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OHRID TRICONCH CHURCHES AND THE BALKAN ARCHITECTURE OF THE 9TH AND 10TH CENTURIES¹

Abstract: The study of the architectural features of the Ohrid triconch churches of the turn of the 9th–10th centuries allowed us to show their connections with a wide range of monastic architecture of that time. Like other buildings on the lands of the First Bulgarian Kingdom during the time of the baptism and enlightenment of the Bulgars, these monuments fit in well with the architectural process of the entire region, which was in the state of stagnation in the 9th–10th century, oriented to old patterns. However, there was an attempt to create original solutions in the conditions of the provincial flow of life in these areas, with their still weak links with Constantinople. Thus, in the 9th–10th centuries, there were no separate regional schools in this part of the Balkans, but there were some areas, such as the Adriatic, that quickly emerged from the crisis and actively participated in the cultural renewal.

Key words: Ohrid triconch, Christian architecture, Byzantine architecture

The article is devoted to the analysis of the architectural features of the tomb churches erected by Saints Clement (c. 835-916) and Naum (c. 830-910) of Ohrid at the turn of the 9th – 10th centuries. The spiritual authority of the clients who continued the mission of the enlightenment of the Slavs, started by the brothers Cyril (the Philosopher) (827-869) and Methodius (815-885) of Thessalonica², made these small monasteries especially revered throughout the medieval period until the Turkish conquest of the region, when in the 17th century both churches were destroyed. The buildings have reached an archaeological state, but they serve as the most important evidence of the development of the architectural tradition of the First Bulgarian Kingdom, which is still one of the hard-to-read pages of the medieval architecture of the Balkans. The histori-

¹ The research was supported by Russian Science Foundation, project No. 20-18-00294 (Artistic Traditions, Church and Stage Ideology in Medieval Art and Architecture of the Balkans: The Macedonian Issue).

² Б.Н. Флоря, А.А. Турилов, С.А. Иванов, *Судьбы Кирилло-Методиевской традиции после Кирилла и Мефодия*, Санкт-Петербург 2000, 316.

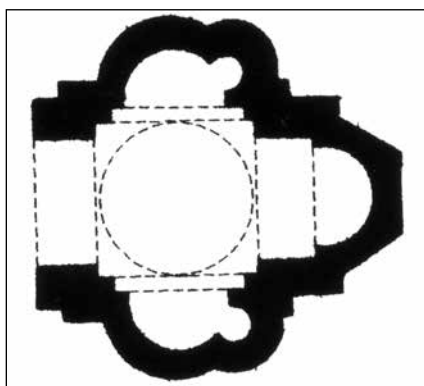


Fig 1. Church of the St. Pantaleon (ground plan), the end of the 9th, Ohrid (after D. Koco)

Сл. 1. Црква Св. Панталеона (основа), крај 9. Века, Охрид (по Д. Коцо)

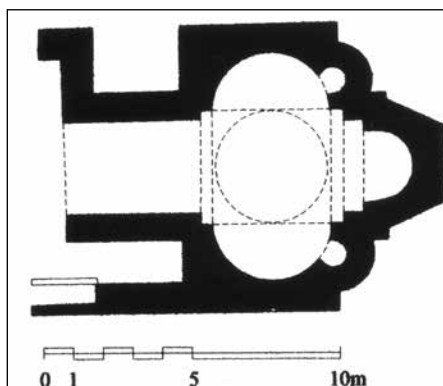


Fig. 2. Church of the Archangels at the Monastery of St. Naum (ground plan), beginning of the 10th, Lake Ohrid, (after S. Ćurčić)

Сл. 2. Црква Св. Арханђела у манастиру Св. Наума (основа), почетак 10. века, Охридско језеро (по С. Ћурчићу)

ography on this topic offers many hypotheses and reveals many contradictions in the position of the researchers³. We hope that an appeal to even partially preserved architectural material will bring us closer to a better understanding of the genesis of the centric buildings of the First Bulgarian Kingdom in the late 9th – 10th centuries.

For the Bulgarians, the beginning of the construction of Christian churches dates back to the adoption of Christianity from Byzantium in 864, under the rule of Tsar Boris Mikhail (852-889). Pliska was the cultural and political center of that time, which soon gave way to the dominant position of the new capital Preslav, where starting 893, the construction of Christian churches continued until the city was ruined in 971 by the Russian Prince Svyatoslav, who fought in alliance with Byzantium⁴. Ohrid, as well as Preslav, was included in the Christian history of the Bulgarians already under the reign of Boris's heir, Tsar Simeon I the Great (893-927), during whose rule the First Bulgarian kingdom flourished and expanded geographically to the point of the largest state in the Balkans. Due to the activity of the Slavic teachers, Saints Clement and Nahum of Ohrid, the city where one of the oldest Christian bishoprics was located regains its importance, and becomes the center of the development of

³ С.В. Мальцева, *Церковная архитектура Первого Болгарского царства: исследования и исследователи*, Актуальные проблемы теории и истории искусства 9, ed. А. В. Захарова, С. В. Мальцева, Е. Ю. Станюкович-Денисова, (Санкт-Петербург 2019), 350–365; For Serbian historiography cf. М. Ракоција, *Црква Св. Јована изнад Горњег Матејевца и њена архаична триконхална основа*, Ниш и Византија 18, Зборник радова 800 година аутокефалности Српске цркве (1219-2019): црква, политика и уметност у Византији и суседним земљама, Ниш 3. – 5. јун 2019., Ниш (2020), 121 – 158.

⁴ П.Е. Лукин, *Славяне на Балканах в Средневековье. Очерки истории и культуры*, Москва 2013, 64-93.

Slavic writing and theology. There are two very small triconch churches taken by us as the early examples of the church construction during the baptism of Bulgaria period. The Bulgarian tsars Boris and Simeon⁵ along with the Slavic apostles are mentioned as the ktetors of those churches. The first church, dedicated to St. Panteleimon, was erected by St. Clement, one of the closest disciples of St. Equal-to-the-Apostles Methodius. The construction of the church was mentioned in the hagiographical text on the life of St. Clement of Ohrid, written at the turn of the 11th – 12th centuries and attributed to Theophylact of Ohrid⁶. The exact date is unknown, but the period after the return of St. Clement from Moravia in 885 and before his ordination as a bishop in Preslav in (approximately) 893 would be a convenient moment for the foundation of the monastery; however, we cannot exclude the possibility of the later construction (even in 916, the time of the saint's death). The site on the very top of the plateau of ancient Lychnidos chosen for construction testifies to the plan to revive the tradition of Christian architecture, interrupted here with the appearance of barbarians at the beginning of the 6th century.

St. Clement literally builds his small church into the ruins of a once majestic complex of ancient basilicas (Fig. 1), the bishops of which were well known among the active participants of the first Ecumenical Councils in Nicaea, Constantinople, and Chalcedon⁷. Having reestablished the Christian church at this place, St. Clement found his rest in it. From Theophylact of Ohrid, we learn about the location of the tomb arranged for the saint in the southern vestibule of the church⁸; however, due to the poor preservation of the western parts of the triconch damaged by several later reconstructions, it is not possible to determine the structure of the burial. The archaeological data do not give us a complete picture, but allow identifying the general plan of the building and the lower tiers of the original masonry rising low above the ground mainly in the southeastern parts⁹.

The other church, with an initial dedication to Archangel Michael, the patron saint of Tsar Boris, was built by the second of the Slavic teachers, Saint Naum of Preslav-Ohrid, the successor of Saint Clement after 893 at the Ohrid

⁵ Ц. Грозданов, *Свети Наум Охридски*, Скопје 1995, 24.

⁶ Феофилакт Болгарский (Охридский), *Житие и деятельность, а также исповедание и отрывочный рассказ о (некоторых) чудесах Святого отца нашего Климента (Архи)епископа Болгарского*, Богословский вестник 2, №7-8 Июль-Август. Гл. XXIII, Стих 92, ed. М.Д. Муретов, (Московская Духовная Академия, Сергиев Посад 1913), 423-474.

⁷ Д. Коцо, *Ранохристијански базилики во областа на Охридското језеро*, Зборник на трудови: посебно издание по повод 10-годишнината од основувањето на музејот, посветено на XII меѓународен конгрес на византолозите, (Охрид, 1961), 15–33; В. Битракова-Грозданова, *Старохристијанските споменици во Охридско*, Охрид 1975.

⁸ М. Рајковић, *Житије Климента Охридског*, Византиски извори за историју народа Југославије I, (Београд 1955), 297–302.

⁹ Д. Коцо, *Резултати од археолошките ископувања на Наумовата црква*, Предавања на VII Семинар за македонски јазик, литература и култура, (Скопје 1974), 152–156.

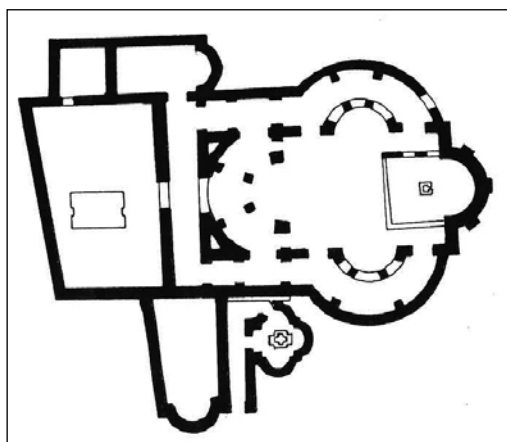


Fig. 3. Tetraconch on Plaoshnik (ground plan), end of the 5th – 6th century, Ohrid (after C. Grozdanov)

Сл. 3. Тетраконх на Плаошнику (основа), крај 5. – 6. века, Охрид (по Ц. Грозданову)

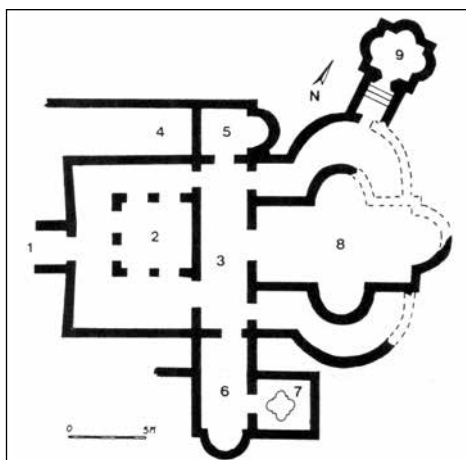


Fig. 4. Triconch in Lin (ground plan), end of the 5th – 6th century, Lake Ohrid (after C. Grozdanov).

4. Триконхос у Лину (основа), крај 5. – 6. век, Охридско језеро (по Ц. Грозданову).

Grammar School¹⁰. Both editions of the well-known Life of St. Nahum tell us of the second triconch church¹¹ dated to 900-905 by both sources, built on the southern shore of Lake Ohrid (Fig. 2). The churches erected by the Slavic teachers have a lot in common: there are two monastic churches built at the same historical time, located closely to each other, and surrounded by special veneration throughout the medieval period. They are connected by the sad history of destruction at the hands of the Ottoman conquerors and the later reconstruction, which complicates even the archaeological reading of the plan.

The triconch churches were not common in the architecture of the Bulgarian capital cities of Pliska and Preslav¹², so the first researchers of Ohrid churches concluded that they originated from the monuments of the early Christian time¹³ known in these territories. Indeed, in the Balkans, from the banks of the Danube to the Adriatic, in the first Christian and early Byzantine layers, there are enough remains of triconch churches, which, as a rule, served as tomb churches¹⁴. In addition, next to the St. Clement church, also in Ohrid, on the Plaoshnik, there are ruins of a large-scale, richly decorated with floor

¹⁰ А. Э. Н. Тахиаос, *Святые братья Кирилл и Мефодий просветители славян*, Свято-Троицкая Сергиева Лавра, 2005, 155-156.

¹¹ Ц. Грозданов, *Свети Наум Охридски*. (Скопје 1995), 24.

¹² Ст. Михайлов, *Разкопки в Плиска през 1945—1947 година*, Разкопки и проучвания 3, (София 1949), 203.

¹³ Д. Коцо, *Триконхалните цркви во Климентовото време*, Словенска писменост. 1050-годишнина на Климент Охридски, (Охрид 1966), 91–100.

¹⁴ С.В. Мальцева, *Триконхи в архитектуре Балкан IV-XII веков*, Вестник Православного Свято-Тихоновского гуманитарного университета, Серия 5, Вопросы истории и теории христианского искусства, 32, (Москва 2018), 34-58.

Fig. 5. Church of Saint Pantaleon (ground plan), end of the 9th century, Ohrid (after Elizabeth Kasapova)

Сл. 5. Црква Св. Панталеона (основа), крај 9. века, Охрид (по Е. Касапова)

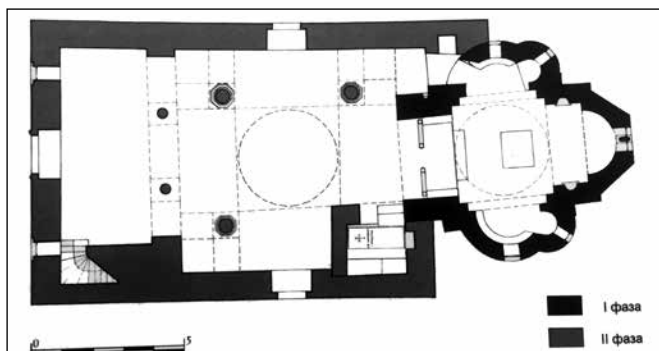
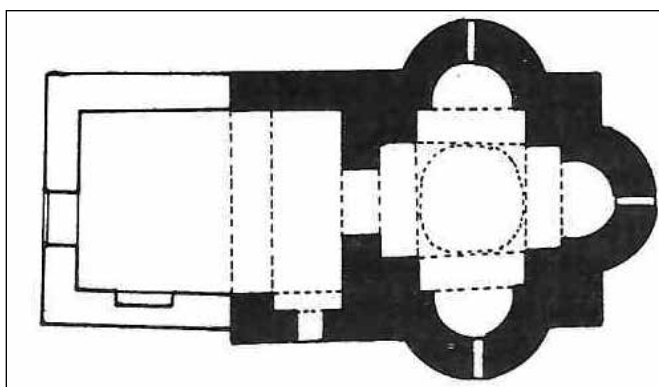


Fig. 6. Church of the Virgin Kubelidiki in the center of Kastoria (ground plan), the end of the 9th–10th (after С. Grozdanov).

Сл. 6. Црква Богородице Кубелидики у центру Касторије (основа), крај 9–10. век, (по Ц. Грозданову).



mosaics tetraconch church which dates back to the 5th century (Fig. 3). The foundations of a large triconch excavated in Lina (Fig. 4), on the southwestern shore of Lake Ohrid, belong to the same period¹⁵.

The presence of ancient prototypes is certainly an important precondition, but the gap in time, the disproportion of scale, along with significant differences in the configuration of the buildings do not allow us to see them as direct prototypes.

During the last large-scale excavations on the plateau of ancient Lihnidos (1999-2002; 2007-2015) Vlado Malenko and Pasko Kuzman proposed that St. Clement rebuilt the sixth-century triconch church only. However, it is not possible to confirm this hypothesis. The latest version of the reconstruction plan proposed by Elizabeth Kasapova confirms the original version of the Kotso plan (Fig. 5)¹⁶.

However, back in the 1950s - 60s, Bulgarian and Yugoslav researchers proposed that the Ohrid triconch churches of the 9th – 10th centuries were the

¹⁵ Ц. Грозданов, *Свети Наум...*, 28-29.

¹⁶ Е. Касапова, *Доградбите на светиклиментовата црква на Плаошник како одговор на современите текови во доцновизантиската архитектура*, Милениумското зрачење на свети Климент Охридски: Меѓународен научен собир, Скопје, 28–29 октомври 2017 година, (Скопје 2017), 379–386.

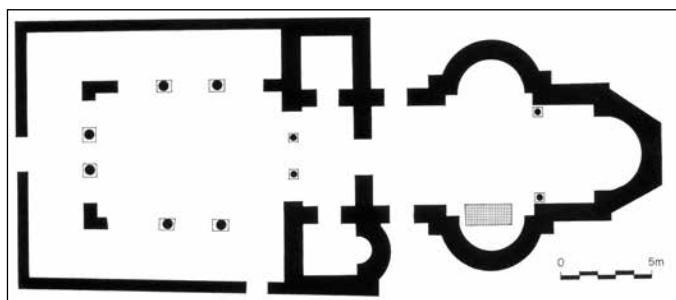


Fig. 7. Church „E“ in Caričin Grad (ground plan), the 6th century (after V. Korać, M. Šuput)

Сл. 7. Црква „Е“ у Царичином Граду (основа), 6. век (по В. Кораћу, М. Шупут)

result of foreign adoption, but no concrete examples have ever been offered¹⁷. As it turns out, the triconch churches, indeed, are often found in the 9th – 11th centuries in a number of Balkan regions. Before we try to identify the range of possible parallels and prototypes, we would like to consider in more detail the plans of the Ohrid triconch churches, which, though similar in size, differ significantly in formal features.

The Church of St. Panteleimon built by St. Clement is a small columnless domed triconch (7.8 × 7.8 m without a narthex), formed by two semicircles of lateral exedras and an altar trapezoidal apse from the east. The dome, towering above the square naos, rests on the corners of the tetrahedron, reinforced by the joints of the semicircles of the triconch. The lateral exedras of a clear configuration, in half a circle, have a rare feature: there are small deep apses arranged in their eastern parts, which are also revealed on the facades. The narthex of the church, which opened from the west, has not been preserved¹⁸.

Built a little later, the Church of St. Naum is a triconch of a different configuration (7.5 × 9.5 m without a narthex), in which the lateral exedras, opening in semicircles into the interior, are recessed from the facades into rectangular protrusions, revealing the cruciform structure of that domed church from the outside. Only in the eastern parts of the lateral protrusions, there are also small, but rather deep apses, similar to the Church of St. Panteleimon. The narthex of the Church of St. Naum, modeled after the St. Clement, has been better preserved and it gives us at least a partial idea of its structure. However, the details of the burial in this church are not completely clear¹⁹.

The analogies to the Ohrid triconch churches exist in the Greek region of Kastoria neighboring with Ohrid. Two small domed triconches of similar size have been preserved there, which, along with the Ohrid ones, are among the earliest examples of the continuation of the tradition of the construction of this type of churches, interrupted in the Balkans in the 6th – 7th centuries. At

¹⁷ Кр. Миятев, *Архитектурата в средновековна България*, София 1965, 103; Д. Коцо, *Триконхалните цркви...*, 91–100.

¹⁸ Д. Коцо, *Климентовиот Манастир «Св. Пантелејмон» и раскопката при «Имарет» во Охрид*, Годишен зборник на Филозофскиот факултет 1, (Скопје 1948), 174–182.

¹⁹ Д. Коцо, *Резултати од археолошките ископувања на Наумовата црква*, Предавања на VII Семинар за македонски јазик, литература и култура, (Скопје 1974), 152–156; П. Миљковић-Пепек, *Некои погледи врз Архитектурата на манастирската црква Св. Наум крај Охридското Езеро*, Охрид 1985.

the same time, the Church of the Transfiguration on the northern shore of Lake Orestiada and the Church of the Virgin Kubelidiki in the center of Kastoria, also dating to the end of the 9th – 10th centuries²⁰, give us a different configuration of the triconch, with three semicircular apses (Fig. 6).

Since that time, single-nave triconch and tetraconch churches have become widespread in various parts of the Byzantine world, including the capital: the Churches of the Virgin in Veljusa near Strumica (c. 1080)²¹, of St. Nicholas in Platani near Patras (11th – 12th centuries)²², of St. Sozon in Orchomenus (12th century)²³, the Constantinople churches of the Virgin Muholiotissa and Kamariotissa (11th century)²⁴, the triconch of the Molivdoskepastos monastery in Epirus (11th century), etc. The tradition of the construction of triconch churches after the era of the Slavic teachers continued on the shores of the lakes Ohrid, Prespa, and Skadar, where the similar churches were built on the model of monasteries (the Church the Virgin in Zlesti, Izdeglavje, and Gorica on the southern shore of Lake Ohrid)²⁵. Although many triconch churches were erected between the end of the 9th and 12th centuries, they never became the main stream of the Byzantine architecture.

In the 9th century, when the church architecture in the Balkans was just being revived from the ruins after the barbaric devastation, the situation looked quite different. The main direction of further development was the focusing on old architectural patterns, including triconch churches.

In this regard, it is not surprising that the configuration of the triconch with semicircular lateral exedra and trapezoidal apse erected by St. Clement turns out to be more similar to the churches of the 6th century (the Church „E“ in Caričin Grad (Fig. 7), the Church of the Virgin in Kuršumlja (rebuilt in the 12th century)) than to the Kastorian parallels of the same time. The sizes of the Ohrid triconch churches are also quite comparable to the churches of the 6th century, in contrast to the large-scale early Christian triconch and tetraconch churches. It is hardly possible to assume a direct connection here, for the considered early Byzantine examples during the construction of the Ohrid triconch churches were already in a ruined state, but the appeal to this typology continued in the study of other 9th century monuments.

²⁰ N. Μουτσόπουλος, *Εκκλησίες της Καστοριάς, 9ος–11ος αιώνας*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1992, 3-20, 87–109.

²¹ П. Миљковиќ-Пепек, *Велјуса. Манастир Св. Богородица Милостива во Селото Велјуса крај Струмица*, Скопје 1981.

²² П. Βοκοτόπουλος, *Ο τρίκογχος ναός του Αγίου Νικολάου στο Πλατάνι της Αχαΐας*, Άρμος. Τιμητικός τόμος στον καθηγητή Ν.Κ. Μουτσόπουλο 1, Θεσσαλονίκη 1990, 383–405; Α. Ορλάνδος, *Ο Άγιος Δημήτριος της Βαράσοβας*, Αρχαίον βυζαντινών μνημείων Ελλάδος 1, (Αθήνα 1935), 109–117.

²³ S. Ćurčić, *Architecture in the Balkans from Diocletian to Suleyman the Magnificent*, Yale University Press 2010, 419-420.

²⁴ А. Ю. Виноградов, *Панагии Кириотиссы монастырь, Панагии Мухлиотиссы монастырь, Панагии Паммакариссос монастырь*, Православная энциклопедия 54, (Москва 2019), 369–400.

²⁵ Д. Коцо, *Триконхалните...*, 91–100.

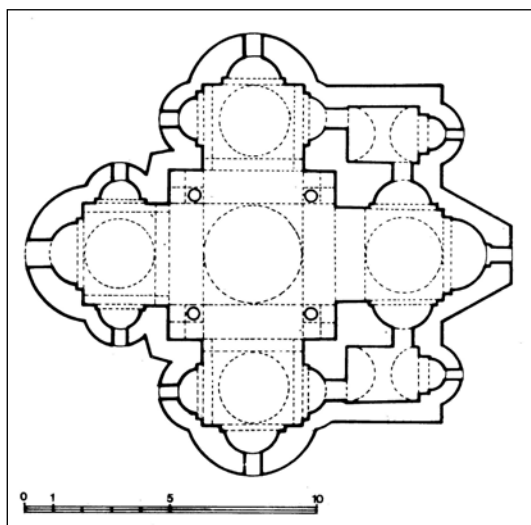


Fig. 8. Church of St. Andrew in Peristera (ground plan), the end of the 9th (after V. Korać, M. Šuput)

Са. 8. Црква Св. Андреја у Перестери (основа), крај 9. век, (по В. Кораћу, М. Шупуту)

Not far from Ohrid, in Greek Macedonia, in the Church of St. Andrew in the Peristeri near Thessaloniki (Fig. 8), we find a detail similar to the triconch of the St. Clement monastery²⁶. The altar part of this church is formed by a triconch, the side semicircles of which are the same as in the monastery of St. Panteleimon, combined with a triangular trapezoidal apse. Analyzing possible connections, it seems interesting that the builder of the church in Peristeri, erected just a few years earlier than the one in Ohrid (about 871), was St. Euthymius the New (824-898) who arrived in the Balkans from Asia Minor. As you know, since the iconoclastic period, the Asia Minor regions, especially the regions of Bithynia close to Constantinople, became a site for architectural experiments, where many interesting projects related to the architecture of the Byzantine capital, including the triconch churches²⁷, have been developed.

The Asia Minor monks often became the conductors of these new ideas. The brothers of Thessalonica, Saints Cyril and Methodius, took monastic vows in the same place as Monk Euthymius, in one of the monasteries of the Bithynian Olympus²⁸. Saints Clement and Naum of Ohrid, the closest of the disciples and associates of the Slavic enlighteners, were certainly involved in this environment.

The fairly large church in Peristeri consists of several small (same as the Ohrid ones) domed triconches, cruciformly encircling a square naos with a

²⁶ N.K. Μουτσόπουλος, *Περιστερά. Ο ορεινός οικισμός του Χορτιάτη και ο ναός του Αγίου Ανδρέα*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1986.

²⁷ А. Ю. Виноградов, *Афонский храм или арабский дворец? Крестово-купольный триконх и новая архитектурная идентичность империи*, Византий и Византия: провинциализм столицы и столичность провинции, Санкт-Петербург 2020, 91-127.

²⁸ А. Ю. Виноградов, *Олимп*, Православная энциклопедия 52, (Москва 2018), 597-604; Копылов А. Н. *Кирилл и Мефодий*, Современные гуманитарные исследования 2, (Москва 2014), 14-21; Тахиаос А. Э. Н. *Святые братья Кирилл и Мефодий просветители славян*, Сергиев Посад 2005, 51-59.

dome of large diameter standing on columns. Such an original solution made it possible to create a cruciform composition dominated by a central dome core. It is likely that the idea of using triconches in the composition of the Church of St. Andrew was due to the Byzantine metropolitan practice of introducing them into the structure of larger Constantinople churches. For example, in the Northern church of the Lips Monastery (907), a typologically similar solution with the inclusion of small tetraconches²⁹ was used for the arrangement of pascophoria and galleries of the second tier (choir).

For the Balkans of this time, particularly for Thessaloniki, the monastery catholicon of Peristeri was a large-scale phenomenon. However, the large, compositionally clear, and very artistically original church has been made in provincial construction techniques, which especially affected its appearance. Here, as in most of the buildings of the First Bulgarian Kingdom, we find loose masonry made of local crushed sandstone and limestone.

In the 9th and 10th centuries, it was not always possible to invite metropolitan craftsmen, who worked in various versions of the opus mixtum technique, with interleaving of stone and plinth, to Balkan regions. Despite the fact that the Christianization and enlightenment of Bulgarians were blessed directly from Constantinople, and Patriarch Photius (820-896) repeatedly came into conflict with Pope Nicholas on this issue (863, 867), in the architecture of this era, as we see, the influence of the Byzantine capital was weak and indirect.

Here, as well as in the architecture of other Byzantine regions, various approaches have been found³⁰: in some cases, craftsmen and their clients were limited to structural durability and functional support, so they built three-nave or single-nave basilicas reduced in size; in other cases, they were guided by artistic and symbolic priorities, where the cruciform composition and the dome turn out to be very important. The new typological variants of the cross-domed church that meet these requests (from the inscribed cross on four columns type to the compact one without freestanding supports) and the octagon on tromps were still being formed in Constantinople and Asia Minor, they would become widespread much later, in the 10th – 12th centuries.

During the baptism of the Bulgarians, in the second half 9th - beginning of the 10th century, on the periphery of Byzantine, architectural objectives were achieved using the experience of previous centuries, often in original way³¹. The capabilities of the early Byzantine period, with large-scale structures and complex engineering solutions, were gone. The domes, hemispherical conches, and exedras were firmly included in the arsenal of the Christian architecture back in the 5th – 6th centuries and found a constructive use. Their curved outlines, as well as artistic and symbolic interpretation, attracted the architects not only from the Byzantine capital³², but also from other Balkan regions (tri-

²⁹ В. Кораћ, М. Шупут, *Архитектура Византијског света*, Београд 2005, 139-141; С. Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, New York 1976, 199-203.

³⁰ Π. Λ. Βοκοτόπουλος, *Η εκκλησιαστική αρχιτεκτονική εις την Δυτικήν Στερεάν Ελλάδα και την Ήπειρον. Από του τέλους του 7ου μέχρι του τέλους του 10ου αιώνας*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1975.

³¹ S. Ćurđić, *Architecture in the Balkans...*, 322-327.

³² А.Ю. Виноградов, А.В. Захарова, Д.А. Черноглазов, *Храм Святой Софии Кон-*

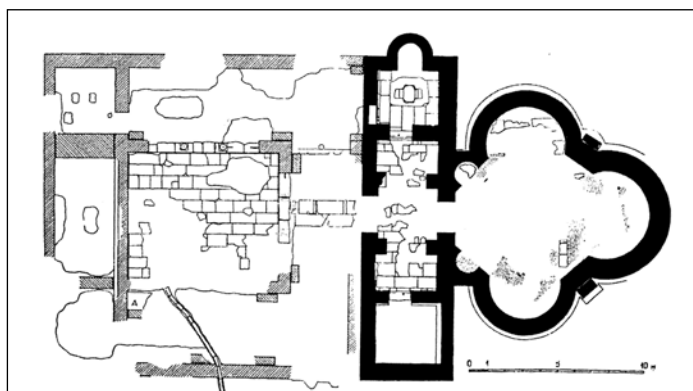


Fig. 9. Triconch in Doljanji (ground plan), the end of the 9th – 10th (after Janković)

Сл. 9. Триконхос у Дољанју (основа), крај 9. – 10. века, (по Јанковићу)

conch and related tetraconch churches were erected in Perushtitsa and Beroe near Stara Zagora (Bulgaria), in Lychnidos (Northern Macedonia), in Lina, in Butrint (Albania), a polyconch with six exedras in Philippol (Plovdiv)³³, etc.).

Theophylact of Bulgaria, describing in the *Life of St. Clement* the church created by the Slavic teacher, aesthetically examines its shape and reveals its meaning: „although much smaller than the cathedral, but its oval and round appearance is more pleasant than that. He (Clement) tried in every possible way to eradicate the indifference of the Bulgarians in religion and to attract them to (liturgical) meetings with the beauty of the churches, and in general to tame the cruelty of their hearts, savagery, and rudeness in their knowledge of God.“³⁴

It is remarkable that after two centuries since the construction of the church, the Byzantine intellectual, the Archbishop of Ohrid, compared the small triconch of the beginning of 10th century with a cathedral and gave the primacy in artistic evaluation to the aesthetics of the curvilinear outlines of the small monastic church of his predecessor, Archbishop Clement of Ohrid.

It is obvious that due to a certain universality of centric structures, when structural integrity is successfully combined with artistic and symbolic expressiveness, different variants of rotundas and polyconches were in demand. This happens where there was a close connection with early Christian and Early Byzantine traditions, in turn, rooted in Roman building practice³⁵. Similar trends are well known in the church architecture of Transcaucasia, where they have been gaining strength since the 7th century³⁶. Most of the large centric buildings of this trend are associated with the construction of monasteries³⁷. That is

стантинопольской в свете византийских источников, Санкт-Петербург 2018, 26-56.

³³ Н. Чанева-Дечевска, *Раннохристиянската архитектура в България IV-VI в.*, София 1999.

³⁴ Феофилакт Болгарский (Охридский) *Житие и деятельность...*, 471.

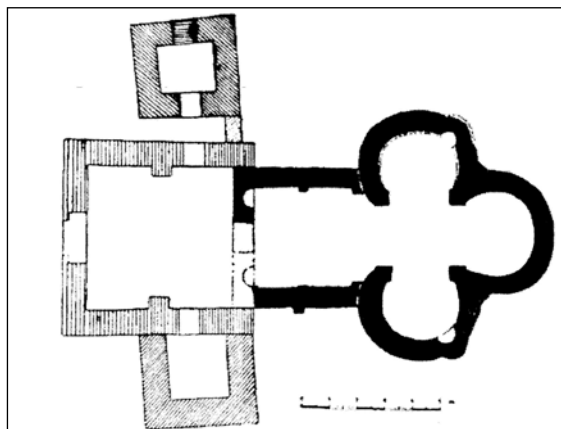
³⁵ P. Vežić, *Dalmatinski trikonhosi*, *Ars Adriatica. Časopis Odjela za povijest umjetnost i Sveučilišta u Zadru* Br. 1, (Zadar 2011), 27–66.

³⁶ А.Ю. Казарян, *Церковная архитектура стран Закавказья VII века: Формирование и развитие традиции*, [4 т.], Москва 2012.

³⁷ В. Кораћ, *Архитектура раног средњег века у Дукљи и Зети. Програм протора и порекло облика*, Између Византије и Запада: одабране студије о архитектури,

Fig. 10. Church of St. John at Backwater on Lim River (ground plan), end of the 9th – 10th (after Ђ. Janković)

Сл. 10. Црква Светог Јована у рукавцу на Лиму (основа), крај 9. – 10. век (по Ђ. Јанковићу)



also confirmed by the aforementioned catholicon of the monastery in Peristeri, the project of which was inspired not only by the Church of the Apostles in Constantinople, as the researchers believed³⁸, but, perhaps, to a greater extent by some Asia Minor models, towards which the Church of St. Constantine on Lake Apolloniatis in Bithynia (9th century), also a monastic tetraconch³⁹, could also be oriented. The catholicon of the large monastery complex in Karaach Teke near Varna (Bulgaria), dating to the end of the 9th - beginning of the 10th century, should be attributed to the same circle of monuments⁴⁰. This tetraconch is formed by the addition of exedras to the ends of the arms of the cross (the so-called church of the inscribed cross of the transitional type). Another example that fits well into this series leads us to the shores of the Dalmatian Primorje region, where no later than the 9th century the Church of St. Thomas was erected in Prčanj near Kotor⁴¹.

The original idea of the composition brings this church closer to the examples discussed above. A squared in plan tetrahedron, with a dome standing on columns, is surrounded on three sides by identical specifically elongated exedras, recessed into the masonry of rectangular ledges, creating a cruciform composition. Thus, from the facades, the lateral exedras of this triconch turn out to be unexpressed. This feature resembles the configuration of the Church of St. Naum and allows us to connect this Ohrid triconch, the exedras of which

Београд 1987, 30.

³⁸ В. Кораћ, М. Шупут, *Архитектура Византијског света...*, 107-109.

³⁹ М. Каррас, S. Mamaloukos, *The Church of St. Constantine on Lake Apollonia, Bithynia, Revisited*, DChAE 38, (Αθήνα 2017), 87-103.

⁴⁰ К. Попконстантинов, R. Kostova, *Architecture of conversion: provincial monasteries in 9th-10th c. Bulgaria*, Труды Государственного Эрмитажа LIII. Архитектура Византии и Древней Руси IX-XII веков, Материалы международного семинара 17-21 ноября 2009 года, ed. Д. Д. Ёлшин, (Санкт-Петербург 2010), 118-132.

⁴¹ В. Кораћ, Ј. Ковачевић, *Црква св. Томе у Прчању у Боки Которској*, Зборник Филозофског факултета Бр. XI-1, (Београд 1970), 107-114; Ђ. Јанковић, *Српско Приморје од 7 до 10 столећа*, Београд 2007, 106-108.

are also hidden in the thickness of the facade wall, with the traditions of the architecture of the Primorje region, where such a feature was quite common in various types of churches during the medieval period⁴².

Here, in the Primorje region, we meet another typological branch of triconch churches, with three round exedras. The churches of exactly the same configuration and of different sizes were actively built in these areas during the early Byzantine period. Therefore, most of the identified buildings were attributed by the researchers to the 6th century. However, in the light of new data, the Serbian researcher Djorđe Janković convincingly attributed the triconch „a“ in the Doljan, Duklja (Roman Dioclea), as a princely church with a baptismal chapel and a tomb in the narthex (Fig. 9). The study of the archaeological layers of this large-sized triconch and the neighboring early Byzantine basilica led to the conclusion that the church was built much later, in the 9th -10th centuries⁴³. In our opinion, the confirmation of the new dating lays in many specific architectural details. Such a configuration of exedras, which turn out to be deeper than half the circumference, along with the specific arrangement of bearing supports have never been found in the monuments of ancient and early Byzantine times. The western supports are formed here by the joints of large lateral exedras and small ones placed at the corners in the vestibule of the narthex, while the eastern supports are formed by wide walls diagonally deployed between the lateral exedras and the apse. Thus, the dome receives asymmetrical supports and, as a result, the elongated shape of the drum and skufia. The powerful lesenes, which fixate the angles of the building from the east, also testify to the early medieval methods of architecture, which can be found in a number of monuments, including Bulgarian territories.

Analogous to the Doljan church exedras, the diagonally placed asymmetrical supports in combination with semicircular niches arranged in the thickness of the wall can be found in a smaller (6.2 × 6.2 m.) poorly dated triconch in Drivost, as well as in another triconch church of St. John in Zaton on Lim River (10th century) (Fig. 10). The latter was built on the territories that were part of the First Bulgarian Kingdom and has a remarkable feature: small apses in the eastern parts of the lateral exedras, which bring it closer to the triconch churches of Saints Clement and Nahum of Ohrid.

The change in the dating of the triconch in Doljan allowed Janković to suggest that this church could be a direct prototype for all early medieval triconch churches, including the ones at Ohrid. The large size of the Doljan church, the masonry technique, and the usage of plinths from previous buildings certainly distinguish this princely church from the rest, usually smaller in size and built of rough stone. However, the lack of precise dating and significant differences in

⁴² T. Marasović, *Dalmatia preromanica: Ranosrednjovjekovno graditeljstvo u Dalmaciji* 1, (Split 2008); А.А. Воронова, *Особенности архитектуры византийских провинций на Адриатике IX–XII веков*, Труды Государственного Эрмитажа LIII, Архитектура Византии и Древней Руси IX–XII веков, Материалы международного семинара 17–21 ноября 2009 года, (Санкт-Петербург 2010), 214–226.

⁴³ Ђ. Јанковић, *Српско Поморје...*, 125–126; В. Кораћ, *Дољани код Тутограда. Ранохришћанска црква*, Старица IX–X, (Београд 1959), 383–385; S. Ćurčić, *Architecture in the Balkans...*, 239.

the configuration of the plan do not allow us to consider the Doljan triconch as a direct prototype for the churches of the Slavic teachers. Obviously, we are talking about parallel phenomena of the same architectural trend. A small triconch church in the Zaton shows us how the Primorje and Ohrid architectural motifs meet at the crossroads of the Balkan routes⁴⁴.

In our opinion, the Primorje region monuments can give us a clue to the features of other architectural projects of the First Bulgarian Kingdom as well.

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ОХРИДСКЕ ТРИКОНХОСНЕ ЦРКВЕ И БАЛКАНСКА АРХИТЕКТУРА
IX И X ВЕКА

Архитектонски споменици Првог бугарског царства сачувани су углавном у археолошком стању. О њима је мало писаних сведочења, како византијских, тако и словенских, те историја проучавања има више различитих хипотеза. Почетак градње храма код Бугара датира из времена крштења 864. године под царем Борисом Михаилом. Тада је у првој престоници, у Плиски, за цркву адаптирано неколико ранохришћанских и рановизантијских зграда. Појава централних триконхалних грађевина повезана је са другим периодом, када су центри духовног и политичког живота пренети у Преслав и Охрид. У IX-X веку словенски језик постаје литургијски, развија се уникална ситуација - ствара се словенска епископија која обједињује целокупно словенско говорно подручја без обзира на епархијске и политичке границе.

Монастирске цркве са криптама које су подигли свети Климент и Наум Охридски на прелазу из IX у X век су најважнији докази о развоју архитектонске традиције Првог бугарског царства, која је и даље једна од загонетних тема средњовековне архитектуре на Балкану. Типолошки повезане појаве сличне триконху Светог Климента налазимо и на суседним балканским територијама, у Касторији (Костур). Међутим, ове цркве иако изграђене у сличном временском распону имају другачију конфигурацију триконхоса, са три полукружне апсиде.

Ближи аналог налази се у близини Охрида, у грчкој Македонији, у цркви Светог Андрије у Перистеру код Солуна. Олтар овог храма чини триконхус, са тространом трапезоидном апсидом. Анализирајући могуће везе, чини се занимљивим да је градител храма у Перистеру, подигнутог само неколико година раније од Охрида (око 871), био преподобни Евтимије Нови (824–898), који је на Балкан стигао из Мале Азије. Као што је познато, малоазијски крајеви, посебно они који су близу Константинопоља у региону Битинија, у то време су територија за архитектонске експерименте, где се још од иконокластичког периода појављују многи занимљиви пројекти везани за архитектуру византијске престонице, укључујући триконхосе. Монаси из Мале Азије често су постајали диригенти ових идеја. Солунска браћа, свети Тирило и Методије, положили су монашке завете на истом месту као и монах Евтимије, у једном од манастира Битињског Олимпа. У ову средину су несумњиво били укључени свети Климент и Наум Охридски, најближи од ученика и сарадника словенских просветитеља. Још један охридски триконхос, са почетном посветом Архангелу Михаилу, небеском заштит-

⁴⁴ Д. Коцо, *Триконхалните цркви во Климентовото време*, Словенска писменост. 1050-годишнина на Климент Охридски, Охрид 1966, 91–98; В. Кораћ, *Архитектура раног средњег века у Дукљи и Зети. Програм простора и порекло облика*, Између Византије и Запада: одабране студије о архитектури, Београд 1987, 30.

нику цара Бориса, поставља други од словенских учитеља, свети Наум Преславски - Охридски, наследник Светог Климента после 893. године у охридској школи књижности. Међутим, триконхос светог Наума, с почетка X века, има другачији облик, овде су бочни екседри уграђене у правоугаоне избочине фасада и нису видљиви споља. Истовремено је занимљиво да се у источним деловима бочних избочина налазе и мале апсиде, сличне триконху св. Климента. Ова карактеристика подсећа на конфигурацију храма Светог Наума и омогућава приближавање охридског триконха архитектонској традицији јадранске обале, где је таква техника здања прилично честа. У приморским регионима Далмације су у раном византијском периоду активно грађени храмови управо ове конфигурације и различитих величина. Наставак живота овог архитектонског типа у источним регионима јадранског Приморја може се објаснити одсуством дугорочног јаза између рановизантијског периода и обнављања грађевинске активности већ до VIII–IX. века након првог искуство крштења Словена у VII веку. У Бугарској, након доласка варвара у Мезију и Тракију, прекид у традицији хришћанске архитектуре био је значајан, више од два века. Директне везе приморског региона са византијском престоницом у раном средњовековном периоду вршене су спорадично, због чега су процеси типолошке обнове успорени. Почетком IX века, ове територије, на којима су се Словени, Хрвати и други већ густо населили, постају „језгро сукоба“ између растућег царства Карла Великог и Византије. На очуваним територијама Византија почиње да обнавља свој културни утицај. О директном наставку архитектонске традиције која води своје порекло од антике сведочи континуитет древних технологија грађевинске производње и њихов постепени развој.

Дакле, триконхоналне зграде из IX-X века шире се тамо где је постојала уска веза са ранохришћанском и рановизантијском традицијом, која је била укорењена у римској грађевинској пракси. Неке од битних куполастих триконха везане су са типологијом манастрске градње.