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**TO PUT THE CHURCH ON THE MAP:  
EARLY MEDIEVAL ECCLESIASTICAL STRUCTURES  
AND TENDENCIES IN THE REGION OF DUKLJA  
(6<sup>TH</sup>–11<sup>TH</sup> CENTURIES)\***

**Abstract:** From Late Antiquity/Early Byzantium to the verge of the First Crusade, the territory of *Praevalitana*, later *Doclea (Duklja)* and *Zeta*, represented a cultural landscape of interaction between East and West, the Latin and the Orthodox Church. The development of ecclesiastical structures and the peculiarities of the denominational interplay in this geopolitical area remain, however, still

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\* This article represents a scholarly outcome of the project “Beyond East and West: Geocommunicating the Sacred Landscapes of ‘Duklja’ and ‘Raška’ through Space and Time (11th–14th Cent.) / HOLDURA” (FWF Austrian Science Fund International Project I 4330-G; in cooperation with the DFG German Research Foundation; <https://tib.oeaw.ac.at/subprojects/holdura> [April, 11, 2023]). We are indebted to the FWF Austrian Science Fund and the DFG German Research Foundation for their funding and support. The paper is a contribution of three authors, Dorota Vargová being mainly responsible for the analysis of Papal communication with the territory of Duklja between ca. 1050 and 1087, Branka Vranešević for the analysis of artistic aspects of medieval Dukljan religious monuments as well as artefacts and Mihailo St. Popović for the analysis of the Early Medieval history in Duklja, its toponymy and topography, geospatial concepts and cartographic data embedding and analysis.

a little-explored issue. This paper analyses this specific cultural and religious interconnection by implementing the following aspects and methods: new interpretational approaches to the toponomastic evidence and written sources, especially papal letters, digital processing of database-embedded data and its analysis, including the designing and application of distribution maps, and artistic interpretation of on-site monuments. The examination of cultural and geographical features of medieval Duklja, i.e. churches, monasteries, roads, in combination with the output from the source study, enable us to shape a new perception of what is regarded here as a “Sacred Landscape”.

**Keywords:** Early Middle Ages, Doclea/Duklja, geospatial concepts, communication routes, toponymy, religious and cultural monuments, papal letters, art history, digital historical geography, “Sacred Landscape”.

## 1. Introduction

Hélène Ahrweiler deals in her work with the Roman Oriental cultural background of the Byzantine Empire, which, as she stresses, should be always perceived simultaneously with the (Oecumenic) Christian faith as the very foundations of the Byzantine political ideology.<sup>1</sup> When dealing with the affirmative years of the Christian faith in the city of Constantinople, that is especially in the Theodosian era, she argues in favour of the strong singularity of the Christian faith and its ultimate binding character for the population of the “New Rome”: “Dorénavant, est citoyen de l’Empire romain, celui qui embrasse la vraie foi, établie par les conciles oecuméniques de Nicée (325) et de Constantinople (381)”.<sup>2</sup> In this respect, it is interesting to pose the question if the specific landscape of Duklja has been shaped by the denominational duality – is there a perception of one “right” faith, to which one should belong in order to be a part of the Dukljan realm? If so, in what way can this be perceived?

This article is addressing a historical region, which underwent a remarkable transformation, not only from the viewpoint of political and military history, but also and especially from the ecclesiastical perspective. This transformation concerned also the region’s name, since it is likewise known as *Praevalitana/Praebalis*, *Doklea/Duklja* and *Zeta*, depending on the period of time and the respective written sources.<sup>3</sup> Re-

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<sup>1</sup> H. AHRWEILER, *L’idéologie politique de l’Empire byzantin*, L’historien. Collection dirigée par Roland Mousnier 20, Paris 1975.

<sup>2</sup> IBIDEM, 14.

<sup>3</sup> For the detailed terminology, see: P. KOMATINA, Identitet Dukljana prema *De administrando imperio*, *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* (=ZRVI) 51 (2014) 33–46; IDEM, *Konstantin Porfirogenit i rana istorija Južnih Slovena*, Beograd 2021, 290–295; A. LOMA, *Serbisches und kroatisches Sprachgut bei Konstantin Porphyrog-*

garding the toponym of Duklja, Heinrich Kunstmann has even argued that it was transferred from today's Montenegro to the Carpathians, i.e. from the Southern to the Eastern Slavs. As an example, he highlighted the pass of Dukla/Duklja between Poland and Slovakia.<sup>4</sup> In the first half of the 11th century the Byzantine historian John Scylitzes makes a clear distinction between *Tribalia* meaning Duklja and *Serbia* meaning Serbia (i.e. Rascia and Bosnia),<sup>5</sup> while the toponym Zeta is mentioned for the first time in the work of Kekaumenos in the last quarter of the 11th century (εἰς τὴν Ζέταν).<sup>6</sup>

The working and research hypothesis within our scholarly project “Beyond East and West: Geocommunicating the Sacred Landscapes of ‘Duklja’ and ‘Raška’ through Space and Time (11th–14th Cent.)” is that the historic region of Duklja constituted a “Sacred Landscape”, which we intend to decipher and to communicate to academia as well as to the interested public with the joint means of historical geography, art history and geocommunication.<sup>7</sup> Concerning the concept of “Sacred Landscape” Orlando Woods stated that: “Attention therefore needs to be paid to where, and not just why and how, conversion happens. [...] competing groups delineate boundaries, and use space for specific, religiously oriented purposes”.<sup>8</sup> Three main research questions are pursued in the project:

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ennetos, *ZRVI* 38 (1999/2000) 87–161, pp. 95–96; B. NOVAKOVIĆ, Duklja u spisu *De administrando imperio*, *ZRVI* 49 (2012) 75–86; V. D. STANKOVIĆ, Položaj Dukljanske episkopije u ranom srednjem veku, *Crkvene studije* 13 (2016) 15–22; I. STEVOVIĆ, *Praevalis. Obrazovanje kulturnog prostora kasnoantičke provincije*, Podgorica 2014.

<sup>4</sup> H. KUNSTMANN, Der Dukla-Name und sein Weg von Montenegro über die Karpaten nach Nordwestrußland, *Die Welt der Slawen* 34 (1989) 70–88. This theory was severely opposed by: R. KATIČIĆ, Kunstmannovi lingvistički dokazi o seobi Slavena s juga na sjever, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* 20 (1990) 225–238.

<sup>5</sup> P. KOMATINA, Srbija i Duklja u delu Jovana Skilice, *ZRVI* 49 (2012) 159–186.

<sup>6</sup> M. D. SPADARO, *Cecaumeno. Raccomandazioni e consigli di un galantuomo (Στρατηγικόν)*. *Testo critico*, Hellenica 2, Alessandria 1998, 108. Also cf. V. D. STANKOVIĆ, Položaj Dukljanske episkopije, 15.

<sup>7</sup> See also one of the most recent studies on “Sacred Landscapes” in Byzantium with a rich bibliography: A. VIONIS, Interdisciplinarity in Byzantine Studies. A Sacred-Landscapes and Digital-Humanities Approach, *24th International Congress of Byzantine Studies. Proceedings of the Plenary Sessions*, eds. E. FIORI – M. TRIZIO, Venice 2022, 121–140.

<sup>8</sup> O. WOODS, The Geographies of Religious Conversion, *Progress in Human Geography* 36/4 (2012) 440–456, here 446–448. Cf. on this concept in detail also: C. BRACE – A. R. BAILEY – D. C. HARVEY, Religion, Place and Space: A Framework for Investigating Historical Geographies of Religious Identities and Communities, *Progress in Human Geography* 30/1 (2006) 28–43; J. D. DEWSBURY – P. CLOKE, Spiritual

(1) In which way did the local rulers and the churches of Rome and Constantinople interact in the regions of “Duklja” and “Raška” from the 11th to the 14th centuries and how is this very interaction mirrored in the distribution pattern of monuments (i.e. the churches and monasteries) in this “Sacred Landscape”?

(2) Did the volatile religious affiliation of the local rulers have an impact on the “Sacred Landscape” and where were Latin or Byzantine places of worship transformed or superimposed in the course of time?

(3) Can the religious and cultural influence of the Latin and Byzantine (Orthodox) faith be traced through small Latin (i.e. “Western”) as well as Byzantine and Slavic (i.e. “Eastern”) objects of art, not only in the aforesaid coastal area, but also in its hinterland and in Italy?

As will be shown below, we will address the first and the second aforesaid research questions to a certain extent and focus on *Praevalitana/Praebalis* and *Doklea/Duklja* within the territory of today’s Republic of Montenegro as area of research.

Our approach puts a focus on several layers of data, especially toponymy and monuments (i.e. churches and monasteries) in the area of research, and combines them with the output from the analysis of written sources. We will illustrate below, in which way the data from our project database, used for layers and consequently for “distribution maps”, helps us to discuss existing questions and to address new ones.

The monuments (i.e. churches and monasteries) from the 7th to the 11th centuries are perhaps the most striking examples of the encounter of the influences of East and West, which can be traced in the territory of Duklja/Zeta and Raška and which constitute, what we consider, a recognisable “Sacred Landscape”. To this day, the medieval churches and monasteries of the aforesaid territory have been studied by scholars, primarily art historians, and the results indicate striking and equally important influences that came from both Constantinople and Thessalonica (i.e. from Byzantium, the Orthodox East) and from Rome (i.e. from the Latin West).

As part of our scholarly project and respective research, we have embedded data concerning relevant information of churches and monasteries into our project’s database – i.e. the *TIB Balkans OpenAtlas Database*, which allows us to generate multiple layers of data and create “dis-

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Landscapes: Existence, Performance and Immanence, *Social and Cultural Geography* 10/6 (2009) 695–710; K. KNOTT, *The Location of Religion: A Spatial Analysis*, London 2005; R. STODDARD, Pilgrimage Places and Sacred Geometries, *Pilgrimage: Sacred Landscapes and Self-Organized Complexity*, New Delhi 2009, 163–177.

tribution maps” (see below).<sup>9</sup> This data can be easily and quickly accessed, enabling a holistic, interpretative framework. The coherent observance of multiple layers of constantly changing histories proved complex by the recognition of a variability in the creation of Christian identity on the territory of Duklja. Therefore, our goal is to provide a more comprehensive view and to present, in which way monuments shaped a specific and recognisable “Sacred Landscape”, along with the analysis of toponyms, the influence of the dominant rulers and ruling houses (who were also important *ktetors*, i.e. donors), the clergy and noblemen, following the changes in liturgy and church history. Therefore, this complex area that shows constant fluidity, dynamics and numerous layers of diverse influences, which came both from the East and the West, and that has been constantly changing depending on historical, political, social, ecclesiastical, economic and other circumstances, is now visible and traceable with means provided by digital humanities.

In the analysis of material remains of the monuments we must take into consideration the written sources, the political as well as administrative organisation in the area of research and its cities, the church organisation, local tradition and the toponymy as well as the roads that connected the “Sacred Landscape”.<sup>10</sup> Another key factor is the Christianisation of the local populace as well as the settlement of population from the territory of Asia Minor, probably to be dated to the beginning of the 9th century.<sup>11</sup> The latter transferred the influence of local saints’ cults that took

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<sup>9</sup> For this article, we have extracted, amongst others, data from our *TIB Balkans OpenAtlas Database* as well as queried systematically our data sets via the freely accessible frontend of our project “Maps of Power: Historical Atlas of Places, Borderzones and Migration Dynamics in Byzantium (TIB Balkans)”. <https://tib.oeaw.ac.at/atlas> (April, 11, 2023). Our distribution maps for this article were designed on the basis of these data and layers.

<sup>10</sup> C. SFAMENI – A. D’EREDITÀ – T. KOPRIVICA, The Main Public Buildings of Doclea. Archival, Archaeological and Architectural Research, *The Archeolab Project in the Doclea Valley, Montenegro (Campaign 2017)*. *Archaeology, Technologies and Future Perspectives*, ed. L. ALBERTI, *Archeologia e Calcolatori*, Supplemento 11, Firenze 2019, 85–104 (with additional bibliography); T. KOPRIVICA, Sacral Topography of Late Antique and Early Christian Docela (Montenegro), *Actual Problems of Theory and History of Art I*, Collection of Articles Materials of the International Conference of Young Specialists, December 1–5 2010, St. Petersburg 2011, 25–32; STEVOVIĆ, *Praevalis* (with additional bibliography).

<sup>11</sup> On the migration of Christian population to the West: M. MCCORMICK, The Imperial Edge. Italo-Byzantine Identity, Movement and Integration, A. D. 650–950, *Studies on the Internal Diaspora of the Byzantine Empire*, eds. H. AHRWEILER – A. E. LAIOU, Washington, D.C. 1998, 17–52; P. MAGDALINO, *Studies on the His-*

root on the territory of the Adriatic coast (e.g. the rise of the cult of St. Tryphon, whose influence is visible in the Church of St. Tryphon in Kotor,<sup>12</sup> or St. Bacchus, whose relics were transferred to Dubrovnik<sup>13</sup> or St. Theodore, whose cult emerged on the Adriatic coast at the beginning of the 9th century<sup>14</sup>), and works of art such as architecture, inscriptions (on

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*tory and Topography of Byzantine Constantinople*, Aldershot – Burlington VT 2007, IV, 11. Cf. on the Saints of Kotor: V. ŽIVKOVIĆ, Kultovi svetitelja zaštitnika od kuge u Kotoru (XIV–XVI vek), *Istorijski časopis* 63 (2009) 181–196; EADEM, Kult svete Klare u Kotoru (XIV–XVI vek), *Istorijski zapisi* 82/1–2 (2009) 97–107; EADEM, *Semper rogare deum pro anima*. Molitve živih za spas duša umrlih, *Glasovi i slike. Oblici komunikacije na srednjovekovnom Balkanu (IV–XVI vek)*, eds. S. BOJANIN – LJ. MILANOVIĆ – M. CVETKOVIĆ, Beograd 2020, 353–380.

<sup>12</sup> T. VEDRIŠ, Martyrs, Relics, and Bishops. Representations of the City in Dalmatian Translation Legends, *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 12 (2006) 175–186; M. ČANAK-MEDIĆ – Z. ČUBROVIĆ, *Katedrala Svetog Tripuna u Kotoru. Istorija, arhitektura, arhitektonska plastika i liturgijski nameštaj*, Kotor 2010; V. ŽIVKOVIĆ, *Religioznost i umetnost u Kotoru (XVI–XVI vek)*, Beograd 2010; EADEM, Saint Tryphon's Reliquary Casket in Kotor. A Contribution to the Study of the Iconography, *Zograf* 43 (2019) 185–196; D. PRERADOVIĆ, *Bisanzio sull'Adriatico nel IX e X secolo. Topografia sacra*, unpublished PhD Thesis, EPHE and l'Università degli studi di Udine, Paris–Udine 2011, 95–96, 132–133; I. STEVOVIĆ, Rana srednjovizantijska crkva i relikvije svetog Trifuna u Kotoru, *Zograf* 41 (2017) 37–50. Among scholars there is a debate on the issue of a certain martyr St. Andrew, whose name is written on the Kotor ciborium. Ivan Stevović expressed the opinion that the martyr in question is St. Andrew Stratelates, who came from Asia Minor, while other scholars believe that he is a local martyr of Kotor. On this issue, see: L. MIRKOVIĆ, Fragment kivorija u crkvi Svetog Trifuna u Kotoru, *Starinar N. S.* 2 (1951) 277–279; I. STEVOVIĆ, Sveti Andreja u kotorskom natpisu ANDREE SI AD HONOREM SOCIORVMQ. MAIOREM, *Zograf* 27 (1998–1999) 23–32; P. VEŽIĆ – M. LONČAR, *Hoc tigrmen. Ciboriji ranoga srednjeg vijeka na tlu Istre i Dalmacije*, Zadar 2009, 124–136, 266–267; M. GOGIĆ, Prilog proučavanju ciborijuma iz sakristije katedrale Sv. Tripuna posvećenog petrilovrijencima, *Istorijski zapisi* 90/1–2 (2017) 7–36.

<sup>13</sup> J. BELAMARIĆ, Sveti Vlaho i dubrovačka obitelj svetaca zaštitnika, *Studije iz srednjovjekovne i renesansne umjetnosti na Jadranu*, ed. J. BELAMARIĆ, Split 2001, 165–200, pp. 166–167, 169–170; R. F. GYUG, The Dalmatian Martyrs. Legends and History in Thirteenth Century Dubrovnik, *Religion, Text and Society in Medieval Spain and Northern Europe. Essays in Honor of J. N. Hillgarth*, eds. T. E. BURMAN – M. D. MEYERSON – L. SHOPKOW, Papers in Mediaeval Studies 16, Toronto 2002, 200–222, pp. 204–205.

<sup>14</sup> M. MARKOVIĆ, O ikonografiji svetih ratnika u istočno-hrišćanskoj umetnosti i o predstavama ovih svetitelja u Dečanima, *Zidno slikarstvo manastira Dečana. Građa i studije*, ed. V. J. ĐJURIĆ, Beograd 1995, 567–630, pp. 574–578, 582, 594–597; D. PRERADOVIĆ, Najraniji pomeni ulcinske i barske episkopije. Filološko-arheološka beleška, *Crkvene studije* 13 (2016) 23–35, p. 29 (fn. 63). The presence of

monuments, fresco paintings, etc.), sculpture and relief decoration,<sup>15</sup> frescoes (especially the ones with donor portraits showing models of the churches in question, as we can see on the example of the Church of St. Archangel Michael in Ston), various objects of art and elements in liturgy. Consequently, churches and monasteries changed their dedications (*patrocinia*) along with the effect(s) of these changes.<sup>16</sup>

Byzantium's proximity and political domination, following the process of Christianisation of the populace of Serbian origin, had a distinguished influence on art and architecture with its artistic influence coming through its strongholds on the south-eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea.<sup>17</sup> At the same time, the influence of Western European art – embodied in the indicated period as pre-Romanesque art – via the western Adriatic coast, i.e. Italy, and also being present prior to the Christianisation of the Serbian populace, was not less significant.<sup>18</sup> The transfer of saints' relics and the rise of local saints influenced the transformation of the urban morphology of cities, while absorbing political and church ideologies

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the cult of St. Theodore is also evidenced by the lead seal of Constantine Bodin (1081–1099), with a representation of the Saint on the reverse, and on monumental painting.

<sup>15</sup> J. MAKSIMOVIĆ, *Srpska srednjovekovna skulptura*, Novi Sad 1971; M. ZORNJA, *Ranosrednjovekovna skulptura na tlu Boke kotorske*, unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Zagreb, Zagreb 2014, 38–43.

<sup>16</sup> *Istorija Srpskog Naroda 1. Od najstarijih vremena do Maričke bitke (1371)*, ed. S. ĆIRKOVIĆ, Beograd 1981, 641–663 (G. BABIĆ-ĐORĐEVIĆ); V. BABIĆ, *Freske u crkvi svetog Mihaila u Stonu*, Beograd-Trebinje 2014; J. KALIĆ, *Crkvene prilike u srpskim zemljama do stvaranja arhiepiskopije 1219. godine, Međunarodni naučni skup Sava Nemanjić – Sveti Sava. Istorija i predanje*, ed. V. ĐURIĆ, Beograd 1979, 27–53; I. KOMATINA, *Crkva i država u srpskim zemljama od XI do XIII veka*, Beograd 2016; T. KOPRIVICA, *The Abbey of the Virgin of Ratac – A Significant Cult Center at the eastern Coast of the Adriatic, Beyond the Adriatic Sea. A Plurality of Identities and Floating Borders in Visual Culture*, ed. S. BRAJOVIĆ, Novi Sad 2015, 53–77. See also: S. BRAJOVIĆ, *U Bogorodičinom vrtu. Bogorodica i Boka Kotorska – Barokna pobožnost zapadnog hrišćanstva*, Beograd 2006, 16–17; *Sacral Art of the Serbian Lands in the Middle Ages*, eds. D. VOJVODIĆ – D. POPOVIĆ, *Byzantine Heritage and Serbian Art II*, Belgrade 2016; D. POPOVIĆ, *Riznica spasenja. Kult relikvija i srpskih svetih u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji*, Beograd–Novi Sad 2018; B. POPOVIĆ, *Srpska srednjovekovna vladarska i vlasteoska odeća*, Beograd 2021.

<sup>17</sup> LJ. MAKSIMOVIĆ, *Pokrštavanje Srba i Hrvata*, *ZRVI* 35 (1996) 155–174; S. ĆIRKOVIĆ, *Srbi u srednjem veku*, Beograd 1995, 16–23; M. MARKOVIĆ, *Beginnings of Artistic Activity in the Serbian Lands (9th–11th Century)*, *Sacral Art of the Serbian Lands in the Middle Ages*, eds. D. VOJVODIĆ – D. POPOVIĆ, *Byzantine Heritage and Serbian Art II*, Belgrade 2016, 147–163, p. 147.

<sup>18</sup> S. ĆURČIĆ, *Architecture in the Balkans. From Diocletian to Süleyman the Magnificent*, New Haven, CT 2010.

that also had a say in the shaping of different types of edifices. These cities were connected with roads, which linked and in a certain way transformed as well as shaped the “Sacred Landscape” of the aforesaid area.

Therefore, we need to introduce the evidence on the medieval road network in the area of research at this point, which we modelled on the basis of the 3D capture of the Austro-Hungarian Relief Map of Montenegro (1916/17). This relief map is an exceptional object of cultural heritage, was created in the years 1916/17 during the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Montenegro, covers ca. 282 square metres and is preserved in a pavilion of the National Museum of Montenegro in Cetinje. We reconstructed its historical context based on our research of the sources, secondary literature and old photographs. Then, we captured the entire relief map digitally in 3D. This digital model was embedded by us as a georeferenced orthophoto in our publicly accessible frontend “Maps of Power: Historical Atlas of Places, Borderzones and Migration Dynamics in Byzantium (TIB Balkans)”<sup>19</sup> (Fig. 1) and serves in this article as a fundamental basis for further research of Montenegro in medieval times. The relief map shows amongst others the road network, hydrography, cover of vegetation and settlement areas of the time. From the viewpoint of historical geography, the landscape, road network and hydrography are very instructive, since they document features and an infrastructure, which are preindustrial and, thus, reflect medieval patterns and the related environment. We compared the relief’s preindustrial roads with the bibliography on the medieval road network in the area, as researched by Gavro Škrivanić. Then, we have drawn lines of these roads based on the orthophoto, when the evidence in the relief and the bibliography matched.<sup>20</sup>

Thus, we have acquired a consistent picture of the medieval road network, which enables us to pose the research question on the location of ecclesiastical monuments and their interdependency with the medieval road network.

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<sup>19</sup> <https://tib.oeaw.ac.at/atlas> (April, 11, 2023).

<sup>20</sup> The research on the historical context of the Relief Map of Montenegro in Cetinje, its creation, the process of its 3D capture and its meaning as well as embedding in our digital applications has been discussed in: M. St. POPOVIĆ ET AL., On the Crossroads between East and West. Geocommunicating Medieval Sacred Landscapes in Today’s Montenegro. First Project Results, *MEMO\_quer* 4, 2022, doi: 10.25536/2022q004. Cf. G. ŠKRIVANIĆ, *Putevi u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji*, Beograd 1974, 62–77. See also: D. M. PRERADOVIĆ, *Jadransko more, rute i luke u ranom srednjem veku prema hagiografskim izvorima*, *Istorijski zapisi* 89/3–4 (2016) 7–34.

## 2. The Latin Toponymy in the Area of Research before the Arrival of the Slavs as preserved in the Serbian Toponymy

The arrival and the settlement of the Slavs in the area of research at the end of the 6th and the beginning of the 7th century led to a fundamental change in its political outline, religious organisation, local administration, settlement pattern and society<sup>21</sup>. Since the written sources have been identified, compared and interpreted over and over again in the secondary literature, we need to address our aforesaid research questions from different new perspectives. Therefore, we are introducing the research on the local toponymy, as conducted by the Serbian linguist Aleksandar Loma, into the discourse in order to expand our capacity of analysis. We have adopted Loma's publications and embedded their data into our project's *TIB Balkans OpenAtlas Database*, which is the prerequisite to generate new layers of data.

The distribution map (Fig. 2) shows clearly that there are three clusters of Latin toponyms in the area of research, i.e. in today's Montenegro.

The *first cluster* is to be found along the shore of the Adriatic Sea in the south-west of the area of research. Those eight toponyms are from the north-west along the shore to the south-east as follows:

The toponym "Sušcepan, Sustjepan" to the north-west of the town of Herceg Novi derived from the Latin (Dalmatoromanic) toponym of "Sanctus Stephanus".<sup>22</sup> On the opposite side of Herceg Novi on the peninsula of Luštica the toponym "Žanjica, Žanjic" is to be found, which is based on the Latin (Dalmatoromanic) toponym of "Sanctus Julianus".<sup>23</sup> To the south-east of the Bay of Kotor the mountain of Lovćen is to be localised. Its name derived from the Latin toponym of "Leusinum".<sup>24</sup> The

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<sup>21</sup> Cf. amongst others: M. BLAGOJEVIĆ, Srpske udeone kneževine, *ZRVI* 36 (1997) 45–62; J. FERLUGA, Vizantija i postanak najranijih južnoslovenskih država, *ZRVI* 11 (1968) 55–66; LJ. MAKSIMOVIĆ, O hronologiji slovenskih upada na vizantijsku teritoriju krajem sedamdesetih i početkom osamdesetih godina VI veka, *ZRVI* 8/2 (1964) 263–271; IDEM, Severni Ilirik u VI veku, *ZRVI* 19 (1980) 17–57; M. MIRKOVIĆ, Villas et domaines dans l'Illyricum central (IV<sup>e</sup>–VI<sup>e</sup> siècle), *ZRVI* 35 (1996) 57–76; I. NIKOLAJEVIĆ, Dve beleške za istoriju Prevalisa, *ZRVI* 20 (1981) 9–14; T. ŽIVKOVIĆ, *Forging Unity. The South Slavs between East and West, 550–1150*, Belgrade 2008, 7–29.

<sup>22</sup> A. LOMA, Rani slojevi hrišćanskih toponima na starosprskom tlu, *Onomastološki prilozi* 11 (1990) 1–18, 10; V. PUTANEC, Refleksi starodalmatoromanskog pridjeva *sanctus* u onomastici obalne Hrvatske, *Slovo* 13 (1963) 137–176, pp. 149–150.

<sup>23</sup> A. LOMA, Rani slojevi, 14–15.

<sup>24</sup> A. LOMA, Okamenjena imena. Prilog poznavanju predslovenskih ostataka u oronimiji Crne Gore, *Naš jezik* 31 (1996) 121–132, pp. 124–125, 127.

mountain top of Osmin (Vrh Osmin, 827 m) is located between the city of Budva and Lake Skadar. It is mentioned in a letter of the ruler Đurađ Crnojević of Zeta (reigned 1490–1496) in 1494 (на врх Осмина, сврх Осмина). According to Aleksandar Loma, this Serbian toponym derived from the Latin toponym of “Asamon”.<sup>25</sup> The name of the town of Sutomore, to the north-west of the town of Bar, is based on the Latin (Dalmatoromanic) toponym of “Santa Maria, Sancta Maria”.<sup>26</sup> To the east of Sutomore lies the mountain “Vrsuta” (1,183 m), whose name derived from “vrh Suta” and, thus, from the Latin toponym of “Sancta Maria”.<sup>27</sup> Near the western shore of Lake Skadar is an island called “Beška”, whose name derived from the Latin word of “basilica”.<sup>28</sup> Finally, the toponym “Sutiel” is preserved to the east of the town of Ulcinj on the river Bojana. It is based on the Latin toponym of “Sanctus Elias”.<sup>29</sup>

The *second cluster* of respective toponyms lies in the north-west of the area of research and comprises five specimens: To the west of the town of Nikšić a toponym called “Suntulija” is documented, which derived from the Latin toponym of “Sanctus Elias”.<sup>30</sup> In medieval times the town of Nikšić itself was called Onogošt. Onogošt is based on the Latin “Anagastum”, which comes from the Germanic personal name “Anegast” or “Anagast”.<sup>31</sup> To the north of Nikšić was located the toponym “Sporii”. It appears in Serbian medieval sources of the 13th century and designates a mountain range. According to Aleksandar Loma, it might be connected to the ethnic denomination “Bosporani”, as attested in the work of Procopius of Caesarea.<sup>32</sup> Well towards the north of Nikšić lies the Durmitor massif. There, a pastoralist Romanic tribe called “Kričani” lived in the 13th century, whose name derived from the Latin (Dalmatoromanic)

<sup>25</sup> IBIDEM, 122, 127.

<sup>26</sup> A. LOMA, Sutelica – toponomastički tragovi latinskog hrišćanstva u unutrašnjosti prednemanjičke Srbije, *Istorijski glasnik* 1–2 (1987) 7–28, p. 8; IDEM, Rani slojevi, 15; V. PUTANEC, Refleksi, 144, 165.

<sup>27</sup> A. LOMA, Sutelica, 26.

<sup>28</sup> A. LOMA, Rani slojevi, 5, 15.

<sup>29</sup> A. LOMA, Sutelica, 20.

<sup>30</sup> IBIDEM, 24.

<sup>31</sup> J. KOVAČEVIĆ, Βάβαϛ, *Zbornik posveten na Boško Babić. Mélanges Boško Babić. 1924–1984*, Prilep 1986, 119–121, p. 119. A contradiction to this interpretation in: NOVAKOVIĆ, Duklja, 77. B. Novaković argues that *Anagastum* is the younger toponym and was deduced from the older Slavonic *Onogošt* in a process of Latinisation.

<sup>32</sup> A. LOMA, Neki slavistički aspekti srpske etnogeneze. *Zbornik Matice srpske za slavistiku* 43 (1993) 105–126, p. 122.

word for Christians (“Christiani”).<sup>33</sup> Finally, a brook called “Sutulija” is to be found in the village of Stubica. Its name is based on the Latin toponym of “Sanctus Elias”.<sup>34</sup>

The *third and last cluster* may be discerned in the north and north-east of our area of research. Here, nine relevant toponyms are documented. Three are to be found in and around the town of Pljevlja: To the south-west of Pljevlja there is the toponym “Zbljevo”, which originates from the Latin “sub Jove”.<sup>35</sup> To the south of Pljevlja lies “Sutelica”, which derived from the Latin toponym of “Sanctus Elias”.<sup>36</sup> The name of the town of Pljevlja itself comes from the Latin word “Pleva”, which is documented, amongst others, in the *Itinerarium Antonini* (3rd century A.D.) as river and settlement in Dalmatia.<sup>37</sup>

A group of six relevant toponyms is located in the vicinity of the towns of Bijelo Polje and Berane. To the south-east and north-west of Berane as well as to the west of Bijelo Polje the toponym “Kaludra” is attested, which is based on the Greek word “καλόγερος, καλογρία” for “monk, nun” and, according to Aleksandar Loma, was transmitted to the Slavs by the Latin population in the Balkans.<sup>38</sup> On the northern periphery of Berane the toponym “Šudikova” is to be found, which derived from the Latin toponym of “Sanctus Jacobus”.<sup>39</sup> The toponym “Mojstir” lies to the north-east of Bijelo Polje and is based on the Latin (Dalmatoromantic) “monisterium” for “monastery”.<sup>40</sup> Finally, there is a village called “Sutivan” to the north of Bijelo Polje, whose name is based on the Latin toponym of “Sanctus Joannes”.<sup>41</sup>

The toponomastic evidence provides us with a very vivid picture of the zones of influence of the Latin population and language in the area of research. By regarding the distribution map (Fig. 2), it becomes evident that there is a significant *lacuna* in the relevant toponomastic evidence to the north and especially to the north-east of the city of Podgorica, i.e. in the central part of today’s Montenegro.

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<sup>33</sup> A. LOMA, Rani slojevi, 15; IDEM, Toponomastika i arheologija. Antički lokaliteti kod Pljevalja i Prijepolja i mogući predslovenski ostaci u tamošnjoj toponimiji, *Onomatološki prilozi* 10 (1989) 1–32, pp. 19–22.

<sup>34</sup> A. LOMA, Sutelica, 24–25.

<sup>35</sup> A. LOMA, Toponomastika i arheologija, 15–19.

<sup>36</sup> A. LOMA, Sutelica, 23.

<sup>37</sup> A. LOMA, Toponomastika i arheologija, 14.

<sup>38</sup> A. LOMA, Sutelica, 27 (n. 134).

<sup>39</sup> IBIDEM, 11.

<sup>40</sup> IBIDEM, 11–12.

<sup>41</sup> IBIDEM.

It seems that a “missing link” can be perceived between the Adriatic shore and its hinterland. As a consequence, the question arises, whether other data sets and their patterns of distribution have the capability to shed light on this matter. Therefore, we will turn to the ecclesiastical organisation and its monuments (i.e. churches and monasteries) in the area of research from the 7th century to the year 1054.

### **3. The Ecclesiastical Organisation in the Area of Research from the 7th Century to the Year 1054**

The period from the 7th century until the late 10th century is unfortunately marked by a significant lack of written sources. This important gap had been acknowledged especially in the field of linguistics<sup>42</sup> and theological studies.<sup>43</sup> In order to be able to deal with the research question in the given area in the period of Early Middle Ages, the pursuit of any written data might be still fruitful, but it is rather significant to turn the focus on the data which can be collected from material monuments and heritage.

The invasion of the Avars and Slavs had far-reaching consequences for the entire province of Dalmatia. The archbishopric of Salona (near today's Split) still existed after the year 602, but its dissolution most probably occurred around 612. Consequently, the territory of Dalmatia was settled by the Slavs, i.e. the Serbs and the Croats, in the first half of the 7th century.<sup>44</sup>

The Christianisation of the Serbs took place in the period from the 7th to the 9th centuries. The Byzantine Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (reigned 913–959) narrates two versions of the events in his *De Administrando Imperio* (DAI). The first informs us that the Serbs were baptised during the reign of the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius (reigned 610–641), while the second states that the baptism took place under the Byzantine Emperor Basil I (reigned 867–886)<sup>45</sup>. According to DAI, Hera-

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<sup>42</sup> H. BIRNBAUM, *Aspects of the Slavic Middle Ages and Slavic Renaissance Culture*, American University Studies Series 12, Slavic Languages and Literature 4, New York 1991.

<sup>43</sup> G. PODSKALSKY, *Theologische Literatur des Mittelalters in Bulgarien und Serbien 865–1459*, München 2000.

<sup>44</sup> I. KOMATINA, *Crkva i država*, 44–45.

<sup>45</sup> C. PORPHIROGENITUS, *De Administrando Imperio [=DAI]*, CFHB 1, eds. GY. MORAVSČIK – R. J. H. JENKINS, Washington, DC 1967<sup>2</sup>, 124–126 (Chapter 29, lines 68–84), 154 (Chapter 32, lines 27–29); *Chronographiae quae Theophanis Continuati nomine fertur Liber quo Vita Basilii imperatoris amplectitur*, CFHB 42, ed. I. ŠEVČENKO, Berlin–Boston 2011, 188 (Chapter 52, lines 6–14), 194, 196 (Chapter

clius “brought elders from Rome and baptized them [scil. the Serbs] and taught them fairly to perform the works of piety and expounded to them the faith of the Christians”.<sup>46</sup> Thus, we have evidence of political influence by Constantinople and of ecclesiastical influence by Rome in our area of research in that period of time.<sup>47</sup>

The Serbs settled in the regions of *Travunija*, *Zahumlje*, *Konavle* and *Paganija*, which are explicitly mentioned as Serbian territories in *DAI*,<sup>48</sup> whereas *Duklja* seems not to be connected to the Serbs at first

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54, lines 1–29). Cf. also the following secondary literature: M. ANTONOVIĆ, *Evangelizacija Srbije u srednjem veku do Sv. Save, Sveti car Konstantin i hrišćanstvo. Međunarodni naučni skup povodom 1700. godišnjice Milanskog edikta, 31. Maj–2. Jun 2013 I*, Niš 2013, 565–581; H. DITTEN, *Bemerkungen zu den ersten Ansätzen zur Staatsbildung bei Kroaten und Serben im 7. Jahrhundert, Beiträge zur byzantinischen Geschichte im 9.–11. Jahrhundert. Akten des Colloquiums „Byzanz auf dem Höhepunkt seiner Macht“*, Liblice, 20.–23. September 1977, ed. V. VAVRÍNEK, Praha 1978, 441–462; B. FERJANČIĆ, *Dolazak Hrvata i Srba na Balkansko poluostrvo (osvrtna na nova tumačenja)*, *ZRVI* 35 (1996) 117–154; B. FERJANČIĆ, *Vasilije I i obnova vizantijske vlasti u IX veku*, *ZRVI* 36 (1997) 9–30; P. KOMATINA, *Crkvena politika Vizantije od kraja ikonoborstva do smarti cara Vasilija I.*, Beograd 2014, 261–266; LJ. MAKSIMOVIĆ, *Severni Ilirik u VI veku*, *ZRVI* 19 (1980) 17–57; IDEM, *The Christianization of the Serbs and the Croats, The Legacy of Saints Cyrill and Methodius to Kiev and Moscow. Proceedings of the International Congress on the Millennium of the Conversion of Rus’ to Christianity, Thessaloniki 26–28 November 1988*, ed. A. E. N. TACHIAOS, Thessalonica 1992, 167–184; IDEM, *Ἡ ἐθνογένεση τῶν Σέρβων στὸν Μεσαίωνα*, Athína 1994, 9–13 [LJ. MAKSIMOVIĆ, *Ē ethnogenesē tōn Serbōn ston Mesaiōna*, Athína 1994]; IDEM, *Pokrštavanje Srba i Hrvata*, 155–174; G. PODSKALSKY, *Theologische Literatur*, 62–64; M. POPOVIĆ, *Die Gesandtschaften des byzantinischen Kaisers Basileios I. zu den Serben, Byzantium, New Peoples, New Powers: The Byzantino-Slav Contact Zone, from the Ninth to the Fifteenth Century*, eds. M. KAIMAKAKAMOVA – M. SALOMON – M. SMORAĞ-RÓŻYCKA, *Byzantina et Slavica Cracoviensia* 5, Cracow 2007, 103–108; G. RADOJIĆIĆ, *La date de la conversion des Serbes*, *Byzantion* 22 (1952) 253–256; T. ŽIVKOVIĆ, *On the Baptism of the Serbs and the Croats in the Time of Basil I (867–889)*, *Studia Slavica et et Balcanica Petropolitana* 1/13 (2013) 35–38.

<sup>46</sup> C. PORPHIROGENITUS, *DAI*, 155.

<sup>47</sup> P. KOMATINA, *Crkvena politika*, 272–283; A. LOMA, *Sutelica*, 21; LJ. MAKSIMOVIĆ, *Pokrštavanje Srba i Hrvata*, 163; M. St. POPOVIĆ, *The Patriarchate and the Churches of the Balkans, A Companion to the Patriarchate of Constantinople*, eds. C. GASTGEBER – E. MITSIOU – J. PREISER-KAPPELLER – V. ZERVAN, *Brill’s Companions to the Byzantine World* 9, Leiden–Boston 2021, 151–182; *Vizantijski izvori za istoriju naroda Jugoslavije I*, Beograd 1955, 263.

<sup>48</sup> I. KOMATINA, *Crkva i država*, 45. On *DAI* and the Serbs: B. FERJANČIĆ, *Struktura 30. glave spisa De administrando imperio*, *ZRVI* 18 (1978) 67–80; IDEM, *Dalmacija u spisu De administrando imperio – vrela i putevi saznanja*, *ZRVI* 29–30

glance, because it is stated: “Moreover, the city of Diocleia, now occupied by the Diocletians, was built by the same emperor Diocletian, for which reason those of that country have come to be called by the name of ‘Diocletians’.”<sup>49</sup> Nevertheless, it has been argued quite recently and convincingly that *Duklja* was a Serbian territory as well.<sup>50</sup>

Rome was deprived of the *Illyricum* most probably in the wake of the unfolding Iconoclasm by the Byzantine Emperor Leon III (reigned 717–741) or his successor Constantine V (reigned 741–775), and it became subordinate to the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople.<sup>51</sup> Still, Rome tried to uphold its ecclesiastical influence, as is attested for example in the fragments of a letter from Pope John VIII (872–882) to the Serbian ruler Mutimir in May 873. In this letter the Pope pushed

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(1991) 9–22; J. FERLUGA, *Vizantijsko carstvo i južnoslovenske države od sredine IX do sredine X veka*, *ZRVI* 13 (1971) 75–107; A. LOMA, *Sprachgut*, 87–161; LJ. MAKSIMOVIĆ, *Struktura 32. glave spisa De administrando imperio*, *ZRVI* 21 (1982) 25–32; B. NOVAKOVIĆ, *Karta kao izvor za poglavlja 29–36 spisa De administrando imperio*, *Inicijal. Časopis za srednjovekovne studije* 1 (2013) 33–48; N. RADOJČIĆ, *Proučavanje spisa Konstantina VII Porfirogenita u srpskoj istoriografiji*, *ZRVI* 6 (1960) 1–14; S. RAJKOVIĆ, *Vizantijska Dalmacija u spisu De administrando imperio – nove dileme*, *ZRVI* 36 (1997) 221–232; V. STANKOVIĆ, *Idejna načela Konstantina Porfirogenita i dalmatinski Romani*, *ZRVI* 38 (1999/2000) 67–86; T. ŽIVKOVIĆ, *Neretljani – primer razmatranja identiteta u ranom srednjem veku*, *Istorijski časopis* 61 (2012) 11–25. An excellent new study on the *DAI* was published by: P. KOMATINA, *Konstantin Porfirogenit i rana istorija Južnih Slovena*. Cf. also the Serbian and German translations with commentaries: *Vizantijski izvori za istoriju naroda Jugoslavije* II, Beograd 1959, 9–69; K. BELKE – P. SOUSTAL, *Die Byzantiner und ihre Nachbarn. Die de administrando imperio genannte Lehrschrift des Kaisers Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos für seinen Sohn Romanos*, Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber 19, Wien 1995, 142–183.

<sup>49</sup> C. PORPHIROGENITUS, *DAI*, 122–123 (Chapter 29, lines 11–14). Cf. on the authenticity of this account: K. BELKE – P. SOUSTAL, *Die Byzantiner und ihre Nachbarn*, 143 (fn. 268); B. NOVAKOVIĆ, *Duklja*, 75–86.

<sup>50</sup> P. KOMATINA, *Identitet Dukljana*, 33–46; cf. also: K. BELKE – P. SOUSTAL, *Die Byzantiner und ihre Nachbarn*, 143 (fn. 268); A. LOMA, *Neki slavistički aspekti*, 109. *Duklja* was to be renamed *Zeta* in the course of Serbian medieval history: V. ALEKSIĆ – M. KOPRIVICA, *Teritorijalni obim episkopija srpske crkve na početku XIII veka*, *Crkvene studije* 16/2 (2019) 57–85, p. 60.

<sup>51</sup> M. ANASTOS, *The Transfer of Illyricum, Calabria and Sicily to the Jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople in 732–33*, *Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 9 (1957) 14–31; W. BRANDES, *Das Schweigen des Liber Pontificalis. Die „Enteignung“ der päpstlichen Patrimonien Siziliens und Unteritaliens in den 50er Jahren des 8. Jahrhunderts*, *Fontes Minores* 12 (2014) 97–203, pp. 187–200; I. KOMATINA, *Crkva i država*, 47–48.

the Serbian ruler to follow the example of his ancestors, to overcome uncanonical developments in his realm and to return under the authority of the diocese of Pannonia, which had been founded by the see of Saint Peter the Apostle (“..., *ut progenitorum tuorum secutus morem quantum potes ad Pannonensium reverti studeas diocesin. Et quia illic iam Deo gratias a sede beati Petri apostoli episcopus ordinatus est, ...*”).<sup>52</sup>

In the wake of the synods of Split between 925 and 928 Pope John X (914–928) urged the Serbs and the Croats not to use the Slavonic language in the liturgy, but to enforce the Latin language.<sup>53</sup> The *Notitia episcopatum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* no. 10 (after 971) mentions the bishopric of Dioclea together with the bishoprics of Antivari, Scutari, Drivasto, Pulati and Gradac as part of the metropolis of Durazzo of the Patriarchate of Constantinople.<sup>54</sup> Following the “Great Schism” of July 1054 the Serbian lands had begun to feel its first influences on the level of ecclesiastical division. While its interior part belonged to the Archbishopric of Bulgaria and since 1019/20 to the Archbishopric of Ohrid, its coastal regions were attached to the Archbishopric of Ragusa (Dubrovnik) of the Roman Church.<sup>55</sup>

It is necessary, especially with regard to the Latin West, to perceive medieval secular and ecclesiastical history as an intertwined (interdependent) narrative and not as a rigid dichotomy. When applied to the medieval history of Duklja, surely, no historian would contradict this notion *per se*.

A majority of the scholarly interest in the medieval ecclesiastical history of Southern Dalmatia has focused on determining the diocesan territories, the hierarchy of the dioceses and their suffragans and the ecclesiastical and political affiliation of the churches. In this research field, the analysis of papal correspondence with the local Dukljan princes or clergy has proved to be essential. Due to the limited number of papal letters to Duklja, the analysis may however turn out as an endeavouring

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<sup>52</sup> *MGH. Epistolarum VII. Epistolae Karolini Aevi V*, Berlin 1928, 282 (n° 18). Cf. the analysis in: D. MARITCH, *Papstbriefe an serbische Fürsten im Mittelalter. Kritische Studien*, Sremski Karlovci 1933, 1–4. And also: P. KOMATINA, *Crkvena politika*, 276–282; A. LOMA, *Sutelica*, 21; T. ŽIVKOVIĆ, *Portreti srpskih vladara (IX–XII vek)*, Beograd 2006, 21–29.

<sup>53</sup> *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Slavoniae et Dalmatiae* I, Monumenta Historica Slavorum Meridionalium II, ed. I. KUKULJEVIĆ-SAKCINSKI, Zagreb 1874, 76–82 (n° 90, 91, 92). Cf. also: D. PRERADOVIĆ, *Najraniji pomeni*, 30–31.

<sup>54</sup> *Notitiae episcopatum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, ed. J. Darrouzès, Paris 1981, 330, n° 10, lines 607–623.

<sup>55</sup> I. KOMATINA, *Crkva i država*, 82–112.

struggle, if one is only focused on the basic geographic information about the ecclesiastical entities. Moreover, due to the strong interest of historical research in the periods of the later Serbian princes from the Nemanjid Dynasty of the 12th and the 13th centuries, there are not that many broad studies on this topic. As Mihailo St. Popović points out,<sup>56</sup> this particular research gap has been amongst others discerned by Serbian historian Tibor Živković, who stressed the potential for research in the medieval period before the 12th century in the Balkans.

When addressing the research question about the nature of the ecclesiastical structures in our area, it is important not to analyse the sources in a rigid fashion by only looking for the principal information, e.g. geographical data. A broader analysis of the context, especially with regard to the vivid development of the status and nature of the papal power in the 11th century and its impact on the so-called “Great Schism” is of great importance in order to apprehend the subsequent ecclesiastical development in Duklja (later Zeta).

Most of today’s scholars unite at the point to agree that the “Great Schism” was no one-time event of 1054.<sup>57</sup> Dating the first major disputes and divisions within the church as early as the 4th century AD.<sup>58</sup> it can be observed, how several facets of the disagreement (political, theological, ritual) developed and persevered until the events of the middle of the 11th century and beyond. Additionally, from the late 10th century until approximately the 12th century, a strong factor of the ecclesiastical development of the Latin Church was the gradual reformation of the Papacy. The Holy See sought to establish its primate position within the church, which brought strong homogenising tendencies. Through several measures, e.g. celibacy, the Pope sought to establish a “corporate identity” of the church

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<sup>56</sup> M. St. POPOVIĆ, Das Frühe Serbien von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts, *Handbuch zur Geschichte Südosteuropas I. Herrschaft und Politik in Südosteuropa von der römischen Antike bis 1300*, eds. F. MITTHOF – P. SCHREINER – O. J. SCHMITT, Berlin–Boston 2019, 825–844, p. 828.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. for example: A. BAYER, *Spaltung der Christenheit. Das sogenannte Morgenländische Schisma von 1054*, Beihefte zum Archiv für Kulturgeschichte 53, Köln 2002<sup>2</sup>; H. CHADWICK, *East and West. The Making of a Rift in the Church. From Apostolic Times until the Council of Florence*, New York 2005; A. NICHOLS, *Rome and the Eastern Churches. A Study in Schism*, Edinburgh 1992.

<sup>58</sup> Chadwick, who focuses in his research on the Christian schism on the theological disputes in detail, observes divisions even earlier: “To that split a multitude of factors, theological and non-theological, have contributed, and the roots can be discerned as early as the apostolic age.” Cf. H. CHADWICK, *East and West*, 7.

and thus elevate it above the secular individuals.<sup>59</sup> In the following quote of Jochen Johrendt and Harald Müller the main agenda of the papal reform seems to be well summarised: “*Concordare Romanę ecclesię* war keine abstrakte Norm, sondern bedeutete konkret, an allen Orten dieselbe Liturgie zu feiern – die römische Glaubensreinheit [=according to the Roman theology, D.V.] und Ausrichtung auf Rom wurden von den Päpsten miteinander verknüpft, die Ausrichtung an der römischen Kirche sollte durch den Gehorsam ihr gegenüber gewährleistet werden.”<sup>60</sup>

With regard to the reform movement of the Western Church and Papacy in the 11th and the 12th centuries, the more Western or Catholic character of several coastal cities of medieval Duklja – one could arguably call them even “strongholds” of Catholic faith at the outskirts of the Serbian and Byzantine realms – may be perceived yet from another perspective. The struggle of the Papacy for the general acclaim of its aspired supremacy within Christendom and establishing its new “corporate identity” throughout the Latin World may or even should serve as the very context of the conspicuous activity in retaining and reshaping pontifical faculties in Duklja (11th century) and in subsequent sending of papal embassies (12th century). The Holy See was most certainly not indifferent to the Latin Church in Duklja, which, though may be perceived as peripheral, was after all due to its exposed location on the frontier with Byzantium one of the ecclesiastical targets of the Papacy. The 11th century saw some dynamic changes in the ecclesiastical map of the southern Adriatic Coast with the establishment of two new dioceses (though with some decades apart) – the diocese of Ragusa (Dubrovnik) (ca. 1000) and that of Antivari (Bar) (1089). Though the territories under their jurisdictions and the exact appointment of their suffragans was to become the subject of long and ongoing disputes, they remained, as Benedikta Zelić-Bučan pointed out in 1978, loyal Roman subjects in spite of the “Great Schism” reaching its peak in the middle of the 11th century: “[...] les deux nouveaux [sic!] archevêchés avec tous leurs suffragans [...] aussi après la rupture définitive de la chrétienté de l’Est et celle de l’Ouest [...] sont restés

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<sup>59</sup> A. PAPADAKIS, *The Christian East and the Rise of the Papacy. The Church 1071–1453 A.D.*, The Church in History 4, Crestwood 1994.

<sup>60</sup> J. JOHRENDT – H. MÜLLER, Zentrum und Peripherie. Prozesse des Austausches, der Durchdringung und der Zentralisierung der lateinischen Kirche im Hochmittelalter, *Römisches Zentrum und kirchliche Peripherie. Das universale Papsttum als Bezugspunkt der Kirchen von den Reformpäpsten bis zu Innozenz III.*, Neue Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Neue Folge 2. Studien zu Papstgeschichten und Papsturkunden, eds. J. JOHRENDT – H. MÜLLER, Berlin–New York 2008, 1–16, pp. 3–4.

étroitement liés avec l'Église catholique de Rome pendant plusieurs siècles davantage."<sup>61</sup> That the events of the mid-11th century should not be interpreted as a "rupture definitive" is not only, as mentioned above, a vivid point of discussion in many areas of research of today, but, moreover, it can be demonstrated more tangibly on the example of medieval Duklja. In the following section, the question of the reality of coexistence of the Latin and Orthodox Church is analysed in the larger context of the struggle for independence of the Dukljan dioceses or churches from Ragusa (Dubrovnik) and Salona/Spalato (Split).

After the poorly documented 7th century, one of the first preserved testimonies of the subsequent ecclesiastical involvement is Pope Zacharias' (741–752) charter granting the *pallium* to the Ragusan archbishop Andrea from 743, naming the archbishop's area of influence in his capacity as the new "pastor" as following: "[...] *constituit eum [=Andream, D.V.] pastorem super istam provinciam, 'in primis Zachulmiae regno et regno Servulię Tribunieque regno, civitati namque Catarinensi seu Rose atque Buduanensi, Avarorum (rect. Antivarensi), Liciniatensi (rect. Dulcinensi) atque Scodrinensi necnon Drivastensi atque Polatensi cum ecclesiis et parochiis eorum'; concedit palleum [...].*"<sup>62</sup> This charter, although being widely alleged as a forgery,<sup>63</sup> attests for sure the consciousness of the hegemonial position of Ragusa (Dubrovnik) in the Trebinje-Duklja region and beyond. At the same time, the archdiocese of Spalato (Split) seems to have still maintained its central importance for the somewhat vast ecclesiastical region.

The first major call for independence of the churches in Duklja is known from the chapters of the much discussed synod held at the "*planities Dalmae*" or *Duvanjsko polje* in 925, which is regarded as spurious by some scholars.<sup>64</sup> Here, among other issues, the bishoprics of Ragusa (Du-

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<sup>61</sup> B. ZELIĆ-BUČAN, L'écriture cyrillique croate dans les diocèses méridionaux de la province ecclésiastique de Split jusqu'au bout du XIIe siècle, *Vita religiosa morale e sociale ed i concili di Split (Spalato) dei secoli X–XI. Atti del Symposium Internazionale di Storia Ecclesiastica. Split, 26–30 settembre 1978* (Medioevo e umanesimo, 49), ed. A. G. MATANIĆ, Padova 1982, 417–442, p. 417.

<sup>62</sup> *Dalmatia-Croatia Pontifica. Sive repertorium privilegiorum et litterarum a romanis pontificibus ante annum MCLXXXVIII Dalmatiae et Croatiae ecclesiis monasteriis civitatibus singulisque personis concessorum*, ed. W. P. KÖNIGHAUS, Göttingen 2022, 367.

<sup>63</sup> IBIDEM.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. T. ŽIVKOVIĆ, O takozvanom saboru na Duvanjskom polju. *Zbornik za istoriju BiH* 4 (2005) 45–65. Other approaches: L. STEINDORFF, Die Synode auf der Planities Dalmae. Reichseinteilung und Kirchenorganisation im Bild der Chronik

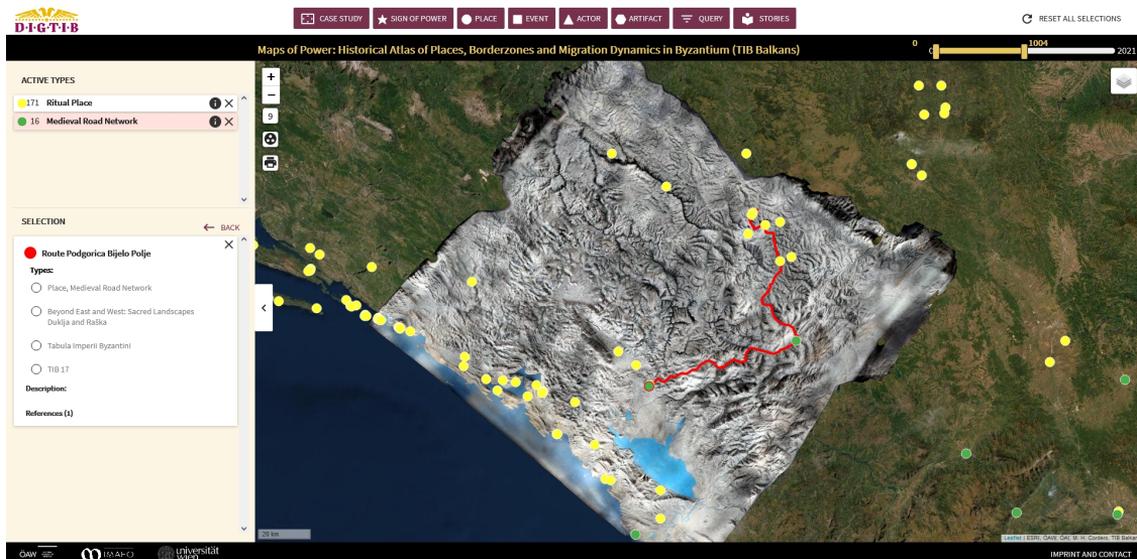


Figure 1. The Ritual Places in the Area of Research (in Yellow) and Their Relation to the Medieval Route Podgorica – Bijelo Polje (in Red), as an Example, in the Frontend “Maps of Power” (Screenshot by Mihailo St. Popović, 2021)

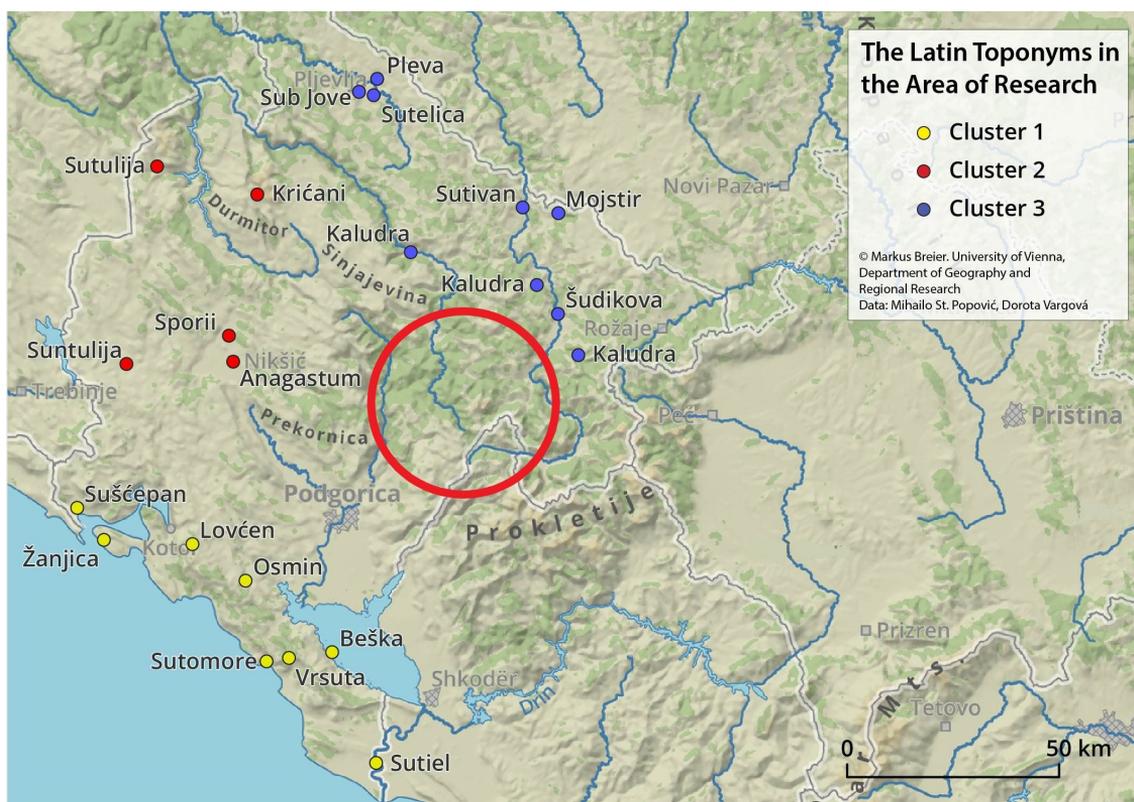


Figure 2. The Latin Toponyms in the Area of Research with the “Missing Link” (marked with the Red Circle) in the Latin Toponomastic Evidence



Figure 3. The Church of St. George in Ribnica, Podgorica (Mihailo St. Popović, 2021)



Figure 4. The Church of St. John the Baptist in Zaton (Lukas Neugebauer, 2021)



Figure 5. Remnants of the Church of St. Archangel Michael in Prevlaka in the Bay of Tivat (Mihailo St. Popović, 2021)

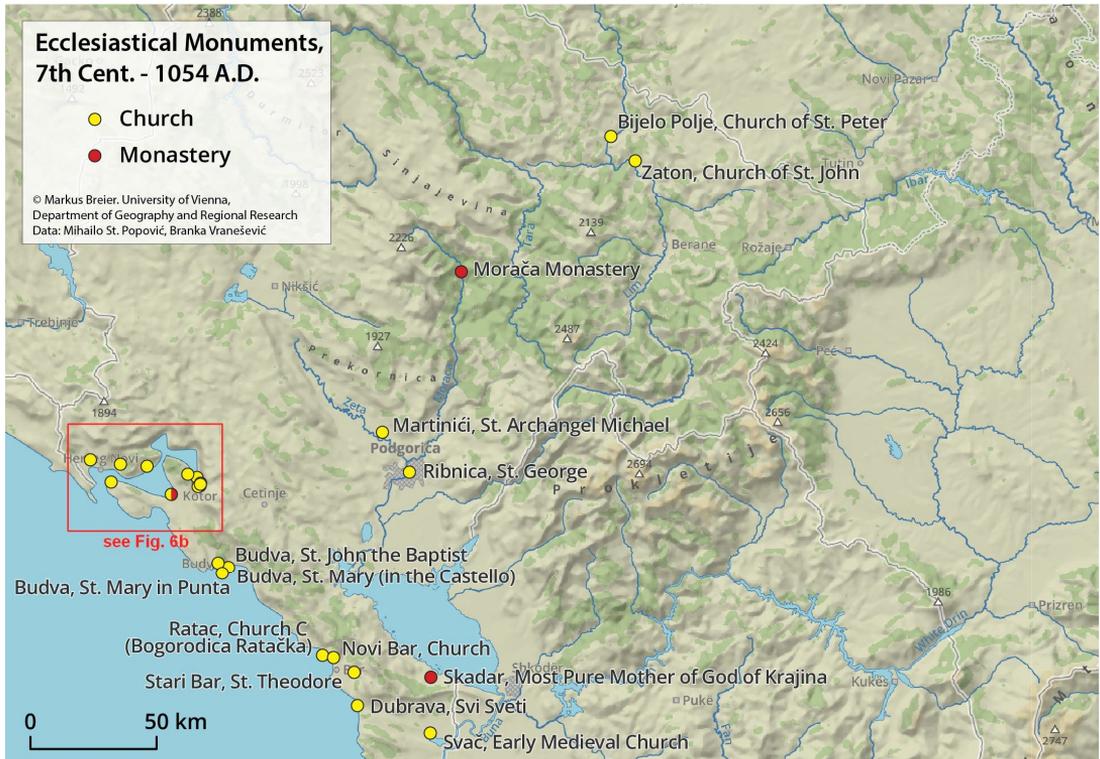


Figure 6a. The Distribution of Ecclesiastical Monuments in the Area of Research (7th Cent.–1054)

Figure 6b. Detail of above

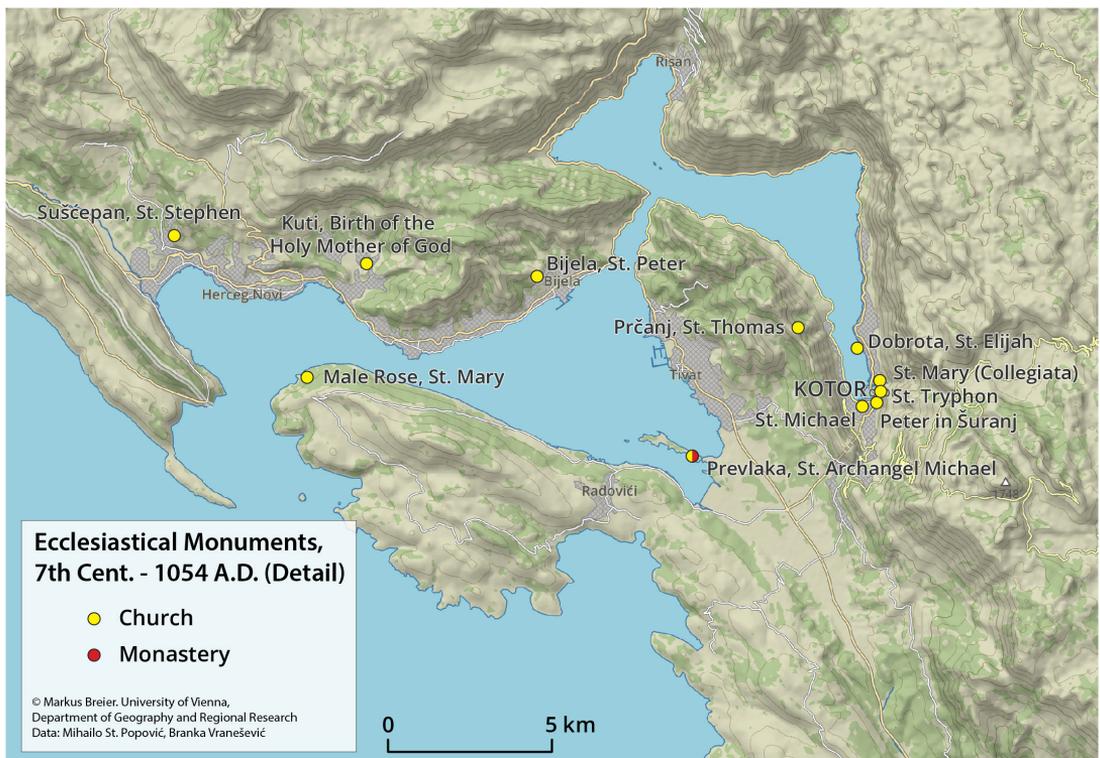




Figure 7. The Church C in Ratac (Bogorodica Ratačka)  
(Lukas Neugebauer, 2021)

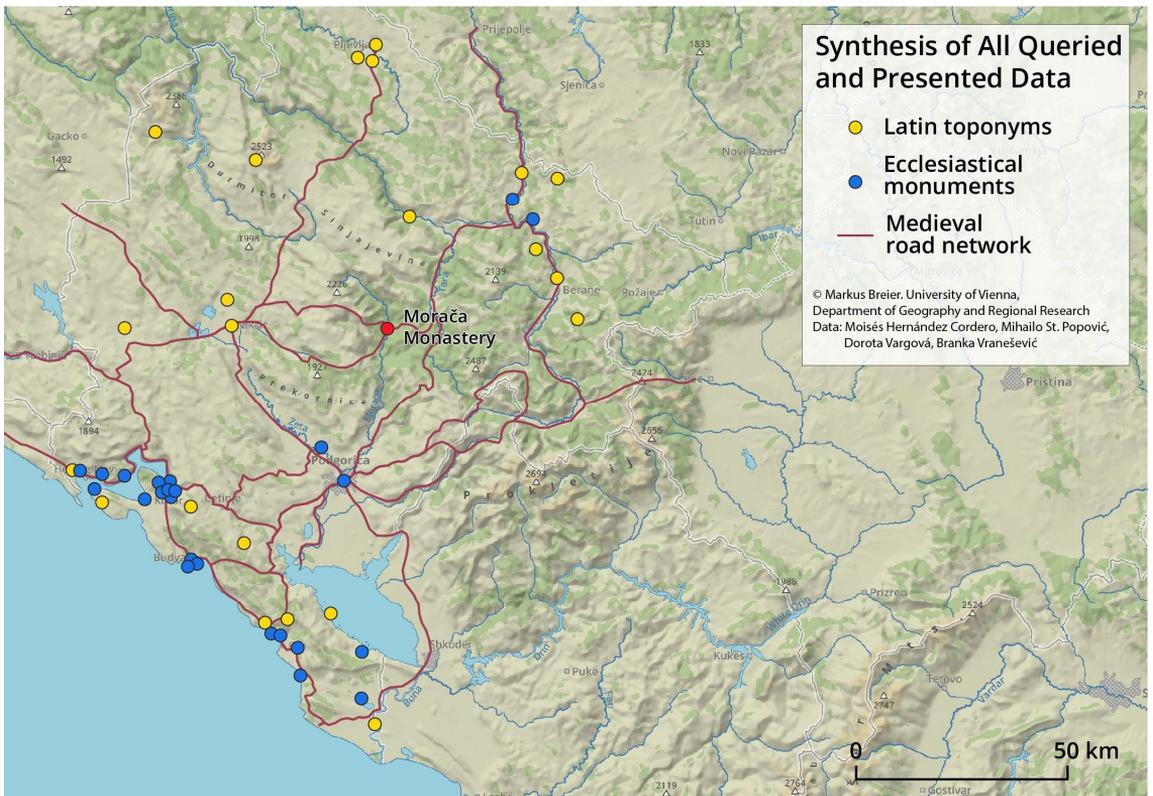


Figure 8. Synthesis of All Queried and Presented Data

brovnik) and Catharo (Kotor), which were perceived as belonging to one archbishopric, were divided.<sup>65</sup> The supreme character of the church of Salona (Split) over the churches in Duklja (amongst others) must have prevailed though, at least into the first half of the 11th century. Two other sources, which experts date approximately to 1050,<sup>66</sup> illuminate the ecclesiastical events of this time further. Accordingly, a petition of the cities of Catharo (Kotor), Antivari (Bar), Doclea and Suac (Svač) to release their bishops from the subjection to the church of Split, because of the dangers of the journey at sea, was presented to the Pope.<sup>67</sup> The individualistic movement of the bishoprics in Duklja, as recorded in this shipwreck story, may be in a certain way interpreted also from the viewpoint of historical geography. Here, it is the danger of the journey to Split that is specified in the petition of the mentioned cities as the reason for the break from the metropolitan see. Most probably due to the mountainous region, travelling by land presented hardships. Moreover, based on the medieval roads in Duklja as reconstructed by our project and Gavro Škrivanić (see above), there is no specifically dense road network detectable, especially in the north of Duklja (Fig. 8). In this respect, it is possible to assume that the landscape factors must have contributed to the inclination to some form of self-governing or independence for the church in Duklja.

Although the petition had been granted according to various sources,<sup>68</sup> several further papal charters from 1067, 1076 and 1078 testify that it took approximately another four decades of development for Antivari to be established as a self-standing archbishopric in 1089, becoming

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des Priesters von Dioclea, *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 93 (1985) 279–324; L. WALDMÜLLER, *Die Synoden in Dalmatien, Kroatien und Ungarn. Von der Völkerwanderung bis zum Ende der Arpaden (1311)*, Konziliengeschichte. Reihe A, Darstellungen, Paderborn–Wien 1987.

<sup>65</sup> *Dalmatia-Croatia Pontificia*, 367–367.

<sup>66</sup> *IBIDEM*, 432–433.

<sup>67</sup> According to the petition, and to the later mentioning of this story in Thomas the Archdeacon's "Historia Salonitana", the bishops of the said cities decided to travel by ship to a synod in Split. Cf. *Historia Salonitanorum atque Spalatinarum pontificum / Thomae Archidiaconi Spalatensis. History of the bishops of Salona and Split / Archdeacon Thomas of Split*, Central European Medieval Texts, 4, eds. O. PERIĆ – D. KARBIĆ – M. MATIJEVIĆ-SOKOL – J. R. SWEENEY, Budapest 2006, 64: "Factum est autem, ut illis diebus convocarentur omnes suffraganei Dalmatie ad provincialem synodum, que celebranda erat in ecclesia Spalatensi. Episcopus autem superioris Dalmatie visum est, quod commodius suum possent iter peragere, si omnes uno navigio ducerentur". The bishops are said to have drowned at a shipwreck during a sea storm, cf. *Dalmatia-Croatia Pontificia*, 432–433.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. *Historia Salonitarum*, 67; *Dalmatia-Croatia Pontificia*, 432.

independent from the Ragusan church. In the wake of the archbishopric's establishment, as recorded in the papal letters, some features of the measures of the reformed Papacy are tangible, such as clearing disputes through application of the canon law and communication with the distant kingdom through papal legates – the latter representing the direct papal power on the site. A remarkable case of communication with the prince of Duklja, *Mihahel* (Mihailo Vojisavljević) from 9 January 1078 shows, how the Roman reform measures communicating unity and power of the church must have “struck” as new or at least not common in the churches in Duklja. In his response to Mihailo's petition to entrust the bishop of Antivari (Bar) with a banner and a *pallium*, written from the backdrop of disputes between Ragusa (Dubrovnik) and Spalato (Split), Pope Gregory VII (1073–1085) declares that the petition must first be proved in comparison with the intelligence gathered by his legate.<sup>69</sup> Afterwards he states that the bishop of Antivari or other suited messengers should be sent to him, in order to “canonically define justice” in this dispute: “[...] *per quos de lite, quae est inter spaletanum archiepiscopum ac ragusensem, iustitia possit inquiri ac canonice diffiniri* [...]”.<sup>70</sup>

Further, Rome's claim as the one established church is particularly palpable in the papal communication with the churches in Duklja. Here, especially the papal letters from 1067 and 1089, drawn up in relation to the ecclesiastical issues in Duklja, prove to be insightful. In the letter from 18 March 1067, Pope Alexander II (1061–1073) entrusted Petrus, addressed as “*archiepiscopus diocliensis atque antibarensis ecclesiae*”,<sup>71</sup> with authority over the churches of Dioclea, Antivari (Bar), Ecaterra (Kotor), Palachium (Balec), Suatinum (Svač), Bosonium (Bosnia) and Tribunia (Trebinje) according to the archbishop's petition prior to this letter. Together with the churches, the letter mentions also: “[...] *monasteria quoque tam Latinorum quam Graecorum siue Sclavorum cures, ut scias et haec omnia unam ecclesiam esse* [...]”.<sup>72</sup> Some 20 years later, the papal letter by the anti-Pope Clement III (1080–1100) from 8 January 1089

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<sup>69</sup> *Documenta historiae Chroaticae periodum antiquam illustrantia*, Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium, 7, ed. F. RAČKI, Zagreb 1877, 211–212: “*Cognoscat [...] Petrum apud uos dictum nostrum legatum adhuc ad nostram non aduenisse praesentiam, suas tamen misisse litteras, quae ita a uestris dissonantes existuunt, quod uestram causam seu ragusanae ecclesiae penitus finire nequimus*”.

<sup>70</sup> *Documenta historiae Chroaticae*, 212.

<sup>71</sup> *IBIDEM*, 201.

<sup>72</sup> *IBIDEM*.

addressed to Petrus<sup>73</sup>, the established archbishop of Dioclea<sup>74</sup>, states: “*Is-tas ecclesias<sup>75</sup> cum omnibus suis pertinentiis, sicut [praedix]imus, et om-nia monasteria tam Dalmatinorum quam Graecorum atque Sclauorum apostolicae auctoritat[is] priuilegio tibi [...]*”.<sup>76</sup> On the one hand, it is possible to argue that the Holy See sought to widen its power over Duklja by proclaiming itself as the authority over the monasteries of all Christian rites (when interpreting “*Graecorum atque Sclauorum*” as an indication of non-Roman Christians). At the same time, the Holy See perceived, with regard to the charter from 1067, all these monasteries as components of one church, of which the supreme authority, the apostolic authority, lay in Rome, as communicated also in these papal letters.<sup>77</sup> In addition, it is important to analyse to what extent the recipients of these letters were influential in the exact formulations of the charter.<sup>78</sup> That is, to what extent there were domestic issues or problems with the cohabitation of the “*Latini, Graeci atque Sclavi*” in Duklja, that might have been reported to Rome. Another possible interpretation is that Rome – maybe without having the precise image of the actual cohabitation arrangements of the different churches or denominations, “*nationes*” respectively – seized the opportunity to establish itself as the ultimate overlord over all the Christian denominations in this region and, thus, to react to the ruptures due to

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<sup>73</sup> The transcription of this text, with additional commentary about the provenience of the original document, in: P. KEHR, *Papsturkunden in Rom, Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse*, Göttingen 1900, 111–197, pp. 148–149.

<sup>74</sup> As stated in the charter by the consignment of the *pallium* to Petrus of Dioclea – cf. P. KEHR, *Papsturkunden*, 149: “*Tibi igitur ad honorem ecclesiae tuae et ad salutem animae tuae pallium et ecclesiarum regimen [...] nostrum praeceptum concedimus et confirmamus*”.

<sup>75</sup> The charter names the churches of Dioclea, Antivari, Catharo, Polatum (Pult), Serbia, Bosnia, Tribunia. Cf. P. KEHR, *Papsturkunden*, 149.

<sup>76</sup> *IBIDEM*.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. P. KEHR, *Papsturkunden*, 149: “[...] [*sa*]lua tamen auctoritate [*a*]postolica et Romanae sedis priuilegio [...]”

<sup>78</sup> Recent scholarship on the Papal correspondence focusing on and analysing the recipient’s role in the conception of letters and Papal documents: *Römisches Zentrum und kirchliche Peripherie. Das universale Papsttum als Bezugspunkt der Kirchen von den Reformpäpsten bis zu Innozenz III.*, Neue Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Neue Folge, 2. Studien zu Papstgeschichten und Papsturkunden, eds. J. JOHRENDT – H. MÜLLER, Berlin–New York 2008; J. WERNER, *Papsturkunden vom 9. bis ins 11. Jahrhundert. Untersuchungen zum Empfängereinfluss auf die äußere Urkundengestalt*, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Neue Folge 43, Berlin–Boston 2017.

the “Great Schism” of 1054. The church division might not have been perceived as such, or at least not so strongly, in the everyday life of the churches in Duklja though.

The question if the “one church”, strongly advertised by the Holy See, was binding for the inhabitants of Duklja in order to be regarded as citizens of the respective kingdom, as in Ahrweiler’s model of Constantinople presented in the beginning of this article, cannot be properly answered from the sources of the 11th century. However, as briefly shown, other questions and patterns of interpretation are possible. The analysis of the ecclesiastical development in Duklja in the 11th century presented here, which takes into consideration the developments of the reformed Papacy in the West, is only a modest beginning in what could be a broader analysis of the papal interest in this territory. A case study of this kind would need to be conducted in a critical analytical fashion with regard to the sources and its editions, with deeper textual analysis (e.g. on the basis of semiotic diplomatics)<sup>79</sup> and a profound comparative approach (e.g. with the archbishopric of Bari, whose influence on the Southern Dalmatian coast, although already the subject of some larger studies,<sup>80</sup> should be researched in a broader way and taken stronger into consideration when dealing with the church in Duklja). The focus on the recipient’s influence on the issue and style of the papal letters and charters, which has been outlined here on some examples, could, if researched more profoundly on the case of the church in Duklja, bring new results in the questions of the development and character of the “Great Schism” and enlarge the context of this supposedly minor “peripheral” region of Duklja within the medieval history of Latin Christianity.

#### **4. The Cultural Interaction in Duklja as Mirrored in the Ecclesiastical Monuments from the 7th Century to the Year 1054**

The interaction between cities and societies in the coastal area and its hinterland from the 7th to the 11th century, within the cultural, religious and intellectual life, followed by cross-cultural connections of different

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<sup>79</sup> J. WERNER, *Papsturkunden*, 6–11. Although a modern approach in diplomatics, some difficulties might be experienced in its application in the case at hand due to the poorly preserved original sources in the region discussed here.

<sup>80</sup> F. SFORZA, *Bari e Kotor. Un singolare caso di rapporti fra le due sponde adriatiche*, Bari 1975; G. FEDALTO, Sulla dipendenza del vescovado di Cattaro dall’arcivescovo di Bari nei secoli XI e XII, *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia* 30 (1976) 73–80.

societies, is visible through material evidence and indicates continuous cultural transmission. In attempts to answer the questions of the mutual influences of the East and the West, the monumental architecture as well as smaller objects of art such as reliquaries, crosses, reliefs, textile, etc. indicate that, while differences were acknowledged, artistic traditions and developments were shared, proving large networks of social and cultural transmission. Processes of mutual exchange such as travel, trade, pilgrimage, wars or migrations shaped the hinterland in our area of research.

Based on the material findings from Ston as well as written sources, such as the “Letopis Popa Dukljanina” (“Chronicle of the Priest of Dioclea”), the ruling dynasty of Vojislavljević was merited for the erection of one of the most striking monuments in medieval Duklja – the church dedicated to St. Archangel Michael. Actually, Prince Stefan Vojislav (reigned ca. 1037–1050)<sup>81</sup> was probably the donor (*ktetor*) of what is today’s modified church built between 1042 and 1050.<sup>82</sup> Based on its original appearance, as a rectangular, single-nave edifice with three bays and an altar placed on its eastern end, it is a vivid example of Eastern and Western influences.<sup>83</sup> The church had a belfry on its western side – preserved in the foundations and also visible in the monumental frescoes – and, judging from a severely damaged *ktetorial* fresco painting with Latin

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<sup>81</sup> *Vizantiski izvori za istoriju naroda Jugoslavije III*, Beograd 1966, 157, 210. See also: M. MARKOVIĆ, Beginnings of Artistic Activity, 153; T. ŽIVKOVIĆ, Portreti srpskih vladara, 75–86.

<sup>82</sup> *Gesta regum Sclavorum I–II*, Istorijski institut. Manastir Ostrog. Izvori za srpsku istoriju 7. Latinski izvori 1, eds. D. KUNČER – T. ŽIVKOVIĆ, Beograd 2009. It is interesting to note that from the time of Prince Stefan Vojislav onwards, Saints like St. Archangel Michael, St. Sergius and St. Bacchus or St. George were especially celebrated among Serbian rulers. Cf. D. PRERADOVIĆ – LJ. MAKSIMOVIĆ, Pan-Christian Saints in Serbian Cult Practice and Art, *Sacral Art of the Serbian Lands in the Middle Ages*, Byzantine Heritage and Serbian Art, II, eds. D. VOJVODIĆ – D. POPOVIĆ, Belgrade 2016, 103–117, p. 105; D. PRERADOVIĆ, Le culte et l’iconographie de l’archange Michel sur le littoral sud-oriental de l’Adriatique, entre le IX<sup>e</sup> et le XI<sup>e</sup> siècle, *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 48, 2017, 129–144.

<sup>83</sup> Đurđe Bošković indicated the possibility of a blind dome, situated in the middle bay, built probably in the 18th century. Cf. Đ. BOŠKOVIĆ, Osvrt na neka pitanja arhitektonskog rješenja crkvice sv. Mihajla u Stonu, *Gunjačin Zbornik. U povodu sedamdesete godine života i četrdeset i pete godine znanstvenog rada*, Zagreb 1980, 141. We have to accentuate that for this and similar edifices erected at approximately the same period the term pre-Romanesque is often used in the scholarly literature. In this specific case, we intentionally avoided this term, because it implies stronger Western influences, while in fact stronger influences came from the East, that is from Byzantium.

inscriptions situated in the niche of the western bay, the church had a dome.<sup>84</sup> The dome, as it appears on the fresco, consisted of a low tambour and a pyramidal roof and elated directly from the roof of the church. Apart from the clear Byzantine style of the *ktetorial* fresco painting,<sup>85</sup> art historians agree that this edifice represents a clear example of Byzantine influence that came via Dubrovnik, while the “influence of the ancient town beneath Mt. Srđ is also very likely”.<sup>86</sup>

This type of single-nave building with a dome – meaning a church with a basilical, i.e. longitudinal foundation – appears actually in a series of churches on the eastern Adriatic Coast between Omiš and Kotor and on the South Dalmatian islands, such as the churches of St. Thomas in Kutina near Herceg Novi, St. Peter in Omiš, St. John the Baptist in Podaca near Zastrog, St. Demetrios in Gabrili and St. George in Ribnica (Podgorica; Fig. 3).<sup>87</sup> At the same time, Eastern influences are also detectable, for example, in the increase of the cult of St. Archangel Michael, which dates back to Late Antiquity spreading from the East to the West.<sup>88</sup> An

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<sup>84</sup> Also, based on the layout of the floor plan, we can suppose that the church had a dome: I. TOMAS, *Srednjovjekovne jednobrodne crkve s kupolom južne Dalmacije i Boke kotorske*, unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Zagreb, Zagreb 2014, 213–214. See also: I. STEVOVIĆ, *Jednobrodne kupolne crkve u Dubrovniku u vreme vizantijske vlasti*, *Zograf* 31 (1990) 18–30; IDEM, *O prvobitnom izgledu i vremenu izgradnje crkve Sv. Mihaila u Stonu*, *ZRVI* 35 (1996) 175–195; V. KORAC, *Prilog poznavanju jednobrodnih crkava sa kupolom na dubrovačkom području*, *ZRVI* 44/1 (2007) 129–143; T. MARASOVIĆ, *Dalmatia Praeromanica. Ranosrednjovjekovno graditeljstvo u Dalmaciji*, Split 2013; V. BABIĆ, *Freske u crkvi Svetog Mihaila u Stonu*, Beograd 2014; I. TOMAS, *Nova promišljanja o crkvi Sv. Mihajla u Stonu*, *Ars Adriatica* 6 (2016) 41–60.

<sup>85</sup> V. BABIĆ, *Freske u crkvi Svetog Mihaila u Stonu*, 163.

<sup>86</sup> T. MARASOVIĆ, *Byzantine Component in the Dalmatian Architecture from 11th to 13th Century*, *Studena i vizantijska umetnost oko 1200. godine*. Beograd 1988, 455–462, p. 455; I. STEVOVIĆ, *Jednobrodne kupolne crkve u Dubrovniku u vreme vizantijske vlasti*, *Zograf* 21 (1990) 18–30; M. MARKOVIĆ, *Beginnings of Artistic Activity*, 154–155. From a stylistic and iconographic point of view, the closest analogies to Ston’s frescoes can be traced in Byzantine paintings of the first half and/or the middle of the 11th century in the southern Italian region of Apulia: I. TOMAS, *Nova promišljanja*, 49–50.

<sup>87</sup> M. MARKOVIĆ, *Beginnings of Artistic Activity*, 147–163.

<sup>88</sup> S. GABELIĆ, *Ciklus arhandela u vizantijskoj umetnosti*, Beograd 1991, 20–30; M. St. POPOVIĆ, *The “Hagiogeography” of Saint Archangel Michael in Byzantine Macedonia and the Kingdom of the Scots (4th–15th Centuries). A Succinct Comparative Approach for Future Research*, *Niš i Vizantija XX*, Niš, 3–5. jun 2021, *Zbornik radova XX*, ed. M. Rakocija, Niš 2022, 521–540 (with a comprehensive bibliography).

axially placed belfry with a high and wide arched opening and – above the double cornice – a shallow semi-circular opening (or a niche) appears also on certain Early Medieval buildings on the coast and in the hinterland of the Eastern Adriatic, such as the church in Ošlje.<sup>89</sup>

Apart from the longitudinal monuments, single-nave buildings with a central ground plan can also be found, but they are not as frequent. In the writings of the Byzantine Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus the Church of St. Tryphon in Kotor, completed in 809, is explicitly mentioned.<sup>90</sup> According to archaeological findings, it was a domed church with a cross-in-square plan and was financed by Andrea Saracenis, a famous citizen of Kotor, who bought the relics of St. Tryphon from Venetian merchants.<sup>91</sup> It had three leaning apses, rectangular on the outside, and semi-circular on the inside, with a nave divided into nine bays and a dome.<sup>92</sup> In the 12th century a new cathedral was built in Romanesque style, but once again with elements of Byzantine architecture. Certain similarities with the aforesaid church are to be seen in the Church of St. Thomas in Prčanj, which is only remaining in foundations<sup>93</sup> and had three conchs. To the category of a triconch belongs the Church of St. John in Zaton (Fig. 4), situated in the vicinity of Bijelo Polje, although we must stress that the question of the original ground plan of this church as well as the influences, under which it was erected, have not yet been fully clarified.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> T. MARASOVIĆ, “Westwerk” u hrvatskoj predromanici, *Radanje prvog hrvatskog kulturnog pejzaža*, Zagreb 1996, 215–223.

<sup>90</sup> C. PORPHIROGENITUS, *DAI*, 136.

<sup>91</sup> Based on the preserved material evidence, that is a sarcophagus, the founder of the original church has been identified with certainty: I. STEVOVIĆ, Rana srednjovizantijska crkva i relikvije Svetog Trifuna u Kotoru, *Zograf* 41 (2017) 37–50, p. 44 (fn. 43). Such private endowments are represented on the Adriatic Coast. It certainly indicates the continuity of the founder’s activity established since ancient times, with the aim of placing him and his family under the protection of the mentioned Saint. More on St. Tryphon in Kotor: V. ŽIVKOVIĆ, U susretanju sa kulturom Zapada – umetnost Pomorja u XIV veku, *Sacral Art of the Serbian Lands in the Middle Ages*, Byzantine Heritage and Serbian Art II, eds. D. VOJVODIĆ – D. POPOVIĆ, Belgrade 2016, 357–366; V. ŽIVKOVIĆ, Saint Tryphon’s Reliquary Casket, 185–196.

<sup>92</sup> I. STEVOVIĆ, Rana srednjovizantijska crkva, 37–50.

<sup>93</sup> V. KORAC – J. KOVAČEVIĆ, Crkva sv. Tome u Prčanju u Boki Kotorskoj, *Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta* XI, Beograd 1970, 107–114; T. MARASOVIĆ, Doprinos starokršćanskog razdoblja urbanizmu istočnojadranskog prostora, *Radovi* 4 (1989) 221–226; IDEM, “Quincunx” u ranosrednjovjekovnoj arhitekturi Dalmacije, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* 20 (1990) 215–224.

<sup>94</sup> P. POPOVIĆ, Dve interesantne osnove naših srednjovjekovnih crkava, *Starinar* 3–4 (1926/27) 225–227; A. DEROKO, Na svetim vodama Lima, *Glasnik Skopskog*

In the area of Duklja three-nave basilicas have also been found. They represent a characteristic of the Early Christian period, retained their use in the Middle Ages and developed into what is considered to be a pre-Romanesque basilica. They were mainly related to the activity and appearance of the Benedictine monastic order in the coastal area of today's Montenegro. For example, the Church of St. Peter in Šuranj near Kotor was built between the 9th and the 11th century on the foundations of a former Late Antique building.<sup>95</sup> Similar solutions are visible in other churches, such as the former Church of St. Theodore in Stari Bar (today's Church of St. George, dated to the 12th century)<sup>96</sup> or the Church of St. Archangel Michael in Prevlaka in the Bay of Tivat (Fig. 5; Fig. 6a and Fig. 6b).<sup>97</sup>

Apart from analysing churches with central or longitudinal ground plan, with or without dome, one can also investigate the development and spreading of Saint's cults by using the *TIB Balkans OpenAtlas Database*.<sup>98</sup> It is not unusual for a church to change its dedication, depending on various circumstances such as the transfer of relics of different Saints, personal wishes of a *ktetor*, etc., thus influencing religious transformations. Among them we would like to point out the aforesaid Church of

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*Naučnog Društva* 11 (1932) 121–136; V. KORAC, *Između Vizantije i zapada. Odbrane studije o arhitekturi*, Beograd 1987, 27–28; J. MARTINOVIĆ, Prolegomena za problem prvobitne crkve svetog Tripuna u Kotoru, *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 30 (Split 1990) 5–29; J. NEŠKOVIĆ, Crkva sv. Jovana u Zatonu na Limu, *Saopštenja* 35–36 (2003/2004) 61–77; T. MARASOVIĆ, *Dalmatia Praeromanica*, 425–426.

<sup>95</sup> I. OSTOJIĆ, *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj i ostalim našim krajevima II*, Split 1964, 498; P. MIJOVIĆ, Romano-gotska i vizantijska simbioza i kotorska slikarska skola, *Istorija Crne Gore 2/1* (Titograd 1970) 281–290; Z. ČUBROVIĆ, Srednjovjekovna sakralna arhitektura, *Zagovori svetom Tripunu. Blago kotorske biskupije: povodom 1200. obljetnice prijenosa moći svetoga Tripuna u Kotoru. Galerija Klovićevi dvori (14. prosinca 2009.–14. veljače 2010.)*, ed. R. TOMIĆ, Zagreb 2009, 58–69; T. MARASOVIĆ, *Dalmatia Praeromanica*, 396–398.

<sup>96</sup> Đ. BOŠKOVIĆ, *Stari Bar*, Beograd 1962; V. KORAC, *Graditeljska škola Pomorja*, Beograd 1965; I. PUŠIĆ, *Predromanička umjetnost na tlu Crne Gore*, Podgorica 2006; T. MARASOVIĆ, *Dalmatia Praeromanica*, 454–458.

<sup>97</sup> V. KORAC, Prevlaka u Boki Kotorskoj, *Starinar* 9–10 (1958/1959) 388–389; Đ. JANKOVIĆ – M. ŽIVKOVIĆ – G. SIMONOVIĆ – Đ. ČAPIN, Miholjska Prevlaka, istraživanje u 1997. godini, *Glasnik srpskog arheološkog društva* 14 (1998) 137–143; P. MALBAŠA, *Dva crnogorska manastira*, Titograd 2003; V. KORAC, Ostaci manastira Sv. Arhandela Mihaila na Prevlaci, *Starinar* 51 (2001) 135–170; T. MARASOVIĆ, *Dalmatia Praeromanica*, 407–412; M. ZAGARČANIN, O nekim rezultatima novih arheoloških istraživanja na Prevlaci kod Tivta, *Istorijski zapisi* 89/3–4 (2016) 45–85.

<sup>98</sup> We will address this question in a future article, which is to be published in the *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* (Belgrade).

St. Theodore in Stari Bar or the Church C in Ratac (Bogorodica Ratačka; Fig. 7), which was previously dedicated to St. Archangel Michael.<sup>99</sup>

By identifying Orthodox or Catholic churches as places, where a certain Saint was mostly present, with eventual changes which occurred in time, and areas, which have not been populated and therefore left without sacred markings, point to advantages of “distribution maps”, thus proving their effectiveness and meaningfulness.

The above outline demonstrates the ways, in which churches placed on a map on the territory of Duklja, linked and shaped medieval societies. *Loci* of interaction included churches, monasteries, cities, roads (here sea and land routes), along with private *ktetors* (from both nobility and clergy), the spread of cults, etc. Therefore, it seems that the material evidence can be further used for the revelation of rapid, slow and protracted shifts visible in multiple aspects of life of a *homo medievalis*, that has not always been synchronised with political or doctrinal changes, in recording long-term changes of the “Sacred Landscape” of Duklja.

## 5. Synthesis

In our synthesis we need to combine the aforesaid chapters of our article and the presented data in order to address our initial research questions: statement that the historical region of Duklja underwent a remarkable transformation, amongst others also from an ecclesiastical point of view.

Firstly, we have introduced the local toponymy into our analysis after having embedded relevant data into our *TIB Balkans OpenAtlas Database*, which is our prerequisite to query and compare the respective data and create “distribution maps”, thus amending the evidence from the written sources and enriching the restricted view on the relation between the Latin, Slavonic and Byzantine worlds in Duklja. The toponomastic evidence shows clearly that the Latin population and language can be localised in three clusters in the south-west, the north-west and the north-east of the area of research, but that we can discern a “missing link” between the coast and its hinterland (as we call it; Fig. 2) to the north and especially to the north-east of the modern city of Podgorica.

Then we introduced medieval Latin sources in order to illustrate the relation between Rome and Constantinople in Duklja and developments

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<sup>99</sup> Đ. BOŠKOVIĆ – V. KORAĆ, Ratac, *Starinar* 7–8 (1956/1957) 39–75; I. PUŠIĆ, Predromanička umjetnost, 91, 149–150; J. PRESEL, Ratac 1913, *Matica crnogorska. Arheologija* 11/44 (2010) 175–188; T. MARASOVIĆ, *Dalmatia Praeromanica*, 447–449; J. MARTINOVIĆ, Ranohrišćanske i preromaničke sakralne građevine u kotorskoj biskupiji, *Istorijski zapisi* 89/3–4 (2016) 35–44, p. 43.

within the local church from the 7th century to the year 1054. Here, it becomes evident, how the political influence by Byzantium led to a political orientation of the area of research towards the East. The establishment of the Archbishopric of Ohrid (1019/20) meant that the interior part of the former *Illyricum* came under a strong influence of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, a process, which had begun in the first half of the 8th century, when Rome was deprived of the *Illyricum* in the wake of the unfolding Iconoclasm by the Byzantine Emperor Leon III. Still, papal policy tried to upkeep its claim on a local level, which becomes manifest in the coastal areas of Duklja and the influence by the Archbishopric of Ragusa (Dubrovnik).

In order to connect this source-based outline on the ecclesiastical organisation in the area of research from the 7th century to the year 1054, we again resorted to “distribution maps”, based on relevant data embedded in our *TIB Balkans OpenAtlas Database*, to discern the pattern of ecclesiastical monuments (i.e. churches and monasteries) in the area of research in the aforesaid period. Thus, we have been also able to highlight, in which way they share Western and Eastern influences in architecture (Fig. 6a and Fig. 6b). Here, it becomes immediately evident that the aforesaid “missing link”, as evidenced by the local toponymy, persists. While we can discern a strong cluster of ecclesiastical monuments in the coastal area of Duklja in the period mentioned, only two of them are to be found far in the hinterland to the north-east in Zaton and Bijelo Polje. This fact raises new questions on the connection between the coast and its hinterland and the respective medieval road network, which we have reconstructed based on the Austro-Hungarian Relief Map of Montenegro (1916/17; see above).

The synthesis and synopsis of all aforesaid data sets and layers enables us to create a joint “distribution map” (Fig. 8), which leads us to the finding that the described “missing link” remains in the historical region of Duklja until the year 1054. In addition to the scarcity of ecclesiastical monuments in the hinterland, a connecting function of the Latin population between the coast and the hinterland seems also to be missing in the north and the north-east. The toponym “Kaludra” (from the Greek word “καλόγερος, καλογρία”) in the north even indicates that we could have had a strong Eastern influence in this part of Duklja, which remains a working hypothesis for the time being. Even though the documented ecclesiastical monuments are strongly related to the medieval road network in general, there are still no ritual places between the north-east and the south-west in the period under research.

Consequently, we may deduce the following based on the aforesaid: while there has been a rivalry between Rome and Constantinople in political and ecclesiastical issues in Duklja, on the one hand, when we take the medieval written sources into account, and a mutual enrichment in architecture, on the other hand, when we take the respective monuments *in situ* into consideration, we still cannot discern a clear cut differentiation between East and West in the “Sacred Landscape” of Duklja in this very period of time. Both East and West are interacting on various levels, which makes Duklja actually an area “beyond East and West”.

From the viewpoint of space, we witness a “missing link” between the coastal area and its hinterland, which can neither be bridged by the written sources, nor by the toponymy, nor by the existing monuments. This leads us to interpret our evidence in a way that a stronger religious differentiation between the Latin and Orthodox Churches and a lasting political homogenisation started to take shape with the Nemanjid Dynasty, especially in the 12th and 13th centuries. So, the subsequent question arises, where the gateway has opened to connect the coast and the hinterland and where the Nemanjid Dynasty started to empower the homogenisation with regard to the medieval road network as outlined above. At this point a working hypothesis, which will have to be addressed by art historians in the future, is that the gateway and at the same time “missing link” could have been the Monastery of Morača (Fig. 8), which was built by Stefan, the son of Vukan Nemanjić and grandson of Stefan Nemanja, and foreshadows architectural elements from East and West likewise, which could have had a huge impact on the entire area of research.

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**СТАВЉАЊЕ ЦРКВЕ НА МАПУ:  
РАНОСРЕДЊОВЕКОВНЕ ЦРКВЕНЕ СТРУКТУРЕ  
И ТЕНДЕНЦИЈЕ НА ПОДРУЧЈУ ДУКЉЕ  
(VI–XI ВЕК)**

Резиме

Почетна истраживачка теза овог рада јесте да је историјска област Дукље доживела изузетну трансформацију, између осталог, и са црквеног становишта. Зато је, најпре, у анализу убачена локална топонимија пошто су релевантни подаци уграђени у *TIB Balkans OpenAtlas* базу података, што је био предуслов за испитивање и упоређивање одговарајућих података и креирање „мапа дистрибуције“, чиме су надограђена сведочанства писаних извора и обогаћен ограничени поглед на однос латинског, словенског и византијског света у Дукљи. Топономастички докази јасно показују да се латинско становништво и језик могу локализовати у три кластера на југозападу, северозападу и североистоку подручја истраживања, али да се може уочити и „карика која недостаје“ између обале и њеног залеђа на северу и посебно на североистоку савременог града Подгорице. Затим су уведени средњовековни латински извори како би се илустровали односи Рима и Цариграда у Дукљи и дешавања унутар локалне Цркве од VII века до 1054. године. Овде постаје евидентно како је политички утицај Византије довео до политичке оријентације области истраживања према истоку. Оснивање Охридске архиепископије (1019/20) значило је да је унутрашњи део некадашњег Илирика дошао под јак утицај Цариградске патријаршије, процес који је започео у првој половини VIII века, када је Рим остао без Илирика у јеку иконоборачког покрета чији је носилац био византијски цар Лав III. Ипак, папска политика је настојала да одбрани своја права на локалном нивоу, што се манифестује у приморским областима Дукље и утицају Дубровачке архиепископије.

Да би се овакав изглед црквене организације (као што га представља изворни материјал) повезао са подручјем истраживања од VII века до 1054. године, поново се прибегава „мапама дистрибуције“, заснованим на релевантним подацима уграђеним у *TIB Balkans OpenAtlas* базу података, како би се могао уочити образац црквених споменика (тј. цркава и манастира) у области истраживања у наведеном периоду. На тај начин је, такође, могла да се истакне чињеница да они деле западне и источне утицаје у архитектури. Одмах је уочљиво постојање поменуте „карике која недостаје“, о чему сведочи локална топонимија. Док се у дукљанском приморју у наведеном периоду примећује велики

број црквених споменика, само две грађевине се налазе далеко у залеђу према североистоку, у Затону и Бијелом Пољу. Ова чињеница отвара нова питања о повезаности приморја и његовог залеђа и одговарајуће средњовековне путне мреже, која је реконструисана на основу аустро-угарске рељефне карте Црне Горе из 1916/1917. године. Синтеза свих наведених скупова података и слојева омогућила је креирање заједничке „карте дистрибуције“, што је довело до закључка да „карика која недостаје“ опстаје у историјској области Дукље све до 1054. године. Поред малог броја црквених споменика у залеђу, чини се да на северу и североистоку недостаје повезујућа функција латинског становништва између приморја и залеђа. Топоним „Калудра“ (од грчке речи „καλοῦρος, καλοῦρια“) на северу, чак, указује да би у овом делу Дукље могао постојати снажан утицај са истока, што за сада остаје радна хипотеза. Иако су документовани црквени споменици уско везани за средњовековну путну мрежу уопште, још увек нема богослужбених места између североистока и југозапада у истраживаном периоду.

На основу наведеног може се закључити следеће: премда је између Рима и Цариграда постојало ривалство у политичким и црквеним питањима у Дукљи, када се с једне стране узму у обзир средњовековни писани извори и међусобни утицаји у архитектури, а с друге дотични споменици *in situ*, још увек није могуће уочити јасну разлику између Истока и Запада у „сакралном пејзажу“ Дукље овог раздобља. Исток и Запад су у интеракцији на различитим нивоима, што Дукљу заправо чини подручјем једног и другог. Са становишта простора, сведоци смо „карике која недостаје“ између приморја и његовог залеђа, која се не може премостити ни писаним изворима, ни топонимијом, ни постојећим споменицима. Ово наводи на тумачење да је јача религијска диференцијација између Латинске и Православне Цркве и трајна политичка хомогенизација почела да се обликује са династијом Немањића, у XII и XIII веку. Поставља се, дакле, следеће питање: где је отворена капија која повезује обалу и залеђе и где је династија Немањића почела да остварује хомогенизацију у односу на средњовековну путну мрежу као што је горе наведено. У овом тренутку радна хипотеза, којом ће се у будућности морати бавити историчари уметности, јесте да је капија и истовремено „карика која недостаје“ могао бити манастир Морача, који је саградио Стефан, сина Вукана Немањића и унук Стефана Немање; јер наговештава архитектонске елементе са Истока и Запада, који су могли имати огроман утицај на читаву област истраживања.

**Кључне речи:** рани средњи век, Доклеа/Дукља, геопросторни концепти, комуникацијске руте, топонимија, верски и културни споменици, папска писма, историја уметности, дигитална историјска географија, „сакрални пејзаж“.

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