjenica da su prepoznate dvije građevinske faze: glavni dio južnog zida građen je klesanim kamenim blokovima, dok su zapadni dio ovog zida kao i sačuvani ostaci zapadnog zida građeni drugačijom tehnikom, korištenjem vrlo dobro isklesanih kamenih blokova.<sup>44</sup> Tijekom istraživanja otkriveni su brojni važni elementi druge katedrale:

It also allows the reconstruction of the upper beam of the chancel screen panel which had a triple knots decoration. The most important fact regarding the dating of the first cathedral is the character of the decoration of its architectural plastic. Even though the cathedral was tentatively widely dated to 9<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> century in the published report,<sup>38</sup> Mijović, after his analysis of the plastic, dates the church to 9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>39</sup> but the comparison with the preserved relief from the St Maria de Platea church in Trogir indicates that the earlier cathedral in Antivari should be dated to the 8<sup>th</sup> or the beginning of 9<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>40</sup> Anyway, it is possible to get at least an idea of the original appearance of the altar partition screen of the cathedral of St Theodore: no fragments were attributed to the trabeation and gables of the altar screen, one capital indicates the shape of the others, some fragments of the colonnettes can also be identified in the lapidarium, there is also an uppermost fragment of the pilaster and remains of at least two relief plates.

#### RECONSTRUCTION OF THE CATHEDRAL OF ST GEORGE

##### Architecture of second cathedral of St George History of the monument

The cathedral of St George was presented on engravings as early as 1598, before its transformation into a mosque. Further engravings as well as several vintage photographs have recorded that the cathedral was transformed into a mosque. Written accounts of travelers from the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century fortunately provide a description of the monument just before its almost complete destruction,<sup>41</sup> as do some vintage photographs as well. The archaeological excavations conducted in 1952 and 1954 have resulted in the discovery of the lowest parts of the south wall, the foundation pillars for the south colonnade which clearly show traces of the pillars of the cathedral colonnades,<sup>42</sup> rested on the floor of the earlier cathedral, traces of the pillars for the north colonnade and north wall, as well as parts of the west façade with the door step of the west portal. Additionally, the remains of the rectangular struc-

<sup>40</sup> Babić 2016, str. 429.

<sup>41</sup> Hecquaerd 1858; Ровинский 1897.

<sup>42</sup> Bošković 1962, str. 15.

<sup>43</sup> Bošković 1962, str. 15.

<sup>44</sup> Bošković 1962, str. 14.

<sup>38</sup> Bošković 1962, p. 12.

<sup>39</sup> Mijović 1967, p. 41, 43; Mijović 1995.

<sup>40</sup> Babić 2016, p. 429.

<sup>41</sup> Hecquaerd 1858; Ровинский 1897.

<sup>42</sup> Bošković 1962, p. 15.



nekoliko blokova izvornih zidova razbacanih uokolo, nekoliko fragmenata gotičkih rebara presvođenog broda i jedna konzola koja ukazuje na to da se ispod krova crkve nalazila neka vrsta arkadnog friza.<sup>45</sup>

Originalni izgled druge katedrale poznat je iz književnih i grafičkih izvora. Prije uništenja katedralu je posjetilo nekoliko putnika koji su na sreću ostavili vrlo važne opise. Godine 1858. Antivari je posjetio H. Hecquaerd,<sup>46</sup> koji je objavio sljedeći opis:<sup>47</sup>

*Au milieu de la place s'élève l'ancienne cathédrale, transformée en mosquée; elle était placée autrefois sous l'invocation de saint Georges; il existe encore sur le portail, un bas-relief en marbre, mutilé par les Turcs, représentant l'image de ce saint. Sur les murs extérieurs on voit des pierres tumulaires couvertes d'inscriptions latines indiquant la sépulture des anciens évêques. Dans l'intérieur, il existe encore quelques tombes, ou du moins les dalles qui les recouvraient.*

Prijevod: Na sredini trga uzdiže se stara katedrala, pretvorena u džamiju; prije je imala naziv svetog Jurja; još uvijek postoji na portalu mramorni reljef, osakaćen od Turaka, koji predstavlja lik ovoga sveca. Na vanjskim zidovima vidimo pogrebne ploče prekrivene latinskim natpisima koji označavaju grobna mjesta bivših biskupa.

<sup>45</sup> Bošković 1962, str. 16.

<sup>46</sup> Hyacinthe Louis Hecquard (Lisieux, 1. svibnja 1814. - Beirut, 19. listopada 1866.) bio je francuski putnik i istraživač koji je služio kao časnik u Senegalu od 1843., također je bio zapovjednik u Bakelu (1844. - 1847.). Hecquard je izradio crteže između 1849. i 1851., tijekom posjeta Grand Bassamu (Obala Bjelokosti) i kasnijeg putovanja od Casamance (Senegal) do Futa Jallona (Gvineja). Ta umjetnička djela, zajedno s Hecquardovim člancima u *Bulletin de la Société de géographie* i *Revue coloniale*, a posebno njegovim *Voyage sur la Côte et dans l'intérieur de l'Afrique occidentale* (Pariz, 1855.), važan su izvor etnografskih i povijesnoumjetničkih podataka; posebno je važan akvarel koji prikazuje rituale i ples na području Grand Bassama 1850. te akvareli planova grada (osobito Timbo), koji nude vizualni zapis francuskih i engleskih utvrda i trgovačkih objekata. Ovi radovi se čuvaju u zbirci Frobenius-Instituta u Frankfurtu na Majni. Hecquard je također mnogo putovao po Balkanu i nakon 1861. služio je kao francuski konzul u Albaniji. Njegove najvažnije publikacije iz ovog razdoblja su knjige *Histoire et description de la Haute-Albanie ou Guégarie*, 1858., i *Géographie politique et physique de la Dalmatie*, 1862.

<sup>47</sup> Hecquaerd 1858.

ture to the south of the main façade of the cathedral with the remains of the stairs were also discovered and in the publication from 1963, it was recognized as the lowest part of the bell tower which allegedly stood in that location,<sup>43</sup> although the engraving of Rosaccio clearly shows an annex, probably the sacristy, while the original bell tower stood further to the east. Numerous tombs constructed between the remains of the south walls of the old and new cathedral were also discovered as well as the last remains of the platform constructed beside the south wall near its west end. The main discovery, in terms of the preserved structures, was the fact that two building phases were recognized: the main part of the south wall was built with the use of dressed blocks of stone, while the west part of this wall as well as the preserved remains of the west wall were built in a different building technique, i.e. the use of very well dressed blocks of stone.<sup>44</sup> During the excavation, numerous important elements of the second cathedral were discovered: several blocks of original masonry scattered around, several fragments of the Gothic ribs of the vaulting of the nave, and a single console which indicates that there was a kind of arcaded frieze under the roof.<sup>45</sup>

The original appearance of the second cathedral was known both from literary and graphic sources. The cathedral was visited by several travelers before its destruction, who fortunately left very important descriptions of the cathedral. H. Hecquaerd<sup>46</sup> vis-

<sup>43</sup> Bošković 1962, p. 15.

<sup>44</sup> Bošković 1962, p. 14.

<sup>45</sup> Bošković 1962, p. 16.

<sup>46</sup> Hyacinthe Louis Hecquard (Lisieux, May 1<sup>st</sup> 1814 - Beyrouth, 19 October 19<sup>th</sup> 1866) was a French traveler and explorer who served in Senegal from 1843, he was also a commander in Bakel (1844-1847). Hecquard made the drawings between 1849 and 1851, during a visit to Grand Bassam (Ivory Coast) and a subsequent trip from the Casamance (Senegal) to the Futa Jallon (Guinea). These art works, together with Hecquard's articles in the 'Bulletin de la Société de géographie' and the 'Revue coloniale', and especially his 'Voyage sur la Côte et dans l'intérieur de l'Afrique occidentale' (Paris, 1855), are an important source of ethnographic and art historical information. Special attention is given to a watercolor depicting ritual and dance in the area of Grand Bassam in 1850, and watercolors of city layouts (especially Timbo), which offer a visual record of French and English fortifications and trading establishments. These works are held in the collection of the Frobenius-Institut in Frankfurt am Main. Hecquard also widely traveled the Balkans and after 1861 served as a French consul in Albania. His

Katedralu je detaljno opisao i fra Giovanni Marković, koji je 1902. godine, 21 godinu nakon njezina urušavanja, objavio detalje o katedrali.<sup>48</sup> Međutim, važniji su bili posjeti Pavla Rovinskog,<sup>49</sup> koji je nekoliko puta posjetio Antivari i dvaput objavio opis katedrale kao i detalje o eksploziji baruta 1881. godine. Njegov opis, datiran 4. srpnja 1881. godine, nakon eksplozije, glasi:

Пощажены отъ разрушенія также двѣ великолѣпныя церкви, передній фасадъ которыхъ обложенъ пестрымъ мраморомъ, со вставленными въ стѣны бѣлыми мраморными досками, на которыхъ вырѣзаны латинскія надписи. Однѣ изъ этихъ надписей удобочитаемы и относятся къ останкамъ похороненныхъ тамъ славныхъ мужей церкви, а надъ воротами надпись гласитъ о возобновленіи этой церкви въ 1543 году, другія же весьма трудны для чтенія, потому что болѣе стерлись, характеръ буквъ весьма кудрявый, похожій на позднѣйшій греческій, и на одной изъ нихъ по догадкѣ можно читать 1338 годъ. Самая большая церковь -- Св. Георгія, съ рѣзнымъ изображеніемъ надъ дверьми святого на конѣ, поражающаго дьявола. Она до двѣнадцати сажень въ длину и около шести въ ширину, внутри отлично вымощена плитами въ родѣ мозаикисводы готическіе, заостренные; .... въ февралѣ 1881 года громомъ ударило въ церковь Св. Георгія, гдѣ находился складъ пороха, начиненныхъ бомбъ и гранатъ, да ружейныхъ патроновъ болѣе 800 ящичковъ, и вся эта часть взлетѣла на воздухъ, оставивъ гладкую площадь, усѣянную обломками;<sup>50</sup>

Tijekom uništenja grada oštećene su dvije velike crkve. Prednje pročelje prve crkve obloženo je šarenim mramornim pločama s natpisima na latinskom jeziku. Jedan od tih natpisa je čitljiv i odnosi se na pokopane posmrtnе ostatke znamenitih ljudi. Nadalje, iznad ulaza u crkvu stoji natpis o obnovi iz 1543. godine, dok su ostali natpisi teško čitljivi, ali na njima je vidljiva 1338. godina. Najveća je crkva sv. Jurja, koja iznad vrata ima reljef svetog Jurja koji ubija zmaja. Duga je do dvanaest, a široka do šest hvati. Unutrašnjost joj je savršeno popločana mozaikom i presvođena šiljastim gotičkim lukovima. U veljači 1881. godine grom je udario u crkvu

ited Antivari in 1858 and published the following description:<sup>47</sup>

*Au milieu de la place s'élève l'ancienne cathédrale, transformée en mosquée; elle était placée autrefois sous l'invocation de saint Georges; il existe encore sur le portail, un bas-relief en marbre, mutilé par les Turcs, représentant l'image de ce saint. Sur les murs extérieurs on voit des pierres tumulaires couvertes d'inscriptions latines indiquant la sépulture des anciens évêques. Dans l'intérieur, il existe encore quelques tombes, ou du moins les dalles qui les recouvraient.*

Translation: In the middle of the square rises the old cathedral, transformed into a mosque; it was formerly placed under the invocation of Saint George; it still exists on the portal, a marble bas-relief, mutilated by the Turks, representing the image of this saint. On the exterior walls we see funeral stones covered with Latin inscriptions indicating the burial places of former bishops.

The cathedral was also described in detail by friar Giovanni Marković, who published details about the cathedral in 1902, 21 years after its destruction.<sup>48</sup> More important were the visits by Pavel Rovinski,<sup>49</sup> who visited Antivari on several occasions and published descriptions of the cathedral twice as well as the details of the gun powder explosion of 1881. His description dated 4<sup>th</sup> July 1881, after the gun powder explosion in 1881, gives the following description:

Пощажены отъ разрушенія также двѣ великолѣпныя церкви, передній фасадъ которыхъ обложенъ пестрымъ мраморомъ, со вставленными въ стѣны бѣлыми мраморными досками, на которыхъ вырѣзаны латинскія надписи. Однѣ изъ этихъ надписей удобочитаемы и относятся къ останкамъ похороненныхъ тамъ славныхъ мужей церкви, а надъ воротами надпись гласитъ о возобновленіи этой церкви въ 1543 году, другія же весьма трудны для чтенія, потому что болѣе

---

most important publications from this period are the books *Histoire et description de la Haute-Albanie ou Guégarie*, 1858, and *Géographie politique et physique de la Dalmatie* 1862.

<sup>47</sup> Hecquaerd 1858.

<sup>48</sup> Marković 1902

<sup>49</sup> Pavel Apolonovič Rovinski (1831—1916), was a Russian polihistoric who had lived in Montenegro since May 1879 almost without longer interruptions for the next 27 years.

<sup>48</sup> Marković 1902.

<sup>49</sup> Pavel Apolonovič Rovinski (1831. - 1916.) bio je ruski polihistor koji je od svibnja 1879. gotovo bez dužih prekida živio u Crnoj Gori sljedećih 27 godina.

<sup>50</sup> Ровинский 1897, str. 174.



Sl. 15. Detalj Spomenika oslobođenja u Antivariju s ulomkom natpisa I (izvor: Josip Weber)

Fig. 15 Detail of the Liberation monument in Antivari with the fragment of inscription I (source: Josip Weber)

sv. Jurja. U to vrijeme se u crkvi skladištio barut, više od 800 kutija metaka te su se izrađivale bombe i granate. To je bio razlog zašto je cijeli taj prostor bio raznesen, a kao posljedica ostale su samo ravne površine prekrivene krhotinama.

Na sreću, Rovinski je zabilježio sve natpise koji su postojali na zapadnom pročelju katedrale. U vrijeme njegova posjeta četiri natpisa su bila vidljiva, od kojih je tri objavio i Marković.<sup>51</sup>

1.1. Prvi natpis je u vrijeme kada je Rovinski posjetio Antivari bio samo djelomično čitljiv:

...FECIMUS INGRESSUM...M. D. XLIII

Međutim, tijekom znanstvenih istraživanja Antivarija pedesetih godina ostatak ovog natpisa identificiran je kao ugrađeni spolij u Spomeniku oslobođenja iz 1881.

Identifikacija je djelomično bila moguća jer je u ugrađenom natpisu prepoznat dio poznat već od Rovinskog, gdje je sačuvan sljedeći tekst, koji je dijelom uništen, dok sačuvani dio, koji je bio djelomično nadopunjen, daje opis znamenitog ulaza.

... QVE CELEBI STUDI (o)  
FECIMUS INGRESSV(m) .....  
P(re)CIBUS HV(n)K MILITIS...  
NUMINE PLACATO

Godina koju bilježi Rovinski ukazuje na to da su „slavna vrata“ sagrađena 1543. godine, što pak označava *terminus ante quem* za dovršetak katedrale.

<sup>51</sup> Marković 1902, str. 185; Bošković 1962, str. 18.

стерлись, характеръ буквъ весьма кудрявый, похожий на позднѣйшій греческій, и на одной изъ нихъ по догадкѣ можно читать 1338 годъ. Самая большая церковь -- Св. Георгія, съ рѣзнымъ изображеніемъ надъ дверьми святого на конѣ, поражающаго дьявола. Она до двѣнадцати сажень въ длину и около шести въ ширину, внутри отлично вымощена плитамъ въ родѣ мозаики-своды готическіе, заостренныя; .... въ февралѣ 1881 года громомъ ударило въ церковь Св. Георгія, гдѣ находился складъ пороха, начиненныхъ бомбъ и гранатъ, да ружейныхъ патроновъ болѣе 800 ящиковъ, и вся эта часть взлетѣла на воздухъ, оставивъ гладкую площадь, усѣянную обломками;<sup>50</sup>

During the destruction of the city, two large churches were damaged. The front façade of the first is plated with colorful marble plates with inscriptions in Latin. One of these inscriptions is readable and relates to the buried remains of famous people, and over the entrance there is an inscription about the reconstruction of this church in 1543, while the other inscriptions are hardly readable, visible is also the date 1338. The church of St George is the greatest, with the relief of St George defeating the devil over the door. It is long up to twelve and wide up to six fathoms. Its interior is perfectly paved with mosaic and vaulted with pointed Gothic arches. In February 1881, a thunder struck the church of St George, where gunpowder was stored, but also over 800 boxes of bullets from the bombs and grenades which were made there. The whole area was blown leaving an evened surface with fragments.

Fortunately, Rovinski recorded all of the inscriptions that existed on the west façade of the cathedral. Four inscriptions were visible at the time of his visit, three of them were also published by Marković.<sup>51</sup>

1.1 The first inscription at the time when Rovinski visited Antivari was only partially readable

...FECIMUS INGRESSUM...M. D. XLIII

However, the rest of this inscription was identified during the scientific research of Antivari in the fifties as a built-in spolia in the Liberation monument from 1881.

Its identification was done partly because the section already known from Rovinski was recognized in the built-in inscription where the follow-

<sup>50</sup> РОВИНСКИЙ 1897, p. 174.

<sup>51</sup> Marković 1902, p. 185; Bošković 1962, p. 18.



1.2. Drugi natpis zabilježio je samo Marković, ali je njegova važnost u tome što Marković navodi točno mjesto gdje je natpis izvorno stajao: na zidu zgrade uz džamiju koja je nekada služila kao sakristija.<sup>52</sup> Ovo je izravan dokaz da je građevina koju je Rosaccio nacrtao i objavio 1606. godine kao nastavak zapadnog pročelja katedrale prema jugu bila zapravo sakristija. To je također vidljivo na staroj fotografiji iz kolekcije sultana Abdula Hamida, gdje je prikazana kao pravokutni donji dio minareta. Postojanje ove sakristije potvrđeno je i arheološkim istraživanjima iz 1952. i 1954. godine, kada su otkriveni posljednji ostaci i tragovi najniže stepenice minareta koji je očito bio interpoliran u ranije zidove sakristije.

Sačuvani natpis glasio je:

HIC REQUIESCIT  
SERGIUS ARCHIEPISCOPUS

Sačuvani tekst očito je bio dio nadgrobnog ploče arhiepiskopa Sergeja, čija se grobnica nalazila ili u katedrali ili uz nju, a nadgrobnik je natpis kasnije ponovno korišten kao građevni materijal tijekom turske prenamjene katedrale u džamiju.

1.3. Treći natpis također je pripadao grobu i očito je ponovno korišten kao građevni materijal tijekom turskih rekonstrukcija katedrale:

HOC TUMULO PETRI RECUBANT  
OSSAQUE NERVI DOCTORUM DOCTOR FUIT  
HIC ANTIVARI PASTOR PRUDENTUM RITUS  
OLIM SXJPERAVIT PERITUS SPRETOR  
AVARORUM DATOR LARGUS EGENORUM  
ECCLESIAM REXIT POPULUM REMONITUM  
FULSIT NON BENE PERACTIS TER DECEM  
DICITUR ANNIS MORS VICESIMA SEXTI  
MENSIS EXTITIT ILLI<sup>53</sup>

1.4. Četvrti natpis uočen je uzidan u zapadno pročelje

ANTIBARI PASTOR RECTORQUE GEORGIUS ISTO

CLAUDITUR IN TUMULO SERVIVIT QUI BENE CHRISTO

HOC TEMPLUM DICTUM PROPRIO DE NOMINE REXIT

CUM CLERO LAICIS IN CUNCTIS SE BENE GESSIT

FECIT IDEM TEMPLUM MAGNO STUDIO REPARARI

IN QUO DEXTRORSUM VOLUIT DEFUNCTUS HUMARI

ing text has been preserved. It was obviously partly destroyed, whereas the preserved part was partly filled in and provides a description of the famous entrance.

... QVE CELEBI STUDI (o)  
FECIMUS INGRESSV(m) .....  
P(re)CIBUS HV(n)K MILITIS...  
NUMINE PLACATO

The year recorded by Rovinski indicates that the "famous gate" was built in 1543 what in turn indicates the *terminus ante quem* for the completion of the cathedral.

1.2 The second inscription was recorded only by Marković, but its importance lies in the fact that Marković gives the exact location where the inscription originally stood: on the wall of the building beside the mosque which once served as the sacristy.<sup>52</sup> This is direct proof that the structure drawn and published by Rosaccio in 1606 as the continuation of the west façade of the cathedral to the south was actually a sacristy, which is also visible on a vintage photograph from sultan Abdul Hamid's collection where it is shown as a rectangular lower part of the minaret. The existence of this sacristy was also confirmed during the archaeological excavations in 1952 and 1954, when the last remains were uncovered as well as traces of the lowest stairs of the minaret, which was obviously interpolated into the earlier walls of the sacristy.

The preserved part of the inscription was:

HIC REQUIESCIT  
SERGIUS ARCHIEPISCOPUS

The preserved text was obviously part of the tombstone of archbishop Sergius, whose tomb was either in the cathedral or beside it and the funerary inscription was later reused as building material during the Turkish transformations of the cathedral into a mosque.

1.3 The third inscription also belonged to a tomb and was obviously reused as building material during the Turkish transformations of the cathedral:

HOC TUMULO PETRI RECUBANT OSSAQUE NERVI DOCTORUM DOCTOR FUIT  
HIC ANTIVARI PASTOR PRUDENTUM RITUS  
OLIM SXJPERAVIT PERITUS SPRETOR AVARORUM DATOR LARGUS EGENORUM ECCLESIAM REXIT POPULUM REMONITUM  
FULSIT NON BENE PERACTIS TER DECEM  
DICITUR ANNIS MORS VICESIMA SEXTI  
MENSIS EXTITIT ILLI<sup>53</sup>

<sup>52</sup> Marković 1902, str. 185; Bošković 1962, str. 18.

<sup>53</sup> Marković 1902, str. 184; Bošković 1962, str. 18.

<sup>52</sup> Marković 1902, p. 185; Bošković 1962, p. 18.

<sup>53</sup> Marković 1902, p. 184; Bošković 1962, p. 18.

IN REQUIE CUIUS ANIMAM TRIBUAT  
DEUS ESSE

ET FACIAT VITAE COELESTIS PLAUDERE  
MESSE<sup>54</sup>

V

1.5. Peti natpis također je bio ugrađen u zapadno pročelje za vrijeme prenamjene katedrale u vrijeme Turaka

PRAESULIS IN TUMULO IACET PERSONA  
IOANNIS

ECCLESIAM MULTIS ISTAM QUI REXIT IN  
ANNIS

NOBILIS ISTE POTENS SAPIENS FUIT  
ATQUE BENIGNUS

PAUPERIBUS LARGUS HOSPES HOMO  
COELIS DIGNUS

HUNC NIMIUM REGES HUIUS REGIONIS  
AMABANT

CUI REGNI IURA COMMITTERE NON DU-  
BITABANT

QUI FACIENTE DEO BENE DISPENSABAT  
UTRUMQU

MUNDANOS ACTUS TRACTANDO SEQU-  
ENDO DEUMQUE<sup>55</sup>

Činjenica da je nekoliko nadgrobnih natpisa evidentirano kao spoliji ugrađeni u stojeće objekte, otvara pitanje prirode i opsega turskih preobrazbi katedrale. Već poznati akvarel Paje Jovanovića i novootkrivena gravura koja se prodaje na *eBayu* daju odgovor na to pitanje. Na akvarelu je vidljivo pravokutno zdanje ispred potpuno očuvanog zapadnog pročelja katedrale, no bitniji detalji vidljivi su na gravuri, gdje su ucrtani nizovi stupova. Jedino moguće objašnjenje jest da je turska preobrazba uključivala i trijem džamije koji je sagrađen ispred zapadnog pročelja katedrale, čije postojanje potvrđuje i sačuvani temelj s donjim dijelom stupa koji se i danas nalazi među ostacima katedrale.

Važna svjedočanstva o originalnoj arhitekturi katedrale nalaze se u grafičkim izvorima i fotografijama. Među starim grafičkim izvorima najvažniji su:

1.4 The fourth inscription was recorded as built into the west façade

ANTIBARI PASTOR RECTORQUE GEORGI-  
US ISTO

CLAUDITUR IN TUMULO SERVIVIT QUI  
BENE CHRISTO

HOC TEMPLUM DICTUM PROPRIO DE  
NOMINE REXIT

CUM CLERO LAICIS IN CUNCTIS SE BENE  
GESSIT

FECIT IDEM TEMPLUM MAGNO STUDIO  
REPARARI

IN QUO DEXTRORSUM VOLUIT DE-  
FUNCTUS HUMARI

IN REQUIE CUIUS ANIMAM TRIBUAT  
DEUS ESSE

ET FACIAT VITAE COELESTIS PLAUDERE  
MESSE<sup>54</sup>

V

1.5 The fifth inscription was also built in the west façade during the Turkish transformations of the cathedral

PRAESULIS IN TUMULO IACET PERSONA  
IOANNIS

ECCLESIAM MULTIS ISTAM QUI REXIT IN  
ANNIS

NOBILIS ISTE POTENS SAPIENS FUIT  
ATQUE BENIGNUS

PAUPERIBUS LARGUS HOSPES HOMO  
COELIS DIGNUS

HUNC NIMIUM REGES HUIUS REGIONIS  
AMABANT

CUI REGNI IURA COMMITTERE NON DU-  
BITABANT

QUI FACIENTE DEO BENE DISPENSABAT  
UTRUMQU

MUNDANOS ACTUS TRACTANDO SE-  
QUENDO DEUMQUE<sup>55</sup>

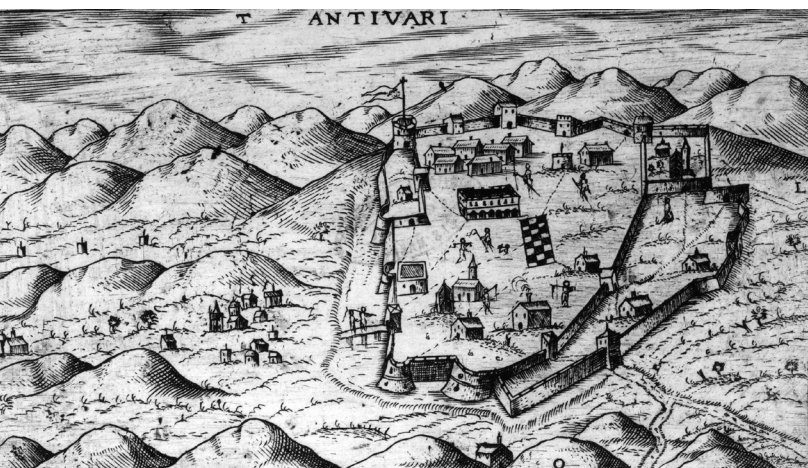
The fact that several tomb inscriptions were registered as spolia built into the standing structures raises the question of the nature and extent of the Turkish transformations of the cathedral. The already known watercolor painting by Paja Jovanović and the recently discovered engraving that is on sale on *eBay* give answer to this question. The watercolor painting shows a rectangular structure in front of the fully preserved west façade of the cathedral, while even more important details are

<sup>54</sup> Marković 1902, str. 184; Bošković 1962, str. 18.

<sup>55</sup> Marković 1902, str. 184; Bošković 1962, str. 19.

<sup>54</sup> Marković 1902, p. 184; Bošković 1962, p. 18.

<sup>55</sup> Marković 1902, p. 184; Bošković 1962, p. 19.



Sl. 16. - 16a. (izvor: Zbirka S. O. Živkova)  
Fig. 16-16a (source: collection of S.O. Živkov)



## 2. 1. GRAVURA GIUSEPPEA ROSACCIA<sup>56</sup> (1598.)

Postoji samo jedan grafički dokaz koji svjedoči o izvornom izgledu druge katedrale prije nego su je Turci pretvorili u džamiju. Na gravuri G. Rosaccia iz 1598. godine<sup>57</sup> prikazan je katedralni sklop unutar zidanog ograđenog prostora koji je dio utvrđene donjogradske aglomeracije jugoistočno od gornjeg grada. Gravura daje prikaz iz daljine i s povišene točke gledišta. Gravura prikazuje krovnište katedrale kao i izvorni zvonik koji se nalazi uz južni zid katedrale, najvjerojatnije uz prostor drugog traveja s istoka. Sudeći prema ovoj gravuri, zvonik je bio jednostavna pravokutna građevina visine od najmanje četiri razine. Na višim razinama vidljiva su dva

visible on the engraving where a series of columns is depicted. The only possible explanation is that the Turkish transformations also included a porch of the mosque, which was built in front of the west façade of the cathedral and whose existence is also confirmed by the preserved base with the lower part of the column that is still standing among the remains of the cathedral.

Important evidence for the original architecture of the cathedral can be found on graphic sources and photographs. The most important among the old graphic sources are:

### 2. 1 ENGRAVING BY GIUSEPPE ROSACCIO<sup>56</sup> (1598)

There is only a single graphic source which provides evidence for the original appearance of the second cathedral before the Turkish transformation into a mosque. The engraving by G. Rosaccio

<sup>56</sup> Giuseppe Rosaccio (1530. - 1620.) bio je talijanski liječnik i geograf, rođen u Furlaniji, Veneto. Postao je poznat po nizu radova koji su popularizirali nekoliko znanstvenih tema. Napisao je esej o muslimanskoj vjeri, a prije svega tekstove iz geografije, kozmografije, astronomije i astrologije, koji su postali vrlo popularni i više puta izdavani. Među njegovim djelima su *Teatro Del Cielo e Della Terra* (Venecija, 1595.), *Il Mondo e le sue parti, cioè Europa, Affrica, Asia et America* (Verona, 1596.), *Il Mondo elementare e celeste* (Treviso, 1604.) i *Ptolemejeva geografija*, koja sadrži mnogo kazala i napisana je na talijanskom narodnom jeziku (1599.). Autor je i velike karte svijeta (Venecija, 1597.), velike karte Italije (Firenca, 1609.) i Toskane (Firenca, 1609.).

<sup>57</sup> Rosaccio [ROSACCIO, Giuseppe. *Viaggio da Venetia, a Costantinopoli: per mare, e per terra & insieme quello di Terra Santa, da Gioseppe Rosaccio, con brevità descritto, nel quale, oltre à settantadui disegni, di geografia e corografia si discorre, quanto in esso viaggio si ritroua, cioè: città, castelli, porti, golfi, isole, monti, fiumi e mari : opera utile à mercanti, marinari & à studiosi di geografia*, Venice, Giacomo Franco, 1598.]

<sup>56</sup> Giuseppe Rosaccio (1530-1620) was an Italian physician and geographer, born in Friuli, Veneto. He became known for a series of works which popularized several scientific subjects. He wrote an essay on Muslim religion and above all texts on geography, cosmography, astronomy and astrology, which became very popular and were republished several times. Among his works are "Teatro Del Cielo e Della Terra" (Venice, 1595), "Il Mondo e le sue parti, cioè Europa, Affrica, Asia et America" (Verona, 1596), "Il Mondo elementare e celeste" (Treviso, 1604) and "Ptolemy's Geography", containing many indexes and written in Italian vernacular (1599). He is also the creator of a large world map (Venice, 1597), a large map of Italy (Florence, 1609) and of Tuscany (Florence, 1609).



prozora, pri čemu je najviša razina s prozorom jasno nadvisivala vrh krova glavnog broda katedrale, dok donji prozor odgovara razini zidova središnjeg broda. Prema tome još dvije dodatne razine zvonika očito odgovaraju razinama krova južnog broda, dok bi razina prizemlja zvonika mogla imati istu visinu kao i zid južnog broda. Još jedan detalj prikazan na gravuri potvrđuje položaj izvornog zvonika. Manje pravokutno zdanje prikazano je kao nastavak glavnog pročelja prema jugu, a postojanje izvorne sakristije na ovome mjestu potvrđuje i natpis koji registrira Marković. Uz to, sakristija uklopljena u donji dio minareta jasno je vidljiva na staroj fotografiji.

## 2. 2. GRAVURA VINCENZA MARIJE CORONELLIJA<sup>58</sup>

Ova gravura je iz mnogo kasnijeg vremena<sup>59</sup> i daje više detalja o izvornoj arhitekturi glavnog pročelja katedrale, koja se još uvijek nalazi unutar ograđenog prostora, a proporcije kompletne katedrale prikazane su sa značajnim deformacijama. Iako je zapadno pročelje nacrtano prilično detaljno, ostatak katedrale nacrtan je s brojnim pogreškama, kao, na primjer, s nekoliko krovova, poput barem peterobrodne građevine, dok južni zid kao i prvi prorezi krovova odgovaraju stvarnom stanju. Osim toga, zapadno pročelje, sudeći po tome kako je nacrtano, nema krov iza sebe, a ostatak katedrale izgleda kao zasebna građevina. Glavni portal na zapadnom pročelju jasno je vidljiv kao i dva prozora koja odgovaraju razini krovova bočnih brodova, dok je rozeta vidljiva u sredini gornjeg dijela zida, koja odgovara razini gornjeg dijela glavnog broda. Također je vidljiv pravokutni zvonik na jugozapadnom dijelu glavnog pročelja, ali s jednim vrlo neobičnim obilježjem – balkonom koji okružuje pod najviše razine tornja. Očito je da je nacrtani zvonik s izbočenim balkonom oko gornjeg kata zapravo minaret koji je nacrtan kao pravokutna građevina.



Sl. 17. (izvor: Zbirka S. O. Živkova)  
Fig. 17 (source: collection of S.O. Živkov)

from 1598<sup>57</sup> shows the cathedral complex inside the walled enclosure that is part of the fortified lower city agglomeration to the SE of the upper city. The engraving was made from a distance and also from an elevated vantage point. The engraving shows the roof of the cathedral as well as the original bell tower, which is placed along the south wall of the cathedral, most probably beside the area of the second bay from the east. According to this engraving, the bell tower was a simple rectangular structure with the height of at least four levels. Two windows are visible on the higher levels, the topmost level with the window clearly stood over the top of the roof of the main nave of the cathedral, while the lower window corresponds to the level of the walls of the central nave. Thus two more levels of the bell tower obviously correspond to the levels of the roof of the south nave, while the ground floor level of the bell tower could have had the same height as the wall of the south nave. Another detail displayed on the engraving confirms the position of the original bell tower. A smaller rectangular edifice is shown as the continuation of the main façade to the south, and

<sup>58</sup> Vincenzo Maria Coronelli (16. kolovoza 1650. - 9. prosinca 1718.) bio je talijanski franjevac, kozmograf, kartograf, izdavač i enciklopedist, poznat posebno po svojim atlasima i globusima. Veći dio života proveo je u Veneciji.

<sup>59</sup> Coronelli, Vincenzo Maria: Vincenzo Coronelli - Repubblica di Venezia p. IV. Citta, Fortezze, ed altri Luoghi principali dell' Albania, Epiro e Livadia, e particolarmente i posseduti da Veneti descritti e delineati dal p. Coronelli, Venezia, 1688.

<sup>57</sup> Rosaccio [ROSACCIO, Giuseppe. *Viaggio da Venezia, a Costantinopoli : per mare, e per terra & insieme quello di Terra Santa, da Giuseppe Rosaccio, con brevità descritto, nel quale, oltre à settantadue disegni, di geografia e corografia si discorre, quanto in esso viaggio si ritroua, cioè : città, castelli, porti, golfi, isole, monti, fiumi e mari : opera utile à mercanti, marinari & à studiosi di geografia*, Venice, Giacomo Franco, 1598.]

Ipak, najvažniji grafički izvori nastali su neposredno prije gotovo potpunog uništenja katedrale, koja je ranije služila kao džamija poznata pod imenom džamija na „Londži“. Nije poznato kada je katedrala zapravo pretvorena u džamiju, ali prema uobičajenoj i dobro poznatoj turskoj praksi, najvažnija crkva u svakom gradu uvijek je bila pretvorena u džamiju. Nakon oslobođenja Antivarija 1878. godine, kompletan stari grad potpuno je spaljen, a bivša katedrala privremeno je korištena kao skladište streljiva koje je eksplodiralo zbog udara groma. Kao rezultat, kompletni gornji dio građevine bio je raspršen po cijelom donjem gradu, djelomično kao pojedinačno kamenje, a djelomično kao blokovi za zidanje koji su kasnije korišteni kao gotovi građevinski materijal koji je dalje raseljen. Naime, nedavno su neki od tih materijala identificirani na obroncima planine Rumije!

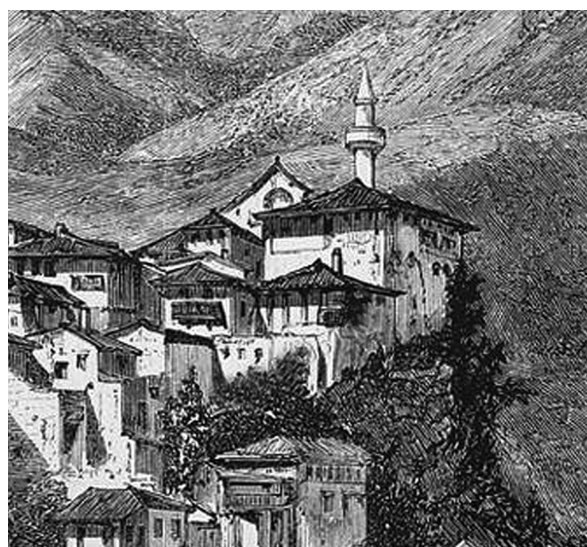
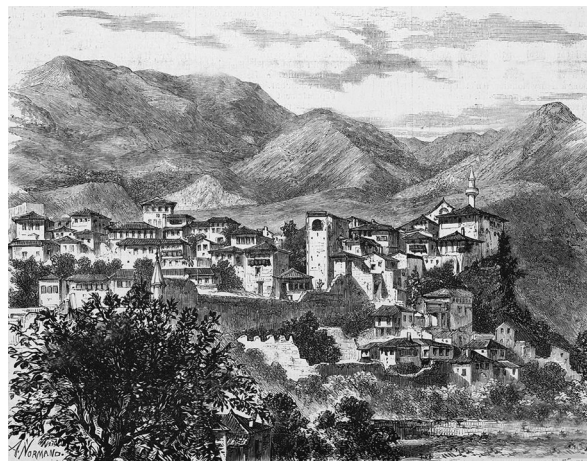
Dvije važne gravure koje je izradio Maurice Normand objavljene su u *L'Illustration, Journal Universel*.<sup>60</sup>

### 2. 3. Gravura Mauricea Normanda, 1874. (sl. 18. - 18a.)

Prva gravura objavljena je 1874. godine.<sup>61</sup> Na njoj je prikazan južni dio utvrđenoga grada Antivari uključujući zidove utvrde, stražarnicu te na najvišoj točki litice, iza kuća, gornji dio zapadnog pročelja katedrale, uključujući zid središnjeg broda zajedno s rozetom, a prema jugoistoku vidljiv je i gornji dio minareta. Sve građevine u gradu još uvijek su neoštećene.

### 2. 4. Gravura Mauricea Normanda, 1880. (sl. 19. - 19a.)

Druga gravura objavljena je 1880. godine.<sup>62</sup> Na njoj je prikazan kompletan prostor grada. Većina



Sl. 18. - 18a. (izvor: Zbirka S. O. Živkova)  
Fig. 18-18a (source: collection of S.O. Živkov)

the existence of the original sacristy in this location is also confirmed by the inscription registered by Marković. The sacristy is clearly visible on a vintage photograph as being incorporated into the lower part of the minaret.

## 2.2 ENGRAVING BY VINZENZO MARIA CORONELLI<sup>58</sup>

This engraving dates much later<sup>59</sup> and provides more details about the original architecture of the

<sup>60</sup> *L'Illustration* su bile tjedne francuske novine koje su izlazile u Parizu od 1843. do 1944. Prvi broj objavljen je 4. ožujka 1843. Postale su prve ilustrirane novine u Francuskoj, a nakon 1906. prvi ilustrirani časopis u svijetu, koji se izvezio u 150 zemalja. Ilustracije su često radene po fotografijama koje su slikane *in situ*. Brojni ugledni umjetnici, među kojima je i Alfons Mucha, radili su kao ilustratori tijekom svog staža u nakladništvu.

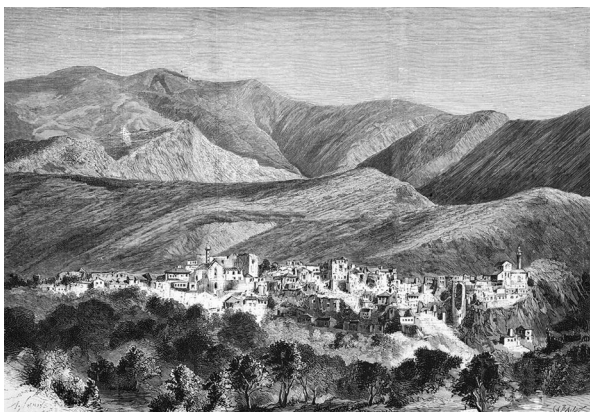
<sup>61</sup> Pogled na Antivari, Crna Gora, *L'Illustration, Journal Universel*, No 1658, Svezak LXIV, 5. prosinca 1874.

<sup>62</sup> Grad Antivari, dodijeljen Crnoj Gori Berlinskim ugovorom, Crna Gora, *L'Illustration, Journal Universel*, br. 1965, svezak LXXVI, 23. listopada 1880.

<sup>58</sup> Vincenzo Maria Coronelli (August 16, 1650 – December 9, 1718) was an Italian Franciscan friar, cosmographer, cartographer, publisher, and encyclopedist known in particular for his atlases and globes. He spent most of his life in Venice.

<sup>59</sup> Coronelli, Vincenzo Maria: Vincenzo Coronelli - Repubblica di Venezia p. IV. Citta, Fortezze, ed altri Luoghi principali dell'Albania, Epiro e Livadia, e particolarmente i posseduti da Veneti descritti e delineati dal p. Coronelli, Venezia, 1688.





Sl. 19. - 19a. (izvor: Zbirka S. O. Živkova)  
Fig. 19-19a (source: collection of S.O. Živkov)

građevina u gradu sada je bez krova i u ruševinama. Na primjer, stražarski toranj prikazan je kao napola srušen. Dva glavna prikazana neoštećena objekta su gotička crkva sv. Franje s lijeve strane, s dodanim minaretom, pretvorena u džamiju, dok je s desne strane gravure jasno vidljiva katedrala, čiji su krovovi još uvijek očuvani. Jasno su vidljivi sjeverni i gornji dijelovi zapadnog pročelja.

## 2. 5. Akvarel Paje Jovanovića, 1880.

Vrlo važan grafički izvor za rekonstruiranje katedrale sv. Jurja je akvarel srpskog slikara Paje Jovanovića, koji je precizno datiran 28. rujna 1880. godine.<sup>63</sup> Na akvarelu je prikazana kompletna tvrđava Antivari gledana s jugozapada. Gotovo sve zgrade su ruševine bez krovova. Katedrala sv. Jurja

<sup>63</sup> Danas je akvarel dio zbirke arhive Srpske akademije nauka i umetnosti.

main façade of the cathedral, which is still located inside the walled enclosure. The proportions of the complete cathedral are displayed with significant deformations. Although the west façade is drawn in rather great detail, the rest of the cathedral is drawn with numerous mistakes such as several roofs, like at least a five-nave structure, while the south wall as well as the first tier of the roofs corresponds to the real situation. Besides this, the west façade as it is drawn has no roof behind it, and the rest of the cathedral looks like a separate building. The main portal on the west façade is clearly visible, as well as two windows which correspond to the level of the roofs of the lateral naves, while the rose window is identifiable at the center of the upper part of the wall that corresponds to the level of the upper part of the main nave. A rectangular bell tower to the SW of the main façade is also visible, but with a highly unusual feature, i.e. a balcony surrounding the floor of the tower's top level. It is obvious that the depicted bell tower with the protruding balcony around the top floor is actually a minaret, which was drawn as a rectangular structure.

However, the most important graphic sources were made shortly before the almost total destruction of the cathedral, which was previously used as a mosque known as the Mosque on „Londža“ locality. It is not known when the cathedral was actually transformed into a mosque, but according to common Ottoman practice, the most important church in every city was always transformed into a mosque. After the liberation of Antivari in 1878, the entire old city was completely burned and the former cathedral was used as a provisional storage for ammunition, which exploded due to the thunder strike. As a result, the complete superstructure was widely dispersed throughout the lower city either as single stones or as a blocks of masonry, which were later used as a source of ready-made building material and further dispersed. Recently, some of the elements were even identified on the slopes of the Rumija mountain!

Two important engravings by Maurice Normand were published in *L'Illustration*, *Journal Universel*<sup>60</sup>

<sup>60</sup> *L'Illustration* was a weekly French newspaper published in Paris from 1843 to 1944. The first issue published was published on 4 March 1843, it became the first illustrated newspaper in France then, after 1906, the first illustrated magazine in the world, distributed in 150 countries. Illustrations were often prepared after the photographs made in situ. During the publish-



prikazana je na južnom rubu grada, kako se uzdiže nad ponorom. Katedrala je još uvijek pokrivena krovom. Ispred katedrale, jugozapadno od zapadnog pročelja, vidljiv je vrlo uzak minaret, gornji dio zapadnog pročelja s rozetom i ruševna četvrtasta građevina ispred tog pročelja. Sve građevine koje su bile vidljive na starijim fotografijama ispred katedrale većim su dijelom uništene, jedino su sačuvani lukovi prizemlja. Iza katedrale, na istoku, vidljiva je uska vertikalna građevina koja je na sljedećoj gravuri nacrtana kao minaret.

## 2. 6. Gravura nepoznatog autora (sl. 21. - 21a.)

Još jedna gravura iz privatne zbirke za koju nije bilo moguće utvrditi vrijeme nastanka<sup>64</sup> također je napravljena s otprilike istoga pogleda kao i akvarel. Iako je vidljiva deformacija vizure nastala prilikom prijenosa izvornog crteža u gravuru ograničenih dimenzija i proporcija, katedrala je nacrtana kako stoji na najvišem položaju gradske aglomeracije, koja je još uvijek neoštećena. Na ovoj gravuri se nalaze dva minareta – jedan odvojen ispred zapadnog pročelja, a drugi iza katedrale na istoku. Zapadno pročelje katedrale prikazano je samo kao običan zid, ali također prikazuje kolonadu od četiri stupa koja stoji ispred zapadnog pročelja.

Izgled katedrale prije 1878. godine dobro je dokumentiran na nekoliko fotografija.

3.1. Fotografija bečkog fotografa dr. Josefa Székelya (1838. - 1901.),<sup>65</sup> Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Mediennummer: 00186349, Naziv objekta: VUES IV 41055 od 25. kolovoza 1863. godine.

<sup>64</sup> <https://i.ebayimg.com/images/g/UIwAAOSw1DtXI4j/s-l500.jpg>

<sup>65</sup> Bečki fotograf dr. Josef Székely (1838. - 1901.) rođen je u Sümegu u blizini Balatona u zapadnoj Mađarskoj, a školovao se u Szombathelyu. Potom je pohađao Sveučilište u Beču i diplomirao 1860. s magisterijem iz farmacije, a 1862. s doktoratom iz kemije. Neko je vrijeme predavao na sveučilištu, ali je zatim, otvorivši atelje u Heinrichshofu u blizini Bečke opere, postao profesionalni i vrlo ugledni fotograf. Godine 1867. osvojio je brončanu nagradu na Svjetskoj izložbi u Parizu, a 1878. osvojio je srebrnu medalju u Parizu. Josef Székely bio je fotograf za vrijeme ekspedicije njemačkog učenjaka Johanna Georga von Hahna (1811. - 1869.) 1863. godine. Zbirka Székely ponovno je otkrivena u Austrijskoj nacionalnoj knjižnici 2000. godine. Fotografije su sada arhivirane u Bildarchivum Austrijske nacionalne knjižnice u Beču.



Sl. 20. - 20a. (izvor: Petar Petrović, Narodni muzej Beograd)

Fig. 20-20a (source: Petar Petrović, National Museum Belgrade)

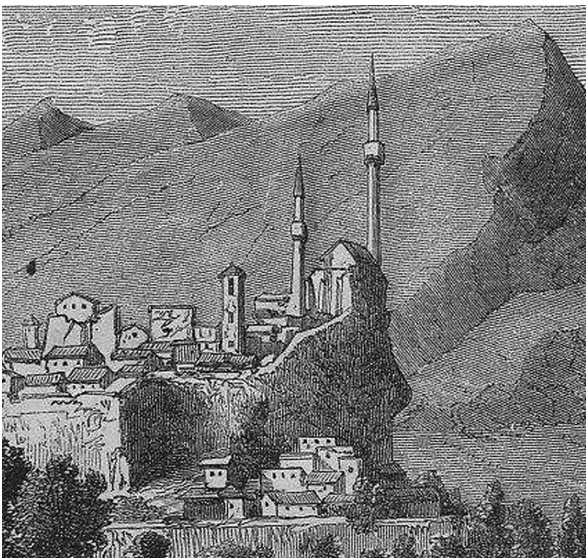
## 2.3 Engraving by Maurice Normand, 1874 (fig. 18-18a)

The earlier engraving was published in 1874.<sup>61</sup> The southern part of the fortified city of Antivari is shown, including the fortification wall, the watch tower and on the highest point of the cliff, behind the houses, the upper part of the west façade of the

ing tenure, a great number of eminent artists worked as illustrators, among them was Alfons Mucha.

<sup>61</sup> View of Antivari, Montenegro, L'Illustration, Journal Universel, No 1658, Volume LXIV, December 5, 1874.





Sl. 21. - 21a. (izvor: <https://i.ebayimg.com/images/g/UIwAAOSw1DtXif4j/s-1500.jpg>)  
 Fig. 21-21a (source: <https://i.ebayimg.com/images/g/UIwAAOSw1DtXif4j/s-1500.jpg>)

Grad Antivari snimljen je u pogledu s jugozapadne strane, odakle se katedrala također dijelom vidi. Jasno se vidi južni zid glavnog broda kao i krovovi glavnog i južnog broda. Ispred zapadnog pročelja vidljiv je kompleks kuća koje su podignute na zapadnom dijelu platoa ispred katedrale. Iza kuća, ali jugozapadno od pročelja katedrale, ponovo se vidi minaret džamije.

### 3. 2. Stara razglednica (sl. 23)

Ova je razglednica više puta tiskana, što kao crno-bijela fotografija, što kao fotografija u boji. Ne zna se tko je autor, ali fotografija je nastala prije velike eksplozije i oslobodilačkog rata 1878., što je vidljivo jer prikazuje stari grad Antivari sa zapada u cijelosti, dok su sve građevine još netaknute te



Sl. 22. (izvor: Austrijska nacionalna knjižnica, broj medija: 00186349, naziv objekta: VUES IV 41055 od 25. kolovoza 1863.)  
 Fig. 22 (source Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Mediennummer: 00186349, Objektname: VUES IV 41055 dated 25<sup>th</sup> August 1863.)

cathedral: the wall of the central nave together with the rose window, and also the upper part of the minaret to the south east. All structures in the city are still intact.

### 2.4 Engraving by Maurice Normand, 1880 (fig. 19-19a)

The second engraving was published in 1880.<sup>62</sup> The complete area of the city is shown. Most of the buildings in the city are now roofless and in ruins, the watch tower is shown half collapsed. The two main undamaged structures on the engraving are the Gothic church of St Francis on the left with the added minaret, i.e. after being transformed into a mosque, while the cathedral is clearly visible on the right side of the engraving, still with its roofs preserved. Clearly visible are also the north and upper parts of the west façade.

### 2.5 Watercolor painting by Paja Jovanović, 1880

A very important graphic source for the reconstruction of the cathedral of St George is the aquarelle painted by Serbian painter Paja Jova-

<sup>62</sup> The city of Antivari, assigned to Montenegro in the Treaty of Berlin, Montenegro, L'illustration, Journal Universel, No 1965, Volume LXXVI, 23 October 1880.





Sl. 23. (izvor: Zbirka S. O. Živkova)  
Fig. 23 (source: collection of S. O. Živkov)

sve kuće imaju krovove. Iza i iznad krovova kuća vidljiv je gornji dio zapadnog pročelja katedrale. Jasno je vidljiv zid središnjeg broda, kao i sjeverni zid glavnog broda gledan u perspektivi. Na jugozapadu je vidljiv minaret džamije, ali ovdje su vidljive njegove prave proporcije, jer je na akvarelu naslikanom 1880. godine minaret prikazan znatno uže.

### 3. 3. Fotografija iz zbirke sultana Abdul Hamida II. (razdoblje prije 1878. godine)

Fotografija je nastala prije oslobodilačkog rata 1878. godine. Pogled na grad Antivari gotovo je točno s južne strane.<sup>66</sup> Zgrade u gradu su netaknute

<sup>66</sup> Zbirka sultana Abdul Hamida II., Istanbulska biblioteka. Osmanski sultan Abdul Hamid II. (1876. - 1909.) vladao je Carstvom koje je brzo propadalo te koje je obuhvaćalo veći dio zapadnog Balkana (Albanija, Kosovo, Makedonija). Pred kraj svoje vladavine bio je paranoičan zbog prijetnji, nije putovao i doista se rijetko pojavljivao u javnosti. Kako bi bio u tijeku s onim što se događa u Carstvu, koristio se razgranatom mrežom špijuna i doušnika te je angažirao fotografe da ga fotografiraju. Među fotografima su bili Pascal Sebach (1823. - 1886.) i Georgi Benkovski (1843. - 1876.), kao i članovi hrvatskih kapetanskih obitelji s Pelješca te braća Abdulah: Vicen (1820. - 1902.), Hovsep (1830. - 1908.) i Kevork (1839. - 1918.). Nakon 1863. sultan Abdul Aziz nagradio ih je titulama Ressim-i Hazret-i Şehriyar-i (Dvorski slikar). Podatke o fotografima srdačno je iznio Vinicije D. Lupis sa svog predavanja u Sofiji: „Indirektne hrvatsko-bugarske kulturne poveznice“. Kada je 1909. godine sultan abdicirao, njegova privatna kolekcija fotografija ostavljena je u palači Yıldız dok na kraju nije prebačena u knjižnicu Sveučilišta u Istanbulu. Ondje je stajala netaknuta desetljećima, dok su neki od albuma prebačeni u Kongresnu knjižnicu u Washingtonu, gdje se čuva 1819 fotografija, a u Istanbulu se u albumima nalaze 34 064 fotografije.

nović, which is precisely dated on 28<sup>th</sup> September 1880.<sup>63</sup> The complete fortress of Antivari, seen from SW, is depicted on the aquarelle. Almost all buildings are ruinous and roofless. St. George's cathedral is shown on the south edge of the city, towering over the precipice. The cathedral is still covered with a roof. A very slender minaret to the SW of the west façade can be seen in front of the cathedral, but also the upper part of the west façade with the rose window and a ruinous square structure in front of said façade. All of the buildings that were visible on the vintage photographs as standing in front of the cathedral are for the greater part destroyed, only the arches of the ground floor are preserved. A slim vertical structure, drawn as a minaret on the following engraving, is visible behind the cathedral to the east.

### 2.6 engraving by unknown author (fig. 21-21a)

Another engraving from a private collection for which the date of its creation is not determinable<sup>64</sup> was also made roughly from the same position as the aquarelle. Even though a deformity of the vista is visible, which resulted from the transfer of the original drawing to the engraving that had limited dimensions and proportions, the cathedral was drawn standing on the highest position of the city agglomeration that was still intact. The engraving shows two minarets, one standing separated in front of the west façade, and another standing behind the cathedral to the east. The west façade of the cathedral is depicted only as a plain wall, but it also shows the colonnade of four columns standing in front of the west façade.

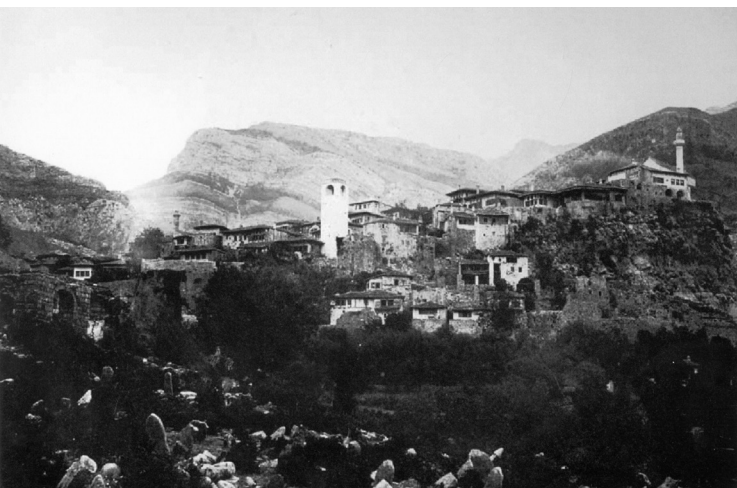
The appearance of the cathedral before 1878 is well documented on several photographs.

### 3.1 A photograph by the Viennese photographer Dr. Josef Székely (1838-1901)<sup>65</sup>, Österreichische

<sup>63</sup> Today the watercolor is the part of the collection of the archive of the Serbian academy of sciences and arts.

<sup>64</sup> <https://i.ebayimg.com/images/g/UIwAAOSw1DtXIf4j/s-1500.jpg>

<sup>65</sup> The Viennese photographer Dr. Josef Székely (1838-1901) was born in Sümeg near Lake Balaton in western Hungary and went to school in Szombathely. He then attended the University of Vienna and graduated in 1860 with a master degree in pharmacy and in 1862 with a doctorate in chemistry. He taught at the university for a time, but then, opening an atelier in Hein-



Sl. 24. (izvor: Istanbulska sveučilišna knjižnica)  
Fig. 24 (source: Istanbul University Library)

te još uvijek imaju krovove. Ovo je najvažnija fotografija, koja pokazuje veći broj pojedinosti vanjskog izgleda katedrale. Katedrala/džamija vidljiva je na najvišoj točki litice te je očito da je istočni dio katedrale sagrađen praktički na istočnom rubu litice. Sa zapada su vidljive kuće izgrađene na zapadnom dijelu platoa katedrale, a na njima je vidljivo više pojedinosti, jer su u njihovu prizemlju ugrađena dva svoda koja najvjerojatnije pripadaju renesansnoj fazi, dok je drugi kat kuća očito kasnije izgrađen na način tradicionalne istočnjačke arhitekture. Istočno od ovih kuća jasno se vidi kvadratni donji dio minareta s okruglim gornjim dijelom s balkonom. Na ovoj se fotografiji jasno vidi visina bočnih zidova, kao i zidova glavnog broda katedrale te rozeta u sredini zabata zapadnog zida glavnog broda.

### Raniji pokušaji teorijskih rekonstrukcija

Osim provizorne rekonstrukcije nacrtu obiju katedrala objavljene 1963. godine nije bilo drugih pokušaja bilo kakve znanstvene rekonstrukcije arhitekture katedrale sv. Jurja. Međutim, relativno nedavno rekonstrukcija, koja i nije previše uvjerljiva, postala je dostupna na internetu, ali nije bila objavljena u tiskanom izdanju.<sup>67</sup>

<https://kutuphane.istanbul.edu.tr/en/haber/the-largest-visual-archive-of-the-19th-century-yildiz-albums-of-abdulhamid-ii-kh-70002D006A0067006100580079004B00590046007A0039007900700046006200610041004F003200370077003200>

<sup>67</sup> <https://www.behance.net/gallery/5675579/2D-Graphic-Architectural-study-of-Medieval-Bar-ANTIVARI>

Nationalbibliothek Mediennummer: 00186349, Objektname: VUES IV 41055 dated 25<sup>th</sup> August 1863.

The city of Antivari was photographed from the southwest. The cathedral can also be partly seen from the southwest. Clearly visible is the south wall of the main nave as well as the roofs of the main and south nave. In front of the west façade one can see the complex of houses, which were erected on the western part of the plateau in front of the cathedral. The minaret of the mosque is visible again behind the houses, but to the SW of the façade of the cathedral.

### 3.2 Vintage postcard (fig. 23)

This postcard was reprinted on several occasions, both as a black and white or colorized photograph. The author of the photograph is unknown, but it was made before the great explosion and the Liberation war of 1878, because it shows the complete old city of Antivari from the west. Everything is still intact and all houses have their roofs. Clearly visible is the upper part of the cathedral's west façade behind and over the roofs of the houses, but also the wall of the central nave as well as the north wall of the main nave seen in perspective. The minaret of the mosque is visible to the south west, in its true proportions as opposed to the watercolor painting from 1880, where the minaret is much slender.

### 3.3 Photograph from the collection of Sultan Abdul Hamid II (period before 1878)

This photograph was made before the Liberation war in 1878. The city of Antivari is seen almost exactly from the south.<sup>66</sup> The buildings in the city are

richshof near the Viennese Opera, he became a professional photographer, and one of substantial repute. In 1867 he won the Bronze Prize at the World's Fair in Paris, and in 1878 he won a silver medal in Paris. Josef Székely was a photographer in 1863 expedition of German scholar Johann Georg von Hahn (1811-1869). The Szekely collection was rediscovered in the Austrian National Library in 2000. The photographs are now archived in the Bildarchiv of the Austrian National Library in Vienna.

<sup>66</sup> Collection of Sultan Abdul Hamid II, Istanbul library. The Ottoman Sultan Abdul Hamid II (1876-1909) ruled over a rapidly declining empire that included much of the western Balkans (Albania, Kosovo, Macedonia). Towards the end of his reign, he was paranoid about threats to his life, did not travel and indeed rarely appeared in public. To keep abreast of what was going on in his empire, he used an extensive





Sl. 25. (izvor: <https://www.behance.net/gallery/5675579/2D-Graphic-Architectural-study-of-Medieval-Bar-ANTIVARI>)

Fig. 25 (source: <https://www.behance.net/gallery/5675579/2D-Graphic-Architectural-study-of-Medieval-Bar-ANTIVARI>)

Ova je rekonstrukcija nacrtana uz zanemarivanje poznate objavljene Rosacciove gravure s izvornim položajem zvonika uz istočni dio južnog zida i prigrađene zgrade u ravnini sa zapadnim pročeljem. Unatoč tome što se točna visina katedrale može utvrditi prema starim fotografijama, njezin je autor svoju rekonstrukciju temeljio isključivo na Coronellijevoj gravuri nastaloj nakon turske okupacije, a novosagrađeni minaret tumači se kao zvonik s balkonom. Brojni detalji kako na katedrali tako i na okolnim zgradama potpuno su izmišljeni te nacrtani bez ikakvih dokaza. Na temelju ove rekonstrukcije na internetu je objavljena i druga takva rekonstrukcija, koja je bila još nerealnija.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>68</sup> <http://www.antivari.info/pages/StGeorgs.php>

intact and have their roofs. This is the most important photograph as it provides more details about the exterior of the cathedral. The cathedral/mosque is visible on the highest part of the cliff. It is obvious that the eastern part of the cathedral was practically built on the cliff's eastern edge. The houses built on the western part of the plateau of the cathedral can be seen from the west, with more details of these houses. Namely, two vaults incorporated into their ground floors, which most probably belong to the Renaissance phase, are visible, while the second floor of these houses was obviously built later in the traditional oriental architecture. The square lower part of the minaret with its round upper part and balcony is clearly visible to the east of these houses. The height of the lateral walls and the walls of the main nave of the cathedral can also be clearly seen on this photograph, as well as the rose window in the center of the gable of the west wall of the main nave.

Earlier attempts of theoretical reconstructions

Apart from the provisional reconstruction of plans of both cathedrals published in 1963, there were no attempts for any scientific reconstruction of the architecture of the cathedral of St George. Relatively recently, a highly improbable reconstruction was not published in printed form, but made available online.<sup>67</sup>

network of spies and informers, and commissioned photographers to take pictures for him. Among the photographers were Pascal Sebach (1823 – 1886), Georgi Benkovski (1843–1876), as well members of Croatian captains' families from Pelješac and the Abdulah brothers: Vicen (1820 – 1902), Hovsep (1830 – 1908) and Kevork (1839 – 1918.). After 1863, Sultan Abdülaziz awarded them with the titles of Ressay-i Hazret-i Şehriyar-i (Court Painter). Informations about the photographers were cordially provided by Vinicije D Lupis from his lecture in Sofia: Indirect Croat - Bulgarian cultural connections. When the sultan abdicated in 1909, his private photo collection was left in the Yildiz Palace until it was eventually transferred to the library of Istanbul University. There it remained untouched for decades, meanwhile some of the albums were transferred to the Congress Library in Washington where 1819 photographs are held while in Istanbul there are 34064 photographs in albums. <https://kutuphane.istanbul.edu.tr/en/haber/the-largest-visual-archive-of-the-19th-century-yildiz-albums-of-abdulhamid-ii-kh-70002D006A0067006100580079004B00590046007A0039007900700046006200610041004F003200370077003200>

<sup>67</sup> <https://www.behance.net/gallery/5675579/2D-Graphic-Architectural-study-of-Medieval-Bar-ANTIVARI>





Sl. 26. (izvor: <http://www.antivari.info/pages/StGeorgs.php>)

Fig. 26 (source: <http://www.antivari.info/pages/StGeorgs.php>)

Kao prvo, zapadno pročelje rekonstruirano je kao trokatna građevina s različitim širinom prizemlja i kata. Iako se iz povijesnih izvora i sačuvanih ostataka zna da su postojale dvije građevinske faze druge katedrale, to je u potpunosti zanemareno. Još jednom ova se rekonstrukcija temelji na Coronellijevoj gravuri sa zvonikom umjesto minareta, a izvorni zvonik ponovno je izostavljen. Iako je katedrala bila podijeljena u četiri traveja, ovom rekonstrukcijom obuhvaćeno je šest traveja na cijelom prostoru i pet traveja na nadgrađu glavnog broda koji je ovdje razvučen za jedan travej prema zapadu. Kod obje rekonstrukcije potpuno je zanemarena činjenica da postoji visinska razlika između zapadnih i bočnih pročelja diktirana topografijom položaja druge katedrale, koja se dijelom nalazila neposredno na klesanoj površini stijene, a dijelom temelji proviruju kroz ispunu i ostatke ranije katedrale.

#### Dokazi rekonstrukcije katedrale sv. Jurja

Nova rekonstrukcija temelji se na sačuvanim grafičkim prikazima na gravurama i fotografijama, sačuvanim ostacima, očuvanim arhitektonskim elementima svih građevinskih faza katedrale. S ob-

This reconstruction was drawn with the ignorance of the well-known and published engraving by Rosaccio with the original position of the bell tower beside the east part of the south wall and the attached building aligned with the west façade. Despite the fact that the exact height of the cathedral can be established from the vintage photographs, its author based his reconstruction exclusively on the engraving by Coronelli that was drawn after the Turkish occupation and the newly built minaret is interpreted as a bell tower with a balcony. Numerous details both on the cathedral and on the surrounding buildings are a complete fabrication drawn without any evidence. Based on this reconstruction, another reconstruction was also published online.<sup>68</sup>

This time the reconstruction is even more unrealistic. Firstly, the west façade was reconstructed as a three-storey structure with a different width of the ground and first floor. Although it is known, both from historical sources and the preserved remains, that there were two building phases of the second cathedral, this was ignored. Once again this reconstruction is based on Coronelli's engraving with the bell tower instead of a minaret and the original bell tower is omitted once again. Although the cathedral was divided into four bays, this reconstruction includes six bays along the entire complex and five bays on the superstructure of the main nave, which is here indented for one bay to the west. Both reconstructions completely ignored the fact that there was a difference in height between the west and lateral façade, dictated by the topography of the location of the second cathedral, which was partly located directly on the hewn surface of the bedrock, while the foundations partly protruded through the infill and remains of the earlier cathedral.

#### Evidence for the reconstruction of the cathedral of St George

The new reconstruction is based on the extant graphic representations on engravings and photographs, the preserved remains and architectural elements of all building phases of the cathedral. Regarding the sequence of the construction, it is obvious that the construction of the cathedral lasted for a long time and that the final architectural conception was achieved in 1543 when the west façade was reconstructed and a new, architecturally very rich portal was built on the façade.

<sup>68</sup> <http://www.antivari.info/pages/StGeorgs.php>





Sl. 27. Izrada perspektivne makete katedrale sv. Jurja (S. O. Živkov)

*Fig. 27 Construction of the perspective model of the cathedral of St George (S. O. Živkov)*

98 |

zirom na redosljed gradnje, očito je da je gradnja katedrale trajala dugo te je konačna arhitektonska koncepcija postignuta 1543. godine, kada je pregrađeno zapadno pročelje, a na pročelju postavljen novi, arhitektonski vrlo bogat portal.

Analizom starih fotografija potvrđeno je postojanje aneksa kao nastavka zapadnog pročelja katedrale prema jugu. Aneks je najvjerojatnije korišten kao sakristija, a poslije kao prizemlje minareta turske džamije koja je izgrađena u procesu pretvaranja katedrale u džamiju. Tijekom prenamjene srušen je izvorni zvonik koji je bio vidljiv na Rosacciovoj gravuri. Nedavno je identificirano nekoliko elemenata ovog portala, koji svjedoče da je uključivao kolonete i arhivolte s floralnim ornamentima, kao i pričvršćene kipove svetaca i anđela u dovratcima.<sup>69</sup>

Osim toga, na arheološkom lokalitetu katedrale danas je izloženo nekoliko važnih arhitektonskih fragmenata: kvadratna baza ukrašena ornamentom kantavros i fragment dovratka s istim ornamentom. Ti fragmenti su dokaz da je portal imao u cijelosti gotičku koncepciju. Sačuvani pravokutni temeljni blok ima reljefni vijenac na prednjoj strani, dok je na desnoj strani reljef dvostrukog kantavrosa, a na lijevoj strani uklesan je jednostruki kantavros. Važno je napomenuti da je s ove strane reljef klesan na manjoj površini, jer je s lijeve strane još uvijek sačuvan grubo klesani dio koji je ugrađen u susjedni dio zida.

Stoga je očito da ovaj blok pripada lijevom dijelu portala katedrale. Sačuvan je i ulomak dovratka koji je s prednje i bočne strane ukrašen girlandama,



Sl. 28. Ulomak s portala katedrale sv. Jurja (izvor: Zagarčanin 2008.)

*Fig. 28 Fragment from the portal of the cathedral of St George (source: Zagarčanin 2008.)*

The analysis of the vintage photographs has confirmed the existence of an annex as a continuation of the west façade of the cathedral to the south, which was most probably used as a sacristy. This annex was later used as the ground floor for the minaret of the Turkish mosque, which was built within the scope of the cathedral's transformation into a mosque. During this transformation, the original bell tower, visible in Rosaccio's engraving, was torn down. The recent identification of several elements of this portal show that it included colonettes and archivaults with floral ornamentation as well as attached statues of saints and angels in the doorframes.<sup>69</sup>

Besides this, several important architectural fragments are now displayed on the archaeological site of the cathedral: a square base decorated with a kantavros ornament and a fragment of the doorframe with the same ornament. These fragments are proof that the portal had an overall Gothic conception. The preserved rectangular block of the base has a garland-type relief on the front side, while the double kantavros relief is on the right side and a single kantavros is carved on its left side. It is important to note that on this side the relief was carved on a smaller surface area, because the roughly carved

<sup>69</sup> Zagarčanin 2008, str. 50.

<sup>69</sup> Zagarčanin 2008, p. 50.





Sl. 29. Prednja strana bočne baze portala katedrale sv. Jurja (izvor: Josip Weber)

*Fig. 29 Front side of the lateral base of the portal of the cathedral of St George (source: Josip Weber)*



Sl. 30. Lijeva strana bočne baze portala katedrale sv. Jurja (izvor: Josip Weber)

*Fig. 30 Left flank of the lateral base of the portal of the cathedral of St George (source: Josip Weber)*



Sl. 31. Desna strana bočne baze portala katedrale sv. Jurja (izvor: Josip Weber)

*Fig. 31 Right flank of the lateral base of the portal of the cathedral of St George (source: Josip Weber)*



Sl. 32. Stražnja strana bočne baze portala katedrale sv. Jurja (izvor: Josip Weber)

*Fig. 32 Back of the lateral base of the portal of the cathedral of St George (source: Josip Weber)*

također s grubo klesanim dijelom koji je bio uklopljen u zid.

Prisutnost skulpturalnih figura u arhitektonskoj kompoziciji dovratka portala vrlo je rijetka pojava na istočnoj obali Jadrana. Bilo je samo nekoliko primjera ovakvog arhitektonskog osmišljavanja glavnog portala crkve: konkatedrala Uznesenja Blažene

part is still preserved on the left side, which was built into the adjoining part of the wall.

Thus, it is obvious that this block belongs to the left part of the portal of the cathedral. A fragment of the doorframe decorated with garlands on its front and lateral sides has also been preserved, again with a roughly carved part which was incorporated into the wall.





Sl. 33. Ulomak unutarnjeg dovratka portala katedrale sv. Jurja (izvor: Josip Weber)

Fig. 33 Fragment of the inner doorframe of the portal of the cathedral of St George (source: Josip Weber)



Sl. 34. Prag portala katedrale sv. Jurja

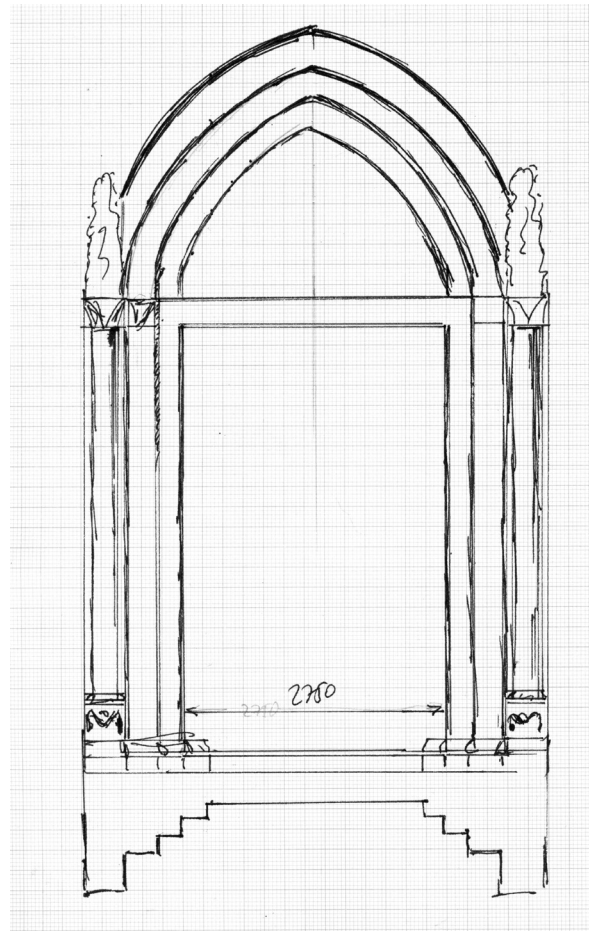
Fig. 34 Door threshold of the portal of the cathedral of St George

Djevice Marije u Pagu,<sup>70</sup> portal katedrale sv. Lovre u Trogiru (započeo ga je graditi majstor Radovan 1240. godine, a od tada je barem dva puta prepravlján, te je dovršen sredinom 14. stoljeća)<sup>71</sup>, vjerojatno katedrala sv. Tripuna u Kotoru, dovršena 1331. godine, čiji je portal uništen, ali je sačuvano nekoliko fragmenata.<sup>72</sup> Gotička koncepcija portala katedrale sv. Jurja bila je prilično jednostavna. Širina

<sup>70</sup> Crkvu su 1543. godine započeli graditi braća Juraj i Pavao Dimitrov iz Zadra, od 1446. gradnjom je rukovodio Giorgio Orsini alias Giorgio de Sebenico (Juraj Dalmatinac), a crkva je dovršena 1487. godine.

<sup>71</sup> Portal trogirске katedrale te njegova kronologija i autorstvo bili su predmetom brojnih studija i knjiga. Najnovija istraživanja sažeta su u Bužančić 2010.

<sup>72</sup> O izvornom portalu katedrale sv. Tripuna zna se vrlo malo. Nekoliko figura pripisano je izgubljenom portalu, a objavljena je i provizorna rekonstrukcija.



Sl. 35. Provizorna rekonstrukcija arhitektonskog okvira portala katedrale sv. Jurja

Fig. 35 Provisional reconstruction of the architectural frame of the portal of the cathedral of St George

The presence of sculptured figures in the architectural composition of portal doorframes is a very rare occurrence on the eastern coast of the Adriatic. There are only a few examples of this kind of architectural conception of a main portal of a church: the co-cathedral of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Pag,<sup>70</sup> the portal of the cathedral of St Lawrence in Trogir (started by master Radovan in 1240, and remodeled at least twice since then, it was completed in the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century),<sup>71</sup> possibly the cathedral of St Triphon in Kotor, which was finished in 1331, the portal was destroyed and only

<sup>70</sup> The construction of the church was started in 1543 by brothers Juraj and Pavao Dimitrov from Zadar, from 1446 building was supervised by Giorgio Orsini alias Giorgio de Sebenico (Juraj Dalmatinac) and the church was completed in 1487.

<sup>71</sup> The portal of Trogir cathedral and its chronology and authorship were the subject of numerous studies and books. The latest research was summarized in Bužančić 2010



Sl. 36. Portal katedrale u Altamuri  
(izvor: zbirka S. O. Živkova)

*Fig. 36 Portal of the cathedral in Altamura  
(source: collection of S. O. Živkov)*

portala određena je izvornim blokom praga koji je sačuvan *in situ*. Uzimajući u obzir uobičajene proporcije monumentalnih otvora vrata toga vremena, koje iznose 2,60 cm, sa sigurnošću se može zaključiti točna visina portala.

Međutim, postavlja se pitanje o položaju nedavno identificiranog ulomka priložene skulpture sv. Mateja.<sup>73</sup> Jasno je vidljivo da je pripadala lijevoj strani portala, a skulptura je bila uokvirena arhitektonskim elementima: četvrtinom stupa s lijeve (vanjske) strane koji je izbočen prema van i jednostavnim rubnim okvirom s desne strane. To ukazuje na to da je ovaj reljef pripadao unutarnjem dijelu portala. Ali ostaje pitanje koji su još kipovi bili uključeni u klesarski koncept portala – jesu li tu bili samo reljefi arkanđela (u tom slučaju samo četiri isklesana reljefa) ili su bili i reljefi apostola (što bi značilo još 12 reljefa). Također je vidljivo da sačuvani reljef pripada kompozitnom pragu vrata jer je reljef jasno okomit bez ikakve naznake zakrivljenosti potrebne za arhivolt zabata. Postoje analogije strukture i dekoracije portala katedrale u Altamuri u

few fragments have remained.<sup>72</sup> The Gothic conception of the portal of St George's Cathedral was rather simple. The width of the portal is defined by the original threshold block that is preserved *in situ*. If the usual proportion of monumental door openings of that time, which is 2,60 cm, is taken into account, then the exact height of the portal can be deduced with certainty.

There is also the question about the position of the recently identified fragment of the attached sculpture of St Matthew.<sup>73</sup> It is evident that it belonged to the left side of the portal, and the sculpture was framed with architectural elements: the quarter column on the left (outer) side which protrudes outwards and a simple border frame on the right side. This indicates to the fact that this relief belonged to the inner part of the portal. The question is what other statues were included into the sculptural program of the portal; were there only reliefs of the archangels (in that case only four reliefs should be carved) or were there also reliefs of the apostles (12 more reliefs). It is obvious that the preserved relief belonged to the composite door sill because the relief is clearly vertical without any indication of the curvature that is necessary for the archivolt of the gable. There are analogies in terms of structure and decoration in the portal of the cathedral in Altamura in the Italian province of Puglia,<sup>74</sup> which was completely remodeled in the period from 1521 to 1547 when the cathedral received its present orientation as well as the main portal. The most prominent feature of this portal is the sculpted inner frame of the door sills, which is carried by a seated human figure. There is a striking similarity with the preserved figure of St Matthew which originally might have been placed in the same position on the northern door sill of the portal of the cathedral of St George. It is known from the travelers' descriptions that the relief of St George killing the dragon was located over the door opening of the portal until the destruction. There is a faint hope that the fragments of this lunette could be identified someday among the numerous fragments of the sculpture, which were collected among the ruins of Antivari.

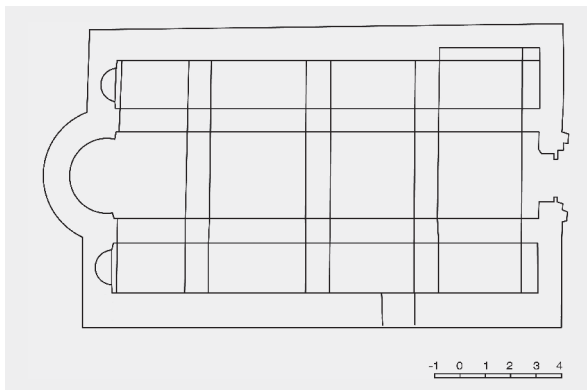
<sup>72</sup> About the original portal of St Triphon cathedral very little is known. Few figures were attributed to the lost portal and a provisional reconstruction was also published.

<sup>73</sup> Reproduced and published in Zagarčanin 2008

<sup>74</sup> About the history and art of the Cathedral in Altamura: Pupillo 2017.

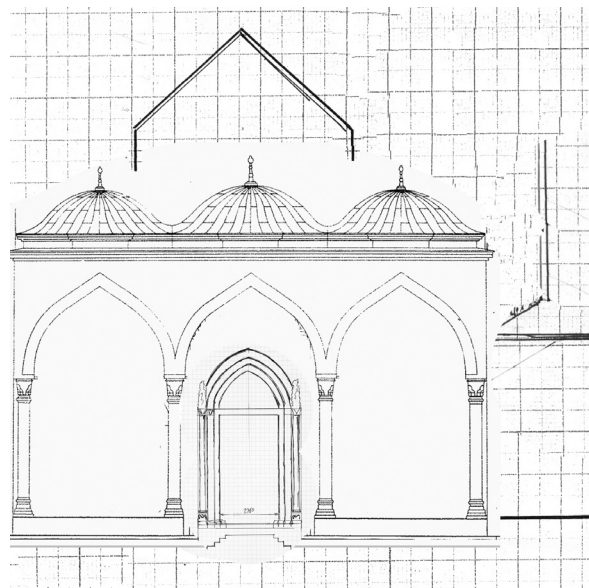
<sup>73</sup> Reproducirano i objavljeno u Zagarčanin 2008.





Sl. 37. Rekonstruirani tlocrt katedrale sv. Jurja (Evica Dimitrijević Rajšić)

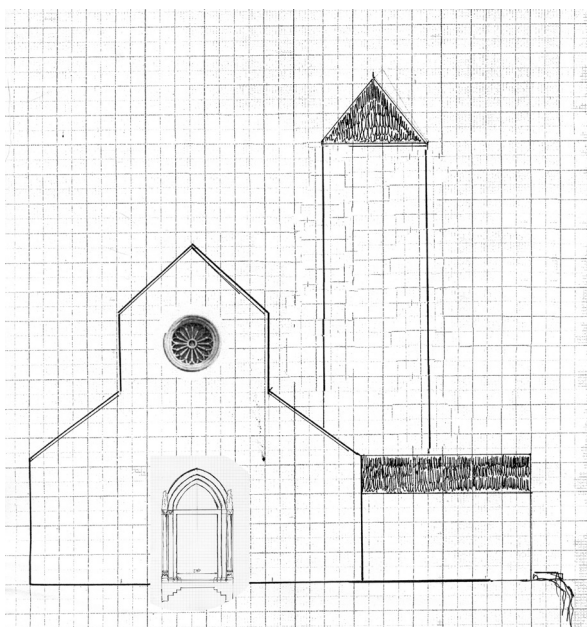
*Fig. 37 Restored ground plan of the cathedral of St George (Evica Dimitrijević Rajšić)*



Sl. 39. Rekonstruirano zapadno pročelje džamije s dograđenim trijemom (S. O. Živkov)

*Fig. 39 Restored west façade of the mosque with the added porch (S. O. Živkov)*

102 |

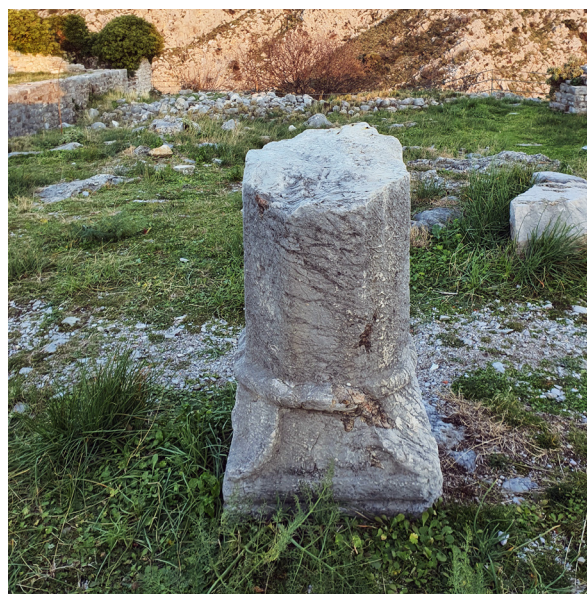


Sl. 38. Rekonstruirano zapadno pročelje katedrale sv. Jurja (S. O. Živkov)

*Fig. 38 Restored west façade of the cathedral of St George (S.O. Živkov)*

pokrajini Puglia u Italiji<sup>74</sup>, koji je potpuno preuređen u razdoblju 1521. - 1547., kada je katedrala dobila današnju orijentaciju kao i glavni portal. Najistaknutija značajka ovog portala je isklesani unutarnji okvir pragova vrata koji nosi sjedeća ljudska figura. Nevjerojatna je sličnost sa sačuvanim likom svetog Mateja, koji je izvorno mogao biti smješten na istome mjestu na sjevernom pragu portala katedrale sv. Jurja. Iz opisa putnika poznato je da je iznad otvora vrata portala, sve do razaranja, stajao reljef sv. Jurja koji ubija zmaja. Postoji slabašna nada da bi

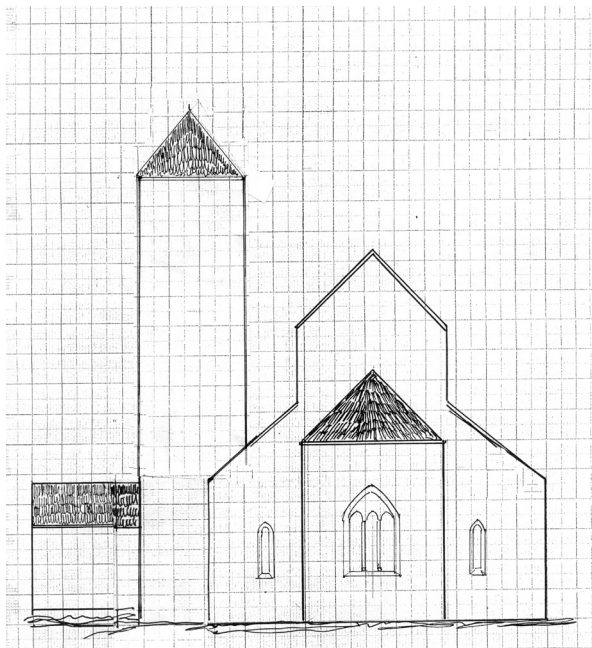
<sup>74</sup> O povijesti i umjetnosti katedrale u Altamuri: Pupillo 2017.



Sl. 40. Baza i ulomak stupa trijema džamije (izvor: Josip Weber)

*Fig. 40 Base and fragment of the column of the porch of the mosque (source: Josip Weber)*

At present, there is no evidence for the architectural decoration of the windows and rose windows of the cathedral. Thus, based upon the few identified fragments and earlier descriptions, it was possible to prepare at least a „skeleton“ reconstruction of the portal of the cathedral of St George. There is also the question of the floor of the cathedral of St George. Rovinski described the floor as a mo-



Sl. 41. Rekonstruirano istočno pročelje katedrale sv. Jurja (S. O. Živkov)  
 Fig. 41 Restored east façade of the cathedral of St George (S. O. Živkov)

se među brojnim fragmentima skulpture koji su sakupljeni među ruševinama Antivarija jednog dana mogli prepoznati i fragmenti ove lunete.

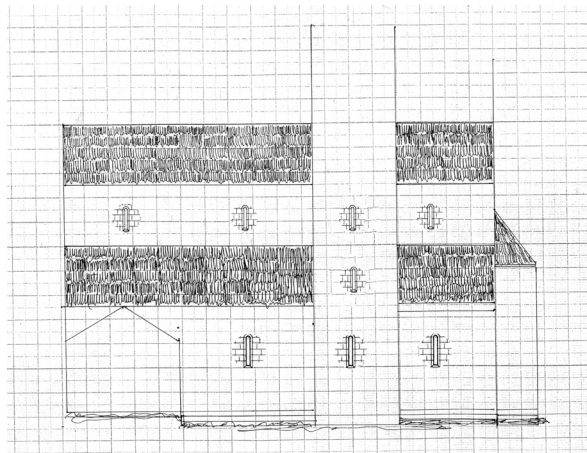
Za sada nema dokaza o arhitektonskoj dekoraciji prozora i rozeta katedrale. Tako je samo s nekoliko identificiranih fragmenata i ranijih opisa bilo moguće izraditi barem „kosturnu“ rekonstrukciju portala katedrale sv. Jurja. Međutim, postavlja se i pitanje o podu katedrale sv. Jurja. Rovinski taj pod opisuje kao pod od mozaika bez ikakvih drugih detalja.<sup>75</sup> Mnogo kasnije, iako nikakvi fragmenti takvog poda nisu otkriveni tijekom arheoloških istraživanja, pretpostavljeno je da je ovaj pod napravljen upotrebom mramornih ploča s urezanim utorima ispunjenim mozaikom sličnim onima u mauzoleju Svetih arkanđela kod Prizrena ili srednjovjekovnim mozaičkim podovima na Siciliji.<sup>76</sup>

### Zaključak

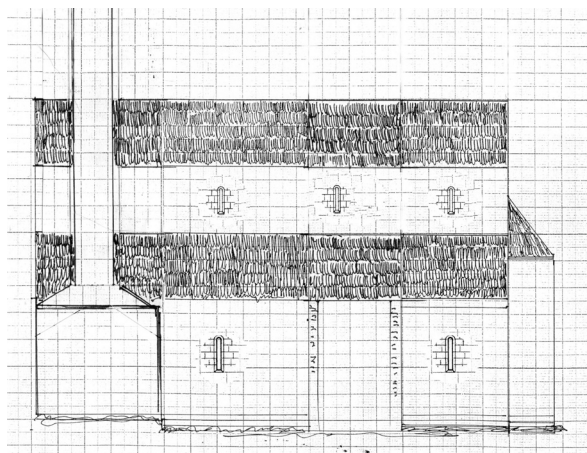
Važnost grada Antivarija prepoznata je još na zalazu antike, kada je među raznim monumentalnim stambenim objektima u blizini obale izgrađena monumentalna trikonhalna crkva. U isto vrijeme postojala je još jedna aglomeracija smještena na istaknutom vrhu brda s pogledom na barsko polje.

<sup>75</sup> Ровинский 1897, стр. 174.

<sup>76</sup> Bošković 1962, str. 17.



Sl. 42. Rekonstruirano južno pročelje katedrale sv. Jurja (S. O. Živkov)  
 Fig. 42 Restored south façade of the cathedral of St George (S. O. Živkov)



Sl. 43. Rekonstruirano južno pročelje katedrale sv. Jurja nakon pretvaranja u džamiju (S. O. Živkov)  
 Fig. 43 Restored south façade of the cathedral of St George after its transformation into a mosque (S. O. Živkov).

saic floor without any other details.<sup>75</sup> Much later, although no fragments of such floor were discovered during the archaeological excavations, it was proposed that this floor had been made with the use of marble plates with hewn grooves filled with mosaic, similar to those in the Holy Archangels Mausoleum near Prizren or the medieval mosaic floors in Sicily.<sup>76</sup>

### Conclusion

The importance of the city of Antivari was recognized even at the dusk of the antiquity when a monumental triconchal church was built among the

<sup>75</sup> Ровинский 1897, p. 174.

<sup>76</sup> Bošković 1962, p. 17.



Ovo mjesto je utvrđivano postupno te je tamo rastao srednjovjekovni grad Antivari sve do njegova uništenja 1878. godine. Važnost Antivarija kao sjedišta biskupije naglašena je izgradnjom prve predromaničke katedrale posvećene, sv. Teodoru, koja pripada regionalnoj istočnojadranskoj skupini trobrodskih bazilika s kupolama. Sudeći prema sačuvanim ulomcima, ali bez cjelovitog kataloga ulomaka, prvostolnica je, kao i ostale predromaničke crkve na istočnoj obali Jadrana, bila bogato ukrašena arhitektonskim skulpturama, stilom i ornamentikom vrlo slična ostalim crkvama tog doba. Ova katedrala je stradala u požaru, a druga katedrala, posvećena svetom Jurju, djelomično je sagrađena na ostacima prethodne. Gradnja ove katedrale trajala je prilično dugo, s nekoliko promjena tijekom procesa gradnje, a dovršena je 1543. godine. Analiza stare gravure dala je dokaz o rekonstrukciji izvorne sakristije i zvonika južno od crkve. Sakristija je poslije pretvorena u kvadratnu osnovu za minaret džamije koji je dograđen u sklopu procesa prenamjene katedrale u džamiju. U sklopu ove preobrazbe dograđen je i ulazni trijem, čija je prisutnost potvrđena na nekoliko grafičkih izvora i arhitektonskim fragmentom. Tek nakon revizijskih istraživanja nezaštićenih arheoloških ostataka, opsežna konzervatorsko-arhitektonska prezentacija te sustavno istraživanje i identifikacija rastrkanih arhitektonskih blokova na širem području Antivarija dat će više dokaza za detaljnu arhitektonsku rekonstrukciju dviju antivarijskih katedrala.

various monumental residential structures near the coast. At the same time there was another agglomeration settled on a prominent hill top overlooking the plain of Bar. This location was gradually fortified and the medieval city of Antivari grew there until its destruction in 1878. The importance of Antivari as the seat of the bishop was emphasized with the construction of the first Pre-Romanesque cathedral dedicated to St Theodore, which belongs to the regional east Adriatic group of three-nave basilicas with domes. As judged by the preserved fragments and without the complete catalogue of the fragments, the first cathedral, like other Pre-Romanesque churches on the eastern coast of the Adriatic, was richly decorated with architectural sculpture, very similar in style and ornaments to the other churches of that period. This cathedral was destroyed in a fire, and a second cathedral dedicated to St George was partly built over the remains of the earlier one. The construction process of this cathedral had been rather long with several changes during the process itself. The second cathedral was completed in 1543. The analysis of the vintage engraving gave evidence for the reconstruction of the original sacristy and bell tower to the south of the church. The sacristy was later transformed into a square base for the minaret of the mosque, which was added within the scope of the transformation of the cathedral into a mosque. An entrance porch was also added during this transformation, whose presence was confirmed by several graphic sources and by an architectural fragment. Thus, this article is only the preliminary reconstruction of the two cathedrals of Antivari. More evidence for the detailed architectural reconstruction of the two cathedrals of Antivari will be available only after further revision excavations of the unprotected archaeological remains and the extensive conservation and architectural presentation and systematic research and identification of the scattered architectural blocks in the wider area of Antivari.

## Literatura / Bibliography

Babić 2016

I. Babić, *Trogir; grad i spomenici*, Književni krug, Muzej Hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika Split 2016.

Bošković 1962

Đ. Bošković, *Stari Bar*, Savezni institut za zaštitu spomenika kulture historiques, Beograd 1962.

Bužančić 2010

R. Bužančić, *Radovan's portal*, Turistička naklada, Zagreb 2010.

Čanak Medić, Čubrović 2010

M. Čanak-Medić, Z. Čubrović, *Katedrala Svetog Tripuna u Kotoru: istorija, arhitektura, arhitektonska plastika i liturgijski namještaj*, Bolkelska mornarica, Kotor 2010.

Hecquaerd 1858

H. Hecquaerd, *Historie et description de la Haute albanie ou Guegarie*, Paris 1858.

Korać, Kovačević 1970

V. Korać, J. Kovačević, *Crkva Sv Tome u Prčanju u Boki Kotorskoj*, u/in: *Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta* 11-1, Beograd 1970, 107-117.

Marasović 2011

T. Marasović, *Dalmatia praeromanica, Ranosrednjovjekovno graditeljstvo u Dalmaciji* 3, Književni krug Split – Biblioteka knjiga Mediterana, Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika – Monumenta Medii Aevi Croatiae 4, Arhitektonski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu – Acta Architectonica, Split – Zagreb 2011.

Marasović 2013

T. Marasović, *Dalmatia Praeromanica, Ranosrednjovjekovno graditeljstvo u Dalmaciji* 4, Književni krug Split – Biblioteka knjiga Mediterana, Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika – Monumenta Medii Aevi Croatiae 5, Arhitektonski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu – Acta Architectonica, Split – Zagreb 2013.

Mijović 1967

P. Mijović, *Monodija o kamenu*, Bagdala, Kruševac 1967

Mijović 1970

P. Mijović, *Je li Bar (Antibar) neposredni nasljednik Duklje?* I Międzynarodowy kongres archeologii słowiańskiej, Warszawa 1970.

Mijović 1971

P. Mijović, *Ozloglašeno nasljeđe*, Obod, Cetinje 1971.

Mijović 1974

P. Mijović, *Vječno na Krajini*, u/in: *Virpazar-Bar-Ulcinj*, Obod, Cetinje, 1974, 11-57.

Mijović 1977

P. Mijović, *Ulcinj i Bar: arheološka i kastelološka istraživanja*, u/in: *Velika arheološka nalazišta u Crnoj Gori*, Kolarčev narodni univerzitet, Beograd 1977.

Mijović 1978

P. Mijović, *Ranohrišćanski spomenici Praevalisa*, *Arheološki vestnik, Acta archaeologica* 29, Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, Ljubljana 1978, 641-678.

Mijović 1975

P. Mijović, *Urbani razvoj Crne Gore u antičko doba* u/in: P. Mijović, M. Kovačević, *Gradovi i utvrđenja u Crnoj Gori*, Arheološki Institut, Muzej Ulcinj posebna izdanja knjiga 13 Beograd – Ulcinj 1975. stranice???

Mijović 1976

P. Mijović, *Pregled umetnosti u Crnoj Gori*, in: *Crna Gora*, Književne novine, Beograd 1976, 369 – 426

Mijović 1979

P. Mijović, *O nekim pitanjima naše poleogeneze i urbanogeneze*, *Starinar*, Nova serija, knj. 28-29, 1977-1978, Arheološki institut, Beograd 1979.

Mijović 1980

P. Mijović, *Umjetničko blago Crne Gore*, Jugoslovenska Revija, Beograd 1980.

Mijović 1995

P. Mijović, *Iz kulturne prošlosti Bara*, Kulturni centar, Bar 1995.

Mijović 2020

P. Mijović, *Ipak, nasljeđe = Eppur, patrimonium*. Nacionalna biblioteka Crne Gore “Đurđe Crnojević”, Ministarstvo kulture Crne Gore, Cetinje 2020.

Petricioli 1994

I. Petricioli, *Romanička skulptura zadarske katedrale, Per Raduanum* 1240 – 1990, Muzej grada Trogira, Trogir 1994, 217-228.



Pupillo 2017

G. Pupillo, *Altamura, imagini e descrizioni storiche*, Centro regionali educativi culturali Altamura – Gravina-Poggiorsini 2017.

Ровинский 1883

П. А. Ровинский, В новых владениях Черногории. (Очерки из путешествия), *Русская мысль* 7, Москва 1883, 161—217.

Ровинский 1897

П. А. Ровинский, *Черногория в ее прошлом и настоящем*, Том 2 (Ч. II), Императорской Академии наук, Санкт-Петербург 1897.

Šišić 1928

F. Šišić, *Ljetopis popa Dukljanina*, Posebna izdanja LXVII, Srpska kraljevska akademija, Beograd 1928

Bošković, Mijović, Kovačević 1981

Đ. Bošković, P. Mijović, M. Kovačević, *Ulcinj I*, Arheološki Institut, Muzej Ulcinj, Republički zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture, Beograd 1981.

Zagarčanin 2008

M. Zagarčanin, *Stari grad Bar, vodič kroz vjekove*, Kulturni centar Bar, Bar 2008.