

THE INSCRIPTION OF QUEEN HELENA FROM THE CHURCH OF ST. SERGIUS AND BACCUS

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NATPIS KRALJICE JELENE IZ CRKVE SV. SERGIJA I VAKHA

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Abstract:

This paper will focus on Queen Helena's inscription, once a part of the church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus in today's Shkodër District of Northern Albania. The analysis of the text will include the structure of the script, the palaeographical style and historical context. Before it was moved to the capital of Albania, this inscription was, probably, last observed in situ, by Aleksandar Deroko in the year 1930. Since then, Queen Helena's epigraph, has become part of the archaeological fund of the National Historical Museum of Albania, where it has been protected from destruction by outdoor elements¹. Therefore, the value of this study is firmly founded in the analysis of the object that I was privileged to observe in the year 2019. Finally, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to the Minister of Culture Elva Margariti, for allowing these photographs of the inscription to be published.

Key Words: Queen Helena, Sts. Sergius and Bacchus, Shkodër, Dedicatory Inscription, Palaeography

¹ The inscription has been listed in: Theofan Popa, Mbishkrime të kishave në Shqipëri, Tirana, 1998 (inscription no. 913).

Apstrakt:

Ovaj rad će se fokusirati na natpis kraljice Jelene, koji je nekad bio smešten u Crkvi Sv. Sergija i Vakha u današnjem okrugu Skadar. Analiza teksta će uključivati strukturu natpisa, paleografski stil i istorijski kontekst. Pre nego što je premešten u glavni grad Albanije, ovaj tekst je, verovatno, poslednji put vidio, *in situ*, Aleksandar Deroko 1930. godine, Od tada epigraf Kraljice Jelene je postao deo arheološkog fonda Nacionalnog Istorijskog Muzeja Albanije, gde je sakriven od destrukcije spoljašnjih elemenata¹. Stoga, vrednost ovog novog istraživanja čvrsto se temelji na analizi samoga predmeta kojeg sam imala priliku posmatrati 2019 godine. Konačno, volela bih da izrazim veliku zahvalnost ministarki kulture Elvi Margariti za dozvolu da se fotografije ovog natpisa objave.

Ključne reči: kraljica Jelena, Sv. Sergije i Vakh, Skadar, ktitorski natpis, paleografija

¹ Natpis je objavljen u: Theofan Popa, Mbishkrime të kishave në Shqipëri, Tirana, 1998 (inscription no. 913).

Hidden in the wilderness of Shkodër, a northwestern Albanian county, lies the only remaining south wall of the thirteenth-century Benedictine abbey once called the Church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus. The west face of the church bore two distinct inscriptions marking the patronage of two monarchs. Both inscriptions occupied prominent positions, garlanding the main entrance to the shrine. To the left of the portal was inscribed the patron's name, Queen Helena (1276 - 1306), whilst above the door bore the name of her son King Uros II Milutin (1282 - 1321). These texts have been relocated to two separate museums. King Milutin's inscription can be observed in the city museum of Shkodër, and Queen Helena's is currently located in the National Museum of Tirana. In the summer of 2019, I visited Tirana, and took the opportunity to closely inspect and document its content. This paper will focus primarily on Queen Helena's epigraph as material evidence of the region's complex and interweaving socio-political identities. My aim is to try to achieve a clearer picture of Helena's endowment and its importance through the analysis of the object's stylistic, linguistic and palaeographical characteristics.

The Church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus and Queen Helena

The remains of the monastery of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus lay today on the left side of the river Bojana/Buna, ten kilometres from the city Skadar/Shkodër and thirty kilometres from the Adriatic Sea. (Fig. 1). The primary documents inform us that there was an important Benedictine monastery in eleventh century, that it was a royal burial place for the kings of Dioklea, and that it was probably destroyed by Tartars or a natural disaster. Whatever was the reason for its destruction, Queen Helena considered the reconstruction of the new Benedictine monastery of incredible importance.

The first extensive account of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus' Church is given by Ivan Jastrebov, a Russian consul in Shkodër, who published it in the journal of the Serbian Scientific Society.² In

² Jastrebov, Ivan Stepanovic. "O Pravoslavnim Srpskim Starim i Novim Crkvama u Staroj Zeti - Sadasnjem Skadarskom Okrugu."

Skriven u divljini zapadne albanske oblasti Skadar, nalazi se jedini preostali (južni) zid benediktinske opatije trinaestog veka, nekada zvane Crkva Sv. Sergija i Vakha. Na zapadnoj fasadi crkve bila su dva različita natpisa koja su označavala ktitorstvo dvoje monarha. Oba natpisa su zauzimala istaknute položaje, ukrašavajući glavni ulaz u svetinju. Jedan, na levoj strani portala, nosio je ime kraljice Jelene (1276-1306). Drugi, postavljen iznad vrata, nosio je ime njenog sina, kralja Uroša II Milutina (1282-1321). Ovi su natpisi, vremenom, premešteni u dva različita muzeja. Natpis kralja Milutina se danas može videti u gradskom muzeju Skadra, dok je epigraf kraljice Jelene trenutno lociran u Nacionalnom Muzeju Tirane. Leta 2019. godine, imala sam priliku da posetim Tiranu i iskoristim izuzetnu priliku da kraljičin natpis analiziram iz neposredne blizine. Ovaj će se rad usredsrediti prvenstveno na natpis kraljice Jelene kao materijalni dokaz složenih i isprepletenih društveno-političkih identiteta regije. Cilj teksta je da omogući uvid u jasniju sliku Jelenine zadužbine i njene važnosti, kroz analizu stilističkih, lingvističkih i paleografskih karakteristika ovog natpisa.

Crkva Sv. Srgija i Vakha i kraljica Jelena

Ostaci manastira Sv. Sergija i Vakha leže danas na levoj strani reke Bojane / Bune, deset kilometara od grada Skadra / Shkodër i trideset kilometara od Jadranskog mora (Sl. 1). Primarni dokumenti govore da je tamo u jedanaestom veku postojao važan benediktinski samostan, koji je predstavljao raskošno groblje za kraljeve Duklje, te da su ga verovatno uništili Tatari ili neka prirodna katastrofa. Kakav god da je bio razlog za njegovo uništenje, kraljica Jelena je smatrala da je obnova novog benediktinskog samostana od neverovatne važnosti.

Prvi opsežni prikaz Crkve Sv. Sergija i Vakha daje Ivan Jastrebov, ruski konzul u Skadru, koji je objavljen u časopisu Srpskog naučnog društva.² Krajem 1870-ih, kada je

² Jastrebov, Ivan Stepanovič, „O pravoslavnim srpskim starim i novim crkvama u Staroj Zeti - Sadašnjem Skadarskom Okrugu.“ *Akademija nauka, Glasnik Srpskog učenog društva* XLVIII (1880), 359–367.



Fig. 1. The remains of the benedictine abbey of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus. Photograph by Marija M. Shiplej
Sl. 1. Ostaci benediktinske opatije Svetog Srdja i Vakha. Fotografija: Marija M. Shiplej

late 1870s, when visited by Jastrebov, the north apse of the church was already under water. By the mid twentieth century, as the water was shifting its riverbed, the walls from northeast to southwest fell into its fast-flowing current. Later decay was reported by various consuls and ambassadors in Skadar, appointed by France, Russia and Austro-Hungarian Empire: Theodor Ippen (1899),³ Alexandre Degrand (1901),⁴ Vasilev Smirnov (1927),⁵ and subsequently by two architects, Aleksandar Deroko (1930)⁶ and

Akademija Nauka, Glasnik Srpskog Ucenog Društva XLVIII (1880): 359–67.

3 Ippen, Theodor. "Stare Crkvene Ruševine u Albaniji." *Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini* 12 (1900): 83–98; Ippen, Theodor. *Skutari Und Die Nordalbanische Kustenebene*. Sarajevo: Druck und Verlag, 1907.

4 Degrand, Alexandre. *Souvenirs de La Haute-Albanie*. Paris: H.Welter, 1901.

5 Смирновъ, С. Н. "Монастырь Свв. Сергия и Вакха На Реке Бояна Въ Албани." *Сборникъ Русскаго Археологическаго Общества Въ Королевсва С.Х.С. Белградъ I* (1927).

6 Deroko, Aleksandar. "U Bodinovoј Prestonici. Putopisne Arhitektonske Zabeleske Iz Skadra-Grada Rosafa- i Okoline." *Starinar* 3 (1930): 129–51.

Jastrebov bio u poseti, severna apside crkve već je bila pod vodom. Do sredine dvadesetog veka, kako je reka izmeštala svoje korito, zidovi su, od severoistoka prema jugozapadu, tonuli u vodu usled brze, tekuće struje. O kasnijim devastacijama izveštavali su razni konzuli i ambasadori Skadra, koji su imenovani od strane Francuske, Rusije i Austrougarskog carstva: Theodor Ippen (1899),³ Alexandre Degrand (1901),⁴ Vasilev Smirnov (1927),⁵ a potom dvojica arhitekata Aleksandar Deroko (1930)⁶ i Marjan Musić (1947).⁷ Konačno, poslednji koji

3 Ippen, Theodor, "Stare crkvene ruševine u Albaniji" *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini*, 12 (1900), 83-98; Ippen, Theodor. *Skutari Und Die Nordalbanische Kustenebene*. Sarajevo, Druck und Verlag, 1907.

4 Degrand, Alexandre, *Souvenirs de La Haute-Albanie*. Paris, H.Welter, 1901.

5 Смирновъ, С. Н. "Монастырь Свв. Сергия и Вакха На Реке Бояна Въ Албани." *Сборникъ Русскаго Археологическаго Общества Въ Королевсва С.Х.С. Белградъ I* (1927).

6 Deroko, Aleksandar, "U Bodinovoј Prestonici. Putopisne arhitektonske zabeleske iz Skadra - grada Rosafa - i okoline". *Starinar* 3 (1930): 129–151.

7 Musić, Marjan, "Gradivo za proučavanje srbske srednjeveske

Marjan Music (1947).⁷ Finally, the last one to observe and analyse this church before reaching the current state of deterioration was Aleksandër Meksi (1983).⁸ Music stated that, during his visit, the only part of the church that remained was the south-west angle with fragments of the south and the west wall. The relevant scientific value is more evident in the later analysis of Deroko, Music and Meksi.⁹ However, none of these reports give a comprehensive, full-scale description of the shape of the church at the time.

The church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus was set on one of the most important ports of Helena's Kingdom. What we encounter at the end of thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century, during Queen Helena's rule, is a rich brew of social activities around this particular church. Right next to the church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus was a toll place for the goods brought in ships and a big market. This toll place was the last port where ships could reach the interior of the country. In Helena's state, the *Port 'Sancti Sergii'* was the place where goods were unloaded from vessels, stored in the warehouses, and from there taken by horse into the hinterland.¹⁰ Next to the church, a big festival was held 'a *Panaiuro Sancti Sergii*'.¹¹ Between the river Neretva and the river Bojana, four centres for the trading of salt were allowed, one of which was the port of St. Sergius. Around the church and the piazza were the merchants' houses, travellers' lodgings, and the salt warehouses, various types of hides were sold through the market of St. Sergius to Dubrovnik and Venice; the most sought after lamb and sheep skins.¹² Wood and lumber¹³ were also in demand, as well as copper, silver, and gold,

je posmatrao i analizirao crkvu, pre nego što je dospela u trenutno stanje deteriorizacije, je bio Aleksander Meksi (1983).⁸ Musić je naveo da je tokom njegove posete jedini deo crkve koji je ostao bio jugozapadni ugao sa delovima južnog i zapadnog zida. Relevantna naučna vrednost vidljivija je u kasnijoj analizi Deroka i Musića.⁹ Međutim, nijedan od tih izveštaja ne daje opsežan, celovit opis tadašnje crkve.

Crkva Sv. Sergija i Vakha je postavljena na jednoj od najvažnijih luka Jeleninog kraljevstva. Ono sa čime se susrećemo na kraju trinaestog i početkom četrnaestog veka, za vreme vladavine kraljice Jelene, je živopisna koncentracija društvenih aktivnosti oko manastira Sv. Sergija i Vakha. Odmah do Crkve Sv. Sergija i Vakha nalazilo se mesto za naplatu robe koja je dovožena u brodovima, i velika pijaca. Ova carinarnica bila je poslednja luka gde su brodovi mogli ući u unutrašnjost zemlje. U Jeleninoj državi luka "*Sancti Sergii*" bila je mesto na kojem se roba istovarivala iz ambalaže, čuvala u skladištima, odakle je konjima odvožena u zaleđe.¹⁰ U blizini crkve održavan je veliki festival '*a Panaiuro Sancti Sergii*'.¹¹ Između reke Neretve i reke Bojane dozvoljena je trgovina solju iz četiri centra, od kojih je jedan bio i luka Sv. Sergija. Oko crkve i pijace nalazile su se trgovačke kuće, skloništa za putnike i skladišta soli, a razne vrste kože bile su prodavane preko tržnice Sv. Sergija u Dubrovnik i Veneciju; najtraženije su bile jagnjeća i ovčija koža.¹² Bila je velika potražnja drva i dasaka,¹³ kao i bakra, srebra i zlata, koji su se preko Dubrovnika i Kotora isporučivali u Veneciju.¹⁴ Kraljica je imala ličnog *bailo/baylo* (izvršitelja) u luci.¹⁵ Osnovna dokumenta koja

7 Music, Marjan. "Gradivo Za Proučavanje Srpske Srednjeveške Arhitekture v Okolici Skadra." *Zbornik Zastite Spomenika Kulture* II, no. 1 (1952): 177-86.

8 Meksi, Aleksandër. Arkitektura Mesjetare Në Shqipëri (Shek. VII-XV). Tiranë: Shtëpia Botuese '8 Nëntori', 1983. p 151-155

9 On some of this information art historian Vojislav Korac was later able to offer a plausible reconstruction of the monument. Korac, Vojislav. *Graditeljska Skola Pomorja*. Beograd: Naučno Delo, 1965; Korac, Vojislav. 'Sv. Sergije (Srdj) i Bakh Na Bojani'. *Starinar* 12 (1961)

10 Spremic, M. "Sveti Srdj Pod Mletackom Vlascu." *Zbornik Filozofskog Fakulteta* 1-7 (1963). 296

11 Thalloczy, Ludovicus de, Constantinus Jirecek, and Emilianus de Sufflay. *Acta et Diplomata Res Albaniae Mediae Aetatis Illustrantia*. Volumen II, MCMXVIII. No. 344, 80

12 Čuk, Ruža. *Srbija i Venecija u XIII i XIV Veku*. 111

13 Cremosnik, Gregor. *Kancelarijski i Notarski Spisi 1278-1301*. Beograd: Impresum, 1932. 19, 100-101, 103, 104-105

arhitekture v okolici Skadra". *Zbornik zaštite spomenika kulture*" II, no. 1 (1952), 177-186.

8 Meksi, Aleksandër. Arkitektura Mesjetare Në Shqipëri (Shek. VII-XV). Tiranë: Shtëpia Botuese '8 Nëntori', 1983. p 151-155

9 Na osnovu ove informacije Vojislav Korać je kasnije ponudio verodostojnu rekonstrukciju spomenika. Korać, Vojislav, *Graditeljska škola pomorja*, Beograd : Naučno delo, 1965; Korać, Vojislav, „Sv. Sergije (Srđ) i Bakh Na Bojani". *Starinar* 12 (1961)

10 Spremić, M. „Sveti Srđ Pod Mletackom vlašću." *Zbornik Filozofskog Fakulteta* 1-7 (1963), 296.

11 Thalloczy, Ludovicus de, Constantinus Jirecek, and Emilianus de Sufflay. *Acta et Diplomata Res Albaniae Mediae Aetatis Illustrantia*. Volumen II, MCMXVIII. No. 344, 80.

12 Čuk, Ruža. *Srbija i Venecija u XIII i XIV veku*. 111.

13 Čremošnik, Gregor. *Kancelarijski i notarski spisi 1278-1301*. Beograd : Impresum, 1932, 19, 100-101, 103, 104-105.

14 Čuk, Ruža. *Srbija i Venecija u XIII i XIV veku*. Prosveta, 1986, 108, 100.

15 Thalloczy, Ludovicus de, Constantinus Jirecek, and Emilianus

which were shipped to Venice via Dubrovnik and Kotor.¹⁴ The queen had her own *bailo/baylo* (bailiff) at the port.¹⁵ The primary documents, which thoroughly document busy market life, were collected by L. Thaloczy, C. Jirecek and E. Sufflay and published in *Acta et diplomata Res Albaniae mediae Aetatis Illustrantia* and by G. Cremosnik in *Kancelarijski i Notarski spisi 1278–1301*. From these primary documents, one can conclude that the port was an economically important hub and politically valuable coastal site in the Helena's state. Skadar represented the society that converges and diverges, that pulsates like a bee-hive around the shrine that proved to be fruitful ground for re-invention and adaptation to the new circumstances. This epi-centre of a highly vibrant organism of commerce intertwined in the mutual exchange of traditions, religions, politics from all ports of Adriatic coast and Mediterranean seemed to be a perfect space for the queen to exhibit, through this church, a public manifestation of her piety and power.

Queen Helena's epigraph

The stone slab now situated in the museum of Tirana measures 145 cm in height, 65 cm in width, and 28 cm in depth. (Fig. 2) The stone exhibits a couple of oddities; for example, a small, man-made rectangular crevice at the bottom measuring 12 x 14 x 5 cm carved at the right side of the front of the stone, and the cut from the inner right side along the whole axis that measures 10 x 14 cm. The cut exhibits two deeply pierced holes, which were probably constructed to hold the church entrance door. The inscription is framed and placed in the upper part of the elongated stone and measures 82 cm x 57 cm. The frame is divided in twenty exactly evenly spaced rows with every second row inscribed with text, while the blank ones contain abbreviation marks. The letters are 4 cm high and the depth of the carving is approximately 5-6 mm. The stone slab was placed, according to the photographs



Fig. 2. Dedicatory epigraph of Queen Helena (1290), National Museum in Tirana. Photograph by Marija M. Shipley. Published with permission of Albanian Ministry of Culture and the National Historical Museum in Tirana

Sl. 2. Epigraf Kraljice Jelena (1290), Nacionalni Muzej u Tirani. Fotografija: Marija M. Shipley. Objavljeno sa odobrenjem Ministarstva kulture Albanije i Nacionalnog istorijskog muzeja u Tirani.

temeljno opisuju užurbani tržišni život prikupili su L. Thaloczy, C. Jireček i E. Sufflay i objavili u *Acta et diplomata Res Albaniae mediae Aetatis Illustrantia* i G. Čremošnik u *Kancelarijski i Notarski spisi 1278-1301*. Iz ovih primarnih dokumenata se može zaključiti da je luka bila ekonomski važno središte i politički vredno obalsko područje u Jeleninoj državi. Skadar je predstavljao društvo koje se zbližava i razilazi, koje pulsira poput košnice oko svetilišta koje se pokazalo kao plodno tlo za reinenciju i prilagođavanje novim okolnostima. Ovaj epicentar snažnog,

de Sufflay. *Acta et Diplomata Res Albaniae Mediae Aetatis Illustrantia*. Volumen I, MCMXIII. No. 421, 127.

14 Cuk, Ruza. *Srbija i Venecija u XIII i XIV Veku*. Prosveta, 1986., 108, 100

15 Thaloczy, Ludovicus de, Constantinus Jirecek, and Emilianus de Sufflay. *Acta et Diplomata Res Albaniae Mediae Aetatis Illustrantia*. Volumen I, MCMXIII. No. 421, 127

by Ippen and sketches by Deroko and Music, on the left side of the western (main) entrance, not elevated, but placed right at the foundation of the church with the inscription positioned at the eye level of the visitor.

No similarly sized stone or crevice for the door exists on the right side of the entrance, which suggests that the stone could have been reclaimed from the earlier church or found in the neighboring sites of early Byzantine ruins. For both assumptions there is a plausible explanation. First, the evidence that an earlier church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus existed before Queen Helena's successful attempt to build a new one in 1290 can be found in the collection of documents *Acta Albaniae* where it lists the abbot/archimandrite of the Sts. Sergius and Bacchus as present at the consecration of the St. Triphun Cathedral.¹⁶ There is no extant evidence to show how this previous church looked, nor to explain the circumstances under which it was destroyed. However, there is no doubt that the monastery existed before 1290 since Helena's inscription stated that the church was built *de novo*. Second, the archaeological excavations done by Albanian archaeologist Gezim Hoxha in the nearby village Velinaj-Oblike confirmed the presence of early Justinian architecture.¹⁷ Hoxha found a marble windowsill column and two stone impost capitals, which date to sixth century and are evidence of another early Christian church in the area. Therefore, the slab could have been taken either from the earlier Benedictine church or the early Christian ruin. This could also explain the unusual rectangular crevice at the front bottom of the inscription.

On the west façade of the church, Deroko could still see two stone inscriptions: one mentioning Queen Helena with her sons Stefan Dragutin and Uros Milutin, and the other, only King Milutin as a benefactor. The first inscription dates the church to 1290, and the second names Milutin as a benefactor in 1318. The inscriptions

¹⁶ Thalloczy, Ludovicus de, Constantinus Jirecek, and Emilianus de Sufflay. *Acta et Diplomata Res Albaniae Mediae Aetatis Illustrantia*. Volumen I, MCMXIII, No. 93.

¹⁷ Hoxha, Gezim. "A Return to the History of the Church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus on the Buna Riverbank (Shirqi, Shkodra - Northwestern Albania)." In *New Archaeological Discoveries in the Albanian Regions*, Vol. I. Tirana: Botimet Albanologjike, 2017. 704

živahnog, trgovinskog organizma isprepleten u međusobnoj razmeni tradicija, religija, politike iz svih luka jadranske obale i Sredozemlja, izgledao je kao savršen prostor za kraljicu, koja će uz pomoć ove crkve izložiti javnu manifestaciju njene pobožnosti i moći.

Epigrafi kraljice Jelene

Kamena ploča se sada nalazi u muzeju u Tirani, a njene dimenzije iznose: visina 145 cm, širina 65 cm i debljina 28 cm (Sl. 2). Kamen ima nekoliko neobičnosti; na primer, mala pravougaona pukotina napravljena na dnu, dimenzija 12 x 14 x 5 cm, izrezbarena sa desne strane prednjeg dela kamena, kao i rez sa unutrašnje desne strane koji se prostire duž cele ose i iznosi 10 x 14 cm. Rez sadrži i dve duboke rupe, koje su verovatno napravljene da drže ulazna vrata crkve. Natpis je uokviren i postavljen u gornjem delu izduženog kamena čije su dimenzije 82 x 57 cm. Okvir je podeljen na tačno dvadeset ravnomerno raspoređenih redova gde je svaki drugi red ispisan tekstom, dok prazni redovi sadrže skraćenice. Slova su visoka 4 cm, a dubina rezbarenja je otprilike 5-6 mm. Kamena ploča nije uzdignuta već je postavljena, prema fotografijama Ippena i skicama Deroka i Music-a, na levoj strani zapadnog (glavnog) ulaza, direktno u temelje crkve tako da se natpis nalazi u nivou oka posetioca.

Na desnoj strani ulaza ne postoji kamen ili pukotina slične veličine za vrata, što sugerise da je kamen mogao biti preuzet iz ranije crkve ili pronađen u ruševinama ranovizantijskih, obližnjih lokaliteta. Za obe pretpostavke postoji verodostojno objašnjenje. Prvo, dokaz da je starija Crkva Sv. Sergija i Vakha postojala pre uspešnog pokušaja kraljice Jelene da izgradi novu 1290. godine, može se naći u kolekciji dokumenata *Acta et Diplomata Res Albaniae Mediae Aetatis Illustrantia* gde se nalazi opat / arhimandrit Sv. Sergija i Vakha, koji je prisutan i prilikom posvećenja katedrale svetog Trifuna.¹⁶ Nema postojećih dokaza koji bi pokazali kako

¹⁶ Thalloczy, Ludovicus de, Constantinus Jirecek, and Emilianus de Sufflay. *Acta et Diplomata Res Albaniae Mediae Aetatis Illustrantia*. Volumen I, MCMXIII, No. 93.

were inscribed in stone blocks incorporated into façade. Queen Helena's inscription, carved onto a rectangular sandstone slab, which can be seen from Smirnov's photograph (Fig. 3) was placed on the right side of the main entrance and reads as follows:

1. MEM/en/TO D/omi/NE FAMUL/a/E T/ua/E
2. HELEN/a/E REGINA/a/E SERVI/a/E DVO
3. GLI/a/E ALBANI/a/E CHILMI/a/E DALM
4. ACI/a/E ET MARITM/a/E REGIONI/s
5. QUE VNE CV/m/ FILIIS SVIS REG
6. I/bu/S VROSIO ET STEPHA/n/O /a/EDIFICA
7. VIT D/e/ NOVO IS/ta/M ECCL/es/IA/m/ AD HONO
8. RE/m/ BEATO/rum/ M/a/RTIRU/m/ SERGI/i/ ET
9. BACHI ET AD FINE/m/ VSQ/ue/ CO/m/PLEV
10. IT ANN/o/ D/omi/NI MCCLXXXX¹⁸

The letters are of approximately equal length, height, and width, with carefully measured spaces to fit the frame. Words are planned in such a way to flow and not overlap and are placed between the horizontal lines. The text abounds with abbreviations (the lines with the small hoop: e.g. 'memento domine' in I.1, 'Stephano' in I.6, 'ecclesiam' in I.7). The straight lines are suspension marks, indicating that the end of the word has been omitted (e.g. 'ad honorem beatorum martirum' in II.7-8). But the distinction does not appear to be consistent (e.g. 'cum' in I.5 and 'complevit' in II.9-10).¹⁹ Sometimes, there appears to be no mark indicating an omission (e.g. 'regibus' in I.6-7). Some letters are elided into digraphs (e.g. the first 'ma' in 'martirum', again I.8). By this period, the 'a' has fallen out of 'ae' endings - therefore in classical Latin, the first line should read 'memento domine famulae tuae', the last two words being genitive singular. But

¹⁸ Oh, Lord, remember Thy servant Helena Queen of Serbia, Diocleia, Albania, Chilmie, Dalmatia and the maritime regions, who with her sons Kings Uros and Stefan constructed anew this church in the honour of the blessed martyrs Sergios and Bacchus, finished in the year of the Lord 1290." Unless otherwise indicated, translations are done by me.

¹⁹ For help in detail analysis of this text, I am grateful to Scott Wakeham

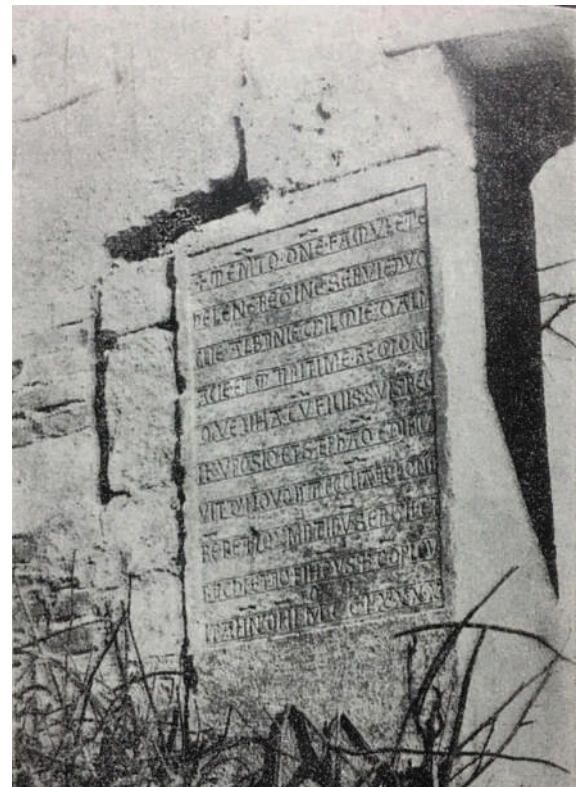


Fig. 3. Helena's inscription, left side of the Western entrance. Photograph by Vasilev Smirnov (1927)

Sl. 3. Natpis Kraljice Jelene na levoj strani zapadnog ulaza. Fotografija Vasilev Smirnov (1927)

je izgledala ova prethodna crkva, niti objasnili okolnosti pod kojima je uništena. Međutim, nema sumnje da je manastir postojao pre 1290. godine jer Jelenin natpis potvrđuje da je crkva sagrađena *de novo*. Drugo, arheološka iskopavanja koja je vodio albanski arheolog Gezim Hoxha, u obližnjem selu Velinaj-Oblike, potvrdila su prisustvo rane Justinijanove arhitekture.¹⁷ Hoxha je pronašao mermerni okvir/ram i dva impost kapitela, koja se datuju u 6. vek i dokaz su još jedne ranohrišćanske crkve u tom području. Stoga je ploča mogla biti preuzeta ili iz ranije benediktinske crkve ili sa ostataka ranohrišćanske. To bi moglo objasniti i neobičnu pravougaonu pukotinu u prednjem, donjem delu natpisa.

Na zapadnoj fasadi crkve Deroko je još uvek mogao videti dva kamena natpisa: jedan koji

¹⁷ Hoxha, Gezim. „A Return to the History of the Church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus on the Buna Riverbank (Shirqi, Shkodra - Northwestern Albania)". In *New Archaeological Discoveries in the Albanian Regions*, Vol. I. Tirana: Botimet Albanologjike, 2017, 704.

in thirteenth century medieval Latin, the last two words are written 'famule tue' (it is worth noting the digraph of the t and u.) The same follows for the next three lines: 'Helen(a)e regin(a)e Servi(a) e...'etc. As most of the marks are fairly standard across Western Europe, the text would exhibit no peculiarities except one unusual oddity in orthography: the letter that looks like a capital H in 'anno domini' in l.10, 'una' in l.5 and 'novo' in l.7. (Fig. 4).

Scholarship about this anomaly is unfortunately non-existent. In conversation with Professor of *Palaeography and Manuscript Studies* Julia Crick (King's College, London),²⁰ exploring many possibilities, one conclusion seemed particularly plausible - that the confusion could be a modern one. A Rustic capital N can easily be mistaken for an H. The examples of it could only be found in manuscripts, as in eleventh-century example from Canterbury,²¹ and a manuscript in Utrecht.²² In light of the palaeographical evidence, it could be suggested that the stonemason was working from the written model and was not versed in Latin - the lettering itself was probably the handiwork of a notary. One must take into account that even Cyrillic script as practiced in the hinterland of the Serbian kingdom used the Latin N, and the modern version H was officially adopted in the nineteenth century during linguistic reforms. Considering the lack of evidence research in this area, in especially in stone inscription, this question should be open for further discussion.

Queen Helena's inscription can be compared with the only other extant example in the area, the St. John church (bishopric) in Svac build during the queen's rule (1300). This inscription was never measured and today is missing from the site. However, according to the unpublished drawings of the west entrance by architect Mirko Kovacevic from 1986,²³ it can be concluded

20 I would like to express my deepest gratitude to Professor Julia Crick for inspiring conversations on the beauty of paleography.

21 later additions to the Vespasian Psalter, fol. 156v; http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=cotton_ms_vespasian_a_i_f002r#

22 Moralium in Job libri I-X, XXIII-XXXV sive pars 1-2, 5-6, page 218; Document can be found on line: <http://objects.library.uu.nl/reader/index.php?obj=1874-339194&lan=en#page//76/55/12/76551288089511074751889191158481570691.jpg/mode/1up>

23 Kovacevic, Jovan. 'Unpublished Archeological Drawings-

spominje kraljicu Jelenu sa sinovima Stefanom Dragutinom i Urošem Milutinom, a drugi, samo kralja Milutina, kao dobrotvora. Prvi natpis datuje crkvu u 1290. godinu, a drugi imenuje Milutina kao ktitora 1318. godine. Natpisi su bili uklesani u kamene blokove ugrađene u fasadu. Natpis kraljice Jelene uklesan je u pravougaonu ploču od peščara, što se može videti sa Smirnovove fotografije (Sl. 3), postavljenu na desnoj strani glavnog ulaza i glasio je:

1. MEM/en/TO D/omi/NE FAMUL/a/E T/ua/E
2. HELEN/a/E REGINA/a/E SERVI/a/E DVO
3. GLI/a/E ALBANI/a/E CHILMI/a/E DALM
4. ACI/a/E ET MARITM/a/E REGIONI/s
5. QUE VNE CV/m/ FILIIS SVIS REG
6. I/bu/S VROSIO ET STEPHA/n/O /a/EDIFICA
7. VIT D/e/ NOVO IS/ta/M ECCL/es/IA/m/ AD HONO
8. RE/m/ BEATO/rum/ M/a/RTIRU/m/ SERGI/i/ ET
9. BACHI ET AD FINE/m/ VSQ/ue/ CO/m/PLEV
10. IT ANN/o/ D/omi/NI MCCLXXX¹⁸

Slova su približno jednake dužine, visine i širine, sa pažljivo odmerenim razmacima kako bi se uklopili u okvir. Reči su postavljene na takav način kao da teku i da se ne preklapaju; smeštene su između horizontalnih linija. Tekst obiluje skraćenicama (redovi sa malim polukružnim znakom, npr. iznad „Memento domine“ u l.1, „Stephano“ u l.6, „ecclesiam“ u l.7). Ravne linije su oznake suspenzije, što ukazuje da je kraj reči izostavljen (npr. „Ad honorem beatorum martirum“ u l.7-8). Međutim, čini se da ova odlika nije dosledna (npr. 'Cum' u l.5 i 'complevit' u l.9-10).¹⁹ Ponekad se čini da nema oznaka koje ukazuju na propust (npr. „Regibus“ u l.6-7). Do ovog perioda 'a' je izostavljeno iz 'ae' završetaka - stoga bi se u klasičnom latinskom jeziku prvi red trebao čitati 'memento domine famulae

18 „O, Gospode, seti se tvoje sluge Jelene kraljice Srbije, Diokleje, Albanije, Chilmie, Dalmacije i pomorskih regija, koja je sa svojim sinovima kraljevima Urošem i Stefanom nanovo izgradila ovu crkvu u čast blaženih mučenika Sergija i Vakha, dovršena u godini Gospodnjoj 1290“. Ako nije drugačije navedeno, prevod sam ja uradila.

19 Za pomoć u analiziranju ovog teksta iskreno sam zahvalna Scott-u Wakehamu.

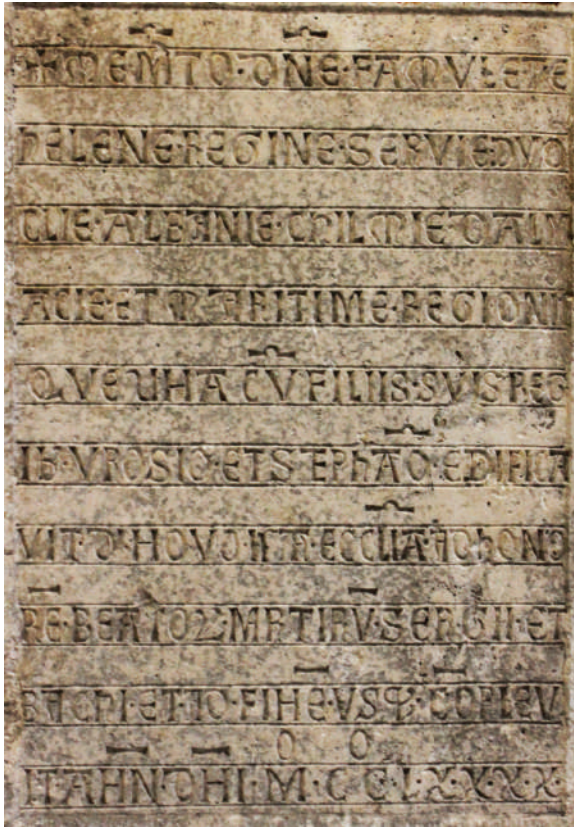


Fig. 4. Inscription of Queen Helena (1290), focus on the text, National Museum in Tirana. Photograph by Marija M. Shipley. Published with permission of Albanian Ministry of Culture and the National Historical Museum in Tirana

Sl. 4. Natpis Kralje Jelene, (1290), focus na sam text, Nacionalni Muzej u Tirani. Fotografija: Marija M. Shipley. Objavljeno sa odobrenjem Ministarstva kulture Albanije i Nacionalnog istorijskog muzeja u Tirani.

that the inscription was significantly smaller than Helena's. The inscription of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus was placed on the left side of the entrance on the eye-level of the viewer entering the church. As such, given its considerable size, it was an unavoidable royal message for the local believers and visitors.

The specific choice of script on Queen Helena's church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus accords with contemporary visual examples across the Adriatic Sea. The choice of a particular type of lettering, as we will learn, was in many cases deliberate and had political associations and implications. This is most evident in places

City of Svac'. Republicki Zavod Za Zastitu Spomenika, 1986.

tuae', a poslednje dve reči su genitiv jednine. Ali, u srednjovekovnom latinskom iz trinaestog veka, poslednje dve reči su napisane „famule tue“ (vredno je napomenuti i dijagram slova t i u) Isto sledi za sledeća tri reda: „Helen (a) e regin (a) e Servi (a) e...“ itd. Kako je većina oznaka prilično standardna u zapadnoj Evropi, tekst ne bi pokazao nikakve osobitosti, osim jedne čudne neobičnosti u ortografiji: slovo koje izgleda kao veliko slovo H u 'anno domini' u l.10, 'una' u l.5 i 'novo' u l.7 (Sl. 4).

Studija o ovoj anomaliji, nažalost, ne postoji. U razgovoru sa profesorkom *Paleografije i Studije Rukopisa* Julia Crick (King's College, London),²⁰ istražujući mnoge mogućnosti, jedan se zaključak činio posebno uverljivim - da bi konfuzija mogla biti moderna. Rustično veliko N se lako može zameniti sa H. Takvi primeri mogu se naći samo u rukopisima, kao što je jedanaestovekovni primer iz Canterbury-a,²¹ i rukopis u Utrechtu.²² U svetlu paleografskih dokaza, može se naslutiti da je klesar radio po pisanom modelu i da nije poznao latinski jezik - verovatno je samo pisanje pisama bilo delo notara. Mora se uzeti u obzir da se čak i u ćirilicom pismu koje je bilo zastupljeno u zaleđu srpske kraljevine, koristilo latinično N, a moderna verzija H zvanično je usvojena u devetnaestom veku, tokom jezičkih reformi. S obzirom na nedostatak istraživačkih dokaza na ovom području, naročito na kamenim natpisima, ovo pitanje bi trebalo biti otvoreno za dalju raspravu.

Natpis kraljice Jelene se može uporediti jedino sa još jednim postojećim primerom na tom području, Crkve Svetog Jovana (katedrala) u Svaču, koja je sagrađena za vreme vladavine kraljice (1300). Ovaj natpis nikada nije bio izmeren, a sada nedostaje sa lokaliteta. Međutim, prema neobjavljenim crtežima zapadnog ulaza arhitekta Mirka Kovačevića iz

20 Takođe bih volela da izrazim moju duboku zahvalnost profesorki Julie Crick na inspirativnim razgovorima o lepoti i značaju paleografije.

21 Kasniji dodaci Vespasian Ssalter, fol. 156v; http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=cotton_ms_vespasian_a_i_f002r#

22 *Moralium in Job libri I-X, XXIII-XXXV sive pars 1-2, 5-6*, strana 218; Dokument se može pronaći na internetu: <http://objects.library.uu.nl/reader/index.php?obj=1874-339194&lan=en#page/76/55/12/76551288089511074751889191158481570691.jpg/mode/1up>

referred to as “contact zones”.²⁴ In Helena’s time, right across the Adriatic, Latin was the language of politics, power, and religion, and alphabetical styles defined ever-changing political, cultural, social, and religious frontiers. Visual presentation of the text, the scale and shape of letters, their material support, and their physical arrangement and positioning played vital roles in communicating various messages.

The Political Context for queen Helena’s Inscription

Paleographical preferences were an official statement of a ruler’s policy in matters of state. The script on the Church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus appears to be a mix of square capitals combined with rustic uncial and uncialesque characters. The marked crossbar at the top of A, spiral G, forking M, uncial H etc., completely correspond with the inscription done during the Papacy of Alexander IV (1254–61) in the church *S. Agnese fuori le mura in Rome*, recording the consecration of certain relics.²⁵ In a series of lectures delivered at Oxford in 1957, Stanley Morison widely discussed the connection between types of script and political contexts. The script used in public inscriptions was very carefully selected and, in the case of Gregory IX (1227–41), almost functioned as part of his insignia of power. He faithfully used the same script in the style of Gregory I and Gregory VII - the old Roman Square Capitals. The precision and consistency of Gregory IX’s inscription seem to suggest that, when Constantine left Rome, he handed over the Empire to the perpetual care of the Roman Pontiff. The power struggle for supremacy on the Apennine peninsula was accentuated by Frederic II using Augustan capitals to show that the Emperor/ ‘SEMPER AVGUSTVS’ (being excommunicated three times by Gregory IX) was in no mood to allow the popes of Rome to appropriate the alphabetical insignia of the creators of the Empire.²⁶ Queen Helena’s inscription

24 Burke, Peter. *Cultural Hybridity*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009. 72

25 Morison, Stanley. *Politics and Script, Aspects of Authority and Freedom in the Development of Graeco-Latin Script from the Sixth-Century BC*. The Lyell Lectures 1957. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972. 246

26 Morison, Stanley. *Politics and Script, Aspects of Authority*

1986. godine²³ može se zaključiti da je natpis bio znatno manji od Jeleninog. Natpis Sv. Sergija i Vakha je bio postavljen na levoj strani ulaza, u visini očnog nivoa gledatelja koji ulazi u crkvu. Kao takav, s obzirom na pozamašnu veličinu, bio je nezaobilazna poruka lokalnim vernicima i posetiteljima.

Specifičan izbor pisma na crkvi kraljice Jelene posvećene Sv. Sergiju i Vakhu, u skladu je sa trenutno poznatim primerima širom Jadranskog mora. Izbor određene vrste slova, kao što ćemo videti, bio je u mnogim slučajevima promišljen i imao je političku svrhu i implikacije. To je najistaknutije na mestima koja se nazivaju „zone kontakata”.²⁴ U Jelenino doba, tačno preko Jadrana, latinski je bio jezik politike, moći i religije, a abecedni stilovi su definisali stalno-promenljive političke, kulturne, društvene i verske granice. Vizualna prezentacija teksta, razmera i oblik slova, njihova materijalna podrška, te njihovo fizičko uređenje i pozicioniranje, igrali su značajne uloge u prenošenju različitih poruka.

Politički kontekst natpisa kraljice Jelene

Paleografske postavke bile su službena izjava vladarske politike u državnim stvarima. Natpis na Crkvi Sv. Sergija i Vakha izgleda da predstavlja mešavinu četvrtasto oblikovanih karaktera, kombinovanih sa rustičnim i uncijalnim elementima. Označena prečka na vrhu A, spirala G, viljuškasto M, veliko H itd., u potpunosti odgovara natpisu nastalom za vreme papinstva Aleksandra IV (1254-61) u crkvi *S. Agnese fuori le mura in Rome*, sudeći prema posvećenju određenih relikvija.²⁵ U nizu predavanja održanih 1957. u Oxfordu, Stanley Morison je naširoko raspravljao o vezi između vrsta pisma i političkog konteksta. Pismo koje se koristilo u javnim natpisima bilo je vrlo pomno odabrano i, u slučaju Grgura IX (1227–41), gotovo da je funkcionisalo kao deo obeležja njegove moći.

23 Kovačević, Jovan, ‘Unpublished Archeological Drawings-City of Svac’. Republički Zavod za zaštitu spomenika, 1986.

24 Burke, Peter. *Cultural Hybridity*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009, 72.

25 Morison, Stanley. *Politics and Script, Aspects of Authority and Freedom in the Development of Graeco-Latin Script from the Sixth-Century BC*. The Lyell Lectures 1957. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972, 246.

corresponded with contemporary papal scripts and subtly displayed the indirect influence of Roman politics and style on the opposite side of the Adriatic Sea.

The society in Skadar, as in all big centres in Helena's state, was not homogenous; it was ethnically mixed, linguistically complex, and socially diverse. The church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus was a place of worship deeply rooted into the tradition of Skadar's diocese and its people. The cult of these two Syrian saints, connected to the famous Syrian city of Rosafa where St. Sergius was martyred, was early established and going strong by the time Nemanjić dynasty came to power. In the Vita of Monk Simeon, Stefan The-First-Crowned (1166-1227) mentions the famous city *Rusaf*, called Skadar, amongst many that his father Stefan Nemanja conquered in 1169.²⁷ Adding to this saintly cult is the tradition of the royal burial ground for the kings of Diokleia. The writer of *Gesta Regum Sclavorum*, wrote that *monasterium sanctorum martyrum Sergii et Bachii* as mausoleum of the old kings of Diokleia. For king Gradihna, writer of GRS describes the lavish funeral: *sepultus est honorifice et cum magnitudine in monasterio sanctorum martyrum Sergii et Bachi minibus filiorum suorum Radoslavi knesii, Ioannis et Bladimiri*.²⁸ This could reflect Helena's decision to inscribe her name and the name of her sons as patrons of the important cult for the region and also to endorse a legitimate claim as beneficiary of the ancient royal dynasties. The size and clarity of her inscription was probably intended to make that connection not only to the congregation of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus but to all travellers in transit of the port.

The dedicatory inscription once placed on the church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus, for almost a century, was kept and preserved in the National Museum in Tirana. It seems that Aleksandar Deroko's plea to the consulate in Shkodër in 1930²⁹,

and Freedom in the Development of Graeco-Latin Script from the Sixth-Century BC. The Lyell Lectures 1957. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972. 244

27 Јухас Георгиевска, Љиљана, ed. "Žitije Stefana Nemanje." In *Stefan Prvovenčani, Domentijan, Teodosije, Žitije Svetoga Simeona*, Antologijska edicija Dесет векова српске књижевности; књ. 2., 39–67. Издавачки центар Матице српске, 2012.

28 Živkovic, Tibor, ed. *Gesta Regum Sclavorum*. Volume I, Beograd: Istorijski Institut, Manastir Ostrog, 2009. p.180, 379

29 Deroko, Aleksandar. 'Kosti Srpskih Vladara u Mulju Bojane'. *Vreme*.

Dosledno je koristio isto pismo u stilu Grgura I i Grgura VII - stara rimska kapitala. Preciznost i doslednost natpisa Grgura IX nagoveštava da je, kad je Konstantin napustio Rim, carstvo predao na trajnu brigu rimskom papi. Borbu za prevlast na Apeninskom poluostrvu naglasio je Frederik II, koristeći augustinsku kapitalu da bi pokazao da car /'SEMPER AVGUSTVS' (kojeg je Grgur IX ekskomunicirao tri puta) nije bio raspoložen da dozvoli papama Rima da prilagode abecedne znakove stvaraoocima Carstva.²⁶ Natpis kraljice Jelene odgovarao je savremenim papskim pismima i prikazivao je suptilan uticaj rimske politike i stila na suprotnoj strani Jadranskog mora.

Društvo u Skadru, kao i u svim velikim centrima Jelenine države, nije bilo homogeno, bilo je etnički mešovito, jezički složeno i društveno raznoliko. Crkva Sv. Sergija i Vakha bila je mesto poštovanja, duboko ukorenjeno u tradiciju Skadarske biskupije i njenih naroda. Kult ovih dvaju sirijskih svetaca, povezanih sa poznatim gradom *Rosafa*, gde je sveti Sergij bio mučen, rano je uspostavljen i jačao je sve do dolaska dinastije Nemanjić na vlast. U Život Monaha Simeona, Stefan Prvovenčani (1166-1227) pominje poznati grad Rusaf zvani Skadar, među mnogima koje je njegov otac Stefan Nemanja osvojio 1169. godine.²⁷ Pisac *Gesta Regum Sclavorum*-a piše *monasterium sanctorum martyrum Sergii et Bachii* kao mauzolej starih kraljeva Duklje. Za kralja Gradihna, pisac GRS-a opisuje raskošnu sahranu: *sepultus est honorifice et cum magnitudine in monasterio sanctorum martyrum Sergii et Bachi minibus filiorum suorum Radoslavi knesii, Ioannis et Bladimiri*.²⁸ To bi se moglo odraziti na Jeleninu odluku da upiše svoje ime i ime svojih sinova kao zaštitnika važnog kulta za region, kao i da potvrdi legitimno pravo kao naslednika/nastavljača drevnih kraljevskih dinastija. Veličina i jasnoća njenog natpisa je verovatno imala nameru učiniti tu vezu ne samo

26 Morison, Stanley. *Politics and Script, Aspects of Authority and Freedom in the Development of Graeco-Latin Script from the Sixth-Century BC*. The Lyell Lectures 1957. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972, 244.

27 Јухас Георгиевска, Љиљана, ed. „Žitije Stefana Nemanje” U: *Stefan Prvovenčani, Domentijan, Teodosije, Žitije Svetoga Simeona*, Antologijska edicija Dесет векова српске књижевности; књ. 2., 39–67. Издавачки центар Матице српске, 2012.

28 Živković, Tibor, ed. *Gesta Regum Sclavorum*. Volume I, Beograd: Istorijski Institut, Manastir Ostrog, 2009. p. 180, 379.

to remove Queen Helena's epigraph from the elements of the open-air into a safer environment, resulted indeed, in its movement to the capital of Albania. By having the opportunity to scrutinise the queen's stone up close, this paper was mainly focused on the analysis of the inscription itself and its peculiarities. Through this analysis, I have tried to contextualise the linguistic and stylistic choices of Queen Helena and address the complicated socio-political currencies streaming from the Apennine side of the Adriatic coast. Words and letters, in this instance, communicated various layers of meaning, filtering the richness and complexities of Queen Helena's dominion.

sa saborom/kongregacijom Crkve Sv. Sergija i Vakha, već i svim putnicima i posetiocima u tranzitu od luke.

Ktitorski natpis sa Crkve Sv. Sergija i Vakha gotovo čitav vek čuvan je u Nacionalnom muzeju u Tirani. Čini se da je molba Aleksandra Deroka u konzulatu u Skadru 1930. godine,²⁹ da se epigraf kraljice Jelene ukloni iz elemenata na otvorenom u sigurnije okruženje, rezultiralo njenim premeštanjem u glavni grad Albanije. Dobivši izuzetnu priliku za pomno ispitivanje kraljičinog kamena izbliza, ovaj rad se uglavnom fokusirao na analizu samog natpisa i njegovih karakteristika. Kroz ovu analizu pokušala sam da kontekstualizujem jezičke i stilističke izbore kraljice Jelene i da se osvrnem na komplikovane društveno-političke struje koje su tekle sa apeninske strane Jadranske obale. Reči i slova, u ovom slučaju, preneli su različite slojeve značenja, filtrirajući bogatstvo i složenosti srednjovekovne države kraljice Jelene.

2nd of February 1930. Archive of Aleksandar Deroko in Serbian Academy of Science and Art (SANU). p.1

29 Deroko, Aleksandar, „Kosti srpskih vladara u Mulju Bojane“. Vreme, 2nd of February 1930. Archive of Aleksandar Deroko in Serbian Academy of Science and Art (SANU). p. 1.

- Burke 2009** - P. Burke, *Cultural Hybridity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Čremošnik, 1932** - G. Čremošnik, *Kancelarijski i Notarski Spisi 1278-1301*. Beograd: Impresum.
- Ćuk 1986** - R. Ćuk, *Srbija i Venecija u XIII i XIV veku*. Prosveta.
- Degrand 1901** - A. Degrand, *Souvenirs de La Haute-Albanie*. Paris: H.Welter.
- Deroko 1930** - A. Deroko, "Kosti Srpskih Vladara u Mulju Bojane". *Vreme*. 2 February 1930. Archive of Aleksandar Deroko in SANU.
- Deroko 1930** - A. Deroko, "U Bodinovoju Prestonici. Putopisne Arhitektonske Zabeleske Iz Skadra - Grada Rosafa i Okoline". *Starinar* 3 (1930): 129–51.
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