

IN BYZANTIUM AND MEDIEVAL RUSSIA  
CREATION OF SACRED SPACES

# НИЕРТОРУ



В ВИЗАНТИИ И ДРЕВНЕЙ РУСИ  
СОЗДАНИЕ САКРАЛЬНЫХ ПРОСТРАНСТВ  
И ЕРТОПИЯ

ЦЕНТР ВОСТОЧНОХРИСТИАНСКОЙ КУЛЬТУРЫ  
RESEARCH CENTRE FOR EASTERN CHRISTIAN CULTURE



# HIEROTOPY

## Creation of Sacred Spaces in Byzantium and Medieval Russia

Edited by Alexei LIDOV



Progress-Tradition  
Moscow

# ИЕРОТОПИЯ

Создание сакральных пространств  
в Византии и Древней Руси

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Сборник статей «Иеротопия. Создание сакральных пространств в Византии и Древней Руси», основанный на материалах Международного симпозиума 2004 г., является частью большой научной программы, в рамках которой уже были изданы книги «Иерусалим в русской культуре» (1994), «Восточнохристианский храм: литургия и искусство» (1994), «Чудотворная икона в Византии и Древней Руси» (1996), «Иконостас: происхождение — развитие — символика» (2000), «Восточнохристианские реликвии» (2003), «Реликвии в Византии и Древней Руси: письменные источники» (2006). В основе настоящего издания лежит новая концепция «иеротопии»: создание сакральных пространств рассматривается как особый вид творчества, изучение которого может составить отдельное направление исторических исследований. Статьи сборника, написанные ведущими отечественными и зарубежными исследователями, посвящены самым разным аспектам создания сакральных пространств, в том числе организации священной среды города, монастыря или храма, ее воздействию на развитие восточнохристианской иконографии, а также особой роли чудотворных икон и реликвий в формировании конкретных сакральных пространств. При этом анализируются явления от первых веков христианства до позднего средневековья как в столицах, так и в удаленных регионах огромного византийского мира.

Издание предназначено для всех, интересующихся духовным наследием православия, историей искусства и культуры Византии и Древней Руси.

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## ОТ РЕДАКТОРА

Предлагаемый вниманию читателей сборник основывается на материалах Международного симпозиума, подготовленного Центром восточнохристианской культуры и проведенного совместно с Государственной Третьяковской галереей в июне 2004 г.<sup>1</sup> Сборник статей «Иеротопия. Создание сакральных пространств в Византии и Древней Руси» является частью большой научной программы по изучению содержательных основ восточнохристианской культуры. Она осуществляется Центром восточнохристианской культуры, начиная с 1991 г. В рамках этой программы были проведены международные симпозиумы: «Иерусалим в русской культуре» (1991), «Восточнохристианский храм: литургия и искусство» (1993), «Чудотворная икона в Византии и Древней Руси» (1994), «Иконостас: происхождение — развитие — символика» (1996), «Реликвии в искусстве и культуре восточнохристианского мира» (2000). Научные результаты нашли отражение в серии тематических сборников статей<sup>2</sup>. Во всех научных проектах так или иначе затрагивалась проблематика сакрального пространства. Она нашла наиболее яркое отражение в последней книге о восточнохристианских реликвиях.

*А. М. Лидов*

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<sup>1</sup> Издан сборник тезисов докладов и материалов симпозиума: Иеротопия. Исследование сакральных пространств / Ред.-сост. А. М. Лидов. М., 2004.

<sup>2</sup> Иерусалим в русской культуре / Ред.-сост. А. Баталов, А. Лидов. М., 1994 (американская версия: Jerusalem in Russian Culture / Ed. A. Batalov and A. Lidov. New York — Athens, 2005); Восточнохристианский храм: литургия и искусство / Ред.-сост. А. М. Лидов. СПб., 1994; Чудотворная икона в Византии и Древней Руси / Ред.-сост. А. М. Лидов. М., 1994; Иконостас: происхождение — развитие — символика / Ред.-сост. А. М. Лидов. М., 2000; Восточнохристианские реликвии / Ред.-сост. А. М. Лидов. М., 2003.

## FOREWORD

The present collection of articles is based on the material from an international symposium which was held in Moscow in 2004<sup>1</sup>. It is a logical development of a large research program of the Research Centre for Eastern Christian Culture, in which framework five international conferences, and respectively collections of papers, took place already. Allow me just to remind you the titles: Jerusalem in Russian Culture 1991, Eastern Christian Church: Liturgy and Art 1993, Miracle-working Icon in Byzantium and Old Rus' 1994, Iconostasis. Origins-evolution-symbolism 1996, Eastern Christian Relics 2000<sup>2</sup>. The problematic of sacred space has been touched in all research projects, yet in the latest book on Eastern Christian Relics it became a focus of research<sup>3</sup>.

*Alexei Lidov*

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<sup>1</sup> Hierotopy. Studia in the Making of Sacred Spaces / Ed. A. Lidov. Moscow, 2004.

<sup>2</sup> Jerusalem in Russian Culture / Ed. A. Batalov, A. Lidov. New York — Athens, 2005 (a Russian edition of 1994), Vostochnokhristiansky khram: Liturgia i iskusstvo (Eastern Christian Church: Liturgy and Art) / Ed. A. Lidov. St. Petersburg, 1994; Chudotvornaia ikona v Vizantii i Drevnei Rusi (The Miracle-Working Icon in Byzantium and Old Rus') / Ed. A. Lidov. Moscow, 1996; Iconostasis. Origins — evolution — symbolism / Ed. A. Lidov. Moscow, 1996.

<sup>3</sup> Eastern Christian Relics / Ed. A. Lidov. Moscow, 2003.







А. М. Лидов

ИЕРОТОПИЯ.  
СОЗДАНИЕ САКРАЛЬНЫХ ПРОСТРАНСТВ  
КАК ВИД ТВОРЧЕСТВА И ПРЕДМЕТ  
ИСТОРИЧЕСКОГО ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯ

Исследования последнего времени позволяют понять, что важнейшее историко-культурное значение реликвий и чудотворных икон состояло в той роли, которую они играли в организации конкретных сакральных пространств<sup>1</sup>. Реликвии и особо почитавшиеся иконы становились конституирующей основой, своеобразным стержнем в формировании определенной пространственной среды. Она включала как постоянно видимые архитектурные формы и разного рода изображения, так и регулярно менявшиеся литургические ткани и драгоценную утварь, световые эффекты и запахи, обрядовые жесты и молитвословия, которые каждый раз создавали уникальный пространственный комплекс. В некоторых случаях такая среда могла складываться стихийно. Однако существует много примеров, особенно в древней традиции, когда мы вправе говорить о задуманных и последовательно реализованных проектах, которые могут и должны быть рассмотрены в ряду важнейших исторических документов.

На наш взгляд, почти полное отсутствие научных работ в данном направлении во многом связано с тем, что в современном языке нет адекватного термина-понятия, обозначающего эту сферу деятельности. Широко распространенный термин «сакральное пространство» не мог в полной мере соответствовать задаче, поскольку имеет слишком общий

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<sup>1</sup> Имеются в виду научные программы Центра восточнохристианской культуры, нашедшие отражение в ряде публикаций. См.: Чудотворная икона в Византии и Древней Руси / Ред.-сост. А. М. Лидов. М., 1996; *Лидов А. М.* Священное пространство реликвий // Христианские реликвии в Московском Кремле / Ред.-сост. А. М. Лидов. М., 2000, с. 3–18; *Лидов А. М.* Реликвии как стержень восточнохристианской культуры // Восточнохристианские реликвии / Ред.-сост. А. М. Лидов. М., 2003, с. 5–10.

характер, описывая практически всю сферу религиозного. Несколько лет назад было предложено новое понятие — «иеротопия»<sup>2</sup>. Сам термин построен по принципу сочетания греческих слов «иерос» (священный) и «топос» (место, пространство, понятие), точно так же, как и многие слова, укоренившиеся в современном сознании за последние сто лет (к примеру, иконография). Суть понятия может быть сформулирована следующим образом: *иеротопия — это создание сакральных пространств, рассмотренное как особый вид творчества, а также как специальная область исторических исследований, в которой выявляются и анализируются конкретные примеры данного творчества*. Задача иеротопии на современном этапе состоит в осознании существования особого и весьма крупного явления, нуждающегося в определении границ его исследовательского поля и разработке специальных методов изучения.

Как представляется, наибольшую проблему в иеротопии составляет сама категория «сакрального», которая предполагает реальное «присутствие Божие» и не отделима от «чудотворного», то есть не связанного с деянием рук человеческих. Выдающийся теоретик культуры и антрополог Мирче Элиаде, посвятивший ряд книг феномену сакрального, ввел специальную категорию «иерофания»: «Всякое священное пространство предполагает какую-либо иерофанию, некое вторжение священного, в результате чего из окружающего космического пространства выделяется какая-либо территория, которой придаются качественно отличные свойства»<sup>3</sup>. В качестве характерного примера иерофании М. Элиаде приводит знаменитый библейский сюжет о «сне Иакова», рассказывающий о лестнице с ангелами, соединившей небо и землю, гласе Божьем и строительстве алтаря на святом месте (Быт. 28: 12–22).

Воспользуемся именно этим сюжетом для того, чтобы разграничить *иерофанию* и *иеротопию* и, соответственно, артикулировать специфику нашего подхода. В библейском рассказе описание собственно иеротопического проекта начинается с пробуждения Иакова, который, вдохновленный сном-откровением, начинает создавать сакральное пространство, которое должно превратить конкретное место в «дом Божий и врата небесные». Он устанавливает камень, служивший ему изголовьем, подобно памятнику, на который, как на первоалтарь, возливает елей, производит переименование места, принимает обеты (Быт. 28: 16–22). Так Иаков, как и все его последователи-храмоздатели, соз-

<sup>2</sup> Понятие и термин были сформулированы в 2001 г. и впервые обоснованы в моем докладе «The Byzantine Hierotopy. Miraculous Icons in Sacred Space», прочитанном 14 января 2002 г. в немецком институте истории искусства в Риме (Bibliotheca Hertziana).

<sup>3</sup> *Eliade M. Le sacré et le profane*. Paris, 1964. Эта же работа: *Элиаде М. Священное и мирское* / Пер. Н. К. Гарбовского. М., 1994, с. 25.

дает реальную пространственную среду, которая вызвана к жизни иерофанией, содержит образ откровения, но, как создание человеческих рук, отличается от божественного видения.

Приобщение к чудотворному, соотнесение с ним определяет замысел пространственного образа, но само по себе божественное откровение находится вне сферы человеческого творчества, в которое, тем не менее, входит и воспоминание иерофании, и ее актуализация всеми доступными средствами, и сохранение видимого, слышимого, осязаемого образа. По-видимому, именно постоянное сопряжение и интенсивное взаимодействие иерофании (мистического) и иеротопии (плода ума и рук человеческих) определяет самые существенные черты создания сакральных пространств, понятого как вид творчества. Заметим также, что подход, используемый М. Элиаде для анализа структуры мифа и его символики, имеет принципиально другой фокус и иное исследовательское поле в сравнении нашими задачами, что, однако, не препятствует его использованию в иеротопических реконструкциях.

Иеротопия как тип деятельности глубоко укоренена в природе человека, который в процессе осознания себя духовным существом вначале стихийно, а потом осмысленно формирует конкретную среду своего общения с высшим миром. Создание сакральных пространств можно сравнить с изобразительным творчеством, также относящимся к визуальной культуре и неосознано проявляющимся на самых ранних этапах формирования личности. Однако в отличие от изображений, создаваемых в сложившейся культурной парадигме, включающей первые уроки рисования и академии изящных искусств, науку искусствоведения и художественный рынок, — создание сакральных пространств просто не было увидено и осмыслено как самостоятельное явление и, соответственно, не было включено в культурный и научный контекст новоевропейской цивилизации.

Позитивистская идеология XIX в., в рамках которой сформировалось большинство из существующих ныне гуманитарных дисциплин, не видела в «эфемерном» сакральном пространстве предмета исследования: большинство дисциплин было связано с конкретными материальными объектами, будь то картины или памятники архитектуры, народные обряды или тексты. Также и создание сакральных пространств не получило своего места в сложившейся системе гуманитарного знания, структура которого была predeterminedена «предметоцентричной моделью» описания мира. Следовательно, не была сформулирована специальная область исследования, и, соответственно, не возникла легитимная дисциплина, предполагающая самостоятельную методологию и понятийный язык.

При этом нельзя сказать, что проблематика сакрального пространства в науке не обсуждалась: различные аспекты темы затрагиваются религиоведением, философией, культурологией, искусствоведением, археологией, этнологией, фольклористикой, филологией. Однако они решали задачи своих дисциплин, выделяли ту или иную грань явления, не пытаясь осмыслить его как самодостаточное целое.

Исследование сакральных пространств несомненно предполагает использование некоторых традиционных подходов истории искусства, археологии, этнологии, литургики, богословия, философии, религии и других дисциплин, не совпадая при этом ни с одной из них. Иеротопию невозможно свести только к миру художественных образов, как и к совокупности материальных предметов, организующих сакральную среду, или к описанию ритуалов и социальных механизмов, их определяющих. Обряд в иеротопических проектах играет значимую роль, но не менее важными представляются и собственно художественная и богословско-литургическая составляющие, которые обычно не изучаются в рамках этнологии и социо-антропологии. При этом иеротопический замысел не удастся описать как простое соединение различных форм художественного творчества, пользуясь хорошо известным концептом синтеза искусств, который приобрел исключительное значение в эпоху модернизма. Именно этот аспект вызывает возражения в выдающейся по глубине и оригинальности мысли работе о Павла Флоренского «Храмовое действо как синтез искусств»<sup>4</sup>, в которой ставится вопрос о высшей художественности всех компонентов богослужения вне постановки проблемы создания сакральных пространств. Божественное и эстетическое рассматриваются им как единая стихия в духе неоромантических идеологов эпохи (ср. с «цветомузыкой» А. Скрябина), явившихся своего рода кульминацией процесса сакрализации эстетического, начавшегося в эпоху Возрождения<sup>5</sup>. В контексте иеротопии пространство не может быть представлено как сколь угодно сложный синтез артефактов, поскольку имеет принципиально иную порождающую матрицу.

Иеротопический подход позволяет выявить эту матрицу, определявшую структурный замысел конкретного пространства, которому были соподчинены все видимые, слышимые и осязаемые формы. Важно осознать, что практически все предметы религиозного искусства изна-

<sup>4</sup> Флоренский П. А. Иконостас. Избранные труды по искусству. СПб., 1993, с. 285–305.

<sup>5</sup> Об этих явлениях в XIX–XX вв. см.: Мурина Е. Б. Проблемы синтеза пространственных искусств. М., 1982. См. также: Соколов М. Н. Ab arte restaurata. О сакральности эстетического в «иеротопии» Нового времени // Иеротопия. Исследование сакральных пространств. Материалы междунар. симпозиума / Ред.-сост. А. М. Лидов. М., 2004, с. 47–52. Полный текст статьи публикуется в книге: Иеротопия. Сравнительные исследования / Ред.-сост. А. М. Лидов. М., 2006 (в печати).

чально задумывались как конституирующие элементы «иеротопического проекта», включенные во взаимосвязанную структуру особого сакрального пространства. Однако мы, за редкими исключениями, практически не «спрашиваем» художественные памятники об этой родовой особенности, очевидно, многое определившей в их внешнем облике.

Утверждение в научном сознании понятия «иеротопия», самой возможности иеротопического подхода как дополнительной формы видения позволит, на наш взгляд, не только по-новому взглянуть на многие привычные явления, но существенно расширить область исторических исследований. Знаменательно, что целые формы творчества не получили своего места в науке и практически не описывались именно из-за отсутствия иеротопического подхода, не связанного с позитивистской классификацией предметов. К примеру, такое огромное явление, как драматургия света, оказалось вне границ традиционных специальностей, не попадая прямо в контекст ни истории искусства, ни этнологии, ни литургики. При этом мы точно знаем из письменных источников (например, византийских монастырских уставов), насколько детально разрабатывалась система световозжиганий, динамически менявшаяся в процессе богослужения<sup>6</sup>. В определенные моменты свет выделял отдельные изображения или священные предметы, организуя как восприятие всего храмового пространства, так и логику прочтения его наиболее значимых элементов<sup>7</sup>. Справедливо употребить слово «драматургия», поскольку художественно-драматическая составляющая в этом творчестве была ничуть не меньше обрядово-символической<sup>8</sup>.

Сказанное относится и к сфере создания запахов, предполагающей каждый раз особое сочетание сочетаний, благоухания восковых свечей и ароматического масла в лампадах. Каждый участвовавший в право-

<sup>6</sup> Характерный пример дает Типикон константинопольского монастыря Пантократора: *Бутырский М. Н.* Византийское богослужение у иконы согласно Типику монастыря Пантократора 1136 г. // Чудотворная икона в Византии и Древней Руси / Ред.-сост. А. М. Лидов. М., 1996, с. 154–157; *Congdon E.* Imperial Commemoration and Ritual in the Typikon of the Monastery of Christ Pantokrator // *Revue des études byzantines*, 54 (1996), p. 169–175, 182–184. О световозжиганиях см. также: *Theis L.* Lampen, Leuchten, Licht // *Byzanz — das Licht aus dem Osten: Kult und Alltag im Byzantinischen Reich vom 4. bis zum 15. Jahrhundert*, Katalog der Ausstellung im Erzbischöflichen Diözesanmuseum Paderborn / Ed. Chr. Stiegemann. Mainz, 2001, S. 53–64.

<sup>7</sup> Речь идет как о световозжиганиях, так и об естественном солнечном свете, эффекты которого точно и изысканно использовались средневековыми храмоздателями: *Potamianos I.* Light into Architecture. Evocative Aspects of Natural Light as Related to Liturgy (Ph. D. Diss. University of Michigan, 1996).

<sup>8</sup> О символично-литургических аспектах этой драматургии и громадном значении света в византийских описаниях важнейших храмов см.: *Isar N.* Choros of Light: Vision of the Sacred in Paulus the Silentiary's poem Descriptio S. Sophiae // *Byzantinische Forschungen*, 28 (2004), p. 215–242.

славном богослужении знает, какую огромную роль в восприятии храмового пространства играет пахнувший ладаном дым от кадилниц, который то появляется, то исчезает, создавая колеблющуюся призрачную среду, преображающую все видимые предметы и изображения. Могут заметить, что каждения регулируются утвержденными чинопоследованиями. Однако сами чинопоследования существенно менялись на протяжении веков<sup>9</sup>. Кроме того, конкретная ситуация каждого храма или городской среды определяют формы каждений в зависимости от местных традиций, характера архитектуры, особо почитаемых в данном храме святых мощей и чудотворных икон. Немаловажным фактором является образованность и одаренность священнослужителей, в этой сфере не менее важная, чем, например, в церковных песнопениях.

Словом, создание запахов предполагает индивидуально творческое начало, которое в ряде случаев еще и концептуально продумано. Христианская культура унаследовала в этой области великие традиции Древнего Востока, воспринятые через богослужебную традицию ветхозаветного храма<sup>10</sup>. Обращение как к иудейским, так и древнеримским письменным источникам не оставляет сомнения, что индивидуальные драматургии света и запахов практически всегда были частью конкретного замысла сакрального пространства. Иеротопический подход позволит сформировать для этих явлений адекватное научное поле, в котором различные культурные явления смогли бы изучаться как составляющие единого проекта.

Решению этой на первый взгляд несложной задачи препятствует фундаментальный стереотип сознания. В основе позитивистского универсума лежит сам предмет, вокруг которого выстраивается весь процесс исследования, как бы далеко в разные стороны от этого предмета мы не отходили. Однако сейчас становится все более ясным, что центром универсума в представлениях носителей древней и средневековой религиозной традиции было невещественное и одновременно реально существующее пространство, вокруг которого выстраивался мир предметов, звуков, запахов и иных эффектов. Иеротопический подход позволяет увидеть художественные объекты в контексте другой модели мира и прочитывать их по-новому.

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<sup>9</sup> Христианизации древнеримской императорской традиции в этой сфере посвящено исследование: *Caseau B. Euodia: The Use and Meaning of Fragrance in the Ancient World and their Christianization, 100–900* (Ph. D. Diss., Princeton University, 1994).

<sup>10</sup> *Heger P. The Development of Incense Cult in Israel. Berlin — New York, 1997.* См. также тезисы М. Баркер (Иеротопия. Исследование сакральных пространств..., с.73–75) и статью: *Barker M. Fragrance in the making of sacred space: Jewish Temple paradigms of Christian worship // Иеротопия. Сравнительные исследования / Ред.-сост. А. М. Лидов. М., 2006* (в печати).

Не отрицая значения источниковедческого, стилистического и иконографического подходов, как и любого внешнего описания предметов, иеротопия позволяет открыть пока еще не востребованный источник информации, который заложен в интересующих нас художественных объектах. Вместе с тем повторим: иеротопический подход не является специфически искусствоведческим, хотя и способен существенно обновить методологию традиционной историей искусства. Речь идет о временном уходе с «предметоцентричного» поля для того, чтобы вернуться в эту сферу исследований с «новыми глазами» и увидеть, когда это возможно, в занимающем нас артефакте его фундаментальную составляющую, заложенную в породившей его пространственной концепции.

Продолжая размышления о границах истории искусства, мы задаемся вопросом: почему история средневекового искусства оказалась сведена к «предметотворчеству», а роль художника ограничена сферой более или менее высокого ремесла? Не пора ли расширить контекст за счет введения особой фигуры создателя сакрального пространства?<sup>11</sup> Речь идет не о создателе «художественных предметов», будь то архитектурные формы, скульптурная декорация, живописные работы, литургическая утварь или ткани. В то же время его роль не сводима к финансированию проекта, она имела очень важную художественную составляющую. В определенном смысле создатель сакрального пространства являлся художником, чье творчество напоминает деятельность современных кинорежиссеров, организующих работу самых разных мастеров. С этой точки зрения создатели сакральных пространств должны быть рассмотрены как явление истории искусства.

Такие личности хорошо известны, но их истинная роль сокрыта за общим наименованием «заказчики». Однако отнюдь не все заказчики были создателями сакрального пространства, хотя во многих случаях их функции совпадали.

В западно-европейской традиции знаковой фигурой в этом отношении может быть признан аббат Сугерий, создавший в сороковых годах XII в. концепцию первого готического пространства в соборе Сен-Дени<sup>12</sup>. Функции Сугерия не могут быть сведены ни к финансированию, ни к подбору кадров, ни к богословской программе, ни к разработке новых обрядов, ни к художественному проектированию, иконографическим или стилистическим инновациям, хотя он зани-

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<sup>11</sup> Этой теме был посвящен наш доклад «Создатель сакрального пространства как феномен византийской культуры» на конференции «Художник в Византии» (Пиза, ноябрь 2003) — см.: *Lidov A. The Creator of Sacred Space as a Phenomenon of Byzantine Culture // The Artist in Byzantium / Ed. M. Bacci. Pisa, 2006.*

<sup>12</sup> *Panofsky E. Abbot Suger and Its Art Treasures on the Abbey Church of St.-Denis. Princeton, 1979.*



мался всеми этими вопросами. Однако, как ясно из трактатов самого Сугерия, свою главную задачу он видел в создании особой пространственной среды<sup>13</sup>. Она создавалась различными способами, включая как обычные художественные средства, так и особые «инсталляции» из реликвий, архитектурных устройств, свечей и лампад, «оживавших» в специальных богослужебных обрядах. Многочисленные стихотворные надписи, расположенные в наиболее важных частях церкви, служили своего рода комментариями, раскрывающими замысел сакрального пространства. В этих комментариях содержится ключ к пониманию драматургии света, которая определяла новую пространственную концепцию собора Сен-Дени<sup>14</sup>. Знаменательно, что Сугерий прямо указывает на свои образцы в Иерусалиме и Константинополе, особенно в Святой Софии. Очевидно, что речь не идет об особенностях архитектуры или храмовой декорации, разительно отличавшихся от первого готического здания. По всей видимости, Сугерий имеет в виду образы пространства, которые создавались великими императорами и становились во всем христианском мире источником вдохновения и примером для подражания.

Действительно, пример Юстиниана как святого «строителя» Великой Церкви стал на века образцом для византийских императоров, которые довольно часто выступали в роли создателей сакральных пространств. Роль Юстиниана, отбравшего главных мастеров и направлявшего усилия тысяч ремесленников, была убедительно описана его современником и биографом Прокопием в VI в.<sup>15</sup>, а также красноречиво представлена в «Сказании о строительстве Святой Софии» («*Diegesis peritias Agias Sofias*»), отразившем как исторические факты, так и мифологемы, существовавшие в Византии IX–X вв.<sup>16</sup>. Это не просто восхваление всемогущего правителя, но попытка показать истинную роль императора. Прокопий специально отмечает, что деятельность Юстиниана не сводилась лишь к финансированию — император вкладывал в создание Великой Церкви весь свой ум и душевные силы (*De Aedificis*, I.67), участвуя в решении чисто архитектурных вопросов и в этом активно сотрудничая с зодчими Анфимием из Тралл и Исидором из Милета, которым он давал оригинальные советы (*De Aedificis*, I.68–73).

В «Сказании о строительстве Св. Софии» полупоэтический образ создателя уникального сакрального пространства окончательно сло-

<sup>13</sup> См. например, 'De rebus in administratione sua gestis': Ibid., p. 62–65.

<sup>14</sup> Современный анализ неоплатонических истоков концепции аббата Сугерия см.: Harrington L. M. *Sacred Place in Early Medieval Neoplatonism*. New York, 2004, p. 158–164.

<sup>15</sup> *De Aedificis in Procopii Caesariensis Opera Omnia*. Lipsiae, 1962–1963; Прокопий Кесарийский. Война с готами. О постройках / Пер. С. П. Кондратьева. М., 1996, I.21–78, с. 147–154.

<sup>16</sup> *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum* / Ed. Th. Preger. Bd. 2. Leipzig, 1907; *Dagron G. Constantinople imaginaire. Études sur le recueil des Patria*, Paris, 1984.

жился<sup>17</sup>. Мы узнаем, что образ Великой Церкви был открыт императору ангелом, явившемся во сне-видении (*Diegesis*, 8). В другом эпизоде ангел, облаченный в императорские одеяния и пурпурные сандалии, является одному из зодчих, повелевая ему сделать три окна в алтарной апсиде как символ Святой Троицы (*Diegesis*, 12). Согласно Сказанию, Юстиниан руководил всем украшением церкви, включая организацию алтарного пространства (*Diegesis*, 16, 17), систему многочисленных дверей и разделение пространства центрального нефа на четыре сакральные зоны при помощи так называемых «райских рек» (*Diegesis*, 26), следы которых еще и сейчас видны на мраморном полу храма (ил. 1)<sup>18</sup>. Кроме того, по приказу Юстиниана в купол и колонны Св. Софии были вложены реликвии. При помощи перенесения прославленных реликвий император создал особые пространственные зоны внутри церкви. Характерный пример — Колодец Самарянки, который по приказу императора был перенесен из Самарии и установлен в юго-восточном углу храма, воспроизводя там конкретную часть Святой Земли. Все виды деятельности Юстиниана по созданию Святой Софии от самых конкретных до высокохудожественных могут быть осмыслены как единое целое — внутренне организованное, хотя, на первый взгляд, и немного странное сочетание различных занятий.

Знаменательно, что такое же сочетание форм деятельности можно найти в Библии, описывающей, как Соломон создает Ветхозаветный храм<sup>19</sup>. Именно с Соломоном состязается Юстиниан, строя свою «Великую церковь». Вспомним сюжет из Сказания, когда во время церемониального входа в только что построенную Св. Софию Юстиниан вбежал на амвон, воздел руки и торжественно возгласил: «*Слава Богу, удостоившему меня совершить такое дело. Я победил тебя, Соломон*» (*Diegesis*, 27)<sup>20</sup>.

Состязание с царем Соломоном, прославленным создателем величайшего храма, являлось устойчивой парадигмой поведения для средневековых правителей-храмоздателей, работающих над каким-либо крупным проектом<sup>21</sup>. Принципиальное значение для этих сопоставлений имело то, что Соломон только реализовывал божественный проект, которым руководил сам Господь. Византийские императоры, стремив-

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> *Majeska G.* Notes on the Archeology of St. Sophia at Constantinople: the Green Marble Bands on the Floor // *DOP*, 32 (1978), p. 299–308.

<sup>19</sup> *Scheja G.* Hagia Sophia und Templum Salomonis // *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, 12 (1962), p. 44–58.

<sup>20</sup> *Koder J.* Justinians Sieg über Solomon in Thymiana. Athens, 1994, p. 135–142.

<sup>21</sup> *The Temple of Solomon. Archeological Fact and Medieval Tradition in Christian, Islamic and Jewish Art / Ed. J. Gutmann.* Missouls, 1976.

шиеся сравниться с Соломоном и даже превзойти его, всегда помнили, что ведущая роль в создании Храма или любого другого сакрального пространства принадлежит самому Господу. Всякий раз они лишь воплощали замысел, следуя наставлениям всемогущего Создателя. Более того, все правители помнили о высшем прототипе своей храмоздательной деятельности, описанном в Книге Исход (Исх. 25–40), в которой именно Господь является создателем сакрального пространства Скинии. Он наставляет Моисея на горе Хорив, излагая ему весь проект скинии, от общей структуры пространства до деталей технологии изготовления священных одежд. Характерно, что этот комплексный проект определяется в Библии словом *'tavnit'*, что означает одновременно образ, модель и проект. Бог выбрал мастера Бецалея для практической реализации своего проекта, создавая на века модель отношений между создателями сакральных пространств и «создателями предметов», красноречиво названных в библейском тексте «умельцами» (Исх. 35: 30–35)<sup>22</sup>. Создание сакральных пространств земными правителями может быть рассмотрено как иконическое поведение по отношению к Владыке небесному. Далеко выходящее за границы обычных представлений о заказе, оно должно стать сюжетом более подробного исследования, предполагающего целый ряд исторических реконструкций конкретных сакральных пространств.

Один из таких замыслов, связанный с чудотворными иконами в Софии Константинопольской и императором Львом Мудрым (886–912), был недавно реконструирован<sup>23</sup>. Как позволяют судить прямые и косвенные свидетельства разнообразных источников, император Лев соединил в одной пространственной программе почитаемые реликвии и чудотворные иконы, настенные мозаики и располагавшиеся рядом с ними стихотворные надписи, особые обряды и образы из письменных и устных сказаний, которые возникали в памяти входящего при виде конкретных святынь. Все вместе, сознательно собранные и представленные как некое целое, они создавали особую пространственную среду Императорских врат Св. Софии — главного входа в главный храм империи (ил. 2). Важнейшей составляющей среды, ее невидимым стержнем были постоянно происходившие в этом пространстве чудотворения, о которых сообщают многочисленные паломники. В некотором смысле сами границы среды были определены зоной особых чудотворений.

<sup>22</sup> В новом научном переводе Ветхого Завета используется именно это слово, в отличие от канонического туманного «мудрые сердцем»: Ветхий Завет. Перевод с древнееврейского: Книга Исхода / Пер. и ком. М. Г. Селезнева и С. В. Тищенко. М., 2001, с. 102–103.

<sup>23</sup> Lidov A. Leo the Wise and the miraculous icons in Hagia Sophia // The Heroes of the Orthodox Church: New Saints of the Eighth to Sixteenth Centuries / Ed. E. Kountoura-Galaki. Athens, 2004, p. 393–432.

Главным действующим лицом в пространственной драматургии, воплощавшей доминирующую идею покаяния как пути к спасению, была чудотворная икона Богоматери Иерусалимской, говорившая с Марией Египетской и указавшая ей путь спасения и возможность искупления грехов<sup>24</sup>. Знаменательно, что эта икона, ранее находившаяся у входа в базилику Гроба Господня в Иерусалиме, была расположена Львом Мудрым также у входа, но уже в Константинополе — у Императорских врат Святой Софии. Таким образом, устанавливалось мистическое единство пространств двух великих храмов: образ Иерусалимской святыни со своим ореолом литературных ассоциаций и символических смыслов переносился в Константинопольский храм, где становился частью другого пространственного образа — нового иеротопического проекта.

Идея перенесения сакрального пространства была ключевой в замысле византийского императора, и это только один пример разветвленной практики, составлявшей едва ли не главное направление средневековой иеротопии. С этим явлением связана сложнейшая проблема различения «святого места» и «священного пространства», которое мы иногда объединяем более общим понятием «топос»<sup>25</sup>. Перенесение пространственного образа не означает исчезновение места, более того — топографическая вещественная конкретность определяет чудотворную природу и действенную силу пространственного образа. Иеротопическое творчество с разной степенью буквальности — от несколько эфемерного до почти копийного — устанавливает тончайшую систему взаимодействия неподвижного места-матрицы и «летающего» пространства, которое в любой момент могло найти материальное воплощение на новом месте. Здесь можно вспомнить череду проектов по воссозданию Святой Земли в странах Востока и Запада. Назовем в их числе лишь Фаросскую церковь в Константинополе, в которой, как в византийском Гробе Господнем, были собраны все главные реликвии Страстей Христовых<sup>26</sup>; знаменитое Campo Santo в Пизе, для которого в XIII в. из Иерусалима на кораблях была привезена реальная «святая земля», покрывшая целое поле, затем окруженное уникальным кладбищем-галереей (ил. 4); наконец, прославленный проект патриарха Никона и царя Алексея Михайловича, соединившего в своем под-

<sup>24</sup> Лидов А. М. Чудотворные иконы в храмовой декорации. О символической программе императорских врат Софии Константинопольской // Чудотворная икона в Византии и Древней Руси / Ред.-сост. А. М. Лидов. М. 1996, с. 44–71.

<sup>25</sup> Smith Z. To Take Place. Toward Theory in Ritual. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1987. Обсуждение проблемы см.: Wolf G. Holy Place and Sacred Space. Hierotopical considerations concerning the Eastern and Western Christian traditions // Иеротопия..., с. 34–36.

<sup>26</sup> Лидов А. М. Церковь Богоматери Фаросской. Императорский храм-реликварий как константинопольский Гроб Господень // Византийский мир. Искусство Константинополя и национальные традиции. М., 2005, с. 79–108.

московном «Новом Иерусалиме» иконический образ и буквальную реплику, синтезируя византийские и западные иеротопические традиции (ил. 5).

Интересно, что в рамках одного «большого пространства» могли существовать несколько одновременных иеротопических проектов. Так, замысел Льва Мудрого начала X в. был вписан в пространство Великой Церкви, в своей основе сформированное Юстинианом в VI столетии. Благодаря многочисленным паломникам мы знаем, что вся пространственная среда Святой Софии представляла собой своего рода сетевую структуру, состоящую из конкретных сакральных пространств, которые взаимодействовали в рамках единого целого. Напомним о некоторых из них. Это пространство вокруг алтарного престола, включавшее драгоценные поклонные кресты разных размеров, сень-катапетасму, отождествлявшуюся с завесой ветхозаветного храма, подвешенные к киворию votивные короны и многое другое, что должно было восприниматься в едином пространственном образе-инсталляции, не сводимом к любому изображению на плоскости. Аналогичные по типу, но каждый раз совершенно индивидуальные по внешнему облику пространственные образы возникали в других частях храма: в юго-восточном компарimente около Колодца самарянки<sup>27</sup>, или вокруг иконы-реликвария с веригами апостола Петра в северном нефе, или рядом с юго-западным столпом, покрытым золоченой медью и хранящем мощи Григория Чудотворца (ил. 3) и его почитаемую икону (в определенные дни рядом с этим столпом появлялся переносной престол, и совершались специальные службы)<sup>28</sup>.

Сознательно спроектированные микропространства активизировались в определенные моменты богослужений, становясь своего рода временными солистами в грандиозном пространственном хоре. Динамическая составляющая являлась принципиальной характеристикой иеротопических проектов. Она обычно не учитывается в наших рассуждениях о византийском искусстве, поскольку мы оперируем в основном археологическими остатками. Однако надо признать, что сохранившиеся формы были лишь частью, и не всегда самой важной, пространственного целого, пребывавшего в непрерывном движении. Перформативность<sup>29</sup>, драматическая изменчивость, отсутствие жесткой фиксации образа формировали живую, духовно насыщенную, всегда конкретно воздействующую среду.

<sup>27</sup> *Mango C.* The Brazen House. A Study of the Vestibule of the Imperial Palace of Constantinople. Copenhagen, 1959, p. 60–72.

<sup>28</sup> *Majeska G.* Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries. Washington, 1984, p. 213–214. Покрытый медными листами столп сохранился до сих пор и почитается чудотворным как христианами, так и мусульманами.

<sup>29</sup> Категория «перформативности (performativity)» как динамический компонент культуры в последнее время привлекает все больше внимание гуманитариев разных специальностей, осознавших существенную ограниченность текстуальных подходов и кризис базисной модели, трактующей явления культуры как неподвижные тексты.

Знаменательно, что явление находящегося в движении пространства осмыслялось богословски и иногда получало отражение в иконографических программах, как о том свидетельствуют мозаики монастыря Хора (Кахрие Джамии) в Константинополе. Замысел пространства, как и иконографической программы начала XIV в., принадлежал Феодору Метохиту, который недвусмысленно указал на первоисточник не только своих образных решений, но и самого посвящения монастыря Хора: над входом в храм и у алтарной преграды, по оси запад — восток, размещались разные образы Богоматери с Младенцем, одинаково подписанные «*chora tou achoritou*» («пространство Того, Кто вне пространства») <sup>30</sup>, что, с одной стороны, указывало на чудо Воплощения, когда земная Дева вместила невместимого Бога, а с другой — утверждало пространственный смысл Божиего бытия. Этим образам вторили два мозаичных образа Христа в люнетах над двумя входами в нартекс и наос, которые также были одинаково подписаны «*chora ton zonton*» («пространство живых»).

Понятно, что «хора» здесь не обозначает «страну, землю или деревню», но представляет важнейшее богословское понятие и одно из имен Божьих. Оно восходит к фундаментальной философской категории Платона <sup>31</sup>, развитой неоплатониками и от них пришедшей в патристику. В богословии иконопочитателей (Патриарх Никифор) понятие «хора» становится краеугольным камнем, с помощью которого обосновывается принципиальное отличие иконы от идола. Идеальная икона всегда пространственна и всегда абсолютно конкретна, подобно тому, как Христос может одновременно пребывать на небесах и предлагать свою плоть в таинстве Евхаристии. То, что соединяет эти две рационально несводимые величины, и есть «хора» — пространственное бытие Божие. В конечном итоге весь храм и все образы в нем призваны передать именно «божественную пространственность». Высокообразованный Феодор Метохит подчеркнул эту многовековую смысловую доминанту в своей иконографической программе, которая была лишь частью особого иеротопического проекта монастыря Хора.

Приведенный пример важен как еще одно доказательство того, что иеротопическое мышление не только имело глубокие корни в средне-

<sup>30</sup> Недавний анализ явления см.: *Ousterhout R. The Virgin of the Chora: the Image and its Contexts // The Sacred Image. East and West / Ed. R. Ousterhout, L. Brubaker. Urbana and Chicago, 1995, p. 91–109; Isar N. The Vision and its 'Exceedingly Blessed Beholder': Of Desire and Participation in the Icon // RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics, 38 (2000), p. 56–73.*

<sup>31</sup> В диалоге «Тимей» Платон называет хора в числе трех образующих мир категорий: «Итак, согласно моему приговору, краткий вывод таков: есть бытие, есть пространство (хора) и есть возникновение, и эти три рода возникли порознь еще до рождения неба». См.: *Платон. Собрание сочинений. М., 1994. Т. 3, с. 456.*

вековой культуре, но и обладало артикулированной системой понятий<sup>32</sup>, которую мы не всегда способны воспринять. Речь, однако, идет о конституирующей основе, на которую в некотором смысле опирается вся византийская традиция богословия в образах<sup>33</sup>.

Пониманию иеротопических явлений существенно мешает утвердившееся позитивистское восприятие артефактов как самоценной и единственной данности. Однако необходимо признать, что подробные внешние описания подчас не только не помогают познанию, но искажают суть традиции, когда такое описание выполняется с помощью методов, разработанных для исследования других эпох и художественных процессов. Возникновению искажений, так называемому эффекту кривого зеркала, также способствовали позднесредневековые деформации самой традиции, выразившиеся в повсеместном введении иконописного подлинника (с XVI в.). Утверждение в сознании представления о схематичном рисунке как основе образа, на наш взгляд, радикально изменило византийскую концепцию иконы и положило начало процессу превращения изначально пространственного образа в раскрашенную прорись и картинку на плоскости.

Бытующая и доминирующая «парадигма плоской картинки» препятствует адекватному восприятию пространственной образности и связанных с ней иеротопических проектов. Принципиально важным кажется осознание того, что образ в иконе реализуется не внутри картинной плоскости, а в пространстве перед ней, возникающем между молящимся и изображением. Данное восприятие святых образов определяет понимание иконической природы пространства, в котором взаимодействовали разные художественные средства, апеллирующие к разным органам чувств.

В связи с этим представляется важным подчеркнуть, что создание сакрального пространства — это практически всегда создание конкретной пространственной образности, которая по принципам репрезентации и типу восприятия близка византийской иконе<sup>34</sup>. Данная взаимозависимость хорошо прослеживается в позднесредневековых проектах, таких как «Шествие на осляти» в России XVI–XVII вв. Иеротопический замысел воссоздания в центре Москвы пространства евангельского Иеруса-

<sup>32</sup> О системе пространственных слов-понятий см. в настоящем сборнике: *Isar N. Chorography (Chôra, Chorós) — A performative paradigm of creation of sacred space in Byzantium.*

<sup>33</sup> В этой связи хотелось бы обратить внимание на интересное понятие «иеропластия (hieroplastia)», появляющееся в текстах Дионисия Ареопагита и обозначающее зримое представление духовных сущностей: *Lampe G. W. H. A Patristic Greek Lexikon.* Oxford, 1961, p. 670. С точки зрения иеротопии, этот термин мог отражать и деятельность по созданию сакральных пространств.

<sup>34</sup> См. подробнее в статье: *Лидов А. М. Пространственные иконы. Чудотворное действо с Одигитрией Константинопольской // Иеротопия. Исследование сакральных пространств...*, а также одноименную статью в настоящем сборнике.

лима вполне очевиден и не сводим к привычной категории городских процессий. Исследователи уже поставили проблему иконографии ритуала, который может быть воспринят как некая «живая картина» и динамическое (добавим, также и пространственное) воспроизведение иконы «Входа Господня в Иерусалим»<sup>35</sup>. Все основные персонажи иконографии перевоплотились в участников московского действия, ставшего своего рода иллюстрацией к иконе праздника. Этот красноречивый пример показывает, насколько ясно самими создателями иеротопических проектов осознавалась нерасторжимая связь пространственного образа и иконы, приобретшая в данном случае несколько демонстративный характер.

Отношения могли быть и более сложными, когда в создании сакрального пространства участвовала чудотворная икона со своей иконографической программой, как в чудотворном действе с Одигитрией Константинопольской и многих других. В таких случаях изображение на плоскости с помощью различных приемов как бы оживало, становясь неотделимой частью иконно-пространственной среды, в которой сама святыня часто выступала главным, но далеко не единственным действующим лицом. Заметим, что описываемое явление, вполне художественное по своей природе, входит в противоречие с базисным принципом традиционной истории искусства, а именно — основополагающей оппозицией «зритель — изображение». Отношения между образом и воспринимающим его могут быть сколь угодно сложными, но неизменной остается их структурная противоположность, вокруг которой и выстраивается практически вся искусствоведческая методология.

Однако принципиальной чертой византийской иеротопии является включение «зрителя» в качестве неотъемлемой составляющей пространственного образа, в котором он становится полноправным действующим лицом, наряду с изображениями, светом, запахом, звуком. Более того, «зритель», обладающий соборной и индивидуальной исторической памятью, определенным духовным опытом и знаниями, в некотором смысле участвует в создании данного пространственного образа. При этом сам образ существует объективно как некая подвижная структура, меняющая свои элементы в зависимости от индивидуального восприятия, — те или иные аспекты пространственного целого могли быть актуализированы или временно скрыты. Создатели сакральных пространств несомненно учитывали фактор подготовленного восприятия, в котором должны были соединиться все смысловые и эмоциональные нити задуманного образа. Возможно, именно поэтому сторонний зритель обычно не воспринимает византийскую простран-

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<sup>35</sup> *Flier M. The Iconology of Royal Ritual in Sixteenth-Century Moscow // Byzantine Studies. Essays on the Slavic World and the Eleventh Century. New York, 1992, p. 66.*



венную образность, в лучшем случае — восхищается декоративной красотой «плоских икон».

Примечательно, что византийские «пространственные иконы», столь необычные в новоевропейском контексте, находят типологическую параллель в новейшем искусстве перформансов и мультимедийных инсталляций, которые и исторически, и содержательно не имеют с византийской традицией ничего общего. Однако базовый принцип, когда отсутствует единый источник изображения, а образ создается в пространстве под воздействием множества динамически меняющихся форм, делает их типологически родственными. Крайне важна и роль зрителя, который активно участвует в пересоздании пространственного образа. При всем различии технологий, эстетики, содержания, можно говорить об определенном типе восприятия образов. Затронутый аспект показывает, как далеко может уйти обсуждение принципов иеротопии. Таким образом, становится очевидным, что проблему иеротопии невозможно ограничить византийской традицией. Древняя и средневековая, и в целом вся история религиозной культуры в разных странах мира полна иеротопических проектов, которые могут и должны стать предметом сравнительных исследований.

При этом вполне естественно попытаться выделить различные слои или уровни, существующие в каждом сакральном пространстве. Можно выявить архетипический пласт, который является общим для всех традиций, например, архетип Святой Горы, неизменно присутствующий в самых разных культурах.

Можно поставить вопрос о иеротопических группах, как это сделано для языковых семей. И выделение проблематики индо-европейской традиции в создании сакральных пространств представляется вполне плодотворной задачей. По крайней мере, существование такой традиции позволяет понять точно повторяющуюся структуру пространства в индуистских и христианских храмах, которая не может быть объяснена просто историческими заимствованиями.

Не менее важен вопрос о религиозных и национальных моделях создания сакральных пространств. Исламский подход существенно отличается от христианского, хотя обе эти восходящие к иудаизму религии гораздо ближе друг к другу, нежели к буддизму. Так, к примеру, в науке недавно была сформулирована проблема «храмового сознания», предполагающая обсуждение различных моделей пространства храма в рамках «авраамической» традиции<sup>36</sup>.

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<sup>36</sup> *Шукуров Ш. М.* Образ Храма / *Imago Templi*. М., 2002. Автор предлагает отличный от иеротопического ракурс обсуждения темы, концентрируя внимание на феноменологии и поэтике храма в духе идей Анри Корбена (H. Corbin) и его концепта «теменологии».

Любопытные типологические расхождения могут быть замечены при сравнительном анализе западной и восточной христианских традиций. Как уже было отмечено, в Византии доминирует иконное понимание пространственной образности, при этом максимально стирается грань между неподвижным храмом и динамической внешней средой. Своего рода «храмовое пространство» выносится и воссоздается на площадях и улицах, в полях и горах, которые должны, хотя бы временно, преобразиться в икону священного универсума, некогда созданного Богом. В этом восстановлении пространственного первообраза — один из сущностных смыслов обрядов и процессий, совершаемых вне храма. При этом сам храм понимается как некая прозрачная структура и подвижная духовная субстанция (вспомним о мощах, вкладываемых в стены и купола)<sup>37</sup>. Своего рода манифестацию этого типа мышления мы видим в пост-византийских росписях Румынии, когда алтарная иконография воспроизводится на фасадах храмов и литургическая программа раскрывается во внешний мир, который тем самым осмысливается как храм-космос.

В этой связи знаменательно, что при обращении к прославленным святыням-образцам, таким как иерусалимский Гроб Господень, София Константинопольская или Успенский собор Киево-Печерской Лавры, как правило, воспроизводился не план, архитектурный объем или декорация, но образ-идея особо почитавшегося сакрального пространства, которая узнавалась современниками и органично включалась в новый контекст<sup>38</sup>.

Во многих случаях обсуждение явлений визуальной культуры не может быть сведено лишь к позитивистскому описанию внешних форм, или анализу богословских понятий. Некоторые явления могут быть адекватно осмыслены только на уровне образов-идей, которые мы предлагаем назвать образами-парадигмами, отдавая себе отчет в условности любого термина<sup>39</sup>. Это новое понятие, не совпадающее ни с иллюстрирующим изображением, ни с идейным содержанием, представляется необходимым интеллектуальным инструментом, помогающим объяснить целый пласт явлений. Образы-парадигмы на были связаны с

<sup>37</sup> *Teteriatnikova N. Relics in Walls, Pillars and Columns of Byzantine Churches // Восточнохристианские реликвии / Ред.-сост. А. М. Лидов. М., 2003, с. 74–92.*

<sup>38</sup> См. тезисы докладов: *Баталов А. Л. Моделирование сакрального пространства в позднесредневековой Руси // Иеротопия. Исследование сакральных пространств...*, с. 156–159; *Толстая Т. В. Структура сакрального пространства Успенского собора Московского Кремля: этапы развития // Там же, с. 143–147.*

<sup>39</sup> Некоторые примеры образов-парадигм были рассмотрены в работах: *Лидов А. М. Мандилион и Керамион как образ-архетип сакрального пространства // Восточнохристианские реликвии / Ред.-сост. А. М. Лидов. М., 2003, с. 249–280; Он же. Святой Лик — Святое Письмо — Святые Врата: град Эдесса как образ-парадигма в христианской иеротопии // Иеротопия. Сравнительные исследования / Ред.-сост. А. М. Лидов. М., 2006 (в печати).*

иллюстрацией какого-либо конкретного текста, хотя и обладали целым ореолом литературно-символических смыслов и ассоциаций. Невозможно в них усмотреть и простое воплощение богословского замысла, хотя глубина и многослойность мысли вполне очевидна. Образ-парадигма был видим и узнаваем, но при этом принципиально не формализован, будь то изобразительная схема или логическая конструкция. В этом отношении он похож на метафору, теряющую смысл при пересказе или разделении на составляющие элементы.

Для византийцев подобное «не-рациональное» и одновременно «иеро-пластическое» восприятие мира могло быть наиболее адекватным способом постижения его божественной сути. При этом речь идет не о мистике, а об особом типе мышления, в котором наши современные категории художественного, ритуального и интеллектуального оказывались сплетены в одну ноуменальную ткань. По настоящее время понятие образа-парадигмы отсутствует в современном научном языке. Однако, на наш взгляд, без него наши рассуждения обречены оставаться плоскими и инородными по отношению к средневековым источникам, а обсуждения стиля, иконографии или иеротопии ограничиваться поверхностной фиксацией артефактов. Выявление этого пласта образности по немногочисленным материальным остаткам и письменным свидетельствам, равно как и разработка методологии его описания представляет актуальную задачу истории визуальной культуры. Решение ее, на наш взгляд, позволит не только исторически адекватно проанализировать архитектурные программы храмов, но и понять концепции сакрального пространства, лежащие в основе средневековых городов и целых земель, которые подчас структурируются и обретают вполне реальные границы в связи существовавшими в средневековых умах образами-парадигмами.

Византия создавала для всего восточнохристианского мира базовые модели организации сакральных пространств, которые в разных странах адаптировались и трансформировались с учетом национальных особенностей и просто климатических условий. Совершенно ясно, что «ледяная» архитектура, оформлявшая русские иеротопические проекты на Богоявление и другие зимние празднества, физически не могла появиться в Константинополе или на Балканах<sup>40</sup>. Приведенный пример интересен еще и тем, что он показывает, как высокие константинопольские образцы создания сакральных пространств почти растворяются в народной среде: в целом ряде случаев хорошо видно, как «ученая» ие-

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<sup>40</sup> См.: *Беляев Л. А.* Иеротопия православного праздника. О национальных традициях в создании сакральных пространств // *Иеротопия. Исследование сакральных пространств...*, с. 39–47; см. также его статью в сборнике: *Иеротопия. Сравнительные исследования* / Ред.-сост. А. М. Лидов. М., 2006 (в печати).

ротопия органично соединяется со стихийной, идущей от естественной сакрализации жизненной среды.

Иеротопический проект, как живой организм, мог меняться во времени — первоначальный замысел-матрица мог трансформироваться или дополниться другими, сама концепция сакрального пространства могла подвергнуться значительным изменениям в духе времени. Ряд близких примеров дают соборы Московского Кремля, пространственный облик которых менялся несколько раз. К примеру, как следует из описей, на рубеже XVII–XVIII вв. из соборов убирают многочисленные богослужебные ткани, раскрывая иконы и настенные изображения, что приводит к созданию принципиально иного образа пространства, который мы иногда ошибочно принимаем за древний<sup>41</sup>. Последовательное изучение разных исторических слоев сакрального пространства можно сравнить с реставрационным раскрытием иконы. Так же как и в этом случае, подчас мы обнаруживаем лишь ничтожные фрагменты первоначального иеротопического замысла, но и они способны стать драгоценной исторической информацией, дать ключ к пониманию сохранившихся элементов древнейшего комплекса, будь то архитектурные формы, фрески, иконы, литургическая утварь или редкие обряды.

Иеротопический подход может быть применен не только при исследовании сакральной среды храмов, городов или ландшафтов, но и для изучения пространственной образности в малых формах искусства и письменных текстах. В данной небольшой статье можно лишь наметить некоторые аспекты темы.

Отдельную практически неизученную проблему составляет сакральное пространство как византийских, так и русских рукописей. С одной стороны, пространственный замысел вполне очевиден: во многих рукописях фронтисписы оформлены как торжественные врата в сакральное пространство книги, а иногда представлена икона Небесного града-храма (Гомилии Иакова Коккиновафского XII в. или синайская рукопись Слов Григория Назианзина того же столетия, ил. 6)<sup>42</sup>. С другой стороны, до сих пор не разработан метод описания этого явления книжной культуры. Создатель рукописи располагал миниатюры не просто как плоскую декорацию и иконографическую программу, но зачастую устанавливал целую систему взаимосвязей между изображениями на развернутых листах книги, представляя образ сакрального пространства, который напоминал о священной среде храма (не случайно образ храма возникает и на древ-

<sup>41</sup> *Стерлигова И. А.* Драгоценный убор икон Царского храма // Царский храм. Святыни Благовещенского собора в Кремле. М., 2003, с. 63–78.

<sup>42</sup> *Лидов А. М.* Образ Небесного Иерусалима в восточнохристианской иконографии // Иерусалим в русской культуре / Ред.-сост. А. Л. Баталов, А. М. Лидов. М., 1994, с. 21–22.

них окладах). По всей видимости, во многих случаях можно говорить о вполне конкретном замысле, порождавшем индивидуальный пространственный образ и связывавшем рукопись с богослужебным предназначением и конкретной средой бытования — обрядами, освещением, звучащим словом, литургической утварью.

Здесь напрашивается сравнение с литургическими одеяниями, подобными знаменитым византийским саккосам митрополита Фотия начала XV в. (ил. 7)<sup>43</sup> Несущие многосложную систему изображений, они создавали микрокосм храмового пространства, который был включен в среду большого храма и обретал свой истинный смысл в литургическом движении. Вышитые золотом иконы на колеблющихся тканях как бы оживали в ускользающей мерцании естественного света, разнообразных огней, отблесков богослужебной утвари, в слоистой атмосфере струящегося дыма благовоний. В общем и целом, это был динамический (перформативный) пространственный образ, частью которого был как сам священнослужитель, так и весь литургический контекст. Очевидно, что без рассмотрения пространственной природы образа, связанного с определенным иеротопическим проектом, изучая лишь технику, стиль и иконографию вышивок, окладов и т. д., мы будем оставаться очень далеко от понимания первоначального замысла вполне конкретных «музейных» предметов.

Наблюдение справедливо как в отношении литургической утвари, так и многих реликвариев. Напомним о константинопольском каменном потире X в. из венецианского Сан Марко (так называемый «Потир Патриархов»), где в глубине, на доньшке полупрозрачной чаши из сардоникса появляется золотой медальон с образом Христа Пантократора, сделанный в технике перегородчатой эмали (ил. 8)<sup>44</sup>. В момент причащения образ возникал в колеблющейся жидкой среде как видимое свидетельство евхаристического чуда преложения вина в Кровь Христову. Еще более красноречивое указание на пространственный характер образа в прямом сопоставлении евхаристической чаши и купола византийского храма, также несущего образ Пантократора (ил. 9). В пространстве конкретной церкви эти два образа Пантократора становились разновеликими частями единого иеротопического замысла.

Другой пример — знаменитый Лимбургский реликварий 968–985 гг. (ил. 10)<sup>45</sup>, в котором центральную реликвию Честного Древа обрамляют десять реликвий, в большинстве своем происходящих из церкви Богома-

<sup>43</sup> Piltz E. *Trois sakkoi byzantins. Analyse iconographique*. Stockholm, 1976; Средневековое лицевое шитье. Византия, Балканы, Русь. Каталог выставки. М., 1991, с. 38–51.

<sup>44</sup> Il Tesoro di San Marco. Milano, 1986, cat. no 16, p. 167–173.

<sup>45</sup> Ševčenko N. *The Limburg Staurathek and its Relics // Thymiana*. Athens, 1994, p. 289–294.

тери Фаросской — главного храма-реликвария, принадлежащего лично византийским императорам. Святыни царского храма, обрамляющие центральный Крест Честного Древа, создавали своеобразную икону Страстей<sup>46</sup>. Как известно из дополнения к «Книге церемоний» Константина Багрянородного, реликварии Честного Креста носили в особых императорских церемониях на полях сражений<sup>47</sup>. Перед императором шел кубикularioй (постельничий), который нес висящий на груди реликварий. За ним шел знаменосец, несущий процессионный крест с частицей Честного Древа. Связь реликвий лично с императором подчеркивалась статусом постельничего, не просто демонстрировавшего символ высшего могущества на своей груди перед готовыми к бою войсками, но и указывавшего на сакральное пространство императорской домово́й церкви, из которой были собраны частицы в реликварий. В подобных обрядах вся армия оказывалась сопричастной сакральному пространству Фаросской церкви, воплощенному в иконном образе реликвария<sup>48</sup>.

Если иеротопический замысел Лимбургского реликвария становится понятен лишь после привлечения дополнительных свидетельств, то в ряде случаев достаточно рассмотрения самих предметов. Так византийские реликварии св. Дмитрия воспроизводят не просто иконографию святого<sup>49</sup>, но и устройство его святилища в Фессалониках, которое передается целым рядом плоских и объемных изображений, возникающих по мере раскрытия реликвария (ил. 11–12). Главным в замысле было создание образа почитаемого пространства, в котором происходили многочисленные чудотворения. Носимый на груди реликварий незримо связывал своего владельца с базиликой Св. Дмитрия в Фессалониках. Подобные предметы невозможно объяснить лишь как иконографически оформленную реликвию, но только как пространственную икону, обретающую особую чудотворную силу через сочетание реликвии, изображений и священной среды. Число подобных примеров можно значительно умножить.

Стремление воссоздать в малых формах икону-концепцию сакрального пространства отражало один из фундаментальных принципов восточнохристианского мышления. Однако для нас в данном контексте гораздо важнее оценить возможность и плодотворность применения иеротопического подхода не только к «большим пространствам».

<sup>46</sup> О иконическом образе переносного «маленького Фароса» см.: *Wolf G. The Holy Face and the Holy Feet // Восточнохристианские реликвии...*, с. 285–286.

<sup>47</sup> *De Ceremoniis*, I, 484.24–485.6; *Haldon J. Constantine Porphyrogenitus. Three Treatises on Imperial Military Expeditions. Vienna, 1990*, p. 124.

<sup>48</sup> *Лидов А. М. Церковь Богоматери Фаросской. Императорский храм-реликварий как константинопольский Гроб Господень // Византийский мир: искусство Константинополья и национальные традиции. М., 2005*, с. 87.

<sup>49</sup> *Grabar A. Quelques reliquaires de Saint Démétrios et le Martirium du saint à Salonique // DOP, 5 (1950)*, p. 3–28.

Правомерно ставить вопрос и о наличии сакральных пространств в литературных текстах<sup>50</sup>. В средневековой книжности, особенно в житийных текстах, мы подчас встречаем описания сакральной среды, в которой пребывает и которую творит святой. В некоторых случаях появляется возможность сравнить ее с сохранившимися природными ландшафтами и археологическими данными. При этом оказывается, что все привычные нам характеристики, например расстояния, утрачивают свои обыденные значения. Средневековый автор создает узнаваемый, но при этом иконический образ пространства, существующего вне стандартной системы координат. Подобный иеротопический подход к моделированию пространства словами-образами Питер Браун предлагает назвать «хоротопом», по аналогии со ставшим уже классическим «хронотопом» Михаила Бахтина<sup>51</sup>.

При этом речь идет не столько о непосредственном описании священных пространств, будь то рай, монастырь или храм, сколько о попытках чисто литературными приемами передать образ особой пространственной среды, которая внешне может даже не иметь общепринятых сакральных признаков<sup>52</sup>. Из характерных примеров иеротопического творчества в литературе назовем популярнейшее во всех слоях русского общества XIX в. сочинение «Откровенные рассказы странника духовному своему отцу», которое все посвящено описанию зримых и мистически возникающих сакральных пространств (из последних — усадьба помещика, показанная как икона Небесного Иерусалима)<sup>53</sup>. Это произведение, балансирующее на грани Средневековья и Нового времени, демонстрирует многообразие форм многовековой восточнохристианской традиции, в письменности которой создание сакральных пространств играло значительную роль. Собственно, и в обширных пространствах храма или города, и в искусстве малых форм, и в литературных текстах присутствует один и тот же тип творчества, определенный особой пространственной образностью и иконическим пониманием мира.

При этом «Откровенные рассказы» создаются в эпоху, когда уже на протяжении нескольких столетий сфера иеротопического неуклонно

<sup>50</sup> Пространству и пространственности в литературе посвящены важные исследования: *Топоров В. П.* О мифопоэтическом пространстве (*Lo spazio mitopoetico*). Избранные статьи. Pisa, 1994.

<sup>51</sup> См. статью в настоящем сборнике: *Brown P.* Chorotope: Theodore of Sykeon and His Sacred Landscape.

<sup>52</sup> Применение иеротопического подхода при исследовании русской классической литературы см.: *Бланк К.* Иеротопия Толстого и Достоевского // *Иеротопия. Сравнительные исследования* / Ред.-сост. А. М. Лидов. М., 2006 (в печати).

<sup>53</sup> *Басин И. В.* Образ Небесного Иерусалима в «Откровенных рассказах странника духовному своему отцу» // *Иерусалим в русской культуре* / Сост. А. Баталов, А. Лидов. М., 1994, с. 219–222.

сокращается. Это касается не только элитарной и народной, но и собственно церковной культуры. На протяжении второй половины XVII–XVIII вв. многие иеротопические по своей природе обряды, типа Шествия на осляти, были выведены из богослужебной практики, а огромная сфера творчества сведена к нескольким строго регламентированным чинопоследованиям. Задумываясь о современном состоянии культуры, хочется верить, что научные реконструкции конкретных сакральных пространств, равно как и развитие образования в этой области, могут помочь возрождению иеротопического творчества как важнейшей формы духовной, религиозной, да и вообще социо-культурной жизни, имеющей глубокие исторические корни.

В этом небольшом тексте сделана попытка сформулировать проблему. Естественно, были затронуты отнюдь не все аспекты темы, некоторые из которых еще предстоит выявить и продумать. Сознательно не проводилось жесткого разграничения между «иеротопией как видом творчества» и «иеротопией как предметом исторического исследования». Более важным казалось описать явление в целом, оставив на будущее задачу структурных и терминологических уточнений предмета и метода. В заключение лишь заметим, что, на наш взгляд, иеротопия — не философская концепция, нуждающаяся в разветвленной теории, это, скорее, способ видения, позволяющий осознать существование особого пласта культуры, состоявшего из множества конкретных проектов, подлежащих детальной реконструкции. Как и другие формы человеческого творчества, это историческое явление, связанное с индивидуальным заказом и изменениями в духовной ситуации, складывающимися под влиянием многих факторов и обстоятельств. Один из главных выводов состоит в том, что сакральное пространство представляет собой особый тип исторического источника, методы исследования которого еще предстоит разработать.



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HIEROTOPY.  
THE CREATION OF SACRED SPACES  
AS A FORM OF CREATIVITY  
AND SUBJECT OF CULTURAL HISTORY

As a number of scholars recently realised, the most significant aspect of relics and miraculous icons was the role they played in the creation of particular sacred spaces<sup>1</sup>. In many cases relics and venerated icons were established as a core, a kind of pivot in the forming of a concrete spatial environment. This milieu included permanently visible architectural forms and various pictures as well as changing liturgical clothes and vessels, lighting effects and fragrance, ritual gestures and prayers, which every time created a unique spatial complex. Sometimes the environment could form itself spontaneously, yet there are several examples when we are able to speak of deliberate concepts and elaborated projects, which should be considered among the most important historical documents.

In our view, very few studies in this direction have appeared so far, because an adequate notion covering this field of creativity has been lacking. The widespread term 'sacred space' did not function well because of its too general character, describing almost the entire realm of the religious. Some years ago I proposed a new term 'hierotopy', which became the core of the present project<sup>2</sup>.

The term 'hierotopy' (ierotopia) consists of two Greek roots: hieros (sacred) and topos (place, space, notion). In that respect it resembles many other words already established in our vocabulary in the last hundred years — the term 'iconography' is one of them. The meaning of the notion might be formulated as follows: *Hierotopy is creation of sacred spaces regarded as a special form of creativity, and a field of historical research which reveals and analyses the particular examples of that creativity*. The intention of the project is to realize the existence of special and quite large

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<sup>1</sup> *Lidov A. Relics as a pivot of Eastern Christian culture // Eastern Christian Relics / Ed. Alexei Lidov. Moscow, 2003, p. 11–15.*

<sup>2</sup> For the first time it was presented in my lecture 'Byzantine Hierotopy. Miraculous Icons in Sacred Space' at the Bibliotheca Hertziana in Rome (January 14, 2002). I would like to use this opportunity and express my deep and sincere thanks to colleagues and friends who could evaluate and support this idea from the very beginning. I mean, first of all, Leonid Beliaev, Peter Brown, Slobodan Ćurčić, Herbert Kessler, Oleg Grabar, Nicoletta Isar and Gerhard Wolf. The discussions we had around the Hierotopy concept and their moral support were not just stimulating but actually priceless.

phenomenon, for which boundaries of the research field have to be established and specific methods are to be worked out.

The most serious problem of hierotopy is probably the category of the sacred itself, which surmises actual presence of God and cannot be separated from the miraculous, in other words, something that is not created by human will. The outstanding anthropologist Mircea Eliade, who dedicated several works to the phenomenon of the sacred, introduced a special notion of 'hierophany', making a clear statement: 'Every sacred space implies a hierophany, an irruption of the sacred that results in detaching a territory from the surrounding cosmic milieu and making it qualitatively different'<sup>3</sup>. As an example of hierophany Eliade provides the famous biblical story of Jacob's Dream about the Ladder connecting the Earth and the Heaven, about Lord speaking from Heaven and the construction of an altar at the holy spot (Gen. 28: 12–22).

Using the same subject, let us try to separate 'hierophany' and 'hierotopy', articulating the specificity of our approach. In the biblical story the description of the hierotopic project starts with Jacob's awakening. Inspired by his dream-vision, he begins to create a sacred space, which would convert a particular place into "the house of God and the gate of heaven". He takes the stone that has been his pillow, sets it up as a monument, and pours oil on it. Jacob also renamed the place and took special vows. So, Jacob, and all his successors — creators of churches and shrines, created a particular spatial milieu. That making differs from hierophany as a creation by human hands from God's will. Communion with the miraculous inspired the concept of a spatial image, but itself remained beyond the realm of human creativity. This creativity, nevertheless, was intended to actualize the memory of a hierophany by all possible means, embodying an image of the divine revelation. As it seems, the permanent relation and intensive interaction between hierophany (the mystical appearance) and hierotopy (actually created space) determined the specificity of creation of sacred spaces as a form of creativity. One may note that Eliade's approach, analyzing the structure of the myth and its profound symbolism, has a principally different focus which, however, can be used in some hierotopical reconstructions.

Hierotopy as a type of creativity is deeply rooted in human nature. In the process of self-identification as a spiritual being, the Man, first spontaneously and then deliberately, creates a concrete milieu of his connection with the transcendental world. Creation of sacred spaces can be compared with pictorial creativity, which also belongs to visual culture and appears spontaneously at a very early stage of shaping of personality. However, in contrast with the creation of pictures, where an entire infrastructure is present from

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<sup>3</sup> *Eliade M.* The Sacred and the Profane. The Nature of Religion. New York, 1959, p. 26.

first drawing lessons to academies, criticism and the art market, creation of sacred spaces simply has not been included in the cultural context of modern European civilization. The positivist ideology of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when contemporary disciplines took their shape, did not see in the ephemeral 'sacred space' an independent subject of research. Most disciplines were linked to concrete material objects, either pictures or architectural monuments, folk rituals or written texts. Creation of sacred spaces did not receive its place in the established scheme of humanities, whose structure was determined by the 'object-centered' model of description of the universe. As a logical consequence of this fact the subject was not formulated, a discipline did not appear, and the special terminology was not elaborated.

At the same time it is not possible to say that the problematic of sacred space has not been touched by the humanities. Various aspects of the topic in question have been discussed by archeologists, anthropologists, art historians and historians of religion. However, they, as a rule, tried to solve the problems of their own respective disciplines, emphasizing particular aspects without consideration of the whole. No doubt hierotopical studies will use some traditional approaches of art history, anthropology and liturgics. At the same time one may claim that hierotopy does not coincide with any of them. Hierotopy can not be reduced neither solely to the world of artistic images, nor to the combination of material objects, organizing a sacred milieu, nor to the rituals and social mechanisms that determine them. The ritual plays a great role in hierotopical projects but purely artistic, theological and liturgical aspects usually neglected by anthropology seem no less important. Furthermore, a hierotopical concept could not be interpreted in terms of the so-called *Gesamtkunstwerk*, or synthesis of arts, which acquired enormous significance in the age of Baroque, and later in the *Art Nouveau*. Medieval sacred space cannot be considered as just a combination of artifacts and various ephemeral effects creating a particular artistic milieu. This modern approach seems to be a result of the great transformation that happened in Western European mentality after the Renaissance when aesthetical values began to be perceived as a substitute of the sacred ones<sup>4</sup>. Though sometimes similar, hierotopy deals with a principally different matrix.

Hierotopical vision can be practically useful for many humanities. Characteristically, entire forms of creativity could not be properly discussed beyond the hierotopical framework, which is not connected with the positivist classification of objects. For instance, such an enormous phenomenon as the

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<sup>4</sup> This topic has been discussed in the paper by Mikhail Sokolov at the Hierotopy conference in Moscow: *Sokolov M. Ab arte restaurata. On the sacralization of aesthetical values in modern "Hierotopy" // Hierotopy. Studies in the Making of Sacred Spaces / Ed. A. Lidov. Moscow, 2004, p. 50–52* and in the forthcoming collection 'Hierotopy. Comparative Studies' / Ed. A. Lidov. Moscow, 2006.

dramaturgy of lighting goes beyond the boundaries of the traditional disciplines. At the same time we know for sure from written sources (Byzantine Monastic Typika) how detailed was the practice of lighting, dynamically changing during the services according to a sophisticated scenario<sup>5</sup>. In particular moments light accentuated concrete images or holy objects, organizing a perception of the entire space of the church as well as the logic of reading its most significant elements<sup>6</sup>. Dramaturgy is an appropriate word in this context since the artistic and dramatic element in that field of creativity was no less important than the ritual and symbolic one<sup>7</sup>.

The same concerns the realm of fragrance, which presents every time new combinations of incense, smells of wax candles and aromatic oils in lamps. Christian culture inherited the great traditions of the Ancient East through the Roman imperial cult as well as through the sophisticated worship of the Old Testament Temple<sup>8</sup>. Jewish and Ancient Roman sources do not leave doubts that individual dramaturgies of lighting and fragrance were practically always an integral part of a particular concept of the sacred space<sup>9</sup>. Hierotopical approach allows us to create an adequate research framework for such phenomena, in which different cultural artifacts could be studied as interacting elements of a single project.

A project of this kind was a matrix, or structural model, of a particular sacred space, subordinating all visual, audio and tactile effects. It seems important to realize that practically all objects of religious art were originally conceived as elements of a hierotopical project and included in the 'network' of a concrete sacred space. However, with some exceptions, we do not 'ask' our artistic monuments about this pivotal peculiarity, which was crucial for their external appearance. In order to solve this apparently simple problem one should get rid of a fundamental stereotype of the consciousness. The

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<sup>5</sup> A characteristic example is the Typikon of the Pantokrator monastery in Constantinople: *Congdon E.* Imperial Commemoration and Ritual in the Typikon of the Monastery of Christ Pantokrator // *Revue des études byzantines*, 54 (1996), p. 169–175, 182–184; on the kindling in Byzantine churches see: *Theis L.* Lampen, Leuchten, Licht // *Byzanz — das Licht aus dem Osten: Kult und Alltag im Byzantinischen Reich vom 4. bis zum 15. Jahrhundert.* Katalog der Ausstellung im Erzbischöflichen Diözesanmuseum Paderborn / Ed. Chr. Stiegemann. Mainz, 2001, S. 53–64.

<sup>6</sup> On the use of natural light see: *Potamianos I.* Light into Architecture. Evocative Aspects of Natural Light as Related to Liturgy (Ph. D. Diss. University of Michigan, 1996).

<sup>7</sup> On the symbolic and liturgical aspects as reflected in the Byzantine ekphrasis see: *Isar N.* Choros of Light: Vision of the Sacred in Paulus the Silentiary's poem *Descriptio S. Sophiae* // *Byzantinische Forschungen*, 28 (2004), p. 215–242.

<sup>8</sup> *Caseau B.* Euodia: The Use and Meaning of Fragrance in the Ancient World and their Christianization (100–900). Ann Arbor, 1994.

<sup>9</sup> *Heger P.* The Development of Incense Cult in Israel. Berlin — New York, 1997; *Barker M.* Fragrance in the making of sacred space: Jewish Temple paradigms of Christian worship // *Hierotopy. Comparative Studies* / Ed. A. Lidov. Moscow, 2006 (forthcoming).

basis of the positivist universe is the object itself, around which the whole process of research is being constructed. However, it becomes more and more clear now that the centre of the universe in medieval religious minds was immaterial but real space around which the world of objects, sounds, smells, lights and other effects came to being. Hierotopical approach allows us to see artistic objects in the context of another model of universe and to read them anew.

Without denying any options of iconographical or stylistic approaches, hierotopy helps to reveal an unknown source of information, existing in our art objects. If our efforts lead just to posing questions about the spatial aspect of a concrete monument and introduce one more dimension in traditional art historical discourse, the initial part of the project would be accomplished. We should repeat, however, that Hierotopy does not coincide with traditional art history, though it might considerably renovate its methodology.

Thinking further on the boundaries of art history, one may ask why the history of medieval art has been reduced to making of objects and the role of artist was limited by more or less high artistry. May be the time has come to extend the context by introducing a special figure of the creator of sacred space<sup>10</sup>. Some projects of sacred space were of high artistic value though realised on a different level in comparison with the creation of art objects and architectural forms. Such figures are well known though their true role has remained hidden behind the general name of donors or commissioners. However, not all the donors were creators of the sacred space though there are examples when their functions coincided.

A representative figure in the West is the Abbot Suger, who created a concept of the first Gothic space in the cathedral of St Denis<sup>11</sup>. His functions could not be reduced just to the endowment of the project, or to the casting of masters, or to the theological program, or to elaboration of new rituals, artistic modeling, iconographic or stylistic innovations. He was engaged in all these activities. His role can be compared with the role of film-directors, who coordinate efforts of various masters, which we have long agreed to regard in the context of art history.

In the Byzantine tradition emperors quite often played the role of creators of sacred space, following the example of Justinian as the saint 'concepteur' of the Great Church (fig. 1). Justinian himself competed with the King Solomon — a renown builder of the Old Testament Temple<sup>12</sup>. Solomon in his creation of the Temple space was inspired by the Lord himself, who con-

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<sup>10</sup> *Lidov A.* The Creator of Sacred Space as a Phenomenon of Byzantine Culture // *The Artist in Byzantium* / Ed. M. Bacci. Pisa, 2006.

<sup>11</sup> *Panofsky E.* *Abbot Suger and Its Art Treasures on the Abbey Church of St.-Denis.* Princeton, 1979.

<sup>12</sup> *Koder J.* Justinians Sieg über Solomon // *Thymiama.* Athens, 1994, p. 135–142.

veyed to Moses on Mount Choreb the entire project of the Tabernacle from the general structure of the space to details of the sacred vestment production (Ex. 25–40). God has chosen the master Bezalel for the practical realization of his plan, creating for centuries a model relationship between creators of sacred space and creators of objects (Ex. 35–36). Creation of sacred spaces by earthly rulers can be considered as iconic behavior in relation to the Ruler of the universe. That activity went far beyond ordinary commission and should become a subject of intensive research, based on a sequence of historical reconstructions of particular projects of sacred space.

I have recently discussed one of these concepts in detail in a special paper concerning Leo the Wise's project in Hagia Sophia and his spatial program of the Imperial Door (fig. 2)<sup>13</sup>. As one may judge from direct and indirect evidence, the emperor Leo combined in one program venerable relics and miraculous icons, mosaic murals and accompanying verse inscriptions, special rites and images of the miracle stories, which appeared in minds in front of the concrete shrines. All together they created a spatial milieu of the Main Entrance to the Great Church of the Empire. An invisible part of this milieu were repeated miracles, as numerous pilgrims inform us. To some extent, the boundaries of the milieu were mystically marked by the zone of specific miracles. The protagonist of this spatial dramaturgy was Jerusalem icon of the Virgin who spoke to St Mary of Egypt and gave her salvation after her deep penitence in front of the icon. Noteworthy is, that this icon, originally situated at the entrance to the Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre, was installed by Leo the Wise at the same place beside the Imperial Door of Saint Sophia of Constantinople. Thereby a mystical link was established between sacred spaces of two great churches. Jerusalem relic with its own aureole of literary associations and symbolic connotations was translated into the Constantinopolitan church, becoming a part of another spatial image.

That spontaneous aspect undoubtedly played a considerable role in the creation of any particular sacred space. Every spatial phenomenon should be perceived as a result of creative efforts of several masters. We do not want to fall back into the rut of an old-fashioned art-historical deification of the individual maestro: Solomon; Justinian; Leo the Wise, or Suger of St-Denis. Creation of an environment conducive to the eruption of the sacred (Eliade's hierophany) is always complex, and not merely reducible to the genius of a single patron. But at the same time we might want to think about a 'concepteur', a particular creator of the sacred space, whose role could be initiative, fundamental, and multifunctional. Like future film directors he was respon-

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<sup>13</sup> *Lidov A.* Leo the Wise and the Miraculous Icons in Hagia Sophia // *The Heroes of the Orthodox Church. The New Saints, 8<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> century* / Ed. E. Galaki-Kountoura. Athens, 2004, p. 393–432.

sible not merely for the general spatial imagery but for complex links of various arts subordinated into a single sacred milieu. Without revealing this figure, or better to say, without keeping in mind a possibility of this cultural function, we will not be able to understand properly numerous phenomena of medieval culture.

As we have noticed before, translation of sacred space was key element in the project of Leo the Wise, presenting just one example in a large practice, which consists of a main direction of the medieval hierotopy. A complex problem of the definition of the 'holy place' as distinct from the 'sacred space' emerges in this context<sup>14</sup>. Translation of a spatial image did not mean disappearance of the locus, moreover, topographical material concreteness stimulated the power and miraculous efficacy of a spatial image. Hierotopical creativity established a sophisticated system of interaction between the static place-matrix and the flying space, which at any moment could be materialized at a new place. In this context a set of projects on the recreation of the Holy Land in various countries of the East and the West comes to mind. Among them one might recall the Pharos chapel in Constantinople, which functioned not merely as an imperial storage of main Passion relics, but as the Byzantine Holy Sepulchre — the sacred centre of the Empire<sup>15</sup>. In the West the most striking example is famous Campo Santo in Pisa (fig. 4), for which in the 13<sup>th</sup> century the crusaders brought the real “Holy Land” by ships from Jerusalem and covered a large field, later surrounded by the gallery-cemetery. Finally, a glorious Russian project should be mentioned. I mean the seventeenth-century New Jerusalem complex near Moscow (fig. 5), which was the largest project for a recreation of the Holy Land in world history. Creators of that enormous sacred space combined in their project an iconic image and a precise replica, presenting both Byzantine and Western hierotopical traditions<sup>16</sup>.

It is interesting that in the framework of one 'large space' some projects belonging to different periods could co-exist. Thus, the concept of Leo the Wise at the beginning of the tenth century was inscribed into the space of the Great Church created by Justinian in the sixth century. It was not the only alteration. The whole environment of Hagia Sophia was filled out by concrete projects of sacred spaces. It concerns the space around the altar-table, with its various crosses, votive crowns, liturgical covers and the *catapetas-*

<sup>14</sup> Smith Z. *To Take Place. Toward Theory in Ritual*. Chicago and London, 1987.

<sup>15</sup> Lidov A. *The Theotokos of the Pharos. The Imperial Church-Reliquary as Constantinopolitan Holy Sepulchre // Византийский мир. Искусство Константинополя и национальные традиции (Byzantine World: The Art of Constantinople and National Traditions)*. Moscow, 2005, p. 79–108 (in Russian with English resume).

<sup>16</sup> Ousterhout R. *Flexible Geography and Transportable Topography // The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Art / Ed. B. Kuehnel*. Jerusalem, 1998, p. 402–404.

*ma*, which had to be perceived within a single spatial image-installation, which should not be reduced to any flat picture. Typologically similar spatial images, every time in new forms, appeared in other parts of the building: at the Samaritan's well in the south-east compartment, or around the icon-reliquary with the chains of St Peter in the northern aisle, or near the north-west pillar with relics of St Gregory the Wonderworker inside. The latter was covered by gilded brass plates and adorned by a venerated icon of this saint. In particular days a movable altar-table was installed in front of the pillar and special services took place. Deliberately modeled micro-spaces were activated in particular moments of the daily or annual liturgical services, becoming temporary protagonists in a grandiose spatial performance.

The dynamic characteristic was of principal importance in hierotopical projects. We usually do not consider it in our discussions of Byzantine art since we are mostly operating with archeological remains. However, we should recognize that the material forms were just a part, and not always the most important one, of a spatial whole which was in permanent movement. Performativity, dramatic changes, the lack of strict fixation shaped a vivid, spiritually intensive, and concretely influential environment.

It is noteworthy, that in Byzantium, as it becomes clear, this phenomenon had a special system of notions describing such performative paradigms<sup>17</sup>. Sometimes they were reflected in iconographical programs as, for a example, the early fourteenth-century mosaics of the Kariye Camii (the Chora Monastery in Constantinople) suggest (fig. 3). As we know, the concept of the sacred space as well as of the iconographic program belonged to Theodore Metochites, who clearly pointed out the origins of his imagery, symbolically connected with the dedication of the monastery to the '*Chôra*'. Along the axis of the West to the East, over the entrance and to the right of the sanctuary barrier, there are different images of the Virgin with the Child inscribed by the same words "*Chôra tou achôrêtou*" ("container of uncontainable", or "the space of what exists beyond the space")<sup>18</sup>. The inscription indicated the miracle of the Incarnation, when the earthly Virgin contained uncontainable God, and at once established a spatial dimension of the divine being. The images of the Mother of God were co-related with two images of Christ above the entrances to the narthex and to the naos, in both cases inscribed as "*Chôra tôn zôntôn*" ("space of the living").

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<sup>17</sup> It concerns, first of all, notions of *Chôra* and *Chorós*. See Nicoletta Isar's paper 'Chorography (*Chôra*, *Chorós*) — A performative paradigm of creation of sacred space in Byzantium' in the present collection.

<sup>18</sup> Ousterhout R. The Virgin of the Chora: the Image and its Contexts // *The Sacred Image. East and West* / Ed. R. Ousterhout, L. Brubaker. Urbana and Chicago, 1995, p. 91–109; Isar N. The Vision and its 'Exceedingly Blessed Beholder': Of Desire and Participation in the Icon // *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, 38 (2000), p. 56–73.



It seems clear that the '*Chôra*' here does not mean country, land or village, but the most important theological notion and one of the names of God. It went back to Plato's fundamental category<sup>19</sup>, which was developed by neo-Platonism and from there came to the Church Fathers. In the theology of icon worshippers (such as the Patriarch Nikephoros in the early ninth century) the notion of *Chôra* became a kind of cornerstone in the argument against iconoclasts, explaining the principal difference between the 'icon' and the 'idol'. According to this view, the ideal icon is always spatial, and at the same time absolutely concrete, like Christ at the same time eternally dwells in Heaven, and offers His flesh in every Eucharist sacrament. The *Chôra* as the spatial being of God is a link connecting these two rationally opposite phenomena. The entire church and all its images are intended to represent this 'divine space'. Highly educated Theodore Metochites emphasized that all-embracing symbolical meaning in his iconographical program, which was an integral part of the special hierotopical project of the Chora monastery. The example proves not merely deep roots of the hierotopical approach in medieval minds, but the existence of quite well articulated system of notions, which we sometimes ignore in our discussions<sup>20</sup>. It concerns, however, the pivotal principle of Byzantine 'theology in images'.

The 'paradigm of the flat picture', still dominating in our minds, does not help to establish an adequate perception of the spatial imagery and of hierotopical projects. It seems, that crucially significant in that respect is to recognize the spatial nature of iconic imagery as a whole: in Byzantine minds the icon was not merely an object and a flat picture on panel or wall, but a spatial vision emanating from the depiction into the environment in front of it and existing between the picture and its beholder. This basic perception determined iconic character of space in which various media were interacting. So, it is important to emphasize that creation of a sacred space is making of concrete spatial imagery that typologically, according to the type of representation and its perception, can be considered as something quite similar to Byzantine icons<sup>21</sup>.

This connection became evident in some late medieval projects, such as the Palm Sunday ceremony, or the 'Procession on a donkey' in the sixteenth-seventeenth century Moscovy. The tsar led the patriarch, seated on a donkey

<sup>19</sup> In the dialogue *Timaeus*, describing the creation of the universe, Plato names *Chôra* as one of three major categories which appeared separately before the birth of the heaven.

<sup>20</sup> In this context one may pay attention to an interesting term '*hieroplastia*', which appears in the texts of Pseudo-Dionisius Areopagite and denotes visual presentation of spiritual phenomena: Lampe G. W. H. *A Patristic Greek Lexikon*. Oxford, 1961, p. 670. From the hierotopical point of view, this term could reflect creation of spatial imagery.

<sup>21</sup> On this phenomenon see: Lidov A. *Spatial Icons. The Miraculous Performance with the Hodegetria of Constantinople in the present collection*.

in remembrance of Christ's entrance into Jerusalem, from the Kremlin to St Basil cathedral on the Red Square. The hierotopical concept seems quite obvious and can not be reduced to a well-known phenomenon of urban processions. It concerns reproduction in the centre of Moscow of the space of Jerusalem according to the Gospels. Some scholars have already posed a problem of the iconography of the ritual, which should be interpreted as a 'living picture' and a dynamic (one may add, and spatial) re-enactment of the icon with "The Entrance into Jerusalem" — a very popular subject in Byzantine and Russian Medieval art<sup>22</sup>. All figures of the iconography became real participants of the Moscow rite, creating a kind of performance in space and illustrating the festive icon. This eloquent example clearly demonstrates, how deep the connection was between the spatial imagery and icons, which late medieval Russian masters of hierotopy used to present in more illustrative and narrative way than their Byzantine predecessors.

In Byzantium the relations could be more sophisticated, when a miraculous icon with its own image and iconographical program participated in the creation of a sacred space, as it happened in the miraculous Tuesday performance with the Hodegetria of Constantinople and many others<sup>23</sup>. In these cases the image on the panel was perceived as animated, it became an inseparable part of the iconic spatial milieu, in which the miraculous icon was actively participating and interacting with beholders. One might notice that an artistic phenomenon, that we are trying to reveal, creates a methodological trouble, a contradiction with a basic principle of the history of art — the opposition 'image versus beholder'. The relationship between the image and the beholder could be most complicated, however, their structural opposition presents a kind of pivot of all art-historical discussions. Yet the most characteristic feature of Byzantine hierotopy is the participation of the beholder in the spatial image. The beholder acts inside the image, as its integral element together with various depictions, lights, odours, gestures, and sounds. Furthermore, the beholder, possessing collective and individual memory, spiritual experience and knowledge, in a way participates in the creation of the spatial imagery. At the same time, the image exists in objective reality as a kind of dynamic structure, changing its elements according to an individual perception — some aspects of the spatial entity could be accentuated, or temporally hidden. Creators of sacred spaces kept in minds the factor of prepared perception, connecting all intellectual and emotional threads of the image-concept. Maybe because of this a spectator from outside does not per-

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<sup>22</sup> *Flier M.* The Iconology of Royal Ritual in Sixteenth-Century Moscow // *Byzantine Studies. Essays on the Slavic World and the Eleventh Century.* New York, 1992, p. 66.

<sup>23</sup> *Lidov A.* The Flying Hodegetria. The Miraculous Icon as Bearer of Sacred Space // *The Miraculous Image in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance* / Ed. E. Thunoe and G. Wolf. Rome, 2004, p. 291–321.

ceive that Byzantine spatial imagery, while sometimes adoring the decorative beauty of “flat icons”.

It is noteworthy, that Byzantine 'spatial icons', most unusual in modern European context, have a typological parallel in the contemporary art of performances and multi-media installations, which have nothing to do with the Byzantine tradition historically or symbolically. What they share is the basic principle of absence of a single source of images, the imagery is created in space by numerous dynamically changing forms. The most significant is the role of the beholder, who actively participates in the re-creation of the spatial imagery. All the differences of the contents, technologies and aesthetics notwithstanding, one may speak about one and the same type of the perception of images. The aspect, just touched upon here, shows how far we can go in our analysis of the hierotopical approach.

As we have tried to demonstrate, in many cases discussion of visual culture can not be reduced to a positivist description of artifacts, or to the analysis of theological notions. It requires change of vision and of the language of description. Some phenomena can be properly interpreted only on the level of images-ideas: I prefer to term them 'image-paradigms', which do not coincide with the illustrative pictures or ideological conceptions<sup>24</sup>. This special notion seems a useful *instrumentum studiorum*, which helps to explain a certain layer of historical sources. That image-paradigm was not connected with illustration of any specific text, though it included a lot of literary and symbolic meanings and associations. It is hard to see in this paradigm just an embodiment of a theological concept, although the depth and complexity of its structure is quite obvious. The image-paradigm belonged to the visual culture, it was visible and recognizable, but at the same time it was not formalized in any stable state, either in a pictorial scheme or in a mental structure. In this respect the image-paradigm looks similar to the metaphor that loses its sense in re-telling, or in its division into parts. For the Byzantines, such an irrational and at once 'hiero-

<sup>24</sup> Heavenly Jerusalem was perceived as such an image-paradigm changing its external forms every time but surviving as a recognizable matrix, see: *Lidov A. Heavenly Jerusalem. The Byzantine Approach // The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Art / Ed. B. Kuehnel (Jerusalem, 1998), p.341–353, esp. 353*. Some other examples have been recently revealed: *Lidov A. The Miracle of Reproduction. The Mandylion and Keramion as a paradigm of sacred space // L'Immagine di Cristo dall' Acheropiita dalla mano d'artista / Ed. C. Frommel, G. Morello, G. Wolf. Citta del Vaticano, Rome, 2006*; *Lidov A. Holy Face — Holy Script — Holy Gate: Revealing the Edessa Paradigm in Christian Imagery // Mandylion. Intorno al Sacro Volto / Ed. G. Wolf. Firenze, 2006*. The latest article offers a striking example and reveals that the Mandylion, Christ's Letter to Abgar and the Sacred Gate of Edessa, where these two relics were displayed, were perceived as a single whole — an established image-paradigm which existed in minds of medieval artists and their beholders.

plastic<sup>25</sup> perception of the world could be the most adequate reflection of its divine essence. It does not involve any mystic but a special type of consciousness, in which our categories of the artistic, the ritual, the intellectual were interwoven in the inseparable form of vision.

The absence of the image-paradigm as a notion in contemporary scholarship does not allow us to reveal a number of phenomena which determined both symbolic structures and concrete pictorial motifs. One point seems clear — this phenomenon is quite distinct from what one may call an iconographic device. It seems significant in this respect that in references to most glorious model-shrines, like the Holy Sepulchre, Hagia Sophia or the Cathedral of the Kiev-Cave monastery, medieval 'concepteurs', as a rule, reproduced not planning, architectural forms or decoration, but the image-idea of the particularly venerated sacred space, recognized by contemporaries and included into the new context. We still do not have a proper language to operate with image-paradigms that challenge our fundamental methodological approach to the image as illustration and flat picture. In my view, beyond the image-paradigms our discussion will remain foreign to the medieval way of thinking and any analysis of style, iconography or hierotopy would be limited to a simple external fixation of artifacts of the visual culture. However, the recognition is important in and of itself, and further studies in this direction may reveal some practical approaches and renew our vision of medieval phenomena.

It is quite obvious that the hierotopical problematic cannot be limited to the Byzantine tradition only. Ancient and medieval, and in general, the entire history of religious cultures in various countries consists of numerous hierotopical projects, which might become a subject of comparative studies. In this connection it seems correct to pose a question of different layers or levels existing in each sacred space. This concerns archetypal background shared by all traditions. For instance, the archetype of the Holy Mountain exists in absolutely different cultures, historically unrelated to each other.

One may pose the question of hierotopical groups, as it was done many years ago for language families. Elucidation of the Indo-European tradition in creation of sacred spaces looks as a quite fruitful direction of studies. At least, the existence of such a tradition makes it possible to explain very similar structure of the inner space in Hindu temples and Christian churches, that could not be understood in terms of historical influences.

No less important is the issue of religious and national models of hierotopy. The Islamic approach is quite distinct from the Christian one, though both religions, having roots in Judaism, are much closer to each other than to Buddhism.

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<sup>25</sup> See note 20.

The first thing, that comes to my mind, is the striking problem of the “temple consciousness”, recently exposed by some scholars. It presupposes discussion of different models of the temple space in the framework of the so called 'Abraham's tradition'<sup>26</sup>.

Some striking typological differences might be noticed through comparative analysis of Christian hierotopy in the West and in the East. As has been already mentioned, in Byzantium we see iconic vision of the spatial imagery, destroying the barrier between the stable church (its material body) and the dynamic external milieu outside any physical borders. The inner space of the church could be displayed and re-created in squares and streets, in fields and mountains, which should, at least temporarily, be transformed into an icon of the sacred universe, created by God himself. This re-creation of the spatial proto-image contains one of the most essential meanings of all rites and processions happening outside the church. It is noteworthy that the church itself is considered as a transparent structure and moving spiritual substance: one may recall about the relics inlaid in walls, pillars and cupolas of Byzantine churches<sup>27</sup>. A kind of manifestation of that vision we can see in post-Byzantine churches in Romania, where the altar iconography is reproduced on the facades and the most sacred liturgical program is open to the external world which is conceived in this way as a church-cosmos.

Byzantium created basic models of the arrangement of sacred spaces, which in different countries were adopted and transformed according to their national characteristics and even climatic conditions. It is quite clear, that the ice architecture, which framed Russian hierotopical projects for the Epiphany and other winter festivals, simply could not exist in Constantinople or in the Balkans<sup>28</sup>. This also demonstrates how sublime Constantinopolitan patterns were being re-worked in the folk milieu: the well established, 'academic' hierotopy was naturally combined with spontaneous sacralization of the human environment.

As a living being, a hierotopical project could change in time: the original concept-matrix was subject to developments and additions, the concept itself was sometimes transformed according to new ideologems. Cathedrals of the Moscow Kremlin provide a good example: their spatial imagery con-

<sup>26</sup> I mean, first of all, some works by Henry Corbin and his conception of 'themenology'. See also a fundamental monograph by Sharif Shukurov: *Шукуров Ш. М. Образ Храма / Imago Templi*. М., 2002. The author suggests an approach, different from the hierotopical one, to the discussion of the temple space: his attention is focused on the phenomenology and poetics of the temple, developing Corbin's ideas.

<sup>27</sup> *Teteriatnikova N. Relics in Walls, Pillars and Columns of Byzantine Churches // Восточнохристианские реликвии / Ред.-сост. А. М. Лидов. М., 2003, с. 74–92.*

<sup>28</sup> См.: *Beliaev L. The Hierotopy of the Orthodox festival. On the national traditions in the making of sacred spaces // Hierotopy...*, p. 39–47, and in *Hierotopy. Comparative Studies / Ed. A. Lidov. Moscow, 2006 (forthcoming).*

siderably changed in different periods. As recent studies of some late medieval inventories have shown, by the late seventeenth century the most liturgical textiles, which used to cover icons and great parts of walls, were removed from the cathedrals. This created a principally different image of sacred space, that we sometimes wrongly consider as an ancient one<sup>29</sup>. Careful research of different historical layers of sacred space may be compared with the restoration of an icon. As in such case, quite often just small remains of original hierotopical projects are available to us, yet they should be recognized as a unique source of historical information, which is capable to give a clue to understanding of the surviving elements of the ancient complex — architectural forms, frescoes, icons, liturgical vessels or particular rites.

The hierotopical approach relates not merely to the sacred spaces of churches, cities or landscapes but to the research of spatial imagery in minor art forms and in written texts. In the present introductory article we can but touch upon some aspects of this large topic. The problematic of sacred space in Byzantine manuscripts looks nearly unexplored. On the one hand, the spatial concept is quite evident: in several manuscripts frontpieces are conceived as a solemn gate to the sacred space of the book, sometimes they represent an icon of the heavenly city made up of churches (e.g., the twelfth-century Homilies of James of Kokkinobaphos from Vatican and Paris, and the Sermons of St Gregory of Nazianzus from Sinai, of the same century, fig. 6)<sup>30</sup>. On the other hand, a method to describe this phenomenon has not been elaborated. The creator of a manuscript did not represent just a flat ornamentation and the so called iconographical program, but tried to establish a certain system of interrelations between the miniatures on double-pages of a manuscript, making the image of sacred space which recalled the sacred milieu of the church (it is not accidental that the image of the church appeared on Byzantine covers). In many cases we probably may speak about a particular concept that generated individual spatial imagery and connected the manuscript with its liturgical function and its concrete environment — specific rituals, lightings, sounding words and various liturgical vessels.

A comparison with liturgical vestments can be adduced here I mean primarily the well-known fourteenth and early fifteenth-century embroidered Byzantine sakkos of the Metropolitan Photios of Moscow (fig. 7)<sup>31</sup>. Bearing

<sup>29</sup> *Стерлигова И. А.* Драгоценный убор икон Царского храма // Царский храм. Святыни Благовещенского собора в Кремле (The Royal Church. Holy Relics of the Annunciation Cathedral in the Kremlin). Moscow, 2003, p. 63–78.

<sup>30</sup> Vatican, gr. 1162, f. 2r and Sinai, gr. 339, f. 4v. See: *Lidov A.* Heavenly Jerusalem. The Byzantine Approach..., p. 351–353.

<sup>31</sup> *Piltz E.* Trois sakkoi byzantins. Analyse iconographique. Stockholm, 1976; Medieval Pictorial Embroidery. Byzantium, Balkans, Rus'. A catalogue of the exhibition. Moscow, 1991, № 9–10, p. 38–51.

a sophisticated system of images, these liturgical robes created a microcosmos of the church space, which was included into the sacred milieu of the real huge church (the Moscow cathedral) and revealed their true meaning in the liturgical movement. Gold-embroidered icons were permanently changing on the moving clothes, becoming a kind of living beings in the atmosphere of unstable lighting of natural sources, various fires, reflections of gold and silver vessels, in the multi-layered environment of smoking incenses. In general, it concerns a dynamic, performative, spatial imagery, including officiating person as well as the entire liturgical context. It should be made clear, that the traditional approach, limited just to studies of technology, style or iconography, without consideration of the spatial background of this imagery, which was connected with a particular hierotopical project, will keep us far away from proper understanding of original concepts of the so called museum objects.

The same is true for liturgical vessels and numerous reliquaries. In the tenth-century Constantinopolitan stone chalice from the treasury of San Marco in Venice (the 'Chalice of Patriarchs') there is a gold medallion with an enamel Pantocrator, which appears on the bottom of the semi-transparent bowl made of sardonyx (fig. 8)<sup>32</sup>. At the moment of communion the image had to appear in the fluctuating liquid as a visible testimony of the Eucharistic miracle of the transubstantiation of wine into the blood of Christ. However, a more striking indication to the spatial context of the image one might find in the eloquent juxtaposition of the liturgical chalice and the cupola of the Byzantine church, that also bore Pantocrator image (fig. 9). In the space of a particular church these two images of the Pantocrator had to be perceived as interrelated parts of one and the same hierotopical concept.

Another example is the famous Limburg *staurothek* (968–985 rr., fig. 10)<sup>33</sup>: the central part with a piece of the True Cross is framed by fragments of ten other relics, most of which were kept in the church of the Virgin of the Pharos — the major reliquary, belonging to the Byzantine emperors. The complex of relics created a kind of icon of the Passions<sup>34</sup>. As known from the 'Book of Ceremonies' by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, reliquaries of the True Cross used to be carried on battle fields during special imperial rituals<sup>35</sup>. A *staurothek* was carried in front of the emperor on the breast of an

<sup>32</sup> Il Tesoro di San Marco. Milano, 1986, cat. no 16, p. 167–173.

<sup>33</sup> Ševčenko N. The Limburg Staurothek and its Relics // Thymiama. Athens, 1994, pls. 166–167, p. 289–294.

<sup>34</sup> On an iconic representation of the transportable "Pharos Chapel", see: Wolf G. The Holy Face and the Holy Feet. Some considerations in front of the Novgorod Mandylyon // Eastern Christian Relics / Ed. A. Lidov. Moscow 2003, p. 285–286.

<sup>35</sup> De Ceremoniis, I, 484.24–485.6; Haldon J. Constantine Porphyrogenitus. Three Treatises on Imperial Military Expeditions. Vienna, 1990, p. 124.

imperial chamber person. The link of a reliquary with the emperor personally was stressed by all means. It was not merely a demonstration of imperial omnipotence and the direct connection with the Ruler of universe, but a reference to the sacred space of the Pharos chapel, from where the relics were borrowed<sup>36</sup>. In such a ritual the whole army before the battle shared the most sacred space of the empire that was embodied in the icon-reliquary.

If the hierotopical concept of the Limburg *staurothek* needs some additional evidence for its proper understanding, in some cases we should just look carefully at objects themselves. Thus, Byzantine reliquaries of St Demetrios (fig. 11) reproduced not merely the iconography of the saint<sup>37</sup>, but the arrangement of his shrine in Thessaloniki, which is represented by sequence of flat and volume images, gradually appearing in the process of the opening of a reliquary. It aimed at the creation of an image of venerated sacred space, widely known because of the miracles that regularly happened there. A pendant reliquary invisibly connected its owner with the St Demetrios' basilica in Thessaloniki (fig. 12). This sort of objects is not possible to interpret as just a relic decorated with images. They should be considered as spatial icons, which achieved their miraculous power through combination of the relic, the imagery, and its holy milieu.

The number of examples can be easily extended, and the brief analysis considerably developed. However, seems much more important to us here to evaluate a possibility of hierotopical approach to objects of minor arts, not to monumental spaces only. Intention to re-create in small forms iconic concept of a particular sacred space reflects, in my opinion, a fundamental principle of the Eastern Christian visual culture.

It seems correct in this context to pose a question of sacred spaces in literary texts<sup>38</sup>. In medieval writings, and particularly in hagiographic texts, there is quite often a description of a sacred milieu — a dwelling place of the saint, partly created by himself. In some cases there is a chance to compare these descriptions with archaeological remains and characteristics of the natural environment<sup>39</sup>. All common positive features, i.e. distances, become

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<sup>36</sup> A more detailed discussion of this aspect, see: *Лудов А. М. Церковь Богоматери Фаросской. Императорский храм-реликварий как константинопольский Гроб Господень (The Theotokos of the Pharos. The Imperial church-reliquary as Constantinopolitan Holy Sepulchre) // Византийский мир: искусство Константинополя и национальные традиции. М., 2005, с. 87.*

<sup>37</sup> *Grabar A. Quelques reliquaires de Saint Démétrios et le Martirium du saint à Salonique // DOP, 5 (1950), p. 3–28.*

<sup>38</sup> Spatial aspects of Russian literature became a subject of several important studies by an outstanding philologist Vladimir Торогов: *Торогов В. О мифопоэтическом пространстве (Lo spazio mitopoetico). Избранные статьи. Pisa, 1994.*

<sup>39</sup> A good example has been provided by: *Bakirtzis N. The Creation of an Hierotopos in Byzantium: Ascetic Practice and its Sacred Topography on Mt. Menoikeion (in the present collection).*



invalid. A medieval author presents recognizable but iconic image of the space, which exists beyond our system of values. Such a hierotopical approach to the modelling of space by words-images was recently named 'chorotope' by Peter Brown, who had in mind the classical notion of the 'chronotope' proposed by Mikhail Bakhtin<sup>40</sup>. It is not merely about any direct description of sacred spaces (the Paradise, a monastery or a church), but about an attempt to present by literary means an image of specific sacred milieu, which, looking from outside, could not have common 'sacred' characteristics<sup>41</sup>. In large spaces of the church and the city, in minor arts, and in literary texts there is one and the same type of creativity, determined by the idea of spatial imagery and iconic perception of the world.

In this brief introductory article I have just attempted to pose a problem. Naturally, not all the aspects have even been touched upon, a lot of them should be exposed and analysed properly. I did not deliberately make a strict distinction between 'hierotopy as a form of creativity' and 'hierotopy as subject of cultural history'. It seemed more important to me to reveal the phenomenon in general, leaving for the future certain structural and terminological corrections of the subject and the method. As a conclusion, one might notice, that hierotopy is not a philosophical concept, which needs a sophisticated theory. It can be considered, in my view, as a form of vision that helps to recognize the presence of a special stratum of cultural phenomena, which should be historically reconstructed in detail.

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<sup>40</sup> *Brown P.* Chorotope: Theodore of Sykeon and His Sacred Landscape in the present collection.

<sup>41</sup> A hierotopical approach has been applied to modern literature. See: *Blank K.* Hierotopy in Dostoevsky and Tolstoy // Hierotopy. Comparative Studies (forthcoming).



1. София Константинопольская. Вид внутреннего пространства / Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. A view to the inner space



2. София Константинопольская. Пространство императорских врат / Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. A view to the Imperial Door



3. Богоматерь «*Chôra tou achôrêtou*» над входом в храм монастыря Хора (Кахрие Джами). Мозаика, начало XIV в. Константинополь / The Virgin “*Chôra tou achôrêtou*” over the entrance to the cathedral of the Chora monastery (Kariye Camii). Mosaic, early 14<sup>th</sup> cent. Constantinople



4. Campo Santo в Пизе, XIII–XV в. / Campo Santo in Pisa, 13<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> cent.



5. «Новый Иерусалим» под Москвой. Вид внутреннего пространства собора / The “New Jerusalem” near Moscow. A view of the cathedral's inner space, 17<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> cent.



6. Миниатюра-фронтиспис рукописи Слов Григория Назианзина, ок. 1150 г. Монастырь Св. Екатерины, Синай / Miniature-frontispiece of the manuscript of the Liturgical Homilies of St. Gregory of Nazianzus, ca. 1150. St Catherine's monastery, Sinai (gr. 339, fol. 4v)



7. Большой саккос митрополита Фотия. Золотое шитье. Византия, 1414–1417 гг. Музеи Московского Кремля / Major Sakkos of the Metropolitan Photios. Gold embroidery. Byzantium, 1414–1417. Museums of the Moscow Kremlin.



8. «Потир патриархов». Сардоникс, перегородчатая эмаль. Константинополь, X в. Сокровищница Сан Марко, Венеция / "Patriarchs' Chalice". Sardonix, cloisonné enamel. Constantinople, 10<sup>th</sup> cent. Treasury of San Marco, Venice



9. Пантократор в куполе Софии Киевской. XI в. / The Pantocrator in the dome of St. Sophia in Kiev. 11<sup>th</sup> cent.





10. Лимбургская ставроотека. Позолоченное серебро, перегородчатая эмаль. Константинополь, X в. Собор Лимбурга / The Limburg staurothek. Silver gild, cloisonné enamel. Constantinople, 10<sup>th</sup> cent. Treasury of the Limburg cathedral



11. Реликварий-киворий св. Дмитрия. Позолоченное серебро. Византия. 1059–1067 гг. Музеи Московского Кремля / Reliquary-ciborium of St. Demetrios. Silver gilt. Byzantium, 1059–1067. Museums of the Moscow Kremlin



12. Нагрудный реликварий св. Дмитрия. Византия. XIII–XIV вв. Коллекция Дамбартон Оакс, Вашингтон / The pendant reliquary of St. Demetrios. Gold, cloisonné enamel. Byzantium. 13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> cent. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

Nicoletta Isar

CHOROGRAPHY (*CHÔRA*, *CHORÓS*) –  
A PERFORMATIVE PARADIGM OF CREATION  
OF SACRED SPACE IN BYZANTIUM

Hierotopy, a compound term based on the Greek words *hierós* and *tópos* constructed by Dr. Alexei Lidov some few years ago (2001), has lately received a great audience among scholars, and is now on the point of becoming a true discipline. Hierotopy is no doubt Lidov's remarkable contribution to the studies of the phenomena of sacred space in Byzantium and beyond it. His vision we all share, and in return we may all reflect back many visions. Chorography aims to be one of these many, yet in agreement with hierotopy and the idea that the quality of being *hierós* remained, since the Homeric times, imbued with what defines god as a god, which is, holiness and movement, vitality and circularity. According to Benveniste, on the evidence of Homeric examples, in the Greek world *hierós* belongs to the domain of the 'sacred'<sup>1</sup>. Thus, the term *tà hierá* denotes the sacrificial act, sacrifices were *hierà kalà*, and they were offered on the *hierôi...bômôi*; the priest who presides over the mystery of sacrifice was *hiereús*, the victim was *hierēion*, and the verb of his action was *hiereúô*. Benveniste derives other qualities of *hierós*, such as movement and liveliness, swiftness and vitality, from a comparative study in the examination of the word<sup>2</sup>. Finally, circularity was associated with things of *hierós*, among which exemplary remains the image of the judges sitting "in the *hierós* circle" (*hierôi eni kuklôi*)<sup>3</sup>.

Chorography intends to test these qualities of being *hierós* against the Byzantine context, and reveal the presence of *hierós* in the space *chôra* (*chôros*), drawing on the intimate relation between *chôra* and *chorós*, between space and movement, deeply rooted in the ancient Greek language and imagination. I will start with a brief philological clarification. *Chôra*

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<sup>1</sup> Benveniste E. The 'Sacred' // Indo-European Language and Society. London, 1973, p. 460.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 456–461.

<sup>3</sup> Homer. Iliade. 18. 504.

(*chôros*) is commonly translated as space, to distinguish it from the place (which is *tópos* in Greek). But there is a sense of movement contained in the Greek word *chôra*, which is linked to the verb *chôréô* having two senses: first, it means to withdraw (give way), to make room for another, like in the *Homeric Hymns*: “The earth gave way from beneath (*gaía d’enerthe chôrêsen*)”<sup>4</sup>. The sense is of withdrawing, while inscribing the space in its withdrawal. *Chôréô* means also to go forward, to be in motion or in flux, like Heraclitus said when he referred that nothing in the world remains still, but rather everything moves (*pánta chôrêi*). According to the context, the word *chôréô* indicates either a movement with the sense to go forward, or to retreat, withdraw or recede, in both cases having the effect to “make room for”, generating a particular kind of space.

On the other hand, the ancient Greek word *chorós* conveys the idea of collective coordinated movement (as action, the dance), or of collectivity in movement (as agent acting, the choir), like *chorós ástrôn* (the dance of the stars), or *chorós melitôn* (the dance of the bees). This movement is specifically circular; it is an orderly circular movement. On some occasions, *chorós* designated the dancing ground, a term metonymically derived from the place where the choir (*chorós*) danced. The verb *choreúô* means to dance in a choir, or in a circular manner. The word *chorós* could be translated in Modern English, according to the context, either as “to dance around” or as “the choir of dance” or simply as “the choir”.

In the Hellenic culture, Classical, as well as Byzantine<sup>5</sup>, everything was believed to be in process of change. Space and movement were intimately conceived together: this was an enduring paradigm of Greek thinking and imagination. Chorography is based on this paradigm and on the assumption that there is a dynamic relationship contained in the words *chôra* (*chôros*) and *chorós*, which is creative (generative) of things of *hierós*. Chorography meaning ‘writing space’ or ‘writing (the space) with the dance’, will hopefully unveil how *hierós* is inscribed (emerges) in the space *chôra* by means of the circular movement *chorós*. I hope to show how the quality of being *hierós*

<sup>4</sup> “To Demeter”. 429f.

<sup>5</sup> “This life of our bodies, material and subject to flux, always advancing by way of motion, finds the power of its being in this, that it never rests from its motion: and as some river, flowing on by its own impulse, keeps the channel in which it runs well filled, yet is not seen in the same water always at the same place, but part of it glides away while part comes flowing on, so, too, the material element of our life here suffers change in the continuity of its succession of opposites by way of motion and flux, so that it never can desist from change, but in its inability to rest keeps up unceasingly its motion alternating by like ways: and if it should ever *cease* moving it will assuredly have cessation also of its being” (*Gregory of Nyssa. On The Making of Man. Writings and Letters // A Selected Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church / Trans. W. Moore and H. A. Wilson. Michigan, 1988. Vol. V, p. 399–400*).

resides in the completion and perfection of the circle, how the vitality of the Christian god reaches its fullness in the circular space of the altar or sanctuary like in the old precinct. The definition of the trace (inscription) of the *chôra* space is obviously at the heart of choro-graphy, due to the instrumentality of the *graphè* in revealing the things of *hierós*. In the following, I will make a brief reading of the Platonic *chôra* as it comes out from Plato's *Timaeus*<sup>6</sup>, and then move on to the Byzantine *chôra*, following the evolution of the concept.

#### PLATO'S CHÔRA

Plato's dialogue *Timaeus* describes the creation of the universe as the transition from the intelligible and invisible world (the world of Being) to the visible cosmos (the world of Becoming), where *chôra* is a third kind of entity (*trítion génos*). *Chôra* precedes creation; she is invisible because she is fundamentally amorphous. *Chôra* is a space in cosmogonic generation; she is the nurse, the matrix or the receptacle of creation. Yet Plato's *chôra* remains a specific kind of space, a third genre, with some kinship perhaps to the Platonic *metaxu* (interval, between), where the *dáimon*<sup>7</sup> dwells, or a revelation of some kind may occur. *Chôra* is a space-in-the-making, and in-between, indeed, because she partakes both of the intelligible, and at the same time, of anything or anybody that enters and deserts her. Yet she retains neither of those phenomenal bodies visiting her. However, *Timaeus* refers to the *appearing* of *chôra*, to her manifestation in the visible, where the verb *phainesthai* means "to become manifest", "to show (herself)" or "to appear to sight" (50b–c). *Chôra* appears episodically to sight only the moment when the bodies collide with her. But *chôra* appears only in movement, only in the traces of movement since only the things that move are visible things and leave their traces in the visible<sup>8</sup>. One could therefore speak of *chôra* as itself only in movement, as the moving trace of *chôra*. At the same time, it is fair to say that the trace of *chôra* is an impermanent trace.

#### THE VISIBILITY OF PLATO'S CHÔRA: THE APPEARING TRACE

The trace, which is *ichnos*<sup>9</sup> in Greek, and can be translated also as imprint, or footprint, is a very important notion to come close to *chôra*. The trace has some indexical relevance<sup>10</sup>, you may think, but it is only relative and tem-

<sup>6</sup> *Timaeus* is the first systematization of the universe, the first cosmology, autonomous from myth, illustrating the epistemological transformation signalled by the advent of philosophy.

<sup>7</sup> "the whole of the daimonic is between (*metaxu*) god and mortal" (Symposium 202d13–e1).

<sup>8</sup> The phenomenal appearances, copies of the eternal Forms, are subject to becoming and visible (*mimema de paradeigmatos ... génesin echon kai oratón*) (*Timaeus*, 50c).

<sup>9</sup> *Timaeus*, 53B.

<sup>10</sup> Following the classic distinction made by the American semiotician Charles Sanders Peirce between the iconic and the indexical aspects of the sign.

porary, due to the impermanence of the trace. Unlike ichnography<sup>11</sup>, the footstep of the Platonic *chôra* is volatile: “(It) fleets (*phéretai*) ever as a phantom (*phántasma*) of something else”<sup>12</sup>. Yet this is all we can track down from her, and the trace is instrumental in disclosing the absconded *chôra*. It is not clear whether the movement of her trace can be judged as performative, and in which way. All that we know so far is that phenomenal bodies constantly visit the hospitable *chôra*, and that their motion is a complex movement. This movement derives from the difference of powers manifested within *chôra*: “the Nurse of Becoming, being liquefied and ignified are receiving also the forms of earth and of air, and submitting to all the other affections which accompany these, exhibits every variety of appearance (*pantodapên mèn ideîn pháinesthai*); but owing to being filled with potencies that are neither similar nor balanced, in no part of herself is she equally balanced, but sways unevenly in every part, and is herself shaken by these forms and shakes them in turn as she is moved” (52d–52e). Such picture of *chôra* precedes the cosmic order, but this may not necessarily mean that there is disorder in *chôra*. Rather, there is a different principle from order.

#### THE BYZANTINE *CHÔRA*: HER INSCRIPTION IN THE VISIBLE

For the Byzantines, the space designated by the term *chôra* was the matrix of the Incarnation. It was a space *chôrêton kai achôrêton*,<sup>13</sup> which means, “that which occupies space, and does not occupy space”. This is the place that one occupies in the visible world, although in a special way. Scholars of the Byzantine *chôra* gave attention to this paradox — the dwelling space of the uncontainable God, expressed in what R. Ousterhout called the “typology of containment”. The visibility of the Byzantine *chôra* becomes the subject of a most intense debate around the definition of the icon, discussed by Nicephoros the Patriarch of Constantinople specifically in terms of iconic space *chôra*. The icon has its specific space, which reveals the *chôra* and not the *tópos*, spells out Nicephoros, when he applies to the verb *ekchôréô* in order to speak about the iconic inscription (*graphê*)<sup>14</sup>. In Marie-José Mondzain’s interpretation, the iconic *chôra* is a space extension,

<sup>11</sup> First invented by the German philosopher Leibniz early in the 18<sup>th</sup> c., and transformed into a science of fossils (paleontology) in 19<sup>th</sup> c.

<sup>12</sup> “how that it belongs to a copy — seeing that it has not for its own even that substance for which it came into being, but fleets (*phéretai*) ever as a phantom of something else” (*Timaeus*, 52C).

<sup>13</sup> *Gregory Nazianzus*. Epist. 101 (PG 37, col. 177B); also: The Akatistos Hymnos, icos 8.

<sup>14</sup> “*H graphê dè ekkechôrêke pollô ...*” (*Nicephori archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani*. Refutatio et eversio deliramentorum Adversus Salutarem Dei Verbi Incarnationem, Antirhreticus II // PG 100, col. 360 A); French translation: Mais l’inscription est très loin de là (i. e., *tópos*) // *Nicephore Discours contre les iconoclasts / Traduction, présentation et notes par M.-J. Mondzain-Baudinet*. Paris, 1989, p. 170.

where *chôréô* means both to occupy a space and to contain something, which means that the content and the container coincide. The point of contact between them or the edge of this space is *zônê*, in Mondzain's interpretation, which in Greek means the peripheral belt of contact between the womb of the mother and the body of the child<sup>15</sup>. The iconic line (*graphê*) is the trace of coincidence between content and container, which manifests into visible the limitless Word (*aperigraptos Lógos*)<sup>16</sup>.

Nicephoros' theory of the iconic space *chôra* relies on the tradition of theological thinking of sacred space in Byzantium. This we find most sounded expressed in John of Damascus' Book I of *Exposition of the Orthodox Faith* (Ch. XIII)<sup>17</sup>, where he discusses the place of God in contrast to bodily place in Aristotle's thinking. According to Aristotle (*Physic*, bk. iv, 4), writes John of Damascus, "bodily place is the limit of that which contains, by which that which is contained is contained". Such is "the air that contains, but the body is contained". The place of the contained body is therefore the limit of contact between the body and its container, as it is not the whole of the container that is its place. For Aristotle, *tópos* appears to be something different from its filling, the body. It cannot be itself a body, since a body and the "place" it fills have the same dimensions, and it will be therefore absurd to say that the two bodies can be "in" the same dimensions at once. Bodies and space must be different things. The "place" they occupy is like a sort of jug that can be filled up. "Place" is therefore "held to be" something different from the things coming to be in it. It is not the same with the place of God and the holy bodies. The definition of God's place must be formulated in a different way. It should be defined not as bodily place, but as "mental place", "where mind dwells and energies" and "where His (God) energy becomes manifest". Aristotelian bodily definition of place cannot be applied to God. "God, being immaterial and uncircumscribed, has no place. He is His own place, filling all things and being above all things, and Himself maintaining all things". The Church, too, says Damascus, is "the place of God", and "the places in which His energy becomes manifest to us". Likewise, the angel "energises" the place, and "further the soul is bound up with the body. Whole with whole and not part with part: and it is not contained by the body but contains it as fire does iron, and being in it energises

<sup>15</sup> Mondzain M.-J. Iconic Space and the Rule of Lands // *Hypatia*, vol. 15, no. 4 (Fall 2000), p. 66. *Nicephore* Discours contre les iconoclasts, note 40 p. 170. Mondzain M.-J. *Image, icône, économie. Les sources byzantines de l'imaginaire contemporain*. Paris, 1996, p. 199.

<sup>16</sup> *Melodos Romanos*. The hymn "Rejoice, O bride unmarried".

<sup>17</sup> *John of Damascus*. *Exposition of the Orthodox Faith*. Book I, Chapter XIII // *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church / Translation by The Rev. S. D. F. Salmond*. Second Series, volume IX. Michigan, 1989, p. 15.



with its own proper energies”<sup>18</sup>. Summing up Damascus’ theology, one can say that according to him, the place of God and the holy bodies are to be conceived as a sacred space where God’s energies become manifest. In such place, the Aristotelian separation between body and space is not operative, not “part with part”, but rather the principle “whole with whole”.

Likewise, according to Nicephoros, the iconic inscription (*graphè*) is the trace in the visible of the *chôra* space, which reveals itself completely only as an imaginary<sup>19</sup> (*hennoësei*) place, yet to be enacted in liturgical performance. The iconic *chôra* contains God as fire contains iron, whole with whole, and not part with part, and being in it God energises the space with its energies. Yet the choric relationship between container and content, and the place where God’s energies manifest, are not static phenomena. As Marie-José Mondzain rightly puts it, the iconic space is “centrifugal” and “invasive”<sup>20</sup>, a property that derives from the power of iconic contagion. But as I mentioned before, there is a sense of movement contained in the very word *chôra*, connected with the verb *chôréô*, with the sense to go forward, or to withdraw, or recede, having the effect to generate a particular kind of space. My contribution to the Byzantine *chôra* will focus on this relation between space and movement, insisting on *chôra*’s dynamic dimension and her cosmic vocation.

I would like to take a further step from the spatial oxymoron of the Incarnation discussed in the Byzantine circle of scholarship of *chôra*. I want to go beyond the typology of containment of *chôra*, and show that it can be perceived not just as an impossible containment, but as a sacred movement, a crossing through, where ‘crossing through’ (X) corresponds to the Greek letter χ (chi), as in, for instance, *chôra*, *chorós*. The cross symbolism in the cosmic structure of the universe was recognized by the Fathers of the Church, and was somehow sensed by Plato himself. According to Justin the Martyr, what Plato meant, when he said that the Demiurge placed Him (the cosmic Soul) in the form of the letter Chi (*echiasen autón*) in the universe<sup>21</sup>, it was the Son of God. In my article “The Dance of Adam: Reconstructing the Byzantine Χωρός”<sup>22</sup>, I read the Resurrection as a cosmic event in which the space of creation is restored again. Creation is restored by the circular movement that initially turned

<sup>18</sup> *John of Damascus*. Exposition of the Orthodox Faith. Book I, Chapter XIII // A Selected Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church. Second Series, Volume IX. Edinburgh, 1989, p. 16.

<sup>19</sup> Likewise, Mondzain-Baudinet writes: “L’espace don’t il s’agit est imaginaire...” (*Nicephore Discours*, Preface, p. 28).

<sup>20</sup> *Mondzain*. Iconic Space and the Rule of Lands, p. 67; *Mondzain*. Image, icône, économie Les sources byzantines de l’imaginaire contemporain, p. 183.

<sup>21</sup> *Reijners G. Q.* The Terminology of the Holy Cross in Early Christian Literature. Nijmegen, 1965, p. 195, note 8.

<sup>22</sup> *Isar N.* The Dance of Adam. Reconstructing the Byzantine Χωρός // *Byzantinoslavica* 61 (2003).

chaos into order, the mystical dance (*sacer ludus*); I then apply it to the Anastasis image and show how image becomes space, a sacred space inscribed out by the holy fire liturgically performed around the church at the Resurrection. This is a *chôra-chorós* (space-movement) type of space, as the likes of fire are held in the *chôra*<sup>23</sup>. The abstract Platonic *chôra* space becomes in Christianity a kenotic space mystically ‘eraced’ and ‘crossed through’. The crossing through of Christ’s sacrifice is the trace of the *chôra* that seals the world (Philo, *De somniis* II, 6). It marks the whole world, both its length and breadth and height and depth, as the Son of God was also crucified in these dimensions<sup>24</sup>. The iconic space *chôra*, says Marie-José Mondzain, is vaster than the sacred places and the saints because it contains the entire universe<sup>25</sup>. As Mateos has so irrefutably affirmed, in Christianity “there is technically no ‘sacred space’ or ‘sacred time’ for all time and space have been sanctified in Christ”<sup>26</sup>.

Yet there are, what we conventionally call, ‘sacred places’ and ‘sacred spaces’. Sacred places are objective, out there, to be reached and visited; there are therefore already existing, already sanctified<sup>27</sup>. By contrast, sacred space is a space that is liturgically enacted, created at this very moment, and experienced (performed) at its very centre. In the following, I will try to inquire how the Byzantines themselves imagined the creation of sacred space and how they experienced it. I will first look into some of the *ekphraseis* of sacred buildings written between 6<sup>th</sup> c. and 12<sup>th</sup> c. I will then examine the contribution of the concept *chorós* in the creation of a liturgical performative space in the evolving liturgy around 6<sup>th</sup> c.

#### THE MAKING OF SACRED SPACE: BYZANTINE *EKPHRASEIS* OF HAGIA SOPHIA

With these *ekphraseis* one moves into the sphere of cosmology and mystical theology of sacred buildings, among which Hagia Sophia stands out as the paradigm. The texts are an inestimable source to show how the architectural space emerges out as a performative space, created by a movement that is consistently circular. First, I will look into Procopius’ *ekphrasis* of the sanctuary of Hagia Sophia (532–537)<sup>28</sup>, and then in the poem dedicated to

<sup>23</sup> Sallis J. Chorology On Beginning in Plato’s *Timaeus*. Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1999, p. 119.

<sup>24</sup> Irenaeus, *Demonstration* (34 p. 69f) is referring back to Plato, perhaps via Justin. See: *Rijniers*, p. 196.

<sup>25</sup> *Nicephore*. *Discours contre les iconoclasts*, note 122, p. 249.

<sup>26</sup> Mateos Juan. *Beyond Conventional Christianity*. Manila, 1974, p. 109–119.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Lock C. As T. S. Eliot says in *Little Gidding*: ‘You are here to kneel / where prayer has been valid’.

<sup>28</sup> *De aedificiis*. *Procopii Caesariensis opera* / Ed. J. Haury, III/2. Leipzig, 1913; *Procopius of Caesarea*. *Buildings I* / English transl. H. B. Dewing. Harvard University Press, 1954.

the Great Church by Paulus the Silentiary in 563<sup>29</sup>. A particular attention will be given to the ambo, and the movement of light. The descriptions share the basic cosmology according to which the church is the reflection of cosmic order, an imitation of the Cosmos, and by entering this space it seemed like entering the heaven itself. Paulus the Silentiary describes the entrance as a sacred crossing, which imitates the triumphal Ascension of Christ to heaven<sup>30</sup>.

“DANCING OUT” THE SPACE:  
THE *CHÓRA* SPACE — A VERB NOT A NOUN

Let us first read what Procopius had to say about the most sacred part of Hagia Sophia, “that portion of the building in which they perform the mysteries in worship of God (*tó theô hierourgûsi*)”<sup>31</sup>. In the eastern part of the church, which shows its ‘face’ (*prósôpon*)<sup>32</sup> towards the rising sun, space seems to emerge out of movement, rather than to be, already, existing there. It is interesting to note that Procopius consistently describes the plan of the apse by using a specific verbal locution, which implies a motion verb, such as ‘retreat’ or ‘recede’, rather than using a noun to designate the space<sup>33</sup>. Thus, the sanctuary “is built up from the ground, not made in a straight line, but gradually curving inward on its flanks and receding (*hupôchoroûsa*)<sup>34</sup> at the middle”. Likewise, the columns in the exaedras “do not stand in a straight line” — insists Procopius — “but they retreat inward in the pattern of the semicircle (*hêmikyklon*) as if they were yielding to one another in a choral dance (*en chorô allêlois hupexistámenoi*)”<sup>35</sup> (fig. 1).

Procopius’ description of this episode is dramatic indeed and paradigmatic for the creation of sacred space in Byzantium. The dramatis personae of this Byzantine staging of the space are the columns that move in a choral

<sup>29</sup> Friedländer P. Johannes von Gaza und Paulus Silentiarius. Leipzig–Berlin, 1912; *Paulus the Silentiarius*. Descr. S. Sophiae / English transl. C. Mango // *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312–1453: Sources and Documents*. University of Toronto Press, 1986, p. 80–96; *Paul le Silentiaire*. Description de Sainte-Sophie Constantinople / French transl. Marie-Christine Fayant and Pierre Chuvin, éditions A. Die. Paris, 1997.

<sup>30</sup> “At last the holy morn had come, and the great door of the new-buit temple groaned on its opening hinges, inviting emperor and people to enter” ... “and as they came to the sacred courts, it seemed to them as if the mighty arches were set in heaven (*ouranías dé achrántous edókenen*)” (*Paulus*, 320–49). “Lift up your gates (*Oixaté moi kleida theoudées, oixate*)” (*Paulus*, 350).

<sup>31</sup> *Procopius*. Buildings I, i., p. 16–17.

<sup>32</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>33</sup> See note 1 in: *Procopius*. Buildings I, i., p. 16.

<sup>34</sup> From the verb *hupochôreuô*, meaning ‘to go back, retire, withdraw, or retreat (of the tide) or (making way)’. *Procopius*. Building I, i. 32, p. 16–17 / English transl. H. B. Dewing, with the collaboration of Glanville Downey, Harvard University Press, 1954.

<sup>35</sup> *Procopius*. Building I, i. 35, p. 18–19.

dance. But how could one imagine something like an immutable column to dance? The body-column metaphor is however as old as architectural thought, and the ekphraseis of Hagia Sophia abound in such analogies between building and body with cosmic implication<sup>36</sup>. Procopius' space is a living body, a personified body that moves 'facing' the east, and it moves in a dancing manner. The curving movement from the middle part of the sanctuary recedes or withdraws gradually (*hupôchoroûsa*) in the lateral space of the exaedras, where the columns — impersonations of an invisible human chorus — perform their choral dance (*en chorô*). The pattern of the dancing columns is to be found again as late as 12<sup>th</sup> c. in the ekphrasis of Hagia Sophia, where columns in the exaedras move "as it were in a dancing fashion (*choreutikôs*) inclining towards each other on a circle"<sup>37</sup> and "stoas dancing in a circle (*kúklô choreúontas stoás*), which go out and around"<sup>38</sup>. The author describes the process itself of coming-to-be (*genésisin*) of the church, a holy place (*theion chôron*)<sup>39</sup>, as being circular, and where "each arch desires to be bent into the form of a circle, and to join with the nearest one", by which "this work of art imitates the whole universe"<sup>40</sup>.

But why was so important to make columns take a choral step, rather than to move in a straight line? The ritual pattern of dance in circular formation (frequently called *chorós*) was crucial to enact the ancient mysteries. Lucian of Samosata (120–180) explains why. According to him, dance has a place in the mysteries because of its divine origin, which are said to be "danced out" (*ex-orcheîsthai*), and "not a single ancient mystery-cult (indeed, even the sacrifices) can be found that is without dancing"<sup>41</sup>. With the creation of the universe choral dance came into being, and the concord of the heavenly spheres, their rhythmic agreement and timed harmony are proofs that "dance is primordial"<sup>42</sup>. Choral dance specifically meant to perform in chorus around an altar, a wellspring, the fire or god in order to reproduce in their dance the chorus of the twelve stars, and meet the gods who performed their choral dance in the starry heaven (fig. 2–3).

The dance of the columns in the exaedras is reminiscent of such poetical figures, and religious connotations. Procopius' language is the locus of an encounter between two traditions discretely intertwined, which both use a similar

<sup>36</sup> Like for example, in the twelfth-century description of Hagia Sophia, which has its head planted in heaven, and its roots cast into the earth *C. Mango and J. Parker. A Twelfth-Century Description of St. Sophia // DOP 14 (1960), p. 237.*

<sup>37</sup> *Idem*, line 105, p. 238.

<sup>38</sup> *Idem*, lines 220–221, p. 240.

<sup>39</sup> *Mango and Parker*, line 189, p. 239.

<sup>40</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>41</sup> *Lucian. The Dance / English transl. A. M. Harmon. Harvard University Press, 1962, 15–16, p. 229.*

<sup>42</sup> *Idem*, 7, p. 221.

paradigm to inscribe god through movement. The floor marked out circularly is where the quality of being *hierós* resides, and where the sacred vitality reaches its fullness, in the circular space of *hieròn télos* set apart from the insignificant things that surround it (fig. 4). Yet the sanctuary of Hagia Sophia described by Procopius, emerging out from the dance of the columns is a personified space (*prósôpon*), facing the prospect of the incarnated god. The movement of this sacred shrine (*hieròn perikéchutai*)<sup>43</sup>, in which “light comes into being within it”, is complex: it “faces” directly God; while, at the same time, it turns itself inwardly. Procopius’ vision is the vision of the chorus of the Church around the altar of the incarnated Logos. The invisible space of the *chôra* is hypostasized in the architectural form, which is a trace in the visible (a frozen movement) of the ineffable *chorostasia*, that is, “the choir standing up”, henceforth the future name of this architectural part of the space — the choir. The turning inwards, as it were, of the sanctuary is the effect of the divine cause, revealed in the *ekphrasis* later. Anyone who enters this church, says Procopius, understands immediately that this is a work not made by human hands, but by divine intervention this work is turned roundabout or roundly shaped (*tò ergon toûto apotetórneutai*)<sup>44</sup>.

Whether this expression (*tò ergon toûto apotetórneutai*) is a figure of style, or a paradigm at work, it is not immediately clear. The etymology of the word (*apotetórneutai*) combines perhaps the sense of ‘turning / diverting something from its normal course’ (*apotrepô*), and the sense of turning something as by the lathe or the chisel (*torneuô*) by the carpenter’s tool (cf. *torneuma*, a whirling motion, as of a lathe, or for drawing a circle like our compass, prob. a pin at the end of a string — *tórnos*). In antiquity, this particular craftsmanship was found potent to describe how the words (the language)<sup>45</sup>, the seeds<sup>46</sup>, the image (*eidôlon*)<sup>47</sup> were made. Even the mythical Atlantis it was said to have been built up by god as alternate circles “turned as with a lathe”<sup>48</sup>, which separated what was outside the pillars of Hercules from what dwelt within them. Likewise, the

<sup>43</sup> Procopius. Buildings I, i. 31, p. 16–17.

<sup>44</sup> Idem, 61, p. 26–27.

<sup>45</sup> In Plato’s dialogue (*Phaedrus*, 234e), Socrates uses the term to value “a clear and concise manner, with a precise turn of phrase” (*saphê kai stroggûla ... tôn onomatôn apotetórneutai*). The words must be “well-rounded”, so that they may become clear and distinct (*saphê*).

<sup>46</sup> Emperor Julian. Orationes 3. 112a.

<sup>47</sup> Among “everything that exists” (*estin tôn ontôn*), that is, the name, the definition, the image, knowledge and the thing itself, the image (*eidôlon*) “is that object which is in course of being portrayed (*zôgraphoumenôn*) and obliterated, or of being shaped with a lathe (*torneuômenon*)” (Plato, Epistle VII, 342B–C).

<sup>48</sup> In *Critias* one reads how Poseidon built his sacred island, breaking the ground and making alternate zones of sea and land encircling one another, which he then turned as with a lathe, so that no man could get to the island. What we learn from this story is how the cutting of a lathe demarcates the spaces, separating what takes place between those who dwell outside the pillars of Heracles and all who dwell within them.

universe itself was thought to be roundly shaped as by a lathe, and smooth all round<sup>49</sup>. The effect of this craftsmanship was that the cosmos became a self-sufficient body (*autárkês on*) (*Timaeus*, 33d).

This antic crafting model with cosmogonic implication could be found also in Plotinus' vision describing the cosmic body in *The Enneads* IV. 4. 16 and II. 2. 1. The cosmos is a sphere, circular by its nature "for if it takes the straight path, it finds no space; there is nothing beyond". It is most likely that Procopius was familiar with this paradigm<sup>50</sup>, when he described how the architectural forms in the sanctuary are specifically built not in a straight line, but gradually receding, retreating, and withdrawing. It was then most appropriate to speak about the sacred space of the sanctuary as a space turning inwardly, gradually withdrawing (*hupôchoroûsa*), and diverting from pure expansion to circular enclosure around the altar of Christ sacrifice. The paradigm of forms curving back onto themselves is specific for the entire architectural space of Hagia Sophia. But whether the Great church was explicitly turned "as by a lathe" or not, it remains unspecified in Procopius' *ekphrasis*, although in Early Christian literature there is an interest for the tools of the artisan in connection with the cross symbolism, where the tool was a *crux dissimulata*<sup>51</sup>. One thing is however clear in Procopius' text, and this is that by divine intervention (*theou rhopê*)<sup>52</sup> this space was turned roundly, not by a human hand. The term *rhopê* stands here for 'the instrument' (*organon*)<sup>53</sup> of God, a sort of movement, a downward momentum or a sudden descent from above, which could be interpreted as the divine action or the divine grace (cf. Chrys. Hom. 65.2. in Jo. 8.390D). Hagia Sophia is the outcome of such supreme intervention from above, a turning point (*punctum saliens*) in the creation of space, which makes space turning roundly, like the well-rounded words, like the seeds, and like the universe itself "of which it is an imitation" (fig. 5).

#### PAULUS THE SILENTIARY'S POEM OF HAGIA SOPHIA

Paulus the Silentary's poem dedicated to Hagia Sophia is an exemplary text for the study of sacred space in Byzantium, and to illustrate my thesis that circular movement generates sacred space. In the poem, the architectural

<sup>49</sup> "Wherefore he made the world in the form of a globe, round as from a lathe (*kukloterês autò etorneúsato*) ... making the surface smooth all round for many reasons; ... since there was nothing which went from him or came into him: for there was nothing beside him" (*Plato*, *Timaeus* 33b–34a).

<sup>50</sup> Dewing suggests in his translation of Procopius to read the term as 'roundly turned' as by a lathe, cf. *Plato*, *Phaedrus*, 234e (*Procopius*, *Buildings* I, p. 11, note 4).

<sup>51</sup> *Rijners*, *The Terminology of the Cross*, p. 194.

<sup>52</sup> *Procopius*, *Buildings* I, i. 61, p. 26–27.

<sup>53</sup> The movement of Plato's *chôra*, and of the things coming inside her, is too 'like an instrument (*organon*) which causes shaking', pushing close together the similar (*Timaeus* 53a).

forms emerge as if created by a “point in motion”<sup>54</sup>, where motion tends to be predominantly circular; the circle and the curve are the dominant elements.<sup>55</sup> Synthronon, the sacrosanct part of the sanctuary, where are the priestly seats<sup>56</sup>, displays a pattern of ever-revolving circles: “the lowest part of them is drawn close together round a center on the ground, but as they rise, they widen out little by little until they reach the stalls of silver, and so in ever-increasing circles they wheel round the curved wall that stands above them” (364–368). The conches (the lateral parts of the sanctuary), which according to the poet derive their name from the shell of the sea, suggest the coiling movement of the apse — a metaphor that can be found also in Plotinus: “it is the motion of coiling about, with ceaseless return upon the same path — in other words, it is circuit”; “it must still take the circular course by its indwelling nature; for it seeks the straight path onwards but finds no space and is driven back so that it recoils on the only course left to it: there is nothing beyond”<sup>57</sup>.

The lighting of the iconostasis takes too a circular disposition: “Pointed at the summit, they (the silver columns) are ringed by circles that gradually widen down to the lowest curve that surrounds the base of the trunk” (871–879). Finally, the upper part of the sacred space of Hagia Sophia, the dome winds its circular curves outwardly: “A stone rim, rounded on all sides, has been fastened upon the backs (of the arches), where the base of the hemisphere comes down; there, too, are the winding curves of the last circle which the workmen have set like a crown upon the backs of the arches” (481–486). These examples demonstrate that in describing the architectural space of the church the poet applies consistently to circular patterns; Paul will use the same patterns to describing the movement of light.

Analysing the order of description followed by Paul, Macrides and Magdalino come to the conclusion that the poet recreates for his audience the actual process by which the imperial church had come to being.<sup>58</sup> Macrides and Magdalino’s interpretation is persuasive. There is however one aspect in Paul’s narrative that I suggest to be taken up for further interpretation, and which could be defined as a principle at work in the making of sacred space of Hagia Sophia. Paul starts his description with the oriental part and the apses, moves to the western part, but suddenly

<sup>54</sup> Webb R. *The Aesthetics of Sacred Space: Narrative, Metaphor, and Motion in Ekphrasis of Church Buildings* // DOP 53 (1999), p. 68.

<sup>55</sup> I discussed this in detail in my article: Χρόνος of Light: Vision of the Sacred Paulus in the Silentiary’s poem “Descriptio S. Sophiae” // *Byzantinische Forschungen* 28, 2004, p. 215–242.

<sup>56</sup> This echoes the image of the judges (elders) sitting in session on benches “in the *hierós* circle” (*hierôi eni kúklôi*) on the shield of Achilles described by Homer, *Il.* 18. 504.

<sup>57</sup> *The Enneads* IV. 4. 16 and II. 2. 1.

<sup>58</sup> *Macrides and Magdalino*, p. 58–59.

his discourse becomes emphatic and returns to the central space of the church and the dome. He then continues his description of the rest of the building. With a rhetorical call, which is in my view more significant than just a “ritual exclamation”<sup>59</sup>, the poet extols the audience to return to the central part. He does it with a syncopate movement of the phrase, purposely made, by which he does not only point out to a specific location in space, but he does it in a manner that stirs up the attention of the audience: “Whither am I driven? What wind, as upon the sea, has carried away my roaming speech? The center of the church, the most glorious place (*chôron huperkúdanta*), has been neglected. *Return*, my song, to behold a wonder scarcely to be believed when seen or heard” (444–447). With this figure of speech, the discourse takes a forceful turn, a sudden return to the most important place. In doing so, Paul reiterates a mystical gesture, and reflects a theological pattern of thinking. It points out, as well, to the hierotopic principle of the space of Hagia Sophia, which I will define in a moment.

One can perceive in this movement certain reliance upon Pseudo-Dionysius’ notions of “procession and return”, a Platonic and Neoplatonic<sup>60</sup> twofold structure, which provides the framework for his theological method and cosmology: “To those who fall away it is the voice calling, ‘Come back!’ and it is the power which raises them up again. It refurbishes and restores the image of God corrupted within them. It is the sacred stability which is there for them when the tide of unholiness is tossing them about. It is safety for those who made a stand. It is the guide bringing upward those uplifted to it and is the enlightenment of the illuminated. Source of perfection for those being made perfect, source of divinity for those being deified, principle of simplicity for those turning toward simplicity, point of unity for those made one; transcendently, beyond what is, it is the Source of every source” (The Divine Names, p. 51, 589C). What Pseudo-Dionysius meant by this call back was the urge to restore the unity lost by falling off from the One; the radiation from the One is countered by an inherent longing for the return to the original source and the state of unity.

In Chapter Seven of The Divine Names, concerning Wisdom, Mind, Word, Truth, Faith, Pseudo-Dionysius gives an account on “the good and eternal Life for being wise, for being the principle of wisdom”. He says “the divine Wisdom knows all things by knowing itself”. “The divine Mind does not acquire the knowledge of things from things. Rather, of itself and

<sup>59</sup> Idem, p. 59.

<sup>60</sup> ‘The sun of that sphere — let us return to it as our example — is an Intellectual Principle’ (The Enneads, IV. 3. 11).



in itself it pre-contains and comprehends the awareness and understanding and being everything in terms of their cause". "God knows all things, not by understanding things, but by understanding himself" (108–109). Divine Wisdom knows all things by knowing itself, not by understanding things, but by understanding itself; not by spreading itself outwardly, but by coming close to itself, in that which concern containment and comprehension. Self-reflexivity and self-containment are attributes of the Divine Wisdom. The principle of Sophia is the principle of return into oneself. What defines it is a special kind of motility, a revolving movement that evokes the coiling of the conch. This movement is paradigmatic of the Divine Wisdom.

The structure of the poem reflects, in my view, such thinking that, similarly to the divine beings, the *ekphrasis* of the sacred building should not lose its track, it must not spread itself outwardly, but should return to the navel source (*omphalos*)<sup>61</sup>. The course of the poem partakes of this mystical path, which can be seen as a property of the text and a conceptual frame of the "progression" of elements or the "spiritual structure" (cyclical and anagogical) of the poem of which Makrides and Magdalino speak<sup>62</sup>. In my interpretation, the vision described by Paul is that of a building construed after the principle of the Divine Wisdom, which could be imagined as a space turning inwardly. Paul's Hagia Sophia is, in my view, such a self-reflecting space of the Divine Wisdom. The general perception conveyed by the poem is that of an assembled space, made out of parts gathered together. As I will show later, the description of the illumination of the church enhances this perception. The space of "ever-changing aspect" of Hagia Sophia contains within itself the multitude of lights hanging on twisted chains (884).

THE AMBO:

THE SACRED CITY (HIERAPOLIS) FOR THE SACRED RITE OF THE WORD  
(*TOIS BIBLÍOIS TÔN MYSTAGÔGÔN HIEROÚRGÊKEN LÓGÔN*)

Particularly instructive for the study of sacred space in Byzantium is the description of the ambo from Paulus's poem, the central part of the church, to which the poet conspicuously returns. The text opens up with a preface of thirty iambic lines in praise of the emperor for having built this most beautiful place (*kálliston einai chorion*). This place was consecrated for the reading of the holy Book whose words lead to the mystery (*tois bibliois tôn mystagôgôn hierourgêken lógôn*) (28–29); it was from here also that was recited the prayer (the "back of the ambo") at the conclusion of the liturgy, which was a compendium of those previously uttered in the

<sup>61</sup> This figure of speech of emphatic return of the discourse can be found again in the twelfth-century *ekphrasis* of Hagia Sophia (7. 210ff).

<sup>62</sup> *Macrides and Magdalino*, p. 59–60.

sanctuary<sup>63</sup>. The *ekphrasis* continues with the invocation to the apostles and the saints asked to compose their choral dances (*choreía*) and join at unison the poet's song singing together this space (*chôros*), where the holy book is read (46–49). The description of the ambo ends up by stressing once more the liturgical function of this sacred space (*chôron*). The ambo is the place where one climbs, henceforth its name: (*ambatos*) means “the place ascended”. One climbs, as it were, visually and acoustically, since the ambo is the place where the people direct their eyes upwards, as they gaze on the divine mystery of the gospel read from here, and where the holy chants are sung (210–213). It is most interesting to note how Paulus the Silentiary describes the central structure of the ambo, the underside of the stone, which is a roof for the chamber where the sacred song is raised. The stone curves over, says Paul, like some “oxhide shield which the agile warrior holds over his helmet when he leaps in the mazes of the Pyrrhic dance” (119–120). As Hephaistos made the choros on the shield for Achilles resemble the choros made by Daidalos, in the description of Homer (*Iliad* 18.590-3), so made Paulus the central part of the ambo of Hagia Sophia resemble a dancing floor, where the mysteries were celebrated. From Constantine Porphyrogenitus' *Book of the Ceremonies* one knows that the “psaltae” were placed in the ambo singing “Christ is risen”<sup>64</sup>.

Throughout the description of the ambo, Hierapolis, the name of ‘the holy city’, is two or three times<sup>65</sup> mentioned as the place from where the marble was brought in order to build up this place. Thus, the “fair floor of the place where they read the divine wisdom of the holy book” is made from the marble brought from the sacred city (Hierapolis) (103); the ambo itself is surrounded with fencestones of marble from Hierapolis (168). Therefore “it is meet that this crown of stone on the fair floor of the sacred fane should be called of “the Holy City” (Hierapolis) (171)<sup>66</sup>. The marble of Hierapolis transfers by contiguity the power of its sacredness over the space of the ambo. But the hierotopic character of this place derives not only from the matter out of which the ambo is made, which imbues this space with holy power. The sacredness of this space derives also from its inner structure, which is circular, and from its centrality within the general disposition of the church. Paulus insists on how the ambo is “cunningly wrought”, the whole and in details, with a skilful workmanship already familiar to us. The ambo is placed on the central axis of the church as an

<sup>63</sup> *Lethaby W. R., Swainson H.* The Church of Sancta Sophia. A Study of Byzantine Building. London, New York, 1894, p. 51.

<sup>64</sup> *Constantine Porphyrogenitus.* Book of the Ceremonies / Ed. Bonn, p. 74.

<sup>65</sup> Line 292 refers however only to a “sacred stone”.

<sup>66</sup> The English translation from: *Lethaby W. R., Swainson H.* The Church of Sancta Sophia. A Study of Byzantine Building, p. 57.

island girdled by the sea, which comforts the sailors from the troubles and the anxieties of the sea (224-9). The sea is the floor of the Great church (263f)<sup>67</sup>. Paulus' description seems to resonate a long tradition in which Platonism<sup>68</sup> and Judaism meet, and which associated the temple to the cosmos, and viewed the cosmos as a temple<sup>69</sup>. Josephus' (1<sup>st</sup> c.) description of the three regions of the temple is meaningful: the Holy of Holies as the heaven; the holy place as the earth; the surrounding court as the sea; the bronze basin or 'sea' in the inner court (1 King 7. 23–26); the cast-metal sea, circular in form in Solomon's temple 2 Chr. 4.2–3.

The ambo is a circular space, although not altogether equal to a complete curve (*tornos*), but “in order that they might widen the foundation of the space they have placed on either side, round the belly (*gastêr*) in the middle, half-circles in stone, and they have surrounded the space (*chôro*) with separate columns arranged in semicircles” (130–136). The *chôra* space is like a body widened out by means of rich columns disposed semicircularly in order to expand “the whole belly” around (fig. 6). The metaphor of the large body, sometimes described in *ekphrasis* as a pregnant body<sup>70</sup>, points out eventually to the mystery of the Incarnation. The vision of the space as a pregnant body, a body in expansion yet confined by “the fair girdle (*kalôn zôstera noêseis*)” (201), is no doubt a *chôra* space. The fair girdle surrounding the space of the ambo is *zônê*, the maternal peripheral belt of contact, architecturally embodied by the holy stone of Hierapolis. The ambo is the most beautiful place (*kálliston einai chorion*); from its very centre (*gastêr*) the holy Word was proffered. To me, the ambo with its large belly (*eurûneto gastêr*) (134) containing the Word, is nothing but the womb/vessel of the uncontainable Christ — the Virgin *chôra* — whereas the fair girdle of which the poet speaks is a vision of the most precious cincture of the *Theotokos Chôra*<sup>71</sup>, which brings into visible the space *chôra*.

<sup>67</sup> The subject of the four rivers on the floor of Hagia Sophia does not concern me here. It received a comprehensible study in: *Majeska G. P.* Notes on the archeology of St. Sophia at Constantinople: the green marble bands on the floor // *DOP* 32 (1978), p. 299–308, focused on the liturgical function of the fourth river. However, I believe that one should not reject completely Pseudo-Codinus and the idea that the four rivers may carry also a paradisiac symbolism.

<sup>68</sup> The description of Atlantis in *Timaeus* and *Critias*.

<sup>69</sup> Rabbi Pinhas ben Ya'ir interpreting Solomon's temple writes that the Tabernacle (i. e. temple) was made to correspond to the creation of the world, where among other things, the laver was made to correspond to the sea (*Patai R.* *Man and Temple*. New York, 1967, p. 107).

<sup>70</sup> The twelfth-century description of Hagia Sophia as “an immense (*eurûteta*) space, having a hollowness so capacious that it might be pregnant (*egkumonein*) with many thousands of bodies” (*Mango and Parker.* *A twelfth-century description of St. Sophia*, p. 237).

<sup>71</sup> “THY precious sash, O Theotokos, which encompassed thy God-receiving womb, is an invincible force for thy flock, and an unfailling treasury of every good, O only Ever-virgin Mother” (Kontakion of the Mother of God, Second Tone, *The Feast of The Holy Belt Of*

SAYING THE FLUX IN NOT UNLIKELY SAYING THE *CHÔRA*

The movement of light revealed by Paulus the Silentiary in his poetical utterance performed at the *encaenia* of the re-consecration of the imperial church (6<sup>th</sup> January 563), is one of the most spectacular examples of liturgical creation of sacred space in Byzantium<sup>72</sup>. The circling choir of bright lights (*Euseláôn dè kúklios ek phaéôn choròs istatai*), says Paulus, hangs in the space on long twisted chains from the temple's dome, and provides pendent sources (receptacles, or succour) of light (*phéggeos ennuchioio dochêion*)<sup>73</sup> (826) for men at night. Before they reach the ground they form a choir in unison (*kai choròn ekteléousin omognion*) (818). Yet not from the circle alone shines the light. One can "see" (*noêseis*) in the circle a great cross with many eyes upon it (*kai megalou stauroio típon poliôpa*) (828), holding luminous vessels. The evening flame (*esperîê phlóx*) (834), brightly shining, revolves round the temple in concentric circles: in a smaller inner circle there is a second crown of light, and in the very center a shining disc. The movement of light does not allow things to be dispersed; to the contrary, the space of "ever-changing aspect" contains all within itself (884).

The words are insufficient to describe the spectacular vision of lights at "the vesperal dawn (*phaesphoriên esperiên*)", which is a paradoxical vision, a miracle (*thâmbos*). Language is in stalemate; the eye must prepare for a noetic vision (*noêseis*) (806–808). Paul's *ekphrasis* of the lighting of Hagia Sophia is not objectively detailed, therefore archeologically irrelevant, which may explain why was this part of the poem (114 lines: 806–920) neglected by scholars. Paul's discourse of light, and lighting in general in Byzantium, is liturgically and hierotopically implicated. The circling choirs of light in Paul's poem take a choral path and clear out in their movement a circular space, a space of wonder contained within itself, by now, clearly a sophianic space. Paul's vision of concentric circles of light reiterates Plotinus' pattern of creation of the world as an emanation of luminous source increasingly wider<sup>74</sup>, and Proclus' vision of the dance movement (*chorós*) circularly evolving around the *koriphaïos*.

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*The Theotokos or The Deposition of the Precious Sash-Cincture-of our Most Holy Lady Theotokos*). The Holy Belt, according to the tradition, was made by the Blessed Virgin Mary herself. Originally kept in Jerusalem and later in Constantinople, now is kept at the Holy Monastery of Vatopedi. During the 12<sup>th</sup> century under Manuel Komnenos (1143–1180) the official holiday for the Belt was established on August 31<sup>st</sup>.

<sup>72</sup> This is amply analysed in my article "Χορός of light": Vision of the Sacred in Paulus the Silentiary's Poem "Descriptio S. Sophiae", p. 215–242.

<sup>73</sup> Sallis translates *dochêion* as "succor," "aid," "support," "nurse" (p. 99).

<sup>74</sup> "There is, we may put it, something that is center; about it, a circle of light shed from it; round center and first circle alike, another circle, light from light; outside that again, not another circle of light but one which, lacking light of its own, must borrow. ...Thus all be-

But most importantly, Paul describes light with a remarkable abundance of terms. Often the poet uses a fiery idiom<sup>75</sup>, where the fire is at the very centre of his light imagery. To speak about light in the Byzantine church is to speak about fire, as the only lights there are fire. The fire is a mode of being uplifted to God because “the power of fire causes a lifting up to the god-like”<sup>76</sup>. But as Plato says, one must observe that there are many kinds of fire, there is the flame (*phlóx*); that which does not burn but supplies light to the eyes; and what is left behind among the embers (*Timaeus* 58C). The region, to which the flame of fire by nature moves, is the upper region. It is here that the invisible *chôra* becomes manifest, says Plato, determined by the movement of its trace. The trace of the flux is unmistakably defined by Paulus, which leads us to the *chôra*. The “bright flame” (*piros phloga*) sheds its light at the summit (887–888); the evening flame (*esperîê phlóx*) (834) revolves around the space of Hagia Sophia, marking out the *chôra* space with their fleeting traces, “dancing out” — as it were — the mystery in the visible. Saying the flux is not unlikely saying the *chôra*<sup>77</sup>, saying the *chôra* is not unlikely saying the flux ... since the fire is held in and by the *chôra*. *Chôra* is a receptacle of light, a ship wrapped around with fire (*purispeirêton epaktída*) (892), the seed of fire (*purispóron*) (879), succor and hospitality. Yet not only from the round discs shines the light that provides rest. The round motion of the great cross-pierced by many eyes cherub-like casts out a chiasm of fire. Here, in the kenotic space of Christ’s sacrifice, the intensity of being *hierós* reaches its fullness.

But lighting and extinguishing the light in the Byzantine church is part of the ritual, and it lasts as long as the duration of the rite, the time of the liturgical experience. In Lethaby’s reconstruction<sup>78</sup>, some of the lighting devices described by Paulus may have looked like the *choros* or the *polyeleos*, still in use today in the Greek, Athonite and Serbian churches, swinging about during the chant of the *polyeleos*, the Cherubic, and the Trisagion, or on the great feasts of the year, presumably carrying out an old tradition (fig. 7) Unlike the frozen choir/the sanctuary of Procopius, a sustained image in the visible, Paul’s *chorós* of light stands on impermanence. It exists in the very instance of liturgical performance, ineffably in the

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gins with the great light, shining self-centred; in accordance with the reigning plan (that of emanation) this gives forth its brilliance” (*Plotinus*. The *Enneads* IV. 3. 17 / Transl. by Stephen MacKenna. London, 1969, p. 274).

<sup>75</sup> Like in the line 831, or in the symbolism of bronze, which could be read according to Pseudo-Dionysius as fire and gold (*Pseudo-Dionysius*. The *Celestial Hierarchy* XV 336C // The *Complete Works* / Transl. by Colm Luibheid, forward, notes and translation collaboration by Paul Rorem. London, 1987.

<sup>76</sup> *Pseudo-Dionysius*. The *Celestial Hierarchy* VII 205BC; XV 328C to 329C 38.

<sup>77</sup> I borrow the expression from *Sallis*, p. 118.

<sup>78</sup> *Lethaby and Swaison*, p. 110–121.

breath of the poetical utterance, and in the transience of the fire, which brings out to senses the flux of the invisible *chôra*. Saying the flux is not unlikely saying the *chôra*, but just the instance of saying, as long as the duration of the candle-light, until little by little it dies down...”

FROM ARCHITECTURAL STRUCTURE  
TO LITURGICAL ENACTMENT OF SACRED SPACE

I will now make a brief survey of the concept *chorós* in the liturgical context, hoping to discard a similar cosmological paradigm at work, which the Byzantine liturgists and hymnographers presumably absorbed from the pagan world (Platonic), as well as from the Jewish apocalyptic literature<sup>79</sup>. Although the Church has seriously condemned throughout time dancing as of the evil (“Where there is dancing, there is the devil also”, says John Chrysostomos)<sup>80</sup>, its anathematisation concerned however the association of dance with old rituals (Jewish and pagan). In the early church, the term *choros*, *koinonia*, and *ekklesia* were used synonymously, according to Conomos<sup>81</sup>, although music performance (choir) has received only later separate responsibilities. Byzantine theology and hymnography continued to employ the terms *chorós* and *choreía*. The idea that one must perform a ring-dance round the altar in order to enact the Christian mystery was never abandoned. The same text of Chrysostomos reads further: “God gave us feet ... not to cavort shamefully ... but that we may some day join in the dance of the angels!” The mystery of the Resurrection of Christ anticipates this possibility for humans.

*The Golden Canon* of John Damascus depicts the Resurrection as a festival in which Christ and creatures alike, those “that were held by the chains of Hades” are pulled up in ecstatic movement “to light, applauding, with joyful foot”<sup>82</sup>. Yet the Resurrection of Christ is not a mere performance of some sort, rather it is a sacred movement which restores cosmos (the visible and the invisible)<sup>83</sup>, and at the same time, it restores the original ontological state of being lost at the Fall, which is performative. Adam and Eve, who fell

<sup>79</sup> I am extremely grateful to Margaret Barker for directing my attention to Jewish Apocalyptic literature of the Second Temple, an inestimable source for the Byzantine liturgy, and an argument in favour of the paradigmatic character of the circular movement *chorós*.

<sup>80</sup> *John Chrysostomos*. Commentary on Mathew 48 // PG 58, col. 491.

<sup>81</sup> *Conomos D. E.* The Late Byzantine and Slavonic Communion Cycle: Liturgy and Music // DOP, 1985, p. 16.

<sup>82</sup> *Wellesz E.* The Golden Canon of John Damascene. First Mode. Fifth Ode // A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography. Oxford, 1949, p. 210.

<sup>83</sup> “Let the Heavens, as it is meet, rejoice, and let the earth exult; and let the whole universe, visible and invisible, keep festival. For Christ, hath arisen, and there is eternal joy” (*The Golden Canon*, p. 208).

“from the choir of angels”<sup>84</sup>, are able to join them again. Byzantine hymnography depicts the Resurrection as a cosmic event and a liturgical movement that brings together heaven and earth, and surmounts in the image of the choir (*chorós*) of dance of heavenly and earthly powers, evolving in a circular manner around Christ the Bridegroom<sup>85</sup>. Byzantine Easter celebration culminates with the processional circumbulatory movement of the congregation carrying the holy fire around the church. The emphasis in this performance is on the meaning of *chorós* as *koinonia*.

THE EUCHARISTIC RITE — “A CONCORDANT  
CHORAL DANCE OF HOLY BEINGS”  
(*MIA KAI HOMOLÓGÓ TÔN HIERÔN CHOREÍA*)

Byzantine church performances frequently refer to actions in which angels and humans are engaged. But the Divine Liturgy, which rests upon the mystery of the Resurrection, reflects this interaction in the most exemplary way. The Heavenly Liturgy is the prototype of the Earthly Liturgy, in which humans could and should join the angelic performance, in which the liturgical hymns are “revealed in a holy manner”<sup>86</sup>, and humans can partake into the great cosmic praise in which the whole of creation takes part: “Those in heaven and those on earth form a single festal assembly; there is shared thanksgiving ...one single choir” (Chrys. *PG* 56, col. 97). The prayer read before the Little Entrance specifically stresses the joint celebration between heavenly and earthly hierarchy:

“Master, Lord our God, you have set orders and armies of Angels  
and Archangels in heaven to minister to your glory; grant that, with  
your entrance, holy angels may enter, concelebrating (*sulleitourgoún-  
ton*) with us, and with us glorifying your goodness...”

<sup>84</sup> The Lent period starts with the lamentation of the fall “from the choir of angels,” and ends up in the Pascal celebration of the dance of Adam and Eve. “Come, Adam and Eve, our first father and mother, who fell from the choir on high (*Deuro, tòn protopláston duás, he tes choreías ekpesousa tes anothen*) through the envy of the murderer of man, when of old with bitter pleasure ye tasted from the tree in Paradise” (“The Third Sunday in Lent”. *Triodion*, Athens, 1930; *The Lenten Triodion* / Ed. Mother Mary and K. Ware. London, Boston, p. 335).

<sup>85</sup> Isar N. The Dance of Adam. Reconstructing the Byzantine Χορός” // *Byzantinoslavica* 61 (2003), p. 179–204.

<sup>86</sup> “And thus the Holy Scriptures have transmitted to the inhabitants of earth certain hymns of this hierarchy in which is revealed in a holy manner the supreme illumination allotted to them. Some men, translating this illumination into sensory images, cry out in a ‘voice of a great rushing, saying, “Blessed be the glory of the Lord from his place” (Ezekiel 3: 12); other men lift up their voices in that most celebrated and revered utterance from the Scriptures: ‘Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts: the whole earth is full of his glory’ (Isaiah 6: 3)” (*The Celestial Hierarchy* VII. 4).

Yet the act of joint celebration between the priestly and the angelic orders, which is the essence of the Divine Liturgy, may not necessarily and specifically mean to perform some kind of dance. The clarification of this question lies on the description of the Eucharistic mystery as a hierarchical *choreía* described by Pseudo-Dionysius in his Ecclesiastical Hierarchy. The angels circled together in an invisible series of choruses known as the Celestial Hierarchy. The first rank of heavenly being performs a choral movement: “It circles in immediate proximity to God. Simply and ceaselessly it dances around (*perichoreíousa*) an eternal knowledge of him. It is forever and totally thus, as befits angels”<sup>87</sup>. In the world below, the bishops, priests, deacons, and laity imitate the heavenly *choreía*, according to their degrees of illumination. The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy is an imitative movement gradually leading to ecstatic communion with God. The function of the vast chain of heavenly and earthly orders described by Pseudo-Dionysius was to unite the highest ranks of the angels with the last member of the congregation through participation and shared knowledge of the divine.

In the third chapter of his Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, Pseudo-Dionysius calls the Eucharistic rite the mystery of the Synaxis (literally, ‘a gathering together’). Synaxis is both a state of ecclesiastical being in the church, as well as the condition of performing out the mystery of the Eucharist, which implies the preparation of the soul to achieve the union with the divine. First, the hierarch (*hierárkês*) says a sacred prayer at the divine altar, and begins the censuring there and then, “he makes the round of the entire sacred place (*tou hierou chôrou*)”<sup>88</sup>. To describe the union achieved in the Synaxis, Pseudo-Dionysius uses the expression *mia kai homológô tôn hierôn choreía*<sup>89</sup>, which is translated by Colm Luibheid as “one homogeneous choir”. Yet, according to James Miller, this translation obscures the theological implication of the Areopagite’s phrase, restricting its meaning. Since Pseudo-Dionysius associates twice the image of the chorus with movement and vision in his writings in The Celestial Hierarchy VII. 4<sup>90</sup> and The Divine Names IV. 8, the Synaxis (III. 4, col. 432 A) may not just be understood as a mere gathering, but as a moving gathering, with performative vocation. The word *choreía* in the text could therefore be trans-

<sup>87</sup> Pseudo-Dionysius. The Celestial Hierarchy VII. 4, p. 165. The same is found in Is. 6:2 and Rv. 4:4.

<sup>88</sup> Pseudo-Dionysius. The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy III. 2, p. 210.

<sup>89</sup> “Harmoniously prepare the faculties of our souls for the rites presently to be celebrated. And when the chant has placed ourselves and others in harmony with divine realities through the unison of the divine songs as in one single concordant choral dance of holy beings (*mia kai homológô tôn hierôn choreía*), then the more condensed and obscure passages in the holy language of the hymns are expanded in the many lucid images and declarations of the most holy readings from the Scriptures” (The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy III, 3.5).

<sup>90</sup> *Perichoriúousa*.



lated as “choral dance” instead of just “choir”, whereas the whole expression could be translated as “one single concordant choral dance of holy beings”<sup>91</sup>. As it comes out from Pseudo-Dionysus’ writings, the Synaxis defines both the community and the liturgical act of communion, the gathering of people, that is, *koinonia* or *ekklesia*, as well as the sacred rite of the Eucharist, giving full meaning to the concept of sacred space which was performed in the Byzantine church in 6<sup>th</sup> c.

#### CONCLUSION

The Byzantine *chôra* is a ‘space’ of creation and sacrifice, of charity, and hospitality. It is a self-sufficient (*autárkês*) space contained within itself, yet a space that no words can contain — a miracle (*thámbo*s) — which is not made by human hands, but brought forth by the divine intervention (*theou rhopê*). The invisible and paradoxical *chôra* allows itself to cross the visible realm leaving behind its traces. The discourse of the Byzantine *chôra* space is the discourse of its trace, which appears only in the movement (*chorós*). The *chorós* is the ordering force, which restores creation anew, and makes possible the discourse of the *chôra*. As it comes out from these *ekphraseis* of Hagia Sophia (6<sup>th</sup> c.–12<sup>th</sup> c.) the range of visibility of the *chôra* moves between two poles. It moves from the architectural trace of the sanctuary of Hagia Sophia in Procopius’ description to the impermanent fleeting trace of the flux and of the circling fire from Paul’s poem. The enclosure of the sanctuary is the solidified trace of the ineffable *chorostasia*, the frozen dance of the columns hypostasized in the architectural choir. Yet the choir restores its fluidity during the liturgical celebration by the vitality of *hierós*, which turns the sanctuary into a living space. The dance of the columns and the flux of fire are two paradigmatic visions, which take place in the *chôra*, where the mystery was “danced out” to the eye that could see it (*noêseis*) and the feet that could “dance (it) out”.

As I tried to show in this paper, *chorós* (choral dance) was a performative means that gave structure to the sacred space of the church, and by which the sacred mystery (the Eucharistic rite) was enacted. *Chôra* space is as much about movement as it is about containment; it is a contained movement or a moving container. True to its etymology, the Byzantine *chôra* space is a space in expansion and movement. “Centrifugal” and “invasive” (Mondzain), the *chôra* space is however an orderly moving space, circularly turning its sacred narrative. Like in the vision of the round language and the seeds of the earth of the antics, the Byzantine sacred space is a “cunningly wrought” space, turned around, and filled with the vitality of being *hierós*.

<sup>91</sup> Miller J. Measures of Wisdom. The Cosmic Dance in Classical and Christian Antiquity. University of Toronto Press, 1986, p. 514–515.

Hagia Sophia is a pregnant body, a holy womb “dancing out” its sacredness, revealing its trace in the visible.

Vision of the church in these *ekphraseis* was perceived as the Cosmos itself, so that by looking at the church it was believed that one (the Byzantine beholder) could reach up to “the great circle of heaven itself”. Space and beholder fused together in a single vision in which everything moved spinning round like a *chorós* indeed. This dynamics of vision reveals not only how space and movement were conceived together in Byzantium, but also how space was experienced. Space and beholder were neither detached from each other: they formed a choir. It is such experience of space that might explain the linguistic coalescence of the terms (*chôra, chôros* and *chorós*) cosmologically implicated. At the same time, this points out to a general principle of participation in the Byzantine sacred space. Thus, in a space of liturgical experience, the movement performed (*chorós*), the faithful him/herself, and the sacred space (*chôros*) thus created were intimately bound together and impossible to be conceived as detached, independent, and abstract entities or concepts. The final outcome of such experience was a living space of presence and participation into the divine, a personified space, identical and continuous with the self (*persona*) and with the divine — an event, one may say, of ontological continuity between being and becoming.

Sacred space of the Byzantine *chôra* was a space of presence and presencing, a verb rather than a noun; hence the type of realization of sacred space was the dance, *chorós*. This was not a mere physical extension of space, but a living body of liturgical experience. It was a space of ‘sacred containment’, from which the modern distinction between contained space and container should be removed in order to make room to that power of creative imagination, which has once enabled the participation of being in the wholeness of the universe and in Being.

My thanks go first to Dr. Alexei Lidov for providing the scholarly hospitable dwelling of Hierotopy to reflect on such sacred matters, and for the memorable conference in Moscow 2004, which reinforced the international and interdisciplinary vocation of Hierotopy. My thanks go also to all my friends with whom I shared in various ways precious moments of discussions around this topic, as well as to those who responded to my talk in Moscow. Among all of them, I name only few, but first, Maria Autexier Gorea, Francesco Pellizzi, Margaret Barker, Gervase Rosser, Prof. Peter Brown, Athanassios Semoglou, and Svetlana Yavorskaja with whom I shared unforgettable talks around the paradigmatic circularity of *chorós*, manifested in old languages, as well as in ancient rituals, which must lay at the foundation of hierotopic studies. Last but not least, to Statens Humanistiske Forskningsråd,

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ХОРОГРАФИЯ (*CHÔRA*, *CHORÓS*) —  
ПЕРФОРМАТИВНЫЙ ПРИНЦИП СОЗДАНИЯ  
САКРАЛЬНОГО ПРОСТРАНСТВА В ВИЗАНТИИ

Иеротопия — термин, созданный на основе греческих слов *hierós* и *tópos*, был несколько лет назад (2001 г.) введен Алексеем Лидовым и в последнее время получил распространение среди исследователей. Он может стать обозначением полноценной научной дисциплины. Мы разделяем теорию Лидова и, в свою очередь, предлагаем собственные варианты связанных с этой дисциплиной терминов. Одним из них, в рамках более общей концепции иеротопии, может стать хорография.

Пространство — это то, что мы видим, не замечая, то, что мы имеем, не владея, присутствие, которое мы игнорируем, просто метафора. Для культур, предшествовавших Новому времени, это было не так. В настоящей статье я пытаюсь рассмотреть трудное для современного восприятия понятие византийского «сакрального пространства». Это — задача не из легких, особенно после того, как Матеос в своей работе «Beyond Conventional Christianity» убедительно показал, что «в христианстве не существует собственно „сакрального пространства“ и „сакрального времени“, так как все время и пространство были освящены во Христе». «Сакральное пространство», конечно, — искусственный термин, его употребление ограничено описанием феноменов такой сложности, что в них невозможно разделить пространство и время, символ и ритуал. Хорография пытается реконструировать феномен сакрального пространства в Византии с помощью своих собственных инструментов, устойчивых понятий *chôra*, *chôros*, и *chorós*, присутствующих в греческих текстах. Но она не претендует на исследование всей связанной с сакральными пространствами проблематики — это остается задачей иеротопии.

По моему мнению, дискурс «сакрального пространства» Византии сопротивляется однозначности, он не может быть определен одним понятием или ограничен одной точкой зрения. Пожалуй, сильнее всего это

выражено в древнегреческих словах *chôra, chôros* и *chorós*, значение и употребление которых перешли в христианскую культуру, богословие и церковную жизнь из классической античности. Этимологическое родство между греческими словами, обозначающими пространство (*chôra, chôros*) и вращение в танце (*chorós*), отмеченное специалистами по античности, оказалось справедливым и для византийской культуры (см. мою недавнюю статью «Танец Адама: Реконструируя византийский *Chorós*»). Греческие слова, обозначающие пространство (*chôra, chôros, chôre*), этимологически связаны с *chôreuô* и *chôrêsomai*, отражающими тип движения, который приводит к «образованию пространства для», «расчищению пути для», а также имеющими значение «отступления» и «ухода». Это приводит к особому ощущению места, в котором *chôra* или *chôros* передают тип пространства, создающегося в помещении путем кругового движения — *chorós*. Для наших дальнейших построений будет крайне важно вернуться к восприятию пространства как пережитого, познанного через опыт, скорее как глагола, чем как существительного, к тому пониманию слова *chôra*, которое изначально присутствовало у Платона. *Chôra* по Платону — определенная реальность, ощущаемая в пересечении, перекрещивании бытия и становления. Исследователи *chôra* в византийской культуре выделяли кенотический аспект христианского сакрального пространства, парадокс *chôra tou achorou* («вместилще невместимого»), а также «типологию вмещения» (Р. Остерхут), заключенную в мозаичных образах Богоматери и Христа *Chôra* из Кахрие Джами (монастыря Хора).

В настоящей статье предпринята попытка более углубленно исследовать динамику византийского сакрального пространства посредством возврата к его хоральному измерению с помощью *chorós* в значении определенного типа правильного движения по окружности (которое можно назвать танцем), а также и в значении «пространства» (*chôros*); иногда это слово обозначало группу совершающих движение. С помощью космологии и мистического богословия, отраженных в экфрасисах VI–XII веков, можно реконструировать византийское видение церкви как модели Вселенной, найти в терминах описания церкви устойчивые архетипы. Говоря о византийских купольных храмах, такие авторы, как Прокопий Кесарийский, Павел Силенциарий, патриарх Фотий и Михаил Фессалоникийский, часто называют церковь куполом небес и пользуются понятием «церкви» для обозначения «микрокосма». Каждое упоминание этих священных построек подчинено общей космологической схеме, по которой церковь является отражением вселенского порядка, следующего божественному образцу. Этот образец прослеживается еще в космологии Платона, в понятии *chôra* — изначального места творения и бытия, описанного Платоном как космическое место и абст-

рактное пространство — пространство (а также движение) бытия и становления, в котором *chorós* является парадигмой Космоса.

Концепция *chorós* явным образом присутствует в византийских экфрасисах, и совершенно непонятно, почему до настоящего времени она осталась не исследованной. На мой взгляд, понятие *chorós* дает нам эффективный инструмент для понимания природы и космологических смыслов византийских сакральных пространств. В настоящей статье *chorós*-иконография купола исследуется в связи с возникновением образа Пантократора и новых литургических тем, возникших в VI–XII веках. Особое внимание уделено проблематике света и освещения церкви, которая в экфрасисе Павла Силенциария определяется тем же понятием *chorós*. Так как научных работ по этой теме практически не существует, задачей настоящей статьи является воссоздание отсутствующих связей между определением «*chorós* света» Павла Силенциария (VI век) и первыми литургическими свидетельствами о нем в типиконах эпохи Комнинов (см. мою статью «*Chorós* света: Образ священного в поэме Павла Силенциария „Описание Святой Софии“»).

Наконец, использование комплекса различных методов исследования направлено на понимание символического замысла церковной архитектуры VI–XII веков, воплощавшей идею храма как образа неба на земле. Выявлен особый аспект всех описаний, связанный с ролью собственно *chorós* в создании сакральных пространств, — видения, переживавшиеся в таких пространствах, постоянно описываются авторами как вращения и круговые движения. Я пытаюсь показать, что восприятие этих пространств было не просто результатом воздействия на чувства посетителя, его механического перемещения или динамики архитектурных форм (Рут Уэбб). Напротив, динамика такого восприятия была, с моей точки зрения, определена литургически, а концептуально артикулировалась *chorós* — понятием, которое, по космологии Платона, само описывает духовное движение Вселенной, небесных созданий, а также звезд. Восприятие церкви, отраженное в этих экфрасисах, было тесно связано с идеей Космоса. Считалось, что, смотря на церковь, человек мог подняться до «великой сферы самих небес». Пространство и зритель взаимопроникали и становились единым целым, в котором все вращалось подобно *chorós*. Это не только показывает, как в византийской культуре сливались пространство и движение, но и объясняет, как пространство переживалось.

Пространство и зритель были неотделимы друг от друга: они образовывали хор. Именно такое восприятие пространства может помочь в объяснении слитости в языке космологически связанных терминов (*chôra*, *chôros*, *chorós*), присущей сакральной хорографии. В то же время оно указывает на общий принцип вовлечения в священное в визан-

тийских сакральных пространствах. Таким образом, в сфере литургического опыта совершаемые движения (*chorós*), сам верующий и создаваемое при этом сакральное пространство (*chôros*) были внутренне связаны, и разделить их на отдельные независимые абстрактные сущности или понятия невозможно. Конечным результатом такого опыта была живая сфера сопричастности и соединения с божественным, персонафицированное пространство, совпадающее и с личностью воспринимающего, и с божеством — можно сказать, акт онтологической неразрывности бытия и становления.

Сакральное пространство в Византии было пространством присутствия и бытования, скорее глаголом, чем существительным, и поэтому способом воплощения сакрального пространства был танец, *chorós*. Это было не простое физическое расширение пространства, а живая основа литургического опыта. Это было пространство «сакрального вмещения», которое нужно очистить от современного разделения на вмещающее и вмещаемое, дабы дать дорогу творческому воображению, когда-то позволявшему быть причастным к целостности Вселенной и Бытию.



1. Columns in the exaedra at Hagia Sophia

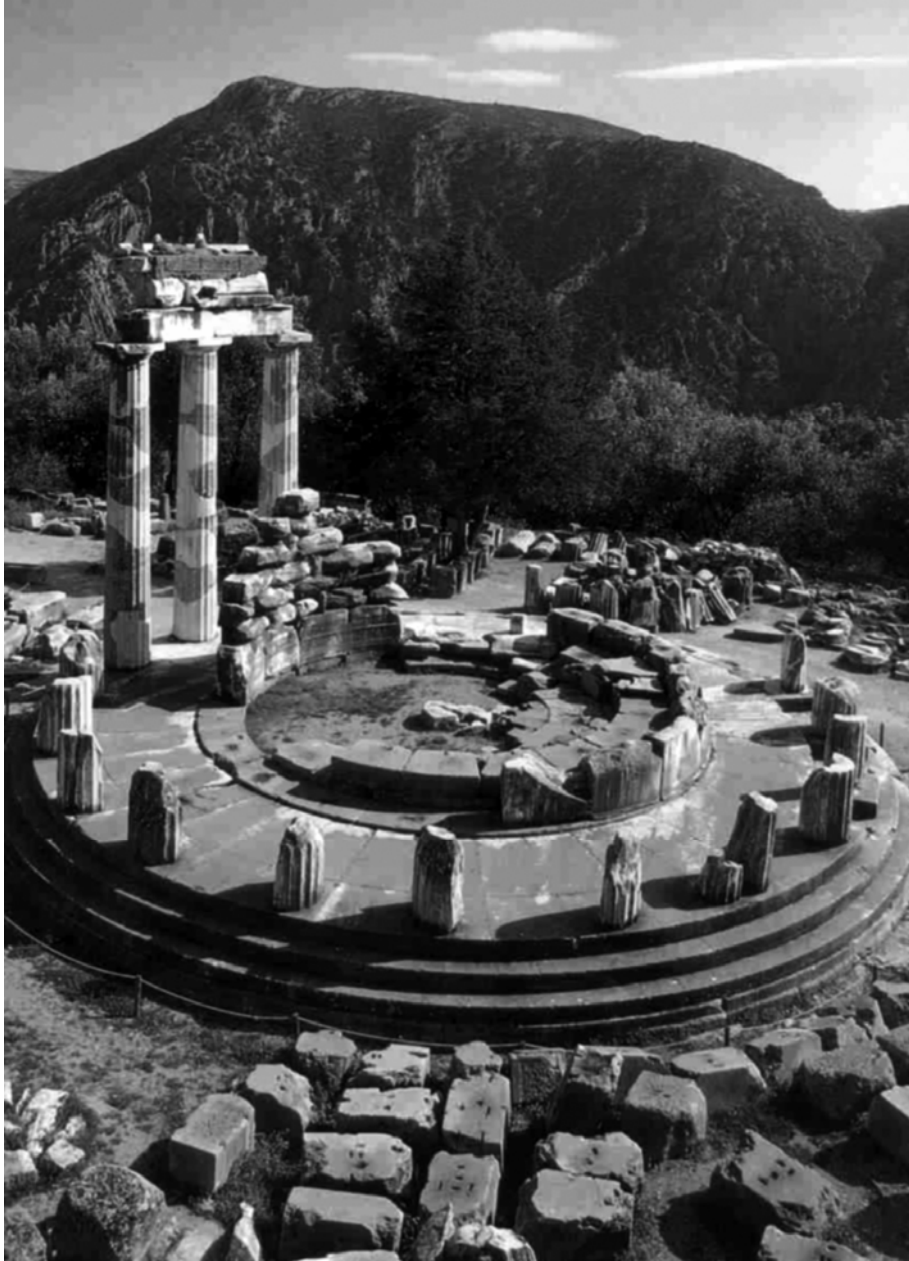


2. Athena's altar (originally in the Temple of Athena Pronaia) showing six pairs of dancing girls on the altar (Archaeological Museum of Delphi, Greece)



3. Herakles wrestling Triton, and the dance of Nereids (Athenian kylix, 550 BC) (Tarquinia Museum Nazionale)

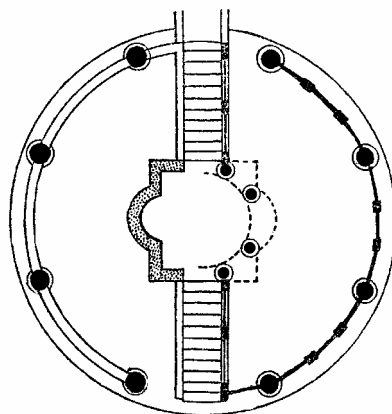




4. The Tholos Temple, Sanctuary of Athena Pronaia, Delphi (380–360 BC)



5. View of the interior (Hagia Sophia)



6. The plan of the ambo (Hagia Sophia)



7. Choros of Decani (14<sup>th</sup> c.)

М. В. Бибииков

ВИЗАНТИЙСКИЙ ЭДЕМ:  
«ВРЕМЯ-В-ПРОСТРАНСТВЕ»

Основополагающий образ Эдема был дан византийцам уже первыми листами Септуагинты, представлявшей (в соответствии с этимологией от древне-еврейского *edēn* — «наслаждение») Эдемом «райский сад», определяемый одним словом — *παράδεισος* (Быт. 2:8)<sup>1</sup>. Собственно, Эдем часто передается в Септуагинте просто словом *τρυφή* — «наслаждение» («и выслал его Господь Бог из сада *Едемско-го* — «καὶ ἐξάπεστειλεν αὐτὸν Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου τρυφῆς»: Gen. 3:23)<sup>2</sup>. Ветхозаветные описания Эдема отмечают обилие влаги для орошения рая, чему служат четыре «начала», проистекающие из Эдемской реки: *Γεὼν* (Гихон) — Геон, *Φισὼν* — Фисон, Тигр и Евфрат. Неиссякаемое орошение сада-рая позволило произрастать там прекрасным на вид и вкус деревьям, в том числе поставленному в центре Древу жизни, а также древу познания добра и зла (Быт. 2:9). Помимо воды, земли, орошаемые водами рек Эдема, изобилуют минералами и камнями — золотом и самоцветами (упомянуты *ἄνθραξ* — «карбункул», т. е., как правило, красный гранат, и «зеленый камень» прасит — вероятно, изумруд; в русском синодальном переводе они превращены в бдолах и оникс: Быт. 2:12)<sup>3</sup>. Пребывание в Эдеме предполагает украшение и одежду драгоценностями: «ты был произращен в неге рая (сада) Божьего; всяк камень пригожий украшал тебя — сердолик и топаз, смарагд и карбункул (антракс), сапфир и яшма, и серебро и золото, и лигурий и агат, и аметист и хризолит, и бериллий и

<sup>1</sup> Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche. Freiburg, Basel, Rom, Wien, 1998. Bd. 7. S. 1359–1360; Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament / Hrsg. v. G. Friedrich. Stuttgart, 1954. Bd. 5. S. 763–764.

<sup>2</sup> Septuaginta / Ed. A. Rahlfs. Stuttgart, 1962. Vol. I. P. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Библия, сиречь книги ветхого и нового завета, по языку славенску. М., 1663.

оникс» (Иез. 28:13). В синодальном переводе русский текст существенно отличается: «Ты находился в Едеме, в саду Божиим; твои одежды были украшены всякими драгоценными камнями; рубин, топаз и алмаз, хризолит, оникс, яспис, сапфир, карбункул и изумруд и золото» (Иез. 28:13). К этому каталогу самоцветов восходит текст о камнях Ефода — судного наперсника первосвященника (Флорилегий «Вопросоответов» Анастасия Синаита — «Изборник Святослава» 1073 г.)<sup>4</sup>. Рай у Ефрема сопричастен благодати:

*Восьмая Песнь о Рае*

Но ведь благодатный оный сад  
ни с каким ущербом не совместим,  
ибо он есть место полноты,  
совершенной целости во всем (7.1–4)<sup>5</sup>.

*XI песнь о Рае, или о благоуханиях духовных*

Ни ознобом веющий хлад,  
ни люто попяляющий жар  
не ведомы месту сему,  
столь благословенно оно! (2.1–4)  
Поелику слабые очи твои  
не возмогут прямо взирать  
на полную славу лучей  
небесных великолепий Его, —  
Он облачил деревья свои  
именами наших дерев,  
смоковницам даровал своим  
прозвание смоковниц мира сего,  
и духовные листы Его  
предстали как осязаемая плоть (8.1–10).  
Превышая числом рои звезд  
на зримом небосклоне сем,  
обильные цветы оной страны,  
светло торжествуя, являют себя (9.1–4).

Книга пророка Иезекииля располагает райский сад на горе, откуда Бог низвергает человека после грехопадения («и Я поставил тебя на то; ты был на святой горе Божией, ходил среди огнистых камней и ты со-

<sup>4</sup> Бибиков М. В. Византийский прототип древнейшей славянской книги (Изборник Святослава 1073 г.). М., 1996, с. 244–245.

<sup>5</sup> *Des Heiligen Ephraem des Syrers, Hymnen de Paradiso und Contra Julianum* / Ed. E. Beck [Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, 174–175]. Louvain, 1957.

грешил; и Я низвергнул тебя, как нечистого с горы Божией, изгнал тебя... От красоты твоей возгордилось сердце твое, от тщеславия твоего ты погубил мудрость твою; за то Я повергну тебя на землю» — Иез. 28:14–17). Здесь вместо цветущего дольного сада, насажденного фруктовыми деревьями, смоковницей (ее листьями прикрылись Адам и Ева, познавшие стыд), в кущах которых обитают всевозможные звери и птицы (ср. Ефрем Сирийский, Григорий Нисский), земной рай предстает возвышающейся доле горой из огненных камней, падение с которой есть низвержение «на землю» (ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἔρριψα σε). В XI в. Никита Стифат, ученик Симеона Нового Богослова, прямо будет проводить идею дихотомии Рая: одного — Эдемского, другого — умопостигаемого, высшего. «Создав сначала человека двойным, я имею в виду — из видимой и невидимой природы, видимым и невидимым, чувственно воспринимаемым и постигаемым умом, Бог, очевидно, создал точно такой, соответствующий его природам, и образ жизни его — рай, чувственно воспринимаемый и постигаемый умом, видимый и невидимый, посадив посреди него Древо Жизни и Древо Знания, которое называется Познанием добра и зла. Один из них (рай) Он насадил в Эдеме сообразно этому видимому миру, расположенным на востоке, возвышающимся над всей землей для наслаждения Адама (ибо «Эдем» переводится «наслаждение» — τρυφή), окруженным воздухом тонким, благо-растворенным и самым чистым, украшенным вечноцветущими растениями, полным света и неизреченного благоухания. Другой же (рай) Он насадил сообразно умопостигаемому и невидимому (миру), существующим и расположенным внутри человека, так как человек был сотворен, чтобы (быть) великим миром в малом мире, видимом, и помещен Богом на землю»<sup>6</sup>.

Образы «горного» рая и «дольного» Эдема, кажется, примиряются в картине уже упомянутого «древа жизни, двенадцать раз приносящего плоды, дающего на каждый месяц плод свой; и листья дерева — для исцеления народа (εἰς θεράπείαν τῶν ἐθνῶν)» в Апокалипсисе (22.2), где древо жизни помещено у известной реки<sup>7</sup>; сама же «река воды жизни» (ποταμός ὕδατος ζωῆς) вытекает из престола Бога и Агнца («и показал мне чистую реку воды жизни, светлую, как кристалл, исходящую от престола Бога и Агнца» — «ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀρνίου», Откр. 22:1). Сопричастность реки и древа жизни высочайшим престолом («трону») принципиально отделяет их от земли и всего земного: учение о небесной иерархии Псевдо-Дионисия Ареопагита строится на

<sup>6</sup> *Nicetas Stethatos. Opuscles et lettres / Éd. J. Darrouzès. Paris, 1961 («Sources Chrétiennes», 81), p. 156–158.*

<sup>7</sup> *Novum Testamentum Graece, cur. Eb. Nestle, r. el. Er. Nestle et K. Aland. Stuttgart, 1963.*

противопоставлении, где превыспренние Престолы «совершенно изъяты от всякой низкой привязанности земной; они, постоянно возвышаясь над всем дольным, премирно стремятся к горнему... всеми силами неподвижно и твердо прилеплены к Существо истинно Высочайшему, принимая Божественное Его внушение во всяком бесстрастии и невестственности; означает также то, что они [престолы] носят Бога («богоносны» — «τὸ θεοφόρον») и раболепно выполняют Божественные Его повеления» (СН VII.1)<sup>8</sup>.

К Септуагинте восходят и попытки «локализации» земного рая. В Книге Бытия называются реки, вытекающие из первоисточника, и называются страны, куда они текут: «Имя одной Фисон: она обтекает всю землю Хавила... Имя второй реки Гихон: она обтекает всю землю Куш. Имя третьей реки Хиддекель: она протекает пред Ассириею. Четвертая река Ефрат» (2:11–14). В греческом оригинале Фисон течет в земле Евилат, вторая река называется Геон, она кругом обтекает землю Эфиопии; третья река — Тигр (Gen. 2:11–14). Так осуществляются земные, привязки Эдема, который в целом располагается, согласно Книге Бытия — «на востоке» (2:8).

Построения, «локализирующие» земной рай, разнятся от ограничения его территориями Месопотамии, Сирии и Армении до распространения его на все пространство между Нилом и Ефратом: Елифаний, Амвросий и Августин считают одну из эдемских рек Нилом. Аналогичные идентификации видят в Фисоне Фасис, а в Гихоне Аракс; по другим идентификациям Геон и Фисон — это расположенные еще дальше Амударья и Сырдарья. Помимо поисков Эдема в Африке (Эфиопия и Абиссиния), Армении и на Кавказе, Сирии и Палестине, Месопотамии и Вавилоне, византийские прагматики отодвигали местонахождение его за Индией (Косьма Индикоплов), на Цейлоне, в Гималаях. К востоку обращают молитвы христиане, словно обращаясь к утраченной родине (Василий Великий. О Св. Духе)<sup>9</sup>.

Причастность атрибутов Земного рая — места пребывания прародителей небесным Престолам предопределяет разделение потустороннего мира в восточном христианстве на Эдем — местопребывание прародителей — и грядущий небесный рай, предназначенный для душ праведников после свершения Страшного Суда. С последним связаны представления о «семи небесах», на первом из которых находятся ангелы, на втором, выше — архангелы, в высших сферах — Силы, Власти,

<sup>8</sup> *Denys l'Aréopagite. La hiérarchie céleste* / Éd. R. Roques, G. Heil, M. de Gandillac. Paris, 1958 («Sources Chrétiennes», 58), p. 108.37–45.

<sup>9</sup> *Basile de Césarée. Sur le Saint-Esprit* / Éd. B. Pruche. Paris, 1968 («Sources Chrétiennes», 17), p. 480.13–15.

Господства, далее — Серафимы и Херувимы; Эдем расположен как раз на «третьем небе» (Климент Александрийский, Ориген, Псевдо-Дионисий Ареопагит)<sup>10</sup>.

Однако грядущее Царствие Небесное до времени сокрыто от смертных. Развивая слова книги Бытия о том, что Бог «изгнал Адама, и поставил на востоке у сада Эдемского херувима и пламенный меч обращающийся, чтобы охранять путь к древу жизни» (3:24), византийские учителя (Григорий Нисский, Иоанн Златоуст)<sup>11</sup> описывают огненную стену, окружающую земной рай с деревом Жизни и истоками четырех рек, или стену кристаллическую, или жемчужную, воздвигнутую до небес (ср. Лактанция и Тертуллиана)<sup>12</sup>. Так «оправдывается» этимология «парадиза» от древне-персидского *Pairidaêza* — «огороженное место» (так у Ефрема Сирина и Никиты Стифата). Ефрем Сирий пишет:

Ограда, замыкающая Рай,  
 есть тишина, что миротворит все;  
 и твердыня его, и вал его  
 суть согласие, что все единит;  
 и на страже его стоит Херувим,  
 приветно взирающий на тех, кто внутри,  
 но грозный тем, кто суть вовне,  
 на отверженных насельников тьмы;  
 и все в ограде Рая того  
 непорочно и свято весьма,  
 и должно тебе все, что слышишь ты,  
 тонкостно и духовно разуметь.  
 Благословен Властный Адама воззвать  
 и возратить его в Рай

(XI песнь о Рае, 3.1–14)

Самоочевидна абсолютная вневременность Рая: сущий до творения всего Творцом, в том числе и до творения времени, он является сопричастным царству зона — вечности. Однако некий рай, сущий между

<sup>10</sup> *Clemens Alexandrinus*. Excerpta ex scriptis Theodoti // PG. T. 9/2. Col. 684A (ed. O. Stählin. Griechische Christliche Schriftsteller. Leipzig, 1909. Bd. 3. S. 123.19); cf. Origenus Scholia in Cant. Cant. 6:10 // PG 17. Col. 280A.

<sup>11</sup> *S. Gregorii Nysseni* In XL Martyres // PG 46. Col. 772AB; *S. Joannis Chrisostomi* Homiliae in Genesin // PG 56. Col. 528; *Idem*, In venerabilem Crucem Sermo // PG 50. Col. 816.

<sup>12</sup> *Lactantii* Divinae Institutiones, 2.13; *Tertulliani* De resurrectione mortuorum (A. Souter. Tertullian. Concerning the Resurrection of the Flesh. London, 1922); De testimonio animae, 55.4 (*Scholte W.* Q.S.Fl. Tertulliani Libellus de testimonio animae. Amsterdam, 1934); Ad martyras. 3 (*Bindley T. H.* Tertulliani de praescriptione haereticorum, ad martyras, ad Scapulam. Oxford, 1893).



грехопадением и Страшным Судом, тоже представлялся византийцам вполне реальным. Он есть место временного пребывания Еноха и Илии. Этот рай — «парадиз» — встречается в Новом Завете лишь трижды (Лк 23:43; 2 Кор. 12:4; Откр. 2:7). По апокалиптической традиции, этот земной рай может находиться не только далеко на востоке, но и на «севере» или северо-западе (эфиоп. Энох), или даже на западе («за океаном»: неканон. 4 Ездр. 14:9).

В этот рай можно попасть вместе со Спасителем и до Страшного Суда, о чем возвещает на Кресте одному из разбойников Христос («истинно говорю тебе, ныне же будешь со Мною в раю» — Лк. 23:46, где «ныне», в соответствии с эсхатологической традицией, есть *hic et nunc*). Этот «промежуточный» рай имеет, по византийским представлениям, хронологические атрибуты: он конечен во времени, ограничиваясь пятью тысячелетиями (Иоанн Златоуст). Тот же Златоуст проводит последовательное разграничение между Эдемом и «лучшим раем» «того блаженства», «который не на земле, но в душах верующих насажден Богом»; он «не в Эдеме, но в едином месте, но распростерт повсюду на земле» (Гом. III. 1)<sup>13</sup>.

Сублимация времени в пространстве сакрального сада — парадиза, охраняемого Херувимом, но в принципе доступного во Христе «здесь и сейчас», несмотря ни на огненные, ни на алмазные преграды, хорошо иллюстрируется историей Сифа, оказавшегося у врат рая, оберегаемых Херувимом. В видении Сифу отказано в получении масла милосердия от древа жизни до срока, ибо Христос лишь через несколько тысячелетий возродит Адама и прочих почивших — ко дню Страшного Суда. Тем самым Сиф узнает пророчество о втором пришествии Спасителя, а также получает три зерна плода с древа познания. Зерна вложили в рот умершему Адаму, похороненному в долине Хеврона, из чего проросло три побега — кедра, кипариса и сосны (всё это — тоже эдемские растения). Из них потом и будет сделан крест для распятия Иисуса Христа<sup>14</sup>.

Этот сюжет хорошо отражен в иконографии (фрески монастыря Св. Креста в Иерусалиме). Райские кущи как место пребывания протцев Авраама, Исаака и Иакова (изображены вместе с благоразумным разбойником, держащим крест) известны в афонской иконографии (икона Всех Святых Нового скита). Наиболее распространенным является иконописный сюжет, отграничивающий горный мир от земного (Успение Богородицы, душа Которой отходит к охраняемым вратам рая).

<sup>13</sup> S. Joannis Chrysostomi In principium Actorum, III, 1 // PG 51. Col. 87.

<sup>14</sup> Святая Земля. Исторический путеводитель. Под ред. М. В. Бибикова. М.; Иерусалим, 1999.

Однако и высший и недоступный до времени сакральный рай-сад имеет пред-метафору на земле. Это «Святой Град», или Иерусалим, — предтеча Небесного Иерусалима<sup>15</sup>.

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BYZANTINE EDEN: "TIME-IN-SPACE"

The main association with Eden as paradise was adopted in Byzantine literature from Septuagint. Ephrem's the Syrian description of Paradise accents the absolute perfection of this phenomenon that has all attributes of an exotic garden. The Paradise as enclosed heavenly creation is opposed to the earthly Eden. It is constructed according to hierarchy of heavenly taxonometry (Ps.-Dionysios the Areopagite). On such basis there appeared dichotomic opposition of "highest thrones" vs terrestrial essence. Septuagint was also a source for different speculations concerning attempts of "localization" of the eathen-Eden, especially of its famous rivers, be it in Mesopotamia, Syria, Armenia, Georgia, Georgia, or Ethiopia and Abyssinia, Palestine etc. up to India, Ceylon, Middle Asia and Himalayas. The temporal approaches to Paradise demonstrate its exclusive opposition to any real time and adherence to eternal sphere of aeon. But it can be regained through Christ (J. Chrysostomi, Hom. III. 1). The sublimation of time in space of sacred paradise-garden, forbidden for entry, but in principle accessible *in Christo* "hic et nunc", can be well illustrated by the story of Seth standing at the paradise gate guarded by Cherubim. In the Byzantine iconography this topic is very well known due to images of locality where the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and James are shown together with the Prudent Robber holding the cross. Metaphorical image of the sacred Paradise is represented by Holy City Jerusalem as precursor of celestial Jerusalem.

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<sup>15</sup> *Macarius Aegyptius*. Homiliae Spirituales // PG 34. Col. 672C; *Gregorii Nysseni* In Christi resurrectionem // PG 46. Col. 616D-617C; Stephanus Gobarus. Fr. apud Photium, cod. 232 // PG 103. Col. 1093D-1096A.

Robert Ousterhout

SACRED GEOGRAPHIES AND HOLY CITIES:  
CONSTANTINOPLE AS JERUSALEM

To my teacher Slobodan Ćurčić  
in honor of his 65<sup>th</sup> birthday

The concept of sacred geography raises a fundamental question: how does the physical world address the spiritual world? One of the implicit assumptions is that the two worlds come together at certain special places, *loca sancta*, where the powers of heaven are more easily tapped, either for earthly benefit or for aid in salvation. At such sites, the spiritual could be made palpable and concrete, and could be focused in a person, place, or object<sup>1</sup>. This assumption underlies the Christian practice of pilgrimage: the belief in the sanctity of holy places and the spiritual validity of sacred journeys. This is also what makes medieval Jerusalem different from medieval Constantinople. Jerusalem witnessed the Crucifixion, Entombment, and Resurrection of Christ; the Holy Sites of Jerusalem stood as testimony to the faithful, marking and making spiritually present the events on which the tenets of Christianity were grounded<sup>2</sup>.

The city of Byzantium, on the other hand, had no specifically Christian associations before it was refounded as Constantinople in A.D. 324–330. Even the Christian-ness of Constantine's foundation has been seriously questioned — most persuasively by Cyril Mango, who emphasizes that urban amenities, ceremonial spaces, and public monuments were given priority over church construction<sup>3</sup>. The only church of distinction from Constantine's reign seems to have been the Holy Apostles, which was built as the em-

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<sup>1</sup> See: *Vikan G.* Byzantine Pilgrimage Art. Washington, 1986; *The Blessings of Pilgrimage* / Ed. R. Ousterhout. Urbana, 1990, *inter alia*, for discussion of this theme.

<sup>2</sup> The literature on Jerusalem is voluminous; for early pilgrim accounts, see: *Wilkinson J.* Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades. Warminster, 1977.

<sup>3</sup> *Mango C.* Le développement urbain de Constantinople. Paris, 1985.

peror's mausoleum<sup>4</sup>. Constantine's biographer Eusebius is fairly flummoxed trying to explain why his paragon of piety would erect pagan statues in his new capital, let alone how to account for the noticeable absence of churches<sup>5</sup>. Constantine's city was founded as an imperial capital, not necessarily as a Christian capital.

And yet, by mid fifth century, all this had changed. Constantinople had become not just indelibly Christian, but sacred as well. In 446, the Mesopotamian monk Daniel the Stylite, on the road to visit the holy sites of Palestine, met a mysterious figure who told him in no uncertain terms *not* to go to Jerusalem, "but go to Byzantium, and you will see a second Jerusalem, namely Constantinople. There you will rejoice in the shrines of martyrs and imposing places of prayer..."<sup>6</sup> Accordingly, Daniel headed north and set up his column in a suburb of the Byzantine capital. Ever since Daniel received his spiritual directions, we find occasional references to Constantinople as the New Jerusalem. In fact this happens more often in current scholarship than in Byzantine texts. Scholars love the dual epithet "New Rome and New Jerusalem," as it seems to express the combined political and religious ambitions of the city, its unique linkage of power and status<sup>7</sup>. But how true is it?

"New Rome" poses no problems. The idea of the Byzantine capital as "New Rome" or "Second Rome" is a *topos* that pervades the literature throughout the Byzantine period, and the degree of imitation, real or imagined, is striking<sup>8</sup>. Like Rome, the city of Constantine was built on seven hills and divided into fourteen districts; its imperial palace lay next to its hippodrome, which was similarly equipped with a royal viewing box. As in Rome, there were a senate house, a Capitol, great baths, and other public amenities; imperial fora provided its public spaces; triumphal columns, arches, and monuments, including a colossus of the emperor as Apollo, and a variety of dedications imparted mimetic associations with the old capital<sup>9</sup>. "New

<sup>4</sup> For Eusebius's description and a summary of the scholarship, see: *Eusebius, Life of Constantine* / Ed. Av. Cameron and S. Hall. Oxford, 1999, ch. 58–60, p. 176–177, with commentary, 337–339.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, ch. 54.1–7: "the Emperor used these very toys [i.e., pagan statues] for the laughter and amusement of the spectator"; p. 143–44; with commentary, 301–303.

<sup>6</sup> *Delehaye H. Les saints stylites // Subsidia hagiographica* 14. Brussels, 1923, 1–94, at 8.10–11, p. 11–13; also *Nicholson O. Constantinople: Christian City, Christian Landscape // The Making of Christian Communities in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* / Ed. M. Williams. London, forthcoming. I am grateful to Prof. Nicholson for sharing his unpublished paper with me.

<sup>7</sup> See for example: *Sherrard P. Constantinople: Iconography of a Sacred City*. Oxford, 1965, with chapters entitled "The New Rome" and "The New Jerusalem".

<sup>8</sup> For the literary references, see the summation of *Fenster E. Laudes Constantinopolitanae*. Munich, 1968, S. 20–86.

<sup>9</sup> *Mango. Développement*, passim.

Rome” was a concept firmly established from the beginning and developed in word and image.

“New Jerusalem” is another matter. Surprisingly, the references to Constantinople as the “New Jerusalem” are considerably fewer and more elusive during the Byzantine period<sup>10</sup>. To be sure, Constantinople is presented as a sacred city, but its sanctity did not necessarily derive from that of Jerusalem, and the association differs from its symbolic relationship with Rome. The connection with Rome was fundamental and mimetic. The association with Jerusalem was neither; more often than not, Jerusalem provided no more than a convenient metaphor for a sacred city, and not a typological model. Here we might contrast Constantinople with medieval copies of Jerusalem from western Europe, in which we find the replication of forms and dedications, and which were related to the process of pilgrimage — as both the mementos of the journey, and often as pilgrimage sites in their own right<sup>11</sup>.

The twelfth-century complex of Santo Stefano in Bologna is the most complete example of this phenomenon, copying buildings and replicating dedications and relics from Jerusalem, the most important of which was the church of the Holy Sepulchre, the monumental martyrium founded by Constantine the Great. The Bolognese complex includes the centralized chapel of S. Sepolcro, which contains a copy of the Tomb of Christ and a Column of the Flagellation. The central courtyard connects to a series of chapels, centered on the cruciform chapel of S. Croce, also called “Calvario,” which contained copies of the Rock of Calvary and of the True Cross, alleged to have been based on measurements taken in Jerusalem. Although the Bolognese copy was attributed to the fifth-century patron saint of Bologna, Petronius, who was said to have visited Jerusalem and returned with relics and measurements, most likely it was created following the First Crusade and was meant to reproduce the form of the Holy Sepulchre as reconstructed in the eleventh century.

The ‘Jerusalem’ in Bologna was not limited to the confines of S. Stefano and incorporated several other sites purported to have been founded by St. Petronius. These included the church of S. Giovanni in Monte Oliveti, imitating the church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem; the church of S. Thecla, said to be a copy of the Valley of Josephat and the Field of Hakeldama; a Pool of Siloam is also mentioned. Although the

<sup>10</sup> *Fenster*. *Laudes*, 102, 106, 114–115 and *passim*.

<sup>11</sup> For what follows, see: *Ousterhout R. Loca Sancta and the Architectural Response to Pilgrimage // The Blessings of Pilgrimage*, 108–124; *idem*, *Flexible Geography and Transportable Topography // The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Art* / Ed. B. Kuehnel. Jerusalem, 1998, p. 393–404 (published as *Jewish Art* 23–24 [1997–1998]).

spatial relationships are a bit confused, evidently the intent was to establish an extensive topographical relationship with Jerusalem.

On the simplest level, the 'Jerusalem' in Bologna can be understood as a souvenir copy. The numerous devotional guides to the S. Stefano indicate that it served as the site of local pilgrimages, offering indulgences to visitors. But the church was also the setting for special liturgical celebrations, such as a Palm Sunday procession that recreated Christ's Entry into Jerusalem, apparently imitating the ceremony in Jerusalem, which connected the monuments as it moved from the Mount of Olives to the Holy Sepulchre. Through these mimetic ceremonies, we can discern the civic function of the copy: in a period of rapid growth and emerging civic consciousness, the identity of Bologna as a city gains credibility and lustre through the symbolic association with the ideal city of the Middle Ages — that is, Jerusalem in its heavenly and earthly aspects.

Constantinople, in contrast, doesn't follow this model, except for the fact that much of its sanctity was borrowed. The city became head of the Orthodox church through political means, rather than because of any previous sacred associations. The latter was obviously a matter of some concern and was compensated in several ways — most notably by the acquisition of relics, for which the city became famous. More than 3,600 relics are recorded, representing at least 476 different saints, most of which were imported<sup>12</sup>.

We can trace the beginnings of the city's imported sanctity to the Church of Holy Apostles, begun by Constantine to be his place of burial. Its original form is debated, but probably consisted of just the centrally-planned mausoleum, to which a cruciform church was subsequently added. Originally the tomb of Constantine was surrounded by cenotaphs of the twelve Apostles, but in 356–357, relics of Timothy, Andrew, and Luke were brought into the church, marking a significant shift in Christian practices<sup>13</sup>. That is, holy sites and venerated tombs, whose locations were originally fixed and immutable, could be relocated to more advantageous situations. This translation signals the beginning of a flood of holy relics into Constantinople.

New buildings could also add holiness. None were quite as significant as Hagia Sophia. The church of the Holy Wisdom, dedicated to a concept and not to a person, originally had no specific sacred associations and contained no important relic<sup>14</sup>. Through its history, however, the church itself came to be

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<sup>12</sup> See the discussion by *Wortley J.* Iconoclasm and Leipsanoclasm: Leo III, Constantine V, and the Relics // *Byzantinische Forschungen* 8 (1982), S. 254; *Maraval P.* Lieux saints et pèlerinages d'Orient. Paris, 1985, p. 92–104.

<sup>13</sup> As above, n. 4.

<sup>14</sup> As emphasized by *Mathews T. F.* The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy. University Park, 1971, p. 105–180; *Mainstone R. J.* Hagia Sophia: Architecture, Structure and Liturgy of Justinian's Great Church. New York, 1988.

treated as a holy object. In the accounts of Russian pilgrims, for example, they “visit” other churches, but they “venerate” Hagia Sophia<sup>15</sup>. With its great, gilded dome seeming to float above its immense nave, the church still inspires awe, as well as metaphor. Justinian’s unique creation may have been meant to evoke the Heavenly Jerusalem, or the Throne of God, or possibly the Temple of Jerusalem. The excavation and study of the church of St. Polyeuktos, built immediately before Hagia Sophia by Justinian’s political rival, Juliana Anicia, encourage such an interpretation: St. Polyeuktos apparently replicated the Temple of Solomon in its measurements and proportions and in aspects of its decoration<sup>16</sup>. It was the largest and most lavish church in the capital at the time of its construction. The dedicatory inscription credits Juliana with having “surpassed the wisdom of the celebrated Solomon, raising a temple to receive God”<sup>17</sup>. In this context, Hagia Sophia could be seen as part of a larger, competitive discourse between political rivals. Juliana was a descendant of Theodosius and represented a long-established imperial family, now out of power. Justinian’s famous, if legendary, exclamation at the dedication, “Solomon, I have outdone thee!” may have been directed more toward Juliana than toward Jerusalem<sup>18</sup>. Certainly Procopius uses similar language about Hagia Sophia, insisting that God “must especially love to dwell in this place which He has chosen”<sup>19</sup>. The discourse, I would argue, was more about the construction of sacred kingship than about sacred topography. Clearly, both Juliana and Justinian understood the symbolic value of architecture. Still, scholars such as Gilbert Dagron favor a broader interpretation: that is, as Hagia Sophia increased in prestige, it came to be regarded as the new Temple of Solomon, thereby equating Constantinople with Jerusalem<sup>20</sup>. But this is nowhere explicitly stated.

Hagia Sophia also acquired a collection of relics, most notably the relic of True Cross — probably that brought by Heraclius ca. 630 — which was used in the ceremony of Exaltation of True Cross on September 14<sup>th</sup>, commemorating the recovery of Cross from Persians<sup>21</sup>. There were also relics associated with the Old Testament, which would have complemented the Old Testament associations the architecture may have been meant to evoke. These included the Rod of Moses, the Ark of the Covenant, the Tablets of

<sup>15</sup> *Majeska G.* Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries. Washington, 1984, p. 199.

<sup>16</sup> *Harrison M.* Excavations at the Saraçhane in Istanbul, I. Princeton, 1986, esp. 410–411; idem, A Temple for Byzantium. Austin, 1989.

<sup>17</sup> *Harrison.* Excavations, 5–7.

<sup>18</sup> *Mango C.* The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312–1453. Toronto, 1986, p. 96–102 for text.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 72–78 for text.

<sup>20</sup> *Dagron G.* Constantinople imaginaire: Etudes sur le recueil des “Patria”. Paris, 1984, p. 293–309.

<sup>21</sup> *Frolow A.* La relique de la Vraie Croix. Paris, 1961, p. 193–195; Musée du Louvre. Le trésor de la Sainte-Chapelle. Paris, 2001, p. 24–26.

the Law, Elijah's robe, the horn of the Anointing of David, and Joshua's trumpets from Jericho<sup>22</sup>.

These Old Testament relics were joined by others from the Passion of Christ, which were displayed on a table in the north aisle during Holy Week, although they were normally kept in the church of St. George of Mangana. One Russian pilgrim, the so-called Anonymous, claims that the table itself was made from the wood of Noah's Ark<sup>23</sup>. Another pilgrim, Anthony of Novgorod, saw the hammer, the gimlet, and the saw from which the Cross was made, along with a piece of the Cross. There were of course many others relics in the city, not just at Hagia Sophia. The churches of Constantinople were each distinctive for their collections of holy objects.

The Great Palace, now almost completely destroyed, also loomed large in the spiritual landscape of the city. It was not only the home of Christ's earthly representative, but also the setting of the rituals and ceremonies that guaranteed *taxis*, the order of the well-governed Christian cosmos, as the compiler of the *Ceremony Book*, Constantine Porphyrogenetos, explained<sup>24</sup>. Moreover, the churches and chapels within the Great Palace came to be repositories of relics, which often played important roles in the imperial ceremonies. The relic of the arm of St. Stephen, for example, was used in coronations and marriages. Stephen had been enlightened by God, and his name, *Stephanos*, is Greek for crown — that is, the signifier in both ceremonies<sup>25</sup>. The importance of this relic is reflected in numerous unusual representations of Stephen, with one prominent arm. Similarly, the relic of the arm of John the Baptist was used in the consecration of the emperor. John had been guided by the Holy Spirit, and the position of his arm in scenes of the Baptism emphasizes his intermediary role. The arm relic was also used in ceremonies on Epiphany, when the God-chosen Emperor was acclaimed: "He who was baptized through the hand of the Prodigios, proclaims you Emperor with his awesome hand, God-crowned benefactor, and points you out as worthy throughout the universe"<sup>26</sup>.

Notable among the palace relic collections was that of Christ's Passion, housed in the church of the Virgin of the Pharos. This small, ninth-century church contained two pieces of the cross "as large as the leg of a man", the lance and sponge, two nails, a crystal phial of blood, Christ's tunic, and the

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<sup>22</sup> *Majeska G.* St. Sophia: The Relics // *DOP* 27 (1973), p. 71–87.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*; and *Majeska G.* Russian Travelers, p. 212–220; for the Russian Anonymous, p. 132–133.

<sup>24</sup> *McCormick M.* *Taxis* // *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. Oxford, 1991, III, p. 2018; *De ceremoniis*, book 2, praefatio / Ed. Reiske, 516.

<sup>25</sup> *Kalavrezou I.* Helping Hands for the Empire: Imperial Ceremonies and the Cult of Relics at the Byzantine Court // *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204* / Ed. H. Maguire. Washington, 1997, p. 57–67.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*



Crown of Thorns<sup>27</sup>. Also kept at the Pharos church was the Mandylion, the “holy face”, a miraculous image of Christ not made by human hands<sup>28</sup>. The collection was occasionally represented on icons, with the Mandylion on the obverse and the relics on the reverse. Incidentally, these were the relics acquired by Louis IX in 1248 and taken to Paris, where the Ste.-Chapelle was built to house them; we should understand Louis’ palace chapel to be the French gothic equivalent of the Pharos church<sup>29</sup>. As Ioli Kalavrezou notes, in the French text of Robert of Clari, the Pharos church is called “la Sainte Chapelle”, the same as Louis’s chapel came to be known<sup>30</sup>.

Clearly the relic collections of Constantinople contributed to the aura of the city, and the Passion relics at the Pharos in particular might encourage a symbolic association with Jerusalem. But this association remains undeveloped in Byzantine literature; Byzantine writers loved a good metaphor, and we might expect the relic collections to have inspired a few. In fact, the association with Jerusalem is rarely mentioned. For example, when Nicholas Mesarites noted the association, it was to emphasize the superiority of the Byzantine capital. He recounted the adventures of his brother John, who had attempted secretly to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land but was arrested and returned to the capital before he had traveled very far. He was subsequently reprimanded by his father: why would he want to travel to the Holy Land when he could find the same things in Constantinople? Christ’s tomb is there, but his shroud is in Constantinople; Golgotha is there, but Constantinople has the Cross, the Crown of Thorns, the sponge, the lance and the reed. He concludes, “This place... is Jerusalem, Tiberias, Mount Tabor, Bethany, and Bethlehem”<sup>31</sup>. This may be as we come in the later Byzantine centuries to calling Constantinople the New Jerusalem.

Several other phenomena contributed to Constantinople’s unique aura of sanctity: icons, a few home-grown holy sites, and urban processions — all of which have nothing to do with Jerusalem and emphasize the distinctiveness of Constantinople. As the Mandylion suggests, holy images took on great importance in Byzantium as objects of devotion, repositories of sanctity, and vehi-

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, p. 55–57; and Musée du Louvre. Trésor, p. 20–36.

<sup>28</sup> Kalavrezou, p. 55–57; Musée du Louvre, p. 70–71; Cameron Av. The History of the Image of Edessa: The Telling of a Story // Okeanos: Essays Presented to Ihor Ševčenko on His Sixtieth Birthday / Ed. C. Mango and O. Pritsak. Cambridge, Mass., 1984, p. 80–94.

<sup>29</sup> Musée du Louvre. Trésor, p. 98–140.

<sup>30</sup> Kalavrezou. Helping Hands, 56 and n. 14; for the text of *Robert of Clari*. *Historiens et chroniques du Moyen Age* / Ed. A. Panphilet. Paris, 1979, 63.

<sup>31</sup> Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des lateinischen Kaisertums und der Kirchenunion, I: Der Epitaphios des Nikolaos Mesarites auf seinen Bruder Johannes // Ed. A. Heisenberg. Munich, 1922, S. 27. I am grateful to Paul Magdalino for this reference and for sharing his unpublished paper, “L’*église du Phare et les reliques de la Passion à Constantinople (VII<sup>e</sup>/VIII<sup>e</sup>–XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles)*”.

cles for communication with the other world. The proliferation of icons thus parallels the relic phenomenon, and often we find the two working in tandem. For Constantinople, the relics and icons of the Virgin Mary were especially important. In addition to the robe and girdle of the Virgin, the city possessed several miraculous icons of her. These do not survive but are known through copies. One was kept along with her robe in the church of the Blachernae, which lay at the north end of the Land Wall<sup>32</sup>. Relic and icon were paraded along the walls when the city was under siege. Avar, Arab, and Russian besiegers were all said to have been thrown into confusion by her intervention. In the words of the ninth-century Patriarch Photios, when in danger, the city “puts on the robe [of the Virgin] and wraps herself in it”<sup>33</sup>. As the supernatural protectress of city, the Virgin is represented on Late Byzantine coins, arms raised, rising above the city walls. Toward the south end of the Land Walls, a second shrine of the Virgin developed, the Zoodochos Pege, which marked a miraculous spring — a *hagiasma*, one of several natural features in the city to acquire supernatural associations<sup>34</sup>. In the minds of the Byzantines, these two Virgin shrines, the Blachernae and the Pege, stood as sentinels, providing spiritual protection for the walls of the city<sup>35</sup>.

Finally, I should note the importance of religious processions, which connected the city in a web of sanctity, providing a sense of spiritual unity when there might not have been actual, physical unity in the urban fabric. As the apotropaic use of relic and icon on the city walls suggests, it was common for both to be taken on parade, and we have to imagine them as active participants in the life of the city. For example, a relic of the Cross was used to purify the air during the hot summer months, and an icon of the Virgin was featured prominently in ceremonies of imperial triumph<sup>36</sup>. In addition to the feast days of saints, processions commemorated the salvation of the city — from attack and from natural disasters, even from a hail of fire. By the tenth century liturgical processions were standard features; the *Typikon*

<sup>32</sup> Janin R. *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin* I,3. Paris, 1969, p. 161–171; Papadopoulos J. B. *Le palais at les églises des Blachernes*. Thessaloniki, 1928. For the icon, see: Ševčenko N. P. *Virgin Blachernitissa* // *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. Oxford, 1991, III, p. 2170–2171; and Ousterhout R. *The Virgin of the Chora: An Image and Its Contexts* // *The Sacred Image East and West* / Eds. R. Ousterhout and L. Brubaker. Urbana, 1995, esp. p. 94–96, for additional bibliography.

<sup>33</sup> Mango C. *The Homilies of Photius Patriarch of Constantinople*. Cambridge, Mass., 1958, 74 ff.

<sup>34</sup> Mango C. and Ševčenko N. *Pege* // *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. Oxford, 1991, III, p. 1616.

<sup>35</sup> See: Talbot A.-M. *Epigrams of Manuel Philes on the Theotokos tes Peges and Its Art* // *DOP* 48 (1994), 137–165; also Weyl Carr A. *Icon and the Object of Pilgrimage in Middle Byzantine Constantinople* // *DOP* 56 (2002), p. 73–92 for several others.

<sup>36</sup> Baldovin J. *The Urban Character of Christian Worship* // *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 228. Rome, 1987, p. 167–226.

of the Great Church records 68 stational services, of which the emperor participated in 17 and the patriarch in 32. This meant that there was a public procession in the city on the average every five days<sup>37</sup>.

Within Constantinople, we may witness the construction of a sacred topography in many different ways, but it was not the topography of Jerusalem, and its sanctity was both constructed and perceived differently. As a sacred city it could be likened to Jerusalem, in its heavenly and earthly aspects, but it neither replicated nor replaced the prototype. The distinction becomes readily apparent when we examine the Byzantine attitude toward pilgrimage. Even the Byzantine terminology marks the process as something different from the familiar, western medieval concept. Our word pilgrimage derives from the Latin *peregrinus*, meaning stranger or foreigner, and thus *peregrinatio* implies travel to foreign lands. The equivalent Greek word for pilgrimage is *proskynesis* — the same used for prayer or veneration, and scholars have argued that after the Early Christian period, pilgrimage as we think of it was literally a foreign concept within Byzantium<sup>38</sup>. There is ample evidence for veneration of relics, healing shrines, miraculous interventions of saints, and the like, but site-specific veneration was almost entirely a local phenomenon. We know of a few Byzantine wanderers, such as the eleventh-century St. Lazarus of Mt. Galezion, visiting holy sites in Asia Minor, as well as Jerusalem, but at the same time, we have virtually no evidence of a Byzantine ever going to Constantinople solely for the purpose of pilgrimage<sup>39</sup>. Nor is there a genre of pilgrimage literature in Byzantium, as developed in the West: most of our pilgrims' guidebooks to Constantinople were written by Western Europeans or Russians, who came from a different tradition<sup>40</sup>.

Nor do we have a distinctive type of architecture created in response to pilgrimage, as we do in western Europe, with crypts or chevets designed to accommodate the visits of the faithful to venerated tombs and relics. In fact, for Byzantium in general, we only have a vague idea of the setting for special veneration — that is, where within the churches relics were kept and

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Mango C. The Pilgrim's Motivation // Akten des XII. Internationalen Kongresses für christlichen Archäologie. Münster, 1995, p. 2–3; Weyl Carr, Icon and the Object, p. 76–77 [and other studies in the same volume: DOP 56 (2002)]; see also: Vikan G. Pilgrimage // Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium. Oxford, 1991, III, p. 1676–1677; Ousterhout R. Pilgrimage Sites, Byzantine // Trade, Travel, and Exploration in the Middle Ages: An Encyclopedia / Eds. J. B. Friedman and K. M. Figg. New York, 2000, p. 483–485.

<sup>39</sup> Greenfield R. P. H. The Life of Lazaros of Mt. Galezion: An Eleventh-Century Pillar Saint. Washington, 2000; see also: Kaplan M. Les saints en pèlerinage à l'époque mésobyzantine (7<sup>e</sup>–12<sup>e</sup> siècles) // DOP 56 (2002), p. 109–127; Talbot A.-M. Pilgrimage to Healing Shrines: The Evidence of Miracle Accounts // The same volume, p. 153–167.

<sup>40</sup> Ciggaar K. N. Western Travellers to Constantinople. The West and Byzantium 962–1204. Leiden, 1996; Majeska G. Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries. Washington, D.C., 1984.

how they were displayed. The typology of Byzantine church architecture seems to depend more on scale than on function<sup>41</sup>.

That said, within Constantinople there were a few sites that for one reason or another may have had associations with Jerusalem, specifically with the church of the Holy Sepulchre. Let me conclude with these. Certainly the collection of Passion relics at the Pharos church suggests a connection, although it remains implied but never stated outright. Two early churches were later claimed to have been laid out *eis mimesin tou naou tou taphou Christou*. One was the martyrium of Karpos and Papylos (late fourth century), of which the crypt survives; the other, the Theotokos tou Kouratoros (mid fifth-century), possibly identified with the Balaban Ağa Mescidi, which enshrined relics of Lazarus, Mary, and Martha. I mention both of these buildings with caution, because neither has been securely identified, and the claimed associations postdate the constructions — and are still a puzzle to me<sup>42</sup>.

To these examples I would like to add another possible contender, the curious, twin-domed chapel of St. Michael at the Pantokrator Monastery, which was referred to as the *heroon* in the monastic *typikon*<sup>43</sup>. The central and last of three adjoining churches built in rapid succession by John II and Eirene Komnenos, ca. 1118–1136, St. Michael was destined to be the dynastic mausoleum of the Komnenes, whose tombs were clustered at its western end. I suspect that the five-domed form of the irregular complex may have been intended to equate the Pantokrator with the nearby church of the Holy Apostles, the imperial dynastic mausoleum of Constantine the Great and of the early Byzantine emperors. In a like manner, the oddly archaic term *heroon* — meaning a hero's shrine — calls to mind the monumental martyria of the Early Christian period — of which the Holy Apostles was the nearest example. In fact, Nikolaos Mesarites employed the term *heroon* in reference to the imperial mausoleum at the church of the Holy Apostles, explaining that those buried there are heroes<sup>44</sup>.

Within the chapel of St. Michael, very little is now visible, but as a part of our ongoing study and restoration of the building, we anticipate exploration in this area<sup>45</sup>. According to the *typikon*, scenes from the death, entomb-

<sup>41</sup> See comments by Ousterhout R. An Apologia for Byzantine Architecture // *Gesta* 35 (1996), p. 20–29.

<sup>42</sup> Ousterhout, Architectural Response, p. 112.

<sup>43</sup> The following is summarized from Ousterhout R. Architecture, Art, and Komnenian Ideology at the Pantokrator Monastery // *Byzantine Constantinople. Monuments, Topography, and Everyday Life* / Ed. N. Necipoğlu. Leiden, 2001, p. 133–150, esp. 149–150.

<sup>44</sup> For text and translation, see: Downey Glanville. Description of the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople // *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, N. S. 46.6 (1957), p. 857–924, esp. 892 and 915: XL. 1.

<sup>45</sup> Ousterhout R., Ahunbay Z., Ahunbay M. Study and Restoration of the Zeyrek Camii in Istanbul: First Report, 1997–1998 // *DOP* 54 (2000), p. 265–270.

ment, and resurrection of Christ appeared in the arches and vaults, and it seems that the images of the Anastasis and the Holy Women at the Tomb were set in prominent relationship to the imperial tombs. If we can go by the scale of the surviving lunettes, these were exceptionally large and prominent images, which might be compared to the Anastasis from Nea Moni, and to the Holy Women at the Tomb from Mileševa; at the latter, incidentally, the scene was set above the tomb of King Vladislav.

When the founders' son Manuel Komnenos died in 1180, his tomb was erected centrally in the western bay of the *heroon*. Niketas Choniates described it as a "gloomy monument" of dark stone topped by seven protuberances; a drawing done ca. 1750 shows a curious stone then preserved in Topkapı Palace which may have been its lid<sup>46</sup>. When Manuel's tomb was added, so too was the Stone of the Unction, a relic from the Entombment of Christ. Recently transported to Constantinople from Ephesus, Manuel had carried the stone from the harbor to the Pharos church on his shoulders<sup>47</sup>. The stone was subsequently set up next to the tomb, presumably where the setting is exposed in the surviving floor, evoking an obvious parallel between the emperor and Christ — an association encouraged by the lengthy poem inscribed on the base of the Stone of the Unction, which compared the mourning of the holy women to the lamentations of the empress for her dead husband<sup>48</sup>.

Poem, relic, and tomb would have had a special resonance situated beneath the mosaic of the Holy Women at the Tomb. At the same time, the setting for the ensemble of tombs, relic, and images was a unique twin-domed church. I suspect here a relationship between the Komnenian *heroon* and the church of the Holy Sepulchre, which marked the site of the events commemorated in the mosaics. In fact, the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem was being rebuilt by the Crusaders simultaneously with the construction of the Pantokrator church in the early twelfth century, and it also took on a twin-domed form<sup>49</sup>. Could this have been the model for the unique form of the Pantokrator chapel? The decorative program of the Crusaders' Holy Sepulchre included many of the same scenes. The tombs of the Crusader kings were set in analogous positions, as was, it seems, a Stone of the Unction. The many ties between the Komnenian rulers and the Crusader kings may have encouraged this symbolic association, and we know of extensive Komnenian patronage in the Holy Land. John II wanted to make a pilgrimage there; his brother Isaac succeeded in doing

<sup>46</sup> Mango C. Three Imperial Byzantine Sarcophagi Discovered in 1759 // DOP 16 (1962), p. 397–399.

<sup>47</sup> Megaw A. H. S. Notes on Recent Work of the Byzantine Institute in Istanbul // DOP 17 (1966), p. 339.

<sup>48</sup> Mango C. Notes on Byzantine Monuments // DOP 23–24 (1969–1970), p. 372–375.

<sup>49</sup> Folda J. Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098–1187. Cambridge and New York, 1995, p. 175–245.

so<sup>50</sup>. Most importantly, the Holy Sepulchre was a foundation strongly associated with Constantine the Great; it could also be regarded as a *heroon*.

Was this a copy of the Holy Sepulchre? Well, maybe, and I've argued as much elsewhere<sup>51</sup>. But the association, and even the twin-domed form of the chapel developed only gradually. And it is worth pointing out that the meaning of the chapel at the Pantokrator differed from that of western European copies of the Holy Sepulchre. In Constantinople, I believe it was part of an elaborately constructed imperial ideology, designed to bolster the claims of the Komnenian family to the legitimacy of their rule, to ground them in Byzantine history, through the rich and multi-layered evocations of the past and the allusions to Constantine the Great. Their success in this world was as much a concern as their salvation in the next.

In his discussion of ritual theory, Jonathan Z. Smith emphasizes the novelty of Constantinople as a ritual site, "deliberately crafted as a stage for the distinctive drama of the early Byzantine liturgy"<sup>52</sup>. Yet, as he notes, from the standpoint of ritual, although novelty may result in functional gain and freedom to innovate, at the same time it may also result in ideological loss and lack of resonance in the relationship of old and new. In all of this, Christian Constantinople stands in sharp contrast to Christian Jerusalem, where novelty was not possible, and each *locus sanctus* was fixed — precisely where the event occurred; as Smith explains, "the specificity of place is what gives rise to and what is perpetuated in memorial"<sup>53</sup>. Or in other words, in Jerusalem, "story, ritual, and place could be one"<sup>54</sup>. But it could not be another; within the context of its urban development, its sanctity was fixed and immutable. Constantinople, on the other hand, did not suffer the restrictions of a memorialized past, and it could, in effect, free-associate. It could be New Rome, but on special occasions, and even simultaneously, it could also be celebrated as New Jerusalem or New Athens, or even New Troy<sup>55</sup>. In Jerusalem, sacred events *happened* — and were memorialized. In Constantinople, throughout its long history, sanctity was introduced and perpetuated within a complex system that interwove power and status; it was carefully imported, invented, constructed, and celebrated — in image and relic, in streets and buildings, in metaphor and ritual.

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<sup>50</sup> *Kinnamos J.* Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus I.25; tr. Charles Brand. New York, 1976, p. 28; *Magdalino P.* The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143-1180. Cambridge, 1993, p. 41–53; 66–78.

<sup>51</sup> *Ousterhout.* Architecture, Art, and Komnenian Ideology, p. 149–150.

<sup>52</sup> *Smith J. Z.* To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritua. Chicago, 1987, p. 75.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 86.

<sup>55</sup> *Fenster.* Laudes, 177; see also the forthcoming analysis by *Bassett S.* The formation of urban identity in late antique Constantinople. Cambridge University Press, 2004.

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«САКРАЛЬНАЯ ГЕОГРАФИЯ» И СВЯТЫЕ МЕСТА:  
КОНСТАНТИНОПОЛЬ КАК ИЕРУСАЛИМ

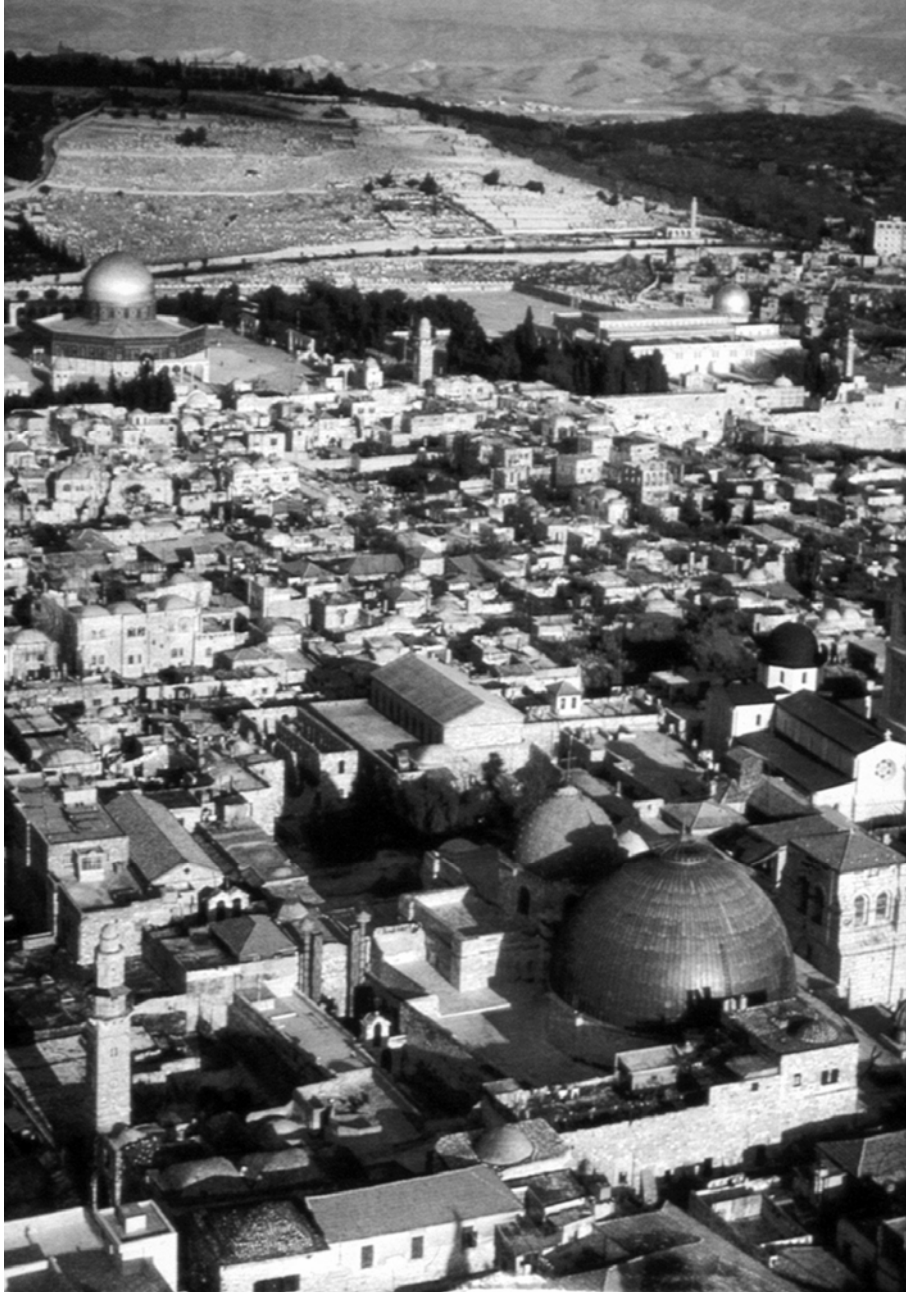
Основной вопрос, вытекающий из понятия сакральной географии, следующий: как мир физический воздействует на мир духовный? Одним из необходимых допущений будет признание того, что два этих мира соприкасаются в *loca sancta* — специальных местах, где небесные силы становятся более близкими и могут быть использованы для земного благополучия или помощи в спасении. В таких местах духовное может стать реальным и осязаемым и воплотиться в человеке, точке пространства или предмете. Принятие этого положения лежит в основе христианской практики паломничества. Этим же средневековый Иерусалим отличался от Константинополя. Иерусалим видел Распятие, Погребение и Воскресение Христа, и святыне места города были свидетельствами, делающими духовно явственными события, лежащие в основе христианского вероучения.

Напротив, город Византий до своего повторного основания в 324–330 гг. н. э. под названием Константинополь никак не был связан с христианством. Даже христианское содержание замысла основанного Константином города ставится под вопрос; особенно убедительно Кириллом Манго, делающим упор на том, что при строительстве приоритет отдавался городским удобствам, площадям для церемоний и государственным памятникам, а не церквям. Единственной широко известной церковью периода правления Константина была, по-видимому, церковь Святых Апостолов, построенная как мавзолей для императора. Биограф Константина Евсевий попадает в затруднительное положение, когда пытается объяснить, как его герой, образец веры, мог воздвигать в своей новой столице языческие статуи. Город Константина создавался как столица империи, и совсем не обязательно как столица христианского мира.

Тем не менее, к середине V века все изменилось. Константинополь стал не только несомненно христианским, но и священным. В 446 году монах из Месопотамии Даниил Столпник, направлявшийся в Святую Землю, встретил таинственного незнакомца, который ясными словами велел ему *не* идти в Иерусалим, «а отправиться в Византий, и там увидишь ты второй Иерусалим, т. е. Константинополь. Там возрадуешься в часовнях мучеников и величественных местах молитвы...». Соответственно, Даниил отправился на север и установил свой столп в пригороде византийской столицы. Со времени получения Даниилом этого божественного указания встречаются упоминания Константинополя как Нового Иерусалима, причем чаще в современных исследованиях, чем в ви-

зантийских текстах. Ученым нравится использовать двойной эпитет «Новый Рим и новый Иерусалим», который кажется им выражающим одновременно и политические, и религиозные амбиции города, присущую ему уникальную связь власти и статуса. Но насколько это верно? Настоящая статья посвящена изучению природы эпитета «Новый Иерусалим» и достоверности его использования по отношению к Константинополю.

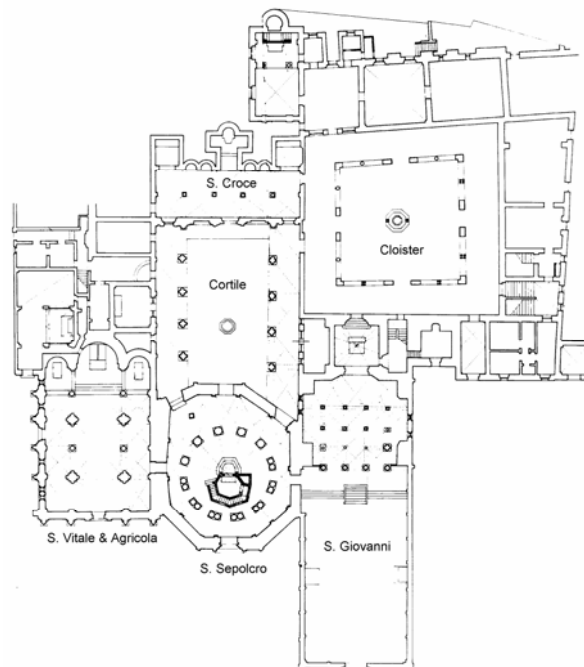




1. Jerusalem, aerial view from the east, showing the church of the Holy Sepulchre in the foreground and the Dome of the Rock on the alleged site of the Temple in the background (photo: courtesy Time Magazine)



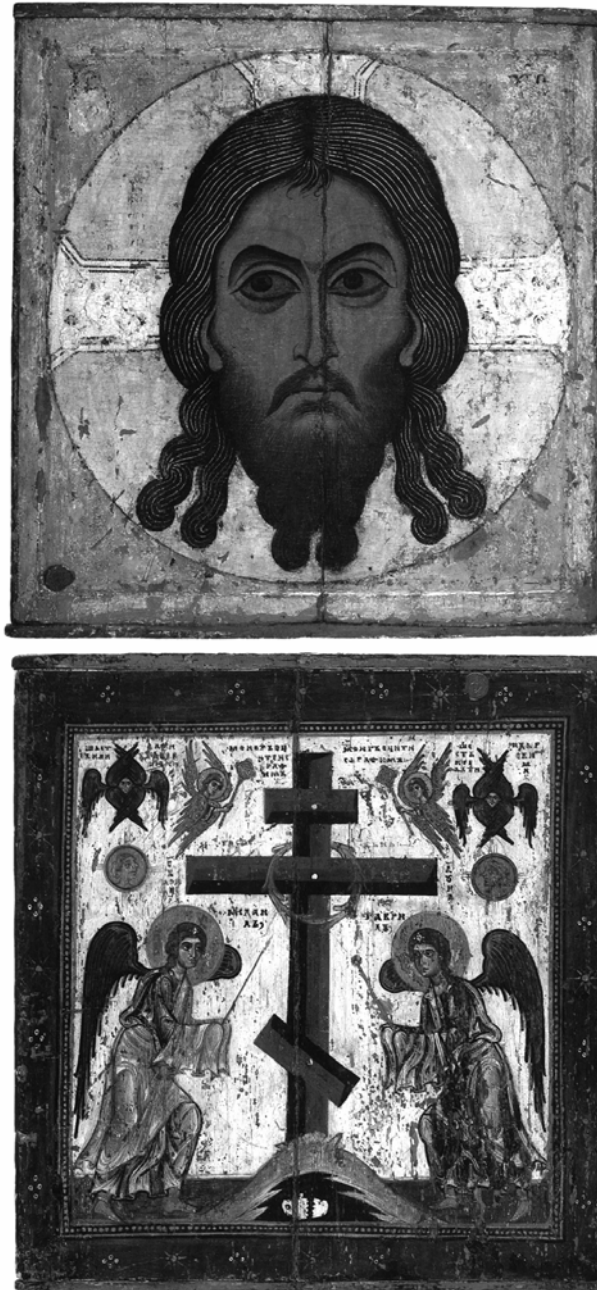
2. Istanbul, formerly Constantinople, view from the Column of Constantine toward Hagia Sophia (photo: author)



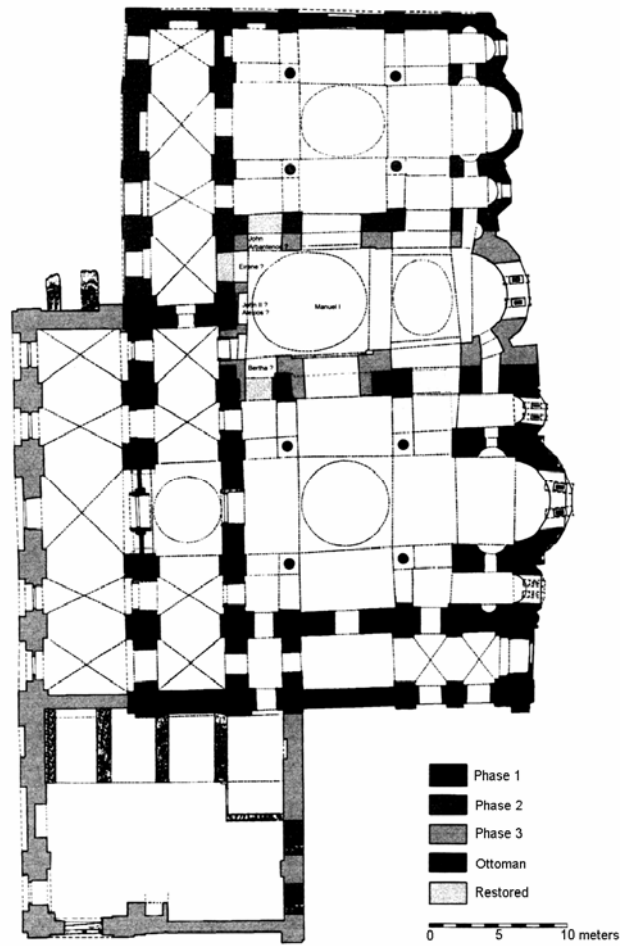
3. Bologna, plan, Santo Stefano complex (photo: author)



4. Istanbul, Hagia Sophia, interior, looking southeast (photo: author)



5. Double-sided icon showing the Mandylion with the face of Christ on one side and the Passion relics from the Pharos chapel on the other (Moscow, Tretyakov Gallery)



6. Istanbul, Zeyrek Camii (Monastery of Christ Pantokrator), plan showing the possible locations of the imperial tombs (author, after Megaw)

Peter Brown

CHOROTOPE: THEODORE OF SYKEON  
AND HIS SACRED LANDSCAPE

In thinking on this topic, I was inspired, in part, by an illustration in the superb catalogue of the 1986 Exhibition *Byzantium at Princeton*, edited by Professor Slobodan Ćurčić and Professor Archer St. Clair. I was struck by a particularly vivid illustration of the *Spiritual Ladder* of John Climakos. Made in the late eleventh century, it is the first representation of Mount Sinai. At the bottom lies the monastery: its walls, gates, towers and the open window from which a monk leans, occupy the bottom of the picture. The monastery lies at the foot of a cone. It is the mountain of Sinai. Halfway up, on the viewer's left, is the Burning Bush. And at the very top of the mountain, the arm and torso of another monk emerges from a cave. His remoteness is stressed by the basket which he lets down the side of a precipitous cliff from his mountain-top cell. It is a starkly *vertical* image<sup>1</sup>.

For a Byzantine, to live on the top of a mountain in that manner was to live the *bios angelikos*, the “life of the angels”, at its most concrete. Nature itself provided a majestic backdrop to the position of the hermit as an “angelic” man — as a mediator between earth and sky.

Faced by such a dramatic image, however, I wondered what it was like to live as a saint of early Byzantium in less dramatically contoured lands.

To answer this question, I turned back to a well known early Byzantine text: the *Life of Theodore of Sykeon*. This text was written only a few decades after the death, in 613, of Theodore, a holy man from the village of Sykeon (a placename which is conventionally written as Sykeon, with a “y”, although the correct spelling is Sikeon, with an “i”)<sup>2</sup>. This text has always

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<sup>1</sup> *Byzantium at Princeton* / Ed. S. Ćurčić and A. St Clair. Princeton, 1986, p. 149–151.

<sup>2</sup> The reading “Sikeon” has been proved by *Rosvenqvist J. O. Studien zur Syntax und Bemerkungen zum Text der Vita Theodori Syceotae* // *Studia Graeca Upsaliensia* 15. Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1981, S. 95, and has been confirmed from the Old Church Slavonic translation by *Afinogenov D. E. Zhitie Feodora Sikeota*: original tserkovnoslavianskogo

been acclaimed by its various editors and translators as a document of quite unusual circumstantiality. Completed around 640, the *Life of Theodore of Sykeon* is so vivid and detailed that it figures as the center-piece of the classic English translation of late Roman saints' lives, *Three Byzantine Saints*, made in 1948 by Elizabeth Dawes, in collaboration with the great English Byzantinist, Norman Baynes: as Norman Baynes wrote, the text was chosen because it gives the best picture known to us of life in Asia Minor in the Byzantine period before the Arab invasions<sup>3</sup>.

Even before Baynes and Dawes made this vivid text available to the English-speaking world, it had earned the esteem of the great traveler-scholar, William Anderson. In his ground-breaking article of 1899, "Explorations of Galatia cis Halym", Anderson spoke of the *Life of Theodore of Sykeon* as well worthy of perusal for its wealth of geographical information and for the picture — not a bright one! — which it gives of the social life of Galatia in the sixth century of our era<sup>4</sup>.

It is, indeed, the unremitting topographical circumstantiality of the *Life of Theodore* that strikes any reader who comes to it from the study of contemporary Byzantine saints' lives. A document of only 161 pages contains the names of at least 68 sites in the region.

George, the author of the *Life of Theodore*, plainly wrote with a map in his head. More than that: the main physical features of the landscape around Sykeon are presences in the *Life* which are almost as vivid as is Theodore himself: these are — first and foremost, the Roman imperial road to the East, the "spinal chord of Roman Anatolia" (to use the words of Stephen Mitchell)<sup>5</sup>, which ran through the village itself; secondly, the treacherous waters of the river Siberis over which the emperor Justinian had recently built a bridge; and, last but not least, in the imagination of the author, the wild crags of the mountain crest in which Theodore lived out the first stage of his ascetic career. Road, river, mountaintops: these are the three vividly conveyed topographical "zones" which give structure to the *Life*.

But George, we must remember, was a man of the early seventh century. He did not write only so as to inform modern historians of the *realia* of Byzantine Anatolia. We have to ask ourselves what were the preconditions of topographical "realism" in such a text and what form did this "realism" take?

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perevoda i grecheskaia rukopisnaia traditsiia. Индрик. 10 лет. Moscow, 2003, 193–205, at p.198. I thank Professor Afinogenov for having brought his important new contribution to my attention at the time of the conference.

<sup>3</sup> *Life of Theodore* / Transl. Elizabeth Dawes and Norman H. Baynes // *Three Byzantine Saints*. Oxford: Blackwell 1948 (Crestwood, New York, 1977, p. 87–192, at p. 87.

<sup>4</sup> Anderson G. C. Explorations in Galatia cis Halym // *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 19 (1899), p. 52–134, at p. 65.

<sup>5</sup> Mitchell S. Anatolia. Land, Men and Gods in Asia Minor, vol. II: The Rise of the Church. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993, p. 123.

In the first place, Theodore himself had come to remember his life, in his old age, in terms of places. The fuller version of the *Life of Theodore*, edited by André Festugière<sup>6</sup>, shows Theodore in his last years. Every year, in Holy Week, Theodore would be carried on a litter, to perform the liturgy or to read the Gospels in his sweet, resonant voice, at all the “places of memory” of his life as a Christian: “the oratories in the crags, the churches in village, the chapels round about”. Up in the oratory of Saint George, where he had once passed two entire years in seclusion, Theodore would settle down to lunch: eating with good cheer, speaking with us with great joy and openness, and would tell us, smilingly, of how he was led by the glorious martyr [George] throughout his childhood years<sup>7</sup>.

Let us note that the first memories of the old Theodore were of the protection of Saint George, “among the crags”. The author of the *Life of Theodore* had been named “George” by the saint himself. This was because, in the imaginative topography of Theodore himself, Saint George had played a very special role. Saint George stood for the “zone” of the mountain-tops. Theodore had begun his ascetic adventures, as a young teen-ager, by a movement of sharp verticality. He had left his village to go “up into the mountain”. In so doing, he went into wild land. It was dangerous to travel in the dark in a landscape fretted with precipices. His parents feared that he might be devoured by a *monolykos*, a lone (and therefore doubly dangerous, because man eating) wolf. Yet, already in the early sixth century, a little oratory of Saint George stood there “among the crags”. Rarely visited until Theodore attached himself to it, the little chapel occupied a charged joining point between heaven and earth, and between the settled world and the wild. It was Saint George who had kept young Theodore safe in his first years<sup>8</sup>.

But these memories did not only include the wild mountain-tops, the scenes of Theodore's earliest ascetic endeavors. They held together the “monastery” which Theodore eventually founded just outside Sykeon. This monastery looked down from the top of a slope, probably at a distance of only half a mile, over the Roman road and the imperial *mansio*, the carvansaray-like imperial staging-post, with its hostel and eating facilities, where Theodore himself had been born.

What is impressive is the speed with which this group of buildings became a “holy place”. It had no wall. Yet it was encircled by an invisible enclosure. This enclosure was delineated and defended by tenacious

<sup>6</sup> Vita Theodori Syceotae / Ed. A. J. Festugière // Vie de Théodore de Sykéon, Subsidia Hagiographica 48. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1970, 2 vols. Users of this text must bear in mind the corrections brought by *Rosenqvist*, Bermerkungen, p. 105–128, further confirmed by *Afinogenov*, Zhitie Feodora Sikeota. See also: *Baker D.* Theodore of Sykeon and the Historians // The Orthodox Churches and the West. Studies in Church History 13. Oxford, 1976, p. 83–96.

<sup>7</sup> Vita Theodori 167.39–41 and 79–82 / Ed. Festugière, p. 155–156.

<sup>8</sup> Vita Theodori 6.39–7.4 / Ed. Festugière, p. 6; 9. 6–12, p. 9; 11. 5–7 and 24–30, p. 9 [the ravine called Tzidrama]; 19, p. 16.



memories. In its central space, no meat could be eaten: it was remembered that workers who had done so, many decades before young George began to write, had suffered the drastic vengeance of God<sup>9</sup>.

We must always remember that Theodore had journeyed on three decisive occasions to the Holy Places, especially to the monastery of Choziba. The settlements of his monastery — strung out in a line along the contour of a hillside — served to bring, to the rolling slopes of Anatolia, a touch of the more dramatic wadi-monasteries of the Judaeen Desert. It was an echo, in Anatolia, of the Holy Places. As such, Theodore's monastery at Sykeon is an early example of a millennial tradition, by which the memory of Jerusalem and of the Judaeen desert moved ever northwards, to landscapes ever more different from the eastern Mediterranean, as far as Russia itself<sup>10</sup>. But, until 1995, nobody knew exactly where Sykeon lay. The authority of William Anderson had placed it on the great Ottoman road which led from Ankara, through Beypazari, to Istanbul<sup>11</sup>. Only in 1981 did the work of David French show that the Roman road did not follow the Ottoman road in all its extent. A little south of Beypazari, as you come from Istanbul, the Roman road suddenly dipped south east, so as to cross what was, in Roman times, the treacherous valley of the Siberis (the modern Kirmir Su). It then made its way up to the southern plateau, which leads through Lagania /Anastasiopolis (the modern Dikmen Hüyük) to Ankara<sup>12</sup>.

It was in 1995 that my friend, David Barchard, and I visited the valley which led up from Beypazari to the plateau of Dikmen Hüyük. It was while drinking tea in this valley that I learned of the presence of remains. They still bore the Turkish name of Kiliseler — the “Churches”<sup>13</sup>. Between 1996 to 2001, a Princeton Survey Expedition, led by myself and my assistant, Professor Joel Walker, now of the University of Washington, explored the valley. We found the trace of the Roman road. We found fragments of the bridge which the emperor Justinian had built over the river Siberis. We found, beside the present road (which largely coincides with the course of the old Roman Road) an impressive early Christian basilica. It was twenty

<sup>9</sup> Vita Theodori 60.9 / Ed. Festugière, p. 51; with 69 and 70, p. 57–58.

<sup>10</sup> Ruggieri V. Byzantine Religious Architecture (582–867): its History and Structural Elements // *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 237. Rome: Inst. Pont. Stud. Or. 1991, p. 245 and 250; Kaplan M. Les sanctuaires de Théodore de Sykéon // *Les saints et leur sanctuaires* / Ed. C. Jolivet-Lévy, M. Kaplan and J. P. Sodini. Byzantina Sorbonensia 11. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1993, p. 65–79.

<sup>11</sup> Anderson. Explorations in Galatia cis Halym, p. 65.

<sup>12</sup> French D. Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor: fasc.1, The Pilgrims' Road // British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara Monograph 3, BAR International Series 105. Oxford: BAR, 1981, p. 42–45.

<sup>13</sup> Now recounted in Barchard D. Sykeon rediscovered? A Site at Kiliseler near Beypazari // *Anatolian Studies* 53 (2003), p. 175–179.

five meters long by twelve meters wide. The entire northern side and part of the apse were still standing to a height of two meters. Another church complex was discovered some fifty meters further up the hill.

More significant, on the other side of the road, where the hill slopes upwards towards the plateau of Kirbasi, we discovered terraces strewn with material which dated only from the early Byzantine period. At the edges of a trench made in the process of excavating a water pipeline for the present-day Water Pump Station, we found fragments of unusually fine stone work, which used marbles imported from elsewhere.

In a series of surveys conducted between 1996 and 2001, we have established that this site is, indeed, the site of Theodore's Sykeon. The basilicas beside the road are consistent with a prosperous village, whose ceramics go back to Roman times. The unusual scatter of ceramic and rich marble fragments on the steeper terraces around the Water Pump opposite the village point to a set of prestigious buildings put up at one period only and then rapidly deserted<sup>14</sup>.

Neither sites extend beyond the seventh century. It is a complex of village and monastery which, as it were, "went dead". This happened when the Roman road, which had once functioned as the "spine" of Roman Anatolia became, instead, a dangerous pathway for invading armies — first Persian and then Arab. Archaeologically, and even in terms of subsequent human settlement, a thriving Roman valley went asleep, after 650, for over a millennium. Then, in 1996, we found that this valley contained both the village and the monastery of Theodore of Sykeon.

What I wish to report on this occasion is how the exploration of the landscape of Sykeon and of the topography of the valley in which it is placed has enabled us, for the first time, to compare an early Byzantine landscape with the manner in which an early Byzantine writer perceived it. By so doing, we can recapture the imaginative building-blocks which enabled George, the author of the *Life of Theodore*, to conjure up the landscape of his saint.

George plainly saw this landscape in terms of distinctive "zones". These "zones" were juxtaposed with each other according to an imaginative logic which had deep roots in the early Byzantine ascetic tradition. In this imaginative logic, the contrast between the "settled" land and the "desert" — between *oikoumené* and *erémos* — was of primary importance. Hence the mystique of the deserts of Egypt, which flanked the Nile, and of the Judaeian desert, which lay so close to the Holy Places of Jerusalem. In Anatolia (as in many other regions of the Middle East) the elemental distinction of "settled" land and "desert" had been transposed into a "vertical" dimension. The desert was now to be found in the mountains, "above" the settled land.

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<sup>14</sup> Walker J. Tahirler Project 2002: <http://courses.Washington.edu/tahirler/reports.html>.

So it is with George. He writes, vividly, of the world of high crags and dangerous ravines into which Theodore had disappeared in his first days as an ascetic. He wrote as if this world hung directly above the village of Sykeon — in such a manner that modern persons might expect to reach it (as they might reach an Alpine viewing point) through taking a funicular directly from the village to the mountain-top!<sup>15</sup>

But here the imaginative logic, which brought the two contrasted zones together, provided no help to the archaeologist. It was only by following the course of a tributary of the Siberis away from the village itself, for some miles to the south west, that we scrambled up to find, *behind* a relatively low hilltop, an entirely unexpected, dramatic prospect of tangled rocks and deep ravines, overlooked by the ruins of a Phrygian hill-fort. The ravines formed a little world of their own. Springs in the rock produced miniature valleys (often no more than the width of a person) in the midst of a forbidding landscape. In the fertile cracks of these hidden ravines young Theodore was able to hide for years on end so as to complete his ascetic labors.

This was the local variant of the Egyptian “desert”. But it was a world to whose precise location the text of the *Life of Theodore* gave no indication. Indeed, the insistence of George, that this “desert” must, as it were, hover above its imaginative antithesis, the village, led us for many days to look for it in the wrong direction.

It is the same with other features in George's narrative. The river Siberis was spoken of, by George, as lying “beside the village”. Both Anderson and Baynes (who followed Anderson) took this literally. As a result they placed Sykeon close to the present course of the Kirmir Su, as it flows past Bey pazari<sup>16</sup>.

In reality, as we discovered, the Roman staging-post of Sykeon did not lie beside the river. It was sited, prudently, some 8 kilometers (five Roman miles) further up the road towards the plateau, on higher land at a safe distance from the flash-floods that would have swirled around the bridge itself. But, in the imaginative geography of the *Life of Theodore*, the river Siberis was the antithesis to the settled land protected by Theodore. Like the mountaintop, it was treated as the direct imaginative neighbor of the village. What mattered for George was the juxtaposition between the two antithetical “zones” of river and village, not the physical distance between the two sites.

It is the same with George's description of the monastery itself. In the *Life of Theodore*, it is always presented as a world of its own. It is a place to

<sup>15</sup> Vita Theodori 3.39–7.4 / Ed. Festugière, p. 6.

<sup>16</sup> Procopius. On the Buildings 5.4. 1–4 // Procopius VII. Loeb Classical Library / Ed. H. B. Dewing. Harvard University Press, 1954, p. 330. 62; Vita Theodori 121. 27–33 / Ed. Festugière, p. 170. See most recently the suggestions of Belke K. Prokops de Aedificiis, Buch V, zu Kleiasien // Antiquité tardive 8 (2000), p. 115–125, at p. 118–119.

which one “ascends”. As George describes it, the monastery of Theodore seems to float above the settled land, on a mountain slope topped by rugged crags. A new oratory dedicated to the Archangel Michael, built beside the chapel of saint George, pointedly heightened the sense of sacred “verticality” and of separation of the monastery and of the places of ascetic retreat above the monastery from the level ground of the village and the road<sup>17</sup>.

In reality, the terraces which still bear the name “Kilisele”, “The Churches”, are a mere ten minutes easy walk above the road. Behind the terrace, the ground slopes more sharply upwards to the edge of the Kirbasi plateau. But there are no crags in sight. These, as we have seen, lay *behind* the edge of the Kirbasi plateau, forming a world of their own, out of sight of the valley in which Sykeon and its road-side monastery are placed. Again, the topographical indications in George's text, when checked against the present-day landscape, appear to follow an imaginative logic of their own.

In the light of these observations, I am tempted to follow the great Russian master, Mikhail Bakhtin, whose studies of the Greek epic and of the Hellenistic novel have acquainted us with the term “chronotope”. Bakhtin uses the term “chronotope” to speak of the units of time in which the characters of a distant, pre-modern literature were imagined to have lived their lives<sup>18</sup>. I am tempted to coin the term “choro-tope”. For, like Bakhtin's “chronotope”, “chorotope” may prove to be a fruitful notion. For “space” is as much a construct of the human imagination, subject to change throughout the ages, as is “time”.

The “space” of the modern archaeological surveyor is a “space” defined by *distances*. Space is spread out for us in maps. It is registered in kilometers of travel. It is orientated along the points of a magnetic compass. George's “chorotope”, by contrast, was the space of an early Byzantine hagiographer. It was organized in terms of antithetical “zones” in which distance has been suspended as being of no significance. George's Sykeon is made up of just such juxtaposed zones. Each zone is conveyed with gripping circumstantiality. But where exactly they are and the distances between them remain hauntingly undefined.

And so to sum up: The modern reader of an early Byzantine text such as the *Life of Theodore* is confronted with a presentation of landscape that is as subtly and decisively molded by strong imaginative patterns as is the exquisite Byzantine illustration of Mount Sinai in the Princeton manuscript

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<sup>17</sup> Vita Theodori 40. 10–18, p. 36, see: *Mango C.* La croix dite de Michel le Cérulaire et la croix de saint Michel de Sykéon // *Cahiers archéologiques* 37 (1988), p. 41–49.

<sup>18</sup> *Bakhtin M.* *Voprosy Literaturny I Estetiki*. Moscow: Khudozhestvennaia Literatura, 1975, p. 234–407 (Transl.: *The Dialogic Imagination*, C. Emerson and D. Holquist. Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press 1983, p. 84–258).

of Saint John Climakos. Mount Sinai is well known to us all. It is a more rare privilege, as traveller and archaeologist, to visit an upland valley of Anatolia, where, in many ways time has stopped since the days of Theodore of Sykeon, and to see with one's own eyes a landscape of which one had read, for decades, in the vivid *Life of Theodore*. In subtle but decisive ways, we do not look at the same landscape with the same eyes as did its seventh century author. And this is why I wished to speak, on this occasion, on this unusually vivid text.

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ХОРОТОП: СВ. ФЕДОР СИКЕОТ  
И ЕГО САКРАЛЬНАЯ СРЕДА

Житие св. Феодора из Сикеона (530–613), написанное его последователем Георгием, долгое время признавалось шедевром ранневизантийской агиографии. Выдающийся британский византист Норман Байнс говорил, что оно дает лучшую из известных нам картину жизни в Малой Азии византийского периода, до арабского завоевания.

Довольно необычно количество содержащейся в нем географической информации. Этот текст, в котором всего 161 страница, содержит названия 68 мест, многие из которых удалены от Сикеона.

До недавнего времени было известно лишь то, что Сикеон находился в Галатии, между городом Юлиополем и Анастасиополем (древней Лаганией) — Дикмен Хуюк в современной провинции Бейпазари. Большинство попыток идентификации было основано на ложных допущениях, самое значительное из которых — представления о древнеримской дороге, якобы совпадающей с османской дорогой из Анкары в Наллихан и Стамбул.

В результате моего топографического исследования и ряда археологических экспедиций, предпринятых группой ученых из Принстонского университета в сотрудничестве с турецким министерством культуры в 1996–2001 годах, стало возможным установить местонахождение селения Сикеон и множества упомянутых в житии св. Феодора мест. Теперь у нас есть ландшафт, с которым можно соотносить поле деятельности византийского святого.

Но у нас есть даже нечто большее. Нам стал доступен реальный пейзаж, который можно сравнить с образом сакральной среды, созданным в ранневизантийском тексте. Моя статья посвящена археологическому исследованию, позволившему установить местонахождение поселения и

всего района, приобретшего особую важность. Кроме того, детально изучены выразительные средства, при помощи которых Георгий, автор жития, «конструировал» пространство, в каждой своей точке одухотворенное связью со святым. Такое создание «сакрального ландшафта» в центре Анатолии ранневизантийским святым и его биографом можно оценить, сравнив с подлинным, наблюдаемым ландшафтом, который мы можем идентифицировать. Возникает редкая возможность проследить процесс становления святого места и оценить византийскую эстетику, посредством которой оно описывалось в житии св. Феодора.

Развивая эти наблюдения, я следовал великому русскому ученому Михаилу Бахтину, чьи исследования греческого эпоса и эллинистического романа обогатили нас термином «хронотоп». Бахтин употребляет его, чтобы обозначить периоды, в которых, как представлялось, обитали персонажи древней литературы, созданной до Нового времени. Я бы хотел предложить еще и термин «хоротоп», так как, подобно «хронотопу» Бахтина он может оказаться плодотворным. «Пространство» — такой же продукт человеческого воображения, как и «время».

«Пространство» современного ученого-археолога — это пространство, определенное расстояниями. Оно разворачивается на картах, измеряется в километрах путешествий, оно ориентировано при помощи компаса на полюсы. Напротив, «хоротоп» Георгия был пространством ранневизантийского агиографа. Он был организован в терминах антистетических «зон», в которых расстояния исключались как не имеющие значения. Сикеон Георгия построен из таких совмещающихся зон. Каждая зона конструируется с затягивающей обстоятельностью, но вместе с тем постоянно остается неопределенным, где именно они находятся и какие между зонами расстояния.

Итак, подведем итоги: современный читатель ранневизантийского текста, подобного житию св. Феодора, сталкивается с сакральной средой, которая тонко и убедительно представлена при помощи различных образных средств, как, например, изображение горы Синай на византийской миниатюре из принстонской рукописи с «Лествицей» св. Иоанна Лествичника. Гора Синай хорошо известна всем нам. Археологу и путешественнику реже удастся посетить Анатолийское нагорье, где время во многих отношениях остановилось со времен св. Феодора Сикеота, и своими собственными глазами увидеть пейзаж, о котором он мог десятилетиями читать в ярком житии св. Феодора. Трудноуловимым, но вместе с тем несомненным образом мы смотрим на тот же пейзаж иными глазами, нежели автор седьмого века. Поэтому я и решил посвятить статью этому необычайно яркому тексту.

Nikolas Bakirtzis

THE CREATION OF AN *HIEROTOPOS* IN BYZANTIUM:  
ASCETIC PRACTICE AND ITS SACRED TOPOGRAPHY  
ON MT. MENOIKEION\*

During his ascetic wanderings in the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the Athonite monk Ioannikios established an *hierotopos* on Mt. Menoikeion near Serres in Greece (fig. 1). Ioannikios' actions sanctified the rugged mountainous environment, thus preparing the landscape for the subsequent foundation of the monastery of Aghios Ioannis Prodromos in 1270–1275<sup>1</sup>. Remains of this *hierotopos* (= sacred place) are preserved today in the monastery's surroundings. This archaeological evidence is complemented by textual data and visual culture that allows an examination on the process and the construction of sacred space in anticipation of a monastic foundation.

In 1986, the monastery was transformed into a nunnery in an attempt to avert its decline. This effort was successful and today monastic practice flourishes on Mt. Menoikeion under the direction of Abbess Fevronia. Prodromos monastery and the broader locality of Mt. Menoikeion present a unique exam-

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\* Author's note: This essay draws from various aspects of my dissertation field research, conducted during the summers of 2002, 2003 and 2004. I want to thank my advisor Prof. Slobodan Ćurčić and Prof. Peter Brown for encouraging my work on the monastic landscape of Mount Menoikeion. I also appreciate to the support and advice of Dr. Alice-Mary Talbot, Prof. Elka Bakalova, and to Alexei Lidov who embraced my participation in the conference on '*hierotopoi* and the making of sacred space in Byzantium'. Also, I want to acknowledge Pandelis Xydias and Olga-Maria Bakirtzis for generously helping me to map Ioannikios' monastic experience through their wonderful plans. Xenophon Moniaros and Heather Grossman made invaluable comments on my text. Finally, I wish to acknowledge and thank the monastic community of the Holy Monastery of Aghios Ioannis Prodromos under Abbes Fevronia, who warmly fostered me during the course of my work on Mt. Menoikeion.

<sup>1</sup> For a historical outline and an extensive bibliography on the monastery of St. John Prodromos see: *Paschalides S. A. and Strates D. Τα μοναστήρια της Μακεδονίας*. Thessalonike, 1996, p. 355–402 (from now on: *Μοναστήρια της Μακεδονίας*). Also, *Katsaros V. and Papastathis Ch. Ο «Νέος Μέγας Κώδικς» της Μονής Προδρόμου Σερρών // Σεραϊκά Ανάλεκτα 1* (1992), p. 209–212.

ple for the study of monastic *hierotopoi* in Byzantium and their direct relation with monastic founders. The case of Aghios Ioannis Prodromos shows how the broader natural landscape has been sacralized since the monastery's foundation through the continuous interaction of monks with the natural environment. Ioannikios' early ascetic steps were recorded in the written monastic sources and can be traced physically in the topography of its well-preserved environs (fig. 2). During his *ascesis* on Mt. Menoikeion, the holy man followed a circular pattern in the movement of his wanderings. According to the location of the three cave-*kellia* he occupied, Ioannikios carefully encircled the site of the subsequent monastic foundation and thus defined the limits of Prodromos' *hierotopos*.

As it can be traced today, the monastery's *hierotopos* physically comprises a monastic landscape which like the main architectural complex is also concentrically organized around the *katholikon* church, which is the focal point of all monastic life. This landscape consists of various elements that have religious and secular uses. The topography of landmarks such as caves, *kellia* (cells), chapels, gardens and workshops forms a sacred perimeter zone that encompasses the main monastic complex. This topography allowed the community to make sense of the natural environment surrounding it and to formulate it around its presence<sup>2</sup>.

This essay addresses the creation of Menoikeion's *hierotopos* through the comparison of the textual description of the landscape with the remaining archaeological evidence. The sources employed vary from the written to the visual and archaeological. The written sources include the *typikon* of the Monastery of Prodromos, compiled in the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century by Ioannikios' nephew and successor Ioakeim and the 1902 *Proskynetarion* of Abbot Christophoros, which preserves data from the lost codices of the monastery<sup>3</sup>. The visual sources include a detailed print from 1761 that highlights both the

<sup>2</sup> For an anthropological perspective on aspects of landscape, topography and memory, see: *Tilley Ch.* A Phenomenology of Landscape. Places, Paths and Monuments. Oxford-Providence, 1994, p. 11–34. Also, *Stewart P. J. and Strathern A.* Introduction // Landscape, Memory and History. Anthropological Perspectives / Eds. P. J. Stewart and A. Strathern. London and Sterling, 2003, p. 1–16; *Layton R. and Ucko P. J.* Introduction: gazing on the landscape and encountering the environment // The Archaeology and Anthropology of Landscape / Eds. P. J. Ucko and R. Layton. London and New York, 1999, p. 1–18.

<sup>3</sup> Τυπική διάταξις // *Guillou A.* Les archives de Saint Jean-Prodrome sur le mont Ménécée. Bibliothèque Byzantine — Documents 3. Paris, 1955, p. 163–76 (from now on: Τυπική διάταξις). Translated by, *Miller T.* Menoikeion // Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents / Eds. J. Thomas and A. Constantinides-Hero. Dumbarton Oaks, 2000, vol. 4, no. 58, p. 1579–1612 (from now on: *Miller*, Menoikeion). Also see the invaluable work of Abbot Christophoros, see: *Christophoros.* Προσκυνητάριον της εν Μακεδονία παρά τας Σέρρας ιεράς και σταυροπηγιακής και πατριαρχικής μονής του Τιμίου Προδρόμου συνταχθέν παρά Χριστοφόρου ιεροδιδασκάλου και ηγουμένου αυτής. Leipzig, 1904 (from now on: *Christophoros*, Προσκυνητάριον).



importance of the surrounding environment and the vitality of the monastic community<sup>4</sup>. The archaeological and topographical data presented in this essay are the preliminary results of an intensive field survey of the broader area of Prodromos' environs.

In Byzantium, the formation of such *hierotopoi* was common practice and was related with the ascetic legacy of monastic *ktetors* (monastic founders) who allowed the exploration and the acclimatization of the natural environment. The ascetic activities of monastic founders were narrated in monastic *typika*, saints' lives and other written sources that established the literary monastic tradition<sup>5</sup>. Monks, from the Greek word *monachos*, which literally means alone, pursued spiritual salvation and perfection by withdrawing from the secular world and isolating themselves in a hostile natural environment<sup>6</sup>. The *eremos* of nature presented the ultimate challenge and *ascesis* for their human existence. The monastic principle of the departure into the wilderness is preserved today as a core value in Orthodox monastic tradition. The primal human struggle for survival within the natural world is an important aspect of the ascetic ideal. According to the writings of the abbot of the monastery of Simonopetra on Mt. Athos asceticism presents a model for the balanced relation between man and the natural world<sup>7</sup>. Nature's *hesychia* (peacefulness) is the result of divine *Oikonomia* (care) and thus, it is an essential precondition for the continuity of monastic life. The search for *hesychia* was one of the key values of ascetic life. Together with the rejection of secular life, the absolute obedience to their spiritual father and the elimina-

<sup>4</sup> The print was published in, *Papastratou D.* Paper Icons: Greek Orthodox religious engravings 1665–1899 / Transl. by J. Leatham. Athens, 1990, vol. 2, p. 498–499, pl. 535 (from now on: Paper Icons).

<sup>5</sup> On monastic *typika* see: *Manaphes K. A.* Μοναστηριακά Τυπικά, Διαθήκαι (Μελέτη φιλολογική, Διδακτορική Διατριβή Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών, Φιλοσοφική Σχολή), Συγγράμμα Περιοδικών της εν Αθήναις Επιστημονικής Εταιρίας — Σειρά Διατριβών και Μελετημάτων. Athens, 1970; *Galatariotou C.* Byzantine Ktetorika Typika: A Comparative Study // *REB* 45 (1987), p. 77–138, and, Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents / Eds. J. Thomas and A. Constantinides-Hero, 4 vols // *Dumbarton Oaks*, 2000, vol. 1, p. 1–42.

<sup>6</sup> *Talbot A.-M.* An Introduction to Byzantine Monasticism // *Illinois Classical Studies* 12.2 (1987), p. 229–241.

<sup>7</sup> On the relation between the monk and the natural world, see: *Papagiannis Th. and Simonopetritis Elisaios.* Φυσικός χώρος και μοναχισμός. Η διατήρηση της Βυζαντινής παράδοσης στο Άγιον Όρος. Athens, 1994. On Holy mountains, see: *Talbot A.-M.* Les Saintes montagnes à Byzance. Le sacré et son inscription dans l' espace à Byzance et en occident / Ed. M. Kaplan // *Byzantina Sorbonensia* 18. Paris 2001, p. 263–276. For a short discussion of the geographical aspects of Byzantine monasticism, see: *Koder J.* Der Lebensraum der Byzantiner. Historisch- geographischer Abriss ihres mettelalterlichen Staates im östlichen Mittelmeerraum // *Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber* 1. Graz, 1984, p. 109–112 (from now on: *Koder*, Der Lebensraum).

tion of selfishness constituted the essential preconditions for ascetics' desired spiritual goals<sup>8</sup>.

For the most part, the study of Byzantine art and architecture has neglected this essential component of monastic existence, and confined its exploration to within the precinct walls of monastic complexes. In many cases only the main monastic churches have received scholarly attention. The *hierotopical* aspects of the monastic experience within but also beyond the enclosures of monasteries need to be systematically studied for they can reveal a new understanding of religious and secular life in Byzantium.

#### IOANNIKIOS' ASCENT ON MT. MENOIKEION

Ioannikios' arrival and early activities on Mt. Menoikeion were narrated in the *typikon* of Prodomos monastery and follow the literary *topos* regarding monastic foundations<sup>9</sup>. In 1260, Ioannikios, then a monk on Mt. Athos, received the sad news of the death of his brother and sister-in-law<sup>10</sup>. He returned to his hometown of Serres and adopted their orphaned two-year old son, Ioakeim. His new responsibilities did not keep him from achieving his spiritual goals. With his small nephew in tow, Ioannikios retreated to Mt. Menoikeion. Besides the obvious difficulties of raising a child on an isolated mountain, this was in contradiction to the monastic ideal of total severance with family and social life<sup>11</sup>. However, I think that the ascetic upbringing of Ioakeim symbolically strengthened the planned foundation of Prodomos monastery. The little boy, the chosen successor of his uncle, grew up an ascetic, becoming thus one with the *topos*, the embodiment of monastic presence at Menoikeion<sup>12</sup>. Prodomos' monastic ancestry and heritage were secured even before its building foundation.

<sup>8</sup> For the ethical values of anachoretism and monastic life, see the entry by, *Tzogas Ch. Μοναχισμός // Ηθική και Θρησκευτική Εγκυκλοπαιδεία*, vol. 9. Athens 1966, p. 18–35.

<sup>9</sup> *Talbot A.-M. Founders' Choices: Monastery Site Selection in Byzantium*, to appear in the proceedings of the 1998 Belfast conference on *Founders and Re-founders of Byzantine monasteries* (forthcoming). I am indebted Dr. Talbot for giving me a copy of her upcoming essay.

<sup>10</sup> About Ioannikios' life, see: *Τυπική διάταξις*, 163–164. Also, see: *Christophoros, Προσκυνητάριον*, 17–20. Also, *Guillou A. Les archives de Saint Jean-Prodomos sur le mont Ménécée // Bibliothèque Byzantine — Documents 3. Paris, 1955, p. 7–9* (from now on: *Guillou, Les archives*).

<sup>11</sup> *Christophoros, Προσκυνητάριον*, 18, 21. On the relations of monks with family, see: *Talbot A.-M. Monastic Experience of Byzantine Men and Women // Byzantine Saints and Monasteries / Ed. N. W. Vaporis. Brookline, 1985, p. 1–20*. Also, *idem, Family and Monastery // DOP 44* (1990), p. 119–129.

<sup>12</sup> See how Ioakeim in his *typikon* (*Τυπική διάταξις*, p. 164, ll. 44–51) describes his own monastic upbringing.

The memory of this story is also preserved in the artistic tradition of the monastery of Prodromos. A reliquary dating from 1903, now in the treasury of the monastery of Prodromos, features an interesting *repoussé* figural composition (fig. 3). Ioannikios is represented leading the small boy to the mountain. He holds his nephew's hand as they are about to enter the mountainous landscape of the Menoikeion, where the monastery already exists. The message carried by this composition is clear: the monastery was foreshadowed upon the holy man's arrival in the region. It is important to note that the iconography of the reliquary follows a known model from Byzantine iconographic cycles of the life of Aghios Ioannis Prodromos representing the child Ioannis lead by an angel into the wilderness<sup>13</sup>. In the case of the monastery of Prodromos, Ioannikios acted and was represented according to the models of archangels and saints, and in particular as the patron saint of the monastery.

#### THE CHAPEL OF THE AGHIOI ANARGYROI IN CHIONOCHORI

The *typikon's* reference on Ioannikios' early adventures starts by stressing his ascetic inclination and his need to depart from the secular world to pursue his spiritual goals.

[Ioannikios had] no affection for the world at all. He sought to find some small cell so that he could settle there alone and speak purely with God... Traversing the rough and more deserted places about the mountain of Menoikeion, he happened upon a small monastery. He found a very small *kel-lion*, completely neglected and unadorned, only an oratory named after the holy *Anargyroi*, Kosmas and Damian<sup>14</sup>.

The site of the referred in the *typikon* 'oratory' of the Aghioi Anargyroi can be identified in the present-day village of Chionochori (Karlíkioi) located approximately 4 km to the northeast of the monastery of Prodromos<sup>15</sup>. A cave chapel accessed through a small door in the western wall of the Aghioi Anargyroi village church preserves remains of early monastic use

<sup>13</sup> A wall painting from the monastery of Aghios Kyrillos at Aghia Triada in Kiev from circa 1170; a panel from the cupola of the Baptistery of Parma dating and a detail from the *vita* icon of Aghios Ioannis Prodromos from the monastery of Aghia Aikaterini on Mt. Sinai dated to the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century are only a few of the comparable examples. My good friend and colleague Ludovico Geymonat generously shared with the related parts from his dissertation: *The Pictorial Program of the Parma Baptistery*. I want to thank him for his help. Also, see: *Katsiote A. Οι σκηές της ζωής και ο εικονογραφικός κύκλος του Αγίου Ιωάννη Προδρόμου στη Βυζαντινή Τέχνη*. Athens, 1998, p. 85–92.

<sup>14</sup> Miller, "Menoikeion", p. 1591–1592.

<sup>15</sup> *Christophoros*, Προσκνητάριον, p. 18.

(see № 1 in fig. 2, figs. 4–5)<sup>16</sup>. According to Christophoros but also to local folklore tradition, Ioannikios resided in this chapel carved into the natural rock. The village church bears the same dedication as the ‘oratory’ Ioannikios’ inhabited. This fact supports the identification of the cave chapel as the first ascetic retreat of Ioannikios and his nephew<sup>17</sup>. Archaeological remains in the broader area suggest that the region was an active monastic center during the late Byzantine period<sup>18</sup>.

The chapel of the Aghioi Anargyroi is cut in the natural rock and can be accessed from the east. Past the threshold, a narrow corridor leads to the main space of the cave. The roughly rectangular interior space of the chapel measures approximately 5.5 to 4 meters. The chapel’s uneven ceiling has a maximum height of 2.5 meters height and is lit by a small opening cut at the ceiling of its southeast corner. The space is divided in two aisles by two hexagonal marble columns topped with marble basket capitals that are decorated with a motive of sculpted floral crosses, anthemia and roundels. The rock-cut surfaces of the chapel preserve wall paintings that belong to different painting cycles and dates. Unfortunately, their poor state of preservation and the lack of written and inscriptional evidence prevent a firm date. The earlier examples are preserved on the northern side of the entrance corridor. Their iconographic attributes are barely visible. From left to right they can be identified as: Aghios Ioannis Prodromos, an unidentified male saint with a short beard dressed in a red robe and Aghios Nikolaos. The depictions of the Aghioi Anargyroi and of Aghios Demetrios on the northern side of the chapel appear to be of a later date.

The small sanctuary space (1.5 m × 1.5 m) is separated from the main space with an *iconostasis*. Three marble panels comprise the base of the *iconostasis* and three marble colonettes support the post-Byzantine icons of Christ and the Theotokos topped with a marble lintel. All marble pieces bear decorative floral and geometric patterns, anthemia, crosses and roundels. The decoration of the iconostasis is similar to that of the basket-case capitals of the main chapel space. Although crude in its execution the sculpture of the chapel is very close to middle-Byzantine models<sup>19</sup>. The interior of the sanctuary is

<sup>16</sup> On the monastery of the Aghioi Anargyroi, *Kourkoutidou-Nikolaidou E. Άγιοι Ανάργυροι*, p. 577–578. Also, *Paschalides and Strates, Μοναστήρια της Μακεδονίας*, p. 261–265.

<sup>17</sup> *Christophoros, Προσκυνητάριον*, p. 21. Also, see p. 79 of the liturgy of *Peloponnesios M. Ακολουθία του Οσίου και Θεοφόρου πατρός ημών Ιωάννου, μεγαλοσχήμου μοναχού γενομένου, πριν δε Ιωακείμ Μητροπολίτου Ζιχνών, Κτίτορος της Ιεράς ημών Μονής*, preserved in: *Christophoros, Προσκυνητάριον*, p. 71–83.

<sup>18</sup> *Samsaris P. Άγνωστη βυζαντινή τοιχογραφία στην περιοχή των Σερρών // Βυζαντινά 14* (1988), p. 399–412.

<sup>19</sup> The courtyard of the 13<sup>th</sup> century metropolitan church of Serres dedicated to the Aghioi Theodoroi is now used as a depository of 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> century marble spolia that present useful

decorated with wall paintings executed in oil paint and possibly executed over an earlier painting cycle. Although no inscription on their date survives, the paint used and the style of the paintings suggests a 19<sup>th</sup> century date, possibly contemporary with the foundation of the village church in 1865.

The village of Chionochori and the chapel of the Aghioi Anargyroi serve as a point of reference for the monastic community. They exhibit the continuity of monastic practice and tradition. The physical evidence of early ascetic and monastic tradition present a model of asceticism that functions as a source of inspiration.

#### THE *KTETOR*'S CELL

Ioannikios and Ioakeim did not stay long at Chionochori. Only a few years later they departed for the most rugged areas of Menoikeion. According to the *typikon* Ioannikios bequeathed his cell to an elderly monk<sup>20</sup>. There are several possible explanations for their departure. Ioannikios may have faced difficulties with the monks of the Aghioi Anargyroi monastic community, who were probably hesitant to accept his leadership. It may also be that Ioannikios felt strongly that he had to conquer the wilderness in order to attain his spiritual goals. He was followed by his nephew, who now was his disciple.

In this second phase of his journey into the mountainous wilderness of the Menoikeion, according to Prodromos' *typikon*:

He [Ioannikios] reached the very rough and trackless regions of the mountain, [where] he happened upon a harsh cave, which was even difficult to enter. Fixing his residence in the cave, [Ioannikios] remained there for some time<sup>21</sup>.

Like the Aghioi Anargyroi chapel, the cave Ioannikios occupied can also be identified on Mt. Menoikeion, known in monastic and local tradition as the *ktetor*'s cell (see № 2 in fig. 2, fig. 6). It is situated close to the crest of the mountain at an approximate height of 1,250 meters and can be accessed from the east, following a path from Chionochori at ap-

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evidence of sculptural production from Byzantine Serres. The sculptural decoration of the late 10<sup>th</sup> century *iconostasia* of the monastery of Vatopedi and of the Protaton on Mt. Athos presents comparable examples, see: Pazaras T. N. Το μαρμάρινο τέμπλο του καθολικού της μονής Βατοπεδίου // DChAE 18 (1995), p. 15–32, and, *idem*, Byzantine Sculpture // Treasures of Mount Athos. Exhibition catalogue. Thessaloniki 1997, p. 262–277. The sculpture at the *katholikon* of the Nea Moni in Chios dating to the 10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> centuries is another example, see: Bouras Ch. Nea Moni on Chios: history and architecture / Transl. by David A. Hardy. Athens, 1982, p. 182–184.

<sup>20</sup> *Τυπική διάταξις*, p. 164, ll.14–16: “...ἐπὶ τὰ ἕτερα μέρη τοῦ ὄρους ἐχώρει ἔχων μεθ’ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ὄν σύνθετος καλὸν μαθητὴν.” *Christophoros*, Προσκυνητάριον, p. 18.

<sup>21</sup> *Miller*, Menoikeion, p. 1592.

proximately three kilometers in distance. Ivan Ivanić during his visit to the monastery in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was pointed to the cave of Prodromos' founder located high on the mountain<sup>22</sup>. This specific cave is depicted in the 1761 print of the monastery and its environs<sup>23</sup>. Labeled as the *ktetor's* cell (η σκήτη του κτήτορα), the cave is shown with topographical accuracy to the northeast of the monastery on the steep slopes of the mountain.

The *ktetor's skete* is a wide yet shallow alcove in the natural rock, approximately 25 m. wide, 10 m. deep and 7–8 m. high, facing to the southwest. The location offers a commanding view of Prodromos' monastic complex, the western slopes of the Menoikeion and all the way the city of Serres. The northwestern corner of the alcove preserves traces of rubble walls and cuts in the rock, evidently signs of temporary human presence. Unfortunately, these remains are not sufficient to suggest the ascetic use of the cave. A careful archaeological investigation could shed more light into the matter. A water spring, also noted in the 1761 print, is located about thirty meters to the northwest of the cave. For the inhabitants of Chionochori and other villages of the Menoikeion, the location was traditionally used as a resting place for shepherds and their flocks<sup>24</sup>.

Nonetheless, the significance of the site in relation to the topography of the Menoikeion and especially to the monastery of Prodromos must be stressed. Used by Ioannikios or not, the specific location dominates the landscape from above. Thus, it embodies the founding myth of the monastic community's *ktetor*. Ioannikios reached the top of the mountain to underline his spiritual and physical ascendance towards heaven before he moved down to establish his monastery. His cave cell remains the visible reminder of his ascetic achievement.

#### THE CHAPEL OF THE TRANSFIGURATION

The existence of one more cave chapel in the proximity of the monastery on the steep western slopes of Mt. Menoikeion is one more component of the topography of Prodromos' *hierotopos* and stresses the planned intervisuality of the whole of the sacred landscape of the Prodromos community (see № 3 in fig. 2, fig. 7). The chapel's dedication to the Transfiguration is significant. It

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<sup>22</sup> *Ivanić I. Makedonija i Makedonići*, vol. 1. Belgrade, 1906, p. 71. The event took place during his visit to the chapel of Aghia Paraskevi, located next to the water stream running along the mountainous ravine.

<sup>23</sup> *Papastratou*, Paper Icons, p. 498–499, pl. 535.

<sup>24</sup> This is according to the testimony of my friend, Stergios, a local from Chionochori who was kind enough to guide me to the cave's impenetrable location. I want to thank him for all his help.

stresses the ascetic deeds of the men inhabiting the mountainous environment, a tradition initiated by the community's leader. Christophoros referred to the Transfiguration chapel in his *Proskynetarion*. He suggested that the chapel of the Transfiguration and the other deep, unexplored caves in its proximity could also be identified as the *skete* of Ioannikios mentioned in the *typikon*. Yet, Christophoros' suggestion is opposed by the accuracy of the 1761 print, folklore tradition and the physical relation of the ktetor's skete to Chionochori. Christophoros did not give the date of the foundation of the chapel or the date of its last usage by ascetics<sup>25</sup>. Yet, his account can be taken as a *post ante quem*: by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the cave chapel was not used.

Access to the chapel is difficult due to the steepness of the terrain that requires an actual climb to reach the narrow plateau in front of the chapel's entrance. Carved into the hillside, the cave chapel was once decorated with fresco paintings, of which only faded remains survive today. The cave's opening was blocked with a rubble wall pierced by a short doorway. The cave's interior measures 9 by 2 m. and its ceiling has a variable height of 2.5 to 3 m. The cave's northern end was partially cut to form the sanctuary space, separated from the nave by a rubble wall presumably functioning as a base for an iconostasis. To the south of the chapel's entrance, a wall built against a shallow niche in the natural rock created a small cell. I want to propose that the chapel and the small cell comprise an ascetic unit inhabited by an elder monk and his disciple. This arrangement follows the usual model of ascetic life and of course, Prodromos' founding tradition of Ioannikios and Ioakeim.

The cave's physical location offers a magnificent view of the monastic complex and its immediate environs. The archaeological remains of early ascetic use suggest a link to the legacy of the mountainous wonderings of Ioannikios and his nephew. The close distance to the main monastery allowed visual contact between the hermits and the monastic community. During night the trembling light of candles or oil lamps from the cave reassured and reminded the monks at Prodromos monastery of the living example of ascetic practice.

#### THE SITE OF THE MONASTIC FOUNDATION

According to the *typikon*, Ioannikios spent considerable time in the cave before he decided to move to his final stop on Mt. Menoikeion (see № 1 in fig. 2):

When his health had suffered considerably as a result of the constant moisture in the cave, he left there and came among the spurs of the mountain-this was, however, totally in accord with the divine plan as I know<sup>26</sup>.

<sup>25</sup> Christophoros, Προσκυνητάριον, p. 18.

<sup>26</sup> Miller, Menoikeion, p. 1592.

Prodromos' *ktetor* challenged his physical existence for almost a total of fourteen years until he finally reached the end point of his wandering: the site of a deserted church. Occupying this area presented harsh difficulties (fig. 8):

It was narrow and close, a country of precipices, difficult to enter or leave...almost completely impassable, totally veiled with all kinds of wild plants and briars. It had but one church crumbling with age and roofless, a home only for wild animals and creeping things; The most important task for him was to clear all the area from the existing brushwood to build a roof for the church, and to tend for it about everything and to restore it to a more fitting state... There, each day he put forward effort by effort and pain by pain, he gave neither sleep to his eyes nor rest to his temples until, with God's collaboration through the services of the revered prophet John the Forerunner and Baptist, he had built monastic cells for monks wishing to live with him<sup>27</sup>.

Ioannikios had reached his final destination, the site of his monastic foundation. According to the narration of the monastic *typikon*, he overcame physical difficulties, the dangers presented by wild animals, the impenetrable location and the harsh geography to accomplish his task. Ioakeim's *typikon* reference to the monastic foundation stresses the importance of his uncle's achievement: 'A city on the mountain cannot be hidden' (fig. 9)<sup>28</sup>. The mountain had been conquered and sanctified through the establishment of a monastic community.

Choosing the right location for the foundation of a monastery was a task of utmost importance for its founder<sup>29</sup>. The location had to meet the goals of the founder but also the spiritual and the daily life needs of the monastic community. Matters of security were taken seriously into consideration, given that the monastery had to survive on a daily basis, as it fulfilled its symbolic, eternal dedication to prayer and spiritual salvation.

The site Ioannikios chose is virtually hidden in a ravine on Mt. Menoikeion, approximately 15 km to the northeast of Serres<sup>30</sup>. The location

<sup>27</sup> Τοπική διάταξις, p. 164, ll. 19–34: "Καὶ περὶ τοὺς πρόποδας τοῦ ὄρους γενόμενος..."

<sup>28</sup> Τοπική διάταξις, p. 164, l.39: "...μη δύνασθαι πόλιν ἐπάνω ὄρους κείμενην κρυβῆναι".

<sup>29</sup> On the process of choosing an ideal location for a monastic establishment, see: *Talbot*, *Founders' Choices* (forthcoming), and, *idem*, *Byzantine Monastic Horticulture: The Textual Evidence // Byzantine Garden Culture* / Eds. A. Littlewood, H. Maguire and J. Wolschke-Bulmahn. *Dumbarton Oaks*, 2002, p. 37–41.

<sup>30</sup> On the geographical location and the natural environment of the monastery of Prodromos, see the very interesting description of *Christophoros*, Προσκυνητάριον, p. 9–12. Also, see the brief reference of *Zesiou K. Μακεδονίας Χριστιανικά μνημεία*. Athens, 1914, p. 44.



provides safety but also abundant water resources and a healthy climate. The steep ravine runs through the southern slopes of the mountain all the way to the plain of Serres and the valley of the river Strymon<sup>31</sup>. The proximity to Serres is also important. The mountain and the city are the external limits of the monastic landscape but also the two symbolic poles between which monastic life struggles to find its balance. The secular, earthly world of the city is in contrast to the isolated, inhospitable wilderness of the mountain and physical movement between the two stresses the spiritual ascendance of monks and pilgrims closer to heaven.

During the early years of the Prodomos monastery's life, Ioannikios, the founder of the community, worked steadily to assure its prosperity through the acquisition of land property. One of the earliest documents preserved in Prodomos' codices, dated to 1278, records the purchase of grapevines by Ioannikios in the proximity of Serres<sup>32</sup>. The maintenance of Prodomos' *hierotopos* had also practical aspects and concerns. According to Stelios Papadopoulos, the written confirmation of land property was of the utmost importance for monastic communities, since it provided them with legal papers<sup>33</sup>. This concern on the part of Ioannikios and his successors proved to be invaluable in times of dispute, when the community faced several real-estate disputes. This process continued through Prodomos monastery's history until today<sup>34</sup>.

#### PRODROMOS' MONASTIC LANDSCAPE AFTER IOANNIKIOS DEATH

Ioannikios died in the year 1300 bequeathing the monastery to his nephew Ioakeim, Bishop of Zichna<sup>35</sup>. Mt. Menoikeion had been conquered and monastic life had been established. But what happened to Prodomos' *hierotopos* after the death of its creator and how did the monastic community relate to it?

The 1761 engraving provides an important view of the matter (fig. 10)<sup>36</sup>. The work was commissioned in Vienna by Chatze-Petkos Spandones, bene-

<sup>31</sup> On the geography and the natural landscape of the Eastern Balkan Peninsula and Macedonia, see: *Koder*, *Der Lebensraum*, p. 22–24; *Geyer B.* *Physical Factors in the Evolution of the Landscape and Land Use // The Economic history of Byzantium from the Seventh through the fifteenth Century* / Ed. A. E. Laiou. Washington D.C., 2002, p. 32ff.

<sup>32</sup> *Guillou*, *Les archives*, p. 22, folio 3–4. Also, see: *Christophoros*, *Προσκυνητάριον*, p. 19.

<sup>33</sup> *Papadopoulos St.* *Ο χώρος // Σιμωνόπετρα* / Ed. St. Papadopoulos. Athens, 1991, p. 30–45.

<sup>34</sup> *Christophoros*, *Προσκυνητάριον*, p. 27, speaks of the actions of the successor of Ioannikios, Abbot Ioannikios Kaloudes. On the property of the monastery of Prodomos, see: *Kaphtantzis G.* *Ιστορία της πόλεως των Σερρών και της περιφέρειάς της, τόμος τρίτος: Βυζαντινή περίοδος-Τουρκοκρατία, Νεώτεροι χρόνοι*. Thessalonike, 1996, p. 70–79.

<sup>35</sup> *Guillou*, *Les archives*, p. 8.

<sup>36</sup> *Papastratou*, *Paper Icons*, p. 498–499, pl. 535.

factor of the monastery from Serres<sup>37</sup>. The founders and patrons of the monastic community, as well as scenes from the cycle of the life of Aghios Ioannis Prodromos are depicted in the upper half of the engraving panel. The monastery is depicted accurately in the center of a defined environment featuring a visually detailed, but also verbally labeled representation of its different topographical components. The monastic community in procession is presented exiting the open gate thus embracing its immediate surroundings. The engraving makes it clear that the spiritual and symbolic boundaries of the monastery's life extended outside the confines of the monastic enclosure and embraced the surrounding landscape. The *hierotopos* of Prodromos monastery is defined by the topography of its immediate environs.

Seven rural chapels dating as early as the 14<sup>th</sup> century surround the monastery and have served a variety of usages through the centuries (fig. 11). They mark monastic property and signify the external parameters of the monastery. At the same time they have an apotropaic role keeping evil and danger at bay. The monastic cemetery and ossuary preserve not only the remains of monks since the foundation of the monastery, but also display the continuity of monastic tradition on Mount Menoikeion.

Gardens and olive groves provide the essential economic means for the community while fulfilling the symbolic role of the monastery as a reflection of the heavenly garden<sup>38</sup>. Monastic vegetable gardens are considered a model of systematic agricultural cultivation and production preserv-

<sup>37</sup> Depictions of monasteries in prints, drawings, wall paintings and icons present similar views of monastic landscapes and comprise an invaluable source of visual information and should be studied closely. Although they lack photographic accuracy, they reveal the landscape and environmental aspect of monastic existence. For example the drawings of the Russian monk Vasilii Barskii who traveled extensively in the Balkans in the 18<sup>th</sup> century give a valuable view of the world of Byzantine and post-Byzantine monasticism. His drawings depict monasteries within their immediate rural surroundings and the natural landscape, stressing the importance of monastic outer limits, see: *Grigorovich-Barskii V. Τα θαυμαστά μοναστήρια του Αγίου Όρους Άθω, έτσι όπως τα είδε ο ευλαβής οδοιπόρος μοναχός Βασίλειος Γρηγόροβιτς Μπάρσκι όταν περιηγήθηκε την ιερή πολιτεία του Άθω το έτος 1744* / Ed. A. N. Tachiaos. Thessaloniki, 1998. On monastic prints, see the introduction of the very important two-volume work of *Papastratou*, *Paper icons*, vol. 1, p. 17–35, and especially vol. 2, p. 337–530 on prints of monasteries; *Nedić O. Grafičke pretstave srpskih manastira kao izvorni podaci pri konzervatorsko-restauratorskim radovima // Zbornik Zaštite Spomenika Kulture* 9 (1958), p. 17–38. A very interesting essay on the depictions of monasteries in prints and the ways they represent the monastic world is given in: *Papadopoulos St. Οι χάρτινες εικόνες. Μια διαφορετική προσέγγιση // Ανθρωπολογικά — Μουσειολογικά. Μικρά Μελετήματα* / Ed. St. Papadopoulos. Athens, 2003, p. 472–77. Also in the same volume of collected essays, *idem*, *Ο χώρος ως τόπος άγιος. Μία ανθρωπολογική προσέγγιση*, p. 516–521.

<sup>38</sup> *Talbot*, *Monastic Horticulture*, passim. On monastic gardens in Russia and Western Europe, see: *Lichachev D. S. Poeziia sadov: k semantike sadovo-parkovykh stilei: sad kak tekst*. St. Petersburg, 1991, p. 39–26.

ing old traditional methods. Even today, when access to the market of Serres is a matter of minutes, almost all the ingredients of the daily monastic menu of Prodromos come from their own vegetable garden thus maintaining the monastic 'autarkeia,' self-sufficiency. The presence of gardens at Prodromos has been and still is the ultimate proof of the community's taming of the wilderness of Menoikeion. Being able to cultivate the harsh mountainous terrain, to make the steep rocks produce vegetables, flowers and olives attests to the triumph of monastic spirit and labor.

The 'sub-monastic' environment of Prodromos monastery and its economy was supported by a network of stone bridges, aqueducts and paved paths. The management of water resources was crucial for the irrigation of gardens and plantations but also to provide power for the monastic mills. The network of paths and paved roads guaranteed communication with nearby villages but also to the major urban center and market of Serres<sup>39</sup>.

#### CONCLUSIONS

On the slopes of Mt. Menoikeion the key physical remainders of Prodromos monastery's *hierotopical* tradition are the rural cave-cells and chapels located in the monastery's surroundings. Their location preserves and proves the information given in written and visual monastic sources.

The presence of ascetic cells in proximity to organized, cenobitic monastic communities has been related to the occurrence of a previous *lavra* (cluster of cells or caves for ascetics with a common church, with a church and sometimes a refectory at the center). This issue has been long debated among scholars in relation to the evolution of monastic practice from *lavra* to organized monastery, and the antagonism or the co-existence of the two systems of monastic practice<sup>40</sup>. I believe that the presence of ascetic cells in the surroundings of monasteries in Byzantium, should be also understood as the indispensable components of the *hierotopoi* of monastic establishments. The key example of the Megiste Lavra on Athos has been surrounded by five *kellia* since its foundation by Athanasius of Athos in 963<sup>41</sup>. As at the Prodromos, the ascetic struggles of the spiritual fathers of the community can still be traced on the slopes of Athos, in the vicinity of the monastery. Multiple other examples of this system are extant. At the 10<sup>th</sup> century monastery of Rila in Bulgaria, a similar mountainous sacred land-

<sup>39</sup> *Christophoros*, Προσκυνητάριον, p. 7–9.

<sup>40</sup> *Popović S.* Sabaitic Influences on the Church of Medieval Serbia // *The Sabaitic Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the Fifth Century to the Present* / Ed. J. Patrich. Leuven, 2001, 385–407.

<sup>41</sup> See the entries on Athanasios of Athos and the monastery of the Great Lavra in the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. New York and Oxford, 1991.

scape records the early steps of its founder John of Rila<sup>42</sup>. The monastery of Trescavac in the F. Y. R. O. Macedonia preserves comparable examples of rural kellia and cave-chapels in its surroundings<sup>43</sup>. The monastery of Kosinitza (Eikosifinissa) on Mt. Pangaion is another comparable case<sup>44</sup>. Monastic centers such as Mt. Papikion in Thrace and Mt. Latros in Asia Minor, present interesting cases of mountainous regions transformed into holy mountains by monastic presence<sup>45</sup>.

The application of the same concept to urban monasteries offers a challenging comparison to rural examples. Urban monasteries such as the Chora in Constantinople, or the Holy Apostles in Thessaloniki to name two well known examples certainly had their own sacred surroundings. The outer limits of the *hierotopoi* of urban monasteries could be perhaps identified in their urban metochia, towers and property holdings. Further consideration of the matter could certainly help a better understanding of urban landscapes and *hierotopoi* in Byzantium.

Monastic life has tussled with Mt. Menoikeion ever since the ritual arrival of Ioannikios in 1260. As the monastery's first *ktetor* he transformed of the rugged countryside into sacred monastic landscape. His fourteen year-long ascetic adventure defined the sacred limits of the monastery's *hierotopos* and asserted the community's monastic mythology. Continuously inhabited until today, the monastery's surroundings sustain its long *hierotopical* tradition making Prodromos monastery an important example of the practice in Byzantium.

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<sup>42</sup> Hristov K., Stojkov G. and Mijatev K. The Rila Monastery. Sofia, 1959.

<sup>43</sup> Smolčić-Makuljević S. The Sacral Topography of Treskavac Monastery // *Balkanica* 35 (2004), p. 285–313.

<sup>44</sup> On the monastery of Eikosifinissa, see: *Paschalides and Strates*, Μοναστήρια της Μακεδονίας, p. 63–105.

<sup>45</sup> On Mt. Papikion, see: *Zekos N.* Mount Papikion, Archaeological Guide. Komotini, 2001; *idem*, Αποτελέσματα ανασκαφικών ερευνών στο Παπίκιον Όρος // Proceedings of the First International Symposium for Thracian Studies, “Byzantine Thrace” Image and Character / Ed. Ch. Bakirtzis. *ByzF* 14, 1 (1989), p. 677–693. On Mt. Latros: *Peschlow-Bindokat A.* Der Latmos. Eine undekannte Gebirgslands an der türkischen Westküste. Mainz, 1996; *Kirby A. and Mercangöz Z.* The monasteries of Mt. Latros and their Architectural Development // *Work and Worship at the Theotokos Evergetis* / Eds. M. Mullet and A. Kirby. *BTT* 6.2 (1997), p. 51–77.

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СОЗДАНИЕ «ИЕРОТОПОСА» В ВИЗАНТИИ:  
АСКЕТИЧЕСКАЯ ПРАКТИКА И ЕЕ САКРАЛЬНАЯ  
ТОПОГРАФИЯ НА ГОРЕ МЕНИКЕОН

Уход от светского мира в пустыню в поисках духовного спасения — сущностный идеал монашества. Монахи — от греческого *монахос*, буквально «один», — живут окруженными враждебной природой, выживание наедине с которой — ясное свидетельство их жажды духовного совершенства. Присутствие монахов, преодолевавших все телесные потребности и всех демонов, укрощает природу, создавая сакральный ландшафт, на фоне которого протекает их физическая и духовная борьба.

Сотворение сакрального ландшафта, окружавшего монашескую жизнь, было обычным для Византии, тесно связанной с жизнью основателей монашества. Их действия, положившие начало монашеским институтам, описываются в монашеских типиконах и других письменных источниках, положивших начало монашеской литературе. В то же время пещеры, кельи и храмы вокруг монастырей хранят следы ранней монашеской жизни, создавая реальную топографию сакрального ландшафта. Например, монастырь Великая Лавра был окружен пятью *кельями* с момента его основания Афанасием Афонским в 963 году. Духовное напряжение, накал жизни монашеского сообщества могут быть прослежены на склонах горы Афон, поблизости от монастыря. В болгарском Рильском монастыре X века похожий горный пейзаж хранит следы его основателя Иоанна Рильского. Еще одним примером для сравнения может послужить монастырь Косиница (*Eicosifinissa*) на горе Панагион. Такие центры монашеской жизни, как гора Папикион во Фракии и гора Латрос в Малой Азии, представляют интересные примеры трансформации скалистых мест в святые горы, созданные монашеским присутствием. Аналогичным образом могут быть проанализированы и городские монастыри, иеротопическая практика которых должна быть сопоставлена с обителями, находящимися в сельской местности.

Изучение византийского искусства и архитектуры по большей части пренебрегало этим важным компонентом монашеской жизни, ограничиваясь изолированным пространством внутри монастырских стен, а зачастую внимание ученых привлекала лишь главная церковь.

Моя статья посвящена изучению сакрального ландшафта, окружающего монастырь Св. Иоанна Предтечи на горе Меникеон рядом с Серрами в северной Греции. Превращение гористой местности в са-

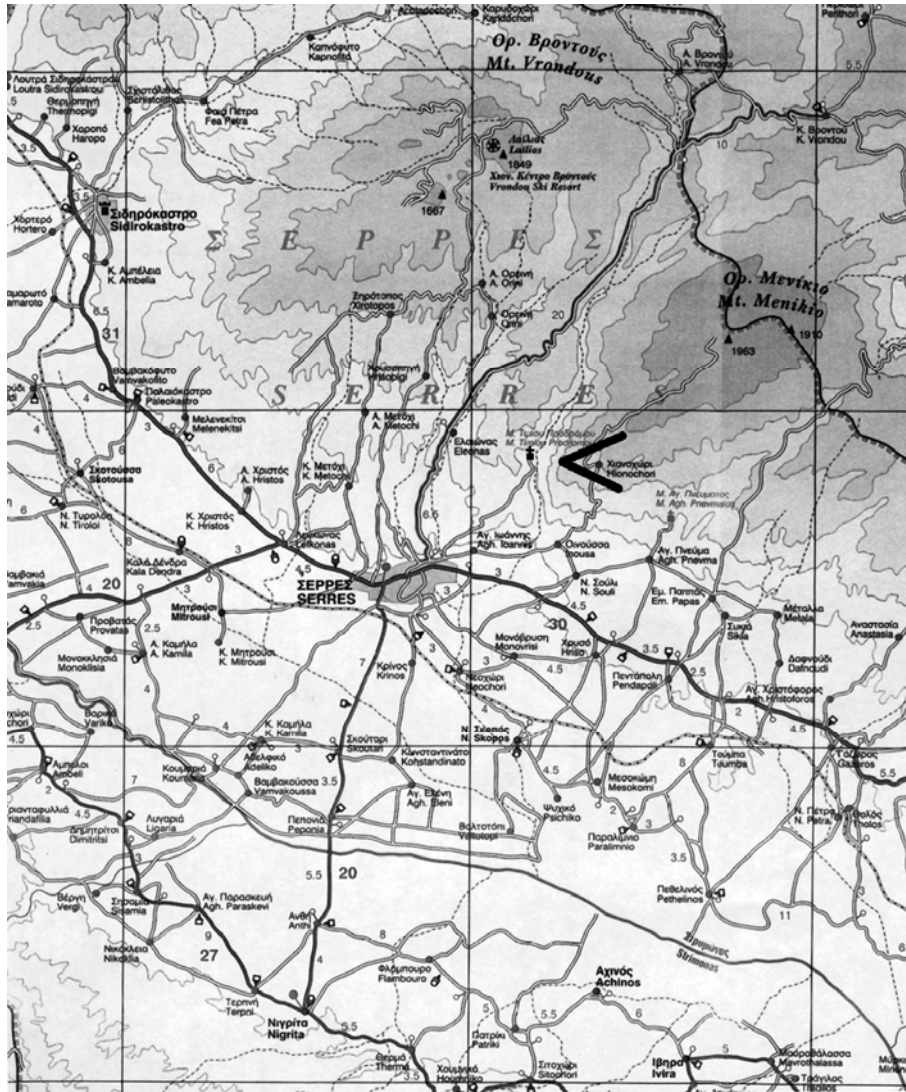
кральное пространство напрямую связано с основателем монастыря Иоанникием, который в 1261 г. прибыл в Серры с горы Афон. Его активное пребывание на склонах Меникеона привело около 1275 г. к основанию монастыря Иоанна Предтечи. *Типикон* монастыря, составленный в начале XIII века племянником и продолжателем Иоанникия Иоанном, рассказывает о деяниях основателя монастыря. Первые аскетические подвиги Иоанникия определили сакральное пространство монастыря и в то же время заложили основы преданий монашеской общины.

По прибытию в Серры Иоанникий удалился на склоны горы Меникеон, не имея «вообще никакой привязанности к миру, и не желал быть поглощенным мирским». Настойчиво следуя своим духовным целям, он бродил по горным склонам, все дальше удаляясь в «очень суровые и непроходимые районы горы» и испытывая до предела свои телесные возможности. После 12 лет скитаний по горе Меникеон Иоанникий наконец достиг места, где должен был быть основан его монастырь. Обжить это место оказалось очень трудно, так как оно было узким и замкнутым, полным обрывов, трудным для входа и выхода, почти полностью непроходимым, сплошь покрытым всеми видами диких растений. Там была лишь одна церковь, развалившаяся от времени и не имевшая крыши, служившая пристанищем лишь диким зверям и ползучим тварям. Основатель и первый ктитор монастыря Иоанна Предтечи освятил и в то же время покорила горную пустыню. Как ясно из сохранившихся источников, он должен был не только преодолеть физические препятствия и выжить в необитаемом горном районе, но и одержать верх над предшествующей монашеской традицией. Ради достижения своих целей Иоанникий должен был победить и приручить «пустыню» умов и душ отшельников, населявших склоны святой горы.

Центром монастыря был кафоликон, вокруг которого концентрировались все монастырские постройки и окружающие их элементы монастырского комплекса. Это окружение, состоящее из различных архитектурных и природных элементов, служило внешним ограждением, поддерживающим, но вместе с тем и направляющим монашеское существование. Сохранившиеся в пещерах фрески и следы древней монашеской жизни порождают рассказы о деяниях основателя братства Иоанникия, дошедшие до нас в монастырских рукописях и в устной традиции. Фрески XV в. в окрестных сельских часовнях свидетельствуют об их давней принадлежности монастырю. Они одновременно отмечают границы монастырских земель и служат апотропеями, охраняющими от зла и опасностей. Монастырское кладбище и оссуарий не только хранят останки монахов с момента основания монастыря, но и свидетельствуют о преемственности монашеской традиции на горе Меникеон. Сады и

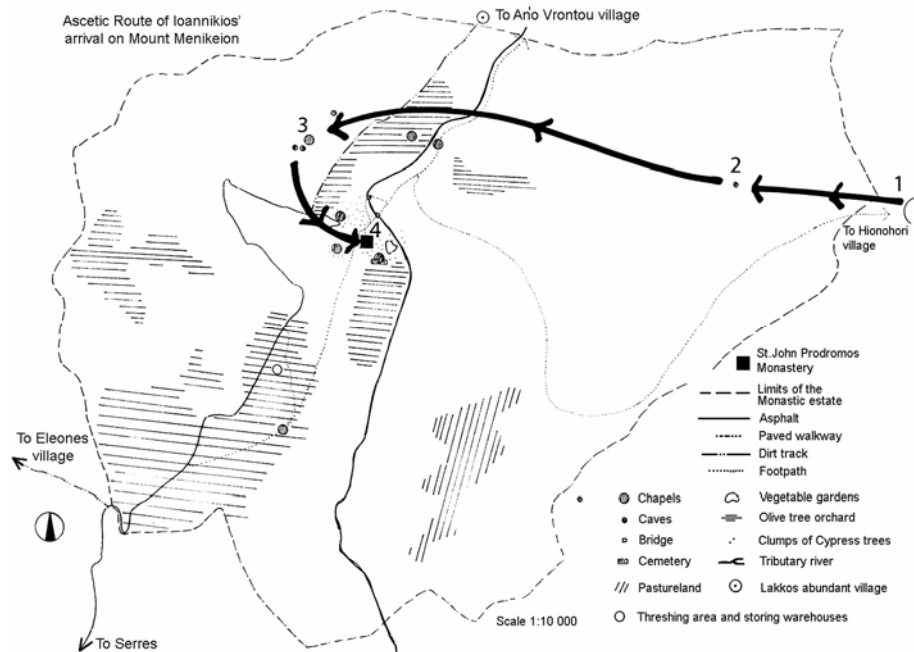
оливковые рощи, имеющие для монастыря экономическое значение, вместе с тем играют важную символическую роль, закрепляя за монастырем образ райского сада.

Населенный сегодня небольшой общиной сестер, монастырь Св. Иоанна Предтечи является показательным примером византийской монашеской традиции. Протекающая в сакральном ландшафте повседневная монастырская жизнь одухотворяет гористую пустыню Меникеона, превращая ее в рай на земле, где в духовных и физических подвигах расцветают души монахинь.



1. Map of Serres and its vicinity (Municipality of Serres)

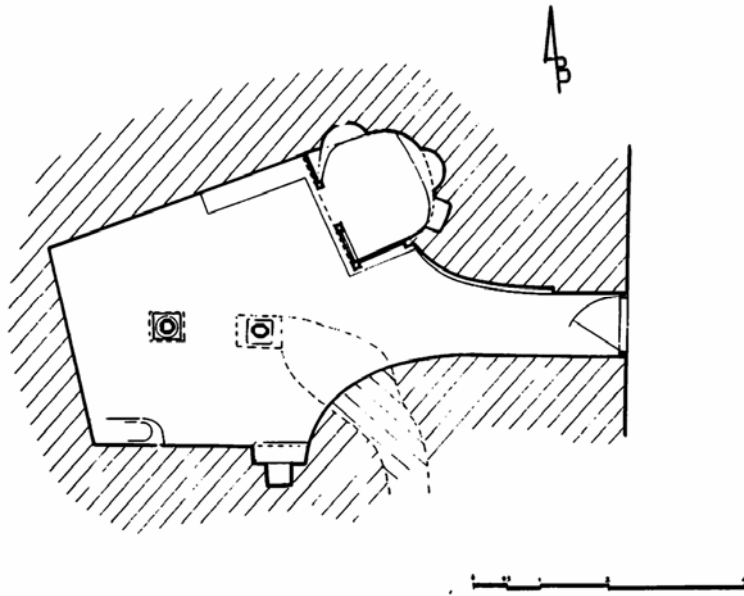




2. Mt. Menoikeion, the environs of the monastery of Aghios Ioannis Prodromos, topographical plan indicating the route followed by Ioannikios between 1260 and 1270/75 (by Olga-Maria Bakirtzis)



3. Aghios Ioannis Prodromos monastery, silver reliquary, detail depicting Ioannikios leading his boy nephew Ioakeim to Mt. Menoikeion, 1903 (photo: author)



4. Mt. Menoikeion, Chionochori, Aghioi Anargyroi cave-chapel, plan (by Pandelis Xydas)



5. Mt. Menoikeion, Chionochori, Aghioi Anargyroi cave-chapel, interior (photo: author)



6. Mt. Menoikeion, the cell of the *ktetor*, view from the southwest (photo: author)



7. Mt. Menoikeion, the Metamorphosis chapel, view of the entrance (photo: author)



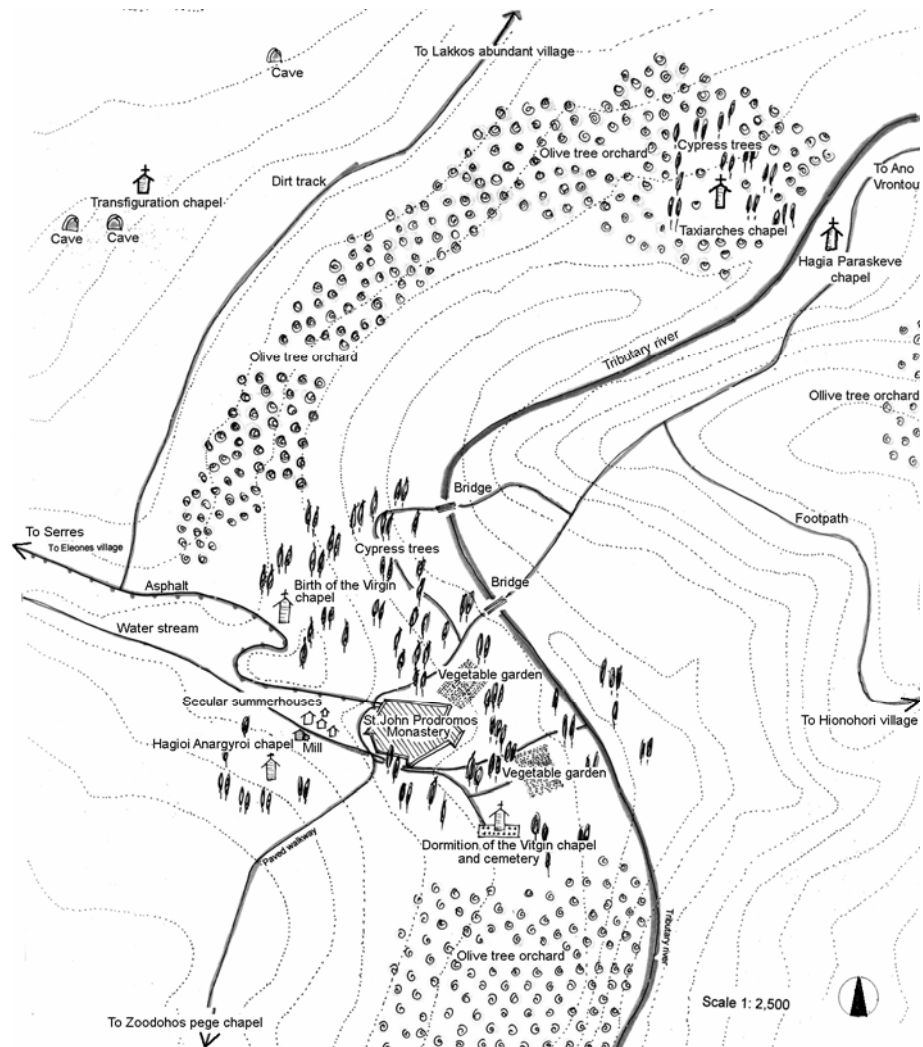
8. Mt. Menoikeion, the natural landscape in the vicinity of Prodromos monastery (photo: author)



9. Aghios Ioannis Prodromos monastery, bird's eye view (photo: author)



10. Aghios Ioannis Prodromos monastery, print depicting the monastery of Prodromos, its surrounding landscape and scenes from the life-cycle of the Saint, Vienna, 1761 (from the archives of the monastery of Aghios Ioannis Prodromos)



11. Mt. Menoikeion, the environs of Prodomos monastery, topographical plan (by Olga-Maria Bakirtzis)

Svetlana Popović

THE BYZANTINE MONASTERY:  
ITS SPATIAL ICONOGRAPHY  
AND THE QUESTION OF SACREDNESS

The Byzantine sacred space in the making — *hierotopy* — was a long, multifaceted process applied in both rural and urban environments. Its religious, symbolic and social aspects often overlapped, resulting either in a dynamic (procession) or static (built) spatial structures.

The Byzantine perception of the heavenly realm, in terms of its “built” environment, mirrored the image of a city. More precisely, it was Jerusalem and Constantinople that had an extraordinary position within the Christian celestial and earthly hierarchy: earthly Jerusalem was juxtaposed with the heavenly Jerusalem, and the Empire’s capital, Constantinople, was proclaimed the New Jerusalem upon the transfer of the relics of the True Cross to the city<sup>1</sup>. Within the Christian sacred topography, however, the celebrity and importance of the Holy Land and its ‘unique city’ remained unchallenged, and thus Constantinople admired its ‘secondary’ role as the earthly successor but never reached the heavenly realms. That is the case of ‘*the city*’ in the context of celestial topography.

If we recall the image of the heavenly court within Byzantium, however, we become aware that the Emperor’s palace in Constantinople was understood and visualized as a reflection of the heavenly court where the Lord resides<sup>2</sup>. Thus ‘*the palace*’ was closely connected to the ideological prerogatives of the Byzantine idea of kingship as God’s investiture.

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<sup>1</sup> About the earthly and heavenly Jerusalem in general see: *Kühnel B.* From the Earthly to the Heavenly Jerusalem. Freiburg, 1987. On the True Cross: *Frolow A.* La relique de la vraie Croix. Recherches sur le développement d’un culte. Paris, 1961; *Grumel V.* La reposition de la vraie croix à Jérusalem par Héraclius: le jour et l’année // *ByzF* 1 (1966), p. 139–149. On Constantinople as the New Jerusalem: *Mango C.* Byzantium the Empire of the New Rome. London, 1994, p. 207–217.

<sup>2</sup> *Maguire H.* The Heavenly Court // *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204* / Ed. H. Maguire. Washington D.C., 1997, p. 247–258. About the Heaven and Earth in Byzantine Art in general

Where was the place of ‘*the monastery*’ within the celestial topography? What was its purpose and meaning within the terrestrial world of the Christians? What was the procedure of physical shaping a monastery settlement? And how were the religious connotations reflected on its built environment. These are the general questions I intend to discuss in this paper.

One can start within the realm of ideas — what was the purpose and meaning of the monastery in Byzantium. According to the historical sources, a primary meaning of the words monastery (*monasterion*), and monk (*monachos*) were ‘dwelling of a solitary’ and ‘solitary’ itself<sup>3</sup>. It is known, also, in later developments, that ‘monastery’ designated a specific settlement for a group of religious men or women living in a community, under the prescribed regulations, and was usually enclosed by an outer wall. In this context a ‘monk’ represents an individual of the specific community. Obviously, the character of the ‘monastery’ as an institution, and of the ‘monk’ as an individual changed in the course of time. The search for the right answer leads us to the beginnings of monasticism, to its roots in the desert monasticism of Egypt, Palestine, and elsewhere in early Byzantium.

#### MONASTERY SETTLEMENT AND HEAVENLY REALM ACCORDING TO LITERARY SOURCES

The Holy father Antony, who lived in the second half of the third century (251?–356) in Egypt, was one of the prominent ascetics whose *Vita* illuminates the life and habits of the earliest hermits in general<sup>4</sup>. We learn from his *Life* that in the beginning “there were not yet many monasteries in Egypt, and no monk knew at all the great desert, but each of those wishing to give attention to his life disciplined himself in isolation, not far from his own village”<sup>5</sup>. That was true for Antony too, who inhabited, as his first abode, one of the ancient tombs, situated at some distance from the village, where he remained in isolation, and began his solitary life. He prayed constantly, fasted and mortified his body in a search for salvation, professing that “though we have been contestants on earth, we do not receive our inheritance on earth, but we possess the promises in heaven”<sup>6</sup>. His voice echoed, a great number of followers appeared, and “from then on there were many

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see: Heaven on Earth. Art and the Church in Byzantium / Ed. L. Safran. University Park, PA, 1998; Lidov A. Heavenly Jerusalem: The Byzantine Approach // The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Art / Ed. B. Kuchnel. Jerusalem, 1999, p. 340–353.

<sup>3</sup> Morard F. E. Monachos, Moine: Histoire du terme grec jusqu’ au 4e siècle // Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie 20 (1973), p. 332–411.

<sup>4</sup> Gregg R. C., trans., and Clebsch W. A., preface. *Athanasius: The Life of Antony and the Letter to Marcellinus*. New York, Ramsey, Toronto, 1980.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 32.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 44.



monasteries in the mountains and the desert was made a city by monks, who... registered themselves for the citizenship in the heavens"<sup>7</sup>. Increasing number of the 'wandering' monks, in the course of the fourth century, became articulated through the appearance and 'leadership' of holy men, who acted as focal figures and gathered great number of followers around their solitary abodes. The *Lives* of these prominent anchorites reveal that they lived in isolation in a cave, hut, or built-cell, soon followed by a flock of devotees who surrounded their secret abodes, forming a loose community of monks<sup>8</sup>. Their life was understood as angelic, "as they advanced steadily in the imitation of our divine Savior" and "dwelling on earth in this manner they live as true citizens of heaven"<sup>9</sup>. Although they were, as individuals, deeply devoted to a rigorous life of isolation, fasting, self-denial, and mortification of their bodies to achieve an ultimate goal — salvation — they had yet another role within society, serving as intermediaries between ordinary believers and their God<sup>10</sup>. We can often read in their *Lives* that "the people depend on the prayers of these monks as if on God himself", and that the "Savior performs through them what he performed through the prophets and apostles"<sup>11</sup>. Their social function, also, could be recognized through their healing capacities, unexpected miracles which always helped to believers, or their visions which guaranteed fulfillment of the divine will on earth. And while anchorites of Antonian type lived either a solitary life, or in a loose community of ascetics, at the same time there appeared another type of monastic organization that favored communal — cenobitic — life under strict rules, known as Pachomian *Koinonia*<sup>12</sup>. The Monk Pachomius (c. 290–346), and his disciples Theodore and Horsiesios are believed to have been the founders of cenobitic life "according to the precept of God and of the angel who was sent by God for this very purpose"<sup>13</sup>. Each monastery consisted of thirty to forty houses of brothers who lived there under the master, and three or four houses were federated into a tribe<sup>14</sup>. They fought for salvation through prayers and manual work, and often were grouped into separate houses in accordance with the labor and craft performed there (tailors, mats weavers, carriage makers, shoemakers etc.).

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<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 42–43.

<sup>8</sup> *The Lives of the Desert Fathers. The Historia Monachorum in Aegypto* / Transl. N. Russell, Intro. B. Ward. London, Oxford, 1981.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 50.

<sup>10</sup> *Brown P.* The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity // *JRS* 61 (1971), p. 80–101.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 50–51.

<sup>12</sup> *Pachomian Koinonia. Pachomian Chronicles and Rules. Vol. I–III* / Transl. A. Veilleux. Kalamazoo, 1980–1982.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 141.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 142.

The monastic movement in Palestine appeared, according to tradition, in 275 when Chariton, a confessor, arrived there from Iconium. But real development reached its peak between 450 and 600<sup>15</sup>. Two major monastic institutions: *laurae* and *cenobiae* existed there. The first represented a loose community of anchorites who led a severe life in the solitude of their own cells, while the second provided communal life for a group of monks (or nuns) living together, according to rules, and seeking salvation through prayers, manual work and fasting. The monastic civilization in Palestine, probably more than elsewhere, was distinguished by a pronounced hierarchy in terms of chosen monastic practices. Not everybody, but only approved *asketes*, could practice a solitary life within *laura*. The others were directed to find abodes within cenobitic communities. Laurites, more than cenobites, performed miracles, developed healing capabilities, and acquired specific holiness, even becoming saints. Celebrated ascetics could take part in both instances, having their cells in *laura* and acting as the leaders of *cenobium*<sup>16</sup>. Their role as intermediaries between ordinary believers and God, seems to be lesser than elsewhere — they were focused on their chosen way of life and on their chosen community<sup>17</sup>. From their *Lives* we can learn that prominent ascetics were called citizens of heaven, reaching this high qualification in accordance with their posthumously performed miracles, and their endeavors in organizing monasteries as cities in the desert for godly purposes<sup>18</sup>. Great Euthymius who was a doctor of souls and citizen of heaven, taught that “the weapons of the monk are meditation, discernment, self-control, and godly obedience”. They must always “await and ponder the hour of death and... fear the threat of eternal fire and desire the glory of the kingdom of heaven”<sup>19</sup>. Indeed, the monastic culture of Palestine created numerous holy fathers and saints, and their monasteries and anchoritic abodes acquired an unprecedented position in Christian topography.

In Syrian monasticism of the early fourth and later centuries, probably more than elsewhere in the Christian world, monks were understood as the mediators between ordinary believers and God<sup>20</sup>. Their lives were envisaged as *mimesis* of the heavenly life of the angels. For one Father Agrippa it was said that “one hundred and fifty men were shepherd by his hand... imitating the life in heaven”<sup>21</sup>. For Syrian ascetics, monasteries were “ascetic wres-

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<sup>15</sup> *Cyril of Scythopolis: The Lives of the Monks of Palestine* / Transl. R. M. Price. Annotated by J. Binns. Kalamazoo, 1991.

<sup>16</sup> For example St. Sabas, St. Euthymius, Theodosius, etc.

<sup>17</sup> *Cyril of Scythopolis. The Lives of the Monks of Palestine*, XXXV.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 8, 20; 84, 24; and 235, 27.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 17, 15; 18, 10.

<sup>20</sup> *Theodoret of Cyrrhus. A History of the Monks of Syria* / Transl. R. M. Price. Kalamazoo, 1985.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 9.

ting-schools”, and “philosophic retreats” where “athletes of virtue” were assembled to practice, under the guidance of the holy men, great labors of the soul: “in a body the life without body”, and to achieve spiritual perfection as a tool of salvation<sup>22</sup>. Yet another aspect of their monastic practice was to assure God’s protection, through their prayers, for the people in neighboring villages and in the countryside.

In the fourth century, for Basil of Caesarea (329–379), the great Cappadocian father and supporter of cenobitic monasticism, the monastery became a place where, through conscientious work, self-denial, meekness, prayers, and Christian love, the community could achieve the ultimate cause — salvation<sup>23</sup>. A pronounced accent in his teaching was related to caring for the sick and poor. According to Basil there are no self-sufficient people and we all rely on mutual help and understanding. Thus the communal life is more appropriate than one in isolation.

Later, in the sixth and seventh centuries, the celebrated St. John Klimax (c. 579–650) — Abbot of the Mount Sinai monastery — in his “Ladder of Divine Ascent”, (in which he explains the achievement of the ideal of Christian perfection, by climbing 30 steps), writes that “the whole monastic state consists of three specific kinds of establishment: either the retirement and solitude of a spiritual athlete, or living in silence with one or two others, or settling patiently in a community”<sup>24</sup>. Although for him the second choice (group of ascetics) is suitable for many people, he does not exclude the other possibilities, including the communal life. He believed that heaven on earth is a path to achieving a *dispassion* that he designates as “the interior heaven of the mind”, and visualizes as “the celestial palace of the Heavenly King; and the many mansions as the abode within this city, and the wall of this celestial Jerusalem as the forgiveness of sins”. The monk’s ultimate goal is “to enter the bridal hall of this palace”<sup>25</sup>.

In the ninth and tenth centuries isolated hermitages remained important stations on the route to heavens. They received the additional celestial attributes that were often related to their physical characteristics. For example, one of the ascetic abodes of the celebrated Byzantine saint Loukas the Younger (c. 896–953), situated high in the mountains, had a small garden, a *paradeisos*, for “it was planted with all plants and every variety of greens and vegetables”<sup>26</sup>. Both symbolic and practical aspects characterized ancho-

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., II, 9; IV, 2; XXI, 3.

<sup>23</sup> Wagner M. M. Saint Basil: Ascetical Works. New York, 1950.

<sup>24</sup> St. John Climacus. The Ladder of Divine Ascent / Transl. Archimandrite Lazarus Moore. Introduction M. Heppell. London, 1959, step I, 26.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., Step 29, 14.

<sup>26</sup> The Life and Miracles of Saint Luke of Steiris / Text, Translation and Commentary by C. L. Connor and W. R. Connor. Brookline, 1994, ch. 19.1 and ch. 41.7.

ritic gardens. From St. Loukas' *Vita* we learn that his garden "was not for his own profit or benefit, but for the needs and help of those nearby, for he never sold any of this produce but eagerly gave it away whenever he encountered anyone"<sup>27</sup>. The celestial connotations included his angelic life and also his garden, an anticipation of Paradise. The case of Lukas is not isolated, and monks and nuns elsewhere, attempted to recreate the divine paradise. Thus the monastery itself was, in numerous examples, metaphorically designated as a *paradeisos*, or garden<sup>28</sup>. Finally, Loukas and his disciples settled in the "wilderness" on the remote mountainside near the ancient city of Steris, on the site that was eventually turned into the celebrated monastery of Hosios Loukas. The church of St. Barbara, mentioned in his *Vita*, may be the oldest foundation on the site<sup>29</sup>. The monastery became, after his posthumous miracles, the center of a healing cult and a pilgrimage destination.

The *Life* of Saint Nikon *Metanoieite* (c. 930–1000) confirms that in the tenth century the monastery remained a path to salvation<sup>30</sup>. Dedicating his life to God through fasting, repentance, mortification of the body, and permanent prayers, Nikon wanted "to keep himself completely from concern for the body and to imitate the angelic life beyond the body"<sup>31</sup>. He spent twelve years in the "holy hermitage" and prepared himself to act as a mediator between ordinary believers and God<sup>32</sup>. After years of traveling he arrived in Lacedaemonia and the city of Sparta (c. 970). There "a divine vision from heaven had revealed to him (to) raise a divine church from the very foundations to the Savior and Master of all", and the monastery was built according to God's plan that "has been revealed to me in my lowliness"<sup>33</sup>. During the building process a confirmation of divinity and relationship to the heavens was revealed as "the fiery pillar seen by night at the building site. This stretched from earth up to heaven, and the local inhabitants could see it from afar and were confirming it with very great conviction"<sup>34</sup>. According to the *Vita*, the holy man also prepared his isolated anchoritic abode, most probably within or near the monastery that was known as "the holy hermitage" and together with the divine church designated as "the Holy Inn, truly a home on

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<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 19.5.

<sup>28</sup> On the garden as metaphor for monastery cf. *Talbot A-M. Byzantine Monastic Horticulture: The Textual Evidence // Byzantine Garden Culture / Eds. A. Littlewood, H. Maguire, J. Wolschke-Bulmahn. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection. Washington, D.C., 2002, p. 37–67, and esp. 64–67.*

<sup>29</sup> *The Life and Miracles of Saint Luke of Steiris. Ch. 59.55–58.*

<sup>30</sup> *The Life of Saint Nikon / Text, translation and Commentary by D. F. Sullivan. Brookline, Mass., 1987.*

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.5–9.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.5–40.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 35. ff.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 37.25–30.

earth above the earth and heavenly”<sup>35</sup>. After his death, the monastery became famous for Nikon’s posthumous miracles, and pilgrims visited his “divine and holy precinct”.

Athanasios of Athos (c. 925/30–1001), founder of the Great Lavra on Mount Athos, designated the monks as “athletes and martyrs” and the monastic life as an “angelic profession”, with the final goal of reaching the kingdom of heaven where they “will enjoy the eternal blessing in Christ Jesus our Lord”<sup>36</sup>. The Lavra was established, “by God’s permission”, in the remote location which is called *Melana*, on the site where Athanasios began his eremitic life on the holy mountain<sup>37</sup>. From his *Life* we learn that in his monastery he gave the most prominent — central — location to the church which acted as the sleepless eye of the entirety, and was enclosed by the cells and other buildings<sup>38</sup>. His monastic community combined cenobitic and solitary life, both leading to the ultimate goal — salvation. Athanasios’ original place of seclusion — his hermitage at *Melana* — achieved a double isolation from the secular world: being located on the remote, mountainous Athos peninsula, and on a site extremely difficult of access. There is yet another important aspect of this location — Athos was considered as the *holy mountain*, a specific space where solitaries, chosen by God’s will, shared their solitude and individual struggles to achieve the heavenly kingdom. Although holy mountains, as the abodes of ascetics, are known in Byzantium since the fifth century, their role became even more significant in the tenth century<sup>39</sup>. Holy mountains (Auxentios, Olympos, Kyminas, Latros, Athos, etc.), as specific monastic centers, flourished in the tenth and eleventh centuries, providing the physical and spiritual environment for monastic colonies that combined both, the cenobitic and the eremitic life<sup>40</sup>. The monks residing there, on their path to becoming the true ‘citizens of heavens’, separated physically from the *outer world* by choosing both an isolated and elevated location in an attempt to create the *inner world* that would lead to eternal salvation. Eventually, some of those holy mountains, for example Athos,

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 38.1–4.

<sup>36</sup> Meyer P. H. Die Haupturkunden für die Geschichte der Athosklöster. Leipzig, 1894, p. 102–122; *Typikon* of Athanasios the Athonite for the Lavra Monastery / Trans. G. Dennis // Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents / Ed. J. Thomas and A. Constantinides Hero. Washington, D.C., 2000, p. 265 (hereafter: Documents).

<sup>37</sup> *Vitae duae antiquae Sancti Athanasii Athonitae* / Ed. J. Noret. Turnhout, 1982. Vita A, chaps. 57–59; vita B, chap. 21 (hereafter: V. Athn. Ath.).

<sup>38</sup> V. Athn. Ath., B, chap. 25.

<sup>39</sup> Talbot A-M. Les saintes montagnes à Byzance // La sacré et son inscription dans l’espace à Byzance et en Occident / Ed. M. Kaplan. Paris, 2001, p. 263–275.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Morris R. Monks and laymen in Byzantium, 843–1118. Cambridge, 1995, p. 34–35; Papachryssanthou D. O Athonikos monachismos. Athens, 1992; *Idem*, Atonsko Monastvo / Revised Serbian ed. Belgrade, 2003, p. 27–48.

acquired a very important position within the earthly hierarchy of the Byzantine monastic world.

A Byzantine monk, Symeon, a mystic and saint known as the “New Theologian” (c. 949–1022), and a cenobite himself, believed that a path to salvation is open equally to hermits and cenobites, advocating the individualistic approach to reaching the Heavenly Kingdom<sup>41</sup>. At first as a monk of the celebrated Stoudious monastery, and later as a monk and *hegoumenos* of St. Mamas monastic community, Symeon believed that the true monk is “the one who is one with God” and thereby “is not longer alone, even if he lives alone or inhabits the desert or even a cave”<sup>42</sup>. He visualized a monastery as an isolated island that provides to the insiders (monks), separation from the outer world, and to the outsiders (ordinary people) an inaccessible realm<sup>43</sup>. There in their cells they have to try to achieve, in prayer, the union with God that will fill them with divine light and “their cell is like heaven and they are the sun. And the light is in them, the never-fading divine that enlightens everyone coming into the world”<sup>44</sup>. Thus, for Symeon a monastery represents a specific place, most suitable for individual spiritual exercise that leads to final salvation. One can, also, learn from his teaching that a certain hierarchy exists within the monastic space, and that the church, which he compares to the body of Christ born of the Virgin Mother, represents the most important element of the entirety<sup>45</sup>. Theoleptos of Philadelphia (c. 1250–1322), was born in Nicea and began his monastic life in the neighboring monasteries, where he retired to a hermitage and devoted his life to prayer and God<sup>46</sup>. During his monastic life he spent some time on Mount Athos, where his spiritualism intensified in teaching on the Divine Light — later to become the most known doctrine of hesychasm. As a prominent monk he became the metropolitan of Philadelphia c. 1283, and remained on that position until his death. According to his teaching, “the monastery is the chosen portion of Christ, a band of elect, a multitude dedicated to God, a company of fellow travelers in the following of Christ”. For him, the monastic community “constitutes a divine army, a sacred battle line, a battalion of the Spirit to fight off the spirits of wickedness”. He further designates the monastery as “an abode

<sup>41</sup> Un grand mystique byzantin. Vie de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien (949 — 1022) par Nicétas Stéthatos / Edited and translated by I. Hausherr and G. Horn // OCA 12. Rome, 1928.

<sup>42</sup> Hymnes II / Ed. J. Koder, J. Paramelle and L. Neyrand / SC 174. Paris, 1971, 27.18–27; *Krivocheine B. In the Light of Christ. Saint Symeon the New Theologian (949–1022)*. Crestwood, 1986, p. 150–151.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 152.

<sup>44</sup> Hymnes II, 27.64–67 and *Krivocheine B. In the Light of Christ*, p. 151.

<sup>45</sup> *Krivocheine B. In the Light of Christ*, 323 ff.

<sup>46</sup> Theoleptos of Philadelphia: The Monastic Discourses / Ed. and translation by Robert E. Sinkewicz. Toronto, 1992 (hereafter Mon. Disc.).

of the common life... because a varied group of monks has come together into one and the same abode to form a common habitation, life, will and purpose<sup>47</sup>. The physical structure of the monastic settlement had been envisaged as “a single enclosure for the cells, the same chapel for the sacred hymns, the same table for meals”<sup>48</sup>. Like many of his predecessors, Theoleptos believed that the monks are imitating the life of Christ, and that the disciple must follow the footsteps of the master. The ultimate goal of the ascetic struggle, he believed, will reveal the original beauty of the Image and Likeness of God<sup>49</sup>.

Gregory Palamas, theologian, hesychast, and saint (c. 1296–1359), was one of the Byzantine theologians who provided an eschatological foundation for the monastic life<sup>50</sup>. In accordance with his teaching that a monastic contemplation will lead to the vision of the uncreated light of God — the main doctrine of hesychasm — he favored a life of contemplation whether in the monasteries or in the hermitages. He lived the monastic life in isolation on Mount Athos, at first in the *koinobion* (Great Lavra), and later in the hermitage (Glossia). The monastic life for him was a ‘prophetic ministry’, and monastic society “is better suited than any other Orthodox community to the divine nature”<sup>51</sup>. Likewise, for Palamas a monastery, as the physical abode, remained a station of the utmost importance on the route to salvation.

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Through this limited excursus into ideas about the monastery and monastic life in the Christian East, we can learn that the life of monks and nuns was understood as angelic, and that the monastic community was viewed as a heavenly population whose terrestrial life of self-denial, fasting, mortification of the body, and concentration on prayers would lead to final salvation through the open gates of heaven. The broad perception of the heavenly realm by ordinary monks, most often through unexpected visions, revealed the ‘celestial world’ as a built environment of palaces and mansions where the divinity resides. However, only a few of the most learned theologians and mystics understood the road to eternity in its metaphysical manifestation, as the ‘divine light’ that is immanent, unchanged and eternal — “God is Light” (John 1:5). According to the Byzantine texts, a ‘built’ environment was applied to both: Paradise and Hell. While the celestial court mirrored its

<sup>47</sup> Mon. Disc., 9. 2.

<sup>48</sup> Mon. Disc., 9. 5.

<sup>49</sup> Mon. Disc., 3. 18.

<sup>50</sup> *Meyendorff J. A Study of Gregory Palamas*. London, 1964.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 199, and note 50.

terrestrial counterpart — the imperial court — so the otherworld, very often, envisaged an image of the actual prison filled with iron bars — cells housing the souls of various sinners<sup>52</sup>. In this light the monastery represented a specific, terrestrially located, station for those who tried to achieve the perfection of angelic life and undertook rigorous exercise in bringing their souls to salvation. Although the monastery provided a specific environment, it seems that it did not receive in its entirety the prerogatives of the sacred space. In the collections of texts related to Byzantine church ritual and rite in general, there are no references to the foundation, dedication, consecration or some relevant rites related to the monastery space in its entirety — to the monastery settlement. However, certain buildings and structures within this settlement were identified, to a greater or lesser degree, with the celestial sphere. The most important enterprise within the monastery that received the status of the sacred spot is the monastery church, and its foundation and dedication rituals bear witness to its significance<sup>53</sup>. The church was the house of God on earth. The available textual evidence does not define the status of a monastery settlement. To discover whether or not the analysis of its physical structure will prove more informative is our next step.

MONASTERY SETTLEMENT AND HEAVENLY REALM  
ACCORDING TO ITS BUILT ENVIRONMENT:  
EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

The spatial image of the Byzantine monastery was subject to change during its long history. The planning process was determined by various elements that neither emerged at the outset nor were equally applied within the vast monastic built environment. Whether or not a monastery was considered a sacred space from its beginning, and whether at all and in its entirety it gained this status during its long history is the question to be examined. The main monastic church was often viewed as the Christian microcosm. The holiness of the site was not inherent; it was gained through the physical imprint of God materialized in form — the church. Thus the church always had the highest status in the sacred hierarchy. Challenging the church, the saint's tomb eventually emerged as the holy spot and was incorporated into the sacred topography as the physical "witness of divinity" whose sanctity had been divinely approved (St. Euthymios, St. Theodosios, St. Sabas, St. Neophytos, etc.). Thus the church and the venerated tomb shared the status, but hierarchical primacy remained with the church. In the

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<sup>52</sup> Cf. *Baun J.* Middle Byzantine 'Tours of Hell': Outsider Theodicy? // *Strangers to Themselves: The Byzantine Outsider* / Ed. D. C. Smythe. Aldershot, 2000, p. 47–60.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. *Conybeare F. C.* *Rituale Armenorum*. Oxford, 1905, p. 1–25; *Ruggieri V.* *Consacrazione e dedicazione di chiesa, secondo il Barberianus graecus 336* // *OCP 54* (1988), p. 79–118; *L'Euclologio Barberini gr. 336* / Ed. S. Parenti and E. Velkovska. Rome, 1995.



course of time a new feature distinguished the monastery space when the venerated saint's tomb was included within the church proper, either as an adjacent chapel (St. Athanasios' tomb is located in the northern chapel of the *katholikon* of the Great Lavra monastery at Athos), or as a specific compartment (crypt). This symbiosis of saint's tomb and House of the Lord, with a specific connotation of materialized and nonmaterial sanctity, received a very high status, justified through a proliferation of the holy relics that were housed within the church proper. They became not only significant but, also, an obligatory feature of the altar space, and the major *modus operandi* of the pilgrimage<sup>54</sup>. At the early stage of the monastery space development, only these two elements — the church and the saint's tomb — were considered as a sacred realm, while the rest of the space with necessary buildings remained, hierarchically, an unarticulated part of the complex.

According to the revealed physical remains, the early monasteries in Egypt, dated to the fourth and fifth centuries, did not have a firm spatial organization. Although some communities lived in cenobitic monasteries of Pahomian type and others in dwellings that provided more isolation — for example the monastic settlement at Mount Nitria, the agglomeration of Kellia, and the monastic center of Scetis in Lower Egypt — the spatial concepts reflected very loose organization and did not provide the coherent planning features that articulated the entirety and have been related to celestial symbolism. It seems that in this early period both — individual *askesis* and communal life — were relevant to achieving an angelic life. The personal exercise — mortification of the flesh in imitation of the suffering of Jesus — was possible to perform in the isolation of one's cell, in a cave, and even outdoors in the wilderness of the desert or mountains.

If we look at the cenobitic Pahomian monasteries, of which the site at Deir el-Bala'izah in Upper Egypt represents an interesting example (fig. 1), we become aware that the community lived according to strict rules in various houses, organized according to the manual work that was performed in each of them, and does not reflect recognizable symbolic planning features<sup>55</sup>. The monastery was founded by one Apa Apollo probably in the sixth or seventh century<sup>56</sup>. On the slope of the mountainous environment a vast monastery settlement, surrounded with an enclosure wall, was built. The main

<sup>54</sup> Cf. *Walter C.* Art and Ritual of the Byzantine Church. London, 1982, p. 158–160; *Kaplan M.* De la dépouille à la relique: formation du culte des saints à Byzance du Ve au XIIe siècle // *Les reliques: objets, cultes, symboles* / Ed. A. Bozoky, A.-M. Helvétius. Louvain, 1999, p. 19–38.

<sup>55</sup> On Pachomian Rules see note 12 above. On Deir el-Bala'izah monastery *Grossmann P.* Ruinen des Klosters Dair Al-Balaiza in Oberägypten // *JbAC* 36 (1993), 171–205.

<sup>56</sup> Rich archive of the monastery was discovered at the beginning of the 20th century. Cf. *Kahle P. E.* Bala'izah. Coptic texts from Deir el-Bala'izah in Upper Egypt, I–II. London, 1954.

monastery church was situated on the southeastern side of the complex, close to the main entrance located in the eastern enclosure. It was a three-aisled basilica with the altar space oriented towards the east and with the later added narthex situated on its western side. The plan of the settlement follows the natural characteristics of the site, slightly sloping, and evolving into a roughly trapezoidal form on its northern, eastern, and southern sides, while the irregularity of the western enclosure included natural rocks. Although the site is not archaeologically defined in its entirety, numerous buildings survived, some of them even multistoried. The vast refectory complex, composed of two elongated rectangular halls, was distant from the main church and located centrally, to the northwest of the church proper. The western mountainous hillside of the complex housed a rock-cut oratory and additional living compounds. Outside the monastery, close to the eastern gate, was a spacious guesthouse.

The above described physical structure mirrored the adopted way of life in the cenobitic monastery. Thus as a rule, every cenobitic monastery had an outer enclosure wall<sup>57</sup>. As the Pachomian Rules did not allow individual cell dwellers within the community, the possibility of individual sanctity — the status of a saint — was reduced and controlled. The monastery settlement, as an entirety, was considered a special place where an assembly of devotees, through manual work, self-denial and permanent prayers, wanted to achieve salvation and everlasting life in Christ in the kingdom of heaven. In this light the monastery space, as a specific station on the route to heaven, was demarcated with the enclosure wall. Thus the wall designated and hierarchically elevated *the space* from *other* space, creating the first and lowest degree in the spatial hierarchy.

The cell — place of habitation, individual prayer, and spiritual exercise — represented the second degree in this hierarchy. Each cell housed at the beginning one monk, and later with the increased number of monks up to three<sup>58</sup>. This was the ultimate place where one could achieve the highest spiritual perfection and purity on the way to salvation. The Pachomian Rules explicitly say that monks “have nothing in their cells except a mat” and their monastic clothing, shoes and “staff to go on journeys”. Further, the Rules prescribed that “no one shall eat anything in his cell”, and that “no one shall enter the cell of his neighbor without first knocking”, because the cells re-

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<sup>57</sup> Cf. *Torp M. H.* Murs d'enceinte des monastères coptes primitifs et couvents-fortresses // *MélRome* 76 (1964), p. 173–200; *Popović S.* The Cross in the Circle. Monastery Architecture in Medieval Serbia. Belgrade, 1994, p. 51–82 (in Serbian); *Idem*, The Architectural Iconography of the Late Byzantine Monastery // *Canadian Institute of Balkan Studies*. Toronto, 1997, p. 4–5, and 7–10.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. *Pachomian Koinonia* I, 133, n. 3.

mained unlocked<sup>59</sup>. While the rules are very determined about the austerity of the cell, they do not provide information about the wall paintings and images that possibly could visualize the path to the heavenly realm that was the ultimate goal of every monk. While Deir el-Bala'izah is not very informative in this matter, other archaeological sites provide physical evidence of the wall imagery within a cell. However, these complexes did not belong to the cenobitic Pachomian communities but anchoritic communities of the followers of St. Antony, and will be examined later. Although the Pachomian rules did not favor isolated cell-dwellers, it seems that some prominent monks received permission to retreat to cells, and even to perform a special diet there, eating only bread and salt<sup>60</sup>. Thus 'the cell' within the Pachomian community was of crucial importance in the process of attaining salvation. According to its nature, the cell provides the physical abode and does not acquire the attribute of sacredness *per se* — as no inherent holiness existed. But if a distinguished bearer of sanctity — for example Pachomius himself or one of his prominent disciples or followers — undertook his rigorous askesis there, a certain cell could transform, after his death, into a venerated sacred space. Some of the Pachomian monks have been considered even as neomartyrs, like one Apa Hamay from the fifth century. In his very vivid vision Apa Hamay climbed the heavens where his great predecessor Apa Pachomius and his monks reside in two celestial buildings, especially reserved for holy monks, filed with pleasant fragrances and perfume as an additional sign of the heavenly sphere<sup>61</sup>. In this light a cell represented the second important element of the cenobitic community, the enclosure wall being the first, which designated a specific space.

The third, and in this hierarchy the highest place in the cenobium, was reserved for the monastery church. Its status — the house of the Lord — remained supreme within the monastery settlement. The church always represented the sacred realm. In Deir el-Bala'izah the main monastery church is located on the isolated platform on the southeastern side of the complex, facing the main monastery entrance, and thus unequivocally represented the most important building of the entirety. In sum, a cenobitic community established three major elements in the creation of the sacred space. Each of these elements had a different role and status within the spatial hierarchy. The enclosure wall demarcated the specific space, the cell provided the path to salvation, and finally the church, where *Eucharist* was performed, represented a heaven on earth.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. *Pachomian Koinonia*, II, 142 (4), 161 (89), 162 (107), 163 (114).

<sup>60</sup> *Pachomian Koinonia*, II, 159 (79).

<sup>61</sup> *Coquin R-E. Apa Hamay martyr pachômien au Ve siècle // Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron — 1927–1976*, II, Cairo, 1979, p. 145–163.

The numerous colonies of cell dwellers (Nitria, Sketis, Kellia, etc.), in many ways similar to the laurae of Palestine, were another type of retreat from the world practiced in Egypt. The question of 'the cell' as an anchoritic abode, was crucial to the formation of the colonies of monks who practiced the hermitic life to achieve the *bios angelikos*. Some of these communities, as in the Kellia agglomeration, even did not have a church in their vicinity and were directed to the nearest church proper in the neighborhood once or twice a week for *Eucharist*. The archaeological remains of Kellia (fig. 2), revealed more than a thousand scattered individual cell-complexes, including a few churches<sup>62</sup>. Thus colonies of cell dwellers, in the formative period, were apparently released from any formal planning symbolism that related their abodes to the sacred realm. In these settlements, where thousands of monks found their isolated abodes, only distinguished individuals (St. Antony, St. Epiphanius, etc.), were bearers of sanctity and only their abodes — cells — could receive the imprint of sacredness.

The cell, as a physical structure, included a broad diversity of dwellings. From a natural cave, an individual room in a larger complex, a group of related compartments surrounded with a wall, as in Kellia, a group of subterranean chambers around an open yard, reachable by stairs as in hermitages near Esna (fig. 3), to a freestanding single or even multi-storeyed building. Some of the cells established at Scetis in the Wadi en-Natrun area (founded by Macarius the Great in the fourth century, who is said to have hewn out for himself a two-chambered cell) were barrel-vaulted rooms divided into two chambers, used for prayers, sleeping and other daily activities<sup>63</sup>. Other examples revealed a cell as a two-floor structure with an exterior staircase and with the oratory on the ground floor level while the anchoritic dwelling was situated on the first floor (Bawit). This type of cell resembled the Coptic tomb architecture, emphasizing the funerary character of the space<sup>64</sup>. A real tomb-cell was discovered in a hermitage at Nag' el-Schema in Nubia. Archaeology revealed there a group of four elevated cells without a door, in which the hermit had been walled up to lead a life in complete isolation. The cell had a small hole at the ground level for necessary communication, and the hermit remains there until his death. Several layers of human humus

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<sup>62</sup> Kasser R. Kellia 1965: Topographie générale, mensurations et fouilles aux Qoucoûr Isâ et aux Qoucoûr el-Abîd; Mensurations aux Qoucoûr el-Izeila // Recherches Suisses d'archéologie copte 1. Geneva, 1967; *Idem*, Kellia: Topographie // Recherches Suisse d'archéologie copte 2. Geneva, 1972; *Idem et al.*, Le Site monastique des Kellia. Recherches des années 1981–83. Louvain, 1984.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. Evelyn-White H. G. The Monasteries of the Wadi 'n Natrun: Part III, The Architecture and Archaeology. New York, 1933, p. 26.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Torp H. Le monastère copte de Baouît. Quelques notes d'introduction // Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia 9. Rome, 1981, p. 4–5.

were discovered in each cell<sup>65</sup>. The function and meaning of the cell were to provide the isolated space in which a hermit could achieve the highest degree of spiritual training leading to the ultimate goal of salvation and everlasting life in the heavens. Thus the monk's death released him of the terrestrial life and symbolically represented a transition to eternity.

The interiors of some cells were painted. The earliest surviving images date to the fourth century (Kellia), and include simple crosses and various graffiti. By the sixth century decoration had become more elaborate with additional abstract designs<sup>66</sup>. In numerous monasteries throughout Egypt, in the cells that had oratories or prayer rooms, more elaborate painted programs survived. Images of Christ, the Virgin Mary, saints and other celestial beings (for example female angels as personifications of virtues), were preferred visual subject matter<sup>67</sup>. The goal of these images, although didactic, was to provide visual confirmation that a path to the heavens is approachable.

An interesting type of ascetic abode that appeared in Egypt was the tower-cell. As early as the fifth century numerous Egyptian monasteries included large towers that contained chapels and other rooms including cells<sup>68</sup>. Although some of these towers were multipurpose buildings used as secure places in case of danger, others served a different purpose. An interesting example of the anchoritic settlement — a colony of cell dwellers — that developed around an ascetic tower is known as the Monastery of Epiphanius in western Thebes (fig. 4). This anchoritic settlement flourished around the late sixth century<sup>69</sup>. The first of two ascetic towers was built over an older pagan tomb that was reused by the anchorites, including Epiphanius, and incorporated within the body of the tower. Epigraphic evidence confirmed that one of the principal features of the monastery was a “tower that was built by our fathers Apa Epiphanius and Apa Psan, and whereat I also (Jacob) labored until we finished it”<sup>70</sup>. Archaeology did not reveal a monastic church on the site, and it is believed that hermits celebrated the *Eucharist* in the village

<sup>65</sup> Cf. *Lease G.* Traces of Early Egyptian Monasticism: the Faw Qibli Excavations // Occasional Papers of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, 22 (1991), p. 1–12, and esp. 2–3.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. *Rassart-Debergh M.* La décoration peinte // Le Site monastique des Kellia. Recherches des années 1981–83. Louvain, 1984, p. 28–38; *Idem.* Les peintures // Les Kellia: Ermitages coptes en Basse-Egypte. Geneve, 1989, p. 57–77.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. *E. S. Bolman.* Mimesis // Metamorphosis and Representation in Coptic Monastic Cells. Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists 35 (1998), p. 65–77; *Idem.* Joining the Community of Saints: Monastic Paintings and Ascetic Practice in Early Christian Egypt // Shaping Community: The Art and Archaeology of Monasticism / Ed. S. McNally. BAR International Series 941 (2001), p. 41–56.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. *Walters C. C.* Monastic Archaeology in Egypt. Warminster, 1974, 86 ff.

<sup>69</sup> *Winlock H. E., Crum W. E.* The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes. Part I. New York, 1926.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 32.

church in nearby Jeme<sup>71</sup>. The anchoritic tower-abode, as an elevated structure, symbolically represented a path to heaven<sup>72</sup>.

All the examples of various types of cells mentioned thus far confirm that diversity in building types did not reflect the purpose and meaning of this space. Each cell provided an abode for ascetic(s) who wanted to achieve, through permanent spiritual exercises, final salvation in the Kingdom of Heaven. Thousands of these cells remained the anonymous stations to eternity of their anonymous beneficiaries. Only distinguished individuals — the bearers of sanctity — the holy men of Christianity, designated their ‘holy abodes’ as sacred.

The establishment of monachism in the Holy Land is dated to the beginning of the fourth century. The spatial iconography of the cenobitic monasteries and *lauras* of Palestine, despite regional differences, in general reveal certain similarities to the above analyzed patterns. The cenobitic settlements there were enclosed with an outer wall, housing in its enclosure a church, burial place, refectory, cells, and various necessary buildings of secular function; while *lauras* were loose colonies of cell dwellers with a communal church located at the core of *laura* where monks gathered on Saturdays and Sundays for *Eucharistic* services<sup>73</sup>. One of the distinguishing planning features of these monasteries was the location of the founder’s tomb — a saint’s tomb — within the monastery settlement, most often situated in a central position<sup>74</sup>. Thus the church and the founder’s tomb represented the sacred realm of the entirety. The example of Euthymius (founder of the *laura* in Mishor Adumim) is the most telling in this matter: he was buried in his cave-cell located close to the church. Later, after transformation of the *laura* into a cenobium, the cave was remodeled into a spacious crypt in the center of the monastery<sup>75</sup>. That the case of Euthymius is not isolated is proved by the examples from the monasteries of Choziba, Theodosius, and especially the tomb of Sabas — founder of the Great *Laura*. All these tombs received the status of sacredness and similar location within the monastery settlements.

Two planning patterns of cenobitic monasteries existed in this region: (1) on elevated, steep and rocky locations (Khirbet ed-Deir; fig. 5); and more often (2) on relatively flat locations (Martyrius; fig. 6). The characteristic of

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<sup>71</sup> Ibid., p. 128–129.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. Popović S. Elevated Chapels. The Monastery Tower and Its Meaning // 19th Annual Byzantine Studies Conference, Abstract of Papers. Princeton, 1993, p. 7–8.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. Hirschfeld Y. The Judean Desert Monasteries in the Byzantine Period. New Haven and London, 1992; Patrich J. Sabas, Leader of Palestinian Monasticism. Washington D.C., 1995.

<sup>74</sup> Hirschfeld Y. The Judean Desert Monasteries, p. 130–143; *Idem*. The early Byzantine Monastery at Khirbet ed-Deir in the Judean Desert: The Excavations in 1981–1987 // Quedem 38. Jerusalem, 1999, p. 164–166.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., p. 164.

the first type is irregularity in planning, conditioned by the steep location, and an obligatory cave-church accompanied by a burial cave, as specific sacred spots of the entirety. The second, more popular type, was an orthogonal enclosure with necessary buildings located along the enclosure wall and with the church and founder's tomb as the most important sacred spaces. Although the church and the founder's tomb represented the sacred realm, they did not occupy a freestanding position and were incorporated within the buildings along the enclosure wall. The vast central space was reserved for the interior courtyard.

The cave had a prominent role in the formation of the sacred space, whether in the cenobitic monastery or in *laura* in Palestine. It could serve as a church, a burial place or as a hermit's cell. The importance of the cave in the ritual of the church of Palestine and in Eastern Christianity was significant<sup>76</sup>. The crucial moments of Christian history — the Nativity and Resurrection of Christ — were related to the cave. However, in Palestine the cave had a significance and long tradition that antedated Christianity. Great numbers of natural caves were used for Jewish burial, like the Cave of Macpelah<sup>77</sup>. Thus the cave became the ultimate place for hermitic life in Palestine.

The first *laura* in the Judean Desert (the *laura* of Pharan) emerged around the cave of St. Chariton which was considered as the "Church of God", and was consecrated by Bishop Macarius of Jerusalem (314–333)<sup>78</sup>. According to the hagiographic sources, the first cenobitic monastery, founded by Euthymius and Theoctistus in 411, was also organized, around the cave that they had discovered and sanctified by their prayers. The cave was eventually turned into a church and around the church the monastery of Theoctistus was established<sup>79</sup>. A great number of caves used as anchoritic cells have been discovered in all the *lauras* of the Judean Dessert. As we have seen, some of the caves received their sanctity through contact with the holy men who dwelt there, while others received sacredness by the act of consecration, when they were turned into churches. Likewise, there were caves that were divinely designated as sacred places. The foundation of the

<sup>76</sup> Cf. Benz E. Die heilige Höhle in der alten Christenheit und in der östlich-Orthodoxen Kirche // *Eranos Jahrbuch* 22 (1953), p. 365–432; Walker P. W. L. Holy City, holy places? // Christian attitudes to Jerusalem and the Holy Land in the fourth century. Oxford, 1990; Ćurčić S. // Cave and Church. An Eastern Christian hierotopical synthesis, in this volume.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. Wilkinson J. Visits to Jewish Tombs by Early Christians // *Akten des XII Internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie*, vol. 1. Münster, 1995, p. 452–465.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Di Segni L. The Life of Chariton // *Ascetic Behavior in Greco-Roman Antiquity* / Ed. V. Wimbush. Minneapolis, 1990, p. 393–421; Hirschfeld Y. Life of Chariton in the Light of Archaeological Research // *Ascetic Behavior in Greco-Roman Antiquity* / Ed. V. Wimbush. Minneapolis, 1990, p. 425–447, esp. 426–436.

<sup>79</sup> Cyril of Scythopolis. Life of Our Father Saint Euthymius. The Lives of the Monks of Palestine / Transl. R.M. Price, Annotated by J. Binns. Kalamazoo, 1991, p. 11.

cave-church by Sabas in his celebrated Great Laura (fig. 7), is the great example. According to his *Vita*, during the night Sabas had left his cave and suddenly “he saw resting on the earth a pillar of fire whose head reached into heaven”. Remaining in prayer on this spot until daybreak, Sabas “found a large and marvelous cave that had the shape of a church of God. On the eastern side there is an apse made by God, while he found on the north side a large chamber with the layout of a sacristy and to the south a wide entrance that admitted sufficient illumination from the rays of the sun. After setting this cave in order with divine assistance, he gave instructions for the office to take place here on Saturdays and Sundays”<sup>80</sup>.

As the physical remains confirm, the monastic world of Palestine accepted and certainly transformed some of the previously established spatial models of the cenobitic and anchoritic communities. Both cenobitic monasteries and lauras became much smaller architectural entities than their Egyptian counterparts. While the physical size of cenobium changed, symbolic features remained constant: an outer wall as demarcation line of the specific space, a church and the saint’s tomb as the sacred realm, and finally ‘the cell’ as the place for individual *askesis* and seclusion, of which only a few that belonged to the holy men received the status of sacred. The monastic culture of Palestine gave a prominent role to ‘the cave’, which emerged as the ultimate place for worship, seclusion, and burial.

Fourth-century Syrian sources confirm the existence of both cenobitic and anchoritic communities<sup>81</sup>. It seems that anchoritic practice preceded coenobitism, and was characterized by extreme forms of mortification, self-destruction and individual isolation. Some forms of *askesis* included a withdrawal into the wilderness of the mountains where, either alone or in small groups, ascetics lived under the open sky in woods or in caves<sup>82</sup>. One of the extreme regional ascetic practices — standing atop tall columns — associated with Syrian stylites, designated a very important aspect of Syrian asceticism — the elevation. These elevated abodes could be columns, but also towers. From the late fifth and sixth centuries onwards, ascetic-towers became very popular abodes for seclusion. They were established as isolated structures in the vicinity of villages, or later even within cenobitic monasteries<sup>83</sup>. In terms of their spatial organization, Syrian cenobitic monasteries followed the major features of communal monastic settlements elsewhere<sup>84</sup>.

<sup>80</sup> Cyril of Scythopolis, (18), p. 110–111.

<sup>81</sup> *Theodoret of Cyrrhus*. A History of the Monks of Syria / Trans. R. M. Price. Kalamazoo, Mich., 1985.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. *Vööbus A*. History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient II // CSCO 196. Louvain, 1960, p. 19–35.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. *Pena I., Castellana P., Fernandez R*. Les reclus syriens. Milan, 1980.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. *Pena I., Castellana P., Fernandez R*. Les cénobites syriens. Milan, 1983.



The enclosure wall delimited the space while the sacred realm was marked by the main monastic church. Other structures, for example, cells and communal buildings, were concentrated around or even attached to the church proper. Each monastery had a refectory, hostel, burial crypt and chapel, and very often a tower-cell for prominent monks. A tower for seclusion was a widespread regional characteristic in Syrian monastic practice. A great number of these tower-cells, some of them isolated and others with an attached chapel, have been revealed in the region of Antioch and Apamea, a few of them dated, according to inscriptions, to the sixth century<sup>85</sup>. These towers were rectangular in plan and multi-storeyed. The cell and the private chapel were located in the upper stories, while very often the burial space was on the ground floor, thus introducing the funerary function into a part of tower. Some towers, however, provided an additional cell on the ground floor level that housed one or more disciples. Certain towers were encircled by the enclosure wall which designated the interior courtyard. It is interesting that most of these towers were located in agricultural regions, even in the vicinity of villages, rather than in isolated deserted locations. This raises another, well established fact — that some of the Syrian anchorites communicated with nearby villagers and acted as the intermediaries between ordinary believers and their God<sup>86</sup>.

Elevated ascetic abodes, or tower-cells were established within some monasteries. These acted as semi-cenobitic institutions that allowed the individual *askesis* within the monastery. Among numerous examples, the most interesting is Qal'at el Touffah (fig. 8)<sup>87</sup>. The core of that monastery consisted of a three-aisled basilica with adjacent buildings, of which a multipurpose monastic hall that served also as a monastic refectory, enjoyed a prominent size and position north of the church proper. A small internal court was formed in front of the hall, separated by a wall from the rest of the monastery space. The core of the complex was surrounded by the enclosure wall, trapezoidal in plan, which formed a spacious monastery settlement. The most interesting feature was seventeen individual monastic tower-cells, distributed along the enclosure, resembling a “fortification”, albeit none of these represented a military compound.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. *Pena I., Castellana P., Fernandez R. Les reclus syriens*, p. 47–92, 165–280.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. *Brown P. Town, Village and Holy Man: the Case of Syria // Assimilation et résistance à la culture gréco-romaine dans le monde ancien. Travaux du VIe congrès international des Études classiques. Paris, 1976, p. 213–226; Kaplan M. Le saint, le village et la cité // Les saints et leur sanctuaire à Byzance. Paris, 1993, p. 81–94; Kaplan M. Les sanctuaires de Théodore de Sykéôn // Les saints et leur sanctuaire à Byzance. Paris, 1993, p. 65–79; Brown P. A Saint and His Countryside. Village, monastery and mountain in the Life of Saint Theodore of Sykeon (530–613), in this volume.*

<sup>87</sup> Cf. *Pena I., Castellana P., Fernandez R. Les cénobites syriens*, p. 220, fig. 35.

The spatial iconography of the Syrian cenobitic monastery settlements repeats the established model in which the enclosure wall designated the specific space, while the sacred realm was reserved for the church and for the abode — often a tower-cell — of the prominent monk — holy man. Outside the monastery, on elevated spots in the dramatic wilderness of the mountains in a cave, on an isolated rock, atop a column or in a tower-cell, anchorites exercised self-denial and extreme mortification with the ultimate goal of achieving salvation and reaching the heavenly realm. Nonetheless, only a few received the divine message on their path to salvation and became holy men. Their abodes of seclusion, frequently chosen by God's will, received the status of sacredness and often became the core around which a monastery grew<sup>88</sup>.

Yet on the whole, over the vast territory of eastern Christendom, the physical image of cenobitic monasteries and of anchoritic abodes from the fourth to the seventh centuries confirms that, although their inhabitants practiced an angelic life, the settlement itself established limited participation in the celestial realm. Only 'the church' and 'the cell' of the holy monk were considered sacred places. The remaining built structures within these settlements or situated outside in the wilderness, reflected the adopted way of life and demonstrated a great variety of regional architectural styles and functional solutions, all of them practical in nature (kitchen, bakery, workshops, storages, infirmary, cistern, hostel, etc.), but none related to heavenly realm.

#### THE MONASTERIES OF THE SAINTS: LATER DEVELOPMENTS

In the late ninth and the tenth century, the monastery settlement emerged as symbiosis of cenobitic and lauritic practices. Naturally, the physical structure followed the new tendencies in the Byzantine monastic world after Iconoclasm (843)<sup>89</sup>. The ecclesiastical hierarchy, although predominantly recruited from monastic circles, was increasingly interested in controlling monastic life and monasteries. It seems that the intention of the official Church, from the end of the tenth century, was to consider the list of

<sup>88</sup> Cf. *Kaplan M.* Le choix du lieu saint d'après certaines sources hagiographiques byzantines // Le sacré et son inscription dans l'espace à Byzance et en Occident. Paris, 2001, p. 183–198.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. *Papachryssanthou D.* La vie monastique dans les campagnes byzantines du VIIIe au XIe siècle // *Byzantion* 43 (1973), p. 158–180; *Morris R.* Monks and laymen in Byzantium 843-1118. Cambridge, 1995, esp. p. 37–39; *Popović S.* The Architectural Transformation of Laura in Middle and Late Byzantium // 26 Annual Byzantine Studies Conference, Abstract of Papers. Harvard, 2000, p. 61–62; *Idem.* Koinobia or Laurai: A Question of Architectural Transformation of the Late Byzantine Monastery in the Balkans // XXe Congrès international des études byzantines. III- Communications libres. Paris, 2001, p. 339–340.

saints as a separate issue<sup>90</sup>. Hence the proliferation of holy men, as possible candidates for the saint-list, came under surveillance. In spite of this limitation, the founders of several celebrated tenth- and eleventh-century Byzantine monasteries were considered holy men: Hosios Loukas of Steiris (896–953), St. Paul of Latros (died 955/6), St. Athanasios of Athos (c. 925/30–1001), Hosios Christodoulos of Patmos (died 1093), and Hosios Meletios (c. 1035–1105), to mention only most important. All of them founded monasteries and these monasteries could be considered as ‘the saint’s monasteries’, sharing their importance with the significance that their founders achieved in Byzantine Christendom. A common physical feature of these monasteries was that they were established around or in the vicinity of the ascetic abodes of their founders as combined settlements of cenobites and laurites. Since these cells were located in places suitable for seclusion, the eventual monasteries were established in remote rural locations, albeit not very far from main roads<sup>91</sup>. However, these rural monasteries were not the only type of monastic foundations in Byzantium. The proliferation of private monasteries, primarily located in the urban environment of the Empire, characterized middle- and late-Byzantine developments<sup>92</sup>.

The transformation of the Byzantine monastery into a combined cenobium-laura model in the tenth century was a gradual process<sup>93</sup>. One of the prominent monastic centers that provides an interesting example of this transformation was Mt. Latros, located northeast of Miletos. The celebrated St. Paul of Latros established in the tenth century a combined monastic community of cenobites and laurites in the monastery of Stylos<sup>94</sup>. According to his *Vita* the monastery gradually emerged around the anchoritic abode of Paul. He inhabited a cave at the rock pinnacle — Stylos — soon followed by the great number of disciples who assembled there living in their own cells<sup>95</sup>. The physical remains revealed a large monastery complex (fig. 9). It con-

<sup>90</sup> Cf. *Magdalino P.* The Byzantine Holy Man in the Twelfth Century // *The Byzantine Saint*, 2 ed. New York, 2001, p. 51–66, and esp. 61; *Mango C.* Saints // *The Byzantines* / Ed. G. Cavallo. Chicago and London, 1997, p. 255–280.

<sup>91</sup> On monastery location cf. *Popović S.* The Cross in the Circle, p. 67–71; *Talbot A.-M.* Founder’s choices: monastery site selection in Byzantium (forthcoming).

<sup>92</sup> Cf. *Thomas J. P.* Private Religious Foundations in the Byzantine Empire. Washington D.C., 1987.

<sup>93</sup> See note 89 above.

<sup>94</sup> About Mt. Latros cf. *Wiegand T.* Der Latmos. Berlin, 1913; *Vokotopoulos P. A.* Latros // *EEBS* 35 (1966–1967), p. 69–106; *Kirby A. and Mercangöz Z.* The monasteries of Mt. Latros and their architectural development // *Work and worship at the Theotokos Evergetis* / Eds. M. Mullett and A. Kirby, Belfast Byzantine texts and translations, 6.2. Belfast, 1997, p. 51–77.

<sup>95</sup> *Delehaye H.* Vita S. Pauli Iunioris in Monte Latro // *AB* 11 (1892), p. 5–74, 136–182, esp. 115; and in *Wiegand T.* Milet, 3.1. Berlin, 1913, p. 105–157.

sisted of an enclosed area which had at its west side a group of buildings — church, vast refectory, storage chambers, and probably residential buildings — while the individual cells were scattered within the laura enclosure. It is possible to recognize two spatial entities within the complex. The first larger space, situated in the western part of the complex, is designated by a continuous encircling wall occasionally interrupted by rocky peaks, which are also included as a part of the enclosure. The second, smaller, predominantly rocky space on the eastern side served as a separate unit. The internal division between these spaces was marked by a masonry wall combined with a steep rocky environment. The western part, which in general features resembles a monastery enclosure, acted as the cenobitic core of the laura. The freestanding, main monastic church, was situated there and the vast ‘T’ — shaped refectory was located on the southeastern side. Additional chapels were built on the northern and southeastern sides of the church. The residential and storage buildings, few of which were freestanding were probably built along the encircling walls. Some remnants survive on the western and southwestern sides of the main monastic church. The smaller eastern enclosure housed individual monastic cells, including the cave-abode of the founder on the southeastern side<sup>96</sup>. Given the division of the relevant space into two entities different in size, we may also assume that the cenobitic core, being larger and better organized, had a very prominent, if not the major, role in this community. On the other hand, cell-dwellers or anchorites, though fewer in number, were highly respected, even exclusive, inhabitants of this community. The question remains as to whether additional cells existed outside this walled complex. If they did, then the explanation may lie within the hierarchical division among cell-dwellers. According to the adopted way of life, the laura of Stylos represented a semi-cenobitic institution in which anchoritic practice became highly controlled.

A certain hierarchy can be distinguished in the formation of the sacred realm in the above described spatial model. The cave-cell and chapel — the abode of St. Paul — became the venerated spot and achieved sanctity through its beneficiary. The church, established within the cenobitic core of the complex, represented the sacred realm according to its nature — the house of the Lord. Which of these two spots acquired the higher degree of sanctity is not questionable — the church — being understood as the Body of Christ according to St. Symeon the New Theologian<sup>97</sup>. Paradoxically, the saint’s abode — the cave of St. Paul and his chapel — acquired the highest importance within the monastery settlement. The basic reason for such status lies in the fact that a

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<sup>96</sup> See note 94 above.

<sup>97</sup> *Krivocheine B.* In the Light of Christ. Saint Symeon the New Theologian (949–1022), p. 323–335.

saint's personality unequivocally presented a more secure guidance on the route to heaven, and therefore around his cave — the *locus sanctus* — the cells of distinguished anchorites of the community were established.

After Paul's death one Symeon, who succeeded him as *hegoumenos*, enlarged the church dedicated to St. Paul and placed the saint's relics within the church proper. Thus the church with the saint's relics represented the ultimate sacred realm of the entirety. One can ask whether some other monastery buildings, and to what extent, participated in this sacred topography. As we have seen from the earliest examples, the monastery space was delineated from the other space by its enclosure, therefore the *inner* world, according to its nature, was different from the *outer* world. By the tenth century a monastery refectory had emerged as an important element of the entirety. It served as the communal dining-hall but also as a place where commemorative meals were held<sup>98</sup>. The celebration of the Christian martyrs and saints, through a ritual meal, was a practice known from the early days of Christianity. In the course of time a monastery refectory became an important building of specific design, with an elongated hall, very often with the apse on one side, elaborately decorated with holy images among which the saints had a prominent place. In this light the monastery refectory gradually evolved into a sacred realm of the entirety, often located in the vicinity of the church as the most prominent building after the church. In the *laura* of Stylos a monumental refectory was situated to the southeastern side of the church.

The spatial model of the Stylos monastery settlement, although not yet entirely articulated and coherent in the design and planning of the buildings, represented new tendencies in shaping the monastery space in Byzantium. Crystallization of this "new" planning concept was finally realized in the late tenth and through the eleventh century. A paradigmatic example of this development is represented by another saint's monastery — the Great Laura of Athanasios of Athos.

It seems that anchoritic life on Mount Athos began in the eighth century<sup>99</sup>. At the end of the tenth century (963), St. Athanasios of Athos founded the Great Laura as a combined cenobium-laura community with the number of anchoritic cells limited to five<sup>100</sup>. These cells were located outside the cenobitic enclosure, but completely dependent on the monastery<sup>101</sup>. Athanasios further prescribed that each cell-dweller could house only one disciple within the *kellia*, and that the total number of cells could not be changed

<sup>98</sup> Cf. Popović S. The Trapeza in Cenobitic Monasteries: Architectural and Spiritual Contexts // DOP 52 (1998), p. 281–303.

<sup>99</sup> Papachryssanthou D. Atonsko Monastvo, p. 22–25.

<sup>100</sup> As in note 36 above and: Documents, (37), p. 260.

<sup>101</sup> Zivojinovic M. Svetogorske kelije i pirogovi u srednjem veku. Belgrade, 1972.

without his permission. If a cell-dweller died, his cell would remain uninhabited until Athanasios' decision about a replacement. Some of these original independent cells remained, as individual institutions, after the foundation of the Great Laura and were confirmed by the tenth-century *typikon* for the confederation of Athonite monasteries issued by John I Tzimiskes<sup>102</sup>. From the tenth century onwards, the newly formed monasteries on Mount Athos followed the regulations and the life prescribed by Athanasios and later confirmed by the *typikon* of Tzimiskes.

The planning pattern of the Great Laura complex (fig. 10), included a rectangular walled cenobitic core established on the site where, as mentioned earlier, Athanasios' original cell had been located<sup>103</sup>. Both the main monastic church — *katholikon* — and the communal refectory — *trapeza* — were centrally located as freestanding buildings positioned along the same axial line oriented east-west. Various monastery buildings were attached along the enclosure wall, leaving the dominant position to the church and the refectory in the middle. The main entrance to the monastery was located within the enclosure on its western side. This model was generally accepted on Mount Athos, and beyond. The oldest monastic foundations of Athos, those of Vatopedi, Iveron and others, followed the same planning pattern. In addition to the above described model, one of the distinguishing features of the Athonite built environment were the monastic towers. Whether located within the enclosure wall or erected as isolated structures in the vicinity of the respective monasteries, their presence goes back to the beginnings of Athonite monasticism. Recent analysis of the function and meaning of the monastic towers — *pyrgoi* — revealed that in addition to their practical function as secure places in case of danger, they also served as the seclusion towers of prominent monks, often founders of the monasteries.<sup>104</sup> The anchoritic cell and the chapel were usually located in the top storey, metaphorically representing a path to heaven.

The planning pattern and architectural design of the Athonite monasteries opens another question — the codification of the monastery layout. By the eleventh century the Byzantine monastery had become codified in terms of its spatial disposition<sup>105</sup>. Whether the Mount Athos monastery plan was a

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<sup>102</sup> Documents 1, p. 235–242.

<sup>103</sup> About the original plan of the Great Laura and location of the Athanasios's cell see: *Theocharides P.* Oi Byzantinoi periboloi ton monon Vatopediou kai Megistes Lavras // To Agion Oros chthes, semera, avrio. Thessalonike, 1996, p. 105–118.

<sup>104</sup> As in note 72 above and *Popović S.* Pyrgos in the Late Byzantine Monastic Context // Le Monastere de Zica. Recueil des Travaux / Ed. G. Subotic. Kraljevo, 2000, p. 95–107.

<sup>105</sup> Cf. *Popović S.* Are typika sources for architecture? The case of the monasteries of the Theotokos Evergatis, Chilandari and Studenica // Work and worship at the Theotokos Evergetis / Eds. M. Mullett and A. Kirby // Belfast Byzantine texts and translations, 6.2. Belfast, 1997, p. 266–284.

turning point or not is difficult to say, because of the significant archaeological lacuna in investigation of the eight-tenth-century monastic foundations in Asia Minor. Be that as it may, the monastery planning pattern became standardized after the tenth century. Its main features included an enclosure wall that designated the prevailing orthogonal plan of the settlement; the main monastery entrance which was located prevailing within the western enclosure — ideally facing the main church portal; the main monastery church that was centrally situated as a freestanding building oriented towards the east, leaving the vast empty space around it for ritual processions; the refectory which was positioned in the immediate vicinity of the church, either as a freestanding building or attached to the enclosure wall; the kitchen that was situated close to the refectory; and monastic cells that were usually located on the upper stories of the continual line of buildings attached along the encircling wall, while storages and workshops were located on the ground floor<sup>106</sup>. Virtually, this model could be applied on any of the cenobitic monasteries of Byzantine provenance after the eleventh century. However, another question of major interest remains: how these standardized planning objectives were related to the creation of the sacred realm and Christian symbolism of the monastery.

The designation of the specific place, as pointed out earlier, was achieved by the encircling wall. The question remains whether the interior space was considered, in its entirety, as a part of the sacred realm. One can assume that a monastery settlement represented a *special entirety*, aiming to provide the appropriate environment for achieving the *bios angelikos*, although there is no evidence of the existence of any foundation ritual related to the entirety. For understanding the nature of the monastery enclosure, it is important to acknowledge that the outer wall was not originally built to provide a military defense (although in certain circumstances it received a fortification character), but to designate the *other* space<sup>107</sup>. In that light, a monastery settlement achieved the status of *otherness*, albeit not of sacredness.

The main monastery entrance — the spot of transition — was strictly controlled. Numerous monastic rules, hagiographic sources and *typika*, mentioned the gate keeper<sup>108</sup>. The symbolic nature of the monastery gate developed in the course of time. The holy image, the visual fact of dedication, was placed in the lunette above the main entrance. Although the architectural

<sup>106</sup> Popović S. The Architectural Iconography of the Late Byzantine Monastery, *passim*; *Idem*. Shaping a Monastery Settlement in the Late Byzantine Balkans // Shaping Community: The Art and Archaeology of Monasticism / Ed. S. McNally. BAR International Series 941 (2001), p. 129–146.

<sup>107</sup> Popović S. The Architectural Iconography, p. 6–10.

<sup>108</sup> For example: Pachomian Koinonia II, (Pr. 1), p. 145; Rule of Athanasios the Athonite for the Lavra Monastery // Documents 1, (36), p. 228.

design of the gate varied (arched passage, single tower, twin tower, etc.), its prophylactic meaning was emphasized by the placement of crosses over the gate and on the walls of the passage chamber leading into the monastery<sup>109</sup>. Some monasteries provided one or even more chapels within the entrance tower, often dedicated to the Holy Archangels, as heavenly guardians<sup>110</sup>. The ideal position of the main monastery entrance, although not strictly applied, was to the west of the main monastery church, thus to provide symbolic and visual communication with the sacred building. Therefore the gate represents the passage to the *other* realm, occasionally becoming a location of consecrated space(s) if provided with chapel(s).

The main monastery church was the ultimate sacred place within the monastery. Whether situated centrally as a freestanding building (characteristic of the later developments), positioned on the side, or located on an elevated plateau (characteristic of the earlier developments), the church always had the highest position within the sacred hierarchy. Her role and ultimate status in the sacred topography were constantly confirmed through multiplication of adjacent annexes: saints' tombs, chapels dedicated to the saints, or later founders' tombs located in the narthexes.

The cell for seclusion, whether as a room, an isolated building, located in a cave, or situated in a tower, could become the recipient of sanctity through its beneficiary. Many examples confirmed that seclusion abodes of holy men, later saints, became venerated places — *locus sanctus* — around which monasteries were established, some of them even became prominent pilgrimage centers. However, great number of anonymous seclusion cells, whether decorated with the holy images or not, remained only intimate places for individual spiritual exercise and never obtained the status of sanctity.

A limited status within the sacred realm was reserved for the monastery refectory. As mentioned earlier, it served for communal commemorative meals in remembrance of Christian saints and martyrs and to celebrate the annual great feasts. The interrelation of the rituals performed in the church and continued in the refectory remain decisive in understanding the participation of this space within sacred realm.

As one can see, the physical, codified, model of the monastery was established by combination of the elements, some of them borrowed from Early Christian prototypes, and grounded in the belief that through rigorous behavior, fasting, self-denial, mortification of the flesh, and constant prayers

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<sup>109</sup> About the monastery entrance see: *Orlandos A. K.* Monastiriake arhitektonike. Athens, 1958, p. 17–26; (*Mojšilović*)-*Popović S.* Monastery Entrances Around the Year 1200 // *Studenica et l'art byzantin autour de l'année 1200* / Ed. V. Djuric. Belgrade, 1988, p. 153–180.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. *Popović S.* The Cross in the Circle, p. 80–82.



salvation and everlasting life in Christ is possible. Further elaboration of the adopted type remained less an historical and more a regional question. An interesting, regional example of the twelfth-century monastery model, of Byzantine provenance is Studenica monastery (fig. 11). Founded (1183–1186) as the memorial foundation of the Serbian Grand Zupan Stefan Nemanja (St. Symeon), the monastery of Studenica followed the adopted model, and was established as a combined cenobium-laura settlement<sup>111</sup>. The final shaping of the monastery took place at the beginning of the thirteenth century by Nemanja's son, the monk Sava, later canonized as St. Sava, who brought some architectural “*topoi*” from his intensive trips to the Holy Land, and applied them in Studenica<sup>112</sup>. The monastery included a circular enclosure with protruding triangular spurs; the main western entrance through two semicircular towers — remodeled in the early thirteenth century into a rectangular belfry-tower with a chapel, decorated with frescoes; a single-nave church — Romanesque on the exterior and entirely Byzantine in its fresco setting — located centrally; a vast rectangular refectory built to the west of the church; and various residential and storage buildings located along the enclosure wall. Outside the cenobitic core, in the mountainous environment, the anchoritic cells were situated. As one can see, the general model was set, though regional peculiarities included a circular, instead of orthogonal enclosure, and naturally some individual architectural stylistic features related to the church and other monastery buildings. As for the symbolism of the entirety the circular stone enclosure with twelve protruding reinforcements and centrally placed church, visually mirrored the representation of the ideal abode in the heavenly realm (fig. 12).

\* \* \*

The Byzantine monastery, from its roots in Eastern Christendom to more elaborate spatial structure in later developments, emerged into a significant and well-organized entirety with the ultimate goal to provide an appropriate environment where communal or individual spiritual exercise — *askesis* — would lead to eternal salvation. The literary and physical evidence confirms that monastic life — *bios angelikos* — offered the possibility of achieving even higher individual perfection, acknowledged by the divine imprint, of becoming a saint. But only a few were permitted to achieve sainthood — the highest rank that terrestrial beings could gain within the

<sup>111</sup> On the monastery settlement of Studenica: Popović S. *The Cross in the Circle*, p. 131–149.

<sup>112</sup> Cf. Popović S. *Sabaite Influences on the Church of Medieval Serbia // The Sabaite Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the Fifth Century to the Present* / Ed. J. Patrich. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 98. Leuven, 2001, p. 387–407.

celestial hierarchy. Holy men — saints — during their terrestrial life acted as intermediaries between ordinary believers and God. They also served as a source of righteousness and provided a divine inspiration for other monks on their route to achieving Christian perfection. Images of the saints were in the church, and the church was the house of the Lord — the heaven on earth, the ultimate sacred space within a monastery. But the church itself had a hierarchy, visualized through a disposition of the holy images on her walls. The saints were represented in the lower portion of the divine house, and never reached the ultimate Heaven, the most elevated spot — the dome — from where only the Savior permanently reminded of judgment and salvation. While the church always represented a sacred realm, a monastery settlement never reached this status. It provided an *otherness* for those who lived there, and symbolically represented an intermediate zone between heaven and earth. Thus a monastery in Byzantium participated, on a limited scale, in the celestial hierarchy between heaven and earth.

In conclusion, formation of the spatial iconography of the Byzantine monastery — in hierotopical context — was a creative process that developed over a protracted historical period. Although the spatial image of the monastery changed over time, determined by the development of the theological issues, some aspects of the spatial planning remained archetypal. Those included: demarcation of the specific space by the introduction of an *enclosure wall*; recognition of the *cell* as an abode for individual spiritual exercise and contemplation, often for the creation of one's vision of the heavenly realm; and finally designation of the *church-building* as the ultimate sacred spot of the entirety. These features remained as a constant (static) element of the spatial setting. A dynamic aspect of this process may be recognized in the functional and symbolic correlation of the additional elements within the built environment, and in their articulation to act as part of the designated space. For example, the *monastery entrance* — the spot of transition from ordinary to *other* space — emerged as a symbolic entity with innumerable architectural solutions. The *monastery refectory*, the place for communal meals, became a distinguished commemorative space and acted in liaison with the church-narthex. The ultimate sacred spot — *the church* — was designated in a great number of different architectural styles, and finally acquired a central, free-standing spatial position in the monastery, with the connotations of being the heaven on earth. The Byzantines did not aim to create a model of the 'ideal monastery', as do some examples from the Western medieval world. They created a symbolic and changing spatial structure — with a pronounced hierarchy of spatial sacredness — in which they wanted to achieve the ideal of Christian perfection, and to reach the kingdom of heaven.

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ВИЗАНТИЙСКИЙ МОНАСТЫРЬ:  
ЕГО ПРОСТРАНСТВЕННАЯ ИКОНОГРАФИЯ  
И ПРОБЛЕМА САКРАЛЬНОГО СТАТУСА

Византийское восприятие небесного мира в категориях мира «тварного» выражалось в образе города. Если говорить более точно, в христианской небесной и земной иерархии особое место занимали Иерусалим и Константинополь: земной Иерусалим сопоставлялся с Иерусалимом небесным, а Константинополь был объявлен Новым Иерусалимом после перемещения в него реликвий Истинного креста. Но в христианской сакральной топографии значение и важность Святой земли и ее «уникального города» оставались недостижимыми, и поэтому Константинополь довольствовался своей «второстепенной» ролью земного подражателя, но никогда не достигал статуса «небесного». Такова роль «*города*» в контексте небесной топографии.

Но если вспомнить образ небесного двора в Византии, станет ясно, что императорский дворец в Константинополе понимался и представлялся как отражение двора небесного, места пребывания Господа. Поэтому «*дворец*» был тесно связан с византийской идеей императорской власти как установленной от Бога.

Каким было в сакральной иерархии место «*монастыря*»? Насколько нам известно, монастырь, как это ни удивительно, никогда не помещался в сферу божественного и всегда понимался как место перехода, путь в рай. С другой стороны, главная монастырская церковь часто понималась как христианский микрокосм. Святость места не наследовалась, а достигалась посредством реального присутствия Божия, запечатленного в форме церкви. Таким образом, в сакральной иерархии церковь всегда занимала высшую ступень. Вскоре, однако, на такую же позицию стала претендовать гробница святого: святое место, включенное в сакральную топографию как реальный «свидетель божественного», чья святость была чудесно подтверждена (святых Саввы, Евфимия, Неофита и т. п.). Так, церковь и почитаемая могила обладали одинаковым статусом, но в иерархии первенство оставалось за церковью. С течением времени новая черта стала определять монастырское пространство, когда могила почитаемого святого была включена в зону церкви, либо как рядом стоящая часовня, либо как специальное сооружение (склеп). Этот симбиоз могилы святого и Дома Бога, с его особой связью материального и нематериального аспектов святости, получил очень высокий статус, подтвержденный быстрым ростом числа святых реликвий, хранившихся в собственно церкви. Они стали не только важными, но и необходимыми частями алтарного пространства, а также основ-

ным *modus operandi* паломничества. На ранних стадиях создания пространства монастыря только эти два элемента — церковь и могила святого — считались относящимися к миру сакрального, а пространство всех прочих построек оставалось неопределенным.

Постепенно, к средневизантийскому периоду, сложилась система пространственной иконографии монастыря. В пространственной иерархии церковь и находящиеся рядом часовни были определены как область максимальной святости, лучше всего воплощаемая в виде отдельно стоящего здания, центр полноты и единства, отражающий небесные сферы. Часто святое место отделялось от второстепенных построек, которым в сакральной топографии отводилось менее значимое пространство.

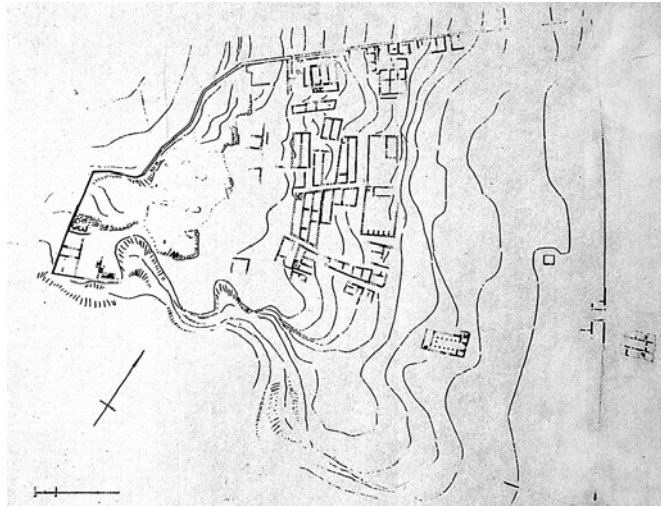
Несмотря на то, что жилые помещения для монахов в целом имели более низкий статус, чем здание церкви, некоторые их черты могут быть соотнесены с миром божественного. Ограда монастыря и вход в него (оформленный как отдельная башня, проходное помещение или даже расположенный между башнями) играли важную роль и обладали в пространственной иконографии комплекса особой значимостью. Это была не просто материальная защита общины, а «святая роща» для современников и граница между мирским и сакральным пространствами для монахов. На ее особую значимость указывал образ святого-покровителя, всегда изображавшегося над главными воротами или в надвратном храме, часто помещавшемся над проходом.

Монастырская трапезная, в идеале располагавшаяся напротив главного входа в церковь, хоть и находилась на более низкой ступени в пространственной иерархии, выполняла важную функцию — была местом ежедневных трапез в память о христианских святых и мучениках и, в первую очередь, в память «Господа нашего, сделавшего это спасение возможным».

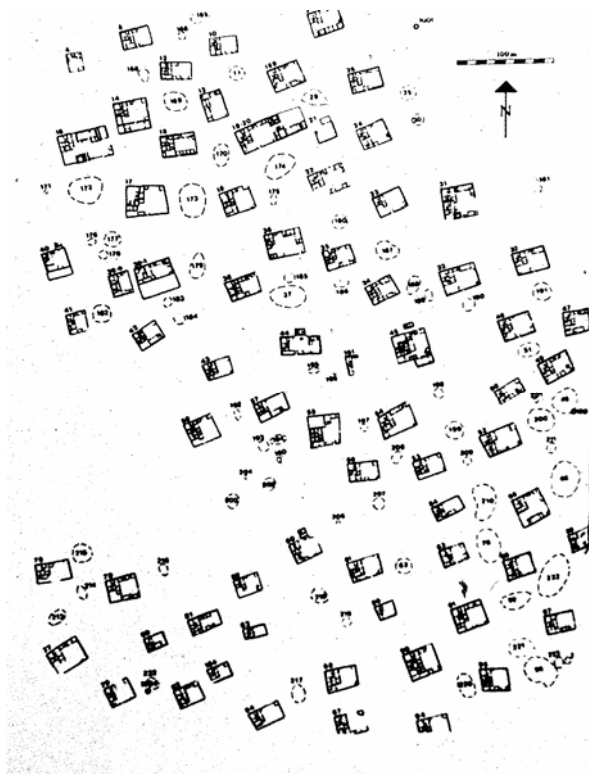
Еще одним зданием, особо связанным с монастырским сообществом, была башня. Помимо практических функций, у нее было еще одно назначение — она часто служила убежищем монахам-подвижникам и воспринималась как место уединения с кельей и часовней на последнем этаже. Башня была путем к спасению, ступенью Небесной лестницы.

Важная особенность планировки средневизантийского монастыря — отдельно стоящая главная церковь в центре прямоугольного пространства — оставалась одной из основных и в более поздних структурах. В X веке Афанасий Афонский понимал ее как «недреманное око». В сербском монастыре XII в. Студенице круглая каменная ограда с 12 выступающими контрфорсами и помещенной в центр церковью образно отражала представление об идеальном оке, обращенном в небесное пространство.

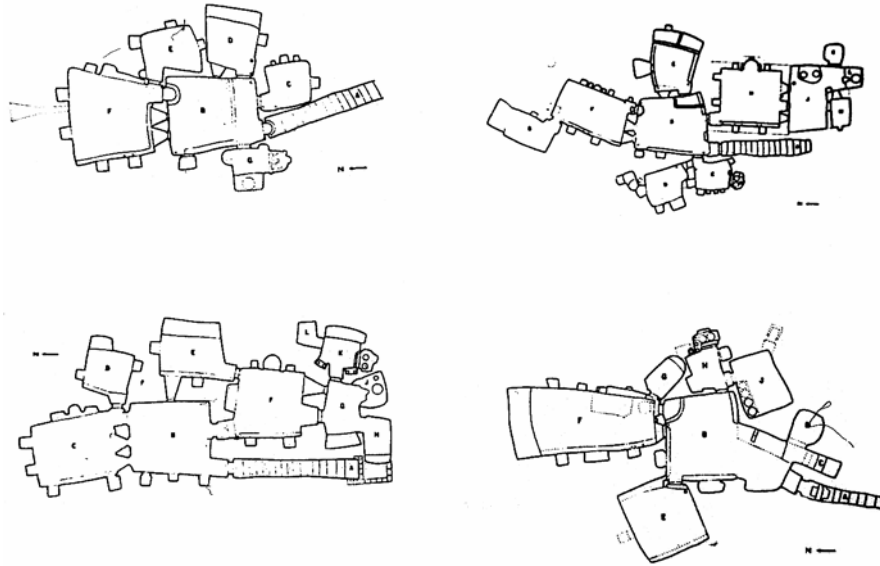
Таким образом, монастырь в Византии занимал в священной иерархии промежуточное место между небесами и землей.



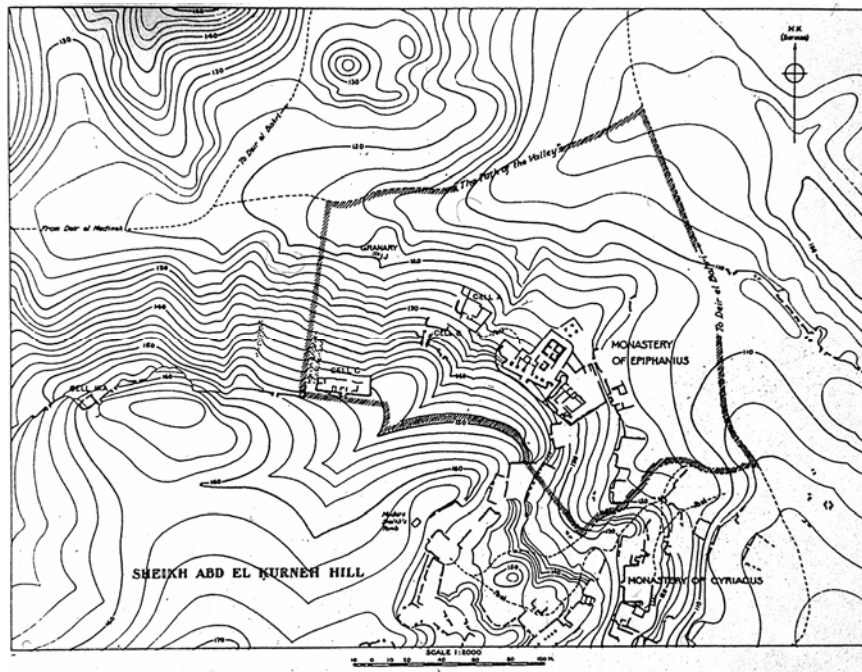
1. Deir el-Bala' izah Monastery, Egypt (after P. Grossmann)



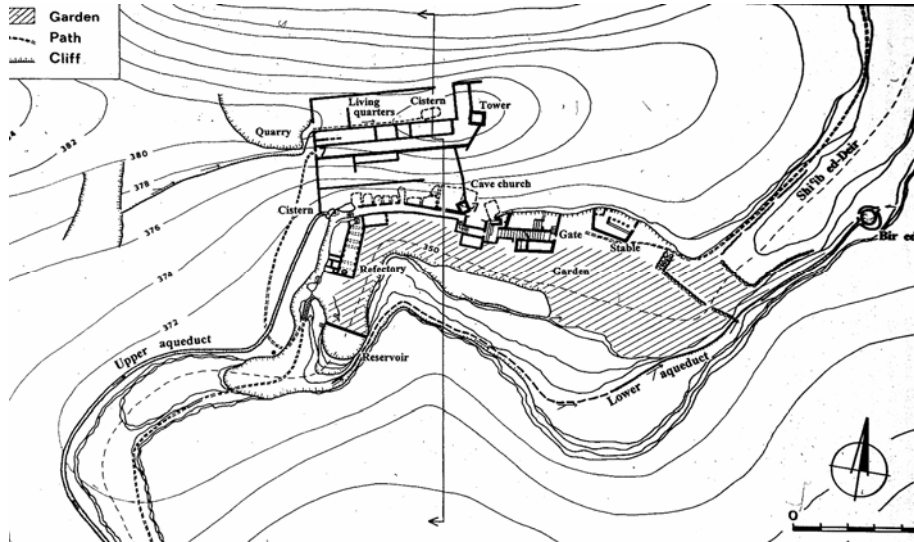
2. Kellia Agglomeration of Qusur el — 'Izeila, Egypt (after R. Kasser et al.)



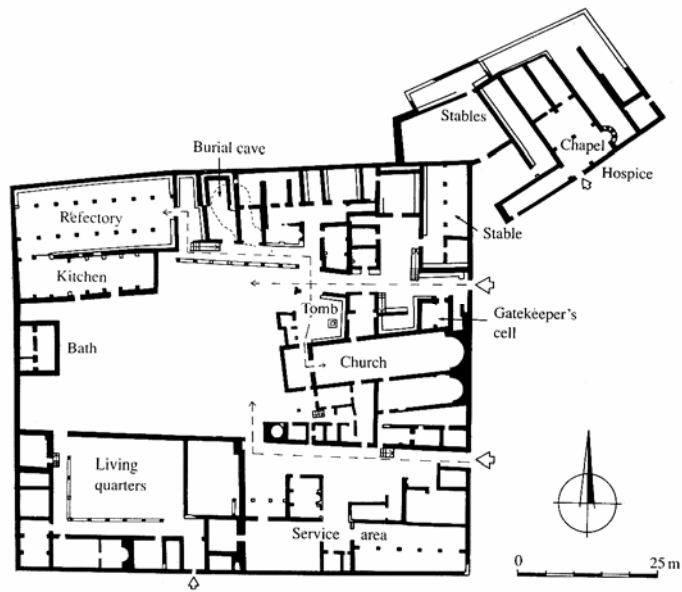
3. Hermitages near Esna, Egypt (after S. Sauneron)



4. The Monastery of Epiphanius, Egypt (after H. E. Winlock & W. E. Crum)



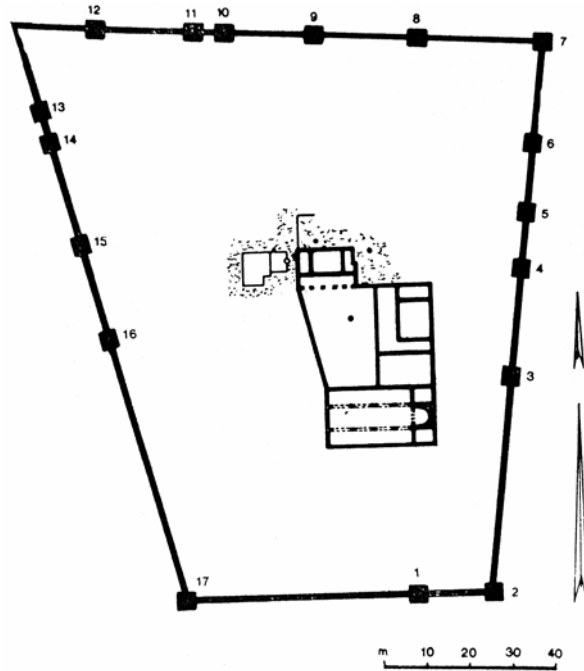
5. Khirbet ed-Deir Monastery, The Judean Desert (after Y. Hirschfeld)



6. The Monastery of Martyrius, The Judean Desert (after Y. Hirschfeld)

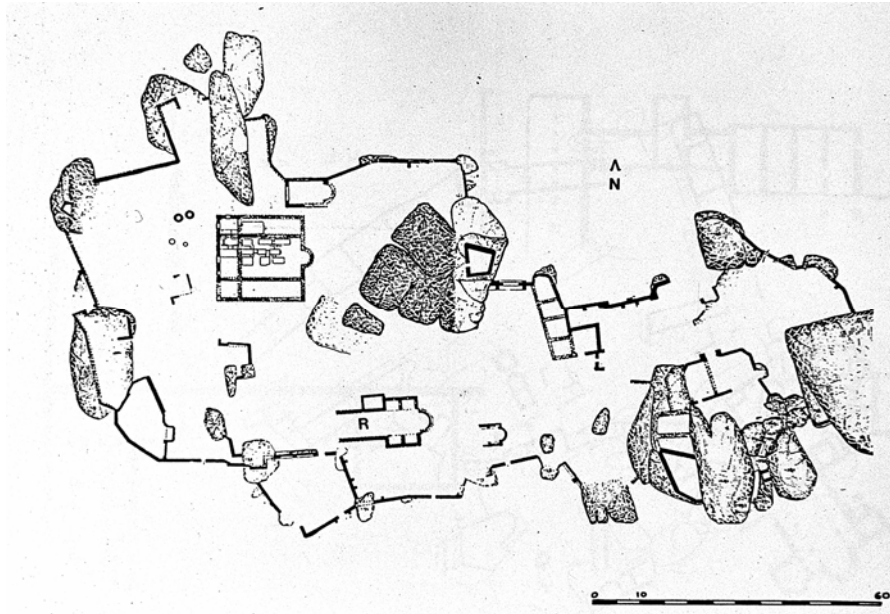


7. Great Laura (St. Sabas monastery), The Judean Desert (photo S. Popović)

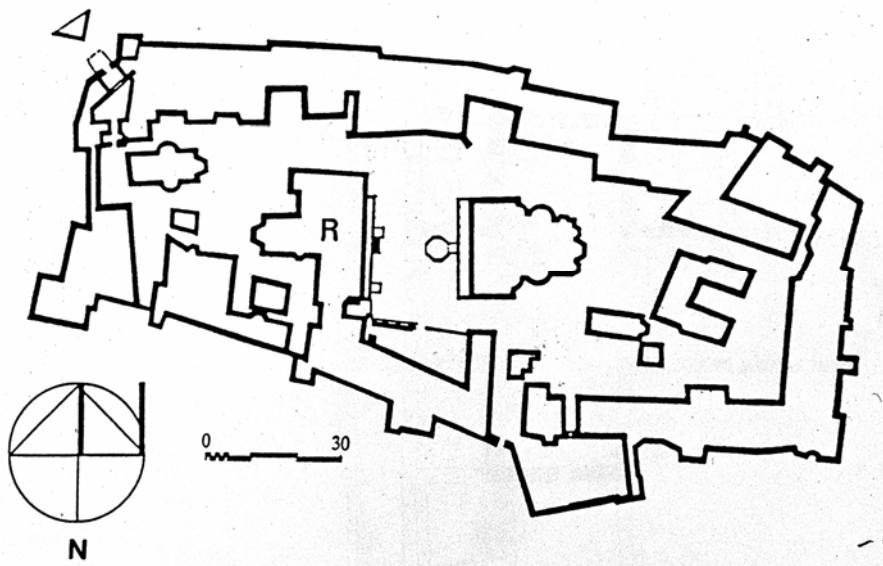


8. Qal' at el Touffah Monastery, Syria (after I. Pena et al.)





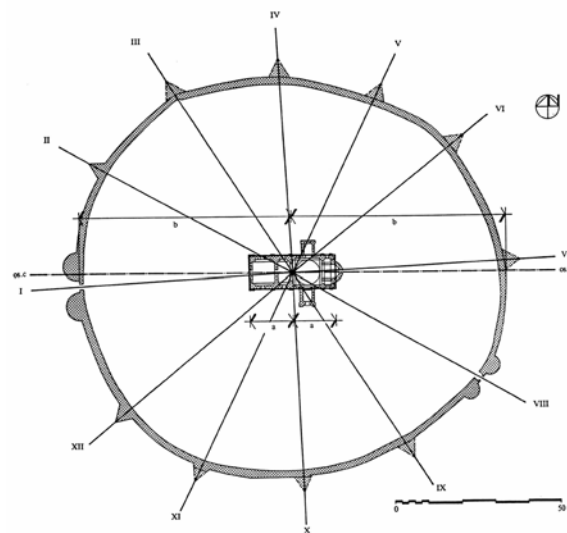
9. The Monastery of Stylos, Mt. Latros (after T. Wiegand)



10. Great Laura, Mt. Athos (after P. Mylonas)



11. Studenica Monastery, Serbia (courtesy of The Institute for Protection of Cultural Monuments of Serbia, Belgrade)



12. Studenica Monastery — spatial symbolism (after S. Popović)

Н. Е. Гайдуков

САКРАЛЬНОЕ ПРОСТРАНСТВО  
И ЛИТУРГИЧЕСКИЕ УСТРОЙСТВА  
В ДОИКОНОБОРЧЕСКИХ ПЕЩЕРНЫХ  
ХРАМАХ ЮГО-ЗАПАДНОЙ ТАВРИКИ

Сакральное пространство христианского храма, безусловно, существует, но как описать его? Очевидно, что различные богослужебные тексты, например евхологии или чины освящения храма, создавались совсем с иными целями. Да и сама литургия, совершаемая в храме, не является ни сакральным пространством, ни его элементом, она лишь оператор подобного пространства.

Если текстов для этого недостает, что же может передать сакральное пространство храма? Только сам храм. Каждому хронотопу в существовании храма, а храм, как правило, существует долго, соответствует определенный набор литургических устройств. Этот набор, словно хромосомный набор у живого существа, передает уникальное сакральное пространство храма. Казалось бы, чего проще: выделить такие наборы и описать их. Однако проблема состоит в том, что легко поддаются описанию только наборы литургических устройств действующего храма и литургические наборы храмов, прекративших существование внезапно; причем для последних желательно, чтобы сам храм просуществовал сравнительно недолго. В большинстве случаев дело обстоит совсем не так, особенно если речь идет о ранних храмах.

Особенно многообещающим с этой точки зрения представляется изучение наборов литургических устройств пещерных храмов юго-западной Таврики. Несмотря на то, что пещерных храмов в Крыму немного (всего около 30), литургические устройства в них сохранились достаточно хорошо.

Скальные литургические устройства создаются вместе с храмом и не могут исчезнуть бесследно. Их невозможно разрушить; если попытаться сделать это, то место, где прежде было устройство, его палимп-

сест, будет все равно отчетливо прочитываться в плане. Невозможно достроить или переделать литургические устройства. Любая достройка или переделка сразу будет легко замечена.

Рассмотрим теперь наборы литургических устройств некоторых из наиболее ранних пещерных храмов юго-западной Таврики. При этом будем помнить, что те перемены, которые происходили в византийской литургии, наиболее ярко отразились именно в смене наборов литургических устройств<sup>1</sup>.

Впервые пещерные храмы юго-западной Таврики были типологизированы нами на основе эволюции литургических устройств в работе «Пещерные храмы Таврики: к проблеме типологии и хронологии»<sup>2</sup>. Речь идет именно о типологизации, так как в основе нашей систематики лежит процесс эволюции ниши / столика для протесиса. Косвенным подтверждением удачности данной типологизации является то, что данные об эволюции и других литургических устройств пещерных храмов более или менее удовлетворительно соотносятся с предложенными типами.

Однако не все храмы легли в границы предложенных нами типов. К ним относятся:

- храмы, не сохранившие литургических устройств;
- храмы, относящиеся к не византийской литургической традиции<sup>3</sup>;
- и, наконец, храмы без отделения для протесиса. Очевидно, что они возникли до того времени, как протесис стал общеобязательной частью византийского храма, и что для анализа этих храмов типология, основанная только на положении протесиса, непригодна.

Именно об этих храмах и пойдет речь в настоящей работе. Мы условно объединили их в три группы<sup>4</sup>. Это пещерные базилики, храмы с экседрой и храмы-триконхи.

<sup>1</sup> Тафт Р. Ф. Византийский церковный обряд. СПб., 2000, с. 40–41, 78–79, 91.

<sup>2</sup> Виноградов А. Ю., Гайдуков Н. Е., Желтов М. С. Пещерные храмы Таврики: к проблеме типологии и хронологии // Российская Археология. №1. 2005, с. 72–80.

<sup>3</sup> В юго-западной Таврике известен только один такой храм. Это так называемый «Армянский» храм в Инкермане. Мы полагаем, что он относится к западной (католической) литургической традиции.

<sup>4</sup> Наивно было бы полагать, что на таком небольшом количестве материала, который имеется у нас, можно выделить типы, подобные предложенным нами для пещерных храмов с протесисом. В палеонтологии, к примеру, для выделения нового вида прилично описать хотя бы пять особей. У нас нет такого количества храмов, но порассуждать об их литургическом устройстве нам, конечно, никто не помешает. Тем более, что наборы литургических устройств пещерных храмов никем и никогда систематически не изучались.

## «ПЕЩЕРНАЯ БАЗИЛИКА»

В данную группу мы включаем только один храм — это так называемый «храм с баптистерием» пещерного городища Тепе-Кермен (Бахчисарайского р-на). Храм расположен на северном склоне городища Тепе-Кермен. В настоящее время он входит в состав большого пещерного монастыря, который возник значительно позднее<sup>5</sup>. Храм имеет прямоугольную форму (рис. 1, 2), размеры его 10,5×4,5×2,6 м, соответственно прямоуголен и алтарь (3,5×3 м). Такая необычная форма, на наш взгляд, может быть обусловлена несколькими факторами. Во-первых, любой пещерный храм должен быть приспособлен к размеру скалы и характеру вмещающих пород. Во-вторых, алтарь храма ориентирован на север, и сделано это было намеренно — окно алтаря обращено прямо на городище Баклу<sup>6</sup>, которое расположено к северу от Тепе-Кермена. И наконец, в-третьих, интерьер храма явно копирует наземный. К тому времени, когда он был построен, в Крыму ещё не были выработаны специфические приемы, характерные для пещерного строительства, они появились позднее. В этом пещерные храмы Таврики не уникальны — подземные храмы, в которых архитектура имитирует наземную, можно встретить в пещерных храмах Апулии; там есть даже псевдокупола и имитации потолочных балок<sup>7</sup>. В горном Крыму до этого дело не дошло, но тем не менее у нас есть некоторые основания для того, чтобы называть «храм с баптистерием» «пещерной базиликой».

На плане хорошо видно, что храм делится на две части, восточную можно представить как отдельный компартимент. Пол ее приподнят над полом основного храма на 0,15 м; в северной и южной стене — там, где проходит граница между частями, — хорошо видны пазы для крепления деревянной перегородки (?). Еще Ю. Могаричевым было замечено, что это деление функционально<sup>8</sup>, однако мы не можем принять мнение о том, что восточная часть служила исключительно баптистерием. С нашей точки зрения, это только одна из функций данного помещения.

Рассмотрим литургические устройства храма. К ним относятся:

- прямоугольная подрубка под несохранившийся престол (0,3×0,25 м), находящаяся на линии алтарной арки<sup>9</sup>. К сожалению, нельзя утверждать наверное, что это подрубка под первоначальный престол.

<sup>5</sup> Подробнее об этом см.: *Виноградов А. Ю., Гайдуков Н. Е.* Тропа над пропастью: Пещерный монастырь на северном обрыве городища Тепе-Кермен // Сугдейский сборник. Киев — Судак, 2004, с. 12–35.

<sup>6</sup> *Петровский В. А.* Православные памятники Тепе-Кермена // Православные древности Таврики. Киев, 2002, с. 92, прим. 12.

<sup>7</sup> *Dell'Aquila F., Messina A.* Le chiese rupestri di Puglia e Basilicata. Bari, 1998.

<sup>8</sup> *Могаричев Ю. М.* Пещерные церкви Таврики. Симферополь, 1997, с. 84.

<sup>9</sup> Положение престола относительно алтарной апсиды играет важную роль. Так, в ранне-византийский период в Сирии престол располагается внутри апсиды, в Палестине нахо-

- Как уже было сказано выше, храм был построен тогда, когда обряд проскомидии ещё не сформировался, и, как следствие этого, отсутствует первоначальный протесис. Зато в храме есть две позднейших ниши протесиса. Первая находится вне алтаря; она представляет собой правильную нишу, высеченную в северо-западной стене храма. Ниша не первоначальна, что видно из того, что она высечена прямо над скамьей, опоясывающей храм по периметру стен. Если бы данное устройство возникло одновременно с храмом, скамьи здесь бы не было. Вторая ниша протесиса находится в западной части алтаря и имеет неправильную форму<sup>10</sup>. При ее устройстве была срублена вся западная часть алтарной арки; а это уже существенное изменение замысла архитектора. Зададимся теперь вопросом: если первоначально протесиса в храме не было, где приготавливались хлеб и вино для совершения Евхаристии? Мы можем высказать два предположения. Первое: где-то вне храма находилось специальное (вероятно, тоже пещерное) помещение-скевофилакий, но такое помещение пока не обнаружено. Второе: подготовительные обряды совершались здесь же, в пастофории — особом помещении-компарimente храма. Где же было это помещение? Возможно, восточная часть храма и была пастофорием, вернее, это могла быть одна из его функций.
- Остановимся подробнее на литургических устройствах этого помещения. В северном углу восточной стены устроена глубокая трапециевидная подрубка под очаг. Если бы очаг предназначался только для обогрева помещения, его основание находилось на уровне пола, однако основание нашего очага находится на уровне скамьи. Можно осторожно предположить, что этот очаг имел литургическое назначение, к примеру, служил для нагревания воды. В северной стене восточной части храма устроена дверь. Легко заметить, что в качестве ступеньки использована пристенная скамья, что хорошо видно на плане (рис. 1), значит, дверь эта не первоначальна и все восточное помещение ранее было открыто только в храм. Ограничились ли переделки здесь просто растеской дверного проема или при этом были уничтожены какие-то паралитургические конструкции, мешавшие проходу, мы не знаем. Обращает на себя внимание и то, что между алтарем и восточным помещением нет алтарной преграды, но устроен небольшой скальный бордюор, высотой ~ 0,3 м. Нам представляется, что это не результат позднейшей переделки, а именно первоначаль-

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дится перед апсидой или на линии ее хорды, а в Константинополе выдвинут вперед, в неф (Хрушкова Л.Г. Раннехристианские памятники восточного Причерноморья. М., 2002, с. 346).

<sup>10</sup> Обе поздние ниши протесиса хорошо видны на рис. 2.

ный замысел архитектора. Алтарь не сливается с восточным помещением, но и не отделен от него алтарной преградой. Через такой условный «порог» могли вводить в алтарь новокрещенных или передавать что-либо, необходимое для совершения литургии (например, хлеб и вино). Как уже было замечено, пол всей восточной части храма приподнят на высоту  $\sim 0,15$  м над уровнем остального пола храма — точно так же, как и пол алтаря. Это ещё раз заставляет задуматься о связи восточного копартаментов с алтарным пространством. В полу восточной части имеются две вырубленные могилы, которые имеют ориентацию СЮ, по оси храма. В юго-восточном углу храма вырублен скальный баптистерий крестообразной формы (рис. 3), такого в Крыму больше нет. Прямо над баптистерием в потолке прорублено круглое отверстие диаметром  $\sim 0,15$  м, ведущее во вспомогательное помещение, расположенное ярусом выше. Это отверстие могло использоваться для заполнения купели водой или даже для возливания воды непосредственно во время совершения таинства Крещения. Если верно наше предположение о том, что рассматриваемое помещение — аналог пастофория, то наличие в нем баптистерия говорит о совмещении различных литургических функций в одном вспомогательном помещении, что вполне объяснимо в условиях пещерного строительства.

- Темплон храма представляет собой прямоугольную скальную выгородку, выдвинутую в неф. Алтарная преграда имеет два дверных проема, с южной и западной стороны, причем в южном проеме, по всей видимости, были установлены св. врата — на алтарном полу сохранилась глубокая борозда. Как уже было сказано, с восточной стороны алтаря темплон как такового не было. Южная грань темплонна фланкирована с востока и запада двумя столбами; остатки подобных столбов сохранились также по сторонам от св. врат. Столбы расширяются в верхней части, имитируя капители. Верхняя часть этих «капителей» украшена орнаментом в виде трех параллельных желобков с двумя валиками между ними. В нижней части интерколумниев вырублены прямоугольные экраны темплонна. Оба они украшены снаружи рельефными крестами; аналогичные кресты можно встретить и на темплоннах Херсонеса<sup>11</sup>. На верхней поверхности восточного экрана темплонна сохранился прямоугольный паз, без всякого сомнения, он служил для установки иконы. Западная грань темплонна походит на южную, только обработка его несколько грубее. В центре ее находится дверной проем, фланкированный с обеих сторон столбика-

<sup>11</sup> Впервые на это указывает Ю. Могаричев: *Могаричев Ю. М. Пещерные церкви Таврики...* с. 86.

ми. Причем если южный столбик сохранился практически полностью, то от северного осталось только скальное основание и «капитель». С восточной стороны темплон ограничен скальным выступом, оформленным также в виде столбика. Между столбами сохранились остатки экрана темплона. В настоящее время трудно сказать, являлась ли западная дверь первоначальной или была вырублена только впоследствии, когда в ней возникла явная необходимость, так как в западной части храма находился позднейший протесис.

- Ни синтрона, ни его остатков в храме нет. Зато в восточной части алтаря, прямо под пролетом алтарной арки, вырублена скамья для священнослужителя. Положение этой скамьи таково (она находится прямо на востоке), что В. Бабенчиков считал именно ее престолом храма<sup>12</sup>. В пещерных храмах Таврики скамья и синтрон никогда не встречаются вместе. Но вот почему в одних храмах был вырублен синтрон с кафедрой в апсиде, а в других скамья — вопрос дискуссионный. Были попытки доказать, что синтрон — это принадлежность исключительно епископского храма<sup>13</sup>, мы же связываем это с тем, кем и как освящался храм.
- В северной части алтаря в скале вырублена алтарная арка. В настоящее время от нее сохранилась только восточная часть. Западная была срублена при устройстве ниши протесиса в алтаре.
- Амвона, даже небольшого, или его следов в настоящее время в храме нет. Даже если первоначально амвон и был, он был уничтожен при перестройке.
- В полу и стенах храма было устроено несколько захоронений. Два в полу восточной части храма (ориентация СЮ) и одно в центральной, прямо возле алтарной преграды (ориентация ЗВ). Одно захоронение было устроено в западной стене храма и три в южной.
- По всему периметру храма, за исключением юго-восточного угла, где находится баптистерий, храм окружает скамья, высотой 0,35 м, шириной 0,25 м. Поверхность скамьи представляет собой прямоугольный скальный выступ; никаких специально выделенных мест на скамье нет.

По нашему мнению важнейшей особенностью храма является его функциональное значение, связанное со странной и, на первый взгляд, непонятной северной ориентацией. Несомненно, сделано это было не случайно. Первоначальный замысел храма — звено в системе византийской обороны. Заметим, что уже одно это говорит о большой его древности.

<sup>12</sup> Там же, с. 84.

<sup>13</sup> Этому вопросу посвящена специальная статья А. Грабара: *Grabar A. Synthronos dans les martyria byzantins // Cahiers Archéologiques. Paris, 1962. Vol. 12.*



Итак, опорам для датировки могут служить следующие признаки: отсутствие протесиса (что указывает на время до VIII в.), крест на экране темплона (ближайший аналог — плита VI–VII вв. из Херсонесского музея<sup>14</sup> и, наконец, баптистерий (близкий аналог — баптистерий церкви № 3 в крепости Цибила, VI в.<sup>15</sup>)<sup>16</sup>.

#### ХРАМЫ С ЭКСЕДРОЙ

В данную группу мы включаем два пещерных храма; они кажутся нам если и не полными типологическими аналогами, то достаточно близкими друг другу, чтобы можно было поставить их рядом. Из-за полного отсутствия археологического материала датировки обоих храмов проблемны<sup>17</sup>.

##### *Пещерный храм «Судилище»*

Пещерный храм «Судилище» расположен к востоку от проездных ворот, ведущих на городище Эски-Кермен (Бахчисарайский р-н). Исследованию городища посвящена обширная литература, не обойден был вниманием и этот храм. Наиболее доступный обзор литературы, посвященный ему, дан в монографии Ю. Могаричева<sup>18</sup>.

Храм «Судилище» представляет собой сложный разновременный пещерный комплекс, целиком высеченный в скале (рис. 4). В настоящее время большая часть кровли обрушилась. Основная проблема, встающая перед исследователем комплекса, — правильное понимание строительной периодизации. По всей видимости, северная и южная часть прежде представляли собой самостоятельные помещения. Северная может быть выделена по характеру насечки пола и агисмы. Южная, видимо, тоже не первоначальна; если бы она была такой, то нартекс и наос малого храма так называемой «Часовни» (расположен в юго-восточной части комплекса) оказались бы внутри алтарной преграды (см. ниже). В наши задачи входит изучение наиболее древней, центральной части храма.

Перейдем к рассмотрению литургических устройств.

- Основание престола в виде скальной подрубки неправильной формы находится в виме.

<sup>14</sup> Византийский Херсон: Каталог выставки / Ред. И. С. Чичуров. М. 1991, с. 20.

<sup>15</sup> Хрушкова Л. Г. Раннехристианские памятники... с. 308–313.

<sup>16</sup> От IV к VI в. для баптистериев характерно постепенное уменьшение глубины (Ristow S. Fruhchristlichen Baptisterien. Munster, 1998, p. 50–52 (Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum; 27.)

<sup>17</sup> Могаричев Ю. М. Пещерные церкви Таврики... с. 44–46, 77–79.

<sup>18</sup> Там же, с. 39–40.

- Пастофорий, видимо, представлял собой прямоугольное помещение, вытянутое по оси СЮ ( $2 \times 3$  м), которое входило в состав алтарной преграды. Позднее преграда, отделявшая пастофорий от нефа, была срублена, чтобы соединить храм с парэклисием («Часовней»), но след ее хорошо виден на полу. В восточной части пастофория сохранилось скальное основание небольшой колонки (диаметром  $\sim 0,2$ , высотой  $\sim 0,4$  м). Возможно, эта колонка служила основанием для столика. Во всяком случае, никакой конструктивной необходимости для того, чтобы вырубать подобную колонку, нет.
- Первоначальный протесис в храме отсутствует. В качестве протесиса в позднейшее время могла использоваться, к примеру, скальная полочка ( $\sim 0,3 \times 0,4$  м), вырубленная в северо-западной части синтрона.
- В восточной части алтаря находится скальный синтрон ( $3 \times 1,7$  м) с кафедрой на горнем месте.
- Темплон храма был устроен в виде прямоугольной выгородки ( $2 \times 3$  м). В центре его находятся св. врата, шириной  $\sim 0,7$  м. Как уже было сказано, прежде алтарная преграда отделяла от наоса также и пастофорий. Вероятно, здесь была ещё одна дверь; подрубки под дверную конструкцию хорошо видны на полу. В настоящее время от темплона сохранилось лишь скальное основание, высотой не более  $0,2$  м, в котором явственно видны следы крепления каменного (?) экрана и колонок.
- Небольшой скальный амвон ( $\sim 0,5 \times 0,5 \times 0,1$  м) в западной части храма находится на основной оси алтаря (ЗВ). Отметим, что это единственный пример уверенно интерпретируемого амвона в пещерных храмах юго-западной Таврики.
- Скальная двухступенчатая экседра в юго-западной части храма (рис. 5) размерами  $4,9 \times 1,5$  м. В центре экседры устроено скальное основание для квадратной скамьи, посередине его в скале вырезан маленький крестик ( $\sim 0,05 \times 0,03$  м). Подобная первой двухступенчатая экседра была устроена и в северо-восточной части храма ( $\sim 4,5 \times 2$  м). Однако эта экседра находится в той части храма, которая относится ко второму строительному периоду, к тому же расположена она прямо за агиасмой. Поэтому вряд ли она имела первостепенное литургическое значение, скорее всего, она просто копирует первую. Алтарную апсиду соединяет с экседрой отверстие неправильной формы ( $\varnothing \sim 0,2$  м), но ни доказать, ни опровергнуть гипотезу о том, что пред нами не просто случайный пролом, а отверстие, имевшее литургическое значение, пока не представляется возможным.

- Две скальные агиасмы представляют собой прямоугольные каменные сосуды, высотой около 1 м, соединенные между собой желобом. К балкончику от них ведет канавка для отвода воды.
- Там, где это возможно, в храме, столь насыщенном литургическими приспособлениями, вдоль стен были устроены скамьи для сидения.

Итак, суммируем наши наблюдения: храм содержит ясную литургическую структуру: алтарную апсиду с синтроном в паре с амвоном по главной оси храма ЗВ. Однако помимо этой структуры в храме имеется экседра, несколько сдвинутая к югу от основной оси храма. В центре ее находится основание скальной скамьи; возможно, она не предназначалась для сидения — скажем, на ней лежало Евангелие, которое читалось на амвоне. Обращает на себя внимание и то, что экседра более чем в 2 (!) раза шире, чем синтрон (4,9 м против 2 м) и вытянута по поперечной оси СЗ–ЮВ.

Если сделать предположение, что экседра могла в определенные моменты службы играть роль, аналогичную той, которую играет амвон, то легко заметить, что присутствие в храме и экседры, и амвона представляет собой некоторое противоречие. Амвон крохотный (0,4×0,4 м), но и экседра находится не на главной оси храма. Остается неясным, почему строитель храма не соединил эти два литургические устройства воедино.

К северу от алтарной апсиды находятся два скальных сосуда — агиасмы. О назначении их можно спорить, однако абсолютно бесспорно то, что именно они создают отдельную зону, занимающую весь северо-восточный угол храма. Весьма вероятно, что и все литургические устройства, размещенные здесь, в том числе и экседра, зависели от этих скальных агиасм. Заметим, что в нашем храме агиасма была устроена там, где текла из скалы вода.

Если бы пещерный храм с экседрой был бы уникален, никакой особой загадочности в нем бы не было, но существует ещё один подобный храм, и это заставляет исследователя задуматься.

#### *Храм пещерного монастыря Челтер-Коба*

Храм пещерного монастыря Челтер-Коба был устроен в большом закрытом гроте, расположенном в Бельбекской долине у подножья мыса Ай-Тодор близ с. Малосадовое Бахчисарайского р-на (рис. 6). Наиболее полный обзор литературы, посвященный храму, приведен в монографии Ю. Могаричева<sup>19</sup>. В настоящее время храм является частью обширного комплекса пещерного монастыря. Однако признать

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<sup>19</sup> Там же, с. 77–79.

существование храма и монастыря полностью синхронным, как это делает сам Ю. Могаричев<sup>20</sup>, нам не представляется возможным. Оставим этот вопрос за рамками данного исследования<sup>21</sup>.

Приступая к обзору памятника, выделим наиболее значимые из тех проблем с которыми сталкивается его исследователь. Как уже было сказано, при строительстве храма использован естественный грот со стенами округлой формы. Такую форму сохранили и основания ранних литургических устройств.

Не менее важной, с нашей точки зрения, представляется проблема периодизации комплекса. Мы выделяем два строительных периода — очень ранний и очень поздний, в промежутке между которыми храм, скорее всего, не использовался как храм<sup>22</sup>.

Перейдем к описанию литургических устройств храма. Важнейшими из них являются:

- основание престола в виде квадратной подрубki правильной формы (0,3×0,3 м) находится в виме храма.
- Пастофорий мог находится в юго-западной части храма. На полу здесь сохранился ряд подрубок, однако, часть из них предназначалась, вероятно, для нового иконостаса, и теперь уже разобрать, какие из них более древние, а какие менее, вряд ли представляется возможным. Вернее было бы говорить здесь о «зоне пастофория», которая может быть локализована с некоторой долей вероятности в юго-западной части храма.
- Первоначального протесиса, так же как и в храме «Судилище», нет.
- В восточной части алтаря есть основание скального синтрона. К сожалению, сохранность его не такова, чтобы можно было продолжить спекуляции на эту тему.
- Темплон в виде прямоугольной выгородки размерами 3×2,5 м. В настоящее время от него сохранились только подрубki на скале.
- Возможно, одна из многочисленных подрубок пола — это основание амвона; тогда аналогия с храмом «Судилище» была бы совершенно полной, но пока найти его не удалось.

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<sup>20</sup> Там же, с. 78.

<sup>21</sup> См. также: *Даниленко В. Н.* Монастырь Чильтер-коба: архитектурный аспект // История и археология Юго-Западного Крыма, Симферополь, 1993, с. 78–108. Заметим, что указанная работа до сих пор остается практически единственной, посвященной изучению структуры византийского монастыря в Крыму.

<sup>22</sup> В пользу данного предположения свидетельствует грубо вырубленное парное захоронение прямо за алтарем — в действующем храме такое вряд ли было бы возможным, — а также следы установки большого иконостаса, вероятно поствизантийского. К этому же времени относятся ниши в северной и южной стенах (см. рис. 6).

- Наиболее интересным литургическим устройством пещерного храма является двухступенчатая скальная экседра (рис. 7). Экседра — точно такая же как и в храме «Судилище», только в центре ее нет скамьи. Она находится в юго-восточной части храма; размеры ее 3,2×1,7 м.
- К северу от темплона в скале имеется основание агисмы — такое же, как и агисма «Судилища».
- Вдоль северной и южной стен в скале вырублены длинные скамьи для сидения.

Как видим, данный храм можно рассматривать как типологический аналог «Судилища», с той единственной разницей, что все, что в «Судилище» было вырублено в скале, здесь было достроено на скальных «фундаментах». Остается заметить, что в храме Челтер-Кобы экседра занимает совсем странное положение — она «прилеплена» прямо к южной части алтарной преграды. Такое положение заставляет задуматься о литургическом назначении экседры.

Зададимся вопросом: зачем же нужно было вырубать в скале литургическое приспособление, которое всего лишь «дублирует» синтрон алтаря? Прежде мы называли эти устройства клиросами. Однако, в действительности трудно представить себе клиросы столь гигантских размеров в горах юго-западной Таврики. Может быть, все-таки перед нами некий аналог настоящего амвона, где совершалась литургия оглашенных? Возможно; в этом случае можно сравнить наши экседры с сирийской бемой<sup>23</sup>. Разумеется, речь не может здесь идти ни о чем, кроме сходства. Основным отличием наших храмов от сирийских является то, что в сирийских нет синтрона. Но в храме «Судилище» есть и синтрон, и экседра, и амвон! Следует заметить также и то, что во всех известных до сих пор храмах с бемой алтарная апсида всегда уже, чем

<sup>23</sup> Бема — сирийский амвон; на беме совершалась литургия оглашенных (*Renhart E. Das Syriche Bema. Graz, 1995.*; *Lassus J., Thalenko G. Les ambons Syriens // Cahiers Archéologiques. Paris, 1951. Vo. 5, p. 75–122*; *Cassis M. The Bema in the East Syriac Church in Light of New Archaeological Evidence // HUGOYE: Journal of Syriac studies Vol. 5, No. 2. July 2002*; *Хрушкова Л. Г. Раннехристианские памятники... с. 226–231*). Сразу следует заметить, что храмов с бемой не очень много (всего описано 48 памятников) и большая их часть (39) находится на территории провинции Сирия Прима, с которой совпадала территория Антиохийского патриархата (*Renhart E. Das Syriche Bema... р. 28–32*). Нигде, кроме Сирии, бемы пока обнаружены не были. Попытки Л. Хрушковой идентифицировать одно из литургических устройств октагонального храма Севастополиса (Абхазия) с сирийской бемой (*Хрушкова Л. Г. Раннехристианские памятники... с. 203–259*) представляются нам крайне неосновательными: прежде всего потому, что бемы вне Сирии пока обнаружены не были; во вторых, потому, что в самой Сирии бемы никогда не встречаются в октагональных храмах; наконец, в третьих, потому, что структура, рассмотренная Л. Хрушковой, имеет не западную, как всегда у бемы, а восточную ориентацию.

бема. В храме же «Судилище» экседра вдвое шире алтарной апсиды. Впрочем, пещера — это не базилика; в ней вообще нет нефов, и поэтому все литургические устройства могут быть гипертрофированы.

#### *Аналогии*

Итак два пещерных храма с экседрами уникальны — ни в Херсонесе, ни в горах юго-западной Таврики подобные храмы больше не выявлены. Однако соблазн увидеть хотя бы приблизительную аналогию нашим экседрам в Сирии был непреодолимо велик. Нами был рассмотрен типологический ряд ближневосточных храмов, предложенный Полиной Донсель-Вут в статье «Обстановка литургии на Ближнем Востоке»<sup>24</sup>. И хотя прямых аналогий нам найти не удалось, мы хотим предложить в качестве отдаленной аналогии храм св. Креста в Ресафе (Сергиополе), который содержит и синтрон и бему<sup>25</sup> (рис. 8)<sup>26</sup>. Предлагая подобную аналогию, мы вполне отдаем себе отчет в том, что речь может идти только о сходстве, но не более.

#### *Датировка*

Если оба наших храма можно представить как типологические аналогии, то и датировка их — одна единая проблема. Существенными моментами здесь являются отсутствие протесиса<sup>27</sup> и выдвинутая вперед алтарная преграда. И то и другое, как нам кажется, свидетельствует о доиконоборческом времени возникновения храмов. Можно с некоторой долей вероятности отнести их строительство к VI–VII вв.

Закljučая рассмотрение вопроса, можно сказать, что наличие в доиконоборческих пещерных храмах юго-западной Таврики экседры, отдаленно напоминающей сирийскую бему, снова поднимает вопрос о влиянии антиохийской литургической традиции в Крыму<sup>28</sup>.

### ХРАМЫ-ТРИКОНХИ

В данную группу мы включили храмы триконхиальной формы. Алтарь помещается в этих храмах в восточной апсиде, а две другие входят в состав наоса: в них помещают обычно скамьи для сидения или (в одном случае) широкий стол. Аналогией такой планировке вряд ли могут

<sup>24</sup> *Donceel-Voute P.* La mise en scene de la liturgie au Proche Orient IV–IX s.: les “provinces liturgiques” // *The Christian East, Its Institutions and Its Thought: A Critical Reflection.* / Ed. R. F. Taft. Roma, 1996.

<sup>25</sup> На плане хорошо видно, что внутри самой бемы сидений нет — очевидно, потому что есть синтрон. Не то у нас, где есть и синтрон, и скамья экседры!

<sup>26</sup> *Donceel-Voute P.* La mise en scene de la liturgie... p. 325–326, fig. 23. 2.

<sup>27</sup> *Виноградов А. Ю., Гайдуков Н. Е., Желтов М. С.* Пещерные храмы Таврики... с. 72–80.

<sup>28</sup> Там же.

быть поздние (XI–XIV вв.) триконхи Балкан и Афона<sup>29</sup>, но, наоборот, древние памятники: так называемый «четыреапсидный» мемориальный храм в Херсонесе, а также алтарные части базилики Рождества Христова в Вифлееме VI в.<sup>30</sup> и базилики Крузе в Херсонесе<sup>31</sup>. В обзорной работе<sup>32</sup> данная группа представлена четырьмя памятниками: храм № 1 у подъемной дороги Эски-Кермена (так называемый «большой»), храм № 2 у подъемной дороги Эски-Кермена (так называемый «у городских ворот»), храм «Трех всадников» на Эски-Кермене и подземный храм на главной улице в Херсонесе. Однако в настоящей работе мы ограничиваемся рассмотрением первых трех храмов, литургическое устройство которых, как кажется, понято нами лучше.

*«Большой пещерный храм»*

«Большой пещерный храм» на подъемной дороге (городище Эски-Кермен) расположен в начале третьего марша подъемной дороги, ведущей на городище Эски-Кермен (Бахчисарайский р-н). Уровень его пола примерно на 2,5 м выше дороги. Вероятно, храм входил в состав небольшого монастырского комплекса; к северо-западу от храма в скале вырублено небольшое вспомогательное помещение, а внизу прямо у дороги несколько костниц и могил. Не исключено, что некоторые помещения монастыря, наземные находились ещё выше, прямо на территории городища.

Общая форма храма — триконхиальная; размеры: 4×4,7×2,3 м (рис. 9). Заметим здесь одну присущую почти всем храмам юго-западной Таврики любопытную особенность, на которую нам любезно указал А. Ю. Виноградов: все пещерные храмы не имеют нартекса, а наос сильно укорочен; получается, что храм почти что сводится к алтарю.

В настоящее время вся западная стена полностью разрушена и трудно себе представить ее первоначальный вид. Алтарная апсида храма имеет полукруглую форму, она ориентирована на СВ.

Рассмотрим литургические устройства храма.

- В центре алтарной апсиды, внутри алтарной арки имеется прямоугольная подрубка под престол.

<sup>29</sup> Которые суть ни что иное, как вариант развития поздневизантийского крестовокупольного храма, где апсиды просто пристраиваются по центру северной и южной стен. См. напр. *Чанева-Дечевска Н.* Църковната архитектура в България през XI–XIV век. София, 1988, с. 134–155.

<sup>30</sup> *Tsafiri Y.* The Development of Ecclesiastical Architecture in Palestine // *Ancient Churches Revealed*. Jerusalem, 1993, p.8; *Беляев Л. А.* Христианские древности. М., 1998, с. 51–52.

<sup>31</sup> *Якобсон А. Л.* Раннесредневековый Херсонес: Очерки истории материальной культуры // МИА. 1959. № 63, с. 188–190.

<sup>32</sup> *Виноградов А. Ю., Гайдуков Н. Е., Желтов М. С.* Пещерные храмы Таврики... с. 72–80.

- Протесиса в храме нет, но пастофорий вполне мог располагаться в восточном конце южной конхи; здесь имеется основание для столика (?).
- Алтарная преграда храма скорее всего имела трапециевидную форму. Один из возможных вариантов ее реконструкции представлен нами на рис. 10. Поскольку конструкция была деревянной и была установлена в распор, от нее сохранились только следы даже не подрубок, а своеобразных «упоров» в камне.
- Синтрон храма играл, скорее, чисто декоративную роль, его толщина составляет всего несколько сантиметров, однако хорошо прослеживается скальное основание сидения для священнослужителя в южной части алтаря.
- В восточной части алтарной апсиды имеется одно достаточно примечательное устройство. Под широкой, но неглубокой алтарной нишей был оставлен небольшой скальный выступ, в центре которого было выдолблено квадратное отверстие (такое же отверстие есть и в центре самой ниши), и от этого отверстия выведен желобок, который продолжается и в полу храма, а затем ведет к обрыву. По всей видимости, здесь из скалы бил небольшой родничок, который был оформлен как агиасма. Очевидно, это устройство было некой важной литургической особенностью храма.
- Алтарную апсиду отделяет от основного объёма храма высокая алтарная арка.
- В южном и северном рукавах триконха были устроены скамьи для сидения, причем никаких особо выделенных мест на этих скамьях нет.

Наиболее ярким из литургических устройств храма, по нашему мнению, является агиасма. Нельзя ли предположить, что и сам храм только некоторым образом «оформляет» этот источник? Для решения сложной проблемы литургической датировки храма нам представляется важным следующее: отсутствие протесиса (см. выше) и выдвинутая в неф трапециевидная алтарная преграда; такие преграды не характерны для поздних византийских храмов.

#### *«Пещерный храм у городских ворот»*

«Пещерный храм у городских ворот» расположен примерно в 25 м к югу от «большого пещерного храма». Вероятнее всего, храм имел самостоятельное значение и не был связан ни с монастырским комплексом «большого пещерного храма», ни с храмом «Судилице», также расположенным по соседству. Другой вопрос, что это было за значение. Для понимания роли всего храма важно понять значение его южной «пристройки», выполненной в виде отдельного помещения, соединенного с основным объёмом церкви дверным проемом и имеющем в



восточной части приподнятую «лежанку», а в западной — окно. Очевидно, что перед нами не просто склеп, а небольшой мавзолей, скрывавший остатки некоего чтимого усопшего. В основании южной конхи находится не полукруг, а опять-таки прямоугольная лежанка. Кроме того, в самом храме в северной части имеется широкая «лежанка», высотой около метра. Такая «лежанка» вполне могла использоваться при отпевании усопших. Три «лежанки» на такой небольшой храм — не слишком ли это много? В соответствии с этим и храм можно представить себе как кладбищенский.

Общие размеры храма 4,1×4,7×2 м, он, так же как и «большой пещерный храм», имеет триконхиальную форму (рис. 11). Алтарная апсида полукруглой формы, размерами 1,7×2,3 м. Литургические устройства храма выражены слабо. Тем не менее, можно выделить следующие:

- Престол храма не сохранился, нет и никаких следов крепления для него. Зато на гравюре из неизданного альбома гр. А. Уварова<sup>33</sup> хорошо виден престольный камень, стоящий внутри алтарной апсиды.
- Первоначального отделения протесиса в храме нет, вероятно, позднейший стол протесиса представлял собой деревянный или каменный столик, установленный прямо в алтаре.
- Никаких иных литургических устройств, подрубок для крепления алтарной преграды и т. п. в храме не сохранилось.
- В западной части церкви у самого входа было вырублено подковообразное углубление с насечкой в форме «елочки». Из этого углубления пробито отверстие, ведущее прямо на дорогу. Ю. Могаричев считает это углубление «остатками тарапана»<sup>34</sup>, но, конечно, это никакой не тарапан (глубина устройства минимальна), но дренажное приспособление для отвода воды, которое, пока храм функционировал, было скрыто под полом.

Из вышесказанного следует, что литургическая датировка храма затруднена. Некрополь в районе подъёмной дороги существовал с конца IX — начала X века; очевидно, что погребальная церковь должна была предшествовать ему<sup>35</sup>. Отметим однако, что все спекуляции на данную тему могут быть основаны только на архитектурном сходстве обоих триконхов, расположенных у подъездной дороги на городище. Но сходством архитектурных форм сходства обоих храмов практически и исчерпываются. Если «большой пещерный храм» являлся частью монастырского комплекса и имеет явное мемориальное значение (наличие почитаемой агисмы) и в нем, кроме того, ярко выражен набор

<sup>33</sup> Могаричев Ю. М. Пещерные церкви Таврики... с. 237, рис. 169.

<sup>34</sup> Там же, с. 42.

<sup>35</sup> Там же, с. 43.

литургических устройств, то «пещерный храм у городских ворот» скорее всего был обычным «кладбищенским храмом», с минимальным набором литургических устройств. Ю. Могаричев привлекает для датировки обоих храмов обширный археологический материал из костниц, расположенных в непосредственной близости от обоих храмов<sup>36</sup>. Бесспорно, исследование Эски-Керменского некрополя имеет важное значение для датировки городища в целом, но материал некрополя — это материал некрополя, а материал храмов (или даже и его отсутствие) — это материал храмов.

*Храм «Трех Всадников» у городища Эски-Кермен  
(Бахчисарайский р-н)*

Храм «Трех Всадников» был высечен в отдельно стоящем камне, расположенном к юго-востоку от городища Эски-Кермен. Не вызывает сомнения мемориальное значение храма<sup>37</sup>. В плане храм имеет триконхальную форму (5,5×3,5×2,7 м), что хорошо видно на плане (рис. 12). Паралитургическим центром храма была некая реликвия, замурованная в северном столбе алтарной арки<sup>38</sup>. В южной части алтаря имеется скамья для духовенства, а сам храм по периметру окружен невысокими скальными скамьями. Ниша, которая служила основанием престола, находится в центре алтарной апсиды. Эта ниша имеет шестигранную форму, вероятно такую же имело и основание престола.

Алтарь отделен от храма скальной выгородкой трапециевидной формы со следами крепления двух экранов темплона<sup>39</sup>. Хорошо видны пазы для крепления космита на внутренней стороне алтарной арки, а также отверстия для крепления икон на внешней. Но наиболее интересным, с точки зрения литургического устройства, нам представляется одновременное бытование в храме и пастофория, расположенного в южной конхе храма (в скале видны пазы для установки столика), и протесиса, который помещался прямо на поверхности темплона. Это позволяет нам говорить по крайней мере о двух литургических периодах в жизни храма.

<sup>36</sup> Там же, с. 42–44.

<sup>37</sup> Там же, с. 51.

<sup>38</sup> Подробнее об этом см.: *Гайдуков Н. Е.* Литургическое устройство пещерных храмов юго-западной Таврики // *Сурож, Сугдейя, Солдаия в истории и культуре Руси — Украины.* Материалы научн. конф. (16–22 сентября 2002 г). Киев — Судак, 2002, с. 71–75.

<sup>39</sup> Хорошо было бы знать, из какого материала были изготовлены эти экраны и прочие съемные части. Дело в том, что «настоящий» проконесский мрамор использовался в строительстве храмов только до VI в. (*Mango C.* *Byzantine architecture.* New York, 1976, p. 24), но ведь могли применяться и местные мраморы.

Обращает на себя внимание фреска, надпись которой обычно служит основанием для датировки, но очевидно, что фреска здесь не первоначальна. Для того, чтобы написать ее, северная стена храма и потолок были подтесаны; таким образом был создан своеобразный экран — гладкая поверхность, пригодная для написания фрески. Очевидно, что фреска и захоронение в полу храма прямо против нее составляют один комплекс. И подобный комплекс мог возникнуть только после того, как было ослаблено основное мемориальное значение храма. Подведя итог нашим наблюдениям, мы можем сказать, что в храме совмещались литургическая и мемориальная функции.

Рассмотрим литургические устройства храма.

- Подрубка под престол в апсиде.
- Наличие и пастофория (в южном рукаве), и протесиса (в северной части алтаря).
- Темплон в виде трапецевидной выгородки.
- Хорошо виден паз для установки космита, сохранились даже пазы для подвешивания икон на западной стороне алтарных столбов.
- Синтрона нет.
- Скамья для священнослужителя, устроенная в южной части алтаря.
- Амвона нет.
- Алтарная арка над темпломом.
- Западную и северную стены опоясывают прямоугольные скальные скамьи.
- Кроме всех вышеперечисленных в храме имеется еще одно специальное устройство — столп-реликварий в северной колонке темплона — первоначальный паралитургический центр храма.

### *Датировка*

На основании чтения ктиторской надписи Н. И. Репников датирует храм XIII веком<sup>40</sup>, а Домбровский, на основании фресковой росписи, — XIV веком<sup>41</sup>. В настоящее время исследователи вернулись к датировкам Н. И. Репникова<sup>42</sup> и датируют храм по строительной надписи XIII века. Косвенно в пользу такой датировки говорит и штукатурка, аналогичная штукатурке храма Успения, а там роспись строго датирована<sup>43</sup>! Но

<sup>40</sup> Могаричев Ю. М. Пещерные церкви Таврики..., с. 50.

<sup>41</sup> Там же.

<sup>42</sup> Волконская И. Г. Росписи пещерных храмов Эски-Кермена и его округа (Юго-Западный Крым) // Макариевские чтения. Вып. 10. М. — Можайск, 2003, с. 284–311.

<sup>43</sup> Гайдуков Н. Е. Новое прочтение одной надписи храма Успения пещерного города Эски-Кермен // Л. Н. Гумилев — Теория этногенеза и исторические судьбы Евразии: Материалы конференции. Т. 1. СПб., 2002, с. 169–171.

нами уже было показано, что фреска была нанесена на стену уже после перестройки храма и, следовательно, возникла позже строительства. Насколько же именно позже — сказать на основании имеющихся данных пока затруднительно.

В храме присутствуют определяющие признаки как доиконоборческого (пастофорий, трапезиевидная алтарная преграда — виден даже след для установки космита), так и послеиконоборческого (протесис, оформленная реликвия, отверстие для подвешивания икон) периодов развития богослужения. Итак, храм можно считать «переходным звеном» или «мозаичным типом».

### *Аналогии*

Предположение о связи триконхиальной структуры с мартирием высказывал еще А. Грабар<sup>44</sup>. Действительно, самый известный в мире христианский триконхиальный храм — это храм Рождества Христова в Вифлееме (строительный период — IV в.<sup>45</sup>). Однако есть и кафедральные (Гермополис 430–440<sup>46</sup>), и монастырские (Белый монастырь 440<sup>47</sup>) храмы-триконхи (рис. 13). Известны триконхиальные храмы и в Херсонесе — это «базилика Крузе»<sup>48</sup> и небольшая базилика, расположенная к востоку от баптистерия Уваровской базилики<sup>49</sup>. Наибольшее распространение триконхиальная структура получила к VI–VII вв., но есть храмы, относящиеся и к IX–XII вв.<sup>50</sup> Впоследствии несколько видоизмененная триконхиальная структура стала популярна на Афоне и на Балканах<sup>51</sup>.

Храмы-триконхи сочетали в себе мемориальные (св. вода, реликвия) и литургические функции. Для твердой датировки мы пока ничего не можем предложить, кроме отсутствия первоначального пространства протесиса и выдвинутой вперед алтарной преграды, явно доиконоборческого времени. Весьма важным представляется нам сосредоточить внимание на столпе-реликварии. Таким столбам, содержащим реликвии, по-

<sup>44</sup> *Grabar A.* Martyrium. Paris, 1946. Vol. 1, p. 102–119. Здесь же приведен обширный материал.

<sup>45</sup> *Tsafir Y.* The Development of Ecclesiastical Architecture... p. 8–10.

<sup>46</sup> *Krauthimer R.* Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture. Harmondsworth, 1965, p. 87.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88.

<sup>48</sup> *Яacobсон А. Л.* Раннесредневековый Херсонес: Очерки истории материальной культуры // МИА. 1959. № 63, с. 188–190.

<sup>49</sup> Там же, с. 194–195.

<sup>50</sup> *Завадская А. И.* О происхождении христианской архитектуры ранневизантийского Херсонеса // Материалы по археологии, истории и этнографии Таврии. Вып. 8. Симферополь, 2001, с. 267–268.

<sup>51</sup> *Чанева-Дечевска Н.* Църковната архитектура в България... с. 134–155.

священа статья Н. Тетерятниковой<sup>52</sup>, а также статья Й. Цафрира, где в числе реликвий в церкви Доры (Палестина) описывается колонна с прямоугольным углублением, в которую был вмонтирован камень от Голгофы, о чем говорит греческая надпись<sup>53</sup>. Аналогичное отверстие, только значительно меньшего размера, имеется на одной из колонок, хранящейся в лапидарии Херсонесского музея.

Общий результат наблюдений над тремя группами древнейших пещерных храмов Таврики можно представить себе следующим образом:

- В «храме с баптистерием» городища Тепе-Кермен, так называемой «пещерной базилике», мы видим, как методы наземного строительства переносились в подземное.
- Храмы-триконхи — по крайней мере те, которые мы рассмотрели, — явно имели, помимо литургического, мемориальное значение.
- Крайне перспективным нам представляется вопрос об эседрах в пещерных храмах Юго-Западной Таврики.

Таким образом, простое словесное описание литургических устройств представляется одновременно и наиболее простым способом описания сакрального пространства храмов. Однако слова — это только слова; «словесный портрет» литургических устройств — это не то, что нам необходимо. Заметим, что сравнение графического материала, т. е. планов и схем, тоже имеет свои недостатки. Для анализа, если мы всерьез хотим анализировать сакральное пространство, необходима строгая «кодификация» литургических устройств.

В заключение нам хотелось бы сказать несколько слов об изучении христианского храма. Уместно при этом, как нам кажется, говорить не об одном, а о нескольких направлениях подобного изучения. Каких же?

- Изучения местоположения (топографии) и функций храма.
- Изучения богослужения.
- Изучения храмовой архитектуры.
- Изучения частей храма и их, например, численных соотношений.
- И наконец, изучения литургических устройств.

Из приведенного списка только богослужение и архитектура изучены более или менее удовлетворительно, а также существует целая новая наука «сакральная топография», изучающая первую из перечис-

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<sup>52</sup> *Teteriatnikov N. B. Relics in the Walls, Pillars, and Columns of Byzantine Churches // Восточнохристианские реликвии / Ред.-сост. А. М. Лидов. М., 2003, с. 81–84.*

<sup>53</sup> *Tsafir Y. The Loka Sancta and the Invention of Relics in Palestine from the Fourth to Seventh Centuries: Their Impact on the Ecclesiastical Architecture of the Holy Land // Восточнохристианские реликвии / Ред.-сост. А. М. Лидов. М., 2003, с. 58.*

ленных проблем<sup>54</sup>. Последние же два направления остаются практически без внимания. Если в последние годы и появилось несколько работ, посвященных литургическим устройствам, то это либо учебники, либо работы, где рассматриваются конкретные устройства или отдельные регионы. Ни одной монографии, целиком посвященной литургическим устройствам восточной церкви, до сих пор не написано. А между тем именно литургические устройства связывают богослужение с архитектурой. Только изучая их и изучая их комплексы, мы можем понять или, если угодно, «прочитать» церковное здание. Иного пути нет! Приятное исключение здесь — ключевая работа Метьюза<sup>55</sup>, книга П. Донсель-Вут<sup>56</sup>, а также книги Р. Тафта<sup>57</sup>. В основной же массе литературы, даже специальной, храмы по-прежнему описываются как большие «сарай», в которых ничего не происходило.

Однако изучение литургических устройств и их наборов представляется нам только одним из способов описания сакрального пространства христианского храма; намного более плодотворным кажется изучение отдельных частей храма (алтарь, наос, нартекс и т. п.) и их соотношений. Насколько нам известно, ни одной общей работы, где рассматривался бы не только отдельный регион или время, не существует. Мало того, до сих пор практически все исследователи иллюстрируют свои публикации лишь внешними контурами храмов, а внутреннее устройство игнорируют. Это исключает возможность получить численные соотношения между частями храма и сравнить их между собой. Ситуация здесь напоминает положение в археологии начала XX века, когда основной объем археологического материала просто не фиксировался. Указанное направление (исследование частей храма и численных соотношений между ними) и представляется нам наиболее перспективным для изучения сакрального пространства христианского храма<sup>58</sup>.

<sup>54</sup> См. напр.: Сакральная топография средневекового города. Сб. под ред. А. Л. Баталова и Л. А. Беляева. М. 1998.

<sup>55</sup> *Mathews Th. F. Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy.* London, 1980.

<sup>56</sup> *Donceel-Voute P. La mise en scene de la liturgie...*

<sup>57</sup> Полную библиографию см. в: *Тафт Р. Ф. Византийский церковный обряд.* СПб., 2000.

<sup>58</sup> Автор выражает благодарность диакону Михаилу Желтову, который, не побоюсь сказать, превратил мои сумбурные заметки в эту статью и исключительно из личной скромности отказался от соавторства.

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SACRED SPACE AND LITURGICAL ARRANGEMENTS  
OF PRE-ICONOCLAST CAVE-CHURCHES  
IN SOUTH-WEST CRIMEA

The sacred space of a Christian church certainly exists, but how can it be described? Obviously, different religious service texts for example euchologia or temple consecration ranks were created for quite different purposes. Liturgy itself conducted in a church is neither a sacred space nor one of its elements, it is a mere operator of such an area.

From this perspective it would be useful to study the liturgical arrangement of some cave churches in southwest Crimea. In spite of the fact that there are not very many cave churches in the Crimea (only about 30) liturgical arrangements are in good condition there. Liturgical arrangements, which were hewn in the rock simultaneously with the church, could not disappear completely. They can not be destroyed; if such attempts were made, the place where they used to be, will nevertheless be clearly seen in the plan. It looks like a palimpsest, in which any remodeling of the liturgical arrangement can be easily noticeable.

The study addresses liturgical arrangements of some of the earliest cave churches in southwest Crimea. It should be mentioned that the changes that occurred in the Byzantine liturgy were most vividly reflected in the change of liturgical arrangements.

The first typology of cave churches in southwest Crimea was described on the basis of the liturgical arrangement evolution in our paper "Cave churches in southwest Crimea: on typology and chronology"<sup>1</sup>. Our typology and systematization is based on the evolution of the niche for *prothesis*. Some indirect evidence of this typology is the date of other cave churches in which liturgical arrangements could be related to the proposed types more or less satisfactory. However, the framework of the proposed types does not include all the churches. Some of them are mentioned below:

- Churches that did not preserve liturgical arrangements
- Churches of non-Byzantine liturgical tradition
- And finally, churches that do not have a special place for prothesis. They must have appeared before prothesis became an obligatory part of the Byzantine tradition, so that a typology based solely on the location of the *prothesis* can not be used to analyze these churches.

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<sup>1</sup> Виноградов А. Ю., Гайдуков Н. Е., Желтов М. С. Пещерные храмы Таврики: к проблеме типологии и хронологии // Российская Археология. № 1. 2005, с. 72–80.

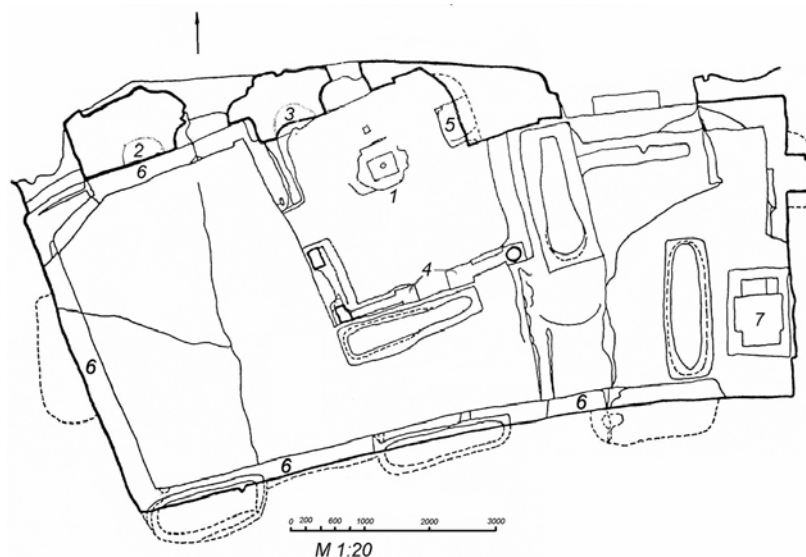
It is the last group of churches that this study deals with. We have divided them into three groups. These are cave basilica, exedra churches, and triconche churches.

The general result of our observation of the three groups of the Crimea ancient cave churches can be seen as follows:

- In the “cave with baptistery” of the site of ancient settlement Tepe-Kermen, so called “cave basilica”, one can see above-the-ground construction methods used in the underground.
- Triconche churches (at least the ones we considered) apart from liturgical purposes were also used as memorials.
- The problem of exedra in southwest Crimea cave churches seems to open up good prospects for study.

The general conclusion of this paper can be reduced to follows: today a simple verbal description of liturgical arrangements is both the easiest and the most convenient method of describing the sacred space of a Christian church.

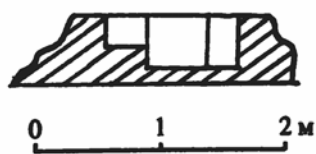
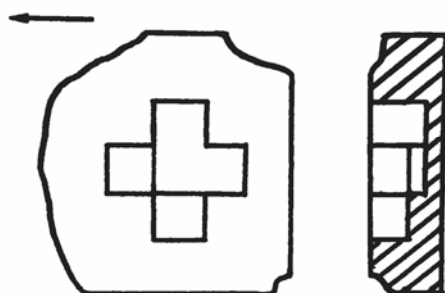




1. Пещерный «храм с баптистерием», городище Тепе-Кермен (по Ю. М. Могаричеву). Условные обозначения: 1 — местоположение престола, 2 — ранний протезис, 3 — поздний протезис, 4 — алтарная преграда, 5 — скамья для духовенства, 6 — пристенные скальные скамьи, 7 — скальный баптистерий

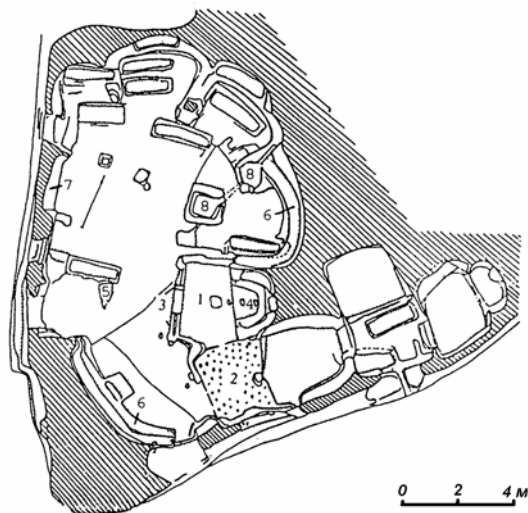


2. Панорама пещерного «храма с баптистерием»



2

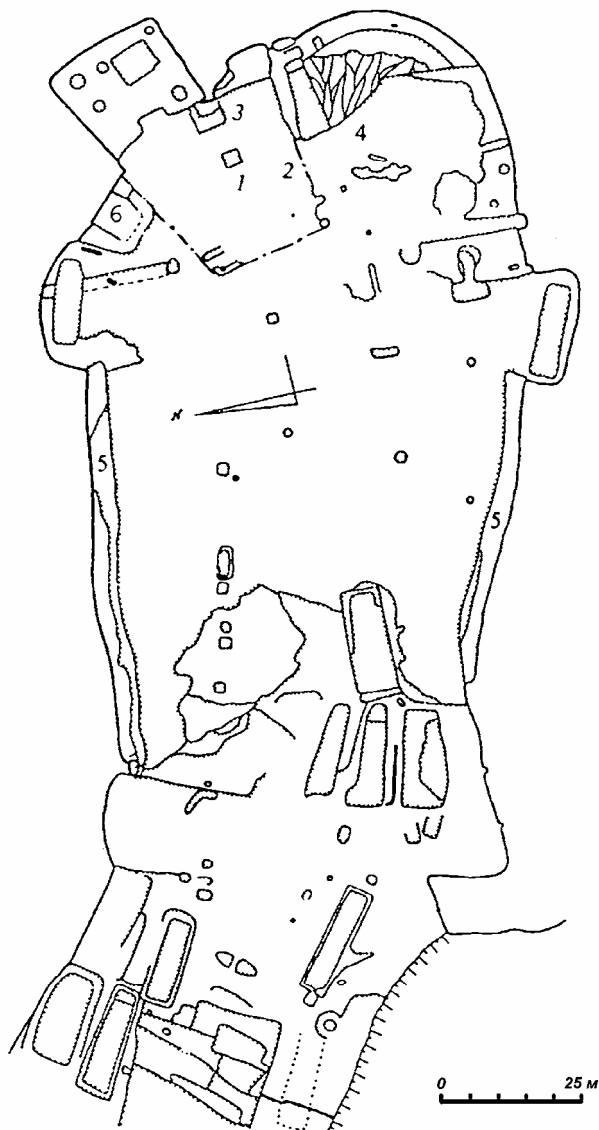
3. Крестильная купель: 1 — «храма с баптистерием» на городище Тепе-Кермен, 2 — церкви № 3 в крепости Цибилла (Абхазия), по Л. Хрушковой



4. Пещерный храм «Судилище» городища Эски-Кермен (по Ю. М. Могаичеву). Условные обозначения: 1 — местоположение престола, 2 — пастофорий, 3 — алтарная преграда, 4 — синтрон с кафедрой на горнем месте, 5 — амвон, 6 — скальные экседры, 7 — пристенные скальные скамьи, 8 — скальный баптистерий

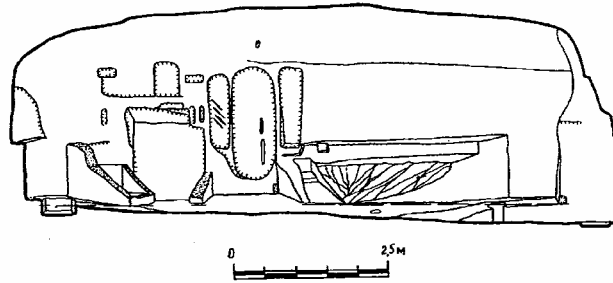
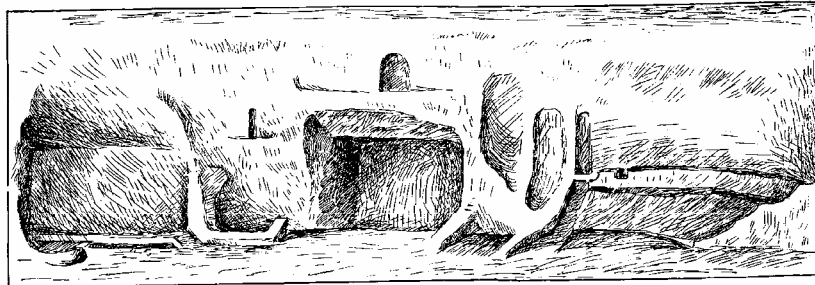


5. Пещерный храм «Судилище». На первом плане амвон, сзади экседра

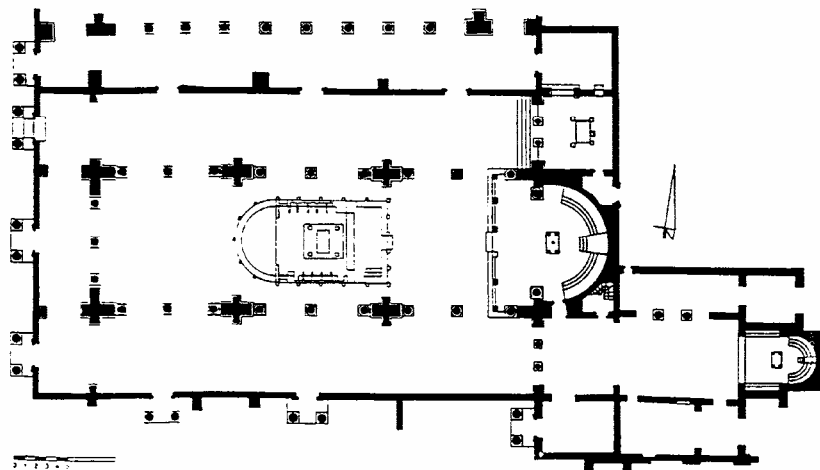


6. Пещерный храм монастыря Челтер-Коба, близ с. Малосадовое Бахчисарайского района (по Ю. М. Могаричеву).

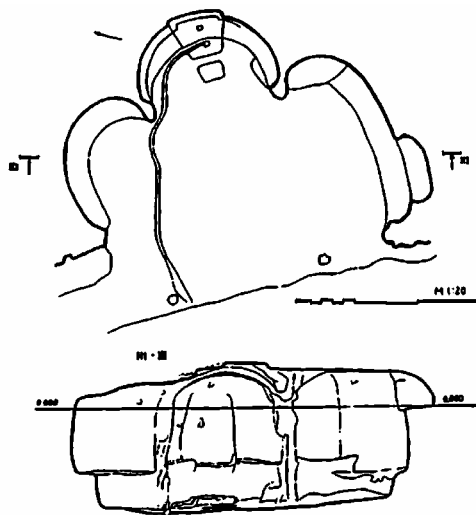
Условные обозначения: —•—•— положение первоначальной алтарной преграды, 1 — местоположение престола, 2 — алтарная преграда, 3 — синтрон с кафедрой (?), 4 — скальная экседра, 5 — пристенные скальные скамьи, 6 — скальный баптистерий



7. Пещерный храм монастыря Челтер-Коба. Алтарная часть: по Э. Карнау-шенко и Ю. Могаричеву



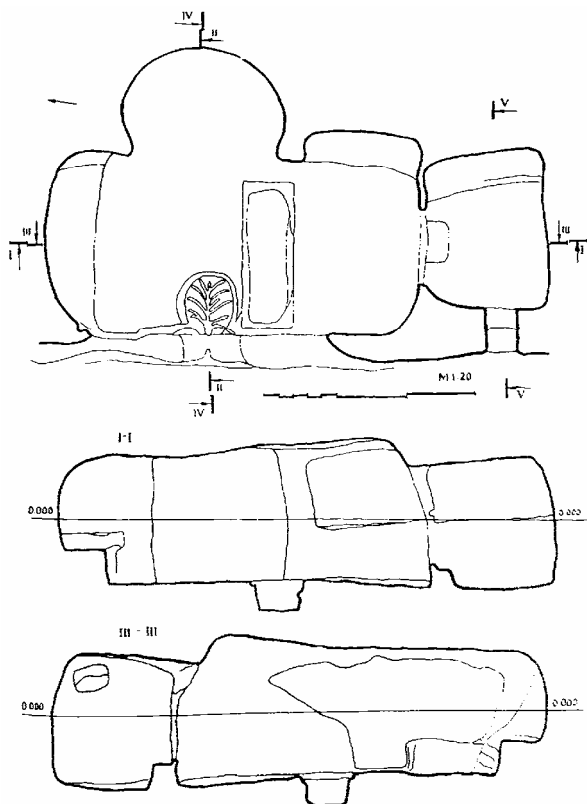
8. Храм Св. Креста в Ресафе (Сергиополь), план (по Р. Donceel-Voute)



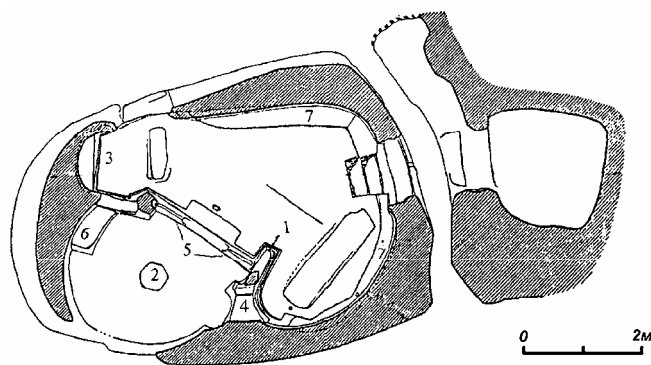
9. «Большой пещерный храм» на подъемной дороге, ведущей к городищу Эски-Кермен (по Ю. Могаричеву)



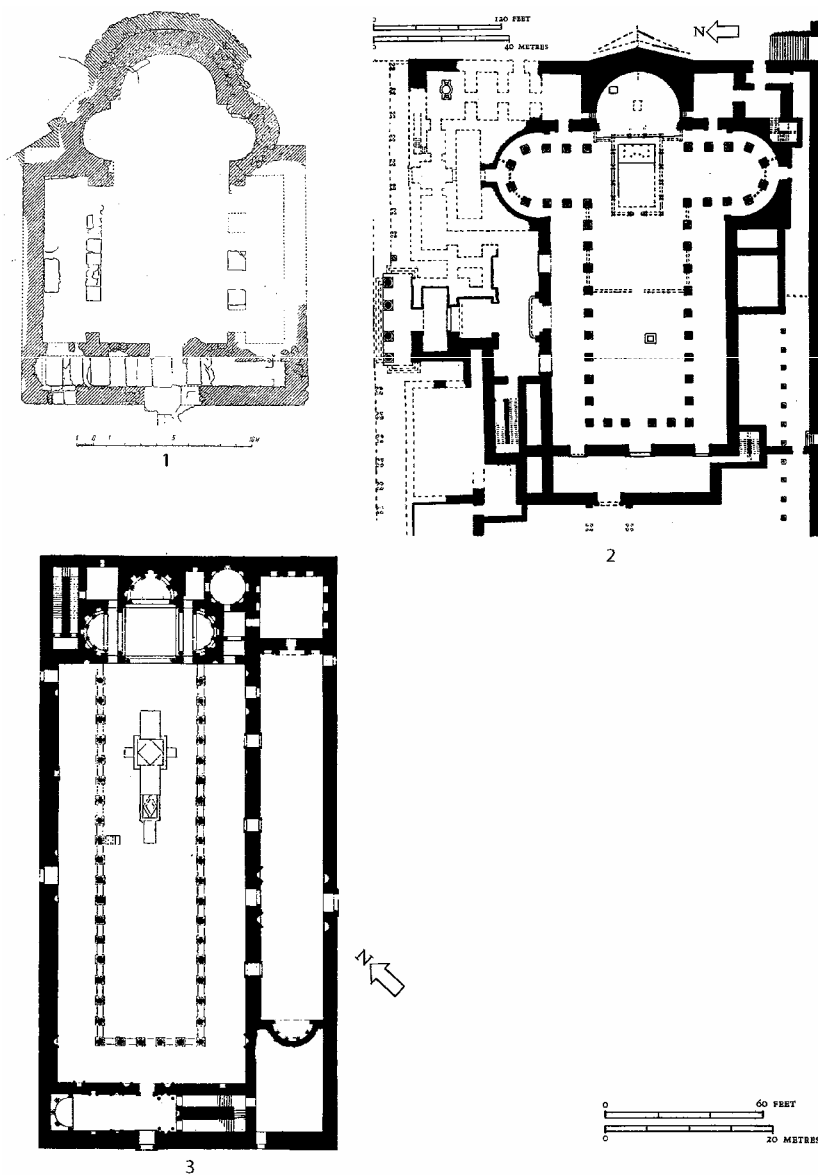
10. Реконструкция алтарной преграды «большого пещерного храма»



11. «Пещерный храм у городских ворот» городища Эски-Кермен (по Ю. Могаричеву)



12. Пещерный храм «Трех всадников», городище Эски-Кермен (по Ю. Могаричеву). Условные обозначения: 1 — столп-реликварий, 2 — местоположение престола, 3 — пастофорий, 4 — протезис, 5 — алтарная преграда, 6 — скамья для духовенства, 7 — пристенные скальные скамьи



13. Византийские триконхиальные храмы: 1 — базилика Крузе (Херсонес), (по А. Якобсону); 2 — Гермополис, 3 — Белый монастырь (по Р. Краутхаймеру). На рисунках хорошо видно, что северная и южная экседры базилики Крузе и Белого монастыря — часть алтаря, а экседры базилики Гермополиса — трансепт



Slobodan Ćurčić

CAVE AND CHURCH.  
AN EASTERN CHRISTIAN HIEROTOPICAL  
SYNTHESIS

In this article I propose to examine certain aspects of the symbolic and functional definition of sacred space in the religious sphere of Eastern Orthodox Christianity. Specifically, my focus will be on the appearance of a distinctive, albeit relatively rare phenomenon — the juxtaposition of a natural cave with a man-made church building and on the implications of such a relationship in Eastern Orthodox Christian practice.

The symbolic understanding of the sanctuary (bema) of an Eastern Orthodox Christian church as “the cave of Bethlehem where Christ was born, and that of the cave where He was buried” (i. e. Jerusalem) was articulated in these words in the so-called *Historia Mystagoga*, a work attributed to Patriarch Germanos I (715–730)<sup>1</sup>. Thus, symbolizing the beginning and the end of Christ’s earthly life, the bema of a Byzantine church may be said to have encapsulated in the minds of the believers the Holy Land itself. Expanding this notion to the paradigm of the Byzantine church, symbolically perceived as the Christian Cosmos, sacred earthly topography as embodied in the bema may be thought of as having been juxtaposed with the symbolic vision of the Heavenly Jerusalem embodied in the domed naos<sup>2</sup>. The symbolic vision of the Holy Land, architecturally speaking, was given the setting of the semicircular apse that, according to the quoted metaphor of Patriarch Germanos, could also be understood as a cave<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> *Mango C.* The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312–1453. Sources and Documents. Toronto, Buffalo and London, rpt. 1993, p. 141–143.

<sup>2</sup> The notion of the ‘Heavenly Jerusalem’ as symbolically expressed in Byzantine church architecture and its interior decoration has been a subject of several studies in recent years. See especially: *Lidov A.* Heavenly Jerusalem: The Byzantine Approach // The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Art = Jewish Art 23–24 (1997–1998), 341–353, with older literature on the subject.

<sup>3</sup> “The conch is after the manner of the cave of Bethlehem where Christ was born, and that of the Cave where He was buried...”; cf. *Mango* (as in f. n. 1), p. 142.

At this point, it is essential to articulate two distinct aspects related to the notion of sacredness of caves. The first, mythical in essence, is linked directly to Christ himself. Though rooted in unsubstantiated accounts, the idea of Christ having been born in a cave and having ultimately been buried in one was fully articulated long before Patriarch Germanos. Its author actually may have been Eusebius of Cesarea<sup>4</sup>. The second notion of the sacredness of caves is a direct product of monasticism and specifically of Palestinian monasticism, where anchorite dwelling in caves began early, and from where it appears to have spread to other parts of the Eastern Christian world. The latter phenomenon is unmistakably linked to the first, but since neither is the specific subject of my paper, I will merely offer a few general observations on the topic by way of an introduction.

We may fruitfully begin with Eusebius, Bishop of Cesarea (c. 265–340), who is thought to have been the author of an ideological concept recently defined by Peter Walker as “The Triad of Caves”. These involve: (1) the cave of Bethlehem, according to Eusebius “the Cave of His first Theophany”; (2) the cave “of His great struggle over death”, or Jerusalem; and finally (3) the cave “of his ultimate Ascension”, or the Mount of Olives<sup>5</sup>. Notwithstanding the fact that serious problems, both textual and physical, exist with ‘the three caves’ in Eusebius’ writing, according to Walker, the concept of the “Triad of Caves” was his conscious construction. As such this idea would have been either a reflection of, or even possibly the programmatic basis of Constantine’s building program in the Holy Land. This involved, it must be recalled, the three great basilicas — the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and the Basilica of Eleona on the Mount of Olives. Eusebius, at least in his *de Laudatio Constantini*, credits the emperor in these words: “He chose these three places, each distinguished by a sacred cave, and adorned them with rich buildings”<sup>6</sup>.

The question of the credibility of Eusebius’ identification of the crucial events from Christ’s earthly life — Nativity, Crucifixion / Resurrection, and Ascension — with the three caves, need not detain us at this point. Far more important in my argument is the reception of this idea in later times. One of the more remarkable aspects of monasticism in Palestine, from its beginnings in the fourth century on, was the proliferation of ascetic seclusion in individual caves. It would appear that the monastic emulation of Christ’s earthly path toward ultimate triumph over death, in Palestinian practice very

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<sup>4</sup> Egeria’s Travels to the Holy Land / Transl. and ed. by J. Wilkinson. Jerusalem and Warminster, 1981, p. 10.

<sup>5</sup> Walker P. W. Holy City, Holy Places? Christian Attitudes to Jerusalem and the Holy Land in the Fourth Century. Oxford, 1990, p. 184–194. I am indebted to Peter Brown who brought this book to my attention.

<sup>6</sup> Eusebius, de Laud. Const. 9 // PG 20.1369.

specifically involved sequestering in natural caves. Thus — if one were to take the Eusebian paradigm of the “Triad of Caves” as a model — spending one’s life in a cave would have implied following of Christ’s example symbolically, but also physically<sup>7</sup>. While this particular aspect of the argument cannot be fruitfully proven at this point, we can begin our analysis with an observation of the growing importance of caves by the end of the fourth and into the fifth century.

Certainly, by the time of Egeria’s travels in the East, in 381–384, the “cult of caves” would seem to have been fairly established. She repeatedly mentions various ‘sacred caves’ — not only the three identified by Eusebius<sup>8</sup>. By her own time, many of these caves, some related to the New and yet others to the Old Testament, were commemorated by churches built directly above them, or adjacent to them. By the end of the fourth century, one may argue, sacred caves in the Holy Land had acquired the status of ‘martyria’. As with other martyria, initially they existed independently, but eventually they began to be adjoined to churches whose function was the accommodation of liturgy. The presence of a cave, much like the presence of a relic, imparted sacredness in a distinctive way to the church in question. Beyond the Eusebian ‘triad’, among the places visited by the pilgrim Egeria, we may single out two more churches directly associated with sacred caves. The first is the so-called Chapel of the Beatitudes, in the vicinity of the Church of the Multiplication of Loaves and Fishes at et Tabgha. The chapel, according to Bellarmino Baggati, should be dated to the fourth century<sup>9</sup>. Here, in a mountainside cave, Christ is believed to have taught the Beatitudes to His disciples. A relatively small single-aisled church marks the spot, below which is a cave, ca. 5 m deep and ca. 2 m wide. Whether this should be accepted as the actual site visited and described by Egeria as “...the cave to which the Saviour climbed and spoke the Beatitudes”, or not, it certainly is an early church deliberately built over a cave that must have had some ‘sacred’ associations<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> The case St. Theodore of Sykeon, though chronologically later, is particularly instructive in this context. According to his *vita*, on two separate occasions he dug a cave with the purpose of totally sequestering himself; cf. *Three Byzantine Saints. Contemporary Biographies of St. Daniel the Stylite, St. Theodore of Sykeon, and St. John the Almsgiver* / Trans. by E. Dawes and N. H. Baynes. Crestwood, 1977, p. 98 and p. 100. Cf. also *Browning R. The ‘Low Level’ Saint’s Life in the Early Byzantine World // The Byzantine Saint* / Ed. S. Hackel. London, 1981, p. 126.

<sup>8</sup> *Wilkinson* (as in f. n. 4), *passim*.

<sup>9</sup> *Bagatti B. The Church from the Gentiles in Palestine. History and Archaeology. Jerusalem, 1971, p. 217; also idem. La Cappella sul Monte delle Beatitudini // Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana* 14 (1937), p. 43–91.

<sup>10</sup> *Wilkinson* (as in f. n. 4), p. 200.

We are on much safer ground with the Martyrium of St. Thecla at Meriamlik, on the south coast of Asia Minor, visited by Egeria in May 384<sup>11</sup>. The great basilica whose ruins dominate the site was constructed only around 480 — a century after Egeria's visit, over a system of underground caves associated with St. Thecla's abode during the last years of her life, from where she departed alive disappearing into the bowels of the earth. Already in the fourth century, however, the site had evidently been outfitted with a church built into the opening of the cave (fig. 1). The reconstruction of this church by John Wilkinson provides an idea of what that building may have looked like and its intimate relationship with the cave behind it.

The Holy Land abounds with monastic dwellings within natural caves. Whether we are dealing with single-monk cells — hermitages — or larger monastic complexes, a tendency to utilize the dramatic rocky landscape of the general area was distinctly pronounced. Equally pronounced is the characteristic relationship between man-made components and natural caves — buildings, or parts of buildings that co-exist with natural formations. Such a symbiosis between architecture and nature has several dimensions in Palestine. The first is a function of needs and practicalities. Few caves, one might say, had all four walls — thus enclosing a cave and giving it a 'façade, must have been an inescapable necessity reflecting the environmental realities within which Palestinian monasticism grew. The second is a function of memory and symbolism. Caves made sacred by an event or an occupant, in later times were marked by the construction of a church, so that liturgy could be performed at the holy site. Eusebius' "Triad of caves" belongs to this category, but so do many monastic caves also adjoined by man-made churches.

Some of these churches were extremely small, as is the case with the hermitage of a holy man, Cyriac, at Sousakim (fig. 3)<sup>12</sup>. Here, a natural cave initially inhabited by Cyriac around 535 was subsequently enlarged, possibly also by him, and was ultimately enhanced by what must have been a professionally built small domed chapel that enclosed the entrance into the upper part of the cave in which the holy man once dwelt. The chapel is miniscule in its dimensions, providing barely 2×2.5 m of interior space. Massively built, its walls 0.8 m thick and made of carefully cut ashlar, this structure stands in stark contrast with its rugged natural setting. The chapel is a jewel-like symbol, highlighting the presence of a cave made sacred by the holy man living within it. According to Yizar Hirschfeld, who published this cave, the presence of such a finely built edifice in a

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<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 288–292.

<sup>12</sup> *Hirschfeld Y.* The Judean Desert Monasteries in the Byzantine Period. New Haven and London, 1992, p. 218–222.

hermitage “is unusual but can be explained by the fact that Cyriac was a holy man and much venerated”<sup>13</sup>.

A comparable example of a venerated dwelling, possibly also once containing a tomb of a holy person is the church at Darat el Fanun, also known as “the Chapel of Jabal-al-Akdar, near Amman in Jordan (fig. 2)<sup>14</sup>. Here the sacred cave was incorporated into a sizeable basilica (c. 14×29.5 m) with a type of a transept axially aligned with the cave. In this case we do not know the name of the hermit associated with the cave, but the relationship of the cave and the building unmistakably followed the established pattern of highlighting the presence of a sacred cave, by the construction of a church edifice physically adjacent to it.

The formula cave-and-church that I have outlined as having emerged in the course of the fourth through the sixth centuries in the Holy Land must have been witnessed by pilgrims visiting the region, though it did not seem to have had any immediate impact on developments elsewhere. The earliest emulations of the cave-and-church scheme apparently are not older than the Middle Byzantine era. In the eleventh and especially in the twelfth century a wave of emulation of the Palestinian holy men derived from reading hagiographical texts, as well as through direct, first-hand experience of their habitat by the visiting monks from afar apparently took place. Both must have shaped the results in such far-flung places as Cappadocia, Cyprus, Calabria, Apulia, and the Balkans<sup>15</sup>. The case of St. Neophytos and his celebrated Encleistra on the outskirts of Paphos may well be mentioned, but need not be dwelt on in the present context<sup>16</sup>. The incidence of constructing churches adjacent to vener-

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p. 220.

<sup>14</sup> Michel A. Les églises d'époque Byzantine et umayyade de la Jordanie, V<sup>e</sup>-VII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Turnhout, 2001, p. 283, fig. 271, with older literature; also Al-Tarawneh A. Monuments of the Central Plateau of Jordan // Deltion. Eurôpaiko kentro Vyzantinôn kai Metavyzantinôn mnêmeiôn 3 (2002), p. 217–221. The exact date of this church is in dispute, though it cannot be later than the early Umayyad period (early 8<sup>th</sup> cent.).

<sup>15</sup> Recent years have witnessed a considerable amount of new literature focused on cave monasticism. Here we should note: Kostrof S. Caves of God. The Monastic environment of Byzantine Cappadocia. Cambridge, MA, 1972; Rodley L. Cave Monasteries of Byzantine Cappadocia. Cambridge, 1985, notwithstanding the most recent spate of revisionist literature that endeavors to demonstrate that a large number of complexes in Cappadocia previously identified as monastic were actually secular, residential complexes; Popović D. Srednjovekovne pecine-isposnice u Prizrenskom kraju. Prethodna istrazivanja // Istorijski casopis 44 (1997), p. 129–154; Popović D. and M. Pecinska lavra Arhandjela Mihaila u Rasu // Novopazarski zbornik 22 (1998), p. 15–61. D. Popović is currently preparing a major study of cave monasticism in medieval Serbia; Manastir Crna Rijeka i Sveti Petar Koriški / Ed. D. Bojovic. Pristina and Belgrade, 1998; Ostrog / Ed. R. B. Saranovic. Belgrade, 1997.

<sup>16</sup> Mango C. and Hawkins E. J. W. The Hermitage of St. Neophytos and Its Wall Paintings // DOP 20 (1966), p. 119–206, is a detailed report on this important complex; a more accessible presentation of the essential aspects of the complex with some new interpretations is: Cor-

able caves, however, appears to have proliferated in a significant way only in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The phenomenon, undoubtedly, was an offshoot of the general rise in the anchorite form of monasticism in the Late Byzantine world. As in the case of Palestinian monasticism from the fourth to the sixth centuries, this thousand-year younger rebirth of the phenomenon is also marked by a rare, but distinct form of juxtaposition of natural caves and built churches. In the remainder of this paper we will concentrate on this Late Byzantine idiosyncrasy. The subject has not been articulated in scholarship, but deserves closer attention both as a distinctive and relatively widespread phenomenon in its own right, and because of its obvious associations with the Holy Land, the undisputed source of the intrinsic ideas. In attempting to articulate this topic, I must underscore the fact that I will be concentrating exclusively on caves with associated churches and not on churches within caves, as important as the latter category is and as much as the two categories may be relatable in other ways.

On the shrunken territory of the Late Byzantine Empire and in the neighboring Balkan states numerous examples of small monastic caves appeared during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, attesting to a greatly increased popularity of anchorite monasticism during the late Middle Ages. Various referred to as *askētaria*, or *hesihastēria*, they include also a small distinctive group in which a built church accompanies the cave itself. Some of these are miniscule in size and their churches thoroughly unassuming, as is the case with the so-called *askētaron* of the Holy Cross on Mt. Pythion, its wall paintings dating from 1339 (fig. 4)<sup>17</sup>. Another such an *askētaron*, is situated near the abandoned monastery with its cave church of the Forty Martyrs in Lakedaimonia (fig. 5)<sup>18</sup>. The monastery dates from the late thirteenth century and this also appears to be the date of the small *askētaron*. The *askētaron*, in a location difficult of access, consists of a well-constructed chapel dedicated to St. John the Baptist, an integrally built adjacent two-storied room, possibly a cell, and a cave in the natural rock, which the chapel abuts with its west façade. The chapel, accessible only through the adjacent room, was intentionally built in this manner because of the cave,

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*mack R.* Writing in Gold. Byzantine Society and Its Icons. London, 1985, Ch. 6. For a broader historical perspective: *Galatariou C.* The Making of a Saint. The Life, Times, and Sanctification of Neophytos the Recluse. Cambridge, 1991. For Neophytos' personal cave cell and its changing relationship to the adjacent cave church see: *Ćurčić S.* The Meaning and Function of Katechoumenia in Late Byzantine and Serbian Architecture // *Manastir Žiča. Zbornik radova. Kraljevo, 2000*, p. 83–93, esp. 84–85 (in Serbian, with an English res.)

<sup>17</sup> *Nikonanos N.* Vyzantinoi naoi tēs Thessalias apo to 10<sup>o</sup> aiōna ôs tēn kataknēsē tēs periochēs apo tous Tourkous to 1393. Athens, 1979, p. 133–135.

<sup>18</sup> *Drandakēs N. V.* To paliomonastērio tōn Agiōn Saranta stē Lakedaimona kai to askētario tou // *Deltion tēs Christainikēs archaiologikēs etaireias*, Ser. 4, 16 (1991–1992), p. 115–138, esp. 129–138.

whose meaning, though presently unknown, does not obscure the general implications. In a few rare cases the church is a more elaborate building, giving the site greater prominence, invariably reflecting the sacred nature of the site on account of the cave.

Very few of the preserved examples are adequately documented. Most common are the cases where nothing is known about its occupant and the church associated with the cave. In a few rare examples we are fortunate to have enough information that enables us to understand the evolution of a site and the manner whereby the sacredness of the original cave dwelling was enhanced by the construction of a church, and at times even a monastery adjacent to it. The best-documented, in fact exceptional case is that of Sv. Petar Koriški (St. Peter of Koriša), the first Serbian anchoretic saint<sup>19</sup>. On the basis of his preserved *vita*, and on the basis of the preserved physical evidence, it has been possible to reconstruct the Holy Man's life as a hermit, and the subsequent development of his cult in a monastery associated with his name. After the death of his parents, sometime in the 1190s, seeking complete seclusion, Peter finally settled in the 'desert', a rocky formation on the slopes of Mt. Rusenica, in the vicinity of the village Koriša, not far from Prizren in the present-day region of Kosovo and Metohija. This was a location that shares many characteristics with that of Neophitos' Enclistra near Paphos. According to his hagiographer, Peter finally settled in a cave from which, with the help of Archangel Michael, he had chased away a huge serpent. Offering repeated thanks to God, for helping him achieve this feat, he finally experienced the supreme bliss and — "after that his cave became filled with indescribable light, chasing away sleep by day and by night, and he felt as though in Heaven and not on earth, filled with joy and Divine happiness"<sup>20</sup>. The text also says that Peter "began to worship the snake's cave as a God's church and as a sacred spot, saying as Abraham had said "On the mount of the Lord it shall be provided" (Genesis, 22, 14)<sup>21</sup>. The Holy Man, according to his hagiographer, did not worry about "building a house, but derived joy from living in God-carved caves as if in beautiful palaces"<sup>22</sup>. His hagiographer, a Monk by the name Teodosije, writing ca. 1310, reports on his own arrival at the site of Peter's cave thus: "Seeing his (i. e. Peter's) desert and the cliff upon which he had sequestered himself, I beheld the God-built dwelling made for anchorites... The cave of the most holy father, in which he lived superhumanly, like an angel, had been made into a God's church and his tomb and the remains of his sacred relics repose in it"<sup>23</sup>.

<sup>19</sup> For the *vita* of St. Peter cf. *Teodosije. Žitija* / Ed. D. Bogdanović. Belgrade, 1988, p. 265–288.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 282, № 28 / English translation by S. Ćurčić.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 275, № 17 / English translation by S. Ćurčić.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 282, № 28 / English translation by S. Ćurčić.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 287–88, № 41 / English translation by S. Ćurčić.

Indeed, archaeological evidence has confirmed all of this (figs. 6 and 7)<sup>24</sup>. The Holy Man's tomb was found in the cave, adapted in the course of the fourteenth century as a side chapel of the church of St. Peter, the focus of a monastery grown around the sacred cave<sup>25</sup>. In every respect this fits the description of the Holy Land monastic sites in which caves and churches were juxtaposed in such a distinctive manner.

Some 300–400 m from the monastery of Sv. Petar Koriški is another small church with a tiny cave, evidently another sacred locus that the tradition associates with Jelena, the sister of Sv. Petar Koriški (fig. 8)<sup>26</sup>. Despite its miniscule scale, this church, archaeologically proven to have been inhabited at the time of its final destruction in the 15<sup>th</sup> cent., was obviously a small-scale version of the *katholikon* of St. Peter's Monastery.

A fine example of a cave-and-church juxtaposition is at Berat in Albania. Here, the church of Archangel Michael was built ca. 1300, next to a cave situated on a cliff just below the main city walls of Berat (fig. 9)<sup>27</sup>. Unfortunately, we have no knowledge regarding the function of this cave, but clearly the choice to build a church in this location was not fortuitous. The phenomenon has been noted, though not adequately studied, along the Dalmatian coast as well. A small, undoubtedly medieval chapel of an unknown date, built against the opening of a natural fissure on the cliffs of Mt. Mosor, was recorded and published by Ejnar Dyggve, who saw in this phenomenon evidence of links between Christian and pagan cults (fig. 10)<sup>28</sup>. Dating from the thirteenth or fourteenth century, the church of Panagia Hagiogalousena, was also constructed against a steep cliff just below a tiny village of Hagion Ghalas, on the island of Chios (fig. 11)<sup>29</sup>. In this case the church was also built in front of the entrance into a deep cave in the cliff side, and was evidently once associated with a small monastery.

Undoubtedly one of the finest Late Byzantine cave-and-church complexes is the Perivleptos at Mistra. The church, dating from the third quarter

<sup>24</sup> Popović D. The Cult of St. Peter of Koriša. Stages of Development and Patterns // *Balcanica* 38 (1997), p. 181–212, with older literature; also Marković O. Ostaci manastira Petra Koriškog // *Starine Kosova i Metohije* 5–6 (1968–1971), p. 409–423, the first comprehensive report on the architecture of the monastery and its relationship to the cave of St. Peter.

<sup>25</sup> Marković (as in f. n. 24), esp. p. 410–411.

<sup>26</sup> Ivanović M. Ostaci crkava isposnica u anahoretskoj naseobini Sv. Petra Koriškog u današnjem selu Kabašu kod Prizrena i njegovoj okolini // *Manastir Crna Rijeka i Sveti Petar Koriški* / Ed. D. Bojović. Priština and Belgrade, 1998, p. 167–176, esp. p. 169; also Popović D. Srednjovekovne pećine-isposnice u Prizrenskom kraju — prethodna istraživanja // *Istorijski časopis* 44 (1997), p. 129–154, esp. 135–136.

<sup>27</sup> Koch G. Albanien. Kulturdenkmäler eines unbekanntes Landes aus 2200 Jahren. Marburg, 1985, p. 56–57; also Meksi A. Tri kisha Byzantine të Beratit // *Monumentet* 4 (1972), p. 73–95, Fr. sum. esp. p. 99–102.

<sup>28</sup> Dyggve E. *History of Salonitan Christianity*. Oslo, 1951, p. 10 and fig. I, 16.

<sup>29</sup> Bouras Ch. *Chios*. Athens, 1974, p. 70.



of the fourteenth century, is well known for its frescoes. Its architecture and sculptural decoration were subjects of a 1980 doctoral dissertation at the Sorbonne in Paris, by Aspasia Louvi-Kizis<sup>30</sup>. The question of the exact relationship of the church and a cave in the steep rock to which the church is attached, however, has never been fully resolved. In a recent article, Louvi-Kizis reiterates her opinion that the southwestern entrance to the church was opened only in 1714<sup>31</sup>. In making this proposition, she ignores a small cave in the rock, directly above the entrance with which the church shares a large window (fig. 12). It seems that this very cave was the actual *raison d'être* for building the church, and possibly even the entire monastery, in this location. The church has an unusual orientation — its apse facing southwest — while more than a third of its exterior is built directly against the rock. The unusual orientation of the church, as I have shown in another context, is reflected in the uncommon placement of fresco compositions in the interior<sup>32</sup>. Thus, for example, the Dormition of the Virgin is here situated on the southeast wall, directly above an entrance, instead of being, as was customary, on the wall facing the main apse and above the non-existent, conventional point of church entry. The changes appear to have been governed by the relationship to the pre-existing cave, whose interior is visible through a window above one of the alternative entrance doors (fig. 13). Its frescoes indicate unmistakably that this window was never glazed, and that the intention was to maintain the internal communication with the church.

\* \* \*

The wave of monastic conservatism in the Late Byzantine world, encapsulated in the movement known as Hesychasm, was shaped to a great extent by the grim realities that the Byzantine world was confronted with at the time. Retreat “into the desert”, became a new ‘old call’ of the venerable Holy Fathers of the monastic movement. In that context, the cave — not the symbolic, but the real cave — once more became the ideal monastic setting. Late Byzantine art in its ever-expanding vocabulary also embraced the cave as a favorite topos. “Prophet Elijah in His Cave fed by a raven” is one of the subjects that commonly appeared on walls of monastic chapels and cells (fig. 14). The hierotopical language it bespoke was far more direct and

<sup>30</sup> Louvi A. L'architecture et la sculpture de la Perivleptos de Mistra / Thèse de doctorat de III<sup>e</sup> Cycle, Université de Paris, Panthéon, Sorbonne. Paris, 1980.

<sup>31</sup> Louvi-Kizis A. Oi ktétōres tēs Perivleptou tou Mystra // *Deltion tēs Christianikēs archaiologikēs etaireias*, Ser. 4, 24 (2003), p. 101–117, esp. p. 101 and fig. 2.

<sup>32</sup> Ćurčić S. Smisao i funkcija katichoumena u poznovizantijskoj i srpskoj arhitekturi (The meaning and function of katichoumena in Late Byzantine and Serbian architecture) // *Manastir Žiča. Zbornik radova*. Kraljevo, 2000, p. 84–93, esp. 86–87.

comprehensible than the sophisticated symbolic language of Caves of Christ as embodied in the representations of the Mother of God in church apses of the Middle Byzantine era. This new visual language — “the Holy Land vernacular”, we might call it — would have been far more understandable to the fourteenth-century monks, but also to Egeria in her days, than the sophisticated theological language developed by the elite of Constantinopolitan urban monks and ecclesiastics during the intervening centuries.

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ПЕЩЕРА И ХРАМ.  
ВОСТОЧНОХРИСТИАНСКИЙ ИЕРОТОПИЧЕСКИЙ СИНТЕЗ

Настоящая статья посвящена рассмотрению определенных символических и функциональных аспектов сакрального пространства в православной культуре. Более точно — появлению особого феномена: совмещения природной пещеры и рукотворного здания церкви и следствию такого совмещения в богослужебной практике православия. Символическое понимание алтаря (вимы) в православии как «пещеры в Вифлееме, где родился Христос, и пещеры, в которой Он был погребен (т. е. Иерусалима)» — хорошо известное богословское представление, сформулированное не позднее 700 г. В известном смысле алтарь церкви, символизировавший начало и конец земной жизни Христа, в представлениях верующих являлся самой Святой землей. Сакральная земная топография была поэтому совмещена с символическим видением Небесного Иерусалима, воплощенного в покрытом куполом главном нефе церкви.

В ряде пещерных храмов (например, энклистре Св. Неофита рядом с Пафосом на Кипре) такое символическое понимание топографии Святой земли было дано в осязаемой материальной форме. Здесь естественная пещера создавала для алтаря особую среду, наряду с фресками, написанными на неровных поверхностях приспособленного природного пространства. Можно понять выбор св. Неофита: его церковь изначально была закрытой часовней, которую он сделал для себя как монах-отшельник, уединившись в пещере в холмах к северу от своего родного Пафоса. Образ монашеской жизни св. Неофита, впечатляющий благодаря обширным сведениям, сохранившимся в его собственных трудах, а также благодаря хорошо выполненным и сохранившимся фрескам, вряд ли был новым для того времени, 1160-х гг. Его идея точно и сознательно воспроизводила сравнительно более старые отшельнические

пещерные жилища, в которых когда-то проживали преподобные палестинские отцы — основатели монашеского движения: свв. Савва, Феодоктис и другие, доведшие до совершенства духовную практику подражания земной жизни Христа.

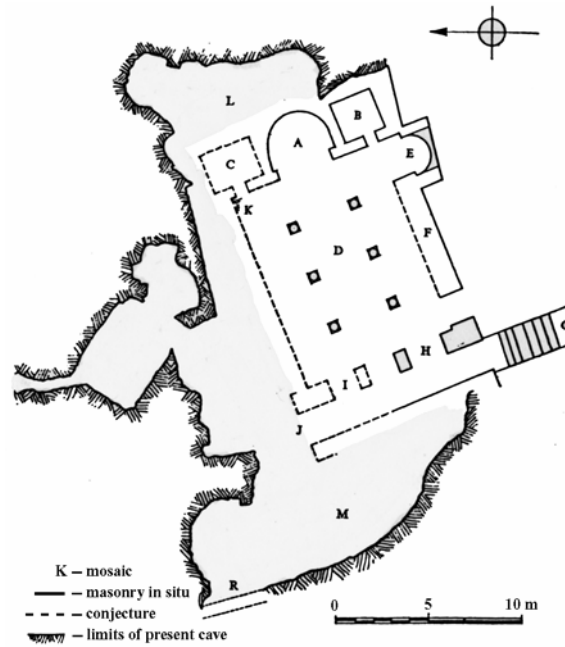
Приспособление под жилище пещеры естественного происхождения рано стало одним из наиболее высоких проявлений иноческого аскетизма и отказа от мирской жизни через победу отшельника над всеми трудностями и искушениями. Часто пещеры, в которых жили такие святые, становились местами их погребения. Таким образом, они становились местами их духовного рождения и земной кончины, можно сказать, их Вифлеемом и Иерусалимом. Через их присутствие в жизни и в смерти такая пещера сама по себе становилась *locus sanctus*, сакральным пространством, предопределявшим вечное поклонение. Ландшафт Святой земли был испещрен подобного рода пещерными жилищами, привлекавшими паломников и продолжавшими вдохновлять последующие поколения монахов.

В ряде случаев первоначальная пещера, фактически являвшаяся мариумом, становилась центром религиозной жизни. Такая пещера, как своего рода реликвия, обосновывала постройку прилегающей к ней церкви. Так возникла особая, характерная категория *церквей с пещерами*. Такие церкви, конечно, возникали рядом с пещерами исключительно из-за присущей им святости. Церковь Рождества Христова в Вифлееме, построенная в правление Константина Великого над гротом, в котором, как считается, родился Иисус, могла являться высокочтимым прототипом, освящавшим такую практику. Ряд монастырских церквей в Святой земле, датируемых V–VI веками, например, церковь монастыря Святого Кириака в Сукаким, монастырская церковь в Хозива и монастырская церковь Дарат ал Фанун в Иордане, попадают под такое описание. Кажется, практика создания таких связанных с пещерами церквей была мало распространена в восточном христианстве с конца VI в. и до начала поздневизантийской эпохи.

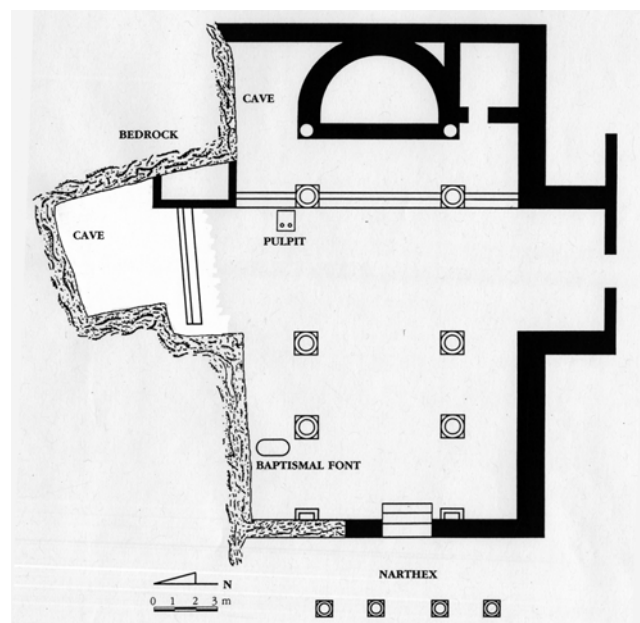
Возрождение и значительный расцвет строительства церквей рядом с почитаемыми пещерами относится к XIII–XIV векам. Мы уделим внимание монастырским церквям Св. Петра Коришского, а также его сестры Елены в Косово в Сербии, церкви XIV века Св. Михаила в Берате в Албании, а также нескольким скитам в Фессалии и Пелопоннесе, которые обладают общими чертами, выражая одну сущностно важную идею. Несомненно, самой замечательной из церквей с пещерами этого периода является монастырь Перивлепта в Мистре, построенный и описанный в третьей четверти XIV века. Эта монастырская церковь была сооружена у естественной скалы, в которой находится маленькая пещера, которая, в свою очередь, связана с внутренним пространством. Дру-

гим важным моментом здесь является отклонение осей церкви от стандартного их расположения. Так, главная апсида здесь направлена на юго-юго-восток, а не на восток. Такое отклонение позволяет предположить, что естественная ориентация пещеры, с которой должна была соотноситься церковь, была символически более важной, чем установленные правила постройки храмов. Другими словами, сакральные качества церкви проистекали не из абстрактных символических норм, а из святости самой пещеры. В эпоху, когда доступность важных реликвий и путешествий в Святую Землю стала почти нулевой, внимание, очевидно, было обращено к новым, местным источникам святости.

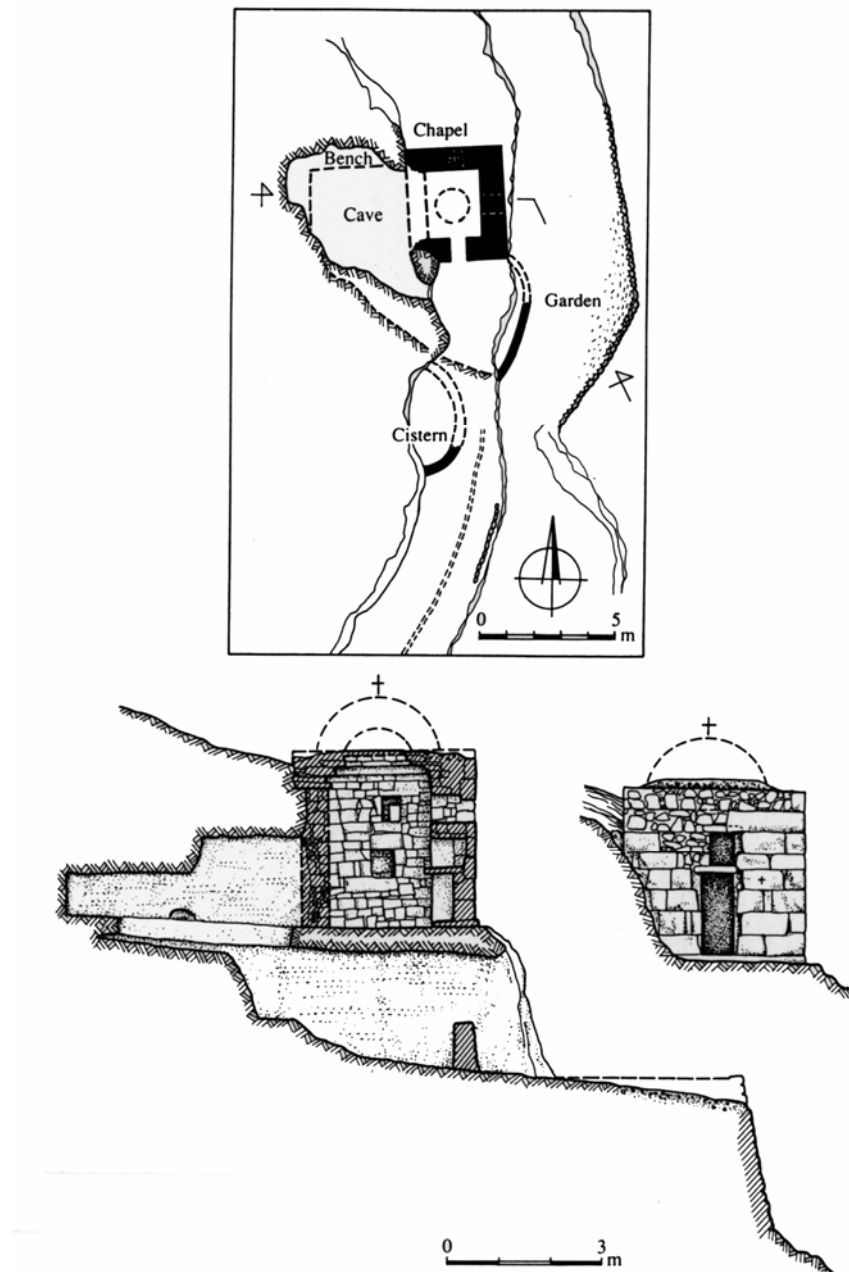
Описанный выше феномен, свойственный возродившейся в XIII–XIV веках монашеской жизни, привел к увеличению числа келий, специально построенных внутри церквей и функционально устроенных как затворы (*hesichasteria*) для монахов определенного ранга. Важно, что изображения прототипов монашеской жизни, например, пророка Или в пещере, которого кормит ворон, появляются в ряде таких помещений, обозначая и их назначение, и символическую важность пещеры самой по себе. Вышеупомянутое возрождение ранней практики возведения новых церквей при более ранних почитаемых пещерах может быть соотнесено с подъемом исихазма, монашеского движения, распространившегося в эту эпоху в византийском мире.



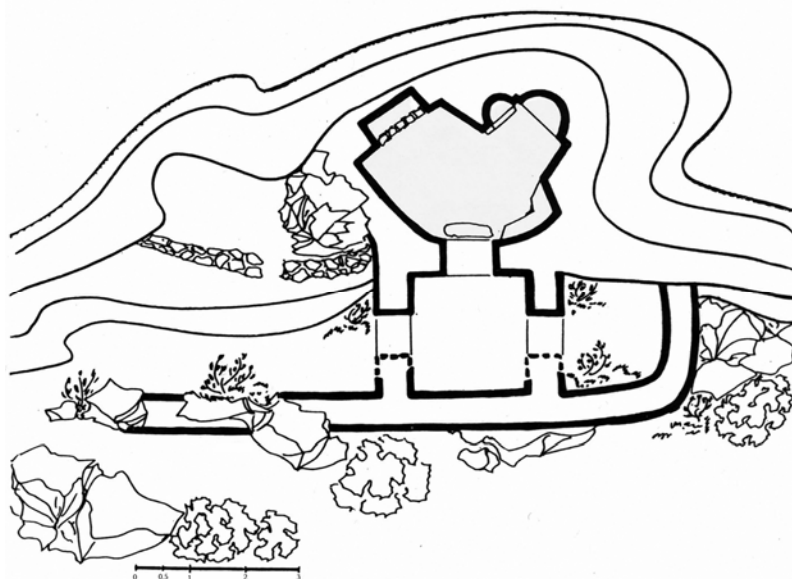
1. Meriamlik, St. Thecla as in 4<sup>th</sup> cent.; plan (reconstr. Wilkinson)



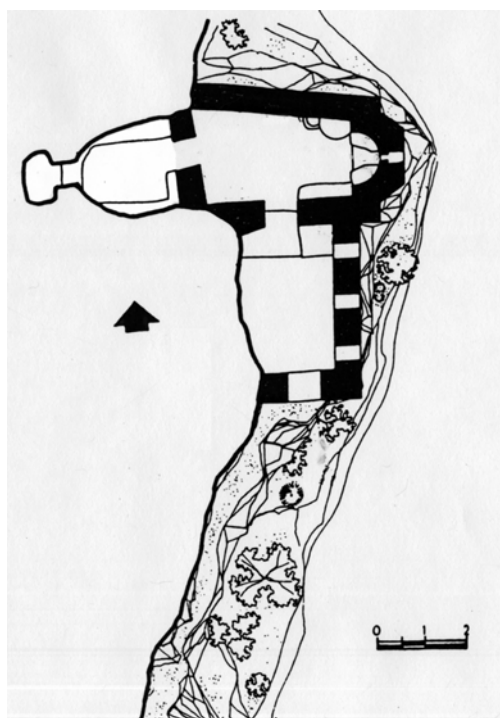
2. Darat el Fanun (near Amman), Chapel of Jabal-al-Akdar; plan (Piccirillo)



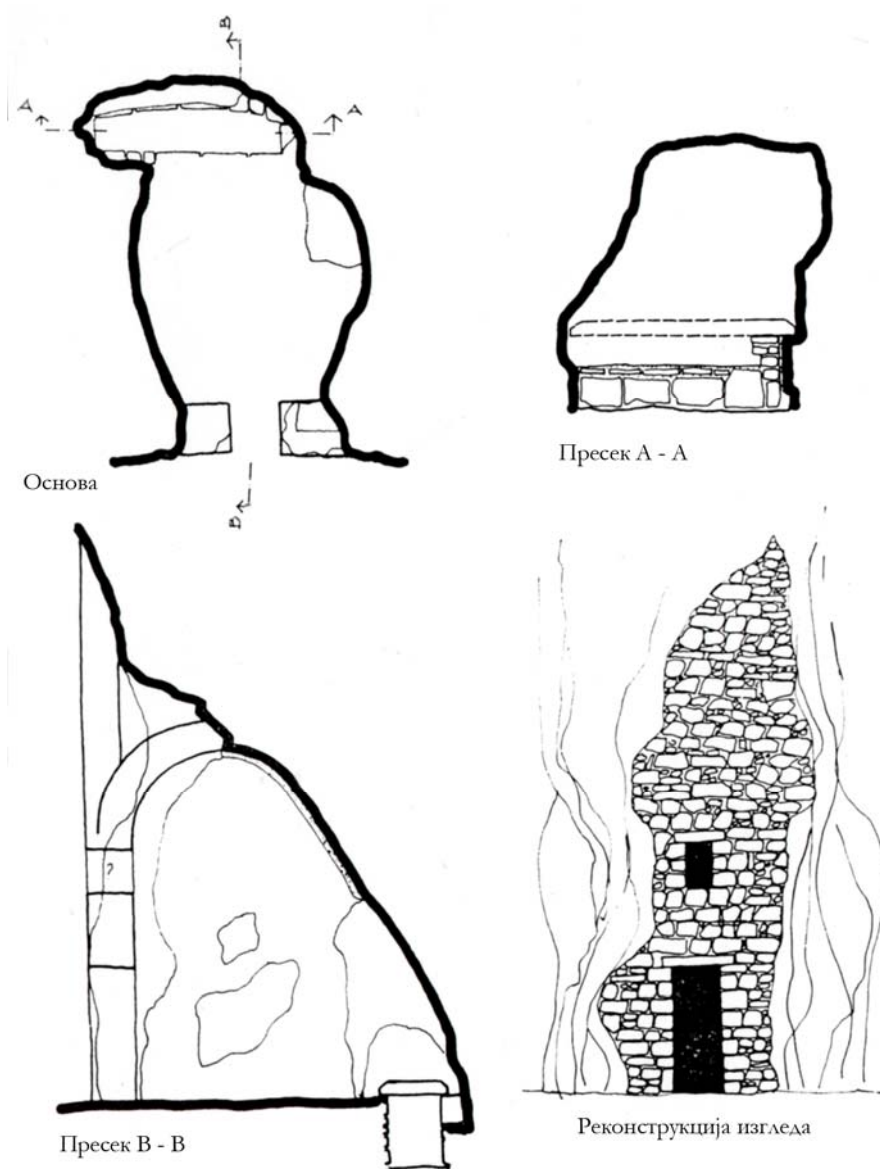
3. Sousakim, Hermitage of Cyriac; plan, section and elevation (Hirschfeld)



4. Mt. Pythion, *Askētarion* of the Holy Cross; plan (Nikonanos)

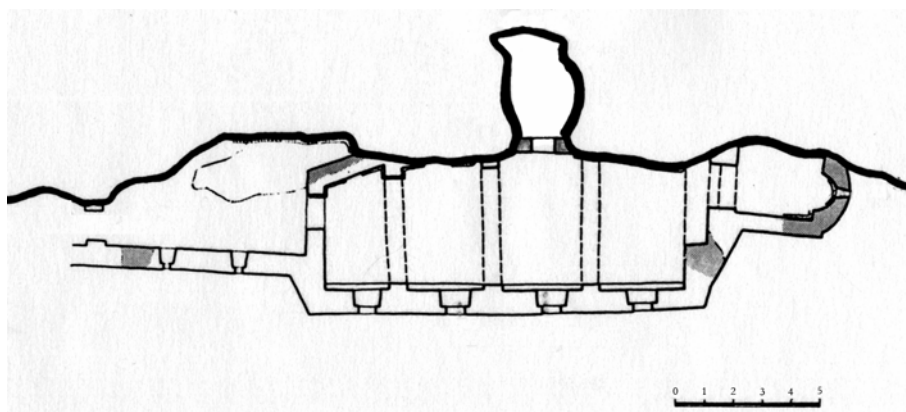


5. Lakedaimonia, *Askētarion* of the Forty Martyrs; plan (Drandakis)

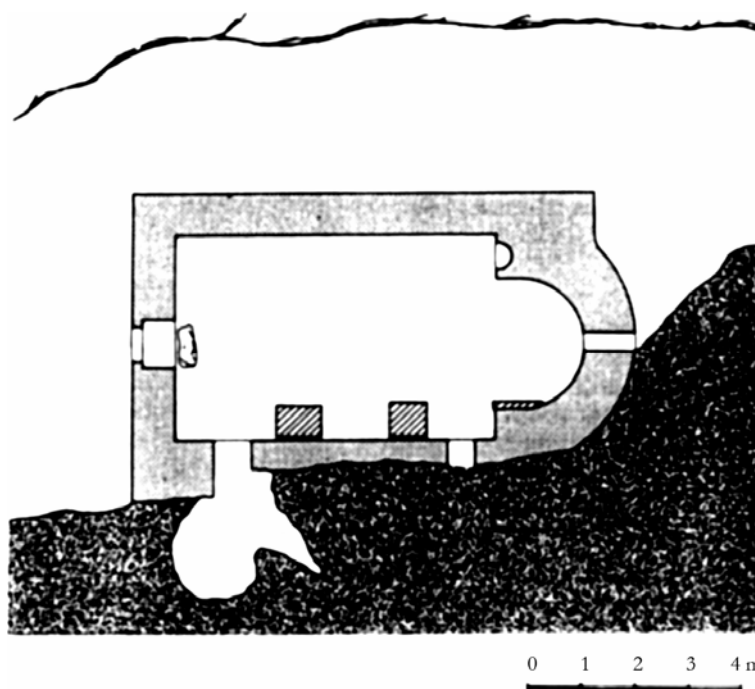


6. Koriša, Cave of St. Peter of Koriša; plan, sections, and elevation (reconstr. O. Marković)





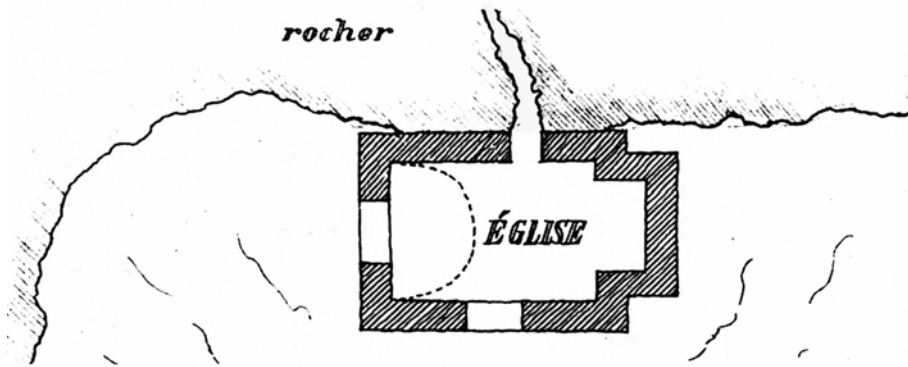
7. Koriša, Monastery of St. Peter of Koriša, cave and church; plan (O. Marković)



8. Koriša, Church and cave of Jelena (sister of St. Peter of Koriša); plan (D. Popović)



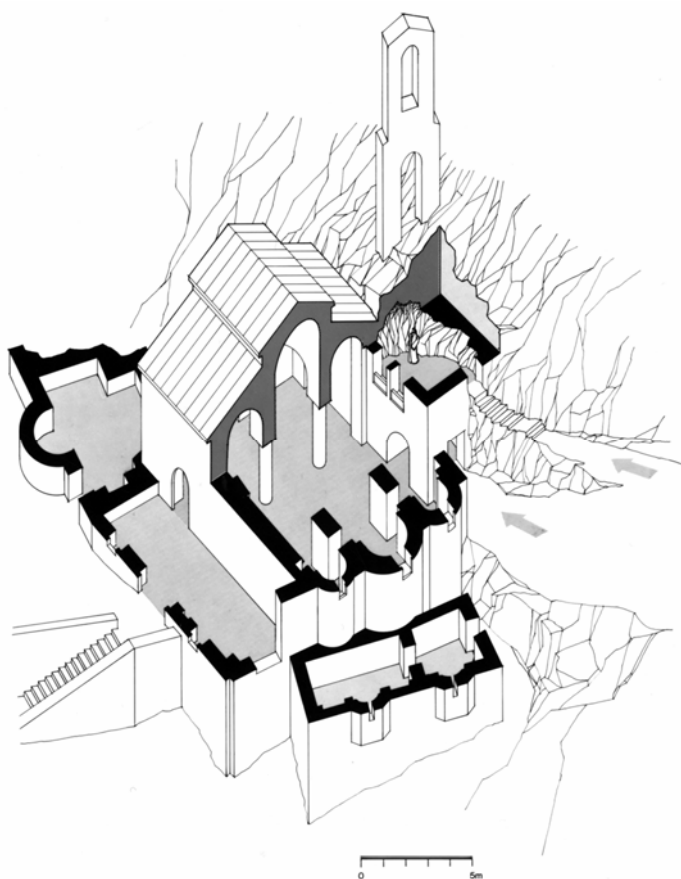
9. Berat, Church of Archangel Michael with cave (photo: G. Koch)



10. Mt. Mosor, medieval chapel and opening of natural rock fissure; plan (Dyggve)



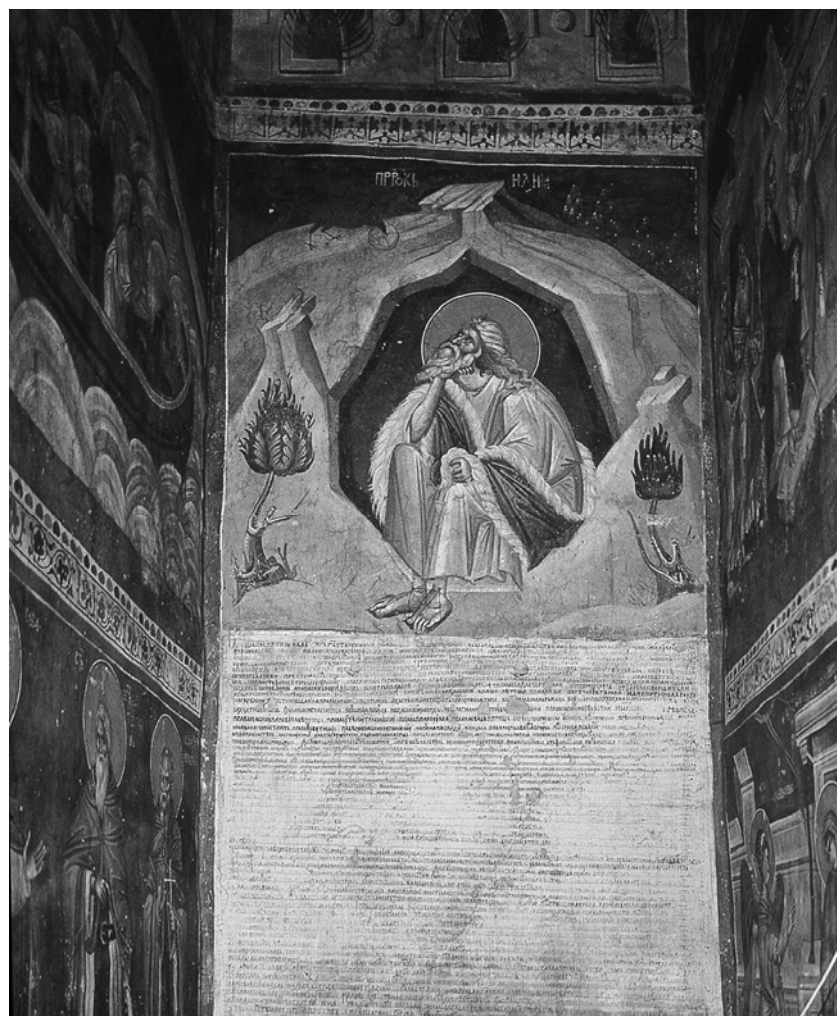
11. Hagion Galas, Chios, Panagia Hagiogalousena (photo: Ćurčić)



12. Mistra, Perivleptos; axonometric section (Ćurčić; delin. By J. Kelly)



13. Mistra, Perivleptos; interior looking southeast (photo: Ćurčić)



14. Gracanica, southeast chapel; fresco (c. 1321) “Prophet Elijah in his cave fed by a raven” (photo: J. Stojković)

Evangelia Hadjistryphonos

‘DIVINITY’ AND ‘WORLD’.  
TWO SPACIAL REALMS  
IN THE BYZANTINE CHURCH

Ἄλλὰ πάντα και εν πᾶσιν αὐτός...,  
ὥσπερ κέντρον εὐθειῶν τινῶν  
ἐξημμένων αὐτοῦ, κατά μίαν ἀπλήν  
και ἐνιαίαν αἰτίαν καί δύναμιν.

*Maximos the Confessor,  
Mystagogia, ch. A', r. 65–68*

THE EXISTENCE AND PERCEPTION OF DIVINITY

The existence of Divinity is an indisputable assumption in thought that guided the creation of great religious works. Divinity is perceived through material and spiritual existence of mankind (and the world) and takes shape through human creation. The religious building and its architecture is one of the most fundamental achievements in efforts to perceive Divinity and to give it visual form.

The way through which Christian church expresses the existence of the Divinity is a matter that has preoccupied scholarship broadly resulting in excellent intellectual works. This paper will refer to the way in which a kind of circumscription or an outline around the main space of Divinity's representation was materialized in the Christian world through architectural planning (fig. 1). We will refer to this kind of outline by the term *perigram*. The *perigram* obtains a particular meaning and an important role in an attempt to delineate Divinity in terms of the “container of the uncontainable” and in the symbolical and real expression of the divine hierarchy. In this sense we could speak of the heterodefinition of Divinity.

## THE WHOLE

Christian church is seen as a model of the invisible divine world. An important role in architecture of the Byzantine world is the notion of the Whole “a union without fusion” (τῶν ὄντων οὐσίας ἀσύγχυτον ἔνωσιν) that expresses the universal understanding and perception of the world and life and it constitutes the orthodox tradition. Maximus the Confessor referring to the notion of the Whole and to the parts of Church as an institution — the Ecclesia — and of church as a building considers their interaction or work as an entity, as if they were parts of one another<sup>1</sup>. He analyzes this idea in the second chapter of *Mystagogia* and referring to Ezechiel he writes: “and their work is one and the same as if it was a wheel in to the other” and further:

“The holy Church of Good as a figure and image of the entire visible and invisible universe with the same sort of unity and differentiation. For a church; although put up as one building; is partitioned in conformity with a definite plan; with one place set aside for priests and servers; which we call the sanctuary; and another open to all the faithful; which we call the nave — and yet; the Church is essentially one; and not divided in kind by differentiation of its parts. Through the relationship to her own unity which she transmits to them; the Church liberates the parts themselves from the differences in their vocation; and makes their sameness and unity evident to each showing that each is made for the other; the nave having the virtue of a sanctuary... The Church is one and the same in and through out each section. The wise thus glimpse the universe of things brought into existence by God’s creation divided between the spiritual world containing incorporeal intelligent substances and this corporeal world; the object of sense (so marvelously woven together from many natures and kinds of things) as if they were all another Church, not built by hands; but suggested by the ones we build; its sanctuary is the world above; allotted to the powers above its nave the world below assigned to those whose lot is to live in the senses. The holy Church of Good as a figure and image of the entire visible and invisible universe with the same sort of unity and differentiation. The universe too is one ; not split between visible and invisible parts; on the contrary; by the force of their reference to its own unity and invisibility; it circumscribes their difference in character. It shows itself to be the same in the visible and invisible mutuality joined without confusion with each other. Each is wholly fixed in the whole of the other. As parts of the whole, both make up the world and as parts in the whole both are completed and fulfilled in a single form for the whole intelligible world of thought is visible to those who have eyes to see,

<sup>1</sup> See in the following text citation and footnote 2.

spiritually expressed in symbolic form by the whole sensible universe. And the sensible world is mentally present in the whole intelligible universe when it is verbally expressed in the mind. For this visible world is verbally present in the world of thought; the world of thought is present in its visible images. Their end result or work is all one; as it were a wheel in the middle of a wheel says Ezechiel... And the Divine Apostle says; the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen being understood by the things that are made.... The contemplation of the objects of thought symbolized through the objects of sight means the spiritual understanding of the seen through the unseen. Things which are significative of each other are bound to contain clear and perfectly true expressions of each other; and a flawless relation to them”<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> *Stead D. J.*, O. S. B. *The Church, the Liturgy and the Soul of Man. The Mystagogia of St. Maximus the Confessor.* Massachusetts, 1982, p. 68–70 (from now on: *Stead*, *The Church... The Mystagogia*); and see the original in Αγίου Μάξιμου του Ομολογητού, *Μυσταγωγία* / Ed. Δημήτριος Στανιλοάε. Athens, 1989, chapt. B', p. 40, 45–55 (669A) (from now on: *Μάζιμου*, *Μυσταγωγία* / Ed. Δ. Στανιλοάε). The original text is: Β'. Περὶ τοῦ πῶς καὶ τίνα τρόπον εἰκῶν ἐστὶ τοῦ ἐξ ὁρατῶν καὶ ἀορατῶν οὐσιῶν ὑφεστῶτος κόσμου ἢ ἀγία τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἐκκλησία: Κατὰ δευτέραν δὲ θεωρίας ἐπιβολήν, τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου τοῦ ἐξ ὁρατῶν καὶ ἀορατῶν οὐσιῶν ὑφεστῶτος, εἶναι τύπον καὶ εἰκόνα, τὴν ἀγίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἐκκλησίαν, ἔφρασκεν ὡς τὴν αὐτὴν αὐτῷ καὶ ἔνωσιν, καὶ διάκρισιν ἐπιδεχομένην.

Ὡσπερ γὰρ αὕτη κατὰ τὴν οἰκοδομὴν εἷς οἶκος ὑπάρχουσα, τὴν κατὰ τὴν θέσιν τοῦ σχήματος ποιεῖ ιδιότητι, δέξεται διαφορὰν, διαιρουμένη εἰς τε τὸν μόνον ἱερεῦσιν τε καὶ λειτουργοῖς ἀπόκληρον τόπον, ὃν καλοῦμεν ἱερατεῖον καὶ τὸν πᾶσι τοῖς πιστοῖς λαοῖς πρὸς ἐπίβασιν ἄνετον, ὃν καλοῦμεν ναόν. Πάλιν μία ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν ὑπόστασιν, οὐ συνδιαιρουμένη τοῖς ἐαυτῆς μέρεσι, διὰ τὴν ἐαυτῶν πρὸς ἄλληλα τῶν μερῶν διαφορὰν. Ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὰ τῆ πρὸς τὸ ἐν ἐαυτῆς ἀναφορᾷ τὰ μέρη, τῆς ἐν τῇ κλήσει διαφορᾷ ἀπολύουσα, καὶ ταῦτὸν ἀλλήλοις ἄμφω δεικνύουσα καὶ θάτερον θατέρῳ κατ' ἐπαλλαγὴν ὑπάρχον, ὅπερ ἐκάτερον ἐαυτῷ καθέστηκεν ὃν ἀποφαίνουσα ἱερατεῖον μὲν τὸν ναὸν κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν, τῆ πρὸς τὸ πέρας ἀναφορᾷ τῆς μυσταγωγίας ἱερουργούμενον καὶ ἔμπαλιν ναὸν τὸ ἱερατεῖον, κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τῆς ἰδίας αὐτὸν ἔχον μυσταγωγίας ἀρχήν, μία δι' ἄμφοιν καὶ ἡ αὐτὴ διαμένει.

Οὕτω καὶ ὁ ἐκ Θεοῦ κατὰ γένεσιν παρηγμένος σύμπας τῶν ὄντων κόσμος, διαιρούμενος εἰς τε τὸν νοητὸν κόσμον, τὸν ἐκ νοερῶν καὶ ἀσωμάτων οὐσιῶν συμπληρούμενον καὶ τὸν αἰσθητὸν τοῦτον καὶ σωματικόν, καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν μεγαλοφῶς συνυφασμένον εἰδῶν τε καὶ φύσεων ἄλλη πως ὑπάρχων ἀχειροποίητος Ἐκκλησία, διὰ ταύτης τῆς χειροποιήτου σοφῶς ὑποφαίνεται καὶ ἱερατεῖον μὲν ὡσπερ ἔχον τὸν ἄνω κόσμον, καὶ ταῖς ἄνω προσενεμημένον δυνάμει ναὸν δέ, τὸν κάτω, καὶ τοῖς δι' αἰσθήσεως ζῆν λαχοῦσι προσκεχωρημένον.

Πάλιν εἷς ἐστὶ κόσμος τοῖς ἐαυτοῦ μὴ συνδιαιρούμενος μέρεσι τοῦναντίον δέ, καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν μερῶν τὴν ἐξ ιδιότητος φυσικῆς διαφορὰν, τῆ πρὸς τὸ ἐν ἐαυτοῦ καὶ ἀδιαίρετον ἀναφορᾷ περιγράφων καὶ ταῦτὸν ἐαυτῷ τε καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἀσυγχύτως ἐναλλάξ ὄντας καὶ θατέρῳ θάτερον ὅλον ὅλω δεικνὺς ἐμβεβηκότα καὶ ἄμφω ὅλον



The consciousness of the diversity of people — faithful Christians and others — who meet in the frame of Ecclesia is expressed in the work of Maximus the Confessor and constitutes one of the elements referring to the functional structure of Ecclesia and of the church building. It is the position of people in the church through which the articulation principle of its spaces is perceived. Therefore, he states: "...the holy Church is an image of God; it works the same unity in the faithful as God, even though the people unified in her through the faith vary in their peculiarities and come from different places and different ways of life; it is God 's nature to work this Unity Himself in the substances of things, without fusing them..."<sup>3</sup>

The aesthetic analysis of the Byzantine church is based on the adoption of certain principles that are connected not only with the idea of the Whole but also with the idea of the Sublime. Those, according Panayotes Micheles, are expressed by three principles of composition<sup>4</sup>: the eruption (*exarse*) of depth (far end), the continuity and unity of endless space, and the development of high (fig. 2) This three principles contribute to the pyramidal gradation of spaces and volumes of the church building (fig. 3).

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αὐτὸν ὡς μέρη ἕνα συμπληροῦντας, καὶ κατ' αὐτὸν ὡς ὅλον μέρη ἐνοειδῶς τε καὶ ὀλικῶς συμπληρουμένους. Ὅλος γὰρ ὁ νοητὸς κόσμος ὅλω τῷ αἰσθητῷ μυστικῶς τοῖς συμβολικοῖς εἶδεσι τυπούμενος φαίνεται τοῖς ὁρᾶν δυναμένοις καὶ ὅλος ὅλω τῷ νοητῷ ὁ αἰσθητὸς γνωστικῶς κατὰ νοῦν τοῖς λόγοις ἀπλούμενος ἐνυπάρχων ἐστίν. Ἐν ἐκείνῳ γάρ, οὗτος τοῖς λόγοις ἐστὶ κἀκείνος ἐν τούτῳ τοῖς τύποις καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτῶν ἓν, καθὼς ἂν εἴη τ ρ ο χ ὸ ς ἐ ν τ ῷ τ ρ ο χ ῶ , φησὶν ὁ θαυμασιὸς τῶν μεγάλων θεατῆς Ἰεξεκιήλ, περὶ τῶν δύο κόσμων, οἶμαι, λέγων. Καὶ πάλιν Τὰ γὰρ ἀόρατα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου τοῖς ποιήμασι νοούμενα καθορᾶται, φησὶν ὁ θεῖος Ἀπόστολος. Καὶ εἰ καθορᾶται διὰ τῶν φαινομένων τὰ μὴ φαινόμενα, καθὼς γέγραπται, πολλῶ δὴ καὶ διὰ τῶν μὴ φαινομένων τοῖς θεωρία πνευματικῆ προσανέχουσι τὰ φαινόμενα νοηθήσεται. Τῶν γὰρ νοητῶν ἢ διὰ τῶν ὁρατῶν συμβολικῆ θεωρία, τῶν ὁρωμένων ἐστὶ διὰ τῶν ἀορατῶν πνευματικῆ ἐπιστήμη καὶ νόησις. Δεῖ γὰρ τὰ ἀλλήλων ὄντα δηλωτικά, πάντως ἀληθεῖς καὶ ἀριδιήλους τὰς ἀλλήλων ἔχειν ἐμφάσεις, καὶ τὴν ἐπ' αὐταῖς σχέσιν ἀλόβητον.

<sup>3</sup> Stead, *The Church... The Mystagogia*, p. 68, and see the original text in *Μάζιμον, Μυσταγωγία* / Ed. Δ. Στανιλοάε, chapt. Α', p. 75–82 C (668 A), esp. p. 113–114: «Εἰκῶν μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καθὼς εἴρηται, ἢ ἁγία Ἐκκλησία, ὡς τὴν αὐτὴν τῷ Θεῷ περὶ τοὺς πιστοὺς ἐνεργοῦσα ἔνωσιν, κἂν διάφοροι τοῖς ἰδιώμασι καὶ ἐκ διαφόρων καὶ τόπων καὶ τρόπων, οἱ κατ' αὐτὴν διὰ τῆς πίστεως ἐνοποιοῦμενοι τύχουσι ὄντες ἢν περὶ τὰς οὐσίας τῶν ὄντων ἀσυγχύτως αὐτὸς ἐνεργεῖν πέφυκεν ὁ Θεός· τὸ περὶ αὐτὰς διάφορον, ὡς δέδεικται, τῇ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ὡς αἰτίαν καὶ ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος, ἀναφορᾶ τε καὶ ἐνώσει παραμυθούμενός τε καὶ ταυτοποιούμενος».

<sup>4</sup> See: *Παναγιώτης Α. Μιχαήλς. Η αισθητική θεώρηση της Βυζαντινής τέχνης* / Ed. VI, Athens 2001 (from now on: *Μιχαήλς, Αισθητική θεώρηση*), about the aesthetic category of the Sublime p. 21, 49 ff, 106 ff, 316.

## THE CENTER

The notion of a center in the Byzantine church building, independently of its longitudinal or pericentric articulation, has a particular meaning expressing the space of Divinity. Maximus expresses in a crucial manner this meaning comparing the Divinity with a center that is the point of intersection of straight lines. He is interpreting also the meaning of access to this center as follows: "But He is all and in all. He keeps a firm hold on all things by the sheer infinitely wise force of goodness, like the hub with some sort of spokes fastened to it by one single force"<sup>5</sup>.

At the same time he is defining the symbolic meaning of accessing to and staying in the central space and he gives special importance to knowledge versus ignorance: "The people entering the church with the priest symbolize unbelievers being converted from ignorance and deception to the recognition of God, and believers changing over from evil and ignorance to goodness and knowledge"<sup>6</sup>. Nevertheless just this symbolic limitation leads to such spatial articulations so that a polysemous *perigram* is created.

## THE PERIGRAM

The significance of the existence of a *perigram* is often declared and is referring to spaces where the katechoumenoi (uninitiated) stand, who are connected with the earthly world and have not yet passed into the spiritual world neither symbolically nor through their actions. The most important symbolic event in this context is the closing of the doors of the naos, during the Liturgy (after reading the Gospels and before the Eucharist) separating the narthex and the other spaces from the naos even though "the church is

<sup>5</sup> *Stead*, *The Church... The Mystagogia*, p. 67, and see the original text in *Μάζιμου, Μυσταγωγία* / Ed. Δ. Στανιλοάε, chapt. A, 65–68 (668 A) esp. p. 113: «ἀλλὰ πάντα καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν αὐτός, ὁ πάντα κατὰ μίαν ἀπλὴν τῆς ἀγαθότητος ἀπειρόσοφον δύναμιν ἐαυτῶ περικλείων, ὡσπερ κέντρον εὐθειῶν τινῶν ἐξημμένων αὐτοῦ, κατὰ μίαν ἀπλὴν καὶ ἐνιαίαν αἰτίαν καὶ δύναμιν».

<sup>6</sup> *Stead*, *The Church... The Mystagogia*, p. 88, 89, and see the original text in *Μάζιμου, Μυσταγωγία*, ed. Δ. Στανιλοάε, chapt. Θ, p. 1–10, (692 C), esp. p. 179. The original text is: Θ'. Τίνος ἔχει δῆλωσιν καὶ ἡ τοῦ λαοῦ εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἐκκλησίαν εἴσοδος: Τὴν δὲ τοῦ λαοῦ σὺν τῷ ἱεράρχῃ γενομένην εἰς τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν εἴσοδον, τὴν ἐξ ἀγνοίας καὶ πλάνης εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν Θεοῦ ἐπιστροφὴν τῶν ἀπίστων, καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ κακίας καὶ ἀγνωσίας εἰς ἀρετὴν καὶ γνῶσιν, μετᾶθειν τῶν πιστῶν σημαίνειν, and also: Οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀληθινὸν Θεὸν ἐπιστροφὴν τῶν ἀπίστων ἢ εἰς τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν εἴσοδος παραδηλοῖ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκάστου ἡμῶν τῶν πιστευόντων μὲν, ἀθετούντων δὲ τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ Κυρίου δι' ἀγωγῆς ἀκολάστου καὶ ἀσχήμονος βίου, τὴν διὰ μετανοίας διόρθωσιν.

one and the same in and throughout each section”<sup>7</sup>. That takes a practical character that is “translated” in material measures during the planning of a church. “Doors of senses” is how Maximus names to the basilical doors. He writes that the closing of the doors is the closing of the doors of senses: ”through the closing of the doors...as shutting out the visible world cuts off their thoughts from nature...”<sup>8</sup> and also: ”Then the sacred ministers send out the catechumens and everyone else not yet qualified for the heavenly sight of the sacraments”<sup>9</sup>. Further he writes: “The closing of the doors of the holy Church of God after the reverent reading of the holy Gospel and the catechumens’ dismissal, expresses first the passing away of material things; then the future entrance of the worthy into the spiritual world... and lastly the total repudiation of the illusions of the senses”<sup>10</sup> “...the shutting of the doors; standing for the soul’s change of inclination; transferring herself from this perishable world to the intelligent world of the mind; when she shuts her senses like doors and completes their cleansing from the idols of sin”<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Stead, The Church... The Mystagogia, p. 69, original text in *Μάζιμου, Μυσταγωγία* / Ed. Δ. Στανιλοάε, chapt. ΙΓ’, p. 5–15 (669 A), esp. p. 117: «Πάλιν μία ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν ὑπόστασιν, οὐ συνδαιουμένη τοῖς ἐαυτῆς μέρεσι, διὰ τὴν ἐαυτῶν πρὸς ἄλληλα τῶν μερῶν διαφορὰν».

<sup>8</sup> Stead, The Church... The Mystagogia, p. 90–91, original text in *Μάζιμου, Μυσταγωγία* / Ed. Δ. Στανιλοάε, chapt. ΙΓ, p. 8–15 (669A), esp. p. 189 Ὑποσημ. 8: «Τοὺς ἔτι πρὸς γῆν κατανεύοντας λογισμοὺς ἀποθούμενος, καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν νοητῶν ἐποψίαν ἐντεῦθεν διὰ τῆς τῶν θυρῶν κλείσεως, καὶ τῆς εἰσόδου τῶν ἁγίων μυστηρίων, αὐτοὺς ἀγαγὼν, λόγων τε καὶ πραγμάτων, μύσαντας ἤδη τὰς αἰσθήσεις» and Stead, The Church... The Mystagogia, p. 99, original text in *Μάζιμου, Μυσταγωγία* / Ed. Δ. Στανιλοάε, chapt. ΚΓ’, 45C-50 (700A), esp. p. 216: «Κάντεῦθεν πάλιν ἔξω γενομένην τῶν αἰσθητῶν, ὡς ἡ τῶν θυρῶν τῆς ἁγίας τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἐκκλησίας νοεῖν ὑποτίθεται κλείσις».

<sup>9</sup> Stead, The Church... The Mystagogia, p. 92, original text in *Μάζιμου, Μυσταγωγία* / Ed. Δ. Στανιλοάε, chapt. ΙΔ, 1–12, (693A), esp. p. 192–195: «καὶ ἡ τῶν κατηχομένων, καὶ ἡ τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν ἀναξίων τῆς θείας τῶν δειχθησομένων μυστηρίων θεωρίας, ἀπόλυσις τε καὶ ἐκβολὴ διὰ τῶν λειτουργῶν γίνεται».

<sup>10</sup> Stead, The Church... The Mystagogia, p. 92–93, original text in *Μάζιμου, Μυσταγωγία* / Ed. Δ. Στανιλοάε, chapt. ΙΕ’, C 5 (693A) esp. p. 196–197. The original text is: «Ἐ Τίνος σύμβολόν ἐστι ἡ κλεισις τῶν θυρῶν τῆς ἁγίας Ἐκκλησίας, ἡ μετὰ τὸ ἅγιον Εὐαγγέλιον γινομένη: Ἡ δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἱερὰν ἀνάγνωσιν τοῦ ἁγίου Εὐαγγελίου, καὶ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τῶν κατηχομένων γινομένη κλεισις τῶν θυρῶν τῆς ἁγίας τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἐκκλησίας, τὴν τε τῶν ὑλικῶν δηλοῖ πάροδον, καὶ τὴν γενησομένην μετὰ τὸν φοβερὸν ἐκείνον ἀφορισμὸν καὶ τὴν φοβερωτέραν ψῆφον, εἰς τὸν νοητὸν κόσμον, ἧτοι τὸν νυμφῶνα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τῶν ἀξίων εἰσόδον καὶ τὴν ἐν ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἀπάτην ἐνεργείας τελείαν ἀποβολήν».

<sup>11</sup> Stead, The Church... The Mystagogia, p. 102–103, original text in *Μάζιμου, Μυσταγωγία* // Ed. Δ. Στανιλοάε, chapt. ΚΔ, 29–33 (704 B, C), esp. p. 227–227: «Κατὰ μὲν πρώτην εἰσόδον ἀπιστίας ἀποβολήν, πίστεως αὔξησιν, κακίας μείωσιν, ἀρετῆς ἐπίδοσιν, ἀγνοίας ἀφανισμόν, γνώσεως προσθήκην. Διὰ δὲ τῆς ἀκροάσεως τῶν θείων λογίων, τὰς τῶν εἰρημένων τούτων, πίστεώς φημι καὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ γνώσεως, παγίας καὶ ἀμεταθέτους

The spaces on the perimetre — nathex or narthexes and peristoa, sometimes aisles and other similar spaces — belong to the sphere of senses. According to Maximus the peripheral spaces of a church are parts of the body of Ecclesia comparing that with man. He refers to the body and the soul and their links that can be compared to a common existential identity (“hypostastike tautoteta”).

Byzantine church architecture is familiar with symbolical limits that are materially expressed. An analogous paradigm in the case of spaces of the perimeter and the world of senses, is the limitation between the Visible and the Invisible realized by the iconostasis. Speaking of symbolism as art of heavenly elevation and of representation through which the represented subject became a higher reality Paul Florensky called the iconostasis the “limit of the world”<sup>12</sup>. This is a limit like a window that allows the real world looking to the world of symbols and through them to the invisible one. Such a limit is also that what stands between the spaces of the World and the spaces of Divinity.

Architecture of a church constitutes a three-dimensional representation of the Divinity and the World. The question is how that is expressed in the function of spaces and in the architectural type of the church. A survey of monuments from the Early Christian period which in one form or another had a perimeter aisle, or a perimeter space (in the form of a peristoon or *peridromos*) on one or two levels, aimed at tracing the very origins of the peristoon concept. It is important to understand that both basilicas and pericentric Early Christian constructions already embodied the concept of movement around a centre, and at the same time of the separation of functions, a fact that was decisive for the arrangement and the structure of the building as a whole<sup>13</sup>.

Three- or five-aisled basilicas already incorporate the concept of spaces surrounding the central nave in the sense of a specific point, but they too could accommodate extra perimeter spaces. Something similar may be observed in pericentric constructions, particularly in double-shelled ones,

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ἔξεις τε καὶ διαθέσεις» and further: «...Διὰ δὲ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἀναγνώσεως τοῦ ἁγίου Εὐαγγελίου, τὴν τοῦ χοῦκοῦ φρονήματος, ὥσπερ αἰσθητοῦ κόσμου, συντέλειαν. Διὰ δὲ τῆς μετὰ ταῦτα τῶν θυρῶν κλείσεως, τὴν κατὰ διάθεσιν ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ φθαρτοῦ κόσμου πρὸς τὸν νοητὸν κόσμον μετάβαισιν τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ μετάθεσιν δι' ἧς τὰς αἰσθησεις, θυρῶν δίκην, μύσσασα, τῶν καθ' ἁμαρτίαν εἰδώλων καθαρὰς ἀπεργάζεται».

<sup>12</sup> See: Paul Florensky. *La perspective inversée suivi de L'iconostase* / Transl. by Soteris Gounelas, Athens, 2002, p. 128–130 (from now on: *Florensky, L'iconostase*).

<sup>13</sup> According to Maximus: “It is His nature to work this unity Himself in the substances of beings, without fusing them”; see: *Stead, The Church... The Mystagogia*, p. 68, and original text in *Μάξιμος, Μυσταγωγία* / Ed. Δ. Στανιλοάε, chapt. A, 75–82 C (668 A), esp. p. 114, 115: «περὶ τὰς οὐσίας τῶν ὄντων ἁ σ υ γ χ ὕ τ ω ς αὐτὸς ἐνεργεῖν πέφυκεν ὁ Θεός...».

where the peristoon is clearly formed around a centralized core (fig. 4). A similar case exists however in cross-shaped constructions. The gradual phasing out of the atrium and the gradual change of the narthex emerge as important events for the study of peristoa.

During the transition period (7<sup>th</sup>–8<sup>th</sup> C), monuments appeared whose aisles and narthex were conceived as a unified peristoon (fig. 5a, b, c). Alongside monuments constructed in the Middle Byzantine period numerous earlier churches continued to exist, serving as models and being adapted to new needs. The fate of perimetric spaces in different architectural types during the Middle Byzantine period confirms the continuity of their concept and symbolism (fig. 6); it also confirms frequent incorporation of perimetric spaces in the overall church concept at a time when the latter was becoming more challenging<sup>14</sup>.

Nevertheless, in histories of Byzantine architecture the peristoon has been treated as a specific, relatively low roofed space, surrounding the dominant nave either in a continuous or in a, more or less, autonomous manner (fig. 7). Recent scholarship shows new interpretations in similar cases of perimeter spaces in relation to Early Christian monuments. The importance in surveys of monuments of earlier eras lies in the demonstration of the continuity of a concept, which is re-proposed again and again, and which survives through time by assuming diverse forms. This concept runs like a thread through the history of Byzantine church architecture exactly because it represents in the closest sense the idea of the perigram of the Divine.

My recent detailed examination of more than 35 Late Byzantine monuments selected in relation to the type of their core structure and featuring continuous or separate peristoa or related spaces have yielded several results<sup>15</sup>. It should be underlined that there may be many more monuments featuring peristoa than those identified, since they were the first elements of a church that would collapse if they were not built integrally with it. Peristoa or related spaces that serve identical or similar uses, were built according to needs; small-size buildings of the Late Byzantine period permit such constructions, a fact that may well have been perceived as an advantage in terms of economic and spatial flexibility (fig. 8).

The importance of peristoa as a real and as a symbolic frame of the Divinity in Byzantine church architecture is decisive, since peristoa were part and parcel of the church concept (and structure), throughout the history of Byzantine architecture, and passed on in various ways to the later eras.

<sup>14</sup> In the sense of the reduction of dimensions.

<sup>15</sup> Χατζητρύφωνος Ε. Το Περίστωο στην υστεροβυζαντινή εκκλησιαστική αρχιτεκτονική. Σχεδιασμός-Λειτουργία. Thessalonike, 2004, p. 199–206 (from now on: Χατζητρύφωνος, Περίστωο).

## FUNCTIONS

In broader sense peristoa are spaces that were used for many functions. These functions included baptism, burial, memorial services, commemorations, veneration of holy relics and other objects, Divine Liturgy assistance, assemblies (synaxeis), processions and many other<sup>16</sup>. I will refer here to only two of those that seem to be the most notable for the character of peristoa: baptism and burial.

*Baptism*

Baptism, one of the most important Christian rituals, is related to the Great Consacration of the waters held during Epiphany and to the consecration of the waters in general<sup>17</sup>. Typological affinities between baptisteries and mausolea show that even on a symbolic level, there was a link between baptism and burial and that the two were related<sup>18</sup>. It is not quite clear how the space and the infrastructure for baptism evolved in the Middle and Late Byzantine era, when there was no longer need for collective baptisms of adults but only of individual infants.

It seems, however, that the ritual of baptism was gradually moved from the side of the church to its narthex or to a certain place within peristoon. This view is corroborated by the positioning of stone carved baptismal fonts in several churches<sup>19</sup> (fig. 9) This position was usually in the south or north angle of the narthex or of the peristoon. Iconographic programs in the narthexes and other perimetric spaces confirm the relation of baptism-enlightening-

<sup>16</sup> Χατζητρήφωνος, Περίστωο, where a chapter is devoted to functions of those spaces; see esp. p. 71–90.

<sup>17</sup> Καλλίνικος Κ. Ο Χριστιανικός ναός και τα τελούμενα εν αυτώ. Athens, 1969 (from now on: Καλλίνικος, Χριστιανικός ναός), p. 388–394 (where sources) and 534; Γιάγκου Θ. Κανονικολειτουργικά. Thessalonike, 1999 (from now on: Γιάγκου, Κανονικολειτουργικά), p. 435–454 (where earlier bibliography).

<sup>18</sup> Still during Early Christian period the relation burial/resurrection through baptism and the equivalence mausoleum/baptistery is clear. See Καλλίνικος, Χριστιανικός ναός, p. 391, where: «...Ὁ βαπτισθησόμενος χειραγωγείται «ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγίαν τοῦ θεοῦ βαπτίσματος κολυμβήθραν, ὡς ὁ Χριστὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Σταυροῦ ἐπὶ τὸ προκειμένον μνήμα... Ὁ Παῦλος τὸ βάπτισμα παραβάλλει πρὸς τὴν ταφὴν καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν τοῦ Κυρίου, ἐξ οὗ δίδεται ἀφορμὴ εἰς τὸν Κατηχητὴν νὰ εἴπῃ πρὸς τοὺς νεοφωτίστους: ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπεθνήσκεσθε καὶ ἐγεννάσθε καὶ τὸ σωτήριον ἐκεῖνο ὕδωρ καὶ τὰ φ ο ς ἡμῖν ἐγένετο καὶ μ ἦ τ η ρ ». See details in Γιάγκου, Κανονικολειτουργικά, p. 435; Χατζητρήφωνος, Περίστωο, p. 79.

<sup>19</sup> Čurčić S. The Baptismal Font of Gračanica and its Iconographic Settings // Zbornik Narodnog Muzeja IX–X. Beograd, 1979 (from now on: «The Baptismal Font...»), p. 313–328. See also the example of Mone Vlatadon, where the baptismal font is facing the John Fore-runner chapel.

burial<sup>20</sup>. In several well known monuments, like Katholikon of Hosios Loukas, Mone tes Choras, Mone Vlatadon, this relation is evident.

### *Burial*

The mortuary role of peristoa is related to the interpretation of the service for the dead. Evidence of their eschatological content may be seen in many peristoa wall-paintings, which in itself could constitute a major subject of study. The preparation of the deceased for funeral took place in the narthex, in the nartheces or in the peristoon<sup>21</sup>, but the Trisagion for the Departed was held, according Symeon Archbishop of Thessalonike, “at the very centre of the naos”<sup>22</sup>. The memorial service was one of the most important rites held in a peristoon; but also burial in a peristoon had a particular significance<sup>23</sup>.

Despite the fact that in most cases it is difficult to determine the precise function of the peristoon, research shows that their role as burial grounds endured for a long time despite interdictions imposed by Ecclesiastical canons<sup>24</sup>. Recent research<sup>25</sup> throws ample light on the question of the position of tombs within a church and reveals their position in many different types of churches.

Tombs appear early on around churches, particularly around the consecrated area of the Sanctuary<sup>26</sup>. Ever since Early Christian times tombs of monumental character in the form of sarcophagi are found in annexes, nartheces, and also underground spaces (crypts)<sup>27</sup>. In all eras, the burials inside and outside peristoa, nartheces and aisles were, especially after the 6<sup>th</sup> C., a popular practice, despite the continuous official interdiction against burials

<sup>20</sup> Gavrilović Z. Divine Wisdom as Part of Byzantine Imperial Ideology. Research to the Artistic Interpretations of the Theme in Medieval Serbia. *Nartex Programs of Lesnovo I Sopoćani // Zograf* 11, 1980, p. 44–62.

<sup>21</sup> About the topic of burial in Byzantium see: *Εμμανουηλίδης Ν.* Το δίκαιο της ταφής στο Βυζάντιο, *Forschungen zur Byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte, Athener Reihe.* Athens, 1989 (from now on: *Εμμανουηλίδης, Το δίκαιο της ταφής*), and about burial in *peristoa*: *Χατζητρύφωνος, Περίστωο*, p. 80, and fn. 108.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid* fn. 109; *Ćurčić S.* The Baptismal Font...

<sup>23</sup> *Θεσσαλονίκης Συμεών / Ed. J. P. Migne // PG. V. 155.* Athens, 1994, chapt. ΣΤ', p. 344, says that kings are buried around the church, the laics around the doors and monks and laics in the narthex.

<sup>24</sup> *Χατζητρύφωνος, Περίστωο*, p. 80, and fn. 111; *Σπυριδάκης Γ.* Τα κατά την τελευταίην έθιμα των βυζαντινών εκ των αγιολογικών πηγών // *ΕΕΒΣ* 20, 1950, p. 75–171 and *Εμμανουηλίδης, Το δίκαιο της ταφής*, p. 215, 216.

<sup>25</sup> *Ivison E.* Mortuary Practices in Byzantium: An Archaeological Contribution (c. 950–1453) / PhD University of Birmingham, Birmingham 1993, p. 136, 157.

<sup>26</sup> *Χατζητρύφωνος, Περίστωο*, p. 80, and fn. 113.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.* fn. 114.

within the church<sup>28</sup>. This was a matter of great concern for the Ecclesia. Archaeological evidence corroborates the fact that positions closer to the east and the south were preferred for burial places, because they were considered as providing grater honour<sup>29</sup>. Positions near holy relics were always highly desired. In the interior, almost always in the lateral spaces, we find the founders' tombs in many churches, tombs of bishops or other distinguished church dignitaries in parish churches, tombs of monks around monastery *katholika*<sup>30</sup>. Social criteria mattered in selecting position and style of tombs<sup>31</sup>. In the case of sovereigns, tombs and their spaces expressed the theological and political concepts of the time, underlining particularly dynastic lineage and devotion of the ruler-founders.

The gradual suppression of annexes after the 6<sup>th</sup> C. upgrades the significance of narteces, aisles and peristoa for burials<sup>32</sup>. A broader distribution of perimetric spaces with burials, even by building of exonarteces and additional peristoa, is common in the Late Byzantine period.

The Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople is the monument par excellence for the understanding of Byzantine tombs, especially imperial ones in the context of a church complex. Apart from the mausolea of Constantine and Justinian, containing a greater number of tombs, two stoai and small buildings annexed to the north and south side of the church were used for burials<sup>33</sup>.

Research in structures annexed to churches provides interesting insights, such as the existence of chapels that are sometimes two storied. Babić argues that free-standing chapels had the same liturgical function as some of the chapels laterally annexed to churches. This is corroborated by the iconographic programs found in nartheces, peristoa and other attached constructions especially after the 10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> C. It also appears that the use of a dome surmounting the space where there was an *arcosolium* or another type of a tomb, was a common practice invested with symbolic meaning<sup>34</sup> (fig. 10). Also specific rooms in the perimeter were used by monks or church founders for their voluntary retirement from the world and their seclusion within the

<sup>28</sup> Ibid fn. 116, about the prohibitions see Πάλλας Δ. «Σαλαμινιακά», part C. The tombs // Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς, 1950–1951 (from now on: Πάλλας, «Σαλαμινιακά»), p. 163–181, esp. p. 176 and Φαίδων Κουκουλές. Βυζαντινών βίος και πολιτισμός. V. D', p. 186–188.

<sup>29</sup> Ivison, Mortuary Practices, p. 272.

<sup>30</sup> Cutler A. Leo Allatios. The Newer Temples of the Greeks. London, 1969, 1st Letter, V[a], XIV[16].

<sup>31</sup> Ivison, Mortuary Practices, p. 171–172.

<sup>32</sup> Πάλλας, «Σαλαμινιακά», p. 179, Εμμανουηλίδης, Το δίκαιο της ταφής, p. 216.

<sup>33</sup> Χατζητρύφωνος, Περίστωο, p. 82, and fn. 122, 12; Εμμανουηλίδης, Το δίκαιο της ταφής, p. 212, 213, fn 36.

<sup>34</sup> Χατζητρύφωνος, Περίστωο, p. 83, and fn. 132.



church itself. Those were next to or above the space that was planned for their eventual tomb as Slobodan Ćurčić has suggested<sup>35</sup>.

Tombs have been identified in perimeter spaces of Transition and Middle Byzantine monuments, in churches of different types mainly after 6<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>36</sup> and even more so after the 12<sup>th</sup> C. especially in Paleologan monuments<sup>37</sup> (fig. 11). One can finally conclude that as funerary services were held in the narthex and in the lateral aisles, and that the peristoon essentially united all these parts into a unified whole responding to a perigram of human desire for eternity.

#### LIGHT AND TIME

In the hierarchy of spaces in a church the role of light is extremely important (fig. 12). Much has been written about light in the central space of the Divinity. According Maximus the Confessor, Goodness is identified with clarity, and light is the form through which clarity is made manifest: “In that world, gazing upon the light of the invisible glory, utterly beyond description, with the high angelic powers they too become capable of blessed purity”<sup>38</sup>.

The role of light in intentional asymmetries in churches has provoked the interest of architectural analysts, but the topic has not been covered extensively<sup>39</sup>. The pyramidal planning conception of church architecture (fig. 3)

<sup>35</sup> Ćurčić S. Smisao i funkcija katihumena u posnovizantijskoj i srpskoj arhitekturi // Manastir Žiča. Zbornik radova. Kraljevo, 2000, p. 83–93; *Idem*. The Twin-Domed Narthex in Paleologan Architecture // Zbornik radova Vizantoloskog instituta. Srpska Akademija Nauka XIII. Beograd, 1971, p. 333–344; *Idem*. Architectural Significance of Subsidiary Chapels in Middle Byzantine Churches // Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, XXXVI. 1977, p. 94–110.

<sup>36</sup> Such as Hagia Sophia in Thessalonike and St Achilleios at Prespa, Hagia Sophia at Monemvasia. See Χατζητρύφωνος, Περίστωο, p. 80 ff., 91 ff., and esp. Εμμανουηλίδης, Το δίκαιο της ταφής, p. 207, 210–223.

<sup>37</sup> Such as Lips Monastery with a domed chapel and a *peristoon* the katholikon of Vlatadon Monastery, the Church of St Nicholas Orphanos in Thessalonike, and many others, see Χατζητρύφωνος, Περίστωο, p. 81 (table), 139 ff., 196–197 (table) and esp. Εμμανουηλίδης, Το δίκαιο της ταφής, p. 207, 219, 210–223.

<sup>38</sup> Stead, The Church... The Mystagogia, p. 96 and see for the original Μάξιμου, Μυσταγωγία // Ed. Δ. Στανιλοάε, chart. KA', p. 5–10 (697A), esp. p. 208–209: «καθ' ὃν τῆς ἀφανοῦς καὶ ὑπεραρόρητου δόξης τὸ φῶς ἐνοπτεῦντες, τῆς μακαρίας, μετὰ τῶν ἄνω δυνάμεων, καὶ αὐτοὶ δεκτικοὶ γίνονται καθαρότητος...» and ΚΔ, 29–33 (704 B, C), esp. p. 227: «Διὰ δὲ τῆς μετὰ ταῦτα τῶν θυρῶν κλείσεως, τὴν κατὰ διάθεσιν ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ φθοροῦ κόσμου πρὸς τὸν νοητὸν κόσμον μετέβαισιν τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ μετέθεισιν δι' ἧς τὰς αἰσθητικὰς, θυρῶν δίκην, μύσασα, τῶν καθ' ἁμαρτίαν εἰδῶλων καθαρὰς ἀπεργάζεται».

<sup>39</sup> Μιχελής, Αισθητική θεώρηση, p. 98–99, 112, 121–126, see the first study on this matter Τριανταφυλλίδης Γ. Στοιχεία φυσικού φωτισμού των Βυζαντινών Εκκλησιῶν. Athens, 1964; Ποταμιάνος Ι. Το φως στη βυζαντινὴ ἐκκλησία. Thessalonike, 2000 (from now on:

manifests not only the need for a solution of spatial problems but also it functions as a three-dimensional Icon, an intended symbolic imprinting, joined with the “heavenly hierarchy”. Architecturally speaking it expresses hierarchy of volumes involving hierarchy of spaces.

The contradiction light-darkness symbolizing knowledge-ignorance and Divinity — “World” is of particular importance in aesthetics of the church building<sup>40</sup>. Light and Time assume an important role in the church building and became a content. With the church building an existential problem of feeling of solitude had to be solved. It seems that managing light was a way to satisfy the need of the faithful not to feel alone in the world<sup>41</sup>.

Thus, in the Byzantine church an effort to introduce light deliberately is apparent. From the dimness of narthexes and peristoa the faithful enter into the moderate light of the naos and finally stand below the light of the domed centre. The perimetric spaces have usually a lower level of light in contrast to the main space of the Divine. Although the latter is not lit directly in all its parts it is much more so than narthexes and peristoa. Heavenly and spatial hierarchy is also in this way underlined and the space of Divinity and its perimeter are distinguished.

Time is also a crucial matter for the comprehension of space in Byzantine church<sup>42</sup>. The difference between the experiencing of time in the place of Divinity and in the areas of the “World” appears not only in connection with real time and the day-night phenomenon, but also in conjunction with expansion and contraction of time through feeling and spiritual experience<sup>43</sup>. Peristoa and narthexes, as a perigram of the Divine, have an important role for the experiencing of time depending of their architectural features.

The perigram as a zone of the “World” embracing the Divine in the church building can explain many aspects of the Christian church and its conception through history. Further research of this matter will undoubtedly shed more light on several features of spatial organization and spatial comprehension of Byzantine Church architecture.

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*Ποταμιάνος*, Το φως), with older bibliography, a study that examines extensively the problem of light in Byzantine church.

<sup>40</sup> For those contradictions and their meaning see fn. 36, 37.

<sup>41</sup> *Μιχελής*, Αισθητική θεώρηση, p. 121.

<sup>42</sup> About the meaning of time in church see: *Kalokyris K.* Byzantine Iconography and Liturgical Time // *Eastern Churches Review* 1, 1967–1968, p. 359–363; *Mladen Pejaković* in: *Gatin N., Pejaković M.* Starohrvatska sakralna arhitektura. Zagreb, 1988, p. 267–296 about theories on space and time, and also *Ποταμιάνος*, Το φως, p. 130, esp. p. 239–257.

<sup>43</sup> See: *Florensky*, L' iconostase, p. 117.

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«БОЖЕСТВЕННОЕ» И «МИР».  
О ДВУХ ПРОСТРАНСТВЕННЫХ ЗОНАХ  
ВИЗАНТИЙСКОГО ХРАМА

Настоящая статья посвящена разным формам воплощения божественного посредством создания образа мира в византийской церковной архитектуре. Хорошо известно, что божественное как сущность внутреннего пространства храма проявляется в его разных частях не одинаково. «Мирские» пространства, предназначенные для людей и их нужд, более низкие и темные по сравнению с высокой, хорошо освещенной и расположенной в центре зоной «Божественного». Само существо «Божественного», определенного как центр света, является пересечением линий, или даже соединением путей (см. Максима Исповедника). «Мир» представляет, напротив, область многообразия форм и функций. «Мир» делает «Божественное» доступным для восприятия именно за счет своей «материально-духовной» природы, вне «Мира» вечно существующее «Божественное» не может обрести форму.

Если говорить в терминах геометрии, то основным знаком «Божественного» в церкви — место воображаемого или реального пересечения (как две оси креста пересекают друг друга), или центр воображаемой, но вместе с тем реальной сферы — купола. Это ощущение трехмерности (объема) сохраняется и в вытянутых пространствах, которые отражают место пребывания «Божественного» другим способом.

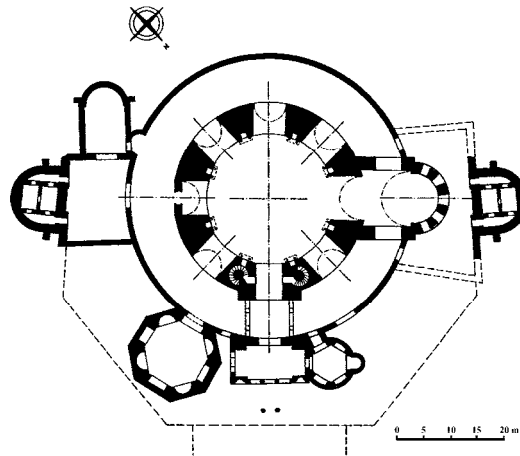
«Мир» включает в себя боковые нефы, приделы, обходные галереи, нартексы, перистили (иначе говоря, то, что византийцы называли *registon*), которые окружают и определяют существование пространства «Божественного». «Места мира» принимают на себя множество функций, но они всегда связаны с нуждами верующих, находящихся вокруг святого центра: подготовки к похоронам, крещению, молитве и т. п. В этом смысле противопоставление светлых и затемненных зон, символизирующее разницу между знанием и безразличием, «Божественным» и «Миром», особенно важно. Светлый центр «Божественного» постоянно воздействовал на зоны «Мира» в непрерывном процессе его освящения-одухотворения.

Снаружи церковь, воплощающая концепцию пирамидального здания — буквально образцовое выражение этой идеи. Такой тип строения не только позволяет решить статические проблемы, но и создает, как трехмерная икона, нужный символический образ-отпечаток, связанный с «небесной иерархией».

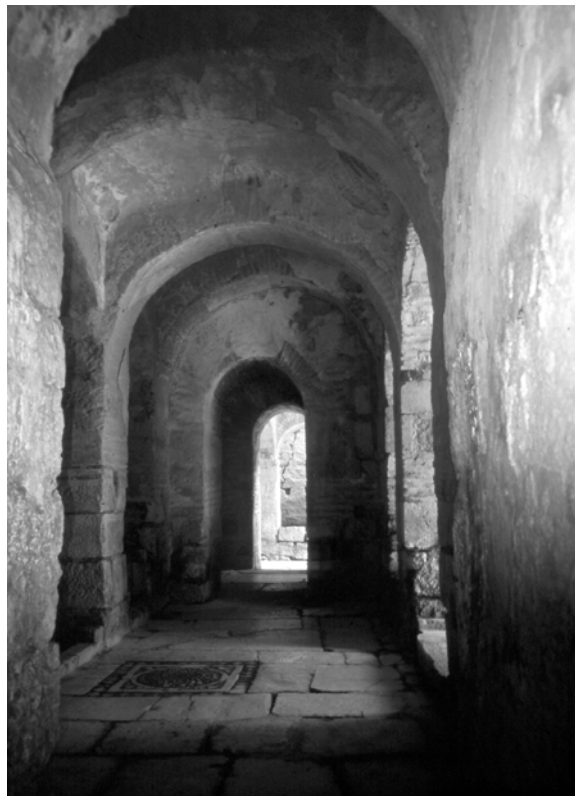
Реальный размер здания церкви может рассматриваться и с другой точки зрения, трактующей как первостепенное отношение между «Божественным» и «Миром», которое может быть реализовано даже в миниатюре.

Для понимания пространства также важно время. Разница в ощущении времени в сфере «Божественного» и сфере «Мира» связана не только с земным временем и сменой дня и ночи, но также с замедлением и ускорением времени в чувствах и опыте.

Значение пространств и всех мест, окружающих наос, особенно купольный, меняется и требует другого подхода, рассмотрения в несколько иной системе понятий. Отношение к исследованию типов, функций, форм и художественных решений таких пространств в церковной архитектуре должно быть пересмотрено. Для областей «Мира» очень важны некоторые архитектурные и функциональные термины, например *klitos*, *narthex*, *peristoon*. Отношения между этими частями здания, вопросы о функциях внутренних пространств и их художественных решений стоят в центре нашего внимания. Термины, которые используются в византийской литературе при их описании, заслуживают более точной и цельной интерпретации, так как за ними скрывается собственно теория византийской архитектуры, гораздо более сложная, чем та, которую дает современная история архитектуры. Новое прочтение источников может послужить обоснованием такого видения многих явлений.



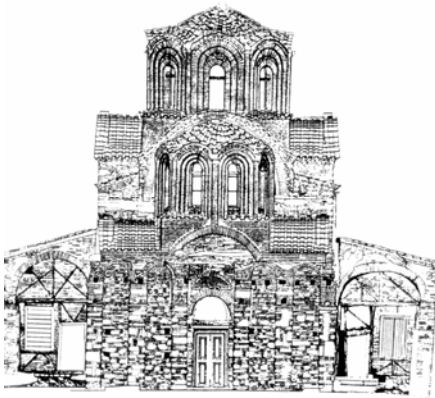
1. Rotonda, Thessalonike, plan of the Early Christian phase



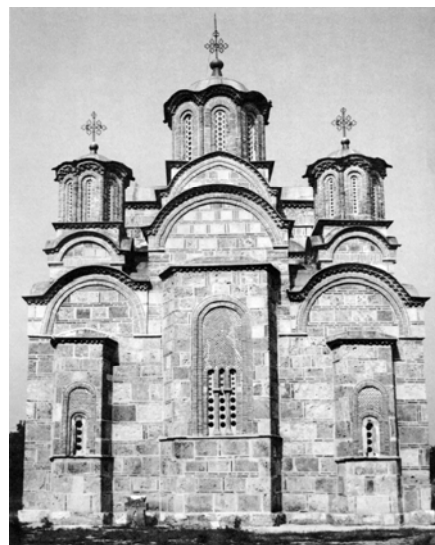
2. The peristoon of S. Nicolas in Myra, Asia Minor, as an example for the notion of far end and endless space



*a*

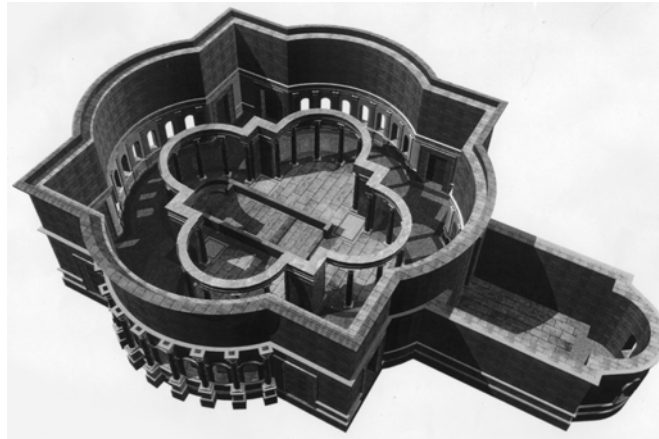


*b*

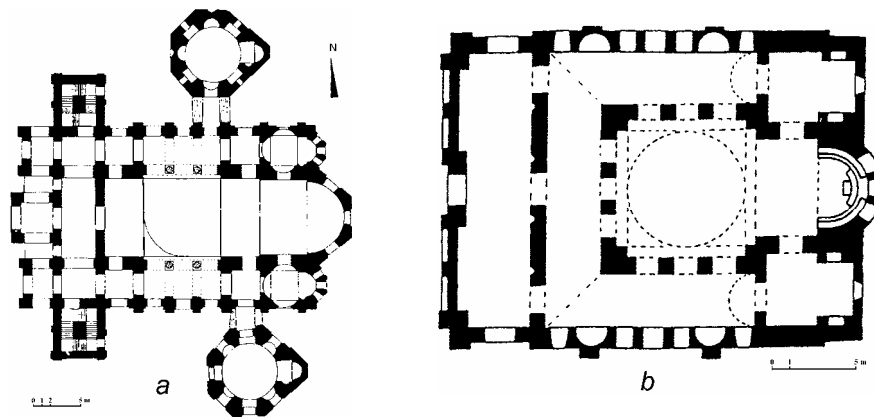


*c*

3. Pyramidal composition of volumes as it appears in S. Taxiarches in island Andros (*a*), S. Pantelejmon in Thessalonike (*b*), Gračanica in Kosovo and Metochia (*c*)

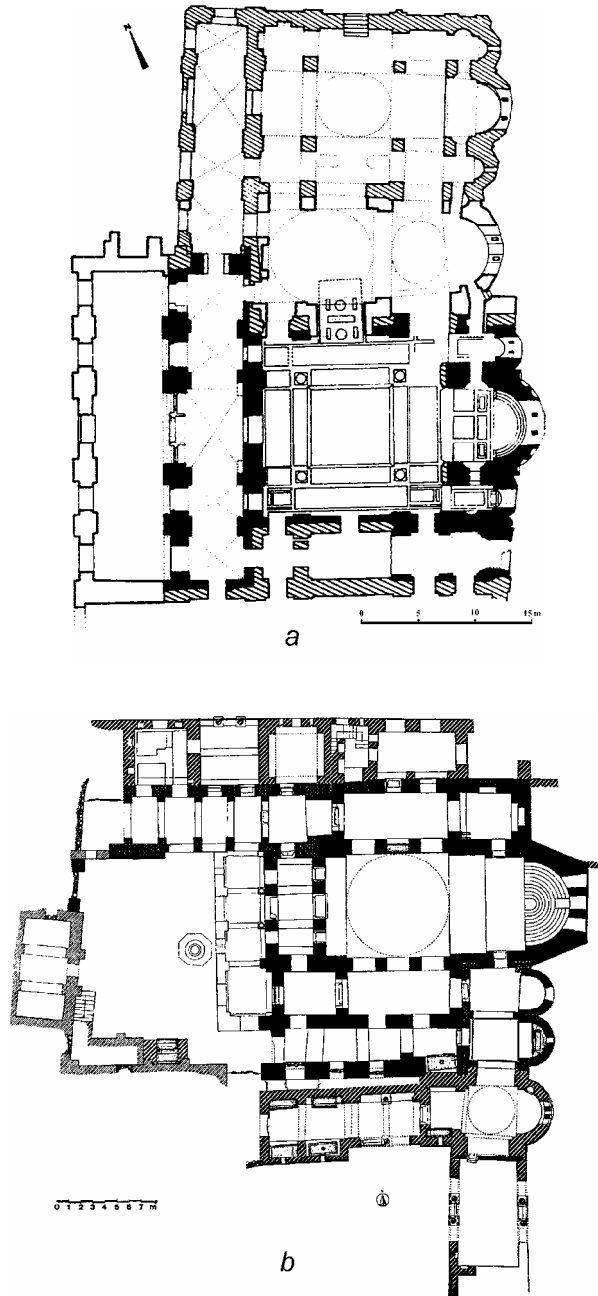


4. Church in Seleukia-Pieria as an example between more of so-called double shell churches with peristoon around the core



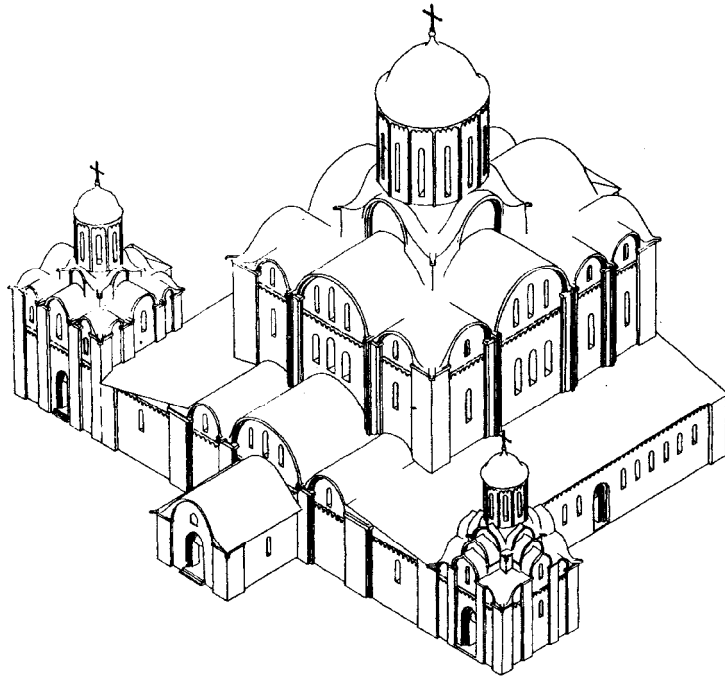
5. Churches unifying their aisles and narhex in a whole as peristoon around the core: a) Dere Agzi, b) Dag Pazari, c) S. Sophia in Thessalonike

c

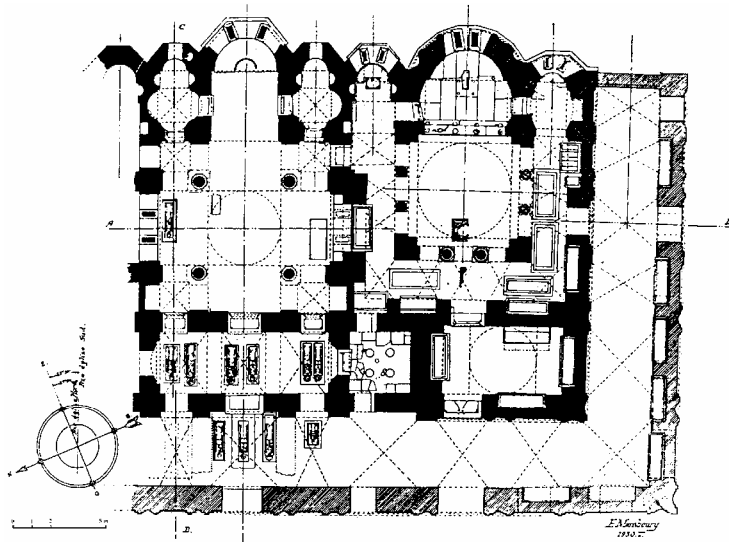


6. Perimetric spaces in middle Byzantine churches such as Pantokrator in Constantinople (*a*) and S. Nicolas in Myra (*b*)

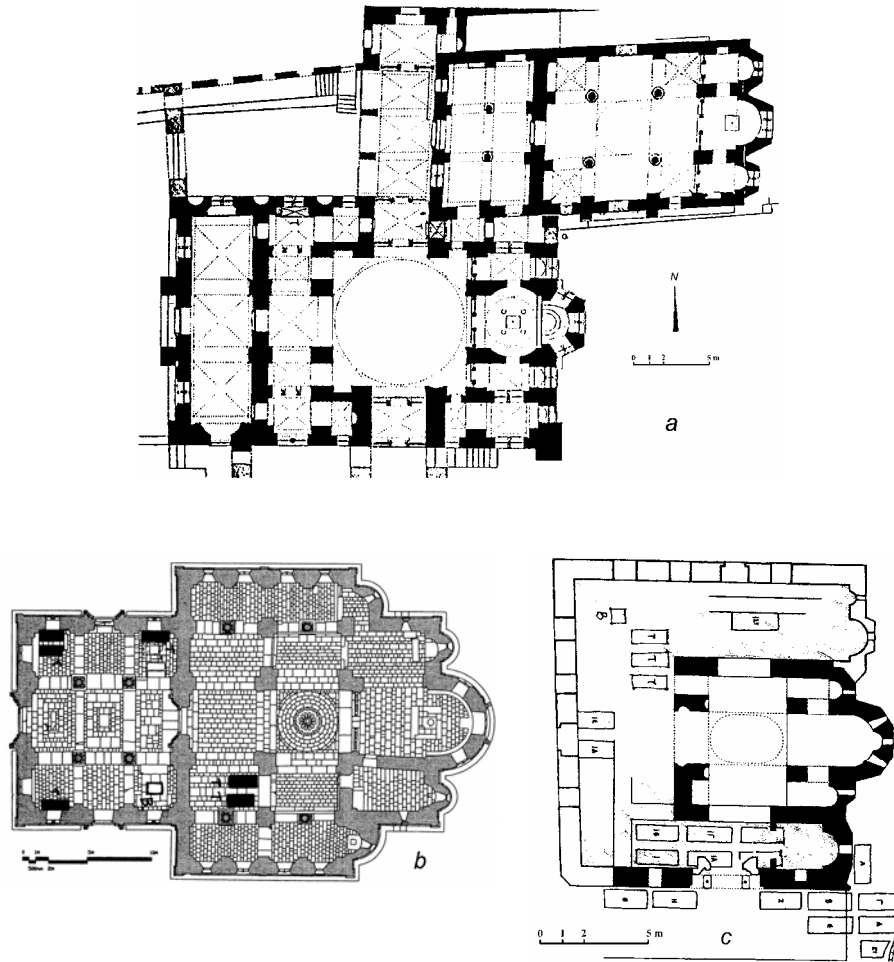




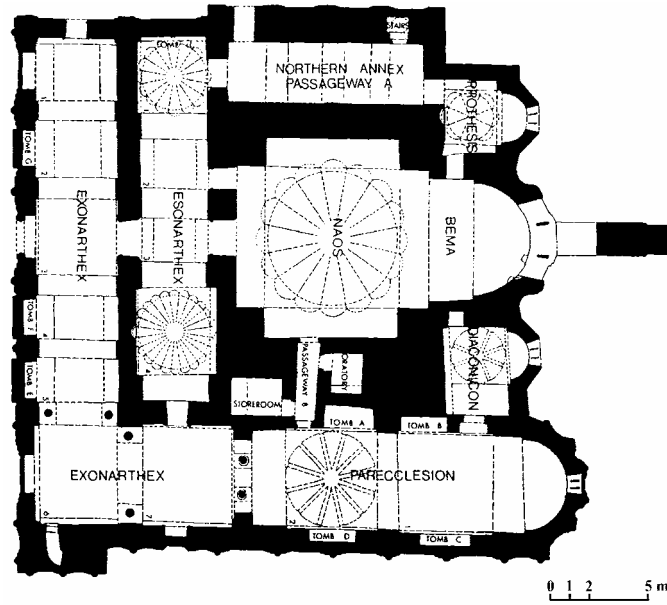
7. A typical composition of a lower peristoon surrounding the higher main core at Sobor na Protoke, Smolensk



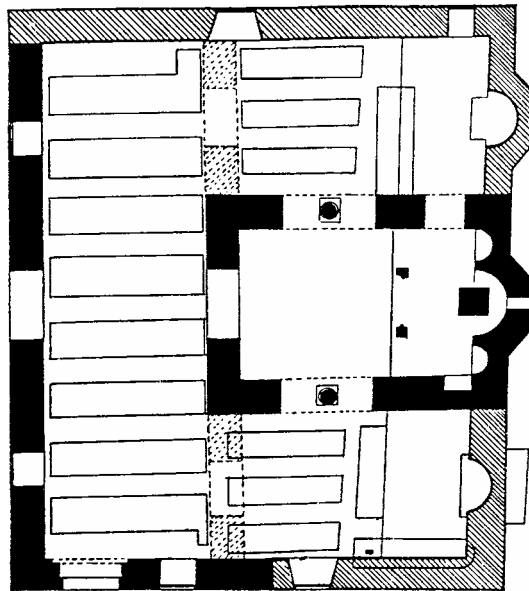
8. The case of Lips Monastery, Constantinople, after the model of Pantocrator Monastery in the same city



9. Position of Baptismal fonts in the perimetric space as in: *a)* Dečani, *b)* Osios Loucas and *c)* Mone Vlatadon



10. The Katholikon of Chora Monastery, Constantinople, a case where the dome of parecclesion is related to the funerary arcosolia



11. S. Nicolas Orphanos, Thessalonike, an example of tombs in the peristoa.



*a*



*b*



*c*



*d*

12. The importance of light in different aspects: *a), b)* domes; *c), d)* bema, main nave

Ida Sinkević

FORMATION OF SACRED SPACE IN LATER  
BYZANTINE FIVE-DOMED CHURCHES:  
A HIEROTOPIC APPROACH

The dome is one of the most prominent features of Byzantine churches. Within the spatial structure of a church, it caps the hierarchically designed space. Conceived as a configuration in real space, its program, as Otto Demus pointed out, completes the monumental icon of the church<sup>1</sup>. Although symbolic meaning of the dome still remains enigmatic and a subject of many different interpretations, ranging from comparisons with eastern mandala, to a more recent association with imperial ideology<sup>2</sup>, on the most general level it is agreed that the dome represents, to refer to Demus again, the “celestial sphere of the microcosm of the church, an organic center from which the program of the church could be arranged radially”<sup>3</sup>.

Although generally valid within the context of single domed churches, this interpretation leaves a considerable void in the instances when the number of domes is multiplied. If the central dome is an organic center and a symbol of the celestial sphere, what is the symbolic meaning of subsidiary domes? Physically distant from one another, do subsidiary domes suggest that celestial sphere is multiplied and/or fragmented in the interior of multi-domed churches? Moreover, were multi-domed churches evoking the same symbolic associations as the single-domed edifices on the mind of the beholders?

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<sup>1</sup> See: *Demus O.* Byzantine Mosaic Decoration. New York, 1976, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> See: *Mathews T.* The Transformation Symbolism in Byzantine Architecture and the Meaning of the Pantokrator in the Dome // *Church and People in Byzantium* / Ed. by R. Morris. Birmingham, 1990, p. 191–214; *Nordhagen P. J.* The Absent Ruler. Reflections on the Origin of the Byzantine Domed Church and Its Pictorial Decoration // *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia XV* (2001), p. 319–335.

<sup>3</sup> *Demus.* Byzantine Mosaic Decoration, p. 19.

An interpretation of the symbolic meaning of multi-domed churches has been provided by Alexei Lidov in his studies on Byzantine understanding of Heavenly Jerusalem<sup>4</sup>. By drawing a distinction between western approach to Heavenly Jerusalem materialized in a concrete symbolic image, and its Byzantine counterpart characterized by conceptual and metaphorical representations, Lidov convincingly uses the images of multi-domed churches as important examples that embody the idea of the Holy City. As put concisely by Lidov, “Heavenly Jerusalem is treated as a metaphor, a symbolic image... is conceived of as a church, a place of incessant liturgy... is not identified with any single place of worship. It is the concentration of churches, a sort of city made up of churches”<sup>5</sup>. Indeed, a multi-domed church fits the description, and the Cathedral of St. Basil in Moscow, with its imaginative domes and towers that cap segregated and diverse architectural units, although post-Byzantine, provides, in my view, the most vivid example of Lidov’s claim.

Without any attempt to negate the association between multi-domed churches and the concept of Heavenly Jerusalem, this paper aims at exploring additional symbolic connotations of multi-domed churches. More specifically, the paper focuses on a small group of Middle and late Byzantine five-domed churches, characterized by four domed compartments placed around the cruciform core of the church (fig. 1). It is believed that the earliest church of this type is now destroyed Constantinopolitan foundation of the emperor Basil I (867–886), Nea Ekklesia, consecrated in 881 and known today only through written sources and a few summary drawings<sup>6</sup>. Its architectural type remained popular in Byzantium, however, as evidenced through the wide geographic spread of Middle and Late Byzantine five-domed churches<sup>7</sup>. While small in number, largely due to vulnerability and a high cost associated with erection of cupolas, five domed churches can be found throughout Byzantium and its borderlands, such as in Russia, Serbia, Greece, Armenia, and Italy<sup>8</sup>.

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<sup>4</sup> See: *Lidov A.* Heavenly Jerusalem: the Byzantine Approach // *The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian, and Islamic Art* (Jewish Art 23/24), Jerusalem, 1998, p. 341–353.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 342–343.

<sup>6</sup> For architectural analysis, see: *Krautheimer R.* Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture, p. 356; *Ćurčić S.* Architectural Reconsideration of the Nea Ekklesia // *Byzantine Studies Conference Abstracts* 6 (1980), p. 11–12; *Mango C., Ševčenko I.* Some Churches and Monasteries on the Southern Shore of the Sea of Marmara // *DOP* 27 (1973), p. 235–277. For descriptions and the impact that the church had on visitors, see: *Magdalino P.* Observations on the Nea Ekklesia of Basil I // *JÓB* 37 (1987), p. 51–64; *Majeska G.* Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries. Washington, 1984, p. 37, 247; *Mango C.* The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312–1453: Sources and Documents. Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1972, p. 194; Anthony of Novgorod in *S. Khitrovo // Itinéraires russes en Orient*. Geneva, 1899, p. 98–102.

<sup>7</sup> *Krautheimer.* Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture, p. 356.

<sup>8</sup> For a discussion and bibliography, see: *Sinkević I.* The Church of St. Panteleimon at Nerezi: Architecture, Programme, Patronage. Wiesbaden, 2000, p. 24–28.

Iconographically, these churches are seen by scholars as symbols of the capital, recalling its imperial spirit at various geographic locations of the empire<sup>9</sup>. Architecturally, the uniformity of size, shape and exterior decoration of subsidiary domes, as well as the strict symmetry of their disposition, indicates that this group of churches received special treatment by Byzantine architects. The uniformity of their architectural features and the disposition of subsidiary domes separates this group of monuments from other multi-domed churches. Placed at the outermost corners of the edifice and almost identical in their shape, size, and exterior decoration, the domes confirm that spatial articulation of these edifices is a consequence of the initial and intentional planning and not an afterthought. Thus, both the nature of their planning and the associations with the capital indicate that later Byzantine five domed churches reveal important principles of the creation of sacred space in Byzantium. It is a purpose of this paper to examine to what extent such carefully articulated architectural symmetry, that formed a spatial icon on the exterior, affected and/or is reflected in the iconographic program of the interior of subsidiary domes.

Traditionally, the program of subsidiary domes has been studied only in relation to images underneath. This vertical connection, while important, fostered the idea of spatial and programmatic segregation. A careful examination of a variety of both literary and visual sources, as well as a consideration of the role of the beholder in the perception of spatial construct of the church, pursued in this paper, aims at examining the relationship between spatial and programmatic solutions and thus expanding our understanding of the impact of domes on the making of sacred space by using a multifaceted approach termed hierotopy by Alexei Lidov<sup>10</sup>. A carefully planned, unified architectural features of the exterior of the domes, suggest that a parallel synthesis may have also occurred in their interior decoration, too. It is with the synergy of painted image and its architectural setting that Byzantine church embraces the beholder into its sacred messages. Thus, this paper ventures into looking at the sphere of domes in five domed churches of Middle and later Byzantine periods by examining the multiplicity of their structural, architectural, programmatic, and perceptual connections.

### I. MIDDLE BYZANTINE FIVE-DOMED CHURCHES

Although considerable losses prevent us from drawing any definitive conclusions about the iconography of domical vaults of five-domed Middle Byzantine churches, some reconstructions can be made on the basis of a

<sup>9</sup> *Krautheimer*. *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, p. 356.

<sup>10</sup> For a discussion on hierotopy, see: *Lidov A.* *Hierotopy. The Creation of Sacred Space as a Form of Creativity and Subject of Cultural History // Hierotopy. Studies in the Making of Sacred Spaces*. Moscow, 2004, p. 15–33, and in the present volume.

careful examination of the single- and multi-domed churches, that is the churches displaying one central or several, usually asymmetrically positioned domes. According to preserved monuments, Middle Byzantine period introduced a number of different images, such as different portrayals of Christ, Virgin, and angels into domical vaults. Most notably, the image of the Pantokrator, the all ruler, gained in prominence<sup>11</sup>. In the katholikon of the Monastery dedicated to the Mother of God at Daphni (c. 1100), the central dome is reserved exclusively for the image of the Pantokrator, while the drum renders prophets<sup>12</sup>. Surrounded by now damaged, yet once powerful and large area of glittering golden mosaic, the Pantokrator at Daphni, stern and serious in its appearance, displays the sense of immediacy and urgency implied in its direct, uncluttered appeal. Although its imperial patronage cannot be established, the refinement of style and the use of golden mosaics make the association of the images at Daphni with the Byzantine capital very likely. After all, couple of centuries later, a similar iconography of the central dome is repeated in the fourteenth-century mosaic of the church of the Virgin Pammakaristos, or Fethiye Camii in Constantinople<sup>13</sup>.

In the more provincial locations, or in the churches of a more modest patronage, however, the central dome lacks the austerity of Daphni and displays much more crowded ensembles. For example, in the twelfth-century Church of the Panagia at Lysi, the image of the Pantokrator is surrounded by a procession of angels<sup>14</sup>. Led by the Virgin and St. John, the angels at Lysi converge towards the prepared throne, Hetoimasia. Hetoimasia, angels, and the Virgin also encircle Christ in the church of St. Hierotheos at Megara<sup>15</sup>. At Megara, we see the full figure of Christ who is enthroned and surrounded by angels in the pose of adoration and with medallions displaying the Virgin, the Hetoimasia, and the two archangels. Parallels for iconographic program of the domes displaying the central medallion of Christ surrounded by the host of angels, as well as the Virgin and other celestial beings seen at both Lysi and Megara are found in nu-

<sup>11</sup> For bibliography on Pantokrator, see: ODB I, p. 439. See also: *Matthews J. T.* The Pantokrator: Title and Image / Ph. D. dissertation, Institute of Fine Arts of New York University, 1976.

<sup>12</sup> See: *Demus.* Byzantine Mosaic Decoration, fig. 7. For a discussion, see: *Mouriki D.* Stylistic Trends in Monumental Painting in Greece during the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries // DOP 34–35 (1980–1981), p. 94–98; *Panagopoulos B. K.* Cistercian and Mendican Monasteries in Medieval Greece. Chicago, 1979, p. 56–62; *Millet G.* Le monastère de Daphni. Paris, 1899.

<sup>13</sup> See: *Belting H., Mango C., Mouriki D.* The Mosaics and Frescoes of St. Mary Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii) at Istanbul. Washington, 1978, pl. I; fig. 27.

<sup>14</sup> *W. Carr A., Morrocco L. J.* A Byzantine Masterpiece Recovered, the Thirteenth-Century Murals of Lysi, Cyprus. Austin, 1991, p. 20–25, figs. 5–13.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51, fig. 17.



merous middle Byzantine churches throughout the empire, such as in Greece, Cyprus, Cappadocia, Sicily, and Russia<sup>16</sup>.

The popularity of these images is also witnessed in their appearance in multi-domed churches, too. For example, in a number of Cappadocian churches, such as in Elmalı Kilise (1190/1200), Çarikli Kilise (second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century), and Karanlık Kilise (c. 1200/1210), all located in Goreme Valley, central dome displays the image of the Pantokrator<sup>17</sup>. The Pantokrator is a sole image in the dome at Elmalı Kilise, while the other two churches display Christ surrounded by angels. Moreover, along with angels, there is a medallion displaying the bust of Christ Emmanuel on the eastern axis of the central dome of Çarikli Kilise. This heavenly ensemble is further enhanced by images of archangels that appear in majority of subsidiary domes in these churches.

The monumental medallion of Christ is also surrounded by archangels in the central dome of the Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kiev. The archangels in Kiev are shown as full size standing figures holding a sphere with cross in the right hand and labarum with inscription *Agios, Agios, Agios* presumably referring to the Thrice Holy Hymn in the left. Additional images of archangels, this time in medallions, have been painted in the summit of auxiliary domes of the southern nave and southern part of the gallery<sup>18</sup>.

Similar program, especially regarding archangels, is also found in the domes of the eleventh-century church of the Virgin Eleousa at Veljusa located in Strumica region in the Republic of Macedonia<sup>19</sup>. The church was commissioned by a Greek bishop Manuel, as his funerary chapel, in 1080. It is a small domed quattrofoil with a narthex and a subsidiary chapel that also features a dome. The central dome at Veljusa displays the Pantokrator surrounded by the Virgin with her hands raised in prayer, and by two archangels dressed in imperial garbs and carrying labarum with inscription *Hagios*, thus very much reminding of those seen in the Kievan cathedral (fig. 2). In addition, the drum also displays the image of St. John and four prophets. The subsidiary domes at Veljusa exhibit different images of Christ: the Ancient-of-Days in the narthex dome, and Emmanuel in the side chapel<sup>20</sup>.

The meaning of these new iconographic solutions of middle Byzantine domes has been interpreted differently by scholars. As discussed concisely

<sup>16</sup> For examples and discussion, see: *Gkioles N. O Byzantinos Troulos kai to eikonografiko tou programma*. Athens, 1990, figs. 9, 13, 16–17, 22–33.

<sup>17</sup> See: *Restle M. Byzantine Wall Painting in Asia Minor*, 3 vols. Greenwich, Conn. 1967. Vol. 2, figs. 161, 162, 195, 219, 220.

<sup>18</sup> *Lazarev V. Old Russian Murals and Mosaics*. London, 1966, p. 224–225, fig. 1; p. 236, fig. 24–25.

<sup>19</sup> *Miljkovic-Peppek P. Veljusa: Manastir Sv. Bogorodica Milostiva vo seloto Veljusa kraj Strumica*. Skopje, 1981.

<sup>20</sup> *Miljkovic-Peppek. Veljusa*, p. 192–196, 204–206.

by Annemarie Weyl Carr, some scholars tend to associate the appearance of the Virgin and angels with the theme of Ascension (Staraya Ladoga and Nereditsi), linked, through the image of the prepared throne to the Second Coming of Christ and the Last Judgment<sup>21</sup>. This eschatological interpretation has been challenged by scholars who felt that the proliferation of angels, as well as the image of the throne are in fact liturgical in their content, representing an incipient stage of the theme of the Divine liturgy that will appear in the domes of many Palaeologan churches as will be discussed later<sup>22</sup>.

It appears, however, that the two interpretations are not mutually exclusive, for it would be very difficult, looking at the processional organization of angels at Lysi, or the inscription from the thrice-holy hymn at Kiev and Veljusa (fig. 2), to completely exclude liturgical overtones — after all, eschatological themes also find their echo in the liturgy. A precise moment of the liturgy, however, can not be determined.

This summary treatment of the programs in the middle Byzantine single-domed and multi-domed churches may help us gain more insight into possible iconographic patterns used in the decoration of domes in five-domed churches. The iconographic programs of five-domed Middle Byzantine churches require certain reconstructive efforts because there are only a few that preserve their original decoration. The most notable examples are the church of the Virgin Kosmosoteira at Pherrai in western Thrace, founded before 1152 by Isaak Komnenos, a son of Alexios I Komnenos, and the Church of St. Panteleimon at Nerezi in Macedonia, founded in 1164 by Alexios Angelos Komnenos, a grandson of Alexios I Komnenos. Both churches are of Constantinopolitan patronage, both are dated in the middle of the twelfth century, and both have preserved programs only in the subsidiary domes. However, although the decoration of their central domes has been lost, hypothetical reconstructions can be proposed by comparative analysis.

At Nerezi, subsidiary domes display four images of Christ located in the summit of subsidiary domes: Emmanuel, Ancient of Days, Christ Priest and an image of a mature Christ that resembles the Pantokrator, thus recalling the iconography of the church of the Virgin of Eleousa at Veljusa (fig. 3)<sup>23</sup>. The images of Christ are surrounded by angels in the drum. The church of the Virgin Kosmosoteira at Pherrai displays the images of two archangels, Gabriel (north-east) and Michael (south-east) at the summit of the eastern subsidiary domes, the image of the Virgin orans in the north-west dome and a mature

<sup>21</sup> Carr. *The Thirteenth-Century Murals of Lysi*, p. 47–53. See also: *Velmans T. Quelques programmes iconographiques de coupoles chypriotes du XII<sup>e</sup> au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle // Cahiers archéologiques 32 (1984), p. 137–162.*

<sup>22</sup> For bibliography and discussion, see: Carr. *The Thirteenth-Century Murals of Lysi*, p. 47–53.

<sup>23</sup> See: *Sinkević I. The Church of St. Panteleimon at Nerezi*, figs. XXI–XXVI; XXIX; pls. 12, 14, 26, 27.

Christ in the south-west dome<sup>24</sup>. Suited to their architectural space, at the summit of the dome, all images are displayed in medallions. Moreover, the selection of images displayed in subsidiary domes of Pherrai and Nerezi closely parallels the iconography of the central domes in single and multi-domed churches discussed earlier. Close parallels between the iconography of central domes of the eleventh- and twelfth-century churches and those of subsidiary domes at Nerezi and Pherrai suggest a significant possibility that subsidiary domes in these two five-domed churches were programmatically connected with the central dome. It is quite possible to assume that subsidiary domes in five-domed churches provided additional domical space used to expand the program of the central dome. That is at least a case in many contemporary multi-domed churches, such as at earlier discussed Veljusa, St. Sophia in Kiev and at Cappadocian churches, where the number of archangels encircling the image of Christ Pantokrator in the central dome is expanded by their appearance in the summit of subsidiary domes.

Considering their Constantinopolitan patronage, it is possible that central domes at Pherrai and at Nerezi followed the classical program of Daphni, reserving the central dome exclusively for the image of the Pantokrator, and using subsidiary domes to expand the meaning and significance of the All-Ruler. It is also possible that side domes repeated some of the imagery of the central dome, thus re-enforcing its dogmatic and/or liturgical content. For example, the appearance of archangels and the Virgin in prayer in the side domes of Pherrai, may suggest eschatological nature of the programs of the domical vaults, since both archangels and the Virgin are powerful figures in the events and scenes related to the Last Judgment and the theme of intercession. While inconclusive, both programmatic solutions would follow the main currents of dome decorations established in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries.

Programmatic connection between the central and subsidiary domes is also seen at Nerezi. Each drum at Nerezi displays four angels in procession, connected to the central dome by virtue of their composition. While the angels in east cupolas split in pairs of two on the east side and meet on the west, the angels in the western domes split on the west side and meet on the east<sup>25</sup>. Thus, the procession of angels in all four domes is oriented towards the central dome. The proliferation of angels, seen in subsidiary domes of Nerezi is, according to many scholars, one of the major characteristics of the twelfth-century central domes<sup>26</sup>. It would thus not be surprising that the an-

<sup>24</sup> *Sinos S.* Die Klosterkirche der Kosmosoteira in Bera (Vira). Munich, 1985, pl. 13, figs. 141–145.

<sup>25</sup> *Sinkević.* The Church of St. Panteleimon at Nerezi, pls. 12, 14, 26, 27.

<sup>26</sup> *Carr.* The Thirteenth-Century Murals of Lysi, p. 47–53.

gels in subsidiary domes extend the procession of angels once represented in its central dome. The angels at Nerezi's domes are also distinguished because of their liturgical connotations. They are dressed in white sticharia, the deacons' vestments, and they carry liturgical implements: the censers and pyxis with liturgical host.

The four images of Christ represented in medallions also relate to liturgy. As discussed by a number of scholars including myself, the triad of Emmanuel, Ancient of Days, and mature Christ represents three stages in the life of Christ and is associated with concepts of Incarnation and Salvation, emphasizing theophanic character, dual nature, and the eternity of God<sup>27</sup>. The image of Christ Priest, seldom seen in monumental art, evokes the notion that Christ is the one who offers and who is offered, who established the sacrament of the Eucharist, who officiates as heavenly priest, and whose action are mimicked in the terrestrial rite performed by terrestrial priests (fig. 3)<sup>28</sup>. The main stages of Christ's life as well as his function as a priest in the economy of human salvation is recounted numerous times during the liturgy. While the specific moment of the liturgical celebration can not be pinpointed in the iconographic program of Nerezi domes, their liturgical content, evident both in the representations of angels and in the images of Christ is apparent. It is also apparent that the images of Christ in subsidiary domes expanded upon the meaning and significance of the Pantokrator who most likely occupied the medallion of the central dome. The connection between the central and subsidiary domes is further strengthened by the choir of angels.

Programmatic interconnectedness of the domes, seen in Middle Byzantine churches, is further developed in Palaeologan monuments. Moreover, the images displayed in subsidiary domes of Pherrai and Nerezi provided basis for and are repeated numerous times in five-domed churches of later periods.

## II. PALAEOLOGAN FIVE-DOMED CHURCHES

Very similar iconographic arrangement to that at Nerezi is seen, for example, in the early fourteenth-century church of the Virgin of Ljeviška (architecture of 1306/1307)<sup>29</sup>. The church of the Virgin of Ljeviška is a transitional monument that both iconographically and architecturally provides a link between middle Byzantine and Palaeologan periods (fig. 4). It is also one of the earliest five-domed churches in which the program has been preserved in both

<sup>27</sup> For a discussion and bibliography, see: *Sinkević*. The Church of St. Panteleimon at Nerezi, p. 40–43.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41–42; *Lidov A.* Khristos-sviashennik v ikonograficheskikh programmakh XI–XII vekov // *VizVrem* 52 (1994), p. 187–193.

<sup>29</sup> *Panić D.* and *Babić G.* Bogorodica Ljeviška. Belgrade, 1975.

central and subsidiary domes. The decoration of the central dome at Ljeviška displays the image of the Pantokrator surrounded by angels; prophets are displayed in the drum and evangelists in pendentives. In the summit of subsidiary domes one finds four medallions of Christ: Emmanuel, Ancient of Days, Christ Priest, and an image of mature Christ that resembles the Pantokrator, thus recalling the iconography of subsidiary domes seen in the middle Byzantine period at Nerezi. As discussed earlier, the images of Christ in subsidiary domes connect to the central dome in that they expand upon the meaning and the significance of the centrally located image of Christ. The connection between the central and subsidiary domes at the church of the Virgin of Ljeviška is further strengthened by the portrayal of prophets that extends the procession of those represented in the drum of the central dome.

Architecturally, the church of the Virgin at Ljeviška displays subsidiary domes squeezed between the arms of the cross of the naos, as seen in Middle Byzantine churches (fig. 4)<sup>30</sup>. Departing from earlier tradition, at Ljeviška one observes the development of additional spaces that envelop the cruciform core of the church. Known as narthexes, ambulatory wings, and peristōns, these additional spaces became an integral component of five-domed churches in Palaeologan times (figs. 4–6)<sup>31</sup>. However, in the Palaeologan period, the subsidiary domes in five-domed churches migrated to the outermost compartments of the edifice, as seen in the Church of the Holy Apostles in Thessaloniki (1310–1314) and in Gračanica (1318–1321) (fig. 5)<sup>32</sup>. During the Palaeologan period, the auxiliary domes displayed at the outermost compartment of the edifice are associated with three types of church plans. They are seen in churches with additional components enveloping the naos, such as at Gračanica (fig. 5); in churches of tri-conchal plan mostly located on Mount Athos and in Serbia, such as Resava (fig. 6); and in several churches at Mistra that display basilican plan in the lower part of the building and cross-in-square on the upper story, as seen in Apendiko (c. 1310) and Pantanassa (consecrated in 1428)<sup>33</sup>.

<sup>30</sup> For a discussion, see: Čurčić S. Gračanica. King Milutin's Church and Its Place in Late Byzantine Architecture, p. 70–90. See also: Nenadović S. Bogorodica Ljeviška: njen postanak i mesto u arhitekturi Milutinovog vremena. Belgrade, 1963.

<sup>31</sup> For a discussion on the genesis of late Byzantine architecture, see Čurčić, Gračanica, p. 70–90. For a discussion on terminology, see: Hadjityrphonos E. Peristōn or Ambulatory in Byzantine Church Architecture // Saopštenja 34 (2002), p. 131–145.

<sup>32</sup> For Holy Apostles, see: Rautman M. The Church of Holy Apostles in Thessaloniki: a study in early Palaeologan architecture / Ph. D., Indiana University, 1984, p. 20–27; see also: Čurčić. Gračanica, p. 85–90, figs. 9–11, 101.

<sup>33</sup> For Gračanica, see: *ibid.*, p. 31–70; for the five-domed churches of tri-conchal plan, see: Korać V. and Suput M. Arhitektura vizantijskog sveta. Belgrade, 1998, p. 357–399; for Mistra, see: Hallensleben H. Untersuchungen zur Genesis und Typologie des 'Mistratipus' // Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft 18 (1969), p. 105–118.

In all three types of churches, the subsidiary domes are placed far away from the central dome and pulled to the extreme corners of the building, quite unlike their middle Byzantine predecessors that exhibit a close structural relationship between side domes and the central dome. Indeed, in five-domed churches that resemble the plan of Gračanica or Holy Apostles in Thessaloniki, the domes are completely disassociated from the naos, since they cover the chapels on the east side and the narthex on the west (fig. 5)<sup>34</sup>.

However, the twelfth-century repertory of images, with the Pantokrator almost invariably represented in the central dome and images of the Virgin, Christ, and angels in subsidiary domes, has been commonly retained in these later monuments. For example, the images of Christ, seen in western subsidiary domes of the Holy Apostles, and the appearance of archangels, Ancient of Days, Emmanuel and the Virgin in Ravanica recalls similar selection of images at Nerezi, Bogorodica Ljeviška, and Pherrai<sup>35</sup>. Thus, despite their physical distance, the programmatic unity of a select repertory of images encircled in medallions and reserved exclusively for domes was retained in the Palaeologan period.

During the Palaeologan period, a new theme was introduced in the central dome: the Divine Liturgy. The introduction of this subject in the central dome made the liturgical tendencies evident in many twelfth-century domes, fully realized. Following the concept that terrestrial rite is but a mirror image of the rite performed in the celestial sphere, the Divine Liturgy is the celestial equivalent of the liturgical procession of the Great Entry<sup>36</sup>. Christ is shown as heavenly priest celebrating the liturgy with a host of his heavenly associates, the angels, who approach him processionally, like the deacons approach the minister in the terrestrial rite. They are commonly shown as wearing the robes of deacons, and carrying a large variety of liturgical vessels and implements, such as candles, fans, eucharistic bread and wine as seen, for example, at King's Church in Studenica, at Ravanica, and at Gra-

<sup>34</sup> For a discussion, see: *Ćurčić*. Gračanica, p. 70–80; see also: *Ćurčić S.* The Twin-Domed Narthex in Paleologan Architecture // *Zbornik radova vizantoloskog instituta*, 13 (1971), p. 333–344.

<sup>35</sup> For Holy Apostles: *Stephen C.* Ein byzantinisches Bildensemble: Die Mosaiken und Fresken der Apostolkirche zu Thessaloniki. Worms, 1986; *Xyngopoulos A.* Les fresques de l'église des Sts. Apôtres à Thessalonique // *Art et société à Byzance sous les Paléologues*. Venice, 1971. For Ravanica, see: *Djurić V. J.* Ravanicki zivopis i liturgija // *Manastir Ravanica — spomenica o sestoj stogodisnjici*. Belgrade, 1981, p. 60–75.

<sup>36</sup> On the Divine Liturgy, see: *Townesley A. L.* Eucharistic Doctrine and the Liturgy in Late Byzantine Painting // *Oriens christianus* 58 (1974), p. 58–61; *Stefanescu J. D.* L'illustration des liturgies dans l'art de Byzance et de l'Orient. Brussels, 1932. See also: *Starodubcev T.* Contribution à l'étude de la représentation de la liturgie céleste dans la coupole // *Papers of the Third Yugoslav Byzantine Studies Conference*. Belgrade, Krusevac, 2002, p. 381–416.

čanica<sup>37</sup>. The presence of altar signifies Christ's ministry as well as his sacrifice. Sacrificial aspects are particularly emphasized at Gračanica by a presence of two altars, one of which displays Christ as Eucharistic host. Like the deacons in terrestrial rite, the angels are approaching the altar in a ceremonial motion. While specific iconographic features vary from one church to another, the parallelism between terrestrial and celestial liturgies remains a standard feature.

A presence of the Divine Liturgy in the dome alludes to Christ's incarnation and sacrifice and explains the secrets of mystical re-enactment of Christ's sacrifice in the liturgy. Thus, the concepts of incarnation, salvation, divine and human nature and the priesthood of Christ, implied in the images displayed traditionally in subsidiary domes, is encompassed in the new scene surrounding the image of the Pantokrator in the central dome. As a consequence, the space of subsidiary domes was opened for iconographic innovations.

For example, the domes at Apendiko (c. 1310) and Pantanassa (late 14<sup>th</sup> century) at Mistra display images of prophets, and at Gračanica (begun 1311) and Staro Nagoričino (later phase of 1312/1313), both associated with Serbian King Milutin, we see the images of the prophets in the drums and evangelists in the summit of subsidiary domes.<sup>38</sup> The evangelists, like the other images seen in cupolas, testify to Christ's incarnation as they are witnesses of his epiphany, his life, and his salvific mission. Iconographically, they were no strangers to the decoration of domical vaults. We see them, in their symbolic guise, already in early Byzantine monuments, such as in the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia (c. 430–450) and in Capella Arcivescovile (494–519) in Ravenna. Did this early and highly symbolic decoration of the dome present incipient stages of messages later developed in five-domed ceilings?

Textual evidence, although later in date, is nonetheless revealing. For example, in the Preface of Iraneus we read about symbols of evangelists and their associations with images of Christ: "On the Four Gospels and the four symbols. One must know that there are four Gospels, no more no less. Since there are four universal winds, there are also four Gospels, blowing immortality from all of them and regenerating men. From these Gospels it is evident that he, who was shown to men sitting on the cherubim, gave us the four-part Gospel, just as David, praying for his advent said, 'You who sit in the cherubim show yourself'. For the Cherubim have four faces, and their faces are the images of the dispensation of the Son of God. The one like lion

<sup>37</sup>See: *Babić G.* Kraljeva crkva u Studenici. Belgrade, 1987, fig. I; *Djuric V. J.* Ravanicki zivopis i liturgija, p. 60–75; *Todić B.* Gračanica. Pristina, 1999, p. 138–140, figs. 6–25.

<sup>38</sup>For Apendiko and Pantanassa, see: *Dufrenne S.* Les programmes iconographiques des églises byzantines de Mistra. Paris, 1970, pls. 10–30, figs. 17–23; 28, 30, 31, 48–55, 58, 59. For Gračanica, see: *Todić B.* Gračanica, figs. 22–25; for a discussion on the meaning and significance of iconography in Staro Nagoričino, see: *Todić B.* Staro Nagoričino, p. 96–98.

indicates the efficacious, royal, and authoritative nature”<sup>39</sup>, a description recalling the properties of the Pantokrator. “The one like the calf presents the sacerdotal and priestly nature. The manlike form depicts the incarnation”<sup>40</sup>, perhaps relating to the image of the Emmanuel, “and the one like the eagle represents the visitation of the Holy spirit”<sup>41</sup>. It is within the realm of these early Christian concepts about the images of the dispensation of the son of God that we may find the incipient stages of the developments of iconography of the domes in multi-domed churches.

In later Byzantine monuments, the images of evangelists are allocated to pendentives, supporting the heavenly realm of the church, that is its central dome, both physically and symbolically. However, in single-domed churches, they appear sporadically in the central dome, as seen, for example, in their symbolic guise in the late 10<sup>th</sup>/early 11<sup>th</sup> century church of the Metamorphosis near Koropi, Attika (fig. 8)<sup>42</sup>. Thus, the presence of evangelists in subsidiary domes is by no means surprising, since they harmonize thematically with the concepts presented in the central dome. The medallions of evangelists spread at four corners of the church very much remind of iconography of many preface miniatures, such as in the E. D. Clarke 10, f. 2v (Oxford, Bodl. Lib.) that illustrates Christ in mandorla, a sign of heavenly realm, surrounded by four symbols of evangelists that bespeak of the dispensation of the Son of God, as recorded by four synoptical gospels written by evangelists displayed in four corners (fig. 9)<sup>43</sup>.

A connection between the images rendered in the subsidiary domes and the program of the church as a whole, has been explored to a very limited degree. A general tendency has been to study the iconography of these domes only in relation to the program represented underneath, and that is applied in isolated, case studies of individual monuments. The role and interconnectedness of images in the horizontal register of the uppermost section of the domes is yet to be fully explored as it goes beyond individual units of the church and impacts our understanding of the five-domed church organism as a whole. As seen in five-domed churches discussed in this paper, the close association between images in subsidiary domes creates an additional vertical zone dedicated solely to images concerned with dispensation of the son of God and his

<sup>39</sup> For the discussion, bibliography, and text both in Greek and in English, see: *Nelson R.* The Iconography of Preface and Miniature in the Byzantine Gospel Book. New York, 1980, p. 6.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>42</sup> For a discussion, see: *Panayotidi M.* La représentation de l’Ascension dans la coupole de Sainte-Sophie de Thessalonique // Problèmes iconographiques. Thessaloniki, 1974, p. 88–89. See also: *Skawran M.* The Development of Middle Byzantine Fresco Painting in Greece. Pretoria, 1982, p. 154–155.

<sup>43</sup> *Nelson*, The Iconography of Preface and Miniature, p. 55–75, fig. 34.



various functions. These images hover not only over the central area of the church, as is a case in single-domed churches, but spread over the outermost compartments of the church as well.

A connection between the central and subsidiary domes is also sustained in the five-domed churches in Mistra, but the exclusivity of dome-specific iconography in these churches becomes ambiguous. For example in both Apendiko and Pantanassa, the subsidiary domes that cover four corner compartments of the gallery display images of prophets. In doing so, they harmonize with the Old Testament figures displayed in the drum of the central dome, since prophets, like evangelists in Gračanica are witnesses of Christ's divinity, his incarnation, and his life<sup>44</sup>. However, unlike previously discussed five-domed churches that confined specific images to the domes, at both Apendiko and Pantanassa, the Old Testament prophets also occupy other areas of the church. In Apendiko, we see the images of Old Testament prophets distributed throughout the ceiling of the gallery, and at Pantanassa they are present in both the upper and lower areas of the church. Thus, while the theme of the central dome — that of the genealogy and ancestry of Christ — has been developed in side cupolas, it is no longer exclusive of domical vaults. On the contrary, it spreads throughout the uppermost section of the church. While the dome retained its symbolic value on the exterior, it nonetheless appears to have lost its exclusivity and its dominant role in formulating the sacred space of the interior, its program indicating that it is just another segment of the ceiling. However, it is important to note that in both monuments, the ceiling of the side aisles contains a series of blind domes which, although not apparent from the exterior, likely preserved a function of the dome in the interior.

Whether Mistra's programmatic solution is to be explained as a local and provincial or as specific to programs of the side domes that cover only upper chapels is difficult to say. It is also quite possible that the programmatic diffusion seen in the five-domed churches of Mistra introduced the iconography of later, post Byzantine multi-domed churches, such as many in Russia, where any correspondence between interior articulation and the exterior appearance of domes is lost. Multiplied in number, the domes spread throughout the entire edifice.

In sum, throughout Middle Byzantine period and Palaeologan times, five-domed churches displayed carefully articulated and programmatically unified programs of domical vaults. In doing so, they in a way created an additional level, hovering over the ceiling, and using additional space to spread a complex set of messages about function and nature of Christ

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<sup>44</sup> For a discussion on the iconographic significance of prophets in these domes, see: *Todić*, *Staro Nagoričino*, p. 96–98.

throughout the church. While their relative position within the interior of the church changes, their dominant architectural form and their programmatic unity function as active and distinguished elements of sacred space in Byzantine churches.

In single-domed churches, dome is, in general sense, understood as a symbol of Heavenly sphere. Its spread is, however, limited to the functional area of the naos, that is the space of the congregation. The content and interconnectedness of the programs of domes in five-domed churches, indicates that the cosmic sphere in these churches has been extended. The emphasis upon placing the side domes at the outermost corners of the buildings, seen in both Middle Byzantine and Palaeologan five-domed churches, may be seen as a purely formal, architectural concern. After all, they appear small and remote, as if suspended from Heaven, their images obscured by light and commonly accessible only through faith. However, very few, if any compositional elements, architectural or decorative, express purely formal and aesthetic concerns in Byzantine churches. Rather, the placement of subsidiary domes at the outermost corners of the building, along with a clearly expressed programmatic unity of the domes, suggest that five domes are not to be viewed as five isolated segments, but rather as one unified heavenly sphere that encompasses the entire church.

Be it the Judge or All Ruler, liturgical or dogmatic, or both, the program of domes in surviving five-domed churches is always about Christ, his incarnation and his salvific mission. One is thus left to wonder was the scheme of five domes there to emphasize Christ's omni-presence in the entire space of the church, and thus mirror his omni-presence in life? Was programmatic unification of five domes and their spatial spread over the entire area of the edifices in fact intended to conceptually break architectural barriers and extend the umbrella-like symbol of cosmos over the entire church? Would the five-domed church, if built with today's technology, look like a huge domed interior, with a huge image of Christ in the center, his various functions in concentric circles, and evangelists at the corners, as seen at Gračanica and Staro Naričino and revealed in a diagram-like manner in the Preface miniature discussed above (fig. 9)? A hypothetical, but a possible thought.

In his definition of hierotopy, Alexei Lidov articulated a need for a new, multidisciplinary methodology that would enable us to re-read the formation of sacred space by integrating its multifaceted components. This paper attempted to re-read the domes by considering them as dynamic elements with multi-dimensional impact on the structure and perception of the sacred space of Byzantine church.

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ФОРМИРОВАНИЕ САКРАЛЬНОГО ПРОСТРАНСТВА  
В ВИЗАНТИЙСКИХ ПЯТИКУПОЛЬНЫХ ХРАМАХ:  
ИЕРОТОПИЧЕСКИЙ ПОДХОД

Наличие купола — одна из самых заметных особенностей византийских церквей. В пространственной структуре храма он венчает иерархически выстроенный объем. Его облик, структурирующий реальное пространство, как заметил Отто Демус, завершает монументальную икону церкви. Несмотря на то, что символическое значение купола все еще остается туманным и является предметом различных интерпретаций, начиная со сравнений с мандалами Востока до более современной ассоциации с имперской идеологией, на самом базовом уровне признается, что купол представляет собой (снова согласно Демусу) «божественную сферу церковного микрокосма, органический центр, от которого радиально простирается структура храма».

Такое понимание, в целом подходящее для однокупольных храмов, оказывается неполным в случае, когда куполов несколько. Если центральный купол является органическим центром и божественной сферой, каково символическое значение прочих куполов? Означает ли их физическая разделенность, что божественная сфера умножается и/или дробится во внутреннем пространстве многокупольных храмов?

Целью настоящей работы является исследование расположения и живописного декора куполов с разных точек зрения с целью оценить степень их влияния на формирование сакрального пространства византийских храмов. Мы сконцентрируем внимание на средне- и поздневизантийских пятикупольных церквях — небольшой группе памятников, для которых характерно наличие четырех покрытых куполами пространств, расположенных вокруг крестообразного в плане центра. Считается, что такой тип появился в столице, первым его примером было ныне разрушенное здание, возведенное императором Василием I (867–886), называвшееся Новая церковь (Неа) и освященное в 881 г., теперь оно известно лишь по письменным свидетельствам и немногочисленным общим рисункам. Сохранившиеся пятикупольные храмы расположены на территории бывшей Византии и граничивших с ней областей: России, Сербии, Греции, Армении и Италии. Иконографически все эти церкви являются символами столицы, воскрешая ее имперский дух в различных местностях страны. Наблюдаемое в конструкции этих памятников расположение куполов на самых дальних от центра углах здания подчиняется строгой симметрии и показывает, что простран-

венное деление является результатом изначального и намеренного планирования, а не позднейшим добавлением. Таким образом, как смысл их планировки, так и ассоциации со столицей свидетельствуют, что византийские пятикупольные храмы раскрывают важные принципы создания сакральных пространств в Византии.

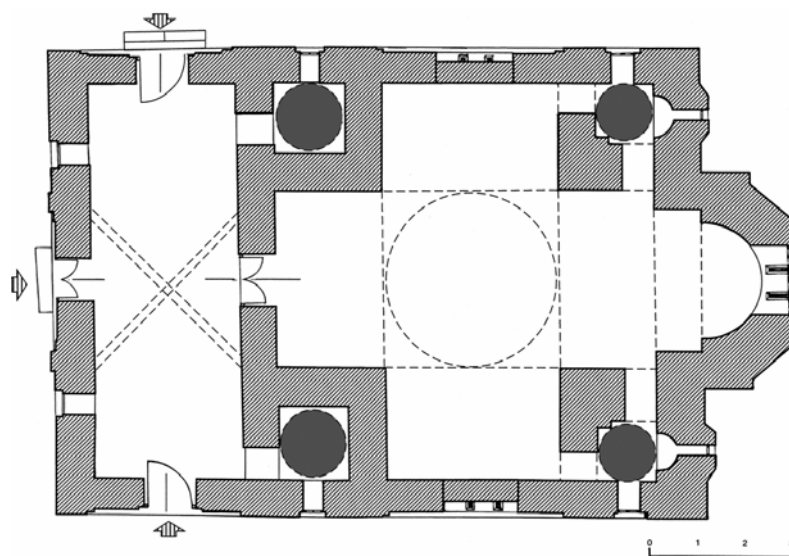
В статье исследуются расположение и декор куполов в ряде поздневизантийских пятикупольных храмов: Грачаница, Старо Нагоричино, Раваница, Пантанасса и церковь Святых Апостолов в Фессалониках. Несмотря на все их архитектурные различия, эти церкви являются примерами тщательно составленных и программно единых купольных сводов. Программное содержание и взаимосвязь планов в пятикупольных церквях показывает, что «небесная зона» в этих сооружениях была сознательно расширена. Поэтому в статье ставится вопрос о природе архитектурного деления самой верхней части церквей и ее восприятия верующими.

На протяжении средневизантийского периода и эпохи Палеологов пятикупольные церкви в известном смысле создавали дополнительный уровень, находящийся над «потолком», и использовали это дополнительное пространство для распространения по всей церкви сложного комплекса идей, касающихся роли и природы Христа. В то время, как расположение куполов внутри церкви менялось, их основная архитектурная форма и программное единство служили активным и четко определенным фактором формирования сакрального пространства византийского храма.

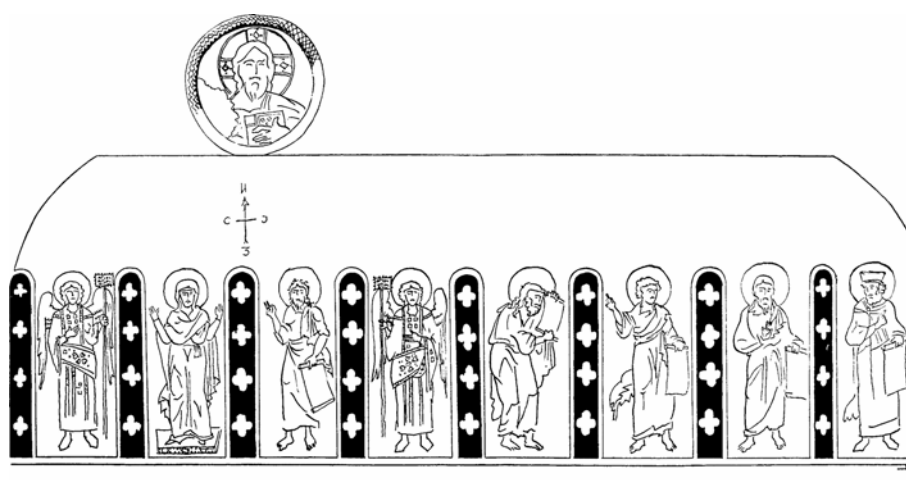
В однокупольных церквях купол в целом понимается как символ небесной сферы. Его распространение, однако, ограничено функциональным пространством наоса, т. е. сферой прихожан. Взаимосвязанные планы куполов в пятикупольных церквях показывают, что небесная сфера в этих храмах расширена. Особое расположение куполов на дальних углах здания, присутствующее и в средневизантийских, и в палеологовских пятикупольных церквях, может рассматриваться как часть архитектурного решения. Но в византийских храмах очень немногие, если вообще хоть какие-то элементы композиционного, архитектурного или декоративного устройства являются чисто формальными. Поэтому помещение второстепенных куполов на крайние углы здания, наряду с четко выраженным единством планов купольных сводов, позволяет предположить, что пять куполов не рассматривались как пять образов неба, но скорее отражали наличие одной объединенной небесной сферы, заключающей в себя всю церковь.

Купола в сохранившихся пятикупольных храмах всегда несут образ Христа, будь то Судия или Вседержитель, образ литургический или догматический, они всегда связаны с его воплощением и его спаси-

тельной миссией. Можно задуматься, была ли пятикупольная схема призвана подчеркнуть присутствие Христа во всей церкви и тем самым отразить его присутствие во всей жизни. Было ли единство планов пяти куполов, простирающихся над всем пространством здания, призвано сломать архитектурные барьеры и распространить похожий на зонтик символ небес на всю церковь? Будет ли пятикупольная церковь, построенная по современным технологиям, выглядеть огромным покрытым куполами пространством с изображением Христа в центре, его различных образов в концентрических кругах и евангелистов по углам, как в Грачанице и Старо Нагоричине? Это гипотеза, заслуживающая, на наш взгляд, серьезного внимания.



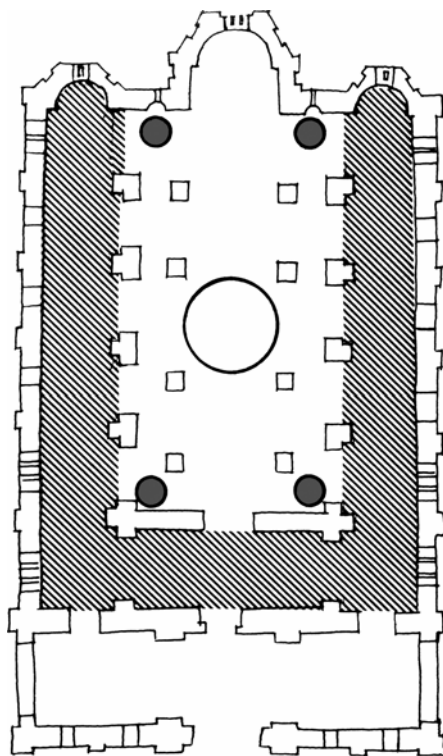
1. Nerezi, plan (author)



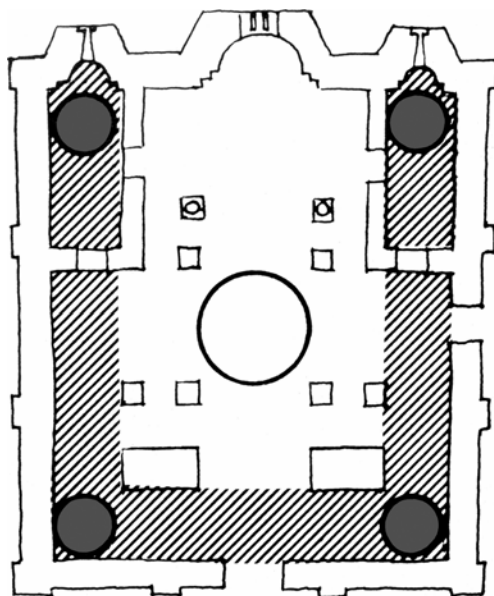
2. Veljusa, central dome (after *Miljkovic-Peppek P. Veljusa*, p. 184–185)



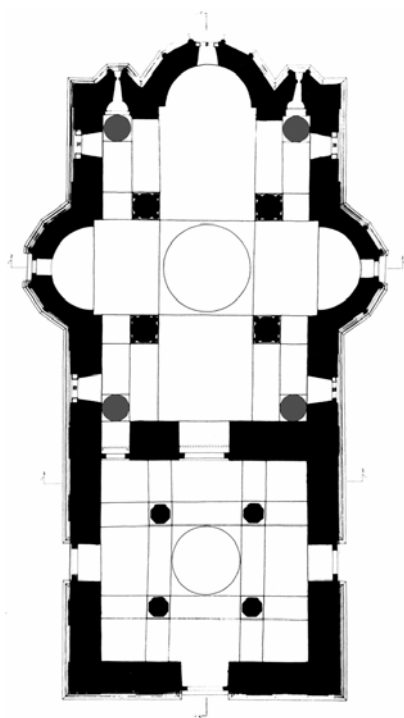
3. Nerezi, Christ-Priest (south-west dome) (photo: author)



4. Bogorodica Ljeviška, plan (after Ćurčić S. Gračanica, fig. 101 D)



5. Gračanica, plan (after Čurčić S. Gračanica, fig. 101 F)



6. Resava, plan (after Todić B. Resava, fig. 20)

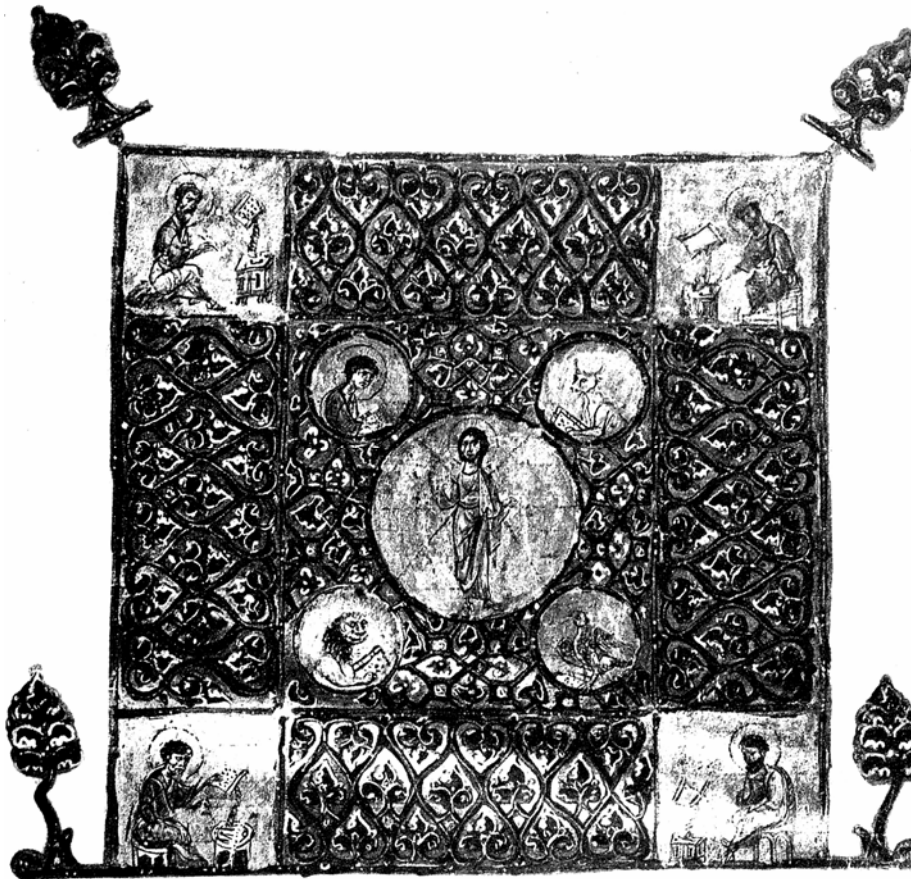




7. Gračanica, Evangelists John (south-east dome) and Luke (north-east dome) (after *Todić B.* Gračanica, figs. 24, 25)



8. The Church of Metamorphosis, Koropi, Attika (photo: author).



9. E. D. Clarke 10, f. 2v (Oxford, Bodl. Lib.) (after *Robert Nelson, The Iconography of Preface and Miniature in the Byzantine Gospel Book*, fig. 34)

Yannis D. Varalis

PROTHESIS AND DIAKONIKON: SEARCHING  
THE ORIGINAL CONCEPT OF THE SUBSIDIARY  
SPACES OF THE BYZANTINE SANCTUARY\*

Prothesis and diakonikon are terms which belong to the liturgical vocabulary and the architectural terminology of church-building. As they determine at the same time parts of the liturgy and separate spaces of the church, their study requires synthetic analysis from a twofold point of view: that of the history of the ecclesiastical architecture and that of the history of the Christian worship. This explains why scholars from both fields have published valuable contributions to the theme: George Soteriou<sup>1</sup>, Dimitrios Pallas<sup>2</sup>, Djordje Stričević<sup>3</sup>, father Constantine Kallinikos<sup>4</sup>, Anastasios Orlandis<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Soteriou G. Η πρόθεσις και το διακονικόν εν τη αρχαία εκκλησία // *Theologia* 18 (1940), p. 77–100.

<sup>2</sup> Pallas D. I. Η 'θάλασσα' των εκκλησιών. Συμβολή εις την ιστορίαν του χριστιανικού βωμού και την μορφολογίαν της λειτουργίας. Athens, 1952, p. 117–128, 131. *Idem*, Monuments et textes. Remarques sur la liturgie dans quelques basiliques paléochrétiennes de l'Illyricum oriental // *Epeteris tes Hetereias Byzantinon Spoudon* 44 (1979–1980), p. 55–78. *Idem*, L'édifice culturel chrétien et la liturgie dans l'Illyricum oriental // *Actes du X Congrès international d'Archéologie chrétienne. Città del Vaticano and Thessaloniki* 1984, 1, p. 140–157.

<sup>3</sup> Stričević Dj. Djakonikon i protezis u ranohrištjanskim crkvama // *Starinar* 9–10 (1958–1959), In *Memoriam N. Vulić*, p. 59–66.

<sup>4</sup> Kallinikos K. Ο χριστιανικός ναός και τα τελούμενα εν αυτώ. Athens, 1969, esp. p. 132–137, 304–312.

dos<sup>5</sup>, Thomas Mathews<sup>6</sup>, Richard Krautheimer<sup>7</sup>, Georg Descoedres<sup>8</sup>, father Robert Taft<sup>9</sup>, Hans-Joachim Schulz<sup>10</sup>, Michael Altripp<sup>11</sup> and father Paul Koumarios<sup>12</sup>. Yet, the issues that concern the origin and the first stages of development of the prothesis and the diakonikon as both liturgical and architectural components have not yet been thoroughly treated and many questions still remain to be answered. This study aims to throw some light on these matters by tracing the original concept of these subsidiary spaces of the Byzantine sanctuary.

It is commonly admitted that churches of the period after Iconoclasm were built with two side apses flanking the larger sanctuary apse. The north apse was used for the rite of the prothesis, and was subsequently named after it; the south apse, the diakonikon, was used for the storage of vestments, books and other liturgical equipment. In old and recent bibliography both of these subsidiary rooms are also named as 'pastophories'<sup>13</sup>, a term which seems to be quite inappropriate, since it determines the well-known diakonikon and martyrion or baptistery and martyrion of the Syrian churches<sup>14</sup>. Orlandos has formed a theory concerning the origins of these side chambers: according to him, the pastophories were placed to either side of the narthex of the Early Christian basilicas; for a period, he believed, they were about to

<sup>5</sup> *Orlandos A. K.* Η ξυλόστεγος παλαιοχριστιανική βασιλική της Μεσογειακής λεκάνης. Athens, 1952, I, p. 151–153. *Idem*, Η από του νάρθηκος προς το ιερόν μετακίνησις του διακονικού εις τας ελληνιστικὰς βασιλικὰς // *DeltChAE* 4 (1964–1965), p. 353–372.

<sup>6</sup> *Mathews Th. F.* The Early Churches of Constantinople. Architecture and Liturgy. University Park and London, 1971, p. 160–162.

<sup>7</sup> *Krautheimer R.* Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture. New Haven and London, 1986, revised in coll. with Sl. Ćurčić, *passim*, esp. p. 298–300.

<sup>8</sup> *Descoedres G.* Die Pastophorien im syro-byzantinischen Osten. Eine Untersuchung zu architektur- und liturgiegeschichtlichen Problemen. Wiesbaden, 1983.

<sup>9</sup> *Taft R. E.* The Great Entrance. A History of the Transfer of the Gifts and Other Preanaphoral Rites of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom. Rome, 1978.

<sup>10</sup> *Schulz H.-J.* The Byzantine Liturgy. Symbolic Structure and Faith Expression. New York, 1986, esp. p. 64–67, 180–184.

<sup>11</sup> *Altripp M.* Die Prothesis und ihre Bildausstattung in Byzanz unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Denkmäler Griechenlands, Studien und Texte zur Byzantinistik 4. Frankfurt am Main, 1998, esp. p. 19–67.

<sup>12</sup> *Koumarios P. I.* Πρόθεση, προσκομιδή, προσφορά. Ένα ξεκαθάρισμα λειτουργικών όρων // *Theologia* 70 (1999), p. 483–512.

<sup>13</sup> E. g. both the diakonikon and the prothesis are treated under the entry 'pastophories' in the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* 3 (1991), 1594 (R. Taft). Cf. *Krautheimer*, Architecture, op. cit., p. 519. *Striker C.* The Myrelaion (Bodrum Camii) in Istanbul. Princeton, New Jersey, 1981, p. 11, 20, 21, 23.

<sup>14</sup> *Lassus J.* Sanctuaires chrétiens de Syrie. Paris, 1947, p. 169–180. See recently: *Michel A.* Les églises d'époque Byzantine et Umayyade de Jordanie (provinces d'Arabie et de Palestine), V<sup>e</sup>–VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, Typologie architecturale et aménagements liturgiques // *Bibliothèque de l'Antiquité Tardive* 2. Turnhout 2001, p. 28–33, 79–81.

balance between the west and the east end of the outer walls of the churches, moving towards the east, where at a final stage they found their place at the flanks of the sanctuary apse for reasons of symmetry<sup>15</sup>. This theory can no longer be accepted, for it is based on archaeological data the interpretation of which has substantially changed<sup>16</sup>.

It is common sense that any generalisation and/or oversimplification on liturgical as well as on architectural matters can be misleading. Are we to suppose that every side apse projecting from the east wall of a church, no matter its architectural type, is to be identified as prothesis or diakonikon? Are we to suppose that the prothesis rite, even in a primitive stage, constituted an integral part of the Liturgy in Early Christian period for every liturgical entity of the empire? Are we to suppose that side chambers intended to serve the celebration of the Eucharist, have had a kind of 'architectural journey' towards the east, in order to form the well-known tripartite Byzantine sanctuary? In this paper I would like to restrain my research in churches of the first millennium that constitute case studies from both parts of the Empire, east and west.

In Constantinople, as Georg Descoedres has shown, the prothesis and the diakonikon as subsidiary rooms of the sanctuary are implicitly mentioned in the twelfth century and explicitly only during the Palaiologan period<sup>17</sup>. Yet, the churches of the capital from the tenth century on are planned with side chambers at either side of the sanctuary. The oldest existing known church with such rooms is the well-known cross-in-square monastic church founded by Constantine Lips in 907, the north church of the modern Fenari Isa Camii<sup>18</sup> (fig. 1). These *diakonika* or *bemata* — I am using the relevant terminology found in byzantine texts of the Middle Byzantine period<sup>19</sup> —

<sup>15</sup> *Orlandos*, Η μετακίνησης του διακονικού, loc. cit.

<sup>16</sup> All the recent archaeological data concerning Eastern Illyricum are included in my Ph. D. dissertation entitled: Η επίδραση της θείας λειτουργίας και των ιερών ακολουθιών στην εκκλησιαστική αρχιτεκτονική του Ανατολικού Ιλλυρικού (395–753). University of Thessaloniki, 2001.

<sup>17</sup> *Descoedres*, Die Pastophorien, op. cit., 153–159.

<sup>18</sup> *Van Millingen A.* Byzantine Churches in Constantinople, their History and Architecture. London, 1912, p. 129. See also: *Macridy Th.* with the contributions of *Megaw A. H. S.*, *Mango C.*, *Hawkins E. J. W.* The Monastery of Lips (Fenari Isa Camii) at Istanbul // *DOP* 18 (1964), esp. p. 281–282, where Megaw publishes the results of the sounding made inside the diakonikon. Similar polylobed sacristies can be found in the catholica of the Myrelaion and the Christ Pantepoptes; cf. *Van Millingen*, Byzantine Churches, op. cit., p. 198, 214. *Krautheimer*, Architecture, op. cit., p. 358. N. B. Teteriatnikov proposes that the side niches can be identified as presbyter seats (The Liturgical Planning of Byzantine Churches in Cappadocia. Roma, 1996, p. 65–66).

<sup>19</sup> See for instance the churches described in the praktikon of the sebastos John Komnenos, written for the monastery of Iveron on Mount Athos in January 1104: Chr. Giros. Remarques sur l'architecture monastique en Macédoine orientale // *BCH* 116 (1992), p. 409–443,

contain shallow niches which billow from the east and west apses, shaping two tiny trefoils which are disposed opposite one another. Subsidiary rooms of a similar plan<sup>20</sup>, though tending to a rough quatrefoil, can be also found in an slightly older church: in Dereğzi<sup>21</sup>, the impressive ruin of the domed basilica dated to around 900<sup>22</sup>, the prothesis and the diakonikon flank the large area of the sanctuary. From these examples it is clear that the plan of these *bemata* can be independent of the architectural type of the church.

Apsidal rooms at the sides of the presbytery, covered with barrel- or domical vaults, are very commonly identified as protheses and diakonika. But this is not the case in the well-known church of the Virgin Skripou in Boeotia, Greece, one of the oldest examples of the so-called 'transitory cross-inscribed church'<sup>23</sup> (fig. 2). The side apses of this impressive monument, which was built by a high-rank official of the imperial court in 873/874, belong to two totally independent chapels dedicated to Sts Peter and Paul, according to the inscriptions set in the exterior of the masonry of the conches<sup>24</sup>. Similarly, the identification of the side sacristies of the monumental basilica in Aboba Pliska, Bulgaria, as prothesis and diakonikon is also problematic<sup>25</sup> (fig. 3). The original phase of the episcopal church of the times of the czars of the first Bulgar state in 864–886 cannot be dated to that period, and I am not the first to believe so. The publication of archaeological investigations of the '60's<sup>26</sup> has proven that just outside these sacristies were built in a second phase two rooms containing very typical early Christian furnishings: the north room stored an altar under a balda-

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esp. 430, where it is supposed that by "βήματα τρία" is meant "three apses". I would rather suggest that this term corresponds not only to the apses but also to the space before them; thus, this term stands for a tripartite sanctuary.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. *Mathews*, *The Early Churches*, op. cit., p. 107, fig. 52.

<sup>21</sup> *Morganstern J.* *The Byzantine Church of Dereğzi and its Decoration*, MDAI(I) Beiheft 29 // Tübingen, 1983, p. 45–46, 87–89.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 89–90. *Idem*, *The Church at Dereğzi: its Date and its Place in the History of Byzantine Architecture* // *Actes du XIV<sup>e</sup> Congrès international des études byzantines*, Bucarest, 6–12 septembre 1971. Bucarest 1976, III, p. 385–394.

<sup>23</sup> See *Soteriou M.* *Ο ναός της Σκριπούς της Βοιωτίας* // *ArchEphem* 1931, p. 119–157; *Megaw A. H. S.* *The Skripou Screen* // *ABSA* 61 (1966), p. 1–32; *Voyadjis S.* *Παρατηρήσεις στην οικοδομική ιστορία της Παναγίας Σκριπούς στη Βοιωτία* // *DeltChAE* 20 (1998–1999), p. 111–128.

<sup>24</sup> *Oikonomidès N.* *Pour une nouvelle lecture des inscriptions de Scripou en Béotie* // *T&MByz* 12 (1992), p. 479–493.

<sup>25</sup> *Tschilingirov A.* *Christliche Kunst in Bulgarien*. Berlin, 1978, p. 29–30, 315–316, with bibliography. A ninth-century date is opted by *Krautheimer*, *Architecture*, op. cit., p. 318, n. 40, and *Ousterhout R.* *Master Builders of Byzantium*. Princeton, New Jersey, 1999, p. 161.

<sup>26</sup> *Mijatev Kr.* *Die Mittelalterliche Baukunst in Bulgarien*. Sofia, 1974, p. 77–81; *Michailov St.* *Nouvelles fouilles à la grande basilique de Pliska* // *Actes du XIV<sup>e</sup> Congrès international des études byzantines*, Bucarest, 6–12 septembre 1971. Bucarest, 1976, III, p. 367–371.

chin, hastily identified with the monumental tomb of czar Boris<sup>27</sup>, and the south room had a constructed baptismal font. The sacristies at the sides at the sanctuary of the church surely served as prothesis and diakonikon only at a later phase, possibly at the time of the Bulgar czars. Their original destination though could have been different: the north room served as a chapel and the south as a baptistery. The altar and the baldachin found in the excavation of the north annex are typical for subsidiary chapels, as, for instance, the altar contained in the side chapel of the Mastichari basilica in the island of Cos<sup>28</sup>. It is thus conceivable that only at a second or even a later phase, after the middle of the ninth century, the new annexes were built to shelter the early Christian altar and font, as an act of respect for the old furnishings of the church. The churches of Skripou and Aboba Pliska could make us suspicious to any hurried identification of the original destination of sacristies that flank the altar apse<sup>29</sup>.

The identification of such side apses with protheses and diakonika is really tempting even for earlier dated churches. In an important Early Christian church indisputable archaeological data confirm that at least in the Balkans of the sixth century, the liturgical rite did not require subsidiary rooms for the sanctuary. The well-known episcopal basilica of Čaričin Grad could have been the church in which the archbishop of Justiniana Prima officiated<sup>30</sup> (fig. 4). The two apsidal rooms at the east end of the aisles, identified by the excavators as prothesis and diakonikon<sup>31</sup>, for a small period of time had access to the presbytery, but when the synthronon of the central apse was constructed, the openings were immured and in front of them were constructed the *subsellia* for the seats of the clergy<sup>32</sup>. If we believe that the plan of this church came from the capital, when the Emperor Justinian embellished his own birth town, then this plan in no way can attest the use of prothesis and diakonikon in the

<sup>27</sup> Georgiev P., *Smjadovski T.* Paraklisjt pri goliamata bazilika v Pliska // *ArcheologijaSof* 24/2 (1982), p. 13–27.

<sup>28</sup> *Orlandos A.* Δύο παλαιοχριστιανικά βασιλικά της Κω // *ArchEphem* 1966, 37, fig. 37.

<sup>29</sup> For the flanking rooms of the sanctuary in capadocian churches, see recently: *Teteriatnikov*, *Liturgical Planning*, op. cit., p. 55–61, 70–78.

<sup>30</sup> *Hoddinott R. F.* *Early Byzantine Churches in Macedonia and Southern Serbia*. London, 1963, p. 206–209; *Kondić V., Popović V.* *Čaričin Grad, Site fortifié dans l'Illyricum byzantin*. Beograd, 1977, p. 25–37; *Duval N.* *L'architecture religieuse de Tsaritchin Grad dans le cadre de l'Illyricum Oriental au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle // Villes et peuplement dans l'Illyricum protobyzantin, Actes du colloque organisé par l'École française de Rome, Rome, 12–14 mai 1982*. Rome, 1984, p. 407–416, 440; *Krautheimer*, *Architecture*, op. cit., p. 274. Cf. also: *RLAC* 149–150 (1999), p. 654–656 (C. Snively).

<sup>31</sup> Cf. *Kondić, Popović*, *Čaričin Grad*, op. cit., p. 311.

<sup>32</sup> *Hoddinott*, *Macedonia and Southern Serbia*, op. cit., p. 206–207 (but the plan in his fig. 131 does not entirely correspond with the description of the text); *Duval*, *Tsaritchin Grad*, loc. cit., p. 407–408.

province of Dacia Mediterranea. These rooms may have been used for burials of high-rank clergy men or prominent members of the local community, as the tomb found in the south room can suggest<sup>33</sup>.

The existence of protheses and diakonika is not restricted to churches of the east part of the empire. The churches in Ravenna present characteristics which can fit in a well-established by the older scholarship frame of eastern influences, whatever that may mean. Friedrich Deichmann used the term 'pastophories' for the side-chambers of three churches of the city without any plausible proof and considered them to have similar use with the subsidiary rooms of the churches in Asia Minor and Syria<sup>34</sup>. The skepticism already expressed by Janet Smith is convincing: her inquiry started with a much earlier church, namely San Giovanni Evangelista. The existence of tubuli inside the walls of the north subsidiary room are parts of a system of air-conditioning or heating which is well attested for the construction of libraries in Antiquity<sup>35</sup>. Thus, at least the north room of this church was used as a library or a scriptorium. It is interesting to note that the same arrangement is preserved in a much later church plan of the Carolingian period: the manuscript plan of St Gall's abbey dated to around 820, presents a church that has subsidiary two-story rooms to either side of the sanctuary<sup>36</sup>. The eastern ones are rooms with specific use: the north is a scriptorium and a library and the south is a sacristy for the deposit of holy vessels and garments. Up to the ninth century the persistence of the tradition of having sacristies at either side of the sanctuary can possibly indicate that even in the sixth-century churches of Ravenna there were not any kind of protheses and diakonika in use whatsoever. Furthermore, this may put us into serious doubts about designations of similar architectural arrangements in regions where the prothesis and diakonikon are irrelevant to the rite itself.

So we have to step back and reconsider the textual and architectural data.

The office of prothesis is attested at the beginning of the VIII century in the *Historia ecclesiastica* of Patriarch Germanos of Constantinople (if the whole text belongs to one and single writer)<sup>37</sup> and in the well-known

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., p. 408.

<sup>34</sup> Deichmann F. W. Ravenna, I. Geschichte und Monumente. Wiesbaden, 1969, p. 61–62, 154, 261; Ravenna, II. Kommentar. Wiesbaden 1976, 240. See also his Ravenna, III. Geschichte, Topographie, Kunst und Kultur. Stuttgart 1989, 245.

<sup>35</sup> Smith J. Ch. The Side Chambers of San Giovanni Evangelista in Ravenna: Church Libraries of the Fifth Century // *Gesta* 29/1 (1990), p. 86–97.

<sup>36</sup> Horn W., Born E. The Plan of St Gall. A Study of the Architecture and Economy of, and Life in, a Paradigmatic Carolingian Monastery. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1979, I, 145 and fig. 99.

<sup>37</sup> Descoedres, Die Pastophorien, op. cit., 91–92.



Barberini codex 336 of the Vatican Library dated around 800<sup>38</sup>. Since these testimonies originate from the religious environment of Constantinople, it is only logical for the terms 'prothesis', 'diakonikon' and 'skeuophylakion' to be found as synonyms in these written sources. In fact, one and only building covered the uses of the prothesis and the diakonikon in the Hagia Sophia: the circular building outside the northeast angle of the Justinianic church, the only to have survived from the original basilica of Constantine<sup>39</sup>, has been identified with the skeuophylakion of the written sources, and when it comes to this, I follow the exhaustive and convincing analysis of father Robert Taft<sup>40</sup>.

As for the 'diakonikon', there are sources of a much earlier date from other regions of the empire, as for example the *Testamentum Domini*, a text which is now believed to be a fifth-century compilation<sup>41</sup>. There the diakonikon is described as a room built outside the church and disposing of a separate atrium. Inside this room the priest and the deacons accepted the offerings of the faithful, they separated the Eucharistic from the non-eucharistic ones, and they inscribed the names of the living and the dead for the diptychs read during the liturgy. From that room began the litany of the deacons who transferred the bread and wine to the sanctuary for the celebration of the Eucharist. The lefts of the Holy Sacraments were also kept in the diakonikon<sup>42</sup>.

This theoretical disposal of the church building in the *Testamentum* found its implication, according to father Taft, in the churches of southern

<sup>38</sup> *Parenti St., Velkovska El.* L'eucologio Barberini gr. 336. Roma, 2000, 174 line 163.2, 242 line 277.1 (diakonikon); 57 line 1.2, 71 line 22.1 (skeuophylakion); the terms alternate as synonyms in the quotation of the prayers after the holy mass: 242 lines 277.1, 278.1, 279.1.

<sup>39</sup> *Mathews*, *Early Churches*, op. cit., 16–18, 160–162, figs 2–3. Cf. recently: *Türkoglu S.* Ayasofya Skeuophylakionu kazısı // *Ayasofya Müzesi Yıllığı* 9 (1983), 25–35. A similar circular room was added outside the northeast corner of Hagia Eirene; see: *Mathews*, *The Early Churches*, p. 84–85, fig. 44; *Peschlow U.* *Die Irenekirche in Istanbul*. Tübingen, 1977, 61–62, 195–196.

<sup>40</sup> *Taft R.* The Great Entrance, p. 178–215 (“The Procession of the Gifts”); *Idem*, *Quaestiones disputatae: the Skeuophylakion of Hagia Sophia and the Entrances of the Liturgy Revisited* // parts I and II, in his *Divine Liturgies — Human Problems in Byzantium, Armenia, Syria and Palestine*. Aldershot, 2001 (articles nos VII and VIII).

<sup>41</sup> *Kohlbacher M.* Wessen Kirche ordnete das Testamentum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi? Anmerkungen zum historischen Kontext von CPG 1743 / Ed. M. Tamcke, A. Heinz // *Zu Geschichte, Theologie, Liturgie und Gegenwartslage der syrischen Kirchen*. Ausgewählte Vorträge des deutschen Syrologen-Symposiums vom 2–4. Oktober 1998 in Hermannsburg. Münster, Hamburg, London, 2000, p. 55–137.

<sup>42</sup> *Quasten J.* *Monumenta eucharistica et liturgica vetustissima*. Bonn, 1935–1937, 237 lines 8–10 (compare also in his n. 3: "diakonikon i.e. παστοφόριον"). The same disposition is found at the church of St Michael at Sykeon. Cf. *Ruggieri V.* *Byzantine Religious Architecture (582–867): its History and Structural Elements*. Roma, 1991, p. 177–178, 246.

Syria, Phoenicia and Palestine<sup>43</sup>. In these territories and more to the south, in Arabia, there exist mentions of the term diakonikon in the dedicatory inscriptions of mosaic pavements of church annexes, dating from the fifth to the early seventh century. These annexes are mostly oblong halls along the aisles, the majority of which are baptisteries, as Jean-Pierre Sodini observed the first<sup>44</sup>. The most explicit example is the baptistery of the catholicon of the monastery of Moses on Mount Nebo (fig. 5): 'Χάρτι θεία... ανωκοδομήθη δη κ(αι) εκοσμήθη το ιερόν του Θ(εο)ύ διακον[ι]κόν μετά της εν αυτώ αγίας κολυμβέθρας της παλιγγενεσίας κ(αι) του χαριεστάτου κηβωρίου<sup>45</sup> ['With the divine grace ... the holy diakonikon of God was built and decorated with the saint font of rebirth inside it and the most graceful baldachin']. Pauline Donceel Voûte tried to conciliate this obvious discord between the information of the written sources and the above epigraphical data by considering the diakonikon as a 'multi-functional' hall, since it is well attested that the deacons helped the bishop celebrating the baptism<sup>46</sup>. I would suggest that if we want to judge the credibility of the sources firmly, we should at least admit that the meaning of the term diakonikon in the churches of these eastern provinces cannot be determined only by the general services of the deacons; the inscriptions and/or the excavation data should be taken under serious consideration as testimonies with special weight of great importance.

Another, similarly early-dated, mention of the term diakonikon can be found in the 21<sup>st</sup> canon of the Synod of Laodicaea, dating little before 380: 'ότι ου δει υπηρέτας έχειν χώραν εν τω διακονικώ και άπτεσθαι των ιερών σκευών<sup>47</sup> ['the *hyperetes* should not stay in the diakonikon and touch the sacred vases']. Zonaras and Balsamon consider these *hyperetes* as the subdeacons who haven't got any authority to participate in the rite of the proskomide<sup>48</sup>. This canon was translated into Latin and reconfirmed in 506 by the Synod of Agatha, the modern Agde in south France. The 66<sup>th</sup> canon com-

<sup>43</sup> *Taft R.* Some Notes on the Bema in the East and West Syrian Traditions // *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 34/2 (1968), p. 326–359, esp. 351.

<sup>44</sup> *Sodini J.-P.* Les dispositifs liturgiques des basiliques paléochrétiennes en Grèce et dans les Balkans // *Corsi di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina* 31 (1984), p. 469–470.

<sup>45</sup> See esp. *Piccirillo M.* Campagna archeologica nella basilica di Mosé profeta sul monte Nebo-Siyagha (1 luglio — 7 settembre 1976) // *Liber Annus* 26 (1976), p. 305–312, pl. 58, 60, 62, 78 (for the dedicatory inscription) and 295–315, plan 5, pl. 56 (for the baptistery).

<sup>46</sup> *Donceel-Voûte P.* Les pavements des églises byzantines de Syrie et du Liban: décor, archéologie et liturgie. Louvain-la-Neuve 1988, p. 529–532, esp. 532. Cf. also: *Eadem*, Le fonctionnement des lieux de culte aux VI<sup>e</sup>–VII<sup>e</sup> siècles: monuments, textes et images // *Actes du XIII<sup>e</sup> Congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne*. Città del Vaticano and Split 1997, II, p. 132–133.

<sup>47</sup> *Rhalls G. A., Potles M.* Σύνταγμα των θείων και ιερών κανόνων. Athens, 1852, vol. 3, p. 190.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*

prises: 'quoniam non oportet insacratos ministros licentiam habere in secretarium, quod Graeci diaconicon appellant, ingredi et contingere vasa domonica'<sup>49</sup> ['it is prohibited to the non-consecrated acolytes to enter and touch the sacred vases in the *secretarium* which the Greeks (or, more correctly, the Greek-speaking) name as diakonikon']. The identification of the secretarium and the diakonikon should be considered only as an identification of the storing needs that the two rooms covered. And this should be underlined, for according to the liturgical *typika* of the western family the faithful offered their offerings of bread and wine themselves by putting them in the hands of the bishop in front of the presbytery before the celebration of the Eucharist, and not in a separate room before they entered the nave and not before the very beginning of the Holy Mass<sup>50</sup>. In this western family belonged not only the rites of Milan and the Gaul, but also those of Alexandria<sup>51</sup> and, in my opinion, of the Illyricum, both Western and Eastern.

In the Balkan peninsula, the oldest known church to have a prothesis and a diakonikon as subsidiary rooms flanking the sanctuary is the St Sophia cathedral in Thessaloniki, the first phase of which has recently been dated convincingly by George Velenis to the middle of the eighth century<sup>52</sup>. According to a much posterior text describing the office of the Matins at St Sophia written by St Symeon of Thessaloniki, the deacon perfumes with incense the church following a specific itinerary from the narthex up to the prothesis to the left and up to the diakonikon to the right of the sanctuary, as Jean Darrouzès has brilliantly outlined this itinerary<sup>53</sup>. This text of the early fifteenth century may reflect with great fidelity the original rite of the middle of the eighth century<sup>54</sup>. For it is reasonable to suppose that, when the Eastern Illyricum was transferred from the jurisdiction of the see of Rome to the Patriarchate of Constantinople, in 732/3 or in 753<sup>55</sup>, the new ecclesiastical authorities erected a

<sup>49</sup> *Mansi J.* Sacrarum consiliorum nova et amplissima collectio / Repr. Graz, 1960, vol. 8, p. 336.

<sup>50</sup> *Mathews T.* An Early Roman Chancel Arrangement and its Liturgical Functions // *RivAC* 38 (1962), p. 73–95; *Yarnold E. J.* The Liturgy of the Faithful in the Fourth and Early Fifth Centuries / Ed. Ch. Jones, G. Wainwright, E. J. Yarnold, P. Bradshaw // *The Study of Liturgy*. London and New York, 1992, p. 230–234, with further bibliography.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 237–239.

<sup>52</sup> *Velenis G.* Η χρονολόγηση του ναού της Αγίας Σοφίας Θεσσαλονίκης μέσα από τα επιγραφικά δεδομένα // *Thessalonikeion polis* 3 (1997), p. 70–77, esp. 72, 73–74. *Idem*, Μεσοβυζαντινή ναοδομία στη Θεσσαλονίκη. Athens, 2003, p. 70–71.

<sup>53</sup> *Darrouzès J.* Sainte-Sophie de Thessalonique d'après un rituel // *REByz* 34 (1976), p. 45–78.

<sup>54</sup> See: *Phountoules J.* Το λειτουργικόν έργον Συμεών του Θεσσαλονίκης (Συμβολή εις την ιστορίαν και θεωρίαν της θείας λατρείας). Thessaloniki, 1965, p. 141–159.

<sup>55</sup> I am persuaded that the second date is more close to the truth; see: *Grumel V.* L'annexion de l'Illyricum oriental, de la Sicile et de la Calabre au patriarcat de Constantinople // *RSR* 40 (1951–1952), *Mélanges Jules Lebreton* 2, p. 191–200. For a recent thorough revision of the problem and further bibliography, cf. *Karagiannopoulos I.* // *Αφιέρωμα εις τον Κωνσταντίνον Βαβούσκον* 5 (1992), p. 205–216.

new cathedral in the capital city of the province and provided it with a new *typikon*, according to the sacramentary of the Great Church of Constantinople, at a time before the date of the oldest extant manuscript.

It is mainly from the eighth century onwards that we discern a certain need for sacristies at either side of the sanctuary. Many Early Christian basilicas were remodeled and partially rebuilt to fulfill the new needs for separate, subsidiary spaces of the altar apse, such as the small basilica excavated in Geraki near Sparta in the Peloponnese<sup>56</sup> and that of the Archangel Michael at Frangokastello, Crete<sup>57</sup>. In the former, new chancel barriers cut the eastern parts of the aisles and a new constructed altar was added at the east end of the south chamber. In the latter, the whole eastern part was rebuilt, as the more massive walls indicate. In Dion, Macedonia, the episcopal church was radically remodeled with a new roofing system and new subsidiary rooms at the east ends of the aisles, probably covered with calottes, as suggested by Aris Mentzos<sup>58</sup>. Even the well-known church H at Side, Asia Minor, may fall into this category: it was erected over the ruins of an earlier church, as can be discerned by the remnants of a circular apse under the one discovered by Semavi Eyice<sup>59</sup>. That is perhaps why the two side chambers do not fit well with the overall plan of the church. Other churches, like those of the Sebaste in Asia Minor<sup>60</sup> or the monastic church of St John of Pelekete<sup>61</sup>, can clearly illustrate the process of adding separate rooms, circumscribing them in the whole shape of the church, a process at the final stage of which may be placed churches like the Dereğzı and the catholicon of the monastery of Constantine Lips mentioned at the beginning of this paper.

To sum up, it is rather difficult to establish any kind of linear process of adding subsidiary rooms to the sanctuary from the Early Christian to the Middle Byzantine period. The prothesis and the diakonikon can mean and surely did mean different things in different regions and in different periods

<sup>56</sup> *Xyngopoulos A.* Praktika tes en Athenais Archaialogikes Hetaireias 1937, p. 108–114.

<sup>57</sup> *Volanakis I.* Kreta // Reallexikon zur Byzantinischen Kunst 4 (1982), S. 892–893; *Andrianakis M. G.* Το Φραγκοκάστελλο των Σφακίων. Athens, 1998, p. 20–21, fig. 16.

<sup>58</sup> *Mentzos A.* Η εκκλησιαστική αρχιτεκτονική της Πιερίας στην πρώιμη βυζαντινή περίοδο // Επιστημονικό Συνέδριο: Η Πιερία στα βυζαντινά και νεότερα χρόνια. Thessaloniki, 1993, p. 154–159, plan 2; in my opinion the date proposed (3<sup>rd</sup> third of the VI — 1<sup>st</sup> half of the VII c.) is rather early for such a reconstruction.

<sup>59</sup> *Eyice S.* L'église cruciforme de Side en Pamphylie // Anatolia 3 (1958), p. 35–42. Cf. also: *Ousterhout*, Master Builders, op. cit., 17, fig. 10.

<sup>60</sup> *Firatli N.* Découverte d'une église byzantine à Sébaste de Phrygie. Rapport préliminaire // CArch 19 (1969), c. 151–155. *Mellink M. J.* Archaeology in Asia Minor // AJA 80 (1976), p. 287–288, ill. 4. See recently, *Dimitrokallis G.* La genèse de l'église en croix grecque inscrite // Byzantina 23 (2002–2003), p. 224, 226, figs 6–7.

<sup>61</sup> *Mango C., Ševčenko I.* Some Churches and Monasteries on the Southern Shore of the Sea of Marmara // DOP 17 (1973), p. 242–248, fig. 40.

of time. Their roots are indeed oriental: the diakonikon as an annex is attested only in Syrian and Palestinian contexts and it could be identified only with the baptistery, if not with the later prothesis of the Constantinopolitan liturgical tradition. The Syrian diakonika and martyria could have provided the architectural prototypes for the embodiment of sacristies in the shape of the church, as Orlandos has already suggested; but this remains to be proven by churches of transitory architectural types still to be found or re-studied. Anyway, a lot of work has to be done in both the fields in question: the liturgical studies, in order to discern the origin and the diffusion of problematic texts like the *Testamentum*, and the research of the church buildings, in order to clarify phases and reconstructions that are escaping the old publications. The 66<sup>th</sup> canon of the Synod of Agde can be of particular interest, since in this case the high-rank clergy of a western liturgical 'family' has consciously reaffirmed an ecclesiastical rule originating from another part of the world: it was not only a chance to reaffirm the ecclesiastical tradition but also a chance to confirm the multitude of the Christian worship and at the same time to set up limits in matters of language and of liturgical practice.

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ЖЕРТВЕННИК И ДИАКОННИК.  
О ПЕРВОНАЧАЛЬНОМ ЗАМЫСЛЕ ДОПОЛНИТЕЛЬНЫХ  
ПРОСТРАНСТВ ВИЗАНТИЙСКОГО АЛТАРЯ

Жертвенник и диаконник — термины, относящиеся к литургии и архитектуре храмов. Они связаны с определенными временными отрезками службы и отдельными частями церкви, их изучение требует сравнительного анализа двух областей: истории церковной архитектуры и истории христианского богослужения.

Как показал Г. Дискудрис, в Константинополе жертвенник и диаконник как отдельные помещения храма упоминаются в письменных источниках исключительно во времена Палеологов. Но в то же время церкви столицы с X в. строились с боковыми помещениями по обеим сторонам алтаря. Самым древним сохранившимся примером можно считать монастырскую церковь, основанную в 907 г. Константином Липса, в плане крестово-купольную; теперь это северная церковь Фенари Иса джами (рис. 1). Дополнительные помещения с таким же планом имеются и в немного более ранней купольной базилике в Дерeadжи (Dereağzı), датируемой примерно 900 г. Эти примеры показывают,

что план боковых помещений может не зависеть от архитектурного типа церкви.

Апсидные помещения по бокам алтарной части, предварительно идентифицированные как жертвенник и диаконник, могли иметь другое назначение. В церкви Богоматери Скрипу (рис. 2), находящейся в Греции и датируемой 873–874 гг., боковые апсиды были отдельными церквями, посвященными, согласно сохранившимся надписям, апостолам Петру и Павлу. Также сомнительна и идентификация как жертвенника и диаконника сакристий большой базилики в Абоба Плиска в Болгарии (рис. 3). Изначально северное помещение могло служить храмом мученика, а южное — баптистерием. Это может подтверждаться двумя пристройками, возведенными позднее с двух сторон восточной стены церкви, постройку которых можно объяснить лишь намерением строителей укрыть раннехристианский алтарь и купель в боковых помещениях для сохранения древнего и особо ценного устройства. Церкви Скрипу и Абоба Плиска должны удержать нас от поспешного толкования назначения помещений, примыкающих с боков к алтарной апсиде.

Неопровержимые археологические свидетельства подтверждают, что по крайней мере на Балканах в VI в. чин литургии не требовал использования дополнительных помещений. В епископальной базилике в Царицын Град (рис. 4) два апсидных помещения в восточных концах боковых нефов, считающиеся жертвенником и диаконником, имеют проемы, открывающиеся в центральную апсиду, которые были заложены во время строительства синтрона. Эти комнаты могли использоваться во время похорон священнослужителей высокого ранга или выдающихся представителей местного населения, как можно предположить по открытой в южной комнате могиле.

Жертвенник и диаконник существовали не только в церквях восточной части империи. Равеннские церкви демонстрируют качества, соответствующие хорошо разработанной в старой литературе схеме так называемого «восточного влияния». Проведенное Дж. Смитом исследование церкви Сан Джованни Евангелиста показало, что северная зала церкви использовалась как библиотека или скрипторий. Интересно заметить, что план аббатства Сен Галл (St. Gall) в манускрипте ок. 820 г. изображает церковь с дополнительными двухэтажными комнатами по обеим сторонам алтаря: скрипторием и библиотекой с севера и сакристией для богослужбных сосудов и облачений с юга. Сохранение традиции устраивать сакристии с двух сторон алтаря до IX в., возможно, показывает, что даже в более ранних церквях Равенны не существовало никаких жертвенников и диаконников. Более того, это может вызвать у нас серьезные сомнения касательно назначения сходных архитектур-

ных элементов в регионах, где жертвенник и диаконник не были связаны с самим типом службы.

Итак, нам надо сделать шаг назад и пересмотреть письменные и архитектурные свидетельства. Появление специальной функции жертвенника в *Historia ecclesiastica* патриарха Германа и в хорошо известном кодексе Барберини 336, датируемым ок. 800 г., относится к началу VIII в. В этих источниках константинопольского происхождения термины «жертвенник», «диаконник» и «скевофилакион (*skeuophylakion*)» являются синонимами, так как единственным зданием, которое использовало жертвенник и диаконник, в ансамбле Святой Софии было круглое в плане здание у северо-восточного угла юстиниановского храма, как убедительно показал Р. Тафт.

Термин «диаконник» описывается в более ранних источниках, таких как *Testamentum Domini*, который считается сборником V века. Описанная в *Testamentum* схема церкви нашла свое выражение в храмах южной Сирии, Финикии и Палестины. В этих областях, а также в более южной Аравии существуют упоминания термина «диаконник» в посвяtitельных надписях мозаичных полов церковных пристроек, датируемых V — началом VII в. Эти пристройки в большинстве своем — вытянутые залы вдоль боковых нефов, в основном служившие баптистериями (рис. 5). Донсель-Вут (P. Donceel-Voûte) попыталась сгладить различие между сведениями из письменных источников и эпиграфики, сочтя диаконник «многофункциональным» помещением. Заметим, что, если нам надо четко оценить надежность существующих источников, следует скорее принимать во внимание надписи и информацию, полученную в результате раскопок, чем описания в текстах, авторитет которых сомнителен.

Дьяконник также упоминается в 21-м правиле Лаодикийского собора, датируемого немногими ранее 380 г. Этот канон был переведен на латынь и подтвержден в 506 г. в 66-м каноне церковного собора в Агата (Agatha, Agde в современной Франции). В нем отождествление *secretarium* и диаконника должно пониматься только как отождествление функций хранилищ, которые выполняли эти помещения, и это необходимо подчеркнуть, так как, согласно литургическому типикону западной церкви, верующие сами подносили свои пожертвования во время евхаристии, и происходило это не в отдельной комнате до того, как они входили в неф, и не перед началом службы. В этом западная церковь следовала не только уставам Милана и Галлии, но также Александрии и, по моему мнению, Иллирии, и восточной, и западной.

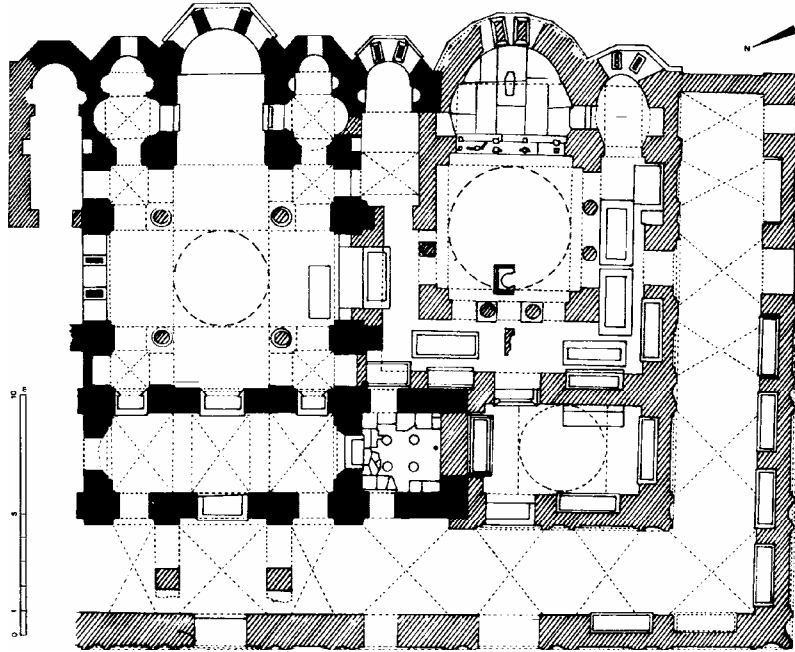
На Балканском полуострове самой древней церковью, имеющей жертвенник и диаконник как вспомогательные помещения, расположенные по бокам алтаря, является собор Святой Софии в Фессалони-

ках, наиболее древняя часть которого недавно была датирована Г. Веленисом серединой VIII в. Разумно предположить, что когда восточная Иллирия перешла из юрисдикции римского престола в патриархате Константинополя в 732–733 или 753 гг., новые церковные власти возвели новый собор в столице провинции и снабдили его новым типиконом, по примеру устава «Великой церкви» Константинополя, еще до появления старейших из дошедших до нас манускриптов.

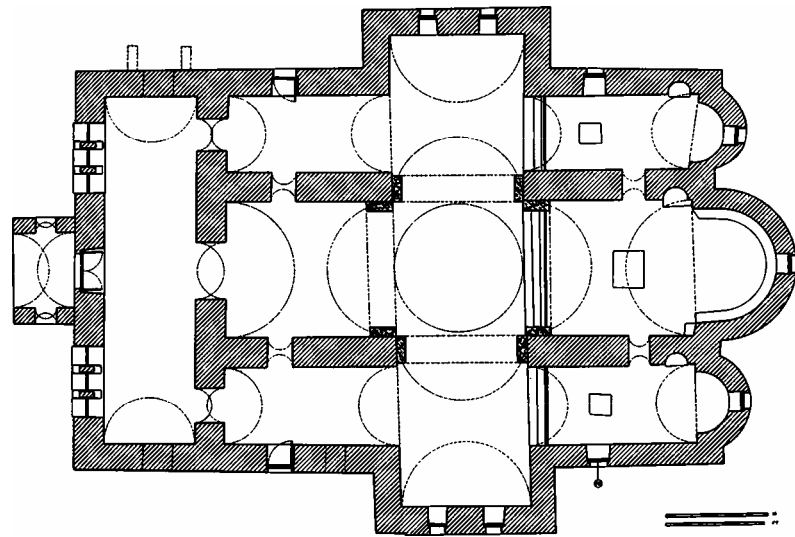
Определенную потребность в сакристиях с обеих сторон алтаря мы обнаруживаем с VII или VIII в. Многие раннехристианские базилики были реконструированы и частично перестроены, чтобы удовлетворить новую потребность в отдельных дополнительных помещениях алтарной апсиды. В некоторых из них алтарные стенки отсекали восточные части боковых нефов, в других вся восточная часть перепланировалась или даже перестраивалась. Такие примеры, как церкви Севастии в Малой Азии или монастырская Св. Иоанна Пелекета, ясно иллюстрируют процесс добавления отдельных пространств, окружения ими всей церкви. На финальной стадии такого процесса находятся церкви типа Дерeadжи или кафоликон монастыря Константина Липса, упомянутый выше.

Кажется, прямолинейного процесса добавления вспомогательных помещений к алтарю с эпохи раннего христианства до средне-византийского периода не существует. Жертвенник и диаконник могли обозначать и несомненно обозначали разные помещения в разных регионах и в разные периоды. Их происхождение действительно восточное: диаконник как пристройка существовал лишь в Сирии и Палестине и мог быть отождествлен только с баптистерием или даже с позднейшим жертвенником в константинопольской литургической традиции. Сирийские *diakonika* и *marturia* могли послужить архитектурными прототипами включения сакристий в объем церкви, как уже предположил А. Орландос, хотя промежуточные связи отсутствуют или их еще предстоит исследовать.

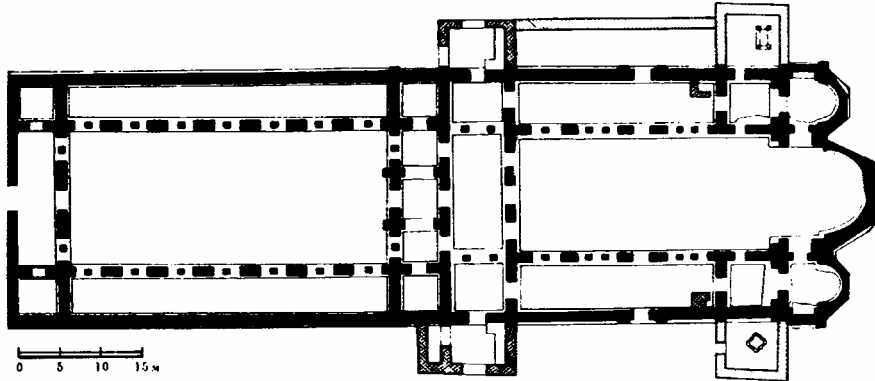




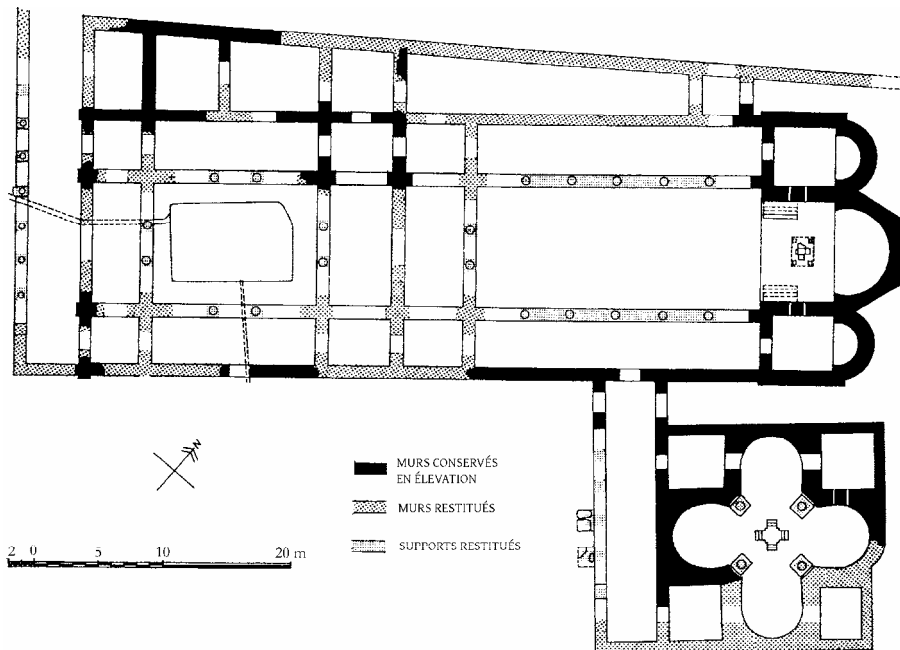
1. Constantinople, complex of the churches of the monastery of Constantine Lips (907). Plan (source: C. Mango, *Architecture byzantine*, Milan 1993, 108, fig. 160)



2. Orchomenos, Greece, church of the Virgin Skripou (873/4). Plan (source: S. Voyadjis, *DeltChAE* 20 (1998–1999), 113, fig. 2)



3. Pliska, Bulgaria, church of the Great Basilica (VI, VII and IX c.). Plan (source: *P. Georgiev, T. Smjadovski, ArcheologijaSof 24/2 (1982), 14, fig. 1*)



4. Čaričin Grad, Serbia, episcopal basilica (VI c.). Plan (source: *N. Duval, in : Villes et peuplement dans l'Illyricum protobyzantin, Actes du colloque organisé par l'École française de Rome, Rome 1984, 407, fig. 3*)



5. Mount Nebo, Jordan, monastic church of the Prophet Moses (V c.). View of the diakonikon-baptistry (source: photo by father M. Picirillo)

Francesca Dell'Acqua

GLASS AND NATURAL LIGHT IN THE SHAPING  
OF SACRED SPACE IN THE LATIN WEST  
AND IN THE BYZANTINE EAST

Fundamental to the creation of sacred space are the various ways light can be distributed in an interior<sup>1</sup>. Natural light changes its intensity according to weather conditions, time of day and by the means in which it is filtered into an architectural space. It is a dynamic natural phenomenon that transfers to the sacred space an active component, influencing and changing its appearance from hour to hour. Already in early Christian times, great attention was paid to lighting churches with precious metal, glass lamps and colourful glazed windows. This paper will concentrate on the latter, and their role in the making of sacred space in the Latin West and the Byzantine East between the 4<sup>th</sup> and the 12<sup>th</sup> century<sup>2</sup>. A comparative approach seems desirable in view of the international dimension of 'hierotopical studies'.

Although stained-glass windows are usually associated with the mystic, coloured atmosphere of Western Gothic church interiors, actually, glass window panes had been widely used throughout the Mediterranean area since Roman imperial and early medieval times. To achieve a more comprehensive understanding of the subject, all the monuments of the former-Byzantine Empire which still contain their original window-openings and screens should be studied. Having personally undertaken such studies for Late-Antiquity and the early Medieval West, I leave to Byzantinists the task of exploring this field further.

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<sup>1</sup> Cfr.: *Bettinelli E., Della Longa G., Maggiani S., Santantoni A.* Celebrare con la luce. Milano, Bticino spa, 2003, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> In this paper I will not deal with the sources of artificial light, since Lioba Theis is going to deliver a book on the subject.

“SUB SPECIE LUCIS”: LIGHT AND ARCHITECTURE

Hans Sedlmayr, one of the first students of the theme of light in architecture, noted that we have no art history “sub specie lucis”. There is no sector in the history of art devoted to the subject of lighting, even though light has always been one of the main elements in interior decoration contributing to spatial definition especially, as he observed, in Baroque architecture which was a theatre for spectacular effects with natural light<sup>3</sup>.

Late Antique and early Medieval texts, particularly in the West, often note with considerable detail the innovations made in buildings during campaigns of remodelling and repair, which frequently were guided by a new aesthetic sensibility. Because windows were often involved in such transformations, one can deduce that planners and patrons were fully aware of how natural light could influence architectural design.

Judging by the textual sources and by the surviving material evidence, it seems that most of the buildings with stained glass windows are churches. Probably the majority of viewers were Christian worshippers for whom light assumed not only a physical role (that is lighting the space, enhancing the *décor*, attracting attention and drawing the worshipper towards the liturgical focus) but also had a spiritual, metaphysical role as a symbol of God. This latter theme is rooted in the Old Testament. The early Christians applied Light symbolism to Christ, as the New Testament shows (especially in the Gospel of John, where it has its counterpart in the darkness of ignorance). This also explains why in early times baptism was called *phôtismos*, that is enlightenment. From this attention to light derived also the predilection for praying towards the East where the sun rises. This soon led to the sacramental use of dawn and sunset in Christian liturgy<sup>4</sup>.

Sometimes these buildings had important patrons, and questions arise about the role of the patrons and their architects in the shaping of sacred space and in the management of lighting: who were the designers of natural-lighting devices? Perhaps the architects interpreted the patrons' will to instill in the visitor a sensation of wonder as the light increased walking towards the sanctuary, or of intimacy while approaching the burial places of holy or eminent people. If the texts have revealed how light affected the perception of space, as it can be personally experienced, modern neuro-science has confirmed that light attracts the human eye<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Sedlmayr H. *Das Licht in seinen künstlerischen Manifestationen*. Mittenwald, Mäander Kunstverlag, 1979.

<sup>4</sup> Cfr.: Taft R. S. J. *La liturgia delle ore in Oriente e Occidente // Testi di teologia 4*. Milano, Edizioni Paoline, 1988, p. 445 e ss. (original edition: *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West*. Collegeville, The Order of St. Benedict, 1986).

<sup>5</sup> On light's power of attraction and its ability to stimulate an individual's movement as if on a stage, see: Phillips D. *Lighting in architectural design*. New York–Toronto–London, 1964, p. 20, 47; Ramachandran Vilayanur S. *Interaction between colour and motion in human vision // «Nature»*,

## NATURAL LIGHT AND "SUBSTANZLOSIGKEIT"

'Appropriate' lighting was already pursued in sacred buildings of Greek and Roman Antiquity<sup>6</sup>, where the use of highly reflective materials in the wall-revetments and in the window-screens was accompanied by a light-aesthetic of neo-platonic origin, which was developed further by early Christian theologians. A careful attention to lighting is already to be found in the first Christian assembly rooms as, for instance, in the Dura Europos complex (3<sup>rd</sup> cent.) — outstanding and earliest example of an assembly space for Christian worship<sup>7</sup>. It has been observed that although on the outside the building maintained the aspect of an ordinary domestic, civil 'house', inside it underwent a series of transformations so as to create a rectangular room for the assembled Christians and another area for baptism. The rectangular room was 'connected' to the inner court, lined with benches, through several windows that were closed with shutters<sup>8</sup>. If the Dura Europos *aula ecclesiae* can be regarded as the undeniable ancestor of the basilicas built by Constantine the Great<sup>9</sup>, also the windows might be seen as the forerunners of the larger and more numerous ones that were opened in the basilicas. The windows at Dura Europos are forerunners not in regard to their shape or screening devices, but rather to their function of providing sufficient, well concentrated natural light necessary for the liturgy. In fact, in the basilicas, in contrast with the large and numerous windows of the nave, the aisles had either very

328 (1987), n. 6131, p. 645–647. On guided perambulation suggested by decorative patterns in a Byzantine monument, such as the so-called 'mausoleum of Galla Placidia' at Ravenna, see: *Gonosová A.* The role of ornament in the Late Antique interiors, p. 157–158.

<sup>6</sup> *Herbig R.* Das Fenster in der Architektur des Altertums. Baugeschichtliche Studien. Athen, Buchdruckerei "Hestia", 1929, p. 22 e ss.; *Idem*, Fenster an Tempeln und monumentalen Profanbauten // *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, XLIV (1929), Heft 3–4, p. 224–262, esp. 224 e ss. Also in the very early phase of Christendom one should consider the role of patrons and designers working under specific demands with regard to 'shaping' the interiors via light penetration, cfr.: *White M. L.* Building God's house in the Roman world: architectural adaptation among pagans, Jews, and Christians. Baltimore, Md., Published for the American Schools of Oriental Research by Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990, p. 145.

<sup>7</sup> We do not know anything about the window-openings in the first Christian churches that were founded at Edessa, Alexandria and Nicea.

<sup>8</sup> *White*, Building God's house, p. 121: "These measures suggest conscious adaptation for specific patterns of ritual, movement, and communication in and between the various areas of the *domus ecclesiae*".

<sup>9</sup> Many concepts and chronological schemes used by Richard Krautheimer have been taken over by, *White* (Building God's house, p. 138), who eloquently stated that: "The Constantine innovation of basilical architecture, therefore, seems less abrupt. Although it surely represents a radically new imposition of scale and style on the architecture and esthetic, it still depended on some continuity with earlier church building. The basilica may be seen as a further adaptation, monumentalization, and ultimately a standardization of diverse pre-Constantinian patterns of development".

small openings or none at all, as for example in Old St. Peter's and in St. Paul's Outside the Walls. This created an interior with differentiated light that focussed on the sanctuary, enhancing its physical appearance, its liturgical relevance and symbolic quality. Such adjustments apparently were used deliberately in most Roman buildings of the Constantinian era and soon afterwards. The aisles of the Constantinian basilicas were decidedly dark and lower than the nave and sanctuary. Also the colonnades supporting the thinner walls exploited the luminosity of the openings thereby creating a deliberately incorporeal effect — "Substanzlosigkeit" — according to new spiritual and artistic ideals<sup>10</sup>.

Some architectural features, such as windows, in the first Christian basilicas may well have been influenced by the contemporary debate concerning the impossibility of representing God. In the well-known letter written by Eusebius of Caesarea to Constance, the emperor Constantine's sister, he denies her request to send her an image of Christ<sup>11</sup>, by thoroughly explaining the futility of trying to represent God, whose essence is invisible. Eusebius is one of the main 'voices' in the long debate about the cult of images<sup>12</sup>. In this cultural and theologic context, one can understand why the penetration of natural light — immaterial yet at the same time real and visible — was preferred in Christian buildings for evoking the divine presence<sup>13</sup>.

Unfortunately, little is known of the earliest glazed windows of the Constantinian era, but on the basis of the limited archaeological finds we can

<sup>10</sup> For the masonry of the Constantinian and Justinianic basilicae see, among others, *Sedlmayr H.* Zur Geschichte des justinianischen Architektursystems // *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXXV (1935), p. 38–69; *Idem*, Spätantike Wandsysteme // *Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse*, VII (1958), p. 5–55, esp. p. 25 e ss.; *Deichmann F. W.* Wandsysteme // *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, LIX (1966), p. 334–358, esp. p. 350–354; *Günter R.* Wand, Fenster und Licht in der Trierer Palastaula und in spätantiken Bauten. Herford, 1968; *Krautheimer R.* The Constantinian Basilica // *DOP*, XXI (1967), p. 115–140. *Onasch K.* Lichthöhle und Sternhaus. Licht und Materie im spätantike und frühbyzantinischen Sakralbau. Dresden–Basel, Verlag der Kunst, 1993, p. 47 e ss.

<sup>11</sup> *Eusebius of Caesarea.* Ad Constantiam Augustam, in *Eusebii Pamphili Caesareae Palaestinae Episcopi Opera Omnia, Patrologia Graeca*, t. XX / Ed. J.-P. Migne, Turnholti, col. 1546–1547; cfr.: *Koch H.* Die altchristliche Bilderfrage nach den literarischen Quellen. Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments 27 = N. F. 10, Göttingen, 1917, p. 41 and ff. In this regard I thank Hans Belting for his useful comments.

<sup>12</sup> About the teaching functions of the images as recognised by early Christian authors cfr.: *Mathews T. F.* The Sequel of Nicaea II in Byzantine Church Decoration // *Perkins Journal*, XLI, 3 (1988), p. 11–21, esp. p. 15–16.

<sup>13</sup> One has also to keep in mind several examples of late Antique and Medieval mosaics, paintings, or stuccoes that show holy figures in attitudes of devotion beside windows: see the fifth century mosaic with two Apostles in the so-called Mausoleum of Galla Placidia in Ravenna; the ninth century mosaics of the San Zeno Chapel in Santa Prassede in Rome; the eighth-ninth century monumental stucco figures of virgins on the west wall of the Tempietto in Cividale, etc.

imagine large geometrical panels set in a wooden framework<sup>14</sup>. In the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD thanks to the invention of glass blowing, large glass panes began to be used for windows in public buildings through the Roman Empire, in particular thermal baths, and then in the fourth century also in basilicas built for Christian worship<sup>15</sup>. This revolutionary technical invention has been regarded as one of the factors that contributed to the increased number and size of window openings in late Roman architecture. Besides some practical reasons for the enlargement of windows in the early Christian basilicas<sup>16</sup>, one should also consider that the increased light has been associated by some scholars with the symbolism of the *Sol Invictus*, appropriated by Constantine the Great for his imperial image, and with the Christian theological theme of Light as a manifestation of God<sup>17</sup>.

Already in the writings of Pliny the Elder glass was a paragon for brightness and transparency. Since the commonest natural colours of glass were pale green and blue, the light they transmitted contributed to a mystic atmosphere that was readily associated with the precious colours of the Heavenly Jerusalem<sup>18</sup>. Alexei Lidov has noted that in one of the first representations of the

<sup>14</sup> Traces of the presence of window screens have been observed in the painted window splays of the Constantinian hall at Trier while the only hitherto known examples of window pane fragments have recently been discovered in the Constantinian basilica of Porta Laurentina at Ostia. See the preliminary report on the Ostia excavations in: *Bauer F. A., Heinzelmann M., Martin A. et al.* Untersuchungen im Bereich der konstantinischen Bischofskirche Ostias. Vorbericht zur ersten Grabungskampagne 1998 // Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Römische Abteilung. Bullettino dell'Istituto Archeologico Germanico. Sezione Romana, CVI (1999), p. 289–341; *Martin A., Einzelmann M.* The joint AAR-DAI research project at Ostia: 1998 and 1999 seasons // *Memoirs of the American Academy at Rome*, XLVI, 2000, p. 277–283.

<sup>15</sup> In Vitruvius' architectural treatise, despite his concern for the quality of light in buildings, he never mentions window glass. This was because glass was not yet widely used during the time in which he wrote his treatise was written, during the first Augustan age. In fact, the earliest known examples of glass panes were employed in window screens dating from the late first century A.D., particularly in baths for the preservation of heat such as those in the Forum at Pompeii repaired between the earthquake of 62 A.D. and the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 A.D. See: *Dell'Acqua F.* Le finestre invetriate nell'antichità romana / Ed. M. Beretta, Giovanni di Pasquale // *Vitrum, il vetro tra arte e scienza nel mondo romano*. Exhib. cat., Museo degli Argenti, Palazzo Pitti, Firenze, 27 Marzo-31 Ottobre 2004, Firenze, Giunti Editore Spa, 2004, p. 109–119.

<sup>16</sup> Richard Krautheimer noted that the need of opening impressive sequences of large windows in the upper walls of the nave was due to the fact that the side aisles (intended to accommodate a vast number of worshippers) leaned on the lower parts of these walls (*Krautheimer, The Constantinian Basilica*).

<sup>17</sup> *Sedlmayr, Spätantike Wandsysteme*, p. 5 e ss.

<sup>18</sup> For a bibliographical selection cfr.: *Lidov A.* Heavenly Jerusalem: the Byzantine Approach / Ed. B. Kühnel // *The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Art*. Jerusalem, 1998, p. 341–353. On the perception of the church as Heavenly Jerusalem by Christian worshippers resulting from their rhetorical and religious education cfr.: *Onians J.* Abstraction and Imagination in Late Antiquity // *Art History* III, 1 (1980), p. 1–24, esp. p. 20.



Heavenly City, the fifth century mosaic in Hagios Georgios in Thessaloniki, main features of the representation of the city-temple are its 'transparency' and splendour<sup>19</sup>. This theological idea influenced, for example, Isidorus of Seville († 636), author of the most important encyclopedic work of late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages. In a chapter on glass Isidorus lists the various hues that this material can assume using the same names that John the Evangelist employed for the gems and precious stones adorning the heavenly walls<sup>20</sup>.

During Carolingian times, figured stained glass, painted with holy personages and accompanied with *tituli* spread throughout the Imperial realm — from Hungary, Germany, to France and Italy. Hrabanus Maurus contemporary encyclopaedia included a chapter on glass with a list of gem-like colours based on Isidorus' text. He also refers to the Apocalyptic description of the Heavenly Jerusalem in order to justify a predilection for glass in the decoration of sacred space<sup>21</sup>. Moreover, one should keep in mind that the Apocalypse (21, 22–26) contains what the eminent liturgist Robert Taft calls "the most beautiful passage regarding the identity between God and light"<sup>22</sup>.

#### LIGHT THROUGH GLAZED WINDOWS

The stained glass window is a complex work involving many artisans: the many phases of production require the cooperation of various specialists. The master glass-maker had to discuss the project not only with the patrons so as to satisfy their wishes, but also had to agree with the architects on the size of the glass screens that would fill the windows, the proportions of which had to provide adequate interior lighting. In this way the window took form through a combination of practical exigencies, functional aims, and aesthetic aspirations, culminating in the realization of sacred space by means of a mystic atmosphere. When the window glass became figured during Carolingian times, theologians and skilled painters also participated in the conception of the subjects to be painted on the glass panes.

<sup>19</sup> Lidov, *Heavenly Jerusalem*, p. 342.

<sup>20</sup> *Isidorus of Seville*. *Etymologiarum sive Originum libri XX*, Lib. XVI, Caput XVI De vitro, in *Patrologia Latina*, t. LXXXII / Ed. J.-P. Migne. Parisiis, 1850, coll. 582–583: "Tinguitur etiam multis modis, ita ut hyacinthos, sapphiresque, et virides imitetur et onyches vel aliarum gemmarum colores".

<sup>21</sup> *Maurus R.* De universo. Lib. XXII, cap. X, *Caput X De vitro* // PL, t. CXI, 1852, col. 474: "Unde in Apocalypsi ita scriptum de structura civitatis supernae; Ipsa vero civitas aurum mundum similis vitro mundo (Apoc. XXI)". For comment on these passages from Isidorus and Hrabanus Maurus, cfr.: *Dell'Acqua F.* "Illuminando colorat". *La vetrata tra la tarda Antichità e l'alto Medioevo attraverso le fonti e l'archeologia*. Studi e Ricerche di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte, 4. Collana diretta da L. Pani Ermini e A. Peroni. Spoleto, Centro Italiano di Studi per l'Altomedioevo, 2003, p. 146–147, 153–155.

<sup>22</sup> *Taft S. J.* *La liturgia delle ore*, p. 447–448.

As said, despite the highly informative art historical studies of late medieval stained-glass in its historical, aesthetic and socio-political contexts, little attention seems to have been paid to the effect that glazed windows as well as the light that passed through them, had on the beholders. For this, we must sift through the literary patrimony of late Antiquity and the Middle Ages.

Through a Medieval hagiographical text we know that in a very small and simple monastic church built in Northern France around the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> cent., the founder, a British abbot named Gilda, commissioned the glazing of the most important window that faced the East, so that he could prostrate himself in the direction of the natural light source that he obviously identified with God<sup>23</sup>. The abbot must have realized that glass was the most appropriate material for the penetration of sunlight, the symbol *par excellence* of divinity, and that it could enhance the sacred atmosphere of the modest space. Very likely his glazed window consisted of simple geometric panels of naturally coloured glass (green, blue and yellowish). One has to keep in mind that during the early Middle Ages glass had become very rare because the main sources for raw materials, as well as the chunks of glass to be subsequently re-worked, came from the Middle East and therefore glass was regarded as a precious commodity<sup>24</sup>.

Already in the early Middle Ages the subject of light penetrating a window became a topic of complex theological exegesis, as shown by the tradition around Ezechiel's account of Solomon's Temple. From Gregory the Great (sixth-seventh century), to Bede (seventh-eighth century), and Hrabanus Maurus (ninth century) the splayed windows of the Temple which are wider towards the interior were interpreted on two levels. Literally, they were seen as a useful means of guaranteeing the best interior lighting; while on an analogical level they were interpreted as representing the Apostles and the Prophets, who enjoyed direct contemplation of the divine mysteries, and who had the duty of rendering these accessible also to the faithful who were intellectually and spiritually less endowed<sup>25</sup>. These theological elaborations

<sup>23</sup> Vita Gildae sapientis abb., XXIX Ianuarii, cap. III, 17 // Acta Sanctorum, Ianuarii Tomus II. Antuerpiae, apud Ioannem Mursium, 1643, p. 961; *Dell'Acqua*, "Illuminando colorat", p. 108.

<sup>24</sup> Its use had spread widely in the Western Mediterranean world during the 1st cent. AD, and had a great impact on everyday Roman life. Glass involved a revolution in the life-style of the West that can be compared to that of plastic in the 20<sup>th</sup> cent., cfr.: *Beretta M.*, *Di Pasquale G.* Introduzione // *Vitrum* / Ed. Beretta, Di Pasquale, p. 19–35.

<sup>25</sup> *Gregory the Great*. Homiliae in Ezechielem, in *Patrologia Latina*, t. LXXVI / Ed. J.-P. Migne. Parisiis, 1849, col. 995; *Beda*. De Templo Salomonis, Liber 7, *Patrologia Latina*, t. XCI / Ed. J.-P. Migne. Parisiis, 1850, col. 750; *Maurus R.* Commentaria in libros Regum, in *Patrologia Latina*, t. CIX / Ed. J.-P. Migne. Parisiis, 1852, col. 143; *Idem*. Commentaria in Ezechielem // *Patrologia Latina*, t. CX / Ed. J.-P. Migne. Parisiis, 1852, col. 914. Cfr.: *D'Onofrio G.* Oltre la teologia. Per una lettura dell' "Omelia" di Giovanni Scoto Eriugena sul Prologo del Quarto Vangelo // "Studi Medievali", s. 3°, XXXI (1990), fasc. I, p. 285–356, esp. p. 285 e ss. e p. 328–329. Cfr.: *Dell'Acqua*, "Illuminando colorat", p. 38.

were soon visualized in early Christian and Medieval religious buildings where often wall paintings executed between the window openings represented Prophets and Apostles, the chief messengers of the word of God. Such figures were painted for example on the clerestory walls of the Roman basilicas of Old Saint Peter's and Saint Paul's Outside the Walls, the pictorial schemes of which subsequently became iconographic models of great importance for the western world<sup>26</sup>. Within the decorative hierarchy, while the light led the worshipper towards the sanctuary, these figures and scenes displayed on the clerestory walls of the great basilicas "were like words proceeding from the mouth of God"<sup>27</sup>. Already in the well-known Syriac hymn of the seventh century describing the church of Saint Sophia at Edessa (now Urfa, Turkey), the windows are said to represent the Apostles, the Prophets, the Martyrs and the Confessors, according to a symbolism that continued in the Medieval West<sup>28</sup>.

An early medieval example of how space in a religious context could be defined and emphasized via light shining through glazed windows is that of the monastery of San Vincenzo al Volturno (9<sup>th</sup> century). In the refectory and its adjacent ante-room, where the community of monks assembled before entering for their meals, the walls were painted with figures of Prophets and Apostles. In the refectory these appeared between large windows that were screened with geometric glass panels coloured in vivid green and blue<sup>29</sup>. Therefore, meals were accompanied by listening to Holy Scripture while beholding paintings illuminated by a series of windows all of which formed a solemn reminder of the monks' mission: like the Prophets, they had to become interpreters of God's words; and like Apostles, they had to spread the message to the people.

Between the 9<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries, stained glass windows became figurative. This coincided with the iconographic transposition of the Prophets and Apostles from murals to windows. It is hardly fortuitous that the earliest

<sup>26</sup> Kessler H. L. *Old St. Peter's and Church Decoration in Medieval Italy* // *Collectanea* 17. Centro italiano di studi sull'Alto Medioevo, Spoleto, 2002, p. 76.

<sup>27</sup> Spieser J.-M. The representation of Christ in the apses of early Christian churches, in *Urban and religious spaces*, XVI (originally appeared in "Gesta", 37, n. 1, 1998, p. 1–27), p. 8.

<sup>28</sup> Cfr.: Grabar A. Le témoignage d'une hymne syriaque sur l'architecture de la cathédrale d'Edessa au Vie siècle, et sur la symbolique de l'édifice chrétien // *Cahiers Archéologiques*, II (1947), p. 41–67; De Lavergne S. La lumière dans l'aménagement de l'espace liturgique: aspects théologiques // *Symbolisme et expérience de la lumière dans les grandes religions*. Actes du Colloque tenu à Luxembourg du 29 au 31 mars 1996 / Ed. Ries J., Ternes C.-M. *Homo religiosus*. Série II, 1, Turnhout, Brepols, 2002, p. 224–237, esp. p. 226.

<sup>29</sup> Cfr.: *Tavola Rotonda*, in *La vetrata in Occidente dal IV all'XI secolo*. Atti delle giornate di studi, Lucca, Villa Bottini, 23–24–25 Settembre 1999. Il colore nel Medioevo. *Arte Simbolo Tecnica*. Collana di studi sul colore 3 / Ed. Dell'Acqua F., Silva R. Lucca, Istituto Storico Lucchese-Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa-Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi Italia, 2001, p. 281–287; Dell'Acqua. *Illuminando colorat*, p. 38–39.

cycle of stained glass windows still *in situ*, at Augsburg (Bavaria), illustrates a series of prophets<sup>30</sup>. The stained glass must date to around 1065, the date of the church's consecration. At almost the same time that these windows were installed, Honorius Augustodunensis, a man of letters, compared society to a church with windows that could be assimilated to the *doctores* who spread knowledge protecting people from heresies just as glass permits natural light to penetrate while shielding the devout from inclement weather<sup>31</sup>. In the wake of such suggestions, the Prophets became an essential element recurring in the iconographically rich cycles of Gothic stained glass windows.

Much later on, in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century, the association between windows and the 'holy teachers' is still to be found in the writings of Carlo Borromeo (*Instructiones fabricae et suppellectilis ecclesiasticae*, ch. 7) whose statement in this regard has been considered of great importance to Italian Baroque architecture<sup>32</sup>.

#### 'HEAVEN' AND 'EARTH'

In Byzantine thought and liturgy, very soon the sanctuary became a symbol for Heaven and the nave a symbol for Earth. In the seventh century, quoting the Apostle Paul [2 Cor. 6: 16], Saint Germanus of Constantinople wrote that "the church is Heaven on Earth, where the God of Heaven dwells and moves"<sup>33</sup>. As Slobodan Ćurčić has observed, this concept "remained the basis for understanding church architecture and art throughout the Byzantine era, notwithstanding the implementation of various modifications over the centuries pertaining to the building form, its functions, and its decorative program"<sup>34</sup>. The profound awareness of the importance of natural light in

<sup>30</sup> Boeckler A. Die romanischen Fenster des Augsburger Domes und die Stilwende vom 11. zum 12. Jahrhundert // Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft, X, (1943), Heft 314, p. 153–182.

<sup>31</sup> Honorius Augustodunensis. Gemma Animae, cap. CXXX — De fenestris ecclesiae // Honorii Augustodunensis Opera Omnia / Ed. Migne J.-P. Patrologia Latina, t. CLXXII, Paris, 1854, col. 586; cfr.: Dell'Acqua. Illuminando colorat, p. 142–143.

<sup>32</sup> The possibilities of natural light to evoke the Divine were particularly exploited by Gianlorenzo Bernini. Above the *Cathedra Petri* (1657–1666), designed in the apse of Saint Peter's in Rome, he conceived a glazed *oculus* as the source of natural light, of *Lux*/God, from which metallic rays spread upwards. Thanks to the painted glass and the light passing through it, the architect made manifest the holiness of the site, cfr.: Barry F. Lux and lumen: the symbolism of real and represented light in the Baroque dome // Lichtgefüge des 17. Jahrhunderts. Ed. A. Lütgens. Kritische Berichte, XXX, 4 (2002), p. 22–37, esp. p. 24–25.

<sup>33</sup> St. Germanus of Constantinople. On the Divine Liturgy / The Greek Text with Translation, Introduction and Commentary by Paul Meyendorff. Crestwood, St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1984, p. 56, 58. On this subject, I warmly thank Robert Taft for his generous help.

<sup>34</sup> Ćurčić S. Religious settings of the Late Byzantine Sphere // Byzantium. Faith and Power (1261–1557) / Ed. by H. C. Evans. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004, p. 65–77, esp. p. 65; cfr.: Mango C. The Art of the Byzantine Empire: 312 — 1453, Sources and Documents. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, 1972, p. 141–143.

ecclesiastical contexts in the Byzantine world may have been due to the movement of Hesychasm, that had as its central theme the Transfiguration of Christ on Mount Tabor, where the Apostles were blinded by the glaring light emanating from Christ<sup>35</sup>.

In the 15<sup>th</sup> century Symeon of Thessalonika still writes that: “The sanctuary is a symbol of the higher and supra-heavenly spheres, where the throne of God and His dwelling place are said to be. It is this throne that the altar represents... The upper regions of the church [building] represent the visible heavens, its lower parts what is on earth and [the earthly] paradise itself...”<sup>36</sup>. So as to enhance this vision, several devices were employed by architects and decorators, and certain ornamental schemes recurring in late antique Western and early Byzantine mosaics, painting and sculpture, were intended to define the surfaces and develop a hierarchy in the decorative and spatial setting of interiors<sup>37</sup>. As with Baroque churches, also in early Christian and Byzantine churches, the quantity and quality of natural and artificial light were carefully deployed among ‘surface defining’ devices, as well as wall-revetments, wall-painting, mosaics, etc. In this way, the space within a church does not remain neutral, but rather becomes structured by boundaries and itineraries, that enhance a focal point with a carefully planned decoration. In this respect the elements that simultaneously connect, separate and protect, such as windows and doors, assume a decisive role<sup>38</sup>. In fact, the iconostasis often had decorated doors like those of gilded copper originally from Saint Sophia of Novgorod, now in the Russian State Museum there, and dated around 1330–1350<sup>39</sup>. Their precious metallic revetment reflecting light alludes to the light shining in the sanctuary. The decorative gilded motifs display lions, griffins, etc., traditionally linked in Christian bestiaries to apotropaic functions: in this case, they were supposed to protect ‘Heaven’s doors’ leading to the sanctuary. In the Byzantine domain, doors were often ‘pro-

<sup>35</sup> The role of Hesychasm in shaping Byzantine liturgy and ecclesiastical decoration has not yet been thoroughly investigated in the view of *James Liz*, *Light and colour in Byzantine art*. Clarendon Studies in the History of Art, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1996, p. 120, n. 12. For the iconographic repertoire of Transfiguration in Western and Byzantine art, see: *Griffueille M. F.* *La conception byzantine de la lumière dans le thème de la transfiguration*. Thesis (diplôme). Paris, École du Louvre, 1978, p. 8 and ff.

<sup>36</sup> *Symeon of Thessalonika*. *De sacro templo*, ch. 131 // *Symeonis Thessalonicensis Opera Omnia*, in *Patrologia Graeca*, t. CLV, ed. J.-P. Migne, Parisiis, 1866, coll. 337–340.

<sup>37</sup> *Gonosová A.* *The Role of Ornament in Late Antique Interiors with Special Reference to intermedia borrowing of Patterns* / Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., 1981, p. 294.

<sup>38</sup> *Spieser J.-M.* *Doors, boundaries and the use of space in early Christian churches // Urban and religious spaces in Late Antiquity and early Byzantium*. Ashgate, Aldershot–Burlington, 2001, XV, p. 1 (originally appeared in “*Klio*”, 77, 1995, p. 1–14).

<sup>39</sup> *Bukhman S.* 63. *Iconostasis Doors with the Annunciation and the Four Evangelists // Byzantium. Faith and Power (1261–1557)* / Ed. by H. C. Evans. New York, 2004, p. 127–128.

tected', but at the same time they protected those who were going through the gates keeping Evil away by means of images of the Virgin, Christ and saints placed overhead.

We may assume that every patron and/or architect in charge of building or refurbishing a church would have carefully considered appropriate natural illumination and artistic devices to reflect it, such as liturgical furnishings in precious metals and marble revetments. It is not coincidence that the main elements 'creating' the sacred space either reflected light or allowed its penetration. The magnificence of these furnishings made of light-reflecting materials was described in the famous *Novgorod Chronicle* account of the Frankish sack of *Hagia Sophia* on the 12<sup>th</sup> of April 1204: the rich decoration included countless liturgical furnishings in silver, precious stones and mother of pearl set all around the altar together with the icons on the silver iconostasis<sup>40</sup>. This dazzling décor of the metal objects, as well as of the mosaics and the marble revetments, was enhanced and exalted by the careful orchestration of natural and artificial lighting which must have stunned the faithful beholder. Relying on this and other Russian accounts from the late Byzantine period, John Arnott Hamilton evokes the impression made upon those who entered a Byzantine church during a liturgical celebration thus: "As the light from thousands of candles gleamed on the polished surface of green marble and purple porphyry, as the figures of austere saints and bejewelled emperors looked down from the encrusted walls, as the wings of seraphs lay outstretched in the pendentives far above, as the clouds of incense floated through the expanse, as the priests in their coloured silken vestments moved slowly in procession, as the celebrant passed through the iconostasis into the presence of the altar, as a great multitude stood in rapt devotion and as the solemn chant echoed through the nave, it is no wonder that the visitors from the Russian plains felt the throb of an unprecedented emotion in their souls, and beheld mingling with the worshippers angelic visitants from heaven"<sup>41</sup>. In this regard, an interesting comparison has been traced again by Hamilton between Byzantine and Baroque architecture: the Baroque artists and architects tended to carry "earth up to heaven" with magnelocquent statues and paintings of saints captured in ecstasy with radiating haloes and floating draperies, etc. Meanwhile "the Byzantine artist brings heaven down to earth" through mild, celestial effects of natural light and images of holy figures of an idealized corporeality. In this sense one can imagine how the interior of a Byzantine church was "permeated with the sense of the unseen"<sup>42</sup>.

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<sup>40</sup> The Chronicle of Novgorod, 1016–1471 / Translated from the Russian by R. Michell and N. Forbes, with an introd. by C. R. Beazley, and an account of the text by A. A. Shakhmatov. New introd. by W. K. Hanak. Hattiesburg, Miss., 1970, p. 47.

<sup>41</sup> *Hamilton J. A.* Byzantine architecture and decoration. London, 1956, p. 79.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 34.

## OPTICAL DEVICES IN THE MAKING OF SACRED SPACE

In Byzantium sacred space was not usually enhanced by the presence of figurative stained glass, but two important exceptions are known in the *Chora* and the *Pantocrator* in Istanbul, of which more later. However, one must first consider how sacred space was treated in Byzantium through a careful deployment of windows.

Certain optical devices were already put into practice during the early stages of 'Byzantine' architecture by Anthemios of Tralles, who, together with the architect Isidorus of Miletus, was in charge of re-building *Hagia Sophia* in the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. Anthemios was known not only as an engineer, but also for having written an important treatise on glass mirrors observing their many peculiarities. In this respect, it can hardly be accidental that glass played such an important role in the decoration of *Hagia Sophia*. The glitter of the mosaic revetments, with their tesserae intentionally set at various angles, was greatly enhanced by the light shining through the many windows screened with glass panels. In this way the theories of Anthemios found a practical application, as recently Marco Beretta has pointed out: "The combination of using grandiose wall mosaics in glass with large and numerous windows to let in the light, leads us to suppose that the theoretical competence of Anthemios regarding the reflective property of mirrors found practical application in the basilica that aroused the marvel of his contemporaries"<sup>43</sup>. Aside from these technical details, certainly the enhancement of light in the area below the main dome defined the sacred status of the sanctuary<sup>44</sup>. As is well known, Paul the Silentiary described the light radiating from the many windows screened with glass panes in the central dome's drum, which contributed to the creation of a space of heavenly beauty making the dome appear as suspended in a void hung to a chain held by the hand of God<sup>45</sup>.

<sup>43</sup> Beretta M. *Vetro e visione // Vitrum / Ed. Beretta, Di Pasquale*, p. 121–133, esp. p. 132–133; *Idem*. From the eye to the eye-glass. A pre-history of spectacles // *When Glass Matters. Studies in the history of science and art from Graeco-Roman antiquity to early modern era / Ed. M. Beretta. Firenze, Olschki Editore, 2004*, p. 249–282, esp. p. 274. See also: *Dell'Acqua F. Lux et vitrum: the Evolution of Stained Glass from the late Roman Empire to the Gothic Age // When Glass Matters / Ed. Beretta*, p. 221–248, esp. p. 228.

<sup>44</sup> About the symbolism and the role of domes in the making of sacred space see *Ida Sinkevic* in this volume. One should recall once more the religious architecture of the 17<sup>th</sup> century: in fact, reflecting mirrors are known to have been used to "entice light" in chapels built by Bernini and Borromini in Rome, cfr.: *Barry*, *Lux et Lumen*, p. 30.

<sup>45</sup> *Paul the Silentiary. Descriptio Ecclesiae Sanctae Sophiae. V. 407–410 e v. 509–511 // Patrologia Graeca, t. LXXXVI, 2 / Ed. J.-P. Migne. Parisiis, 1865*, col. 2135 e coll. 2138–2139; *Descriptio Ecclesiae Sanctae Sophiae*, in *Johannes von Gaza und Paulus Silentiarius, Kunstbeschreibungen justinianischer zeit / Ed. P. Friedländer. Leipzig–Berlin, 1912*; cfr.: *Mango C. The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312–1453. Sources and Documents. Englewood Cliffs, 1972*, p. 74, 82.

Forty years ago a Greek scholar, Giannes Triantaphyllides, made a study of the lighting system in Byzantine architecture<sup>46</sup>. Thanks to photometry he was able to examine the quantity as well as the quality of natural light in the interior, the effect of the filter of coloured window glass, and the symbolic value of light in a Christian context. Above all, he was able to measure the natural light's intensity during different times of day in many buildings, noting that there was a general progression of luminosity from the entrance towards the sanctuary<sup>47</sup>. Furthermore, he also was able to confirm that both the decoration and the liturgical action were orchestrated so that the apse was signified as the most sacred place in the building<sup>48</sup>. Light triumphant in the apse reminded the faithful beholder of the materialization of the divine presence there.

One of the buildings studied by Triantaphyllides is San Vitale in Ravenna. As he had done for other Byzantine churches, he measured the amount of light which could pass through the coloured windows. He did this by analyzing the glass fragments from old excavations at San Vitale. But he had to admit that it was impossible to reconstruct the final effect of the original coloured windows on the interior illumination there because it is unknown how and where they were situated. The coloured discs (made according to the 'crown' method and measuring between 19,5–26 cm in diameter) ranged in colour from sky-blue to emerald green, amber brown, purple and opaque white. For the most part, therefore, these colours permitted relatively little light to penetrate, modulating its access according to the thickness of glass and the saturation of the colouring<sup>49</sup>. However, it must be kept in mind that the glazing of San Vitale's win-

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<sup>46</sup> *Triantaphyllides G. D.* *Stoicheia physiku photismu ton byzantinon ekklesion*. Athenai, Hyperesia Archaioteton kai Anasteloseos, Demosieumata tu Archaiologiku Deltiu 3, Athenai, 1964, (summary: *De l'éclairage naturel des églises byzantines*, p. 93–102), p. 98. *Korać V.* *La lumière dans l'architecture byzantine tardive, en tant qu'expression des conceptions hésychastes // L'art de Thessalonique et des pays balkaniques et les courants spirituels au XVe siècle*. Belgrade, 1987, p. 125–131. See also: *Gelfenbien G. P.* *Spheres of light: light as the common element of the Byzantine East and the Gothic West* / Ph. D. Thesis. Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, 1987.

<sup>47</sup> Cfr. also: *Spieser*, *Doors, boundaries and the use of space in early Christian Churches*, p. 11. He notes that, for example, in St. Peter's in Rome the original architectural and decorative organisation suggested this progression, "leading the visitor's eye toward the goal he sought, the apostle's tomb, the effect heightened yet more by the additional illumination from the transept..."

<sup>48</sup> *Spieser*. The representation of Christ in the apses of early Christian churches, in *Urban and religious spaces*, XVI (originally appeared in "Gesta", 37, n. 1, 1998, p. 1–27), p. 8: "...the purpose of Christ's image in the apse was to convince the worshipper that his God was truly present in the sanctuary... This aim was achieved by hierarchical organization of sacred space. Its climax is the sanctuary with its apse, where the glimmering picture of God dominates the congregation in the nave. The architectural setting... led the believer to this very image".

<sup>49</sup> For a catalogue and drawings, see: *Deichmann F. W.* *Ravenna. Hauptstadt des spätantiken Abendlandes. Band II. Kommentar, 2. Teil*. Wiesbaden–Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, 1976, p. 139–140. In a noted essay on the role of natural and artificial light in the



dows cannot be dated with precision, since they may either belong to the original phase of the building (6<sup>th</sup> century), or to the Carolingian phase (ninth century) when Benedictine monks took over the building complex<sup>50</sup>. Today in the basilica there are pale coloured glass windows, and the brightness increases as one proceeds from the narthex towards the sanctuary. This effect, according to Deichmann, was due not only to the distribution of the apertures, but also to the deliberate absence of intervening obstacles such as piers and arches<sup>51</sup>. In this regard, Triantaphyllides noted the sharp contrast between the relative darkness of the western part of the building, illuminated only indirectly from the main portal in the arduca (narthex), and the brightness of the sanctuary area lit by large windows<sup>52</sup>.

Another building studied by Triantaphyllides is the church of Sant'Apollinare in Classe, outside Ravenna. Here the original window openings and their glazed screens already altered in the past were restored in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century<sup>53</sup>. The interior appears as evenly illuminated, with a perceptible progression towards the sanctuary, thanks to an attentive distribution of the windows<sup>54</sup>. One should consider also that the darkness and the shadows also had a

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perception of paintings and mosaics, see: *Schöne W. Über dal Licht in der Malerei*. Berlin, Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1954, p. 47–48, 52–54 e fig. 2, p. 54. The author stated almost fifty years ago that unlike typical paleochristian architecture where the large grilled screens for windows made of various materials admitted a light not so different from daylight, the effect at San Vitale must have been very different due to the presence of coloured discs set into circular openings — for which the author provided a suggested graphic reconstruction. The author noted how the alabaster panels visible today disperse an ivory coloured light softer than coloured glass. Coloured glass conditions the very perception of whatever the wall decorated surface happened to be made of.

<sup>50</sup> Deichmann, 1976, p. 50 e p. 139–141.

<sup>51</sup> Ibidem, p. 75 e 77.

<sup>52</sup> Although the windows had undergone changes in the course of centuries, their original appearance was restored somewhat during work carried out during the last century.

<sup>53</sup> Since the church was rebuilt under Leo III in 814 one supposes that the wooden window screens closed by glass panels cut in geometrical shapes might have been renewed on this occasion. In any case, it is highly probable that the 6<sup>th</sup> century building had similar elements. Among those favouring such an hypothesis are *Schöne* (1954, p. 45–46, note 73 and the reconstruction of the screen in fig. 1, p. 47), who maintains that this would have provided adequate illumination to exalt the decorative features of the mosaics; see also *Deichmann* (1976, p. 239–240). The portico in front of the basilica still has an original wooden screen — one of the two discovered at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Only a dendrochronological analysis of this surviving screen can resolve the question if it dates from the 6<sup>th</sup> or the 9<sup>th</sup> centuries. The local Soprintendenza has been advised of this.

<sup>54</sup> The comment as well as the content is founded in *Deichmann's* case (1969, p. 258) on structural observations and in that of *Triantaphyllides* (1964, p. 96) on the measurement of light waves inside the basilica made with optical instruments. Regarding the paleo- and mid-Byzantine churches, *Hamilton*, *Byzantine architecture and decoration*, p. 75: “There is a striking contrast between the complexity of the aisles and the simplicity of the nave... The aisles afford intricate fragmentary views, with illusive vistas and reced-

positive role in making more evident the areas or objects that are well lit<sup>55</sup>: darkness recalls the world of shadows in which we live separated from light at the beginning of Creation (Genesis 1, 2–5). The alternation of light and dark has been used in the past as an interior ‘design device’ to exalt, and circumscribe the radiant sanctuary, as Evangelia Hadjistryphonos has clarified in this symposium<sup>56</sup>. In the 15<sup>th</sup> cent. Leon Battista Alberti, in his famous architectural treatise, noted the importance of the contrast between light and darkness, and the balance between natural and artificial light in Christian temples. He wrote that “the awe that is naturally generated by darkness encourages a sense of veneration in the mind... What is more, the flame, which should burn in a temple, and which is the most divine ornament of religious worship, looks faint in too much light”<sup>57</sup>.

In Sant’Apollinare the marble revetments, along with the mosaics on the walls reflecting the natural light, contribute to the brightness of the space. Moreover, the panels of veined marble are set so that they converge towards the apse and direct the beholder’s attention there. The decorative device of artistically arranging the marble panels was also used, for example, in the contemporary Justinianic church of Saint Catherine at Sinai<sup>58</sup>, where the apse mo-

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ing planes, with shadowy recesses and picturesque effects: the nave is clear and open and easily grasped, with its impression of closed and substantial space. Yet the two are not disparate, for by means of the nave arcades there is a spatial relationship between nave and aisles”.

<sup>55</sup> On the interesting counterposition between shadows and darkness in sacred space so as to enhance the illuminated, most important areas, see: *Bettinelli, Della Longa, Maggiani, Santantoni. Celebrare con la luce*, p. 12–13.

<sup>56</sup> This occurred in a similar fashion in other, older churches with windowed aisles such as San Giovanni in Laterano, the famous Constantinian building, or in San Giovanni Evangelista and Sant’Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna built in Theodosian and Theodorican times (5<sup>th</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> centuries); see: *Helou C. Le conflit des ténèbres et de la lumière dans les écrits johanniques. Une approche symbolique // Symbolisme et expérience de la lumière dans les grandes religions / Ed. Ries. Ternes, p. 159–173.*

<sup>57</sup> *Alberti L. B. De re aedificatoria*, lib. VII, cap. XII // Leon Battista Alberti. *L’Architettura*. Traduzione di Giovanni Orlandi. Introduzione e note di Paolo Portoghesi. Milano, 1989, p. 335–41: “Le finestre dei templi devono essere di dimensioni modeste e in posizione bene elevata, sì che attraverso di esse non si possa scorgere altro che il cielo, né i celebranti e gli oranti siano in alcun modo sviati dal pensiero della divinità. Il senso del timore suscitato dall’oscurità contribuisce per propria natura a disporre la mente alla venerazione... Si tenga presente inoltre che le fiamme accese nei temple — le quali rappresentano le forme di culto più divino che esista-esposte a troppa luce impallidiscono”. Cfr.: *Barry. Lux et Lumen*, p. 28, and *Dell’Acqua F. Di fronte alle vetrate // Arti e Storia nel Medioevo*, 3° vol. / Ed. Castelnuovo E., Fossati P., Giuseppe S. Torino, 2004, p. 369–403, esp. p. 375–376.

<sup>58</sup> *Scurati-Manzoni P. L’architettura romana*. Milano, Guerini Studio, 1991, p. 136–37. On the 6<sup>th</sup> century craftsmen skill in cutting and artistically joining marble slabs, cfr.: *Onians. Abstraction and Imagination in Late Antiquity*, p. 10.

saic represents the same subject as at Sant'Apollinare: the Transfiguration where Christ appears as light<sup>59</sup>.

As seen in the two Ravennate cases, light seems to have been planned in ways to enhance the most important liturgical areas, and therefore to shape the sacred space. This theme has recently been taken up by a group of architects and liturgists, who have studied how light should function in sacred buildings, in the various moments of its exploitation (during liturgical celebrations or during private prayer, etc.). Among many possible examples, the basilica of San Clemente in Rome was chosen in an effort to reconstruct the most appropriate natural and artificial lighting arrangements<sup>60</sup>.

#### THE HIEARARCHICAL DISPLAY OF PLASTER AND GLASS

Surprisingly perhaps, Byzantium, which is traditionally considered to have played no part in the history of stained glass, has offered valuable clues to the reconstruction of original sacred spaces through its fragmentary but historically significant coloured glass screens. Nevertheless, this is a field that awaits further studies and a great deal remains to be done.

The archaeological investigation of the "Lower-City" church at Amorium, the former capital of Anatolikon, has brought to light the remains of the interior decoration of the late-Antique and middle-Byzantine phases of the building<sup>61</sup>. Between the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> cent., after a disastrous natural event, the columns dividing the nave from the aisles were eliminated and substituted by four piers which support a central dome. New mosaics, frescoes and an *opus sectile* floor were laid, and the wide windows were narrowed and closed by stucco screens with circular holes filled with crown-glass discs in pale colours<sup>62</sup>. At Amorium interesting details have emerged concerning the decorative procedures: mosaicists and painters seem to have shared the scaffoldings, suggesting that a carefully planned decorative program existed that included glazed window-screens. In this 9<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> century phase, before the frescoes were executed, architectural features such as wall joints, pier corners, arches and also window embrasures were decorated with red lines and circles. Although this very simple kind of painting was soon replaced by

<sup>59</sup> Cfr.: Boespflug F. Sur la Transfiguration dans l'art médiéval d'Occident // Symbolisme et expérience de la lumière dans les grandes religions / Ed. Ries, Ternes, p. 199–223, esp. p. 202.

<sup>60</sup> Cfr.: Bettinelli, Della Longa, Maggiani, Santantoni. Celebrare con la luce, p. 11 e 21–25.

<sup>61</sup> Lightfoot C. et al. The Amorium Project: the 1997 Study Season // DOP, LIII (1999), p. 333–349, esp. p. 40, n. 27.

<sup>62</sup> Amorium excavations 1995. The eighth preliminary report // Anatolian Studies, XLVI, 1996, p. 91–110, esp. p. 106–09; Lightfoot C., Ivison E. A. The Amorium Project: the 1995 excavation season // DOP, LI (1997), p. 291–300, esp. p. 296 and fig. C for a drawn reconstruction of a restored disc. The catalogue of the glass found at Amorium during the excavations of 1987–1997 is in press. The catalogue of the stucco-screen fragments was written by the present writer at Amorium / Hisarköy in August 2002.

figurative fresco painting, the red lines remained on the windows' stucco screens. These, taking on stylized vegetable and geometric patterns, enhanced the multi-lobed profile of the circular openings in which glass discs were set. These stucco screens are the first known example of a kind that became the most wide-spread type in the Byzantine empire. Against the predominium of this non-figurative type, figurative stained glass fragments recovered in the *Pantocrator* and in the *Chora* churches in Istanbul appear among the most controversial examples of Medieval glazed windows<sup>63</sup>. In fact, scholars have been puzzled by their origins, since the artistic medium of stained glass is unprecedented in the Byzantine craft tradition<sup>64</sup>. There is insufficient data to establish whether Constantinopolitan artisans possessed the skill and technology to make figurative stained glass. Technical observations made on the window-glass from the *Chora* and the *Pantocrator* suggest that the stained-glass windows had been manufactured by a workshop of Westerners<sup>65</sup>. The cultural *milieu* of the regency of John II Comnenus (1118–1136) and his direct descendants welcomed contacts with the Western powers and arts, thereby suggesting a 12<sup>th</sup> century date for these stained glass windows<sup>66</sup>. Since plain crown-blown discs were also found in the *Pantocra-*

<sup>63</sup> *Megaw A. H. S.* Notes on recent work of the Byzantine Institute in Istanbul // DOP, XVII (1963), p. 333–371; *Lafond J.* Découverte de vitraux historiés du Moyen Age à Constantinople // Cahiers Archéologiques, XVIII (1968), p. 231–238.

<sup>64</sup> For a long time scholars have believed the 'disc' painted with an enthroned Christ recovered at San Vitale in Ravenna as the first example of Byzantine, figurative stained glass, but recent research has questioned its chronology and cultural milieu, cf.: *Dell'Acqua.* Illuminando colorat, p. 27. The debate concerning Byzantine stained glass has broadened with new discoveries at Studenica in Serbia (twelfth-century), Lesnovo in Macedonia (mid-fourteenth century, cf.: *Ljubinković R.* Sur un exemplaire de vitraux du monastère de Studenica // *Archlug* 3 (1959), p. 137–141; *Idem.* Un vitrail en plomb à l'église de la Vierge à Studenica // Musée des arts décoratifs. Recueil de travaux (Belgrade) 6–7 (1960–1961), p. 19–27; *Corović-Ljubinković M.* Quelques problèmes relatifs au verre medieval en Serbie // Verre medieval aux Balkans, 63–69, esp. 66–68), and the Cluniac abbey of the Santissima Trinità at Mileto in Southern Italy (twelfth-century) (*Peduto P., Fiorillo R.* Saggi di scavo nella Mileto Vecchia in Calabria (1995 e 1999) // II Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Medievale, Musei Civici, Chiesa di Santa Giulia, Brescia, 28 Settembre-1 Ottobre 2000 / Ed. G. P. Brogiolo. Firenze, All'Insegna del Giglio, 2000, p. 223–233).

<sup>65</sup> Cf.: *Dell'Acqua F.* The stained-glass windows from the *Chora* and the *Pantocrator*: a 'Byzantine' mystery? // Restoring Byzantium: The Kariye Camii in Istanbul and the Byzantine Institute Restoration / Ed. Holger Klein, Robert Ousterhout. New York, 2004, p. 68–77.

<sup>66</sup> *Megaw* ("Notes on recent work", 367) had already expressed himself in favour of a link between the presence of stained glass in the *Chora* and the patronage of the *Sebastocrator* Isaac the Comnenian. recently a Comnenian chronology of the stained glass of the *Pantocrator* has been confirmed by: *Ousterhout R.* Master Builders of Byzantium. Princeton, 1999, p. 154. In a recent oral communication, Ousterhout favored the idea of a direct Comnenian commission for the windows of the *Pantocrator*. The influence of the Comnenian patronage on the urban and architectural development of the city is demonstrated by *Magdalino P.* Constantinople médiévale. Études sur l'évolution des structures urbaines. Paris, 1996, p. 69–76.

tor and the *Chora*<sup>67</sup>, it may be that the simpler discs within plaster frames, initially displayed in all the windows of the building, were substituted with stained glass screens in the most important areas. Stained glass was intentionally used to create and enhance the most sacred areas of the buildings, playing a specific role in the making of sacred space. Another, early example of a hierarchy in the display of window screens has been recalled by the *Chronicon* of Leo of Ostia, that tells about the rebuilding of the monastery of Montecassino commissioned by the abbot Desiderius (1058–1087) whose decorative campaign was also undertaken by Byzantine craftsmen. In the main church Leo says that different types of window screens were installed, perhaps according to the hierarchical importance of the spaces. In fact, in the sanctuary were set glazed screens held with leading; in the rest of the building and in the monastic areas not used for liturgical purposes the openings had stucco screens<sup>68</sup>.

Coming back to the *Chora*, it has been observed that light is abundant also in the *Paraekklesion* where there are various *arcosolia* tombs for prominent people (possibly the founders or the patrons)<sup>69</sup>. Natural as well as artificial light must have been intended to enhance the holiness of the area, along with the warrior-saints painted on the walls, who watched over the dead thereby confirming the funerary function of the area. The windows of the *Paraekklesion*, as archaeology proved during the early 1960's, had plaster screens with circular holes filled with clear glass discs, a lighting device that allows a great deal of light to filter through, but which at the same time is soft and does not strike the wall-decoration with strong rays or colourful effects, as stained glass would do.

For this reason, during the last quarter of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, the fenestration of Monreale cathedral was changed in order to adapt the penetration of natural lighting to the optimum viewing of the mosaics made, as often

<sup>67</sup> Megaw. Notes on Recent Work, p. 365, n. 106.

<sup>68</sup> Leo of Ostia. *Chronica Monasterii Casinensis*, lib. III, cap. 10, 28, 33, 34 // MGH, *SS*, t. XXXIV, 1980, p. 372, 397, 405–06, 408–09; cfr.: Dell'Acqua. *Illuminando colorat*, p. 135–137. Neither type of window screen survives among the Montecassino examples. However their appearance can be reconstructed from a collation of the remains of the window screens of San Benedetto in Capua, Desiderius' last monumental commission, as well as from the monastery of San Vincenzo al Volturno rebuilt by an abbot who had been Desiderius disciple; cfr.: Dell'Acqua. *Shades of Desiderius. An early example of Italian stained-glass from the Romanesque abbey of San Vincenzo al Volturno (Molise, Italy)* // *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi. XIX International Colloquium. Kraków, 1998, 14–16 May, Stained glass as monumental painting, Proceedings. Krakow, 1999, p. 81–95.*

<sup>69</sup> Gerstel S. 'It is now time to be mindful of death:' The Chora Parekklesion, Palaeologan Burial Chapels, and Hopes for a Peaceful Afterlife. Paper presented at the symposium *Restoring Byzantium*, held at Columbia University, NYC, on the 16<sup>th</sup> of April 2004, organized by Holger Klein.

claimed, by Byzantine craftsmen. The original windows had been furnished with white stucco screens with Islamic-style ornamentation. Some of these openings in the sanctuary area were subsequently walled up and covered with mosaics, according to the needs of the mosaicists, who arrived after the building's completion. Evidently, these craftsmen not only required more surface for their mosaic programme, but also needed to adjust the means of lighting them<sup>70</sup>. Three sketches of perforated screens measuring about 20 cm high were found on the plaster of a walled-up window embrasure, one of which shows a screen with round holes and a semi-circular top; the other two show a grill of more geometric type with pointed tops. As Giuseppe Naselli Flores noted, the sketches reveal a different conception of the space and express the conflicting needs of the architects and the mosaicists. They also imply a discussion, or rapid exchange of ideas regarding the type of screen to be installed to replace the previous 'Islamic' ones<sup>71</sup>.

This can be explained if one takes into account a sort of antagonism that developed through the centuries between two artistic, figurative media: mosaics and stained glass. This was not the case originally. In Roman imperial times the use of glass windows, for protection from the elements, led to increased levels of light and thus encouraged the development of interior decoration such as wall-mosaics<sup>72</sup>. But glazed screens then had delicate colours, were cut in large geometrical rectangles, and were inserted in rectangular wooden or stucco transennae. Therefore these screens did not cast too much shadow on the walls and did not interfere much with the appreciation of the outlines and details of the wall decoration. In the West, murals became the more common medium for wall-decoration, it too was less frequent in those buildings in which figurative stained glass predominated, such as the transalpine Gothic cathedrals. In fact, intensely coloured and richly historiated stained glass attract the eye so effectively, that the kaleidoscopic rays of transmitted light made wall paintings obsolete.

On the other hand, a close interaction between sufficient, soft natural light and wall-mosaics is detectable in the history of Byzantine art. Elsewhere I have raised the question whether the lack of development of stained-glass in Byzantine art is due to its incompatibility with the system of architectural

<sup>70</sup> *Naselli Flores G.* Novità e ipotesi, in *I mosaici di Monreale: restauri e scoperte* (1965–1982) // XIII Catalogo di opere d'arte restaurate. Quaderno n. 4 del Bollettino «B.C.A.» Sicilia. Palermo, 1986, cap. II, p. 47–54; *Idem*, *Architettura e mosaici di Monreale* // Quaderni dell'Accademia delle Arti e del Disegno, 2 (1990), p. 25–32. Cfr.: *Dell'Acqua F.* *Parvenus eclettici e il canone estetico della varietas. Riflessioni su alcuni dettagli di arredo architettonico nell'Italia meridionale normanna* // *Kunst und Form im normannischen Sizilien* / Ed. David Knipp. Roma, Bibliotheca Hertziana-British School at Rome, 6–7 Dicembre 2002. "Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana", 35 (2003), in press.

<sup>71</sup> *Naselli Flores.* *Architettura e mosaici*, p. 26 e n. 13.

<sup>72</sup> Cfr. *Beretta, Di Pasquale.* *Introduzione* // *Vitrum* / Ed. Beretta, Di Pasquale, p. 26.

decoration developed in Byzantium during the central centuries of its history<sup>73</sup>. Among the characteristics recurrent in this Byzantine system during the centuries before and after 1000 are figural mosaics, precious marble revetments, carved chancel screens, and narrow windows closed by stucco screens with round perforations. This kind of preciously decorated interior required considerable illumination, natural or artificial, in order to make the most of the luxurious furnishings. But at the same time the light had to be relatively soft so as not to strike the reflecting surfaces too violently. Liz James, one of the few scholars to study the interaction between light and colour in Byzantine art, has observed that mosaic is a monumental art to be appreciated and seen “from a distance and at an angle”, because they are made with “strips of pure colour” that cannot be mixed as in a painting and that could seem too ‘separated’ one from the other once viewed at a close distance. In this regard, one begins to understand why natural light had to play a specific role not only in rendering mosaics visible, but also in making their appearance more blended and soft<sup>74</sup>. This explains why Byzantine mosaicists working in Monreale to enhance the iconography of light and to recreate a mystic atmosphere in the sanctuary insisted on changing the window openings and their screens. They were pursuing their own idea of creating a sacred space by means of natural light and precious wall decoration.

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СТЕКЛО И ЕСТЕСТВЕННЫЙ СВЕТ В ФОРМИРОВАНИИ  
САКРАЛЬНЫХ ПРОСТРАНСТВ ЛАТИНСКОГО ЗАПАДА  
И ВИЗАНТИЙСКОГО ВОСТОКА

Роман А. С. Буатт, действие которого происходит в Турции, содержит поразительное определение стекла, подходящее также и к витражам: это нечто, «сквозь что смотрят», и в то же время — то, «на что смотрят».

<sup>73</sup> Cfr.: *Dell'Acqua F.* Enhancing luxury through stained glass, from Asia Minor to Italy // Workshop on Byzantine glass. Dumbarton Oaks, 16<sup>th</sup> of Novembre 2002 / Ed. Talbot A.-M., Whitehouse D. DOP (2005), in press.

<sup>74</sup> As noted by Liz James, Byzantine mosaicists were skillful enough in manipulating optical artifices to get the best out of their medium. Furthermore she notes that natural light has influenced sometimes the way in which light itself is represented in mosaics (through highlighting), that take into account the direction in which it arrives on the surfaces: “Real light is used therefore in combination with an awareness of its effects in the space between viewer and picture”. See *James L.* Light and colour, p. 2 e ss.; *Eadem.* What colours were Byzantine mosaics? // *Medieval Mosaics. Light, color, materials* / Ed. Eve Borsook E., Superbi F. G., Pagliarulo G. The Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies at Villa Tatti. Cinisello Balsamo, 2000, p. 35–46, esp. p. 43.

Несомненно, витражи имеют тройную ценность. Функционально они защищают от стихии и пропускают свет, эстетически увеличивают пространство и заставляют оценить как красоту самих окон, так и цвета убранства, впуская в помещение полосы цветного света, форму которым придают окна. Их символическая ценность, по крайней мере в христианстве, определяется тем, что окно уподобляют сокровищнице, сберегающей естественный свет, который считается величайшим символом божественного.

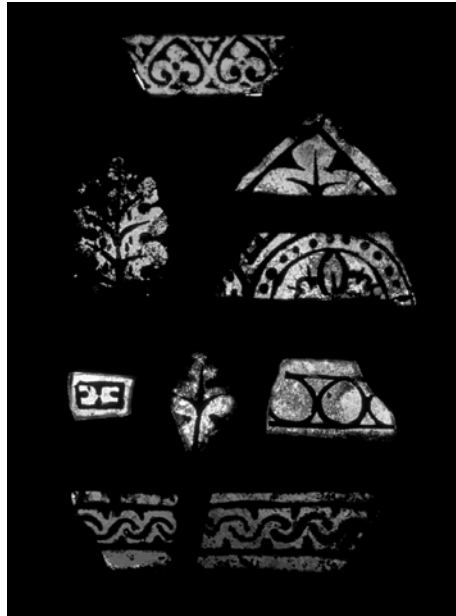
В связи с этим возникают вопросы о роли *concepteurs* (мастеров, *фр.* — создателей, устроителей, оформителей) сакрального пространства и «постановки» освещения. Важность источников света в планировке интерьеров всегда, с античности и до наших дней, была первостепенной и для архитекторов, и для заказчиков. И в самом деле, «подходящее» освещение — главный фактор в нашем восприятии пространства, оно может передать посетителю ощущение блеска, ясности, таинственности, сокровенности и т. д.

Чтобы понять, до какой степени свет был значимым для проектировщика (и заказчика) сакрального пространства, я решила исследовать практические задачи и эстетические цели, скрывающиеся за использованием стекла для заполнения оконных проемов в важнейших зданиях Запада и Востока во времена Константина Великого, а также Фридриха Барбароссы и Мануила I Комнина (соответственно, IV и XII века). Изобилие археологического материала, опубликованного в последние десятилетия, убедило меня в необходимости реконструировать исторический и культурный контекст этих периодов. Я стала сравнивать материальные и технические данные, в некоторых случаях просто куски оконных стекол и камней, деревянные и лепные рамы, с сохранившимися литературными источниками. В числе включенных в мое исследование зданий — константиновские базилики в Риме, юстиниановские постройки Сан Витале и Сан Аполлинаре в Равенне, а также Святая София в Константинополе. Как и Генрих Ойдтман в конце XIX и Энрико Кастельнуово в конце XX веков, я работала на двух уровнях, сравнивая множество новых археологических находок с письменными источниками, привлекая филологов и историков искусства, чтобы избежать непонимания, возникшего в дни Ойдтмана и повторявшегося многократно. Такой подход был разработан, чтобы, насколько это возможно, реконструировать роль витражей и вообще застекленных окон в оформлении интерьеров. Иногда археологические и письменные свидетельства повествуют о зданиях, возведенных именитыми заказчиками, и это делает исследование еще более захватывающим, несмотря на то, что приходится работать с историческими периодами, от которых сохранилось мало текстов.

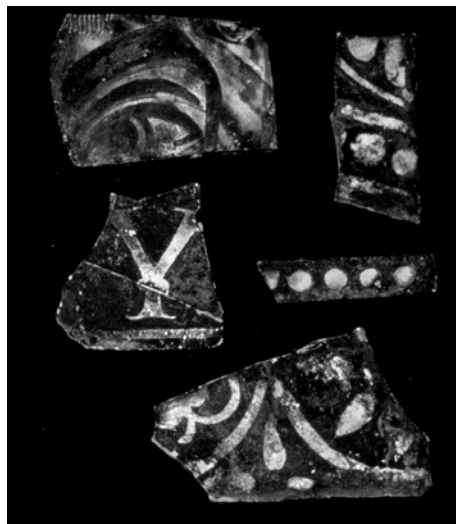


К тому же я обнаружила третий компонент, который отсутствовал в работах Ойдтмана и Кастальнуово: речь идет о роли оптики. С учетом этой проблемы было исследовано лишь очень небольшое число церквей. И хотя их первоначальные естественные и искусственные источники света (окна и лампы) с течением времени изменились, они все еще предоставляют интересную информацию об этом третьем элементе, которую еще предстоит учесть. В целом свет, как нам кажется, должен был подчеркивать важнейшие литургические зоны и тем самым «формировать» сакральное пространство. Возможно, это покажется странным, но именно Византия, которую обычно не упоминают в исследованиях, посвященных витражам, так как считается, что она не играла роли в их развитии, в своих редких, но исторически важных окнах-экранах из цветного стекла демонстрирует ряд принципов, позволяющих продвинуться в реконструкции изначальных сакральных пространств. В любом случае, к этой области должно быть привлечено внимание, в ней еще многое предстоит сделать.

Несмотря на большую информированность истории искусства о позднесредневековых витражах и их исторических, эстетических и социально-политических контекстах, мне представляется, что тому впечатлению, которое эти окна и проходящий сквозь них свет оказывали на смотрящих на них людей, уделено недостаточно внимания. Большинство построек с витражными окнами — церкви, так что мы можем предположить, что большинство зрителей были христианами, для которых свет играл не только «материальную» роль (освещая помещение, подчеркивая декор, привлекая внимание верующих к центру литургического действия), но и «духовную», являясь символом Бога, к которому так обращаются в Ветхом и Новом заветах. Поэтому, начиная с раннехристианских времен, освещению церковью посредством светильников из драгоценных металлов и стекла, а также красочных окон предавалось огромное значение. Интенсивность света меняется с погодой, а также зависит от различных типов стекла и материалов оконных рам. Поэтому свет является действительно «динамическим» элементом в создании сакрального пространства и в связи с этим заслуживает нашего внимания, когда мы пытаемся понять замыслы его заказчиков и/или творцов.



1. Fragments of glass painted with *grisaille* from Kariye Camii, 12<sup>th</sup> or 13<sup>th</sup> cent.? (photo: courtesy of the Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, Washington D.C.)



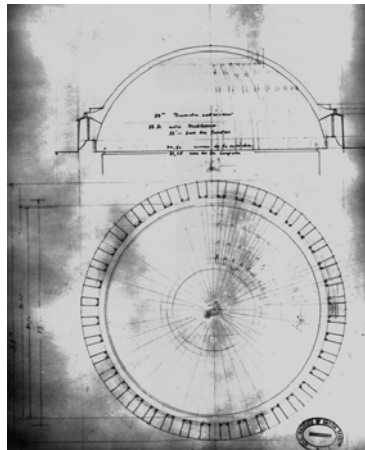
2. Fragments of glass painted with *grisaille* from *Pantocrator* or *Zeyrek Camii*, 12<sup>th</sup> or 13<sup>th</sup> cent.? (Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, photo: courtesy of the Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, Washington D.C.)



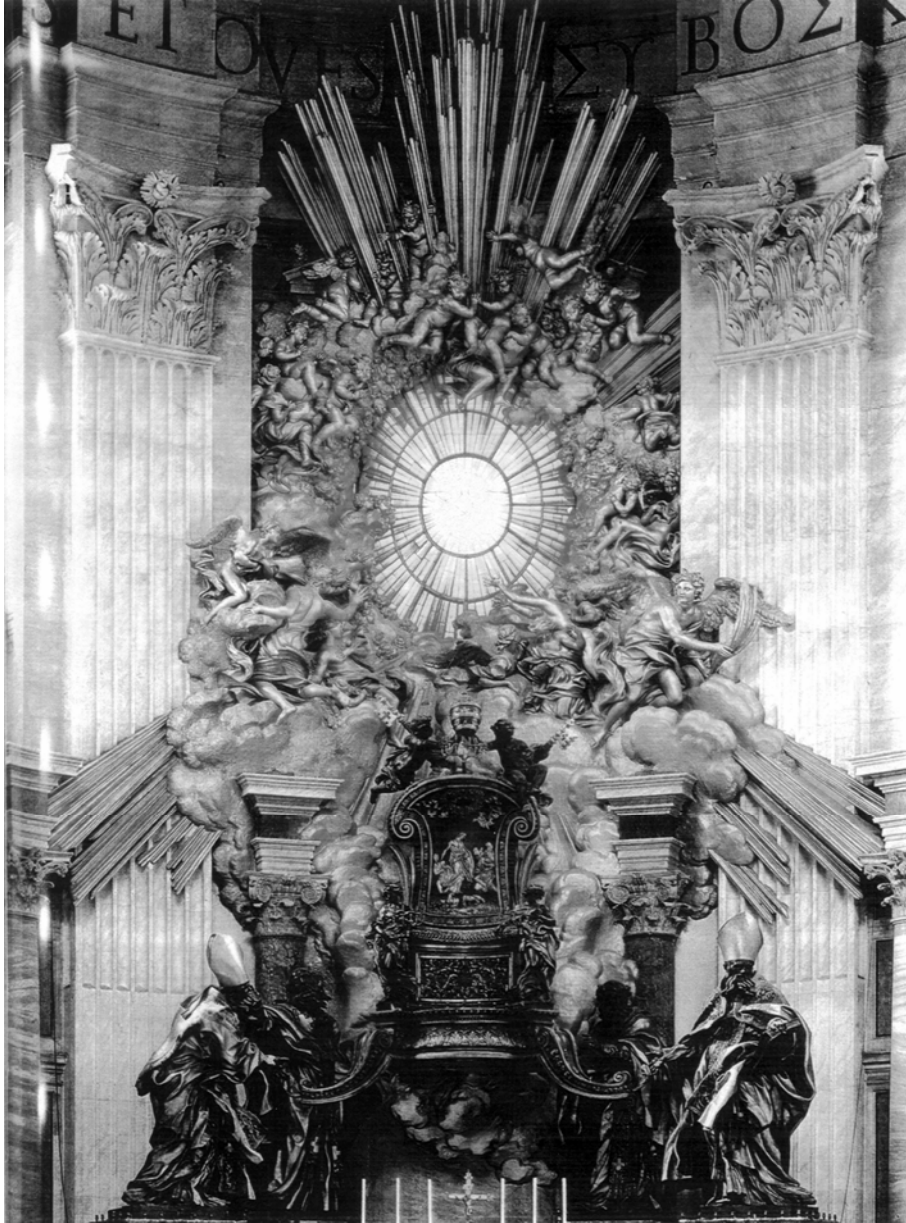
3. Basilica of San Clemente, Rome, interior in day-light



4. Graphic reconstructions of light-experiments in San Clemente (from the volume *Eugenio Bettinelli, Giorgio Della Longa, Silvano Maggiani, Antonio Santantoni, Celebrare con la luce*. Milano, 2003)



5. Reproduction of the section and plan of the Dome of Hagia Sophia drawn by Robert Texier. Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies



6. Saint Peter's, "Gloria" by Gianlorenzo Bernini, 1657–1666, Roma

А. М. Лидов

ПРОСТРАНСТВЕННЫЕ ИКОНЫ.  
ЧУДОТВОРНОЕ ДЕЙСТВО  
С ОДИГИТРИЕЙ КОНСТАНТИНОПОЛЬСКОЙ

Иеротопический подход позволил осознать существование особого явления византийской культуры и искусства, который мы назвали «пространственными иконами»<sup>1</sup>. В недавно опубликованной статье «Мандилион и Керамион как образ-архетип сакрального пространства» было показано, что, располагая в подкупольном пространстве храма, напротив друг друга, чудотворные иконы Мандилиона и Керамиона, храмоздатели создавали особый пространственный образ, своего рода икону, смысл которой не сводился ни к одному из изображений, а также к их простому соединению (ил. 1)<sup>2</sup>. Путем сопоставления изображений нерукотворных реликвий достигался третий, более важный пространственный образ, восходящий к пространственной структуре императорского храма Богоматери Фаросской как константинопольского Гроба Господня<sup>3</sup>, и через него — к архетипическому образу Эдесской ниши, в которой произошло чудо нерукотворного воспроизведения Мандилиона в Керамионе.

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<sup>1</sup> Лидов А. М. Иеротопия. Создание сакральных пространств как вид творчества и предмет исторического исследования (в настоящем сборнике). Надо отметить, что термин был впервые использован в нашей статье «Одигитрия Константинопольская» в 1992 г.

<sup>2</sup> Лидов А. М. Мандилион и Керамион как образ-архетип сакрального пространства // Восточнохристианские реликвии / Ред.-сост. А. М. Лидов. М., 2003, с. 249–280; Lidov A. The Miracle of Reproduction. The Mandylion and Keramion as a paradigm of sacred space // L'Immagine di Cristo dall' Acheropiita dalla mano d'artista / Ed. C. Frommel, G. Morello, G. Wolf. Citta del Vaticano, Rome, 2006.

<sup>3</sup> Лидов А. М. Церковь Богоматери Фаросской. Императорский храм-реликварий как константинопольский Гроб Господень (The Theotokos of the Pharos. The Imperial church-reliquary as Constantinopolitan Holy Sepulchre) // Византийский мир: искусство Константинополя и национальные традиции. М., 2005, с. 79–108.

Исследование образа-парадигмы Мандилиона и Керамиона позволило оценить существенную ограниченность наших методологических подходов. Оно указало на необходимость обсуждать явление, которое можно было бы назвать «иконография вне изобразительных схем». Путем сочетания изображений создавалась икона сакрального пространства, которая, в свою очередь, становилась образцом для воспроизведения, как мы могли видеть в взаимопроникающей пространственной структуре «Эдесская ниша — Фаросская церковь — византийский храм». На наш взгляд, создание и использование подобных «пространственных икон» было очень важной сферой восточнохристианского духовного творчества, остающейся еще в целом непознанной. Эта пространственная образность не поддается формализации, поскольку она в принципе не является иллюстрацией конкретного текста. В то же время «иконы в пространстве» предполагали широкий спектр символических прототипов и смысловых ассоциаций. Традиционная методология иконографических исследований так или иначе подчиняется основополагающему принципу «текст — иллюстрация», объясняющему изображение путем обнаружения его прямого литературного источника или богословского тезиса. Однако данный подход не позволяет выявить целый пласт важнейших сюжетов, для описания которых у нас до сих пор нет адекватного научного языка<sup>4</sup>. Для простоты дела можно было бы вынести эти явления за границы предметного мира истории искусства и объявить абстрактной теорией, если бы во многих случаях «пространственные иконы» не определяли как общую символическую и художественную структуру конкретного памятника, так и многие совершенно конкретные его детали.

В этой статье мне хотелось бы рассмотреть еще один пример византийской пространственной иконы, типологически родственной Мандилиону и Керамиону, но воплощенной иными средствами в городской среде, вне иконографии конкретного храма. Речь идет о *Чудотворном действе с Одигитрией Константинопольской*, или, как его часто называли паломники, «вторничном чуде», которое происходило каждую неделю в самом центре византийской столицы, на площади перед монастырем Одигон, расположенном к юго-востоку от Святой Софии. О вторничном действе сохранилось множество свидетельств XII–XV вв. на греческом, латинском, древнерусском и староиспанском языках<sup>5</sup>. Оно

<sup>4</sup> Постановку проблемы см.: Lidov A. Heavenly Jerusalem. The Byzantine Approach // The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Art / Ed. B. Kuehnel. Jerusalem, 1998, p. 341–353, esp. 353.

<sup>5</sup> Исторические свидетельства об иконе Одигитрии и ее вторничном действе были собраны в работе: Janin R. La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin. I. Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecumenique. III. Les églises et les monasteres. Paris, 1953, p. 212–214. Современный анализ главных источников см.: Angelidi C., Papama-

документировано в источниках едва ли не полнее, чем какое-либо другое событие в жизни Константинополя. На чудо, по замечанию паломника, стекался весь город. Действо рассматривалось как главное среди бесчисленных обрядов, происходивших в столице империи. Немалую роль здесь играл и статус самой иконы Одигитрии, которая воспринималась как палладиум града и государства, самый важный прижизненный и чудотворный образ Богоматери, созданный, по преданию, самим евангелистом Лукой<sup>6</sup>. Знаменательно, что она могла выступать как собирательный образ, представляющий всю православную иконную традицию, как мы видим на известной иконе «Торжество православия» из Британского музея (XIV в.), где именно Одигитрия воплощает тему победы иконопочитания (ил. 2).

Не случайно вторичное действо как важнейшее событие духовной жизни получило отражение в иконографии. С XIV в. оно появляется в циклах Акафиста. Главный пример — икона XIV в. «Похвала Богоматери с Акафистом» из Успенского собора Московского Кремля (ил. 3), где сцена вторичного чуда иллюстрирует кондак XIII «О, Всепетая Мати» (ил. 5), тогда как в клейме, расположенном строго симметрично, по другую сторону от трона Богородицы, иллюстрируется кондак I «Взбранной Воеводе победительная» (ил. 4)<sup>7</sup>. В нем изображается процессия с Одигитрией Константинопольской, которая начиналась сразу по завершении вторичного действия. Таким образом, два события с чудотворной иконой представлены как А и Ω всего цикла Акафиста, создавая иконографический документ первостепенной значимости.

Другим важнейшим документом является уникальная фреска конца XIII в., сохранившаяся в нартексе церкви Влахернитиссы в Арте<sup>8</sup>. Пло-

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*storakis T.* The Veneration of the Virgin Hodegetria and the Hodegon Monastery // Mother of God. Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art / Ed. M. Vassilaki. Athens, 2000, p. 373–387, esp. 378–379.

<sup>6</sup> Современный анализ предания см.: *Walter Chr.* Iconographical Considerations // The Letter of the Three Patriarchs to Emperor Theophilus and Related Texts / Eds. J. A. Munitiz, J. Chrysostomides, E. Harvalia-Crook, Ch. Dendrinou. Camberley, 1997, lv–lvi; а также фундаментальное исследование всей традиции об иконах св. Луки: *Bacci M.* Il pennello dell' evangelista. Storia della immagini sacre attribuite a san Luca. Pisa, 1998.

<sup>7</sup> Эти клейма специально рассматривались в работах: *Саликова Э. П.* Отражение исторических константинопольских реалий в иконографии иконы последней четверти XIV века «Похвала Богоматери с Акафистом» // Проблемы русской средневековой художественной культуры (ГММК. Материалы и исследования, VII). М., 1990, с. 45–56; *Громова Е. Б.* История русской иконографии Акафиста. Икона «Похвала Богоматери с Акафистом» из Успенского собора Московского Кремля. М., 2005 с. 107–114, ил. 1, 3, 26.

<sup>8</sup> *Achimastou-Potamianou M.* The Byzantine Wall Paintings of Vlacherna Monastery (area of Arta) // Actes du XV<sup>e</sup> Congrès international d'études Byzantines (Athènes 1976). Athènes, 1981, II, 4–14.



хая сохранность изображения тем не менее позволяет осуществить реконструкцию всей сцены, которая надписана как «Радость (Χαρά) от Пресвятой Богородицы Одигитрии в Константинополе» и «Богородица Одигитрия» (ил. 6а, б). Композиция полна редчайших подробностей, детально передающих как происходящие обряды, так и эпизоды рыночной торговли на площади Одигон (ил. 7). При всем различии деталей во всех изображениях вторичного чуда повторяется один и тот же центральный мотив. В центре композиции представлен человек с распростертыми руками, который, как кажется, несет находящуюся у него над головой икону Одигитрии. Вокруг него представлены служители иконы в красных облачениях, а также молящиеся клирики и миряне.

Нельзя сказать, чтобы вторичное действо с Одигитрией Константинопольской не получило отражения в научной литературе. Различные аспекты затрагиваются в работах Д. Маджески, Н. Патерсон Шевченко, Б. Пенчевой<sup>9</sup>. Существуют и отечественные исследования. Можно вспомнить статью Э. П. Саликовой<sup>10</sup>, диссертацию Е. Б. Громовой, недавно появившуюся в виде монографии<sup>11</sup>, мою работу об Одигитрии 1992 г., которая в рукописи была доступна многим коллегам<sup>12</sup>, новую публикацию И. А. Шалиной<sup>13</sup>. При всей важности проделанной работы, которая позволяет не останавливаться на многих деталях, отметим, что главные вопросы остаются без убедительного ответа. Что из себя в целом представляло «вторичное чудо», по какому классу культурных явлений оно может быть описано? В чем состоял символический замысел происшедшего действия и почему оно имело такое огромное значение в духовной жизни Константинополя? По-видимому, именно отсутствие ясных ответов на эти вопросы породило любопытную ситуацию в науке. При невероятном обилии источников и очевидной значимости вторичное действо не попало ни в одну из общих историй Византии, ни в один из

<sup>9</sup> *Majeska G.* Russian Travellers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries. Washington, 1984, p. 362–366; *Паттерсон Шевченко Н.* Служители святой иконы // Чудотворная икона в Византии и Древней Руси / Ред.-сост. А. М. Лидов. М., 1996, с. 133–136; *Pentcheva B.* The ‘Activated Icon: The Hodegetria Procession and Mary’s *Eisodos* // Images of the Mother of God. Perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium / Ed. M. Vassilaki. London, 2004, p. 195–208.

<sup>10</sup> *Саликова Э. П.* Отражение исторических константинопольских реалий..., с. 45–56.

<sup>11</sup> *Громова Е. Б.* Проблемы иконографии Акафиста Богоматери в искусстве Византии и Древней Руси XIV века: Дис. ... канд. иск. М., 1990, с. 29–47, 87–95; *Она же.* История русской иконографии Акафиста. Икона «Похвала Богоматери с Акафистом» из Успенского собора Московского Кремля. М., 2005, с. 107–114.

<sup>12</sup> *Лидов А. М.* Одигитрия Константинопольская // Чудотворные иконы в восточнохристианской культуре. Энциклопедия (рукопись, 36 с.).

<sup>13</sup> *Шалина И. А.* Чудотворная икона Богоматерь Одигитрия и ее вторичные хождения по Константинополю // Искусство христианского мира, 7 (2003), с. 51–74; *Она же.* Реликвии в восточнохристианской иконографии. М., 2005, с. 243–274.

очерков ее культуры и искусства. Создается впечатление, что для огромного явления в существующей научной картине как бы не оказалось места. Не случайно желание исследователей перевести разговор с вторничного чуда на более понятное продолжение действия — шествие с иконой, вписав его в привычную категорию процессий.

Кстати, процессия с Одигитрией Константинопольской возникает раньше чудотворного действия. О ней как о некоей традиции говорится уже в житии св. Фомы Лесбосской X в.<sup>14</sup>, тогда как первое свидетельство о вторничном чуде относится к концу XII в.<sup>15</sup> Знаменательно, что очевидцы XII–XV вв. описывают один и тот же практически не изменявшийся обряд. Уникальные по полноте описания «выходов» Одигитрии по вторникам сохранились в трех источниках XIV–XV вв.: «Хождении» Стефана Новгородца (1349 г.)<sup>16</sup>, путевых записках испанцев — Руи Гонсалеса де Клавихо (1403)<sup>17</sup> и Перо Тафура.

Сообщение Перо Тафура, посетившего Константинополь в 1437 г. и много раз участвовавшего в вторничном действе, отличается наибольшей конкретностью<sup>18</sup>. Глазами чужестранца он отмечал редкие подробности: *«На следующее утро отправился я осматривать церковь Святой Марии, в которой погребено тело Константина, и есть там икона Нашей Госпожи Девы Марии, написанная святым Лукой, а с другой стороны Наш Господь распятый, написанный на каменной плите и украшенный по краям и по фону серебром, которого, говорят, несколько кинталов, а все изображение такое тяжелое, что не смогли бы поднять и шесть человек. И каждый вторник собирается множество людей, и отправляется туда до двадцати человек, одетых в*

<sup>14</sup> Halsall P. Life of Thomaïs of Lesbos // Holy Women in Byzantium. Ten Saints' Lives in English Translation / Ed. A.-M. Talbot. Washington, D.C., 1996, p. 311, 291–292 (о дате жития). По преданию, пересказанному Никифором Каллистом в XIV в., процессию по вторникам установила еще императрица Пульхерия в V в. (*Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos*. *Historia Ecclesiastica*, XV, 14 // PG, t. 147, col. 44). Непреложным фактом является существование вторничного богослужения во второй половине XI в.; согласно сообщению «Анонима Меркати», торжественные процессии с иконой происходили по всему городу, сопровождались пением псалмов и гимнов при большом стечении народа (Чудотворная икона в Византии и Древней Руси, с. 443).

<sup>15</sup> Это описание оставлено датчанами, совершавшими паломничество в Святую Землю: *Scriptores minores historiae Danicae medii aevi* / Ed. M. C. Gertz, II, Kobenhavn 1918–1920, p. 490–491.

<sup>16</sup> *Majeska G.* Russian Travellers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries. Washington, 1984, p. 36, 362; ПЛДР. XIV — середина XV века. М., 1981, с. 34–35.

<sup>17</sup> *Ruis Gonzáles de Clavijo.* Embajada a Tamorlán / Ed. F. Estrada. Madrid, 1943, p. 54; *Руй Гонсалес де Клавихо.* Дневник путешествия в Самарканд ко двору Тимура (1403–1406). М., 1990, с. 42–44.

<sup>18</sup> *Jimenez de la Espada M.* Andances e viajes de Pero Tafur por diversas partes del mundo avidos (1435–1439). Madrid, 1874, p. 174–175.

длинные красные, словно у быков для охоты на куропаток, полотняные одежды, с покрытыми головами; люди эти из одного рода, другие не могут исполнять эту службу; они движутся с большой процессией, и люди в том одеянии подходят по одному к иконе, и кто ей нравится, тому она позволяет взять себя так легко, словно бы весила она одну унцию, и кладут ее на плечо, и с песнопениями выходят из церкви и направляются к большой площади, и там тот, кто несет ее, ходит с ней от одного конца до другого, и обходит [так площадь] пятьдесят раз, и кажется, что икона поднимает его над землей, причем он теряет сознание и бледнеет, не отрывая глаз от нее; затем он садится, подходит другой, берет ее и кладет себе на плечо, и делает то же самое, так что таким образом четыре или пять человек носят ее в течение того дня. В этот день бывает базар, и приносят туда множество вещей на продажу, и стекается множество людей; клирики берут вату, подносят ее к иконе и раздают ее присутствующим там людям, и с той же самой процессией возвращают они икону на свое место. И за все то время, что был я в Константинополе, не упустил я ни одного дня, чтобы побывать там, ибо действительно это — великое чудо»<sup>19</sup>.

В этом и других свидетельствах с разных точек зрения описывается одно и то же чудо: после того, как невероятно тяжелую икону, которую с трудом поднимают несколько человек, ставят на плечи представителю избранного рода служителей Одигитрии, она чудесным образом становится ничего не весящей — бесплотной.

Имеющие право носить икону были облачены в особые красные льняные одеяния, указывающие на принадлежность особому роду<sup>20</sup>. Как ясно из датского свидетельства конца XII в., даже прикосновение к иконе являлось особой привилегией: «Из святости же и почтения, смешанного со страхом, никто из любящих сей век не дерзает коснуться до нее руками, но из тех, кто ведет уединенную жизнь в кельях, выбирают богобоязненные мужи, чтобы носить ее»<sup>21</sup>. Клавихо в начале XV в. также подчеркивал особый статус служителей иконы: «Говорят, что никто другой не может поднять его, кроме этого [человека], так как он происходит из рода, угодного Богу, и [потому] может поднять его»<sup>22</sup>. По всей вероятности, именно такое семейство

<sup>19</sup> *Перо Тафур*. Реликвии Константинополя / Пер. Л. К. Масиеля Санчеса // Реликвии в Византии и Древней Руси. Письменные источники / Ред.-сост. А. М. Лидов. М., 2006, с. 243–245.

<sup>20</sup> *Паттерсон Шевченко Н.* Служители святой иконы..., с. 133–136.

<sup>21</sup> *Scriptores minores historiae Danicae medii aevi*, p. 490–491 / Пер. Л. К. Масиеля Санчеса.

<sup>22</sup> *Клавихо*. Указ. соч., с. 44.

изображено на миниатюре из Псалтыри Гамильтона<sup>23</sup> (ил. 10). Согласно свидетельству русской летописи, они принадлежали к роду святого Луки, другими словами, по преданию, являлись родственниками автора иконы Одигитрии — святого иконописца и евангелиста Луки<sup>24</sup>. Высочайший статус этих служителей был акцентирован характерной деталью иконы «Торжество Православия» из Британского музея» (ил. 2): служители Одигитрии в особых красных одеяниях, поддерживающие икону с двух сторон, изображены с крыльями, как ангелы.

Согласно многим разным свидетельствам, именно эти служители Одигитрии могли, без всяких усилий, носить икону кругами, как бы вырезая на рыночной площади особое сакральное пространство. Рыночный контекст, отмеченный в описаниях и детально изображенный на фреске Арты (ил. 6), представляется сознательным элементом происходящего действия, превращающего «профанную» базарную среду в место священного богоявления. Обычная площадь преобразуется в пространство соборного моления, покаяния и непрерывного чудотворения: участникам раздаются кусочки ваты с чудотворным миром от иконы и происходят исцеления больных<sup>25</sup>.

Однако ключевой момент вторичного чуда — видение «летающей» по площади Одигитрии, которая как бы сама носит своего служителя, находящегося в экстагическом состоянии с запрокинутой головой. Невероятный мистический характер открывавшегося зрелища описан датскими паломниками в Святую Землю в XII в.: «*В третий же день каждой недели вращаясь на глазах всего народа ангельским движением, словно захваченная каким-то вихрем, она кружит вместе с собой своего носильщика, так что из-за удивительной быстроты кажется созерцающим, что глаза их обманывают. Собравшиеся по обычаю своему бьют себя в грудь и восклицают: Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison*»<sup>26</sup>.

<sup>23</sup> Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferschichtkabinett, 78. A. 9 (Hamilton 119), fol. 39v. Новая интерпретация сцены см.: *Patterson Sevcenko N. Miniature of the Veneration of the Virgin Hodegetria // Mother of God. Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art*, p. 388–389. См. также: *Havice C. The Hamilton Psalter in Berlin, Kupferschichtkabinett 78. A. 9* (Ph.D. Diss. The Pennsylvania State University, 1978), p. 120–135.

<sup>24</sup> «Служит племя Луцино до сего дня», говорится в русских летописях первой половины XV в., в том числе в Софийской I: ПСРЛ, т. 5. Л., 1925, с. 189–190.

<sup>25</sup> Помимо вполне ясного свидетельства Тафура, о получении «помирисимо» и помазании говорится в тексте «Хожения» Игнатия Смоленского, тогда как о том, что икона «больных исцеляет», сообщает русское Анонимное сказание XIV в., которому вторит Дьяк Александр, замечая, «кто с верою приходит здравие получает»: *Majeska G. Op. cit.*, p. 95, 139, 161.

<sup>26</sup> Это важнейшее свидетельство дошло до нас в главе XXVI «Об иконе святой Богородицы в Константинополе» сочинения «Об отбытии датчан во Святую Землю» (*De profectioe Danorum in Terram Sanctam*, конец XII в.): *Scriptores minores historiae Daniacae medii aevi*, p. 490–491 / Пер. Л. К. Масиеля Санчеса.

Стефан Новгородец красноречиво дополняет в XIV в. : «Единому человеку вставят на плеча встайно, а он руке распростре, аки распят, такоже и очи ему запровържеть. Видети грозно: по бுவевищу мычет его семо и овамо, вельми сильно поверътывает им, а он не помнит ся куды его икона носит»<sup>27</sup>. Перо Тафур отмечает то же явление: «Тот, кто несет ее, движется с ней от одного конца до другого, и обходит так площадь пятьдесят раз, и кажется, что икона поднимает его над землей, причем он теряет сознание и бледнеет, не отрывая глаз от нее»<sup>28</sup>. Описания позволяют заключить, что во время вторичного чуда Одигитрия Константинопольская, как бы ожившая и бесплотная, летала над головами молящихся с огромной скоростью, при этом вращаясь вокруг собственной оси.

Мотив кругового вращения представляется принципиально важным. Символически осмысленный в патристике и еще раньше в платоновской древнегреческой традиции, он играл ключевую роль в византийском восприятии божественного присутствия<sup>29</sup>. Эффект вращающегося храма прекрасно описан и проинтерпретирован в IX в. патриархом Фотием в проповеди на освящение храма Богородицы Фаросской: «Кажется же, что все другое находится в исступлении, в экстагическом движении (*ἐκστάσει*) и вращается сам храм. Ведь благодаря естественным и всевозможным обращениям [в разные стороны] и постоянным движениям, которые заставляя претерпевать зрителя повсюду присутствующее многообразие зрелищ, свое впечатление (*πάθημα*) он переносит воображением в созерцаемое»<sup>30</sup>. Многозначителен акцент, сделанный Фотием на внутреннем переживании, переносимом воображением на созерцаемое. Существенной особенностью этого мировосприятия является отсутствие противопоставления между зрителем и изображением, которые во вращающемся пространстве, соединяющем небо и землю, становятся единой субстанцией.

Независимо от нашей веры в чудеса, можно описать вторичное действие в современных понятиях «перформанса», отдавая себе отчет в условности этого рабочего термина. По всей видимости, действие не просто представляло чудесное явление Богородицы в своем граде, но и от-

<sup>27</sup> Majeska G. Op.cit., p. 36.

<sup>28</sup> *Перо Тафур*. Реликвии Константинополя / Пер. Л. К. Масиеля Санчеса // Реликвии в Византии и Древней Руси. Письменные источники / Ред.-сост. А. М. Лидов. М., 2006.

<sup>29</sup> О парадигме кругового вращения в византийской культуре см. в статье Николетты Исар в настоящем сборнике.

<sup>30</sup> Пер. В. В. Василика. См. приложение к статье: Лидов А. М. Церковь Богородицы Фаросской. Императорский храм-реликварий как константинопольский Гроб Господень // Византийский мир. Искусство Константинополя и национальные традиции. М., 2005, с. 103.

сылало к вполне конкретному событию. На наш взгляд, чудотворное действие с Одигитрией являлось литургическим и иконическим воспроизведением осады Константинополя в 626 г. Согласно преданию, в этом году град был спасен от аваров и персов заступничеством Богородицы и ее чудотворной иконы<sup>31</sup>. В средневизантийский период это событие было рассмотрено как высочайший пример и образцовое чудо, которое потом повторялось многократно. Ставшее доминирующей мифологемой, оно повлияло на многие сферы византийской культуры. В нашем контексте знаменательно, что именно с этой осадой предание связало создание Акафиста и написание патриархом Сергием первого кондака «Взбранной Воеводе победительная»<sup>32</sup>. Вероятно, именно поэтому сцена появляется в циклах Акафиста.

Как мы помним, принципиальным элементом вторичного действия было повторяющееся круговое движение служителя с иконой по рыночной площади. В ритуале прослеживается ясная параллель с центральным эпизодом истории осады — защитительными процессиями вокруг Константинополя с несением чудотворного образа. Очевидцы события называют его нерукотворной иконой Христа (вероятно, имея в виду находившийся тогда в столице образ из Камулианы). Однако последующая традиция не позднее XI в. отождествила этот чудотворный образ 626 г. с Одигитрией Константинопольской, которой и было приписано чудесное спасение града от аваров и персов, равно как и последующие избавления от вражеских осад<sup>33</sup>. Вторичный соборный плач «Господи, помилуй!», обращенный к Богородице и ее иконе, звучал как бы в пространстве осажденного града, взыскующего великого чуда.

По всей видимости, мы можем установить даже конкретный источник, который использовали создатели вторичного действия. Им могла быть проповедь на чудесное спасения град, прочитанная очевидцем событий Феодором Синкеллом в 627 г., в годовщину избавления от осады<sup>34</sup>. В этом тексте мы находим объяснение, почему именно вторник был выбран для чудотворного действия с Одигитрией: *«Он (патриарх) в слезах прошел по всей городской стене и, словно непобедимое оружие, показывал образ Божий... Этот день был первым днем осады и третьим днем недели*

<sup>31</sup> О формировании предания и его особенностях см. новое исследование: *Pentcheva B.* The supernatural protector of Constantinople: the Virgin and her icons in the tradition of the Avar siege // *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 26 (2002), p. 2–41, esp. 22–27, 34–38.

<sup>32</sup> *Van Dieten J. L.* Geschichte der Patriarchen von Sergios I. bis Johannes VI. Amsterdam, 1972, p. 174–178.

<sup>33</sup> *Pentcheva B.* The supernatural protector of Constantinople, p. 22–27, 34–38.

<sup>34</sup> *Makk F.* Traduction et commentaire de l'homélie écrite probablement par Théodore le Syncelle sur le siège de Constantinople en 626 // *Acta Universitatis de Attila Jozsef nominata, Acta antiqua et archaeologica* 19 (Opuscula byz. 3). Szeged, 1975, p. 9–47, 74–96.

(вторником)»<sup>35</sup>. Таким образом, вторник становился днем воспоминания реального исторического события через его иконическое воспроизведение в чудотворном действе с Одигитрией, которая через божественную силу иконы гарантировала своему граду вечную защиту и покровительство.

Еще один очень странный мотив вторничного действия может быть связан с проповедью Феодора Синкелла. Согласно описаниям и всем изображениям, несущий икону служитель воспроизводил один и тот же жест: он простирал руки, как будто его распяли. По словам Стефана Новгородца, «он руке распростре, аки распят, такоже и очи ему запровържетъ»<sup>36</sup>. Живая пластика жеста недвусмысленно напоминала о Распятии, которое, кроме всего, было изображено и на обороте самой иконы Одигитрии. Об этой детали существует несколько свидетельств. Помимо предельно точного свидетельства Перо Тафура, имеются армянский и греческие тексты. Греческое свидетельство содержится в «Истории Киккского монастыря» Георгия Монаха (ок. 1422 г.): согласно преданию, св. Лука, вдохновленный архангелом Гавриилом, «написал пречистый образ Одигитрии и распятого Христа на противоположной стороне иконы, так же как на обеих сторонах — Гавриила и Михаила, кадящих на Христа»<sup>37</sup> Армянский паломник (до 1437 г.) сообщает: «Икона, написанная евангелистом Лукой, на одной стороне которой изображена Богородица со Спасителем на руках, на другой стороне — Христос на кресте справа и Богородица слева»<sup>38</sup>.

Вероятно, этот авторитетнейший константинопольский образ дал начало целой традиции двусторонних икон с изображениями Распятия или «Христа во гробе» на обороте<sup>39</sup>. Один из ранних примеров — зна-

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., p. 81.

<sup>36</sup> Majeska G. Op. cit., p. 36. В русском переводе: «Одному человеку поставят икону на плечи стоймя, и он руки распрострет, словно его распяли, а глаза у него закатятся, так что смотреть страшно, и по площади бросает его туда и сюда, и вертит его в разные стороны, а он даже не понимает, куда его икона носит» (ПЛДР. XIV — середина XV века. М., 1981, с. 34–35).

<sup>37</sup> Vacci M. The Legacy of the Hodegetria: Holy Icons and Legends between East and West // Images of the Mother of God. Perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium / Ed. M. Vassilaki London, 2004, p. 322.

<sup>38</sup> Brock S. A Medieval Armenian Pilgrim description of Constantinople // Revue des études Arménien, IV (1967), p. 86.

<sup>39</sup> Сохранилось значительное число таких двусторонних икон XIII–XIV вв. Ранний пример середины XIII в. находится в синайском собрании (Sinai. The Treasures of the Monastery of Saint Catherine / Ed. K. Manafis. Athens, 1990, p. 119–120, figs. 58–59). Двусторонняя Одигитрия с Распятием XIV в. почитается как чудотворная в базилике Ахиропиитос в Фессалониках. Несколько икон этого типа хранятся в Византийском музее в Афинах: *Acheimastou-Potamianou M.* Icons of the Byzantine Museum of Athens. Athens, 1998, p. 44–47, № 10. Каталог двусторонних икон см.: *Pallas D.* Passion und Bestattung Christi in Byzanz. Der Ritus — das Bild [Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia, 2]. München, 1965, p. 308–332.

менная икона XII в. из Кастории (ил. 11)<sup>40</sup>. Образы на двух сторонах иконы воспринимались одновременно в динамическом богослужебном контексте. Этот эффект сопряжения двух образов играл особую роль во вторичном действе. Как мы помним, икона летала и быстро вращалась в воздухе. Тем самым образы Одигитрии и мертвого Христа менялись перед глазами каждое мгновение и действительно могли восприниматься как нечто единое.

Образ Распятия, представленный жестом служителя Одигитрии и изображенный на ее обороте, помогают понять смысл мотива исчезающего веса, бесплотности иконы. И здесь ключ находим в проповеди Феодора Синкелла: *«Помните, что Моисей, поведши Израиль войной против Амаликитян, простер, — изображая собою крест, — руки небу, Аарон же и Ор руки законодателя поддерживали (Исх. 17: 8–12): ведь они были полны тяжестью, в чем таился намек на утрату законом своей силы, потерянной чрез помыслы о плотском. Потому Господь и послал в мир своего едиnorodного Сына, чей образ (ведомо, что был он нерукотворен, и трепетали его бесы) Моисей, пребывающий среди нас, вознес над собой беспорочными дланями. И нашего патриарха никому не было нужды подпирать, но, распиная себя ради всего града по примеру евангельского Христа, он в слезах прошел по всей городской стене и, словно непобедимое оружие, показывал образ Божий — и силам тьмы, смутно видневшимся на Востоке, и вражеским фалангам на Западе»<sup>41</sup>.*

Таким образом, рассказывая о шествии по стенам Константинополя, Феодор замечает, что патриарх, как новый Моисей, поднявший в своих руках икону, не нуждался ни в чьей помощи, поскольку нес в руках того, кто распял себя для мира. Распятие провозглашается принципиальным условием чуда, таинственно явленного на стенах Константинополя в момент древней осады и позднее во вторичном действе, когда невероятно тяжелая икона не только утрачивает свой вес, но и оказывается способна летать по кругу вместе со своим служителем. При этом образы Богоматери с младенцем и распятого Спасителя на обеих сторонах иконы отмечали невидимые границы временного и пространственного континуума, напоминавшего о самых великих чудесах христианства — Воплощении и Искупытельной Жертве.

На наш взгляд, проповедь Феодора Синкелла, могла быть использована неизвестными создателями вторичного действия как своеобразная основа сценария. Однако само действие никоим образом не сводилось к театрализованному представлению исторического события. Чудесное

<sup>40</sup> Mother of God. Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art / Ed. M. Vassilaki. Athens, 2000, p. 484–485, № 83.

<sup>41</sup> Makk F. Traduction et commentaire, 81 / Пер. А. Сагитов, К. Тасиц.



спасение от осады 626 г. было лишь одним из основных мотивов, который мог быть дополнен рядом других. Например, темой слепца, ведомого Богородицей к ее чудотворному источнику, происходящей из предания об основании монастыря Одигон<sup>42</sup>. Именно это предание объясняет странную позу носящего икону, который запрокидывает голову, представляя ослепшего и, вероятно, инсценируя чудо исцеления, с которым связывают происхождение имени Одигитрия («указывающая путь»). Создатели «вторничного действия» накладывают разные слои смыслов, которые, просвечивая один сквозь другой, соединяют разные временные и пространственные явления в одно многослойное целое, не подлежащее разделению на независимые части. Мы встречаемся здесь с тем же принципом, что и при создании византийских иконных образов. Только в данном случае речь идет об иконе, развернутой в пространстве.

В этой связи очень важной представляется категория «иконического времени», во многом определявшего образ чудотворного действия. Драматически взаимодействовали, как минимум, четыре пласта: вечное время небесных явлений, историческое время евангельских событий, конкретное время чудесного спасения 626 г. и, наконец, актуальное время вторничного действия, когда бы оно ни происходило с XII по XV вв. Каждый пласт предполагал свою пространственно-образную составляющую, с особым спектром символических и литературных ассоциаций. Все они сосуществовали в видимом космосе вторничного действия, но при этом не превращали его в иллюстрацию сколь угодно сложного текста.

Интересно, что иконический образ, создававшийся по утрам на площади перед монастырем Одигон и существовавший в течение нескольких часов, не заканчивался вместе с завершением чудесного «перформанса». Возникшая пространственная икона как бы переносилась в процессии через весь город во Влахерны, где хранилась важнейшая охранительная реликвия города — Риза Богоматери<sup>43</sup>. О процессии сообщают многочисленные источники, начиная с X в. Пожалуй, самое подробное свидетельство оставлено Таррагонским Анонимом — латинским паломником, жившим в Константинополе в конце XI в. и специ-

<sup>42</sup> Богоматерь-Путеводительница явилась двум слепцам, которых провела к своему чудотворному источнику, даровавшему прозрение. Об этом см.: Лидов А. М. Одигитрия Константинопольская (рукопись, 1992).

<sup>43</sup> Об истории и роли Влахерн и их реликвий в Константинополе см. новые исследования: Mango C. The Origins of the Blachernai Shrine at Constantinople // Acta XIII Congressus Internationalis archaeologiae christianae. Split-Porec 1994. Pars II. Città del Vaticano, 1998, p. 61–76; Weyl Carr A. Threads of Authority: the Virgin Mary's Veil in the Middle Ages // Robes and Honor. The Medieval World of Investiture / Ed. S. Gordon. New York, 2001, p. 59–93.

ально интересовавшимся культом Богоматери и ее святынями: «Она пользуется величайшим почитанием во граде Константинопольском, настолько, что на протяжении всего года в третий день каждой недели обносится она клириками с величайшими почестями по городу, а перед ней и за ней идет превеликое множество мужчин и женщин, воспевающих хвалу Богородице и держащих в руках своих горящие свечи. В этой процессии, которая, как я говорил, бывает в третий день недели во всякое время, ты заметил бы на людях многочисленные и разнообразные одежды, услышал бы сладкозвучные голоса не только клириков, но и мирян, а чему еще больше подивился бы и было бы тебе любо — это женщины, облаченные в шелковые одеяния и воспевающие церковные песнопения, идущие позади иконы Богородицы словно служанки, следующие за госпожой. И словами Псалмопевца юноши и девушки, стар и млад хвалят имя Господне, принявшего нас ради плоть от Марии. Перед тем благородным образом Богородицы несут другие святые золотые образа без числа из других церквей, словно служанок госпожи. Она же следует позади других, как если бы она была им всем госпожа, кроткая лицом, но проявляющая себя приказанием. Затем в церкви, у которой в тот день бывает остановка, народом устраивается торжество. Туда стекается народ, и как внесут славный образ с почестями в церковь, где в тот день остановка, совершают богослужение; совершив все с надлежащими церемониями, с великими почестями несут ее обратно в место ее пребывания»<sup>44</sup>.

По сообщениям паломников, многолюдная процессия двигалась в клубах дыма от многочисленных воскурений, что нашло отражение и в иконографии фрески в Арте, изображающей женщин с особыми курильницами в руках (ил. 8)<sup>45</sup>. Во время движения происходили чудеса — образ Богоматери на иконе как бы оживал, склоняясь перед образом Христа, встреченным на пути<sup>46</sup>. Знаменательно, что святыни выносились из

<sup>44</sup> Таррагонский Аноним. О граде Константинополе / Пер. Л. К. Масиеля Санчеса // Реликвии в Византии и Древней Руси. Письменные источники / Ред.-сост. А. М. Лидов. М., 2006, с. 174–189.

<sup>45</sup> «В определенные дни, как рассказывают, переносят ее из квартала в квартал, причем собираются бесчисленные толпы людей обоего пола с každением, так что виден дым сжигаемого фимиама, возносящийся в небесную высь» (Scriptores minores historiae Danicae medii aevi, p. 490–491).

<sup>46</sup> «Находясь в вышеупомянутом городе, слышал я, что рассказывали еще об одном чуде этой иконы. Когда несли вышеупомянутый образ блаженной Богородицы через город и проходили рядом с базиликой святого Спасителя, у входа в которую находится Его, Христа, прекрасное изображение, обернулась сама собой святая Богородица к Сыну своему, помимо воли несущего ее, и повернулся образ матери, чтобы видеть лик Сына, желая узреть и почтить Сына, сделавшего ее царицей ангелов. Что до меня, то не видел я этого, ибо не присматривался, но, оставаясь там, услышал об

других храмов и присоединялись к грандиозной процессии, которая таким образом мистически охватывала весь город. При этом она несколько менялась каждую неделю, в зависимости от дня празднования в той или иной церкви происходила остановка (*statio*) и совершалось особое богослужение<sup>47</sup>. Чудотворная пространственная икона, поутру «установленная» на площади перед монастырем Одигон и создававшая драматический образ осажденного города, как бы переносилась в процессии вместе с самим палладиумом, постепенно распространяясь на всю сакральную среду византийской столицы. Тем самым великий град Константинополь, со всем его населением и многочисленными храмами, становился на время огромной пространственной иконой. Трудно переоценить значение этой иконы в духовной жизни византийской столицы, которая через прославление своей высшей покровительницы и коллективное покаяние еженедельно восстанавливала связь с божественным миром. Участники действия, независимо от социального статуса — от императора до последнего раба, — являлись неотъемлемой частью этого сакрального пространства и иконического образа, который обеспечивал единство и благополучие империи и в сознании византийцев был много важнее всех храмовых декораций вместе взятых. Не случайно поэтому двуединое действие, состоящее из чуда перед монастырем Одигон и последующей процессии, воспринималось как высший образец во всем христианском и, особенно, в православном мире.

В предшествующей работе мы попытались собрать прямые и косвенные данные о воспроизведении этого пространственного образа (не только самой иконы), имевших место в разное время в Греции, Малой Азии, Италии и Древней Руси<sup>48</sup>. Замечательное свидетельство находим в одном итальянском документе XIV в.: *«Греки по настоящее время не едят мяса по вторникам, также по вторникам они носят Одигитрию (Dimitria) в процессии по всему Константинополю с великой радостью; в честь Богоматери иконы носят везде в Греческой империи: городах,*

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*этом»* (Таррагонский Аноним. О граде Константинополе / Пер. Л. К. Масиеля Санчеса). По всей видимости, речь идет о знаменитом чудотворном образе Христа Халкитиса — покровителе императорской династии. Он находился в «Медных вратах» Большого императорского дворца. Процессия от монастыря Одигон должна была проходить перед этими воротами.

<sup>47</sup> О традиции таких богослужений в Константинополе см.: *Janin R. Les processions religieuses à Byzance // Revue des études Byzantines*, 1 (1966), p. 69–88, 71; *Baldovin J. F. The Urban Character of Christian Worship. The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy. Roma, 1987*, p. 167–226.

<sup>48</sup> Этому посвящена подробная статья: *Lidov A. The Flying Hodegetria. The Miraculous Icon as Bearer of Sacred Space // The Miraculous Image in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance / Ed. E. Thunoe and G. Wolf. Rome, 2004*, p. 291–321.

замках и деревнях»<sup>49</sup>. О широчайшем распространении вторничного действия говорится и в «Истории Киккского монастыря» Георгия Монаха (ок. 1422 г.): «Как было указано Ангелом Господним, который принес нерукотворные иконы во вторник, святые отцы предписали во благо всех христиан совершать празднование иконе Богоматери на улицах и площадях городов во вторникам с недели *Diakainesimos* до 11 ноября»<sup>50</sup>.

Точно известно, что еженедельное действо с чудотворной репликой Одигитрии, как минимум с XII в., происходило в Фессалониках. Евстафий Солунский описал такую процессию в 1185 г. во время осады города норманнами<sup>51</sup>. Он сообщает о чуде, предсказавшем трагическую судьбу города. В конце процессии икона отказалась вернуться в свое святилище, остановив служителя иконы в дверях: икона стала такой тяжелой, что никто не мог ее сдвинуть с места. После усиленных молений всех участников действия служитель легко перенес святыню, вернув ее в придел при храме Св. Софии Солунской. Примечательно, что мы встречаемся здесь с косвенным указанием на вторничное чудо в Константинополе, в котором икона обретала божественную легкость. В Фессалониках происходит своего рода инверсия этого события — икона обретает неземную тяжесть<sup>52</sup>. Чудесное изменение веса может быть позитивным или негативным знаком, по всей видимости, связанным с древним топосом взвешивания грехов. Очень важной представляется первая реакция присутствующих при чуде в Фессалониках, специально подчеркнутая автором текста — архиепископом Солуни: «Вначале подозревали, что служитель иконы устроил это (чудо) по собственной инициативе, как вид обмана, в который многие вовлечены»<sup>53</sup>. Допустимо предположить, что архиепископ Евстафий имел в виду вторничное действо, которое могло иметь место и в Фессалониках.

Интересно, что в византийском сознании обряды с Одигитрией ассоциировались с действительными и воображаемыми осадами и процес-

<sup>49</sup> Текст дошел до нас в бенедиктинском лекционарии из Санта Джустина в Падуе (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, ms. lat. fol. 480, ff. 34<sup>v</sup>–35<sup>r</sup>), в котором хранились реликвии св. Луки, включая икону Богоматери XIII в., по преданию привезенную в Падую из Константинополя как произведение евангелиста: *Bacci M.* La “Madonna Costantinopolitana” nell’abbazia di Santa Giustina di Padova // *Luca Evangelista. Parola e immagine tra Oriente e Occidente* / Ed. G. Mariani Canova. Padova, 2000, p. 405–407; *Idem.* The Legacy of the Hodegetria: Holy Icons and Legends between East and West // *Images of the Mother of God*, p. 328.

<sup>50</sup> *Bacci M.* The Legacy of the Hodegetria, p. 331.

<sup>51</sup> *Eustaphios of Thessalonike.* The Capture of Thessaloniki / Trans. J. R. Melville Jones. Canberra, 1988, p. 142–143 (греч. текст с англ. пер.).

<sup>52</sup> *Lidov A.* The Flying Hodegetria, p. 292.

<sup>53</sup> *Eustaphios of Thessalonike.* The Capture of Thessaloniki, p. 142–143.

сиями вокруг городских стен. В житийном тексте XIV в., рассказывающем о чудесах от мощей св. Евгения Трапезундского, говорится, что во время одной из турецких осад Трапезунда «он (император) со слезами молил Богородицу и призывал св. Евгения. Он шел вдоль зубцовых завершений вокруг городских стен, обращаясь с плачем к Богу и умоляя о помощи. Архиепископ города, облаченный в священные одеяния архиерея, сам нес на плечах неоскверненный образ Пречистой Богородицы Одигитрии с Господом Иисусом Христом на груди, который указывает путь праведным. Игумен монастыря нес честную главу великого Евгения. Все священники и лучшие из клира сопровождали их с молитвой...»<sup>54</sup>. В тексте не содержится прямых указаний на константинопольский обряд, однако он вызывает в памяти иконический образ вторичного действия, которое обретало новый смысл во время реальных событий в другом городе, мистически связанном со священной столицей.

Аналогичную попытку установления мистической связи между сакральными пространствами через воспроизведение действия с Одигитрией находим на венецианском Крите. Речь идет о главной чудотворной иконе острова — Богоматери Одигитрии Месопандитиссе, которая с XVII в. стала всемирно известна как спасительница Венеции от чумы и с 1687 г. находится в алтаре построенного для нее барочного храма Санта Мария делла Салюте<sup>55</sup>. Икона, предположительно XII в., позднее многократно переписанная, являлась с репликой с Одигитрии Константинопольской. Согласно позднесредневековому преданию, она была написана св. Лукой, привезена в эпоху иконоборчества из византийской столицы на Крит, где почиталась в соборе Кандии — столице острова. Имя «Месопандитисса» связывали с рассказом о роли иконы в примирении греческой и венецианской общин острова в 1264 г. Из документов XIV в. известно о процессиях с иконой, установленных по вторникам, в которых участвовало как православное, так и католическое население Крита<sup>56</sup>. Они продолжались вплоть до захвата острова турками. Вторичное действие с Одигитрией Месопандитиссой, имевшее характер государственного культа, состояла в движении чудотворной иконы-палладиума по всем греческим и венецианским церквам города. При этом существовала особая группа избранных служителей иконы. Налицо стремление воссоздать константинопольский обряд и приоб-

<sup>54</sup> Rosenqvist J. O. The Hagiographic Dossier of St Eugenios of Trebizond in Codex Athous Dionysiou 154. Uppsala, 1996, p. 320–323, 432–433, 450. Речь идет о палладиуме города — иконе Одигитрии Хрисокефалос (Златоглавой).

<sup>55</sup> Georgopoulou M. The Late Medieval Crete and Venice: an appropriation of Byzantine heritage // Art Bulletin, 77, fasc. 3 (September, 1995), p. 479–496.

<sup>56</sup> Papadaki A. Ceremonie religiose e laiche nell'isola di Creta durante il dominio Veneziano. Spoleto, 2005, p. 145–158.

щаться через него к сакральному пространству византийской столицы, что было сделано в данном случае с венецианской государственно-политической настойчивостью.

Внимание венецианцев к чудотворному образу было подготовлено всей предшествующей итальянской традицией, в которой как сама Одигитрия Константинопольская, так и ее вторичное действие пользовались огромным почитанием, зафиксированным не позднее XI в.<sup>57</sup> В эту эпоху прославление получает Неодигитрия (новая Одигитрия) из Россано, по преданию подаренная императором Алексеем Комниным. Примечательно, что на обороте этой двусторонней процессионной иконы имелся образ Распятия, несомненно восходящий к константинопольскому прототипу и позволяющий догадываться о повторении в Южной Италии византийских обрядов. Многочисленные реплики Одигитрии в Италии были известны под общим именем 'Madonna di Constantinopoli'<sup>58</sup>. Их число невероятно умножилось после захвата Константинополя турками в 1453 г. в связи с распространением легенд о чудесном спасении Одигитрии и ее появлении одновременно в разных городах Италии. Светские братства служителей 'Madonna di Constantinopoli' в Кампании, Апулии, Калабрии и Сицилии совершали особые празднования Одигитрии по вторникам после Пасхи. В некоторых сохранившихся до XIX в. обрядах, например в Палаццо на Сицилии, в этот день два человека, одетые как греческие монахи, носили на плечах киот с чудотворной Одигитрией (Madonna dell' Itria)<sup>59</sup>, сознательно воспроизводя на улицах селения сакральное пространство византийской столицы. В Неаполе специальный монастырь был основан в 1603 г. «для почитания священного образа по вторникам в соответствии с правилами, установленными св. Пульхерией в Константинополе»<sup>60</sup>. В храме одного из селений Косенцы сохранилось изображение носящего икону Одигитрии, которое воспроизводило иконографию чудотворного действия на площади перед монастырем Одигон<sup>61</sup>. Словом, существующие данные позволяют считать, что не только сама икона Одигитрии, но и ее чудотворное действие по вторникам поль-

<sup>57</sup> Об итальянской традиции см. подробнее (с основной литературой): Lidov A. The Flying Hodegetria, p. 300–302.

<sup>58</sup> Bacci M. La Panayia Hodigitria e la Madonna di Constantinopoli // Arte Cristiana, 84 (1996), p. 3–12. См. главу его книги: L'eredità della Hodegetria: la Madonna di Constantinopoli nel Meridione d'Italia // M. Bacci. Il pennello dell' evangelista. Storia della immagini sacre attribuite a san Luca. Pisa, 1998, p. 403–420.

<sup>59</sup> Pitre G. Spettacoli e feste popolari siciliane. Palermo, 1881, p. 63–66. Автор в деталях описал обряд, который он видел своими глазами.

<sup>60</sup> Sinigalliesi D. L'iconografia della Madonna di Costantinopoli // Angelo e Francesco Solimena. Due culture a confronto / Ed. V. Martini, A. Braca. Naples, 1994, p. 63–67;

Bacci M. The Legacy of the Hodegetria, p. 329.

<sup>61</sup> Tavoloso E. San Benedetto Ullano. Grottaferrata, 1956, p. 38–42.

зовалось в Италии широкой известностью и почитанием. В нашем контексте особенно интересны попытки воспроизведения «вторничной пространственной иконы», не угасавшие на протяжении столетий. Они свидетельствуют о желании использовать элементы константинопольской иеротопии для воссоздания, хотя бы частичного, прославленного образа чудотворного пространства, дарующего небесное покровительство и высшую защиту.

Не менее красноречивы и русские примеры, о которых напомним для полноты картины. В домонгольской традиции наиболее яркий документ сохранился в Житии св. Евфросинии Полоцкой, которое исследователи датируют домонгольским периодом<sup>62</sup>. Согласно Житию, княгиня Евфросиния стремилась украсить свой новопостроенный храм образом Богородицы Одигитрии, о чем произносит особое моление: *«Помилуй мя, Господи, и сконча прошение мое, да бых видела пресвятую Богородицу Одигитрию в сей святей церкви»*<sup>63</sup>. Княгиня Евфросиния отправила в Константинополь посла с просьбой прислать образ Богоматери Эфесской, как сказано в тексте — одну из трех истинных икон Евангелиста Луки. Император Мануил (Комнин) приказал доставить икону из Эфеса, а константинопольский патриарх Лука (Хрисовберг) с собором епископов благословил икону в храме Св. Софии и отдал посланнику княгини. Как полагают исследователи, изучавшие многоименные реплики этой иконы, известные как «Полоцкая», «Корсунская», «Торопецкая», св. Евфросиния получила список с древней Эфесской иконы, сделанный по заказу императора и патриарха около 1159 г.<sup>64</sup> Икона XIV в. «Богоматерь Торопецкая», сейчас хранящаяся в Русском музее, сохранила отдельные черты образа XII в., по всей видимости, действительно полученного из Константинополя<sup>65</sup> (ил. 12).

Для нас самым важным является свидетельство Жития об установлении по вторникам еженедельной процессии с чудотворной иконой Богоматери: *«(Княгиня) украси ю златом и камением многоценным, и устави по вся вторники носити ю по святым церквам»*<sup>66</sup>. Путем установления вторничной процессии образ Богоматери Эфесской отожде-

<sup>62</sup> Воронова Е. М. Житие Евфросинии Полоцкой // Словарь книжников и книжности Древней Руси. Вып. 1. Л., 1987, с. 147-148; Воронова Е. М. Житийная повесть о Евфросинии Полоцкой как литературно исторический памятник XII в.: Дис. ... канд. фил. наук. Л., 1991.

<sup>63</sup> Повесть о Евфросинии Полоцкой // Древнерусские княжеские жития / Изд. В. В. Кускова. М., 2001, с. 153.

<sup>64</sup> Шалина И. А. Богоматерь Эфесская — Полоцкая — Корсунская — Торопецкая. Исторические имена и архетип чудотворной иконы // Чудотворная икона в Византии и Древней Руси / Ред.-сост. А. М. Лидов. М., 1996, с. 200-251.

<sup>65</sup> Там же, с. 205, 219.

<sup>66</sup> Повесть о Евфросинии Полоцкой, с. 153.

ствлялся в Полоцке с иконой Одигитрии Константинопольской — самым известным образом св. Луки и палладиумом византийской столицы. При этом воспроизводилось вторичное действие константинопольской иконы, которая воспринималась как священный образец. При помощи процессии с иконой городская среда Полоцка уподобляется священному пространству византийской столицы — тем самым древнерусский город становился иконой этого Второго Рима и Нового Иерусалима. Не исключено, что могло воспроизводиться и вторичное действие с его еженедельным чудом.

Подтверждением этому предположению может служить изображение на московской пелене, которую исследователи связали с мастерской Елены Волошанки и датировали 1498 г.<sup>67</sup> (ил. 13). По их мнению, сцена отразила реальные исторические события празднования Входа Господня в Иерусалим в средневековой Москве или, согласно новой интерпретации, коронацию наследника великокняжеского престола, также имевшую место в 1498 г.<sup>68</sup> Изображенные персонажи были отождествлены с членами семьи великого князя Ивана III и с другими историческими лицами Москвы конца XV в. Недавно исторический характер сцены был поставлен под сомнение<sup>69</sup>. Иконографии пелены была истолкована как идеальная композиция из цикла Акафиста. Не вдаваясь в подробное рассмотрение аргументов, заметим, что, на наш взгляд, «историческое» истолкование «Пелены Елены Волошанки» остается не опровергнутым и достаточно правдоподобным, хотя точная идентификация изображения с определенным событием является предметом дискуссий. Особая конкретность сцены бросается в глаза при сравнении пелены с действительно «идеальной» иконографией аналогичной композиции в одновременных росписях Ферапонтово<sup>70</sup>.

<sup>67</sup> ГИМ, инв. № 15455 ш/РБ-5, размер 93,5×98,5. См.: *Щепкина М. В.* Изображение русских исторических лиц в шитье XV века (Труды ГИМ. Памятники культуры. Вып. XII). М., 1954. Точка зрения М. В. Щепкиной нашла поддержку у многих исследователей, в том числе во многих публикациях *Н. А. Маясовой*: Средневековое лицевое шитье. Византия, Балканы, Русь. М., 1991, кат. № 17, с. 60–61.

<sup>68</sup> *Евсеева Л. М.* Шитая пелена 1498 г. и Чин венчания на царство // Древнерусское искусство. Византия и Древняя Русь. К 100-летию Андрея Николаевича Грабара (1896–1990). СПб., 1999, с. 430–439. Автор обращает внимание на важнейшую особенность сцены — изображение трех фигур в коронах (старика, средовека и юноши), притом что только старик и юноша изображены с нимбами, и связывает это с коронацией Иваном III Димитрия-внука в обход старшего сына Василия.

<sup>69</sup> *Преображенский А. С.* Иконография «пелены Елены Волошанки» и проблема портретной традиции в московском искусстве рубежа XV–XVI веков // Искусствознание. 2003. Вып. 2, с. 201–228. Сомнения в историческом характере сцены в пользу идеального изображения одной из композиций Акафиста уже высказывались ранее: *Грабар А. Н.* Заметка о методе оживления традиций иконописи в русской живописи XV–XVI веков // Труды Отдела древнерусской литературы. Т. XXXVI. Л., 1981, с. 289–294.

<sup>70</sup> *Нерсесян Л. В.* Дионисий иконник и фрески Ферапонтова. М., 2002, с. 38, ил. 28.



В контексте данной работы хотелось бы подчеркнуть некоторые моменты. В первую очередь обратим внимание, что изображено именно вторичное чудо, а не вообще некий обряд или процессия с иконой Одигитрии. На это ясно указывает характерная поза служителя, носящего икону, который разводит руки по сторонам в жесте, хорошо известном по более ранним изображениям вторичного чуда и его описаниям. Заметим, что вторичное чудо изображено в эпоху, когда в самом Константинополе действие уже не происходит, поскольку чудотворная Одигитрия была разрублена янычарами во время захвата города в 1453 г.

Большинство исследователей согласны с тем, что пелена была сделана в Москве на рубеже XV–XVI вв. и, вероятнее всего, предназначалась в качестве подвесной пелены для украшения чудотворной реплики с Одигитрии Константинопольской, хранившейся в Вознесенском монастыре Московского Кремля<sup>71</sup> (ил. 14). Об этой иконе сохранилось ценнейшее свидетельство в летописи: «Згоре икона Одигитрее на Москве во церкви каменои святого Възнесения чудная святаа Богородица гречского писма, в ту меру сделана, яко же в Цареграде чуднаа, иже исходит во вторник да в среду на море. Толико образ тьи згоре да кузьн, а доска ся остала, и написа Денисеи иконник на тьи же дске в тьи же образ»<sup>72</sup>. Эту икону отождествляют с одним из точных списков константинопольской иконы Одигитрии («в тот же образ в долготу и в ширину»), присланных на Русь в 1381 г. архиепископом Дионисием Суздальским<sup>73</sup> и в 1482 г. обновленным после пожара иконописцем Дионисием<sup>74</sup>.

Как известно из соборных чиновников XVI–XVII вв., Одигитрия из Вознесенского монастыря носилась в больших крестных ходах и играла важную роль в праздничных обрядах средневековой Москвы<sup>75</sup>. Как неко-

<sup>71</sup> Сейчас икона находится в собрании ГТГ. *Щенникова Л. А.* Икона «Богоматерь Одигитрия» из Вознесенского монастыря Московского Кремля и ее почитание в XV–XVII веках // *Ферапонтовский сборник*. Вып. V. М., 1999, с. 274–276, 289; *Щенникова Л. А.* Царьградская святыня «Богоматерь Одигитрия» и ее почитание в Московской Руси // *Древнерусское искусство. Византия и Древняя Русь. К 100-летию Андрея Николаевича Грабара (1896–1990)*. СПб., 1999, с. 329–340.

<sup>72</sup> ПСРЛ. Т. VI. Вып. 2. Софийская вторая летопись. М., 2001, стб. 314.

<sup>73</sup> Эта икона могла быть принесена в Москву суздальско-нижегородской княжной Евдокией Дмитриевной, женой Дмитрия Донского и основательницей Вознесенского монастыря (*Щенникова Л. А.* Икона «Богоматерь Одигитрия»..., с. 280–286; *Щенникова Л. А.* Царьградская святыня..., с. 337–338).

<sup>74</sup> Интересно, что икона XIV в. имела несохранившееся изображение на обороте (возможно, «Распятие?»), позволяющее думать, что, как и Одигитрия Константинопольская, ее реплика в России носилась в литийных шествиях и участвовала в различных обрядах.

<sup>75</sup> *Голубцов А. П.* Чиновники Московского Успенского собора и выходы патриарха Иконы. М., 1908; *Щенникова Л. А.* Чудотворные иконы Московского Кремля // *Христианские реликвии в Московском Кремле* / Ред.-сост. А. М. Лидов. М., 2000, с. 230–244,

гда в Константинополе, к процессии, возглавляемой палладиумом государства — иконой Богоматери Владимирской, присоединялись чудотворные иконы, реликвии и литургические предметы из разных храмов. Кульминационным моментом была встреча Богоматери Владимирской и Богоматери Одигитрии, которая выносилась из Вознесенского монастыря по ходу процессии. В некоторых случаях обе иконы устанавливались на Лобном месте, где происходила особая служба, смыслом которой было не только освящение Красной площади, но и всего сакрального пространства царствующего града. Примечательно, что роль древней Одигитрии Константинопольской была распределена между двумя московскими «большими чудотворными» иконами: одна (Владимирская) почиталась как образ евангелиста Луки<sup>76</sup>, другая (из Вознесенского монастыря), являясь точной копией «в меру и подобие», наследовала само имя, предание и тип изображения.

Византийская и древнерусская иконография, а также некоторые письменные источники свидетельствуют, что заметную роль в обрядах с чудотворными иконами играли подвесные пелены<sup>77</sup>, в частности, «Подвесная пелена Елены Волошанки» с изображением вторичного чуда, вероятно, украшавшая икону Одигитрии из Вознесенского монастыря. Чтобы адекватно оценить ее значение, необходимо представить, как реально выглядели особо почитаемые чудотворные образы. Драгоценную информацию дает фотография начала XX в. с чудотворной иконой Богоматери Грузинской из суздальского Покровского монастыря (ил. 15), сохранившая полный убор иконы, заказанный царицей Марией Темрюковной — женой Ивана Грозного<sup>78</sup>. Живописный образ был практически невидим, закрытый целой системой особых покровов и драгоценных украшений<sup>79</sup>. Единственной частью образа с ясно читаемым изображением была подвесная пелена под иконой<sup>80</sup>.

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особ. 240–242. Новое исследование источников см.: Саенкова Е. М. Чиновники (Типиконы) Успенского собора Московского Кремля как источник по истории русского искусства позднего средневековья: Дис. ... канд. иск., МГУ. М., 2004.

<sup>76</sup> Щенникова Л. А. Чудотворная икона «Богоматерь Владимирская» как «Одигитрия евангелиста Луки» // Чудотворная икона в Византии и Древней Руси / Ред.-сост. А. М. Лидов. М., 1996, с. 252–302.

<sup>77</sup> О византийской традиции и функции подвесных пелен см.: Frolow A. 'La Podesa': un tissu decoratif de l'église Byzantine // Byzantion, 13 (1938), p. 461–504.

<sup>78</sup> Подобные уборы не сохранились: после революции они были либо уничтожены, либо распределены по разнообразным коллекциям прикладного искусства. В целом явление было реконструировано и проанализировано в фундаментальном исследовании: Стерлигова И. А. Драгоценный убор древнерусских икон XI–XIV веков. М., 2000.

<sup>79</sup> О византийской традиции подобных покровов см.: Nunn V. The Encheirion as adjunct to the Icon in the Middle Byzantine Period // Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, 10 (1986), p. 73–102. Автор приводит эпиграммы, посвященные покровам Одигитрии

Представив себе действо с Одигитрией из Вознесенского монастыря, мы поймем, что именно подвесная пелена с изображением вторничного чуда была носителем главного символического смысла, тем зримым текстом, который прочитывался всеми участниками обряда. Он недвусмысленно говорил о роли иконы в создании особого сакрального пространства и важнейшей византийской пространственной иконе, память о которой была актуальна в Московской Руси. Если согласиться с исторической интерпретацией изображения пелены, можно предположить реальную попытку воссоздания вторничного чуда в Москве конца XV в., хотя об этом и не сохранилось других свидетельств. В эпоху, когда Москва становится новой столицей православного мира, а великий князь женится на византийской принцессе Софии Палеолог, такое предположение кажется более чем допустимым. Однако зыбкость аргументов не позволяет настаивать на этой гипотезе. При этом главное кажется несомненным. Речь идет о сохранении и актуализации памяти о вторничном чуде после падения Константинополя в 1453 г. Через икону-реплику, литийные богослужения в городской среде, подвесную пелену с изображением вторничного чуда сакральное пространство Москвы отождествлялось с Константинополем — священной столицей великой империи, Новым Иерусалимом и Вторым Римом. Как и в других местах христианского мира, пространственная икона выступала действенным подтверждением этой мистической связи, которая, помимо всего прочего, обеспечивала единство власти и народа, вместе молящих о спасении и покровительстве Богородицы.

Знаменательно, что в эту эпоху и в последующие столетия не только действо с Одигитрией Константинопольской, но и самые разные византийские иеротопические модели получают в Московской Руси исключительное развитие. Как ясно из многих документов и, в первую очередь, из соборных чиновников XVI–XVII вв., духовная жизнь и просто время русского человека были предельно заполнены разнообразными действиями с чудотворными иконами и реликвиями. Они происходили повсеместно в городской среде и создавали каждый раз индивидуальные сакральные пространства, в которых взаимодействовали священные предметы и реальные архитектурные виды, световозжигания и каждения, богослужебные обряды и люди, в них участвующие.

Помимо письменных источников, некоторое представление об этих действиях дает русская иконография XVII в., например иконы «Сретения

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Константинопольской (№ 91, 96, 99–101), которые часто являлись вкладками членов императорской семьи. Некоторые из этих покровов почитались как чудотворные.

<sup>80</sup> О некой пространственной структуре, которая возникла вокруг почитаемой иконы, см. статью в настоящем сб.: *Стерлигова И. А.* Икона как храм. Пространство моленного образа в Византии и Древней Руси.

Богоматери Владимирской»<sup>81</sup> (ил. 17). Мы видим изображения икон Богоматери Владимирской и Одигитрии, процессионный крест с главной реликвией Честного Древа, а также князя и митрополита, выходящих вместе с народом из Московского Кремля и поклоняющихся чудотворному образу. Однако даже из этого позднесредневекового изображения ясно, что смысл явления далеко не ограничивается рассказом о встрече знаменитой иконы. Сравнение с византийскими образами, например, с фреской XIV в. «Поклонение иконе Богоматери Одигитрии» из Маркова монастыря в Македонии (ил. 16), хорошо показывает присутствие в русской иконографии как византийских образцов, так и многих особенностей, связанных с собственно московской традицией. При этом оба изображения отражают единое явление, которое традиционно сводят к процессиям и литийным службам. Однако иеротопический подход позволяет увидеть в нем особую сферу творчества и рассмотреть эти действия как особые «пространственные иконы», созданные конкретными людьми в индивидуальных исторических обстоятельствах на основе византийских прототипов, среди которых выдающееся место принадлежало «Чудотворному действию с Одигитрией Константинопольской».

Подведем некоторые итоги. Реконструируемое чудотворное действие с Одигитрией Константинопольской должно быть рассмотрено как особое культурное и художественное явление, которое мы предлагаем назвать «пространственной иконой», созданной не позднее XII в. выдающимися художниками, которых, чтобы не путать с иконописцами, лучше назвать создателями сакральных пространств. Важно отметить, что они мыслили теми же иконными образами, только представленными в пространстве, в данном случае — на площади монастыря Одигон. Если не сводить искусство к «созданию предметов», то в истории византийской визуальной культуры необходимо найти место для этого типа «художественного творчества»<sup>82</sup>.

Содержанием творчества являлось создание пространственных образов, которые включали в себя, помимо обрядовой и изобразительной составляющей, особую конкретно разработанную драматургию света, организацию запахов, звуковой контекст. Эмоциональные переживания и литературные ассоциации, вызванные созерцанием реликвий и многочисленными чудотворениями, были вплетены в эту сложную духовную ткань.

<sup>81</sup> *Лидов А. М., Сидоренко Г. В.* Чудотворный образ. Иконы Богоматери в Третьяковской галерее. М., 1999, № 18, с. 40–41.

<sup>82</sup> Подробнее см.: *Лидов А. М.* Иеротопия. Создание сакральных пространств как вид творчества и предмет исторического исследования (в настоящем сборнике).

Важнейшую особенность явления составляло то, что оно не предполагало принципиального различия между зрителем и изображением. В этой системе ценностей зритель становился неотъемлемой и создающей частью самого образа. Пространственная икона Вторичного действия включала всех молящихся на площади, вместе со служителями иконы и литургисающим клиром. В ту же пространственную систему входили всевозможные обряды, песнопения, каждения, равно как и сама многообразно украшенная икона Одигитрии с ее особой иконографической программой. Икона-реликвия несомненно выступала как стержень и конституирующая основа всего пространственного решения. К ней были обращены еженедельно возобновляемые моления о спасении и защите, она обеспечивала непрерывную связь между населением города и его небесной заступницей. Знаменательно, что после того, как создавалась пространственная икона на площади Одигона, она путем грандиозной процессии через весь город во Влахерны распространялась на весь Константинополь, который в этот момент становился иконным пространством, насыщенным чудотворящей энергией.

В заключение хотелось бы отметить, что вторичное действие — один из наиболее выдающихся, но далеко не единственный пример византийских пространственных икон и связанного с ними особого типа творчества, недавно названного иеротопией. Византийская традиция создания иконических сакральных пространств может быть реконструирована на многих примерах. Для нас особенно значимо, что она получила большое развитие на Руси после падения Константинополя, став частью его имперского наследия. Речь идет не только о попытках перенести на русскую почву пространственную икону вторичного действия, но и о целом ряде типологически близких проектов, некоторые из которых нашли отражение в соборных чиновниках XVI–XVII вв.

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SPATIAL ICONS.  
THE MIRACULOUS PERFORMANCE  
WITH THE HODEGETRIA OF CONSTANTINOPLE

In the present paper I will argue that the Hierotopic vision and approach may reveal a new layer of subjects never discussed before in the history of Byzantine art and culture<sup>1</sup>. It concerns iconic images created in space, or in more traditional art-historical terms, a spatial ‘iconography’ beyond pictorial schemes. The combination of certain images in a church, or one image in ritual context, could create another iconic image, not formally depicted, but made implicit in a given sacred space between or around the actual pictures. Such icon creation is connected with an important and challenging premise: in the Byzantine minds, the icon was not merely an object and a flat picture on panel or wall, but a spatial vision emanating from the depiction into the environment in front of it. The Byzantine beholder could perceive the images as legitimate and recognizable icons in the space, although they were performed beyond material objects.

Elsewhere I have discussed some projects of such spatial icons within the Byzantine church. It concerns the Mandylion and Keramion paradigm (fig. 1) as well as the project of spatial imagery initiated by Leo the Wise in Hagia Sophia and<sup>2</sup>. For the present paper a slightly different phenomenon has been selected — a spatial image which was created not inside the church but in the urban environment. It deals with a representative case of the Hodegetria of Constantinople and its Tuesday miraculous performance<sup>3</sup>. Among several rituals with miraculous icons in the capital of the Byzantine Empire this rite was undoubtedly the most important, the best known, and highly influential in the Eastern and Western traditions of the icon veneration. It was a performance with the famous icon of the Mother of God called the Hodegetria (‘Pointing

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<sup>1</sup> *Lidov A.* Hierotopy. The creation of sacred spaces as a form of creativity and subject of cultural history in the present volume.

<sup>2</sup> *Lidov A.* The Miracle of Reproduction. The Mandylion and Keramion as a paradigm of sacred space // *L'Immagine di Cristo dall' Acheropiita dalla mano d'artista* / Ed. C. Frommel, G. Morello, G. Wolf. Citta del Vaticano, Rome, 2006; *Lidov A.* Leo the Wise and the miraculous icons in Hagia Sophia // *The Heroes of the Orthodox Church. The New Saints of the Eighth to Sixteenth Centuries* / Ed. E. Kountoura-Galake. Athens, 2004, p. 393–432.

<sup>3</sup> For a more detailed analysis of this performance see: *Lidov A.* The Flying Hodegetria. The Miraculous Icon as Bearer of Sacred Space // *The Miraculous Image in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance* / Ed. E. Thunoe and G. Wolf. Rome, 2004, p. 291–321.

the Way')<sup>4</sup>. According to Byzantine tradition, this icon was painted by St Luke the Evangelist himself and in the fifth century it was sent to Constantinople from Jerusalem as a major Christian relic. It played a role of a palladium of the empire and was perceived as a pattern-image of the Virgin in the entire Christian world (fig. 2)<sup>5</sup>.

This most venerated Hodegetria icon performed a regular miracle, which happened every Tuesday on the square in front of the Hodegon monastery in the centre of the Byzantine capital, not far from the Great Palace and Hagia Sophia. Twelfth to fifteenth centuries pilgrims and travellers from various countries have informed us in detail about this miraculous performance. They have left their written records about the Tuesday rite in Latin, Greek, Old Russian, Old Spanish, presenting different perception of the same event. Among the most detailed testimonies one may mention that of the mid-fourteenth century Russian Pilgrim Stephan of Novgorod<sup>6</sup> and two Spanish travellers, Rui de Clavijo and Pero Tafur, who visited Constantinople in the first half of the fifteenth century<sup>7</sup>. There are some significant visual sources. Since late-thirteenth century the scenes of the Tuesday miracle appeared in Byzantine iconography. They could be depicted in a single composition on the narthex wall (the Blachernitissa church in Arta, Mainland Greece, figs. 6–9)<sup>8</sup>, or to be included in the Akathistos cycle, illustrating the verses of the most popular Byzantine hymn in praise of the Mother of God (the icon with 'The Praise of the Virgin with the Akaphistos cycle' from the Moscow Kremlin, figs. 3–5)<sup>9</sup>. At the core

<sup>4</sup> For a recent discussion of the icon with references to main sources, see: *Angelidi C., Papamastorakis T.* The Veneration of the Virgin Hodegetria and the Hodegon Monastery // Mother of God. Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art. / Ed. M. Vassilaki. Athens, 2000, p. 373–387, esp. 378–379.

<sup>5</sup> *Cormack R.* Icon of the Triumph of Orthodoxy // Mother of God. Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art, p. 340.

<sup>6</sup> *Majeska G.* Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries. Washington, 1984, p. 36.

<sup>7</sup> Jimenez de la Espada M. Andances e viajes de Pero Tafur por diversas partes del mundo avidos (1435–1439). Madrid, 1874, p. 174–175; *Pero Tafur.* Andanças e viajes por diversas partes del mundo avidos / Ed. G. Bellini. Rome, 1986, p. 174–175; *Idem.* Travels and Adventures / Trans. M. Letts. London, 1926, p. 141–142. Another important Old Spanish testimony of the Tuesday rite belongs to Clavijo: *Ruis Gonzáles de Clavijo.* Embajada a Tamorlán / Ed. F. Estrada. Madrid, 1943, p. 54; *Idem.* Embassy to Tamerlan 1403–1406 / Trans. G. Le Strange. London, 1928, p. 84.

<sup>8</sup> *Achimastou-Potamianou M.* The Byzantine Wall Paintings of Vlacherna Monastery (area of Arta) // Actes du XVe Congrès international d'études byzantines, Athènes 1976 (Athènes, 1981), II, p. 4–14.

<sup>9</sup> Byzantium. Balkans. Rus'. Icons of the 13<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> century. Catalogue of exhibition // Ed. L. Lifshits (Moscow, 1991), № 36, 223; *Angelidi and Papamastorakis*, "The Veneration of the Virgin Hodegetria", p. 381. There are two scenes with the Hodegetria flanking the central image the Virgin enthroned. The procession scene to the left illustrates *kontakion I (prooemium II)*, addressed to the Virgin "To you, our leader in the battle and defender...".

of all the representations the painter repeated the same iconographic pattern. In the centre there is a figure of a person in the red vestment, who is stretching out his arms and, as it seems, bears a huge, richly decorated Hodegetria icon, depicted in the air above. To the left and right of this servant of the icon a dense crowd of people is represented in the attitude of adoration. The images reflected one and the same carefully elaborated performance of the Tuesday miracle, repeated over the centuries, as we may judge from written testimonies since the late twelfth-century Danish description of the Hodegetria rite<sup>10</sup>.

From this and other records we learn that the focal point of the rite was the reproduction weekly of the miracle. It consisted of carrying of the extremely heavy icon of the Hodegetria, which was placed by several people on the shoulders of one man who, then, showed himself able to carry it effortlessly. These icon-bearers in uniform red vestments were members of a special family of servants of the Hodegetria<sup>11</sup> (fig. 10). According to one source they belonged to ‘*the tribe of Luke*’<sup>12</sup>, in other words, they presumably were perceived as relatives of the holy painter of the Hodegetria icon — St Luke the Evangelist. These servants ‘in red’ carried the icon round the market square several times, probably thereby carving out a sacred space within the square. The commercial environment, mentioned by Tafur (*There is a market in the square on that day, and a great crowd assembles*)<sup>13</sup> and depicted in detail in the Arta fresco, was an integral part of the ‘miraculous’ project. The choice seems deliberate, the most profane place of a market square having been transformed into the most sacred. As we know from the Russian and Old Spanish descriptions, it has become a space of collective supplication, penitence and liturgical acclamation. From other accounts we learn that miraculous healings regularly occurred during the rite, and participants received special blessings — the clergy took small pieces of cotton-

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the Tuesday rite to the right is connected with the *kontakion* XIII (*oikos* XXIV), praising the Virgin by words “O Mother hymned by all...”

<sup>10</sup> De profectioe Danorum in Terram Sanctam (ch. XXVI) // *Scriptores minores historiae Danicae mediii aevii* / Ed. M. C. Gertz. Vol. II. Copenhagen, 1918–1920, p. 490–491.

<sup>11</sup> *Patterson Sevckenko N. Servants of the Holy Icon // Byzantine East, Latin West. Art-historical studies in honor of Kurt Weitzmann. Princeton, 1995, p. 547–550.* Clavijo stressed the special status of this group: “*They [Greeks] say that to no others is it possible thus alone to lift and carry it save to this particular man (and his brothers). But this man is of a family any of whom can do so, for it pleased God to vouchsafe this power to them one and all*” (Ibid., 548).

<sup>12</sup> “*Sluzhit plemia Lutsino do sego dnia (the tribe of Luke serves [the icon] to this day)*”. This unique testimony, most probably, based on unknown Byzantine source, may be found in the Russian chronicles of the first half of the fifteenth century, among them, in the *Sophiiskaya I chronicle: Polnoie Sobranie Russikh Letopisei (The Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles)*. Leningrad, 1925, vol. 5, p. 189–190.

<sup>13</sup> See note 7.



wool and touched the picture, most probably to obtain the holy oil exuded by the icon<sup>14</sup>.

However, a crucial moment of the miraculous performance was the effect of the icon ‘flying’ in the air and moving its bearer in a circle. The extraordinary mystical character of the rite was clearly emphasized in the earliest known Latin description of the late twelfth century: “*On the third day of every week the icon was moved in a circle with angelic power in full view of the crowd, as though snatched up by some kind of whirlwind. And it carried about its bearer with its own circular movement, so that because of its surprising speed it almost seemed to deceive the eyes of the spectators. Meanwhile everyone, according to their tradition, beat their breasts and cried out "Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison (Lord have mercy, Christ have mercy)"*”<sup>15</sup>.

How can we describe the phenomenon in general terms? In our view, the Tuesday rite of the Hodegetria icon might be regarded as a liturgical performance representing a miraculous appearance of the Mother of God in the actual urban space of Constantinople. It seems a very important example of Byzantine Hierotopy, or the making of sacred space and, in my view, could be interpreted as a kind of iconic image created in space.

The rite was considered of prime importance in Constantinople. But there is still no clear answer to the question of the central symbolic idea behind this rite. Furthermore, it is not known why the rite took place on Tuesday. What did the people participating in this performance try to present?

In this paper I will argue that the Tuesday rite was a liturgical and iconic re-enactment of the siege of Constantinople in 626. In this year, the city was, according to tradition, saved by the intercession of the Virgin and her miracle-working icon<sup>16</sup>. In Middle and Late Byzantine periods people regarded this siege and the miraculous deliverance of the capital by the Mother of God as a key event of great symbolic significance and a kind of pattern to be reproduced in other cases. It influenced various fields of Byzantine culture. Characteristically, it was connected with the creation of the Akathistos Hymn.

As we learn from the descriptions, the principal element of the Tuesday rite was the repetitive circular movement of the bearer of the Hodegetria icon around the market square. This finds a clear parallel in the central episode of the siege story, in which a procession went around the walls of Constantinople with a miraculous image. An icon of the Virgin was carried

<sup>14</sup> Most probably the same holy oil pilgrims could get inside the shrine, as Ignatius of Smolensk mentions: “...we venerated and kissed the Hodegetria icon. We received anointing with chrism (*pomirisimo*), and gladly were we anointed” (*Majeska*, Russian Travelers, p. 94–95).

<sup>15</sup> De profectione Danorum in Terram Sanctam, p. 490–491.

<sup>16</sup> *Van Dieten J. L.* Geschichte der Patriarchen von Sergios I. bis Johannes VI. Amsterdam, 1972, p. 174–178.

around the walls in subsequent sieges, and in later times this icon was identified with the Hodegetria of Constantinople, to whom the miraculous salvation of the city was specifically attributed<sup>17</sup>.

The choice of Tuesday for the Hodegetria rite could be also explained by one of the oldest accounts of the siege of 626. In the sermon by Theodore Synkellos, delivered at the first celebration in 627<sup>18</sup>, we may find this important testimony of a contemporary of the event: “*Like an invincible arm, he [the patriarch] bore this [icon] on all the city walls... that was on the first day of the siege and the third day of the week [Tuesday]*”<sup>19</sup>. Thus, probably, Tuesday became a day for the historical commemoration of the real event and its cosmic and iconic reproduction with the Hodegetria rite, mystically guarding and protecting the city through the Divine power of the icon.

One more strange and evidently very significant element of the Tuesday rite may be also connected with the earliest sermon of Theodore Synkellos. According to written accounts and in all the depictions of the scene the icon-bearer reproduced the same specific gesture. Stephan of Novgorod informs us: “*They place [the icon] on the shoulders of one man who is standing upright, and he stretches out his arms as if [being] crucified*”<sup>20</sup>. Thus, the scene implicitly presents an image of Crucifixion, which was depicted on the reverse of the Hodegetria panel, as we know from the pilgrims’ accounts<sup>21</sup> and from a number of copies of the Hodegetria icon, which had the image of

<sup>17</sup> On this process see: *Pentcheva B.* The supernatural protector of Constantinople: the Virgin and her icons in the tradition of the Avar siege // *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 26 (2002), p. 2–41, esp. 22–27, 34–38. The tradition attributing the victory of 626 to the Hodegetria icon already existed in the eleventh century.

<sup>18</sup> *Makk F.* Traduction et commentaire de l’homélie écrite probablement par Theodore le Syncelle sur le siège de Constantinople en 626 // *Acta Universitatis de Attila Jozsef nominata, Acta antiqua et archeologica* 19 (Opuscula byz. 3). Szeged, 1975, p. 9–47, 74–96. The English translation of some parts of this sermon, see: *Pentcheva*, The supernatural protector of Constantinople, p. 9–10 (with a reference to some new studies of the text).

<sup>19</sup> *Makk F.* Traduction et commentaire, p. 81.

<sup>20</sup> *Majeska*, *Russian Travellers*, p. 36–37.

<sup>21</sup> Pero Tafur in 1437 described the icon: “*In this church is a picture of Our Lady the Virgin, made by St. Luke, and on the other side is Our Lord crucified*” (see supra note 7). An Armenian pilgrim (before 1434) records: “*There is an icon painted by Luke the Evangelist, on one side of which is the Mother of God, and the saviour in her arms, and on the other side is another Christ on the cross on the right, and the Mother of God on the left*” (*Brock S. A.* Medieval Armenian Pilgrim description of Constantinople // *Revue des études Arménien*, IV (1967), p. 86). A Greek evidence one may find in the fifteenth century Gregory the Monk’s ‘Description of the Kykkos monastery’ (ca. 1422). According to him, St Luke inspired by the archangel Gabriel, “*painted the purest image of the Hodegetria, and Christ Crucified on the opposite side of the icon, as well as, on both sides, Gabriel and Michael censuring Jesus*” (*Bacci M.* The Legacy of the Hodegetria: Holy Icons and Legends between East and West Images of the Mother of God. Perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium // *Ed. M. Vassilaki.* London, 2004, p. 322).

Crucifixion or Christ the Man of Sorrow on the back. An early example is the late-twelfth century icon from Kastoria in Greece (fig. 11)<sup>22</sup>. From the thirteenth century onwards we know several double-sided icons with the Crucifixion on the back<sup>23</sup>. Two images of the double-sided icon had to be perceived simultaneously in the dynamic liturgical context. This effect of co-existence of two images was particularly significant in conjunction with the character of the Tuesday miracle itself. The icon was flying and whirling in the air, so the image in front of the beholders' eyes was changing every moment and actually could be perceived as a single one.

Through the image of the Crucifixion performed by the icon bearer and depicted on the icon reverse we are able to understand the meaning of the weightlessness of the icon. Theodore Synkellos' sermon stated: "*And our Moses [the patriarch] having raised in his pure hands the image (typos) of the only-begotten God at which the demons tremble (which, they say, is not made by human hands), — for he [the patriarch] did not need someone to support him, having crucified himself to the world [Gal. 6:14], according to the Gospel of Christ the Lord*"<sup>24</sup>. The Crucifixion of Christ is declared a principal condition of the miracle, mystically presented on the walls of Constantinople during the ancient siege and later in the Tuesday rite, when a selected bearer needed no physical support in miraculously carrying a huge and extremely heavy icon of the Hodegetria, which is said to have moved its bearer in a circle. The images of the Virgin with Child and crucified Saviour on both sides of the icon marked the invisible borders of the mystical space, reminiscent of the major historical miracles of Christianity — the Incarnation and the Redemptive sacrifice.

The weekly Tuesday rite may well have functioned as an important supplication by the city for salvation and protection, reproducing through ritual a mystical link, continually renewed, between the townspeople and their main intercessor. The Mother of God confirmed her supernatural presence in the city's main palladium, the icon of the Hodegetria, with the help of a regular weekly miracle. The rite created a kind of spatial icon, or an iconic image

<sup>22</sup> Mother of God. Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art, p. 484–485, cat. № 83.

<sup>23</sup> The mid-thirteenth century double-sided icon from Sinai provides an early example (Sinai. The Treasures of the Monastery of Saint Catherine / Ed. Manafis. Athens, 1990, p. 119–120, figs. 58–59. The fourteenth century double-sided replica of the Hodegetria from the Achieropoietos basilica in Thessaloniki is venerated as a miraculous icon to present days. Some icons of this type are in the collection of the Byzantine Museum in Athens: *Acheimastou-Potamianou M.* Icons of the Byzantine Museum of Athens (Athens, 1998), p. 44–47, № 10. A catalogue of double-sided icons see: *Pallas D.* Passion und Bestattung Christi in Byzanz. Der Ritus — das Bild [Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia, 2]. München, 1965, S. 308–332.

<sup>24</sup> *Makk*, Traduction et commentaire, p. 81; *Pentcheva*, The supernatural protector of Constantinople, p. 9–10.

in space, embracing the miraculous event, liturgical procession, special rituals of veneration, with the common people in attendance and the icon of the Hodegetria itself, representing the actual iconographic program on both sides of the panel.

The Tuesday rite, which took place in the early morning in front of the Hodegon monastery (the house of the Virgin's major icon), was intended to transfigure the profane environment of the market into an ideal image of the Divine city under the exclusive protection of the Mother of God. With this rite the urban procession started. It traversed the entire city, most probably ending up at the Blachernai church in the North-West corner of Constantinople. The major Byzantine church of the Virgin was located in that place with its most famous protective relic of the Virgin's Robe. Along the way other miraculous icons and relics from many Constantinopolitan churches joined the procession, which probably became an enormous religious demonstration, engaging a considerable part of the Byzantine capital's population<sup>25</sup>. The urban procession was a prolongation, a kind of second act, of the miraculous performance at the Hodegon square. The same servants clad in red had the exclusive right to carry the Hodegetria icon through the city, as we may learn from the twelfth-century Danish account, describing both the rite and the procession.

In both acts of the performance the Hodegetria was perceived as a living being, an animated icon (in Greek terms, *empsychos graphē*), which was able to work miracles. According to the eleventh-century testimony, at a particular moment of the Tuesday procession the image of the Virgin turned by itself to an image of Christ, aiming at the special veneration of the Son and the Lord<sup>26</sup>. The iconic space that was established at the Hodegon square had been transformed into a new one covering much bigger territory. Through the procession the miraculous power emanating from the Hodegetria icon of the Mother of God spread through the entire city, making it an enormous icon in space and bringing to the fore its status as earthly embodiment of the Heavenly Jerusalem.

As I have argued elsewhere, the spatial icon of the Tuesday performance could be transferred to other environments as happened with the holy ob-

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<sup>25</sup> There are two late eleventh-century Latin descriptions of this procession, so called Anonymous Mercati and Anonymous Tarragonensis: *Ciggaar K. Une Description de Constantinople traduite par un pelerin anglais // Revue des études byzantines* 34 (1976), p. 211–267, 249; *Idem. Une Description de Constantinople dans le Tarragonensis 55 // Revue des études byzantines* 53 (1995), p. 117–140, 127.

<sup>26</sup> *Ciggaar, Une description de Constantinople dans le Tarragonensis 55, 127.* The image of Christ might be identified with another most venerated miraculous icon of the Chalke Christ above the main entrance to the imperial Great Palace.

jects<sup>27</sup>. In this way a mystical link between geographically distant areas was established, they were included in the Christian iconic whole and the hierarchy of sacred spaces rooted in the Holy Land and Constantinople perceived as the New Jerusalem — a venerated place of the Second Coming. The ‘spatial icons’ played the role of vehicles of divine energy radiating from the most sacred centres.

This paper aims to present a historical reconstruction of a very powerful but up to recently almost neglected ‘spatial icon’ — the Tuesday miraculous performance with the Hodegetria of Constantinople<sup>28</sup>. This sophisticated project was probably created in the twelfth century by unknown authors who could use, as a kind of scenario, the Sermon of Theodoros Synkellos on the miraculous deliverance of Constantinople from the siege of 626. The creators of the Tuesday performance did not mean to present a historical drama reconstructing a particular event, but they used the paradigmatic story of 626 to make an iconic re-enactment of the Virgin’s appearance and miraculous protection over the city. This cosmic image of salvation included different layers of time, which interacted in the single whole: the eternal presence of the heavenly beings, the evangelic history, the model event of 626 as well as the actual time of the Tuesday performance whenever it happened in Constantinople from the twelfth to fifteenth centuries, or later in other parts of the Christian world.

The phenomenon described above might be considered as a special type of Byzantine creativity, that I term Hierotopy. Like image making and other cultural forms, it underwent historical changes and should be analysed as a kind of cultural and art-historical document, long neglected. The subject can not be reduced to the discussion of religious processions or rituals with icons. Moreover, one may argue that for the Byzantines the creation of such spatial imagery was one of the most important forms of their spiritual life, when everyone, beyond any hierarchy, could actually experienced him/herself as real participant of an iconic vision, mystically transforming the urban environment. From the socio-psychological point of view it looks more powerful than all church decorations taken together.

The Tuesday miraculous performance with the Hodegetria of Constantinople is just one characteristic example among several different models of Byzantine Hierotopy. I have attempted to demonstrate an opportunity to use the hierotopic vision and approach for concrete studies in Byzantine art and

<sup>27</sup> The traces of this spatial imagery might be found in Greece, Asia Minor, Russia and Italy. Several instances were collected and examined: Lidov A. The Flying Hodegetria. The Miraculous Icon as Bearer of Sacred Space, p. 307–319.

<sup>28</sup> To the best of my knowledge, this most important phenomenon, which considerably influenced the spiritual life of Constantinople, has been never included in the general histories of Byzantium, or any surveys of Byzantine culture and art.

cultural history. No less important seems a general statement that the images in space could be perceived by the medieval beholder as legitimate and recognizable icons though they were performed beyond the material objects. These spatial icons challenge our stereotypes because they can not be formalized as a kind of illustration of any particular text. At the same time they included a range of symbolic connotations, which co-existed in the changing dynamic context of the sacred performance in space. The traditional methodology of iconographic studies, based on the principle of 'text-illustration', has not taken account of this spatial imagery<sup>29</sup>. However, in the realm of Byzantine culture, these 'spatial icons' played a crucial role and often determined both the general structure of symbolic and artistic projects as well as a great deal of concrete pictorial details.

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<sup>29</sup> On this methodological issue, see: *Lidov A. Heavenly Jerusalem. The Byzantine Approach // The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Art / Ed. B. Kuehnel. Jerusalem, 1998, p. 341–353, esp. 353.*



1. Подкупольное пространство с образами Мандилиона и Керамиона над восточной и западной арками. Собор Спасо-Мирожского монастыря во Пскове. Вторая четверть XII в. / The domed space with Mandylion and Keramion above eastern and western arches. The cathedral of the Miroz monastery near Pskov, Russia, second quarter of the 12<sup>th</sup> century



2. Икона «Торжество Православия». Британский Музей, Лондон. Конец XIV в. / The icon of the Triumph of Orthodoxy. The British Museum, late 14<sup>th</sup> century

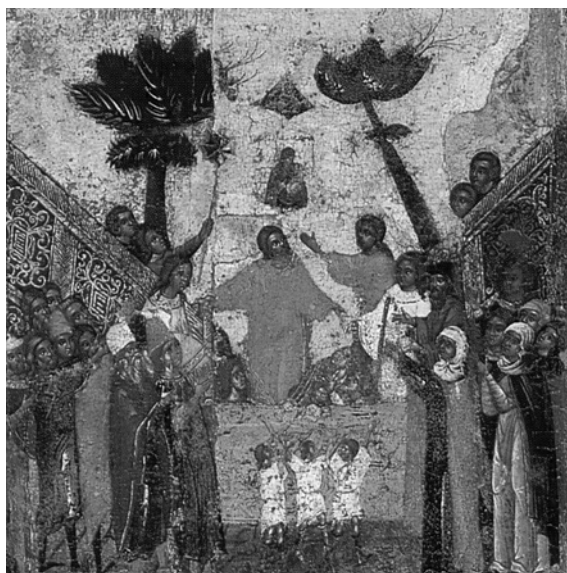




3. Икона «Похвала Богоматери с Акафистом» из Успенского собора Московского Кремля. Вторая половина XIV в. / The icon of the Praise of the Virgin with the Akathistos cycle. The Dormition Cathedral of the Moscow Kremlin, second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century

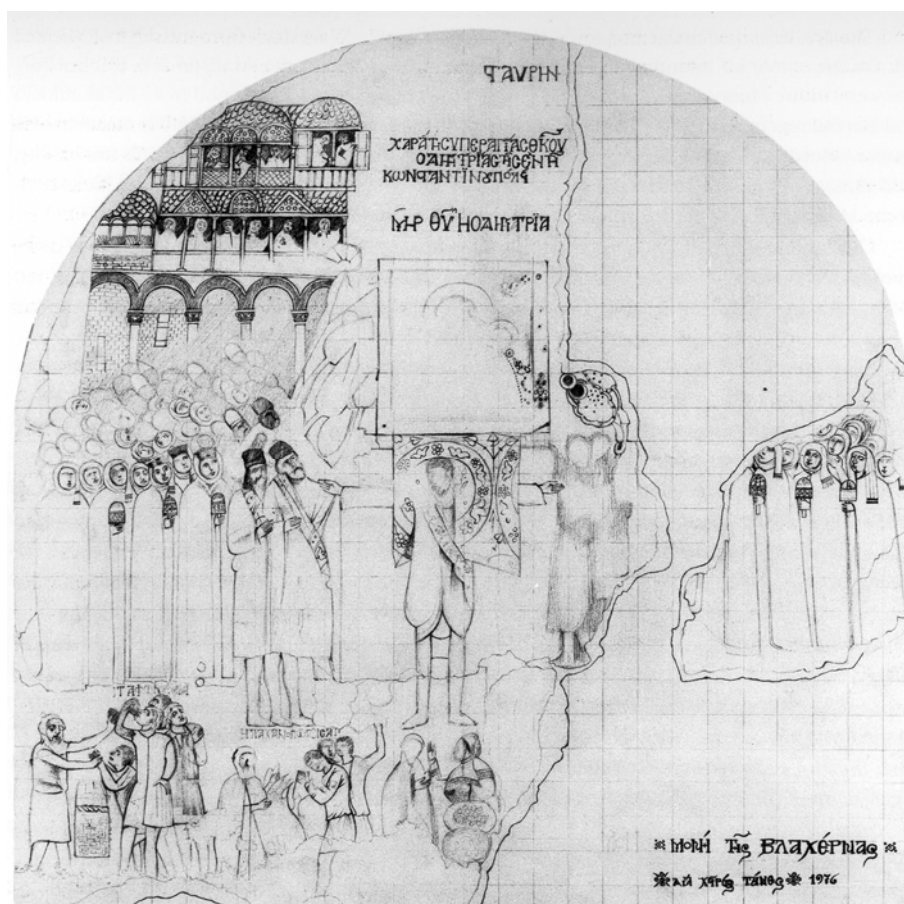


4. Процессия с Одигитрией Константинопольской. Клеймо из цикла Акафиста (кондак I «Взбранной Воеводе победительная») / The Procession with the Hodegetria of Constantinople. A scene from the Akathistos cycle (*prooimion II*)



5. Вторничное действо с Одигитрией Константинопольской Клеймо из цикла Акафиста (кондак XIII «О, Всепетая Мати») / The Tuesday rite with the Hodegetria of Constantinople. A scene from the Akathistos cycle (*oikos XXIV*)





6. Вторничное действо с Одигитрией Константинопольской. Руинированная фреска и ее реконструкция из монастыря Богоматери Влахернитиссы в Арте. Конец XIII в. / The Tuesday rite with the Hodegetria of Constantinople. The late 13<sup>th</sup> century fresco from the Blachernai monastery near Arta (Mainland Greece) and its reconstruction



7. Раздача воды (возможно, освященной воды из святого источника монастыря Одигон). Сцена на площади. Часть фрески в Арте / Distribution of the water (possibly, the holy water from the sacred spring of the Hodegon). A part of the composition in Arta



8. Женщины с курильницами справа от иконы Одигитрии. Сцена на площади. Часть фрески в Арте / Women with censurs. A part of the composition in Arta



9. Поклонение иконе Одигитрии. Сцена на площади. Левая часть фрески в Арте / The veneration of the Hodegetria icon. The left part of the composition in Arta



10. Поклонение чудотворной иконе Одигитрии Константинопольской в ее святилище. По сторонам — члены семьи служителей иконы в особых красных одеяниях. Миниатюра из рукописи «Псалтыри Гамильтона», конец XIII в. Берлин, Государственные музеи / The miniature of the Veneration of the Virgin Hodegetria in her shrine. Berlin, Staatliche Museen. Late 13<sup>th</sup> century [Kupfersichkabinette, 78 a 9 (Hamilton 119), fol. 39v]

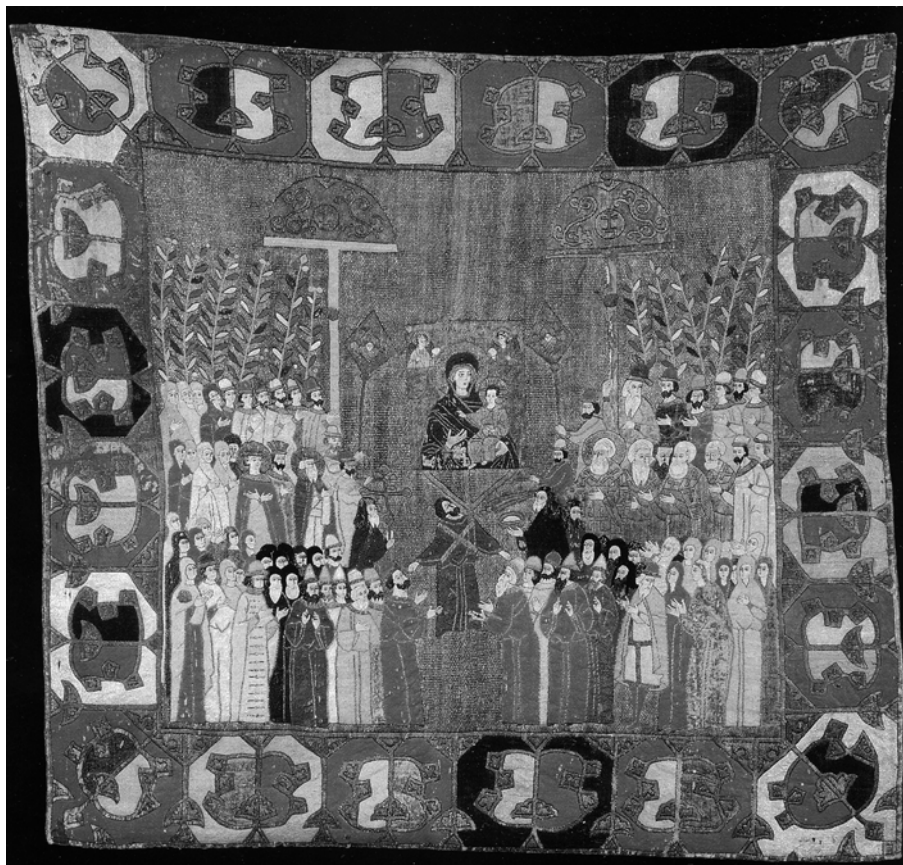


11. Двусторонняя икона с изображением Богородицы Одигитрии и Христа во гробе. Археологический музей. Кастория, Греция. Поздний XII в. / The double-sided icon of the Hodegetria and of Christ the Man of Sorrow on the back. Archaeological Museum. Kastoria (Greece). Late 12<sup>th</sup> century





12. Богоматерь Торопецкая (реплика чудотворной иконы Богоматери Полоцкой). Гос. Русский Музей. Санкт-Петербург. XIV в. / The icon of the Virgin of Toropets (a replica of the Virgin of Polotsk). State Russian museum, Saint Petersburg. 14<sup>th</sup> century



13. Вышитая икона (подвесная пелена) с изображением вторничного действия Одигитрии Константинопольской. ГИМ. 1498 (?) / The embroidered icon (*podia*) with the Tuesday rite of the Hodegetria. State History Museum, Moscow. 1498 (?)



14. Точный список с Одигитрии Константинопольской. Византийская доска XIV в., прописанная по древнему рисунку иконописцем Дионисием в 1482 г. ГТГ / The 'precise' replica of the Hodegetria of Constantinople. The Byzantine panel of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, repainted by the icon-painter Dionisi in 1482. State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow



15. Полный убор чудотворной иконы «Богоматерь Грузинская» из Суздаля, XVI в. Фото начала XX в. / The complete set of the original decoration of the miraculous icon "The Virgin of Georgia" from Suzdal, 16<sup>th</sup> century. A photo of early 20<sup>th</sup> century



16. Поклонение иконе Одигитрии. Фреска Маркова монастыря, Македония. XIV в. / The Veneration of the Hodegetria. A fresco of the Markov monastery, Macedonia. 14<sup>th</sup> century



17. Сретение Богоматери Владимирской. Русская икона. XVII в. ГТГ / The Meeting of the Virgin of Vladimir. A Russian icon. 17<sup>th</sup> century. State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow

Michele Bacci

A SACRED SPACE FOR A HOLY ICON:  
THE SHRINE OF OUR LADY OF SAYDNAYA

In fourteenth-century Florence, only a small percentage of the people had the heart (and the money) to embark on a voyage to the Holy Land for the remission of one's own sins. Those who stayed at home, however, had the chance to visit the *loca sancta* by virtue of a mental and spiritual exercise whose characteristics are unveiled to us by a still extant prayer in vernacular Italian: the title explains that "herewith are the voyages which are taken by those pilgrims going overseas for their souls' sake and which can even be taken by anybody staying at home and thinking of each place described herewith, by saying each time a *Paternoster* and an *Ave Maria*". Such an imaginary pilgrimage included not only the most holy places of Jerusalem and Palestine, where Our Lord lived and performed his miracles, but also other shrines being unrelated to Biblical or Evangelic topography; in this respect, a special passage within the prayer deserves to be quoted:

Then, you will go to Mount Sinai, and will find the tomb of Saint Catherine and her body whence oil gushes out. And you will also find a vase which the Virgin Mary put there with her own hands. Then you will go to Babylon, and will find a fountain, where the angel washed the clothes of our Lord, and hung the washing out to dry on a tree, and from that tree comes out the balm by the grace of God. And later you will go to Saint Mary of *Sardinai*, at six miles beyond Damascus<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> This text was first published by: *Melga M. Viaggi in Terra Santa descritti da anonimo trecentista e non mai fin qui stampati*. Naples, 1862, p. 7–11 (10–11); new edition by A. Lanza in: *Lanza A. and Troncarelli M. Pellegrini scrittori. Viaggiatori toscani del Trecento in Terrasanta*. Florence, 1990, p. 315–318, esp. 317.

The text mentions three places being located quite far from each other outside the Holy Land, i. e. the monastery of Saint Catherine's on Mount Sinai, the garden of Matariyya in the neighborhoods of Cairo and the shrine of Our Lady in Saydnaya near Damascus, Syria. The pious man, who is traveling throughout the Levant without leaving its house in Florence, can afford to visit them in a sequence, and is willing to do so since he is aware that each of them will provide him, though only virtually, with a miraculous liquid: the myron of Saint Catherine's body, the holy balm of Matariyya, and the prodigious sweat yielded by an icon in Saydnaya allegedly covered with human flesh, instead of paint<sup>2</sup>.

Such a sweat, or oil, enjoyed a rather widespread renown in Western Europe during the Late Middle Ages. As early as the late 1180s the priorate of Our Lady of Altavaux (in the Haute-Vienne) boasted of preserving both Saint Catherine's myron and «the oil dripping out of the breasts of an image of the Virgin Mary»<sup>3</sup>. A detailed account enables us to understand how the relic and the icon's fame had reached the Western countries. In 1186, two pilgrims from Altavaux, Guy Chat and Aiméry Brun, had received a phial of holy oil by a Templar friar named Gautier de Marangers, who had also instructed them «about some miraculous events recently happened overseas». Brother Gautier had a very good knowledge of Saydnaya, since he had been a prisoner of Salaheddin in Damascus and, when he had been released, he had decided to visit that Marian shrine before going back to Jerusalem<sup>4</sup>. As some scholars have stressed, the Templars may indeed have played an important role in promoting the worship of the 'incarnated icon' of Saydnaya and in disseminating the relics of the holy oil<sup>5</sup>: this hypothesis is confirmed by later sources, such as

<sup>2</sup> The basic study on the monastery of Saydnaya is that by *Zayyat H.* Ta'rikh Saidnāyā. Harissa, 1932. Supplementary information is provided by *Allam B.* Saidnaya. Gift of Glorious Heritage. Damascus s.d.; *Keriaky R. E.* Saidnaya – History and Ruins. Damascus s.d.; *Pringle D.* The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem. A Corpus. Cambridge, 1993–1998, II, p. 219–221 n° 198; *Burns R.* Monuments de Syrie. Guide historique. Damascus, 1998, p. 229–230.

<sup>3</sup> List of the relics preserved in Altavaux by 1180, published in *Leroux A.* Documents historiques bas-latins, provençaux et français concernant principalement la Marche et le Limousin. Limoges, 1883, I, p. 84.

<sup>4</sup> *Relatio Guidonis Chat de miraculo Beate Marie Virginis in Sardena* [c. 1186] / Ed. P. Devos. Les premières versions occidentales de la légende de Saidnaia // *An. Boll.* 65 (1947), p. 245–278, esp. 272–273.

<sup>5</sup> *Kedar B. Z.* Convergences of Oriental Christian, Muslim and Frankish Worshippers: The Case of Saidnaya and the Knights Templar // *The Crusades and the Military Orders: Expanding the Frontier of Medieval Latin Christianity. In memoriam Sir Steven Runciman (1903–2000)* / Ed. Z. Hunyadi and J. Laszlofsky. Budapest, 2001, p. 89–100; *Hamilton B.* Our Lady of Saidnaiya: An Orthodox Shrine Revered by Muslims and Knights Templar at the Time of the Crusades // *The Holy Land, Holy Lands, and Christian History. Papers Read at the 1998 Summer Meeting and the 1999 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* / Ed. R. N. Swanson. Woodbridge, 2000, p. 207–215.

Roger of Wendover's *Flores historiarum* (ca. 1231)<sup>6</sup> and Gautier de Coincy's *Miracles de Nostre Dame* (ca. 1250)<sup>7</sup>, who witness that Templar convents in the West often housed phials of the icon's sweat; nonetheless, other major institutions, such as Canterbury Cathedral<sup>8</sup>, the abbey of Cluny<sup>9</sup>, or Saint-Médard in Soissons<sup>10</sup>, boasted of analogous mementoes.

We can imagine that the Templars and other Crusaders had discovered the shrine during their campaigns against Moslems in Syria and might have stimulated the pilgrims from the West to carry on as far as the neighborhoods of Damascus (which was, however, an important goal by itself because of its association with the memory of Saint Paul's deeds). However, Burchard of Strasbourg, who has transmitted to us the earliest surviving description of Saydnaya in ca. 1175, was neither a pilgrim nor a Templar friar: he had been allowed to visit Syria during a diplomatic mission to Damascus on behalf of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, and his Muslim counterparts had probably been quite interested in showing him that shrine served by a Christian community, since it might be advantageous on political grounds<sup>11</sup>. But why that place could look so special to Western eyes?

Before answering this question, it is worth mentioning that Saydnaya is still flourishing and constitutes an important cult-centre for both Christians and Muslims of present-day Syria. William Dalrymple, a writer and journalist of our time, described it in its novel-report *From the Holy Mountain* (1994), and his words proved to be not less touching than those of his predecessors of the 12<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries: he speaks of a monastery ruled by Orthodox nuns where Muslim worshippers are even more numerous than Christians<sup>12</sup>. As Bernard Hamilton has emphasized, our ancestors shared our modern inability to understand Islamic tolerance and even more that phenomenon of cultural and religious *métissage* being so typical of Levantine countries<sup>13</sup>. Latin authors, such as William of Tyre, hardly understood why Muslim believers used to go on pilgrimage to such Christian churches as the basilica of Bethlehem and the cathedral of Our Lady in Tortosa (Tartūs) in

<sup>6</sup> *Roger of Wendover*. *Flores historiarum* / Ed. H. G. Hewlett. London, 1886–1889, II, p. 6.

<sup>7</sup> *Gautier de Coincy*. *Les Miracles de Nostre Dame* / Ed. V. F. Koenig. Geneva, 1970, IV, p. 378–411 ('De l'ymage Nostre Dame de Sardanei').

<sup>8</sup> *Dart J.* *The History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury, and the Once-Adjoining Monastery*. London, 1726, appendix, p. 47.

<sup>9</sup> As witnessed by *Vansleb J.-M.* *Histoire de l'Église d'Alexandrie*. Paris, 1677, p. 158–159.

<sup>10</sup> As related in Gautier de Coincy's poem, vv. 614–617 (ed. Koenig, p. 401).

<sup>11</sup> *Burchard of Strasbourg*. *De statu Egypti vel Babylonie* [c. 1175], 6 / Ed. De Sandoli // *Itinera Hierosolymitana Crucesignatorum* (saec. XI–XIII). Jerusalem, 1979–1984, II, p. 46; *Les premières versions* / Ed. Devos, p. 265–266.

<sup>12</sup> *Dalrymple W.* *From the Holy Mountain*. London, 1994.

<sup>13</sup> *Hamilton, Our Lady of Saydnaya*, as in note 5. Cf. also *Meri J. W.* *The Cult of Saints Among Muslims and Jews in Medieval Syria*. Oxford, 2002, p. 210–212.



Crusader-ruled territories, but they were even more puzzled at seeing that similar phenomena did exist well within Mamlūk countries. All this was so illogical that one could only suppose that God had granted a special grace to those holy places; according to the chronicler Albericus *de Tribus Fontibus*, writing in the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, three were the churches in the Levant which «defended themselves miraculously», i. e. against destruction by Muslims: that of Bethlehem, that of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai, and that of Saydnaya<sup>14</sup>.

Divine favour was immediately evident to pilgrims coming to Saydnaya from Damascus. Even if it was only ten or twelve miles far from the Syrian capital (it's actually 22 kilometers north-east of the town), the landscape was completely different. Instead of a desert and plain place, they saw abundant vegetation and water: near the village, writes Brother James of Verona in 1322, laid a magnificent source which quenched the thirst of both men and animals<sup>15</sup>. Westerners noticed and appreciated the great deal of vineyards encircling the built-up area: in fact, the natives used to drink wine as in Europe, and of course this wine couldn't but taste like nectar especially to Italian pilgrims, being compelled to abstemiousness during that trip inside an Islamic country. Because of the high quality of wines in the village, some visitors supposed that local grapewines descended from the archetypal graft planted by Noah after the Flood<sup>16</sup>. They also remarked that even Muslims allowed themselves a wine glass during their stay in Saydnaya<sup>17</sup>.

Most of all, the followers of Mohammed's creed couldn't but stay for a while in that village, since by virtue of God's grace (as pilgrims told) they were not allowed to live there for more than one year<sup>18</sup>. The resident population was composed only of Christians, although of different obedience, such as Melkites (by far the outstanding community), Western Syrians or Jacobites, Maronites, and Nestorians; compared with other Christians in the area, they were to be reputed lucky, since they not only could take advantage of a fertile

<sup>14</sup> *Albericus de Tribus fontibus*. Chronicon // Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores rerum Germanicarum. Hannover, 1826, XXIII, p. 935–936. On Saidnaya as a pilgrimage goal cf. Weyl Carr A. Icons and the Object of Pilgrimage in Middle Byzantine Constantinople // DOP 56 (2002), p. 75–92, esp. 88–89.

<sup>15</sup> *James of Verona*. Liber peregrinationis [1335] / Ed. U. Monneret de Villard // Liber Peregrinationis di Jacopo da Verona. Rome, 1950, p. 136–137.

<sup>16</sup> *Surius B.* Le Pieux Pelerin ou Voyage de Ierusalem. Bruxelles, 1666, p. 342.

<sup>17</sup> *Magister Thietmar*. Peregrinatio [1217–1218]. Version preserved in the 14<sup>th</sup>-century Codex Hamburgensis 143b / Ed. J. C. M. Laurent // Mag. Thietmari Peregrinatio ad fidem codicis Hamburgensis. Hamburgi, 1857, p. 19.

<sup>18</sup> This often-repeated story is first mentioned by *Thietmar* (ed. Laurent, p. 19), followed by Friar Filippo Busserio in 1283 (ed. De Sandoli, *Itinera*, IV, p. 250) and the Anonymus of ca. 1290 (ed. M. L. Colker. A Mediaeval Pilgrim's Guide // Classical, Mediaeval, and Renaissance Studies in Honor of Berthold Louis Ullman / Ed. Ch. Henderson. Rome, 1964, II, p. 93–143, esp. 141).

soil and a luxuriant nature, but also were allowed to freely worship Christ and His Most Holy Mother. Such an Eden, such a fragment of Paradise on earth was consecrated by the fortified monastery which commanded it over a pinnacle of rock. This building, too, looked familiar to Western pilgrims, because of both its location on the top of a hill and its being covered with tiles: visitors from Tuscany, such as Giorgio Gucci and Lionardo Frescobaldi in 1384<sup>19</sup>, were greatly struck by this device, which reminded them of the architectural practices of their native country.

The monastery was inhabited by both nuns and monks. The earliest sources not always provide us with clear information about their religious affiliation: even if scholars have most often emphasized the dominant role of the Melkite church throughout the history of Saydnaya, some Medieval texts seem to hint at a cohabitation of Byzantine (i. e. Greek-speaking) and Syrian clergy<sup>20</sup>; the hagiographic telling of the icon, which counters a pious Syrian woman with an ambiguous Constantinopolitan monk, may indeed suggest a direct contrast between the two communities. What should retain our attention here is that, notwithstanding the presence of Greek *calogeri* inside the monastery, only the Syrian nuns were entitled to manage the shrine and the cult-practices taking place there.

The pilgrimage to the monastery church consisted of a long-lasting and progressive approach march to the icon, being preserved in the holiest of holies of the *katholikon*. Visitors were expected to climb the pinnacle of rock by walking up on a steep stairway; when they arrived at the top, they entered the monastery through a very small entrance and went across an open space which reminded them of an Italian *piazza*. From there they entered the narthex, which was shaped as a porticus or *trasanna*, as Western pilgrims called it, supported by four pillars and reminded them of a country summerhouse<sup>21</sup>. At last, they gained access to the main door. The church interior probably looked like a traditional Latin building of the basilican type, consisting of three naves separated by twelve columns; its dimensions were huge and so sensibly differed from the often diminutive churches held by Orthodox Christians in the Levant. Step by step they approached the choir, which was delimited by a *templon*-like struc-

<sup>19</sup> See the texts edited by A. Lanza — M. Troncarelli. *Pellegrini scrittori. Viaggiatori toscani del Trecento in Terrasanta*. Firenze, 1990, p. 210, 299.

<sup>20</sup> The sources often speak of “Syrian nuns” and “Greek monks”; the terms *Surianus*, *suriano* or *siriano* usually hint at the Syro-Melkite community, although they can be eventually used also for the Jacobites; Lionardo Frescobaldi (ed. Lanza-Troncarelli, p. 210–211) indeed describes the nuns as “Christians of the Girdle”, a term being used for both Melkites (especially in Egypt) and Jacobites or Western Syrians. Cf. *von den Brincken A.-D. Die “Nationes Christianorum orientaliū” im Verständnis der lateinischen Historiographie von der Mitte des 12. bis in die zweite Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts*. Köln–Wien, 1973, p. 76–103.

<sup>21</sup> *Joos van Ghistele. Tvooyage van Mher [1485] / Ed. R. J. G. A. A. Gaspar // Ambrosius Zeebout. Tvooyage van Mher Joos van Ghistele*. Hilversum: Verloren, 1998, p. 301–302.

ture (perhaps a kind of Early Christian *prostoon* or *schola cantorum*): it was not a common transversal iconostasis, since the Flemish traveller Joos van Ghistele witnessed that the “cisterns” for the blessed water were located close to each of its corners. From the same source we learn that “a small chapel” of semicircular shape lay behind the presbyterium and access to it could be gained through two doors on the choir sides. The sacredness of the holy place was first manifested to visitors by the great number of lamps reputed to burn the whole day and the whole night. A very beautiful lamp hanged in front of a niche framed by a border made with gold lieves, mother-of-pearl ornaments, jaspers, serpentines, and other precious materials: such an accumulation of ornaments revealed that a most holy object, i.e. a miraculous icon displaying the Virgin and Child, was preserved within the apse wall (fig. 1)<sup>22</sup>.

Even if the 12<sup>th</sup> century writer Burchard of Strasbourg wrote that, although nobody was allowed to touch its surface, pilgrims could obtain to see the icon unveiled<sup>23</sup>, all of the later visitors witnessed that it was almost impossible to see it, since the niche was secured with a grating and was covered with cloths, and lots of candles, lamps, and *ex-votos* hanging in front of it; somebody even said that almost nothing remained of the originary painting, since the paint had turned into flesh (at least from the waist upwards) and from its breasts the holy sweat or oil (sometimes described also as milk) ran down the portion of wall below and filled a marble basin.

A French illuminated manuscript of Gautier de Coincy’s *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, dated ca. 1411–1412 and attributed to the so-called ‘Master of Marshal Boucicault’s Hours’, may be of help in understanding how pilgrims were involved in the aura of spatial sacredness created by the special nature of the Saydnaya icon (fig. 2)<sup>24</sup>. One of the visitors is approaching the church but is still outside, another one is entering and respectfully putting off his hat; one of the nuns will allow him to get inside the holy bema (being bounded by the chancel screen on the right). When entering the bema, the pilgrim is requested to kneel down in front of the holy icon, which another nun is going to unveil to him: it is represented as a painted panel of the Virgin and Child, walled up in-

<sup>22</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 302: “...ten hende staet den choor, ende over elke zijde es eene cisterne daer eeuwelic water in es, goet ghedroncken jehghens de cortsen zo de religieusen zeggghen. Item in dese zelve keercke achter den choor staet een cappellekin, half ront wesende, int welke men commen mach van tween zijden van uut den choore, ende dat hanct altijts vul lampten, bernende nacht ende dach. In midden zo staet een maniere van eenen wijnwater steene van witten marberen, daer inne dat ooc altoos eene groote bernende lampste es, ende recht daer vooren zo staet een viercandt masier gat inden muer ghemetst, vooren met eender yserin trailge, sluitende met tween bladeren van metale verguldt. De boorden vander veinsteren ende masiere zijn zeer zuverlic ghewracht ende ghesneden van moeder van peerlen, van jaspis, van serpentin steenen ende meer andere, in twelcke veinsterkin ofte masiergat zo es een vanden vier beelden van Maria, dat de heleghe evangeliste Sente Luuc ghemaect heeft naer der ghelijcke van Marien...”

<sup>23</sup> *Burchard of Strasbourg*, as in note 11.

<sup>24</sup> *Sterling Ch. La peinture médiévale à Paris 1300–1500*. Paris, 1987, vol. I, fig. 262.

side a niche, which is imbued with the miraculous liquid filling the basin below. The illuminator, who is working out a faithful interpretation of Gautier de Coincy's poem, stresses the visual element as a means of establishing a relationship between the image and its beholder. Admittedly, Gautier relied on the earliest sources which told that the image was actually shown to visitors; nonetheless, no text seems to provide exact descriptions of how the image looked like: according to Anba Mikhaïl, a Coptic Bishop of Damietta quoted by the Arabic writer Abū 'l-Makārim in 1183, it was of "pale red" colour<sup>25</sup>; Guy Chat heard that it was "sculpted", or better "carved" in a wooden panel<sup>26</sup>; Mathew Paris imagined that it was painted "in the Greek manner"<sup>27</sup>; all other authors spoke of a medium-size painted icon representing the Virgin and Child "from the waist upwards" (what is a kind of standard description of Byzantine holy images). In 1336 Wilhelm von Boldensele remarked that almost nothing remained of the ancient surface:

[...] you can see a dark and damp panel, where they say that was once painted the image of the glorious Virgin Mary, but because of its ancientness you cannot recognize anything of Her features, even if it seemed to me that there appeared some fragments of red colour<sup>28</sup>.

Nonetheless, Ludolph of Sūdheim in 1341<sup>29</sup> and Ulrich Leman in 1473<sup>30</sup> reported that the image represented the Virgin Mary suckling the Child. This

<sup>25</sup> *Abū al-Makārim*. Ta'rikh al-kana'is [1190–1191] / Ed. S. al-Suryānī // Ta'rikh al-kanā'is wa-l-adyirah fī al-qarn al-thānī 'ashar al-milādī li-'Abī al-Makārim. Cairo, 1984, III, p. 72–74.

<sup>26</sup> *Relatio Guidonis Chat* / Ed. Devos. Les premières versions, p. 272: "ychoniam sculptam in sancte Dei genitricis honore".

<sup>27</sup> *Mathew Paris*. Itineraire de Londres a Jerusalem [c. 1244] / Ed. De Sandoli // Itinera, III, p. 514: "une ymage peinte de Nostre Dame of sun enfant à ovre grezesche".

<sup>28</sup> *Wilhelm von Boldensele*. Hodœporicon ad Terram Sanctam [1336] / Ed. H. Canisius-I. Basnage // Thesaurus monumentorum ecclesiasticorum et historicorum. Amsterdam, 1725, IV, p. 335–357, esp. 356: "Retro maius altare ipsius in muro tabula quaedam retro nigra et humida cernitur, in qua imago gloriosae Virginis olim depicta fuisse asseritur, sed propter vetustatem nihil de lineamentis figurae distinguitur in eadem, nisi quod aliqua parte color rubeus mihi videbatur aliquantulum apparere".

<sup>29</sup> *Ludolph of Sūdheim*. De itinere Terrae Sanctae (1335–1341) / Ed. F. Deycks (Ludolphi, rectoris ecclesiae parochialis in Suchem, de itinere Terrae Sanctae liber. Nach alten Handschriften berichtet herausgegeben). Stuttgart, 1851, p. 99–101: "In hoc monasterio... pulchra est ecclesia, in qua retro altare in muro in quodam arcu semicirculari stat imago beatae Mariae in tabula lignea, quasi lactans filium, ab umbilico sursum est depicta et cancellis ferreis praemunita; sed est tota nigra prae vetustate et osculis effecta, quod vix imago fuisse discerni potest, sed modicum rubei coloris adhuc cernitur in vestimentis depictis".

<sup>30</sup> *Ulrich Leman*. Wallfahrt nach Jerusalem [1473] / Ed. R. Röhrich, H. Meisner // Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem Heiligen Lande. Berlin, 1880, p. 105–106: "in der selben kilchen hinder dem altar in ainer mur ist unser frowen bildnuss gemalat in ainem halben schwibogen und ain aner hultziner taffel gemalat, wie sy ir kind sogt, ob der gurtal hinuff, hat och Sant Luc gemalat".

device would confirm the theory of Lucy-Ann Hunt, who has proposed to identify the Saydnaya type with that of the Galaktotrophousa<sup>31</sup>. Such an authoritative archetype may indeed explain why nursing Virgins are to be found quite often in churches of the area: in the rock-cut chapel of Saydet-Naya near Kfar Chlaiman in Northern Lebanon she is represented enthroned in a 13<sup>th</sup> century fresco located on the eastern wall near the altar (maybe replicating the setting of the icon in its shrine?)<sup>32</sup>; the same subject appears also in the Melkite church at Qar'a, Syria<sup>33</sup>, where the setting below an arch may hint at the actual shape of the Saydnaya niche, which, according to Ludolph of Südheim, ended in a semi-circular arch. However, I am convinced that we can share Hunt's proposal only if we admit that beholders (and painters making copies of the image) were obviously disposed to attribute a strong maternal identity to a sacred object which was reputed to emanate a life-giving liquid from its incarnated breasts. But this doesn't mean that the Saydnaya icon actually looked like this, since one may think that it didn't look at all, or that it was meant to be kept concealed to profane eyes, exactly as it was meant to be kept away from profane hands. By the way, it is worth stressing that nursing women played an important role in the traditional imagery of both Christian and Muslim communities in Syria, as witnessed, for example,

<sup>31</sup> *Hunt L.-A.* A Woman's Prayer to St. Sergios in Latin Syria: Interpreting a Thirteenth-Century Icon at Mount Sinai // *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 15 (1991), p. 96–145 (119–121). The association to the Galaktotrophousa type was first formulated by *Nasrallah J.* La Vierge Hodigitria (la Vierge Conductrice ou al-Hadia) // *Proche-Orient Chrétien* 38 (1988), p. 238–254. On the importance of the maternal side in the traditions of the Christian East cf. *Van Moorsel P.* Die stillende Gottesmutter und die Monophysiten // *Kunst und Geschichte Nubiens in christlicher Zeit. Ergebnisse und Probleme auf Grund der jüngsten Ausgrabungen* / Ed. E. Dinkler. Recklinghausen, 1970, p. 281–290, and, more recently, *Dodd E. Cruikshank.* Christian Arab Sources for the Madonna Allattante in Italy // *Arte medievale*, n. s., II/2, 2003, p. 33–39.

<sup>32</sup> *Voisin L. Nordiguian-J.-C.* Châteaux et églises du Moyen Âge au Liban. Beirut, 1999, p. 307–308 and 392–393; *Dodd E. Cruikshank.* Medieval Painting in the Lebanon. Wiesbaden, 2004, p. 43, 306–314. It is necessary to stress that the cave church is not orientated and the altar is located on the south wall; nonetheless, the fresco displaying the Virgin Galaktotrophousa lies very close to the altar.

<sup>33</sup> On the frescoes at Qar'a, usually dated to the 12<sup>th</sup> century, cf. *Leroy J.* Découverte de peintures chrétiennes en Syrie // *Annales archéologiques arabes syriennes* 25 (1975), p. 95–113, esp. 95–106; *Zibawi M.* Orienti cristiani. Senso e storia di un'arte tra Bisanzio e l'Islam. Milan, 1995, p. 92 and colour plate 19; *Velmans T., Korać V., Šuput M.* Bisanzio. Lo splendore dell'arte monumentale. Milan, 1999, p. 63; *Westphalen S.* Byzantinisierende Wandmalereien in Syrien // *Byzantinische Malerei. Bildprogramme-Ikonographie-Stil. Symposium in Marburg vom 25.–29.6.1997* / Ed. G. Koch. Wiesbaden, 2000, p. 387–403; *Dodd E. Cruikshank.* The Frescoes of Mar Musa al-Habashi. A Study in Medieval Painting in Syria. Toronto, 2001, p. 110; *Eadem*, *Christian Arab Sources*, passim.

by a series of enigmatic ceramic figures produced in Islamic milieu of the area in the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> century<sup>34</sup>.

Scholars have stressed that the location of the image in a niche on the apse wall is almost unique in the Orthodox world (such rare instances as the painted niche behind the altar in the Franco-Byzantine church of Lyso in Cyprus is itself indebted, as Annemarie Weyl Carr has noticed, to the model of Saydnaya<sup>35</sup>). We shouldn't forget, however, that the monastery is situated in Syria, and that concealing sacred objects inside the walls of a church is something traditional in Syrian Christianity; and we have some evidence that important relics (such as the Baptist's hair in a Nestorian monastery in Qanqal, Iraq) could be walled up in the apse, behind the altar, i. e. in the place held by the Bishop's throne in the times past<sup>36</sup>. This detail should be taken into account, since it may explain why the icon proves to be so cruel against the high clergy: according to Eastern sources, such as the Ethiopian versions of the Saydnaya legend<sup>37</sup> and the accurate report by Vassilij Grigorevič Barskij<sup>38</sup>, when patriarchs, metropolitans, archbishops or even priests had tried to transfer the image to another place, notwithstanding the nuns' reluctance, they immediately became paralysed or even died within few days. In other words, the icon's location within the true auratic centre of the building epitomized Saydnaya's status as an extraordinary and independent holy place, being subject solely to the Virgin Mary.

The close relationship of the icon with the sacred space housing it was clearly expressed by its translation legend. A monk from Constantinople had

<sup>34</sup> Cf. *L'Orient de Saladin. L'art des Ayyoubides*. Exhibition catalogue. Paris, 2001, p. 156, n°138.

<sup>35</sup> Carr A. W. Byzantines and Italians on Cyprus: Images from Art // DOP 49 (1995), p. 339–357, esp. 348–352. The Saydnaya cult actually happened to be exported by Syrians into Cyprus, as witnessed by a 16<sup>th</sup> century icon labeled 'the Mother of God of Saydnaya' in the church of the Archangel Michael in Phrenaros: cf. Papageorghiou A. Syrie et les icônes de Chypre. Peintres syriens à Chypre // Report of the Department of Antiquities. Cyprus, 1989, p. 171–176.

<sup>36</sup> See Fiey J.-M. La vie mouvementée des reliques dans l'Orient syriaque // Parole de l'Orient 13 (1986), p. 183–196 (187–188).

<sup>37</sup> *Ethiopian Synassary* [late 16<sup>th</sup> century] / Ed. G. Colin // PO 43/3, p. 385–387. The Ethiopian church is accustomed to celebrate the feast of Our Lady of Saydnaya on 10 Maskaram; cfr. Cerulli E. Il libro etiopico dei Miracoli di Maria. Rome, 1943, p. 231–289. The story of the Saydnaya icon has also been represented as an enthroned Hodegetria by a Venetian illuminator (Nicola Brancaloni) working in Ethiopia in ca. 1508–1520: cf. Monneret de Villard U. La Madonna di S. Maria Maggiore e l'illustrazione dei Miracoli di Maria in Abissinia // Annali lateranensi 11 (1947), p. 9–90, esp. 57–62, and Chojnacki S. Major Themes in Ethiopian Painting. Indigenous Developments, the Influence of Foreign Models and Their Adaptation from the 13<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. Wiesbaden, 1983, p. 393–395.

<sup>38</sup> Barskij V. B. Странствования Василья Григоровича Барскаго по Святымъ местамъ Востока. Ч. II 1728–1744 гг. Sankt Peterburg, 1886, p. 105–109. I owe this reference to Alexei M. Lidov. Most interestingly, Barskij witnesses that a miracle being equivalent to that of the 'Holy Fire' in Jerusalem actually took place also in Saydnaya, at the same moment as the most famous one within the Holy Sepulchre.

promised to buy it on behalf of a pious Syrian nun who had given hospitality to him in Saydnaya; he did buy the image, but when he realized that it performed miracles, he decided to take it away to his own monastery. However, he stopped again in Saydnaya and as soon as he entered the church he was no more able to find the exit, since he couldn't see any door, but only a nude wall; and the door appeared again whenever he laid down the icon. Then he realized that God wanted the icon to remain there, and the nun put it immediately within the niche behind the altar, and secured it with a grating, and she didn't forget to cover it with cloths and light it with lamps. As soon as the icon was located there, it turned into flesh and started pouring oil from its breasts, and the wall was soon soaked with that holy liquid; that's why she decided to put the basin below<sup>39</sup>.

The image was now a human body, concealed and housed within a greater, architectural body which protected it as a child in her mother's womb. Believers were expected to have a feeling that a living being was hidden inside the apse wall, beneath the multiple layers of objects hanging before the grating; the Mother of God's presence was not evoked by Her icon's external appearance and iconography, but by a secretion of Her body running down the wall. The ritualized approach of pilgrims to the bema ended when one of the nuns put her hand through the grating to collect some liquid within a spoon; she then turned back to the kneeling believer and anointed his forehead, temple, and chest with that holy oil<sup>40</sup>. In this way, he

<sup>39</sup> On the history of the Saydnaya legend and its Arabic, Latin, and Romance versions cf. *Raynaud G.* Le miracle de Sardenaï // *Romania* 11 (1882), p. 519–537; *Idem*, Le miracle de Sardenaï (article complémentaire) // *Romania* 14 (1885), p. 82–93; *Cheiko L.* “Khabr iqūnat Saidnāyā al-‘jibāh” // *al-Machriq* 8 (1905), p. 461–468; *Peeters P.* La légende de Saidnaia // *An. Boll.* 25 (1906), p. 137–157; *Idem*, review of Zayyat. Ta’rikh Saidnāyā // *An. Boll.* 51 (1933), p. 435–438; *Graf G.* Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur. I: Die Übersetzungen. Vatican City, 1944, p. 256–257; *Devos*, Les premières versions, passim; *Dawkins R. M.* The Icon of Sardenaï // Παγκαρπεία. Mélanges Henri Grégoire. Bruxelles, 1949 (= “Annales de l’Institut de philologie et d’histoire orientales et slaves” 9), I, p. 135–144; *Minervini L.* Leggende dei cristiani orientali nelle letterature romanze del Medioevo // *Romance Philology* 49 (1995), p. 1–12; *Baraz D.* The Incarnated Icon of Saidnaya Goes West. A Re-Examination of the Motif in the Light of New Manuscript Evidence // *Le Muséon* 108 (1995), p. 181–191.

<sup>40</sup> The rite is best described by the skeptical words of the Flemish voyager Bertrandon de la Broquière in 1432–1433: “Toutesfois, quant je y fus, on me monstra tout au bout de l’église, derriere le grant autel, ainsy que une fenestre dedans le mur, en laquelle je veis ladite ymaige, une chose plate; et peut avoir ung pié et demy de long et ung de large. S’elle est de bois ou de pierre je ne sçay, car elle est toute couverte de drappeaux et sy a une traille de fer au devant. Et aubout de ceste table, y a ung petit vaisseau où il y a de l’uyle. Là vint une femme qui me vult faire la croix sur le front, aux temples et en la poitrine qui, à tout ung cuillier d’argent, mesla lesdictz drappeaux et me samble que c’est ung pratique pour avoir argent, non obstant que je ne veulx point dire que Nostre Dame n’ait plus grant puissance que ceste n’ait” (*Le Voyage d’Outremer de Bertrandon de la Broquière* / Ed. Ch. Schefer. Paris 1892, p. 64–66). Cf. *Peers G.* Sacred Shock. Framing Visual Experience in

was physically involved into the holiness of that place, since he was lead to experience an individual and even bodily relationship with an invisible sacred object whose auratic power was created by the interaction of rite and space within an ingeniously built-up setting.

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САКРАЛЬНОЕ ПРОСТРАНСТВО ДЛЯ СВЯТОЙ ИКОНЫ:  
СВЯТИЛИЩЕ БОГОМАТЕРИ САИДНОЙ

Монастырь Богородицы Саидной, расположенный в 22 км к востоку от Дамаска, все еще остается одним из самых важных культовых центров современной Сирии; несмотря на то, что он населен и управляется христианскими (т. е. греко-православными) монахинями, его церковь, в которой хранится знаменитая икона Богородицы, ежедневно посещается множеством мусульман. Монастырь известен с конца XII века и долгое время был важным пунктом в маршрутах многих паломников как с христианского Востока, так и из Западной Европы. И это при том, что, в отличие от прочих почитаемых мест Святой Земли, он не связан ни с одной реликвией или важным эпизодом из Евангелия, а также не мог похвастаться фигурой основателя, который был бы важным представителем раннехристианского монашества. Статус «святого места», которым обладала Сайднейя, являлся прямым следствием святости ее иконы, которая, как считалось, освящала все пространство вокруг себя. Это относилось не только к церкви и всему монастырю, построенным на вершине скалы, но и располагавшейся у ее подножия деревне. Все это прославлялось как благословенные Господом места, где росли виноград и прочие растения и было множество воды. Там позволялось жить только христианам, так как считалось, что если там осмелятся поселиться мусульмане, то они погибнут в течении одного года.

Природная среда в Сайднейе (т. е. сочетание невиданного плодородия с каменистой и песчаной пустыней) играли важную роль в создании ореола святости этого пространства, так как у посетителей складывалось впечатление, что они попали в подобие Эдема, которому покровительствует Господь. Средоточием комплекса была главная церковь внутри монастырских стен, чьим ядром было святилище, в кото-

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Byzantium. University Park, 2004, p. 133: The incarnated icon of Saidnaya is indicated by this author as a special case of “attendance, even consanguinity with divinity”, being a consequence of the role played by the frame in disintegrating the distance “that theoretically separates image and model”.



ром хранилась икона. По-видимому, современное ее состояние — результат основательной перестройки, но все же представить убранство и обстановку церкви можно благодаря множеству описаний европейских и христианско-арабских паломников XII–XVII вв., а также благодаря сборникам описаний чудес Богородицы на нескольких языках (включая латынь, старофранцузский, испанский, арабский и эфиопский). Эти источники содержат ценную информацию о внешнем виде и устройстве здания, которые постепенно вовлекали паломников в сакральное пространство с помощью тщательно разработанного ритуала поклонения святой иконе.

Прежде всего, паломник должен был подняться на сайднайский холм и войти в ворота монастыря, затем он проходил через площадь и крытый портик и приближался к дверям церкви. Само здание было довольно большим и в плане представляло собой базилику, состоящую из центрального и двух боковых нефов, разделенных шестью колоннами. После прохождения всего центрального нефа паломник должен был остановиться перед алтарными воротами перед тем, как ему позволялось пройти дальше. Монахи или монахини должны были провести его в особое пространство за алтарем, где его просили преклониться перед местом, где, как сообщалось, находилась икона. Согласно источникам, покрытый множеством покровов образ хранился в расположенной в восточной стене углублении-нише, защищенной железной решеткой. Чудотворное масло, источаемое иконой, стекало по стене и наполняло мраморную чашу внизу. Монахи или монахини просовывали руки через решетку, собирали чудотворное масло и совершали помазание паломников. Таким образом посетители эмоционально и материально приобщались к святости места.

Икона пользовалась такой высокой репутацией из-за того, что считалось, что она сделана из человеческой плоти. Согласно местным преданиям, она обрела плоть, когда монах из Константинополя отказался передать ее настоятельнице монастыря. В этот момент двери храма сами собой закрылись и не открывались, пока икона не была помещена в нишу за алтарем. Затем, желая выразить желание остаться в этих стенах, икона сотворила чудо — поверхность иконы обратилась в нежную кожу, и над ее плоскостью поднялась грудь, источающая чудотворное масло. Святая икона действительно замещала тело Богородицы, и все сакральное пространство вокруг нее было пронизано этим телесным присутствием: церковные стены увлажнились ее святой влагой, двери защищали ее, сама она была помещена внутри апсиды за алтарем в особом помещении, как дитя в лоне матери.

По общему признанию, такое место расположения иконы в православном храме было довольно странным. Нам известны случаи, когда

святые иконы Богородицы помещались внутри вимы, среди них «Панагия Ойкокира» в Фаросском храме Большого дворца в Константинополе. Однако подобное размещение гораздо более традиционно для святых Западного, где живописные образы обычно ассоциируются с алтарем. Начиная с XI в. также встречаются, хоть и редко, расписанные ниши или углубления, содержащие доски или скульптуры. Так как некоторые интересные примеры такого рода могут быть обнаружены в католических зданиях Ближнего Востока и на Кипре, мы предполагаем, что такая практика возникла под влиянием крестоносцев. В любом случае стоит отметить, что устройство, сознательно повторяющее Сайднейское, было найдено учеными в ряде церквей Восточного Средиземноморья, например в церкви Панагии Хрисоелеусы в Лиси на Кипре (как показала Аннамари Вейль Карр). Другие святые места, такие как пещерный храм в Saydet-Naya в Kfar Chlaiman в Ливане, могли быть построены по похожим схемам.

Воспроизведение сакрального пространства Сайдней было следствием ее широкой известности среди паломников-христиан как Западного, так и Восточного. В Европе XIII–XIV веков были распространены реликварии с чудотворным маслом. По одной гипотезе, поклонение *Madonna Damascena* на Родосе и позднее на Мальте в рыцарском орденах госпитальеров напоминало культ сайднейской иконы. Более того, можно предположить, что распространение иконографического типа Богородицы Млекопитательницы также было стимулировано этим феноменом, так как святая икона обычно идентифицировалась как кормящая Дева Мария. Анализ сохранившихся иллюстраций *Miracle de la Vierge de Sardanaï* или *Sardaneï* (как она была обычно известна старофранцузским паломникам) в западных манускриптах позднего средневековья может оказаться крайне полезным для восстановления иконографии образа, а также тех культовых практик, в которых он принимал участие. На деле они обычно изображали не просто внешний вид иконы, а культовую обстановку сирийского святилища. История «воплощенной иконы» Сайдней также является источником распространенной легенды о «сарацине, обращенном образом Девы Марии в христианство». Она повествует о том, как мусульманин присвоил икону Богородицы и поместил ее в нише своего дома. Он относился к ней с почтением и поклонялся ей, но все еще не мог поверить в догмат Воплощения. Чудесным образом икона обратилась в плоть, и убежденный этим сарацин решил перейти в христианство. Эта легенда воспроизводит и связь иконы со стеной здания, и топос воплощения; возможно, она возникла под влиянием того факта, что местные мусульмане чтили Сайднейскую икону, чем поражали западных пилигримов, воспринимавших это как проявление особой благодати, которой Бог одарил святое место.



1. The present setting of the icon. Sainaya Monastery, Syria.



2. Pilgrims to the Saidnaya icon. Master of the Boucicault Hours, miniature illustrating one of Gautier de Coincy's "Miracles de Notre Dame", ca. 1411–1412. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms. Fr. 2810, f. 171v.

Annemarie Weyl Carr

TAKING PLACE:  
THE SHRINE OF THE VIRGIN VEILED  
BY GOD IN KALOPANAGIOTIS, CYPRUS

*This article honors Athanasios Papageorgiou,  
valued mentor and friend*

The eleventh-century *typikon* of the Constantinopolitan Evergetis Monastery, in a passage appropriated by many subsequent monastic documents, asks that when a new hegumen is installed in office, the key to the monastery be placed before the icon of Christ or the Mother of God, so that the new leader may receive custody of the institution directly from its divine patron<sup>1</sup>. Such a prescription shows that an icon was understood to affect the space in front of it: to engage the image was to engage its space. This mutuality lies at the heart of hierotopy. As Alexei Lidov said in opening the conference to which this volume is devoted<sup>2</sup>, hierotopy studies not specific things that talk about the holy, but studies rather the orchestration of acts and artifacts that

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<sup>1</sup> *Evergetis: Typikon* of Timothy for the Monastery of the Mother of God *Evergetis* / Trans. Robert Jordan // *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents, Volume 2* / Ed. John Thomas and Angela Constantinides Hero. *Dumbarton Oaks Studies 35*. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2000, 491 n 29: "...the keys should be placed before Christ or the Mother of God, and after a *trisagion*, the one who is being installed after the three required genuflections should take the keys from there with his own hands..." This was followed in the *typika* of the Kosmosoteira, Phoberos, and Makhairas monasteries (Ibid., 504 n 32).

<sup>2</sup> Introduction to conference, 29 June 2004, at the State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow. This article is based on the paper entitled "The Panagia Theoskepaste and the Eleousa of Kykkos: The Space of a Sacred Relationship," on 1 July 2004. I thank Alexei Lidov very warmly for the opportunity to participate in the conference and this ensuing publication; I extend my gratitude, too, to the Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute where much of the research was done, and to Southern Methodist University, which has supported my work so generously.

allows the holy to take place<sup>3</sup>. The ways in which things become engaged with the spaces in which the holy can take place are extremely varied. Thus, hierotopy's subjects often will themselves be artifacts — instances in which the orchestration of elements is the product of deliberate choreography<sup>4</sup>. But at least as often, it will surely need to engage less artifactual interactions, watching the path of an artifact through force fields that — though exposing a place as the site of profound convergences of memory — are nonetheless the product of far less intentionally directed forces. This paper is an effort to present a place and an object that have been conjoined in such an indelible but only marginally intentional way. As the research it presents is the product less of historical than of ethnographic and on-site observation, I write it in the first person.

The site in question is on the island of Cyprus<sup>5</sup>. It lies above the village of Kalopanagiotis in the Marathasa Valley, high on the north slopes of the Troodos mountains, about a kilometer beyond the eleventh- or early twelfth-century monastery of St. John Lampadistes<sup>6</sup>. It is a tiny gabled chapel of ambiguous age, set beside a small spring and engulfed in the shade of two huge live oak trees that completely hide it from view (fig. 1). The trees are often aflutter with votive cloths, though a recent sign asks visitors not to leave them. A far older electric sign by the road, now rickety and disused, was still emblazoned with the name of the shrine when I first came there in the summer of 1990. The name was “Panagia Theoskepaste” — that is, the

<sup>3</sup> The term is drawn from *Smith J. Z. To Take Place. Toward Theory in Ritual*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1987.

<sup>4</sup> See for example *Lidov A. The Flying Hodegetria. The Miraculous Icon as Bearer of Sacred Space // The Miraculous Image in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance / Ed. Erik Thuno and Gerhard Wolf*. Rome, 2004, p. 273–304.

<sup>5</sup> The major sources on the shrine of the Panagia Theoskepaste are *Papageorgiou A. Θεοσκέπαστης, Παναγία, Καλοπαναγιώτης // Μεγάλη Κυπριακή εγκυκλοπαιδεία*, 16 vols. Nicosia: Philokypros, 1987, 6: 20; *Myriantheas K. Μελέται Κώστα Μυριανθέα 1969–1990*. Nicosia: n. p., 1991, p. 299–300, 331–334; *Gunnis R. Historic Cyprus*. Nicosia, 1936, p. 248; *Kyriazes N. G. Ναός ἁγίου Ἰωάννου Λαμπαδιστοῦ // Κυπριακά Χρονικά* 12, part 4. October–December 1936, p. 242–243; *Idem, Παραδόσεις περὶ Τρουλλινοῦ καὶ Μαράθου // Κυπριακά Χρονικά* 11, part 2. April–June 1935, p. 133–143.

<sup>6</sup> On Kalopanagiotis see especially *Papageorgiou A. Καλοπαναγιώτης // Μεγάλη Κυπριακή εγκυκλοπαιδεία*, 16 vols. Nicosia: Philokypros, 1987, 6, p. 215–216; *Myriantheas, Μελέται*, p. 281–316 and passim; *Kyriazes N. G. Μοναστήρια ἐν Κύπρῳ: Ναός ἁγίου Ἰωάννου Λαμπαδιστοῦ καὶ Μονὴ αὐτοῦ // Κυπριακά Χρονικά* 12, part 4. October–December 1936, p. 240–268. On Kalopanagiotis in the medieval period see *de Mas Latrie L. L'Île de Chypre: Sa Situation présente et ses souvenirs du moyen-âge*. Paris, 1879, p. 355, who regards Kalopanagiotis as the central settlement in the Marathasa Valley in this period. On the monastery of St. John Lampadistes see *Stylianou A. and Stylianou J. A. The Painted Churches of Cyprus. Treasures of Byzantine Art*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. Nicosia, 1997, p. 292–320.

shrine of the Virgin veiled by God<sup>7</sup>. I have returned almost every summer since. The shrine is beautifully maintained (fig. 2). A cup resting ready by the spring reinforces the invitation of the trees' deep, refreshing shade. Young women come there in the evening to visit, and to tend the lamps, straighten the furniture, and secure the gifts left by visitors. The flow of gifts is steady but largely unseen: though I have spent many hours there, I have never encountered other visitors; just their tell-tale secretions of offerings. The signs outside, the attentions of the young women, and the offerings of cloth, coin, or oil make it clear that the place is a site of rituals — that people keep coming there, as I do myself.

Why do people come? Initially this was perfectly clear to me. It was because the chapel housed a particularly beautiful icon of the Panagia, one of the finest preserved on Cyprus<sup>8</sup>. It occupied its own throne at the far end of

<sup>7</sup> Theoskepaste is not a frequent epithet for images of the Virgin, though it does have precedent on Cyprus itself. Also known as the “Panagia Theoskepaste” is the thirteenth-century icon from the church of the Virgin Theoskepaste in Paphos, now in the Byzantine Museum in Paphos. It is the earliest icon on Cyprus with the heavy red veil seen again in the icon at Kalopanagiotis and later made so famous by the Kykkotissa. See: *Mother of God. Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art. Exhibition at the Benaki Museum / Ed. M. Vassilaki. Athens, 20 October 2000 — 20 January 2001. Milan, 2000, p. 350–353, no. 36, entry by Athanasios Papageorgiou with earlier bibliography, especially: Idem, Η αμφιπρόσωπη εικόνα της Παναγίας Θεοσκεπάστης στην Πάφο // Ευφρόσυνον. Αφιέρωμα στο Μανόλη Χατζηδάκη, 2 vols. / Ed. Myrtili Acheimastou-Potamianou. Athens, 1991, 2: p. 484–489 and Hadermann-Misguich L. La Vierge Kykkotissa et l'éventuelle origine latine de son voile // Ibid., 1: p. 197–204. This icon, too, has a rich legendary tradition linked with the Virgin's veiling protection: see Jeffrey G., F.S.A. A Description of the Historic Monuments of Cyprus. Nicosia: Government Printing Office, 1918, p. 404; Philippos L. Ἡ Θεοσκεπάστη // Κυπριακὰ Χρονικά 1 (1923), p. 13–14. The epithet is known outside of Cyprus, as well, however. Baltoyianni C. Εικόνες τῆς Νάξου // Δεύτερο συμπόσιο βυζαντινῆς καὶ μεταβυζαντινῆς τέχνης. Athens, 1982, p. 62–63 publishes two thirteenth-century icons by this name on Naxos; Timotheos of Jerusalem. Αἱ ἐπωνυμῖαι τῆς Παναγίας // Νέα Σίων 48 (1953): 175 adds an icon by this name in the Kastron on Andros, so named because the roof timbers of the church were found miraculously; and Schlumberger G. Sigillographie de l'empire byzantin. Paris, 1884, p. 292 publishes a magnificent seal of the Virgin Theoskepaste, perhaps associated with the cave church of the Theoskepaste in Trebizond, cited by Timotheos, Αἱ ἐπωνυμῖαι τῆς Παναγίας, 177, and Kalokyris K. Thèmes d'iconographie de la Mère de Dieu // Επιστημονικὴ ἐπετηρίς. Θεολογικῆς σχολῆς 16 (1971), p. 183.*

<sup>8</sup> On the icon see: Weyl Carr A. Reflections on the Life of an Icon: The Eleousa of Kykkos // Επετηρίδα Κέντρου Μελετῶν Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Κύκκου 6 (2004), p. 103–62; Ἱερὰ Μετροπόλις Μόρφου. 2000 χρόνια τέχνης καὶ αγιότητος. Nicosia, 2000, p. 284–285, no. 20 (entry by Stylianos K. Perdikes); Papageorgiou A. Ἡ Αυτοκέφαλος Εκκλησία τῆς Κύπρου. Κατάλογος τῆς εκθέσεως. The Autocephalos Church of Cyprus. A Catalogue of the Exhibition // Byzantine Museum of the Cultural Foundation of Archbishop Makarios III, Nicosia, 1995. Nicosia: Holy Archbishopric of Cyprus, 1995, p. 143. The icon measures 113×82.5 cm, and retains its supporting pole. It was restored in 2000 by Kostas Gerasimos and Kyriakos Papaioakeim, and is now in the so-called Latin Chapel of the church of St. Herakleidios in the monastery of St. John Lampadistes.

the iconostasis (fig. 3, 4). The chapel's roof is asymmetrical, extending on one side to cover a low south aisle that was at some time added to the nave. Itself symmetrically gabled, the nave is divided from the aisle by stubby piers supporting a long, low arcade. The iconostasis continues beneath the arcade, and the icon's throne stands at right angles to it under the steeply sloping roof of the aisle. Long concealed behind the residues of dust and devotion, the icon was cleaned and consolidated by the Department of Antiquities in the 1980<sup>9</sup>, and once exposed, quite filled the small space with its beauty. A photograph published before the cleaning showed it veiled by curtains that left only its lower central section exposed<sup>9</sup>; this may account for the severely abraded condition of this portion of its surface. Otherwise its condition was good, and continued to be so despite the fact that it was as prone as the trees to acquire accretions: embroidered cloths, wax body parts, and flowers hung from its frame, coins stuck to its surface, bills tucked into the corners of the frame.

The icon displays the Virgin and Child in the type of the Kykkotissa (fig. 5), that is, the miracle-working icon of the Mother of God of Kykkos Monastery<sup>10</sup>. The Kykkotissa is the most potent thaumaturgic icon on Cyprus. First recorded in 1365<sup>11</sup>, it has been veiled from view for centuries but continues to be a site of exceptional interventions and is known from countless replicas: it displays Mary holding a twisting Child who kicks his bare legs as he grasps her heavy red veil in one hand and a scroll in the other. Research on the Kykkotissa is what brings me to Cyprus. Already in the sixteenth century the Kykkotissa was the most frequently painted variant of the Virgin on Cyprus after the Hodegetria, but icons of this type, following their prototype at Kykkos, are most often veiled by curtains or stitched covers. This was not simply

<sup>9</sup> *Myriantreas, Μελέται*, pl. 58.

<sup>10</sup> The bibliography on this icon is by now extensive. The best succinct presentation is *Soteriou G. A. 'Η Κυκκιώτισσα. Νέα Έστία* (Christmas issue, 1939), p. 3–6. See also *Carr, Reflections on the Life of an Icon*, p. 103–162; many articles in: *Η Ιερά Μονή Κύκκου στη βυζαντινή και μεταβυζαντινή αρχαιολογική και τέχνη* / Ed. M. N. Christodoulou and Stylianos K. Perdikes. Nicosia: Museum of the Holy Monastery of Kykkos, 2001; *Gratziou O. Μεταμορφώσεις μίας εικόνας. Συμειώσεις στις όμιμες παραλλαγές της Παναγίας του Κύκκου // Δελτίον της χριστιανικής αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας*, ser. 4, 17 (1993–1994), p. 317–329 with English summary on 330; and *Ephraim the Athenian. A Narrative of the Founding of the Holy Monastery of Kykkos and the History of the Miraculous Icon of the Mother of God* / Ed. and trans. Andreas Jakovljević, with Modern Greek trans. by N. Christodoulou. Nicosia: Research Centre of Kykkos Monastery, 1996.

<sup>11</sup> The icon is said by legend to have been brought to Cyprus at the time of Kykkos's founding during the reign of the Byzantine emperor Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118), but its presence is securely attested only with reference to a fire at Kykkos in 1365. The story is well told by *Hackett J. A History of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus*. London: Methuen and Co., 1901, p. 331–335; see also *Ephraim the Athenian, A Narrative*, p. 50–51.



the most beautiful; it was the most visible icon of the Kykkotissa's type that I had ever seen. I was sure it was a Kykkotissa — a replica of the great icon at Kykkos — and thus the origin of the chapel's prominence.

It is possible that the icon was the source of the shrine's importance. Though the present church is post-medieval<sup>12</sup>, it may have roots running back to the Middle Ages: ruins to its north have been identified as possible hermits' cells of medieval date<sup>13</sup>, and an iconostasis beam of very fine quality that was found in the chapel belongs to a late fourteenth-century date not far distant from that of the icon of the Virgin<sup>14</sup>. Moreover, the legend quoted to explain the shrine's name speaks of what may well be the fifteenth century, for it says that the trees protected from death the families of Latin Catholic knights slain defending Cyprus from Muslim invasion<sup>15</sup>. Their blood dyed the fruits of the local fig trees red. Cyprus was ruled by Latin Catholic Crusaders from 1191 to 1474, and while some versions of the story identify the Muslims as Ottomans<sup>16</sup>, the identification of the warriors as Catholics rather links it to the Crusader era and its brave, bloody wars with the Mamluks in the early fifteenth century. Thus shrine and icon both can be plausibly linked to the Middle Ages. Moreover, the icon can plausibly be linked to the shrine. Its name, as noted, is Theoskepaste, veiled by God. The Virgin's heavy crimson veil, a feature seen also in the Kykkotissa and the subject of extensive speculation<sup>17</sup>, might well be read as an iconographic sign of Mary's protection. Certainly Byzantine tradition assigned a protective role to the relic of the Virgin's veil in Constantinople. It might have been this very feature that made an icon of the Kykkotissa's type take root in a shrine protected by its veiling live oak trees. In fact, the icon placed on proskynetation during many of my visits was the icon honoring the feast of Mary's protective veil, the so-called Skepe — the root of Theoskepaste (fig. 6). Certainly I came to the shrine of the Virgin Veiled by God because I was sure it displayed an early instance in which a replica of the Kykkotissa, graced by the miraculous reputation of the great original, had itself attracted cult and became a special icon in its own right.

<sup>12</sup> *Papageorgiou*, Θεοσκεπάστης, suggests that it was built in the seventeenth or eighteenth century as a single-nave church to which the south aisle has since been added.

<sup>13</sup> *Myriantreas*, Μελέται, p. 299.

<sup>14</sup> Now in the icon museum at the monastery of St. John Lampadistes, the beam is fully reproduced in: *Papageorgiou A.* The Icons of Cyprus. Nicosia: Holy Archbishopric of Cyprus, 1991, pl. 55 a–l and in: *Ιερά Μητρόπολις Μόρφου*, 140. *Myriantreas*, Μελέται, p. 332 reproduces a photograph showing it in the chapel of the Panagia Theoskepaste.

<sup>15</sup> Gunnis, *Historic Cyprus*, p. 248.

<sup>16</sup> See *Timotheos*, Αἱ ἐπωνυμίαι τῆς Παναγίας, p. 176–177.

<sup>17</sup> On the veil see most recently *Carr*, Reflections on the Life of an Icon, p. 131, n 20. Its earliest occurrence on Cyprus is on the icon of the Virgin Theoskepaste cited in note 7 above.

But slowly it became clear to me that I had jumped to a very great many conclusions. The Kykkotissa is not attested before 1365, very nearly the same period as this painting. If this was a Kykkotissa, it was an exceptionally early example. Certainly it is not labeled Kykkotissa. More importantly, the legend of the shrine does not refer to the Virgin. The legend refers to the trees. It is not at all clear when the Virgin Mary became linked to the shrine and its trees. It is equally unclear when this icon became associated with the shrine. The early twentieth-century ethnologists who recorded the shrine for the first time do not mention the icon<sup>18</sup>. While this may simply be because the panel was too obscured by its cover and candle soot to be noticeable, it means that we cannot document the icon's presence there before the middle of the twentieth century<sup>19</sup>. We really have no idea when the shrine became the *Panagia* Theoskepaste.

This turns attention to what is known of the site. The church of St. Herakleidios in the monastery of St. John Lampadistes was surely in use before the early twelfth century, the likely date of a mural painting of two kneeling monks on its apse wall, and probably goes back to the eleventh<sup>20</sup>. We know that the village of Kalopanagiotis, too, did exist in the Crusader period, and the heraldic crest of the Latin kings, the Lusignans, appears in both the iconostasis and the mural paintings at St. Herakleidios<sup>21</sup>. The Lusignan lions have rankled in local imagination, lending the Lusignans a role in local lore that far outstrips what history can substantiate<sup>22</sup>, and attracting the curiosity of Europeans in search of the exotic fringes of their own history. This awareness of the lions makes it awkwardly possible that the legend of the Latin knights reflects not a bit of history preserved like a fly in amber, but is really a later embellishment of the trees' reputation to accommodate the reminders of Latin presence in the area. The centrality of Mary is problematic, too. The legends deal with trees. We hear nothing of the importance of Mary.

<sup>18</sup> See: Jeffrey, *A Description*, p. 287; *Kyriazes*, Ναὸς ἁγίου Ἰωάννου Λαμπαδιστοῦ (as in note 5 above), p. 242–243; *Gunnis*, *Historic Cyprus*, p. 248.

<sup>19</sup> *Myriantheas*, *Μελέται*, 300 and pl. 57 discusses and reproduces the icon in his studies of 1969; *Timotheos*, *Αἱ ἐπωνυμῖαι τῆς Παναγίας*, p. 176, published in 1953, also speaks of the icon but says rather enigmatically that “the old icon has perished entirely and been replaced by a new one”.

<sup>20</sup> See: *Stylianou* and *Stylianou*, *Painted Churches of Cyprus* (as in note 6 above), p. 292–295 and fig. 176.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, fig. 182.

<sup>22</sup> See for example *Myriantheas*, *Μελέται*, p. 293, saying that the Latin archbishop of Cyprus had his summer palace in Kalopanagiotis, and that the templon in St. Herakleidios — given its Lusignan heraldry — cannot have been crafted for Orthodox use and must originally have been painted for a Latin Chapel occupying the area now occupied by the fifteenth-century parekklesion known as the Latin Chapel.

The Catholic rulers of Cyprus were followed by the Ottoman Turks, who conquered Cyprus in 1570/71 and ruled it until the island was taken over as a protectorate by the British in 1878. Elements of the Ottoman period are echoed in two further components of the shrine's legends. First, we hear a number of stories of the trees. In these cases, however, the trees are not the protecting shadow of the Mother of God. They are vindictive organisms that protect themselves. People who try to cut their branches drop their axes and never find them. Though visible from above, the axes vanish when their seekers climb down from the branches. No matter how carefully they search, the axes never become visible again. A schoolmaster determined to harvest firewood is later bereft when his son falls from the branches. A man who comes with a knife is blinded when it flies from his hands<sup>23</sup>. The names for the tools that appear in these stories are drawn from Cypriot dialect of the Ottoman era<sup>24</sup>.

More savage is the legend of Marathas and Troullinos. Marathas and Troullinos are the supposed names of two lost villages<sup>25</sup>. In this legend, Marathas had a church under miraculous trees — trees that hid tools and even people from view; in particular, they hid Christians from Turks. In a spirit of competition, Troullinos built the shrine under the live oak trees. It was called not Panagia Theoskepaste but the Panagia Molyvdoskepaste — covered with lead, — and it is supposed to have been so constructed that one could not see the door from the outside. Legends of Marathas and Troullinos tell of a terrible vendetta that wiped out the populations of both villages. One of the legends associates the obliteration of the villages with the Ottoman invasion of 1570/71, saying that Turkish attention was drawn to the villages by the extravagant church and palaces of the Venetians in Marathas. It gives a striking picture of a village with mixed Greek and Latin population in which the two communities had vied with each other to build the most eye-catching edifices, only to catch the eye of rapacious in-

<sup>23</sup> *Kyriazes*, Ναός αγίου Ἰωάννου Λαμπαδιστοῦ, p. 242 n 3.

<sup>24</sup> Thus in *Myriantheas*, Μελέται, p. 331, the lost axes are not ἀξίνες, but τσεκούρι.

<sup>25</sup> For an historical assessment of the legend of Marathas and Troullinos see: *Gilles Grivaud*. Villages désertés à Chypre (fin XII<sup>e</sup> — fin XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle). Nicosia: Zavallis, 1998, p. 202, 204, 211–214. Marathasa, Grivaud says, is mentioned often in the Latin sources, though the name is applied more to the region of the Setrachos River valley as a whole than to any village as such; the name Maratho appears in 1521 and again in 1747 but not thereafter. Troullinos has a firmer basis in documentary evidence; a settlement of fair size first cited in 1435, it is believed to have been ravaged by Turkish soldiers either at the time of the Ottoman invasion, in the eighteenth century, or in the Ottoman reprisals following 1821. Grivaud, 217 and 301–314, associates its disappearance with the extensive depopulation of the region and not with any specific violent event. *Kyriazes*, Παράδοσεις (as in note 5 above), p. 135, speculates only that the event may have happened in the seventeenth century.

vaders<sup>26</sup>. Other versions are vague about the origins of the vendetta<sup>27</sup>; most, however, state clearly that Turks in the mixed village of Marathas conspired to provoke it<sup>28</sup>. Claiming to have an official document, the Turks summoned all males in the two villages to a site some distance away to hear the document read. In fact, they engulfed and butchered the men in a massacre so horrific that the rivers ran red with blood. Still today, the legend goes, the figs in that place are red because they were dyed with the blood. Hearing the fray, the women and children fled to the Molyvdoskepaste, sure that they would be protected there by the hidden door. And indeed, the infuriated posse of aggressors swarmed around the building but could find no entrance. They were about to leave, but at that point, an unfortunate baby inside the shrine began to cry, and the Turks, presuming an ambush, lit it on fire. The men of the two villages were all massacred; the women and children were burned to death in the church, and nothing survived of the two communities except the shrine itself, the Molyvdoskepaste. In the legend of Marathas and Troullinos, the shrine is associated with Mary, not the trees. But it is not linked with her benign protection (*Theoskepaste*); Molyvdoskepaste must refer to the overhanging roof.

In 1878 the British took over Cyprus from Turkey, and governed it for a century, until 1960. The British period has added further elements to the history of the shrine. The most notable of these is an otherwise undistinguished icon on the iconostasis (fig. 7). It was given in the year 1918 by a local archon; it shows the Mother of God, and it is prominently labelled in large, classical Greek letters as “Theoskepastos”. Here, we meet the name that we are familiar with: not Molyvdoskepaste, but Theoskepaste. The Virgin has assumed the protective name that so readily seems to mate with the protective role of the trees. The iconographic type of the Mother of God, however, is totally unlike that of the icon that so dominates the shrine today. Far from being a replica of a great medieval protective image, it is unrelated. Ethnologists of the early twentieth century also call the shrine Theoskepaste. But curiously, they do not record our icon any more than the icon dedicated in 1918 had reflected it. Though the emphasis in the shrine is now on the Theoskepaste, the *icon* eludes our view.

Looking back, then, we find an extremely varied set of stories. Little remains to tell us of the Crusader era, except two provocative facts: that

<sup>26</sup> See the account by Achilleos Amiliotis cited by *Kyriazes, Παραδόσεις*, p. 135 n. 4, and reprinted in the unpaginated documentary section at the end of *Myriantheas, Μελέται*.

<sup>27</sup> *Kyriazes, Παραδόσεις*, p. 136–137; *Myriantheas, Μελέται*, p. 327, presents the destruction of Marathas as a Turkish reprisal for the uprising of Victor Zempetos (1607–1617), following the destruction of Marathas with a further action in which the male citizens of Troullinos were rounded up and massacred.

<sup>28</sup> As narrated in *Kyriazes, Παραδόσεις*, p. 137–138.

the icon does seem to be of legitimately medieval date, and that at some point, a legend that speaks of medieval knights emerged. It is an interesting legend, in that it participates in key aspects of the later legend of Marathas and Troullinos, but in reverse: here, the families are effectively protected by the shrine's overshadowing trees, and the figs are dyed red with the blood of heroes. In its generosity the legend is radically different from either the brusque and unromantic stories of the vindictive trees, or the fierce story of Marathas and Troullinos. The stories of the trees seem basic to the site — trees play a huge role in Cypriot folklore. And yet: how old are the trees? The shrine in the legend of Troullinos was not protected by its trees; in this legend the shrine is protected by its heavy roof, that hid the entrance door. The trees that now stand by the shrine may actually be as many as two hundred years old, but they are surely no older than this: fed by springs as these are, the trees on Cyprus can grow to grandiose proportions in a century. They may not have been notable yet in the Ottoman centuries. In the story of Marathas and Troullinos, it is Marathas that has miracle-working trees, not Troullinos. Might it be that earlier legends of Kalopanagiotis in general slowly gathered around this shrine as its trees matured? Might the story of the knights, in particular, have come in the British era to nestle in the now-magnificent trees? Notably, of the ethnologists recording the legends of the shrine in the 1930s, it is the British Rupert Gunnis to whom the legend of the knights was told<sup>29</sup>. Cypriot scholars seem not to have encountered it — or at least, not to have heard it as Gunnis did. Kykkos, in turn, does not figure in the legends, at all, and even the beautiful icon is strangely fugitive. It becomes clear that we are dealing not with *an* icon, or even *a* legend or *an* event. We are dealing with a *site*, that had gathered many events and objects.

The *site* bespeaks tensions within Cyprus itself. Nature's capriciousness comes out in the vindictive trees, that reclaim by their tricks the depredation that humans inflict on them. Humans, in turn, are divisive. Be it Christian and Muslim, Latin and Greek, Greek and Turkish, groups in opposition appear and reappear. They crystallize and recrystallize around the site of the shrine. Sometimes their relationships are unexpectedly benign, as in the case of the Latin knights who gave their lives to defend the dominantly Orthodox Cyprus from Muslim invaders: what Muslim invaders they were barely matters, for Cyprus has stood at the difficult hinge between Christian and Muslim for centuries, and has been plucked from Islam recurrently by Western European interventions — Byzantine, Crusader, Venetian, British. At other times relationships are harshly violent, as in the story of the two competing villages, Marathas and Troullinos. One watches as a kind of inescapable

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<sup>29</sup> Gunnis, *Historic Cyprus* (as in note 5 above), p. 248.

magnetism pulls the terms, Greek and Turk, into the story of the two villages' mutually annihilating vendetta, thus enshrining another confrontation of cultures in the site. The *Trees*, in turn may have defined site as notable. Trees are often ways of signaling places of note. It may have been around them that the layered stories of the region gathered and interlaced.

The *Virgin Mary*, finally, may have been grafted onto the stories of the trees. This may have happened because there was a great icon there. But it was in no sense demonstrably in association with the presence of *our* icon. Certainly there is no basis at all for assuming that the icon drew attention as a Kykkotissa. Even the theme of protection that seemed so aptly signalled by the Virgin's red veil and the icon of the Skepe on the proskynetarion need have no bearing on either icon or shrine, at least in origin, for the feast of the Skepe — though old in Orthodoxy — was adopted by the Greek Orthodox Church only in the nineteenth century<sup>30</sup>. If its protective theme is associated with the icon, such association can be no more than a century old. This may be the case. By 1918, as we saw, local attention to the shrine had become generalized and sweetened, and the Virgin had acquired the benign, protective nickname, Theoskepaste. This name was written in the studied, enlightened, ancient Greek letters of the British period. They imply the British period's chronological and national definitions of history. These were definitions that heroized the Crusades, and that hungered for Crusader reminiscences on the island.

Once given its own name, the site gained attention. We can see that in its accretions: a new, late nineteenth- or early twentieth-century iconostasis, the throne for the icon, the electric sign bespeaking celebrations of Mary, and the mild but very persistent veneration of the trees by means of the votive rags. By the late British period we find ethnologists at the site, recording its accretions, both material and legendary, and analyzing their history, linguistic quirks, and meanings. Eventually, of course, I came, eager to understand the radiant Virgin whose name meant Veiled by God.

Then in the last decade, since 1994, Cyprus has seen a series of Marian events. They began with the visit of the great Athonite icon, the Axion Esti<sup>31</sup>, in the twentieth anniversary year of the Turkish invasion of 1974<sup>32</sup>.

<sup>30</sup> Ακολουθία τῆς Ἁγίας Σκέπης τῆς Ὑπεραγίας Δεσποίνης ἡμῶν Θεοτόκου μετὰ παρακλητικοῦ κανόνος καὶ χαιρετισμῶς. Mount Athos: Megiste Laura, 1988, p. 8.

<sup>31</sup> On the Axion Esti see most recently Kriton Chrysochoïdes, Giannes Tavlakes, Giota Oikonomake-Papadopoulou, Τό Ἄξιον Ἔστιν, Παναγία ἡ Καρυώτισσα. Ἡ ἐφέστια εἰκόνα τοῦ Πρωτάτου. Ἱστορία – Λατρεία – Τέχνη. Mount Athos: Holy Community of Mount Athos, 1999. On the Kykkotissa and the Axion Esti see: *Tsigaridas E.* Ἡ φορητὴ εἰκόνα “Ἄξιον Ἔστι” τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Πρωτάτου Ἁγίου Ὄρους καὶ ἡ Παναγία Κυκκιώτισσα // Ἡ Ἱερά Μονὴ Κύκκου στὴ βυζαντινὴ καὶ μεταβυζαντινὴ ἀρχαιολογικὴ καὶ τέχνη / Ed. Menelaos N. Christodoulou and Stylianos K. Perdikes. Nicosia: Museum of the Holy Monastery of Kykkos, 2001, p. 181–190.

Heavily charged with a message of Hellenism and welcomed with all honors due a visiting chief of state, the Axion Esti arrived in the week before Ochi Day, the day to which the Greek Church has moved the celebration of the Skepe in honor of Greece' heroic stand in World War II on 28 October 1940<sup>33</sup>. It was greeted by tens of thousands with an intensity surely heightened by the fact that it is the iconographic twin of the Kykkotissa. Yet more dramatic was an epidemic of weeping that swept the island's rich population of Marian icons in February and March of 1997<sup>34</sup>. The great Kykkotissa did not weep. But the first and most visible weeper was the icon next to it on the iconostasis at Kykkos, and Kykkos and the Kykkotissa became the focus of the event. Pilgrims and money poured into Kykkos, and attention to its famous icon surged. As they never had before, replicas of the Kykkotissa blossomed in jewelers' windows and souvenir stands. And when I made my own annual pilgrimage to the shrine under the trees in July, 1997, there was a brand new icon of the Kykkotissa on its proskynetarion (fig. 8), and both the proskynetarion and the Theoskepaste's throne were well padded with pound notes. The young girls who came to tend the lamps in the evening pointed out to me that the icon was like the Kykkotissa. A concern for the abrasions of attention led the Department of Antiquities to install a sign asking that people not tie cloths to the trees. And in the year 2000, the icon itself was removed for restoration and safekeeping, presumably for inclusion in the new icon museum being built at the monastery of St. John Lampadistes by the Bishop of Morphou. It had been published for the first time already in 1995, and now the icon was quickly swept into the eddy of scholarly discourse that rippled around the Mother of God at the turn of the millennium, taking its place in the eager press of curiosity about the origin and early history of Cyprus's own great Marian palladion, the Kykkotissa<sup>35</sup>.

<sup>32</sup> 'Ο Φιλελεύθερος, 22 October 1994, no. 12647, page 1 columns 4–6 quoting President Clerides's welcoming remarks the "Ο Μαρτυρικός ελληνισμός της πατρίδας μας"; Ibid., 23 October 1994, no. 12648, page 1, columns 2–5; page 13, columns 1–8. The *Cyprus Weekly*, 21–27 October 1994, no. 776, page 1, columns 5–6, page 9, columns 1–4 gave extensive coverage to the icon's arrival, calling attention just below its cover story to the sightings of the image of the Virgin Mary that were occurring at the same time in Conyers, Georgia. *Cyprus Weekly*, 28 October — 3 November 1994, page 1, columns 4–5 covered the icon again on October 28 itself, when a crowd of 15,000 gathered.

<sup>33</sup> Ακολουθία τῆς Ἁγίας Σκέπης, 8.

<sup>34</sup> The mounting intensity of the event, which drew 50,000 pilgrims up the steep roads to Kykkos on Sunday, 10 February alone, can be traced in successive articles in 'Ο Φιλελεύθερος: 2 February 1997, page 16, column 1; 4 February 1997, page 1, column 1; 6 February 1997, page 3, column 7; 7 February 1997, page 1, column 6–8; 10 February 1997, page 1, column 6–8.

<sup>35</sup> *Parageorgiou*, Η Αυτοκέφαλος Εκκλησία, 143; Ιερά Μητρόπολις Μόρφου, no. 20; *Carr*, Reflections on the Life of an Icon, p. 103–62 (all as in note 8 above).

The icon clearly has become a Kykkotissa. At an earlier moment, it had become the Theoskepaste. And before that it may have had a different name. Or maybe it was another icon that was there before — possibly a Panagia Molyvdoskepaste, that shared in the dreadful fate of the other women and children of Troullinos, or that brooded over the people who brooded over their fate — or the likelihood of their fate, or the likelihood of a similar fate. And that in turn may have stepped into the place of a yet earlier myth that was linked to the trees. The trees themselves may be rooted in a more ancient legend bound to the very soil they grow in.

To say that the beautiful icon of the Theoskepaste tells us nothing about the Kykkotissa goes too far, for I watched it become a Kykkotissa under my very eyes. But the process reversed my assumptions. I had assumed that the beautiful icon would have carried the Kykkotissa's charisma with it from the beginning, as an automatic result of its iconographic type, and that this association would in turn have endowed the site it occupied with its significance. In fact, the process was just the opposite: the image was colonized by its twin at Kykkos at the very end of its own charismatic life, as it left its shrine and became a great work of art. Significance did not come *in* the icon. Significance came to it, endowed upon it by its site.

With this we come back to the site. Why was it *this* place that became so invested with legend? The beautiful icon was not a reason for this investment — it was a result. And how about the legends? Did they create the power of the site? Or did they, too, respond to it? Again, why here? Why in this place?

They show us not a fact but a process, as both tensions and actions gather around particular points in the topography of local lives. They gather most probably the way floating seaweed will gather around a post or a rock that stands in the path of the water, randomly and without intent. But they produce shapes that lend form and cadence to our lives, directing our footsteps, drawing our little protective gestures, focusing our prayers — even, in time, providing us meanings and goals for them. We come, and in adding our footsteps to those of the unseen others who have come and gone, we wear a path — we share a ritual. Why here? We say that we are moved in such sites by memories. But memories, as we have seen, are volatile. They roost in things, slowly remaking and being remade by them. The reality lies in not in the persistence of the past, but in the persistent present of ritual gathering.

What of the ritual capability of a place like this? The last time I saw the shrine before composing this paper was on a July afternoon; under the trees, a class of youngsters with a battery-operated tape recorder was learning traditional dances. Their ring of brightly-clad figures contrasted so sharply with the site's poignant myths. Was it a closure, ending the site's mythic awe? Or



was it opening the way for a new chapter to form around the trees and the stubborn little chapel still drawing the dance of life even without its luminous icon?

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POSTSCRIPT: Eight months have passed since I read this paper in Moscow; in the interim I have returned to Kalopanagiotis and the chapel of the Panagia Theoskepaste. The beautiful icon is no longer in the shrine. But it is also not a museum object: it stands in the northern parekklesion of the church of St. Herakleidios, protected but available for the respect of pilgrims and art-lovers alike (fig. 9). The shrine, in turn, is newly reinstalled (fig. 10). The old, composite iconostasis has given way to a tidy new one, and brand new icons of the Kykkotissa's type now occupy not only the place of the Virgin Theoskepastos of 1918, but the throne itself. Three jasmine blossoms tucked into the corner of the throne showed that its new occupant had begun to take its place in the life of the site. In its quiet way, the dance continues. The process that we have watched here can hardly be called an artifact, except in the words of this article. Yet its power to shape the things in which the holy can take place is clear.

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ОБРЕТАЯ МЕСТО:  
СВЯТИЛИЩЕ БОГОМАТЕРИ «БОГОХРАНИМОЙ»  
В КАЛОПАНАГИОТИСЕ НА КИПРЕ

Типикон XI в. константинопольского монастыря Эвергетис содержит предписание, подтвержденное многими последующими монастырскими документами, о том, что при вступлении в должность нового игумена ключ от монастыря должен быть помещен перед иконой Иисуса Христа или Богоматери, чтобы новый управитель получил власть напрямую от небесного покровителя обители. Это указание свидетельствует о том, что икона воспринималась оказывающей воздействие на пространство перед нею: обращаться к иконе значило обращаться к ее пространству. Такая взаимозависимость лежит в основе иеротопии. По определению Алексея Лидова, иеротопия изучает не отдельные предметы, свидетельствующие о святом, а гармоничное сочетание действий и артефактов, позволяющее святому возникнуть. Способы вовлечения предметов в пространственные ансамбли крайне разнообразны, а иеротопиче-

ские проекты часто сами оказываются артефактами, в которых сочетание элементов — результат продуманной хореографии. Нередко необходимо принимать во внимание и не связанные непосредственно с артефактами взаимодействия, проследить путь артефакта через своего рода силовые поля, обозначающие в пространстве места сложных совмещений и воспоминаний, связанные с действием не только намеренно направленных сил. Настоящая статья ставит целью показать место и предмет, соединенные оригинальным, но лишь отчасти преднамеренным образом. Она имеет отношение более к этнографии и полевым наблюдениям, чем к истории, и поэтому я веду повествование от первого лица.

Поводом для этой статьи стала изумительная по красоте икона Богородицы в типе «Киккотисса». До 2000 года она находилась в маленькой часовне Панагия Теоскепаста над деревней Калопанагиотис в долине Марафаса на Кипре. В настоящее время она выставлена в так называемой Латинской капелле в церкви Св. Иераклидия в монастыре Св. Иоанна Лампадиаста, примыкающей к недавно построенному Музею икон в Калопанагиотисе. Большой по размеру и редкого художественного качества образ — одна из самых ранних кипрских икон, полностью соответствующих тому иконографическому типу, который мы называем «Киккотисса». Когда в 1990 году я впервые увидела ее, она все еще находилась в часовне и служила объектом почитания. Ее жизнь была полной и безупречной; я же прибыла из совершенно другого мира, волнуемая вопросами, казавшимися мне неотложными, а именно: как эта икона была связана со знаменитой иконой того же типа в Киккском монастыре. Я сделала ряд неумных предположений до того, как поняла: чтобы нащупать ответ, нужно исследовать не только икону, ее размер, стиль, датировку, качество, но место и пространство ее «обитания». Так начала зарождаться тема этой статьи: пространство часовни и ее взаимосвязь с сакральной идентичностью иконы, которую она вмещала.

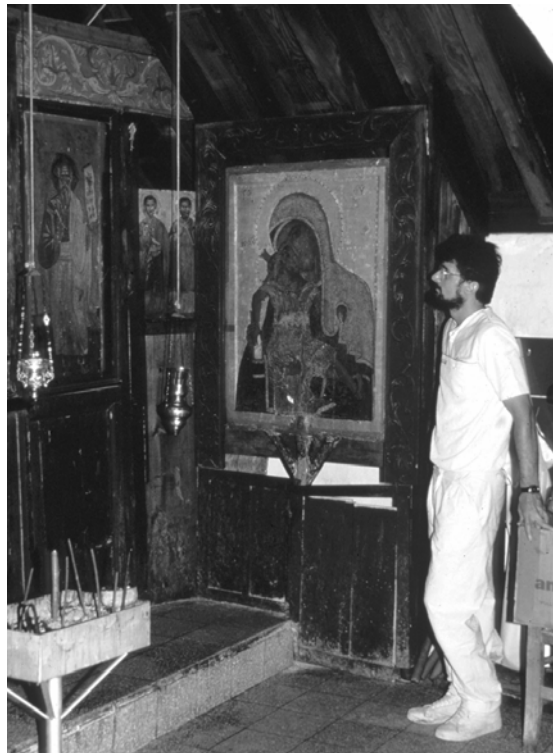
У часовни нет своей истории, впервые она упоминается в записях этнографов 1930-х годов, не связанных с иконой, хотя она, видимо, уже находилась в часовне. Однако само место фигурирует в довольно большом количестве преданий, и ежегодно посещая его с 1990 по 2000 год, я была свидетелем очень интересного процесса его развития в течение десятилетия. Моя статья посвящена истории этого места как священного в той мере, в какой я могу восстановить ее по преданиям и собственным наблюдениям. Исследование предпринято для выяснения особенностей почитания этой иконы, которые я могла наблюдать, и ее связей с культом Богородицы Киккской.



1. Kalopanagiotis. View toward the trees and sign of the Chapel of the Virgin Theoskepaste. Photo author



2. Kalopanagiotis. Chapel of the Virgin Theoskepaste. Photo Gerald L. Carr



3. Chapel of the Virgin Theoskepaste, south aisle. Photo author



4. Throne of the icon of the Virgin Theoskepaste in 1992. Photo author



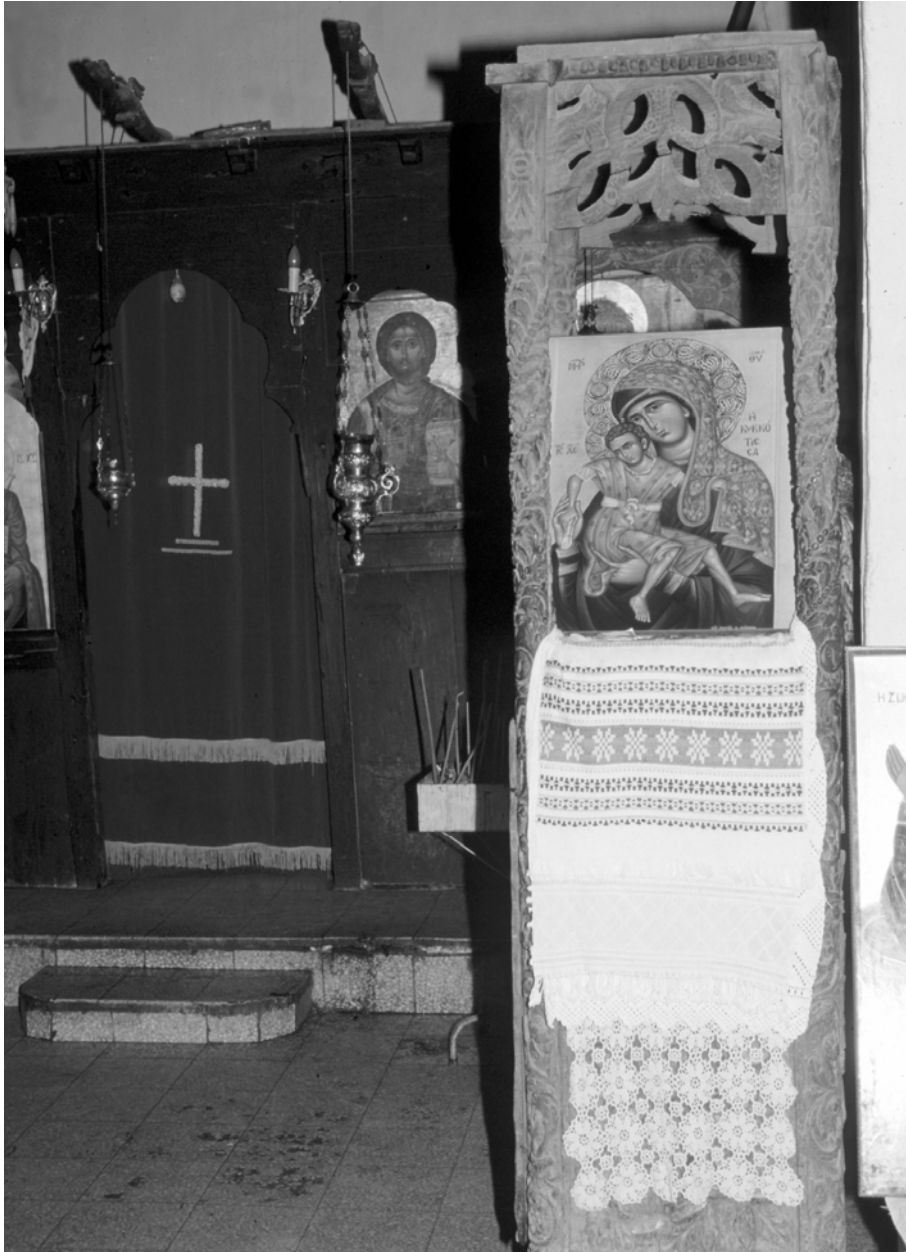
5. Icon of the Virgin Theoskepaste in 1995. Photo author



6. Icon of the Skepe on the proskynetaron in the chapel of the Virgin Theoskepaste in 1995. Photo author



7. Icon of the Virgin Theoskepastos of 1918 on the iconostasis in the chapel of the Virgin Theoskepaste. Photo author



8. Icon of the Kykkotissa on the proskynetarion of the chapel of the Virgin Theoskepaste in 2002. Photo author



9. Icon of the Virgin Theoskepaste in the “Latin Chapel” of the church of St. Herakleidios in the Monastery of St. John Lampadistes, Kalopanagiotis, in 2004. Photo Gerald L. Carr





10. Kalopanagiotis. Chapel of the Virgin Theoskepaste in 2004. Photo Gerald L. Carr

Natalia Teteriatnikov

THE RELIC OF THE TRUE CROSS  
AND JERUSALEM *LOCA SANCTA*:  
THE CASE OF THE MAKING OF SACRED SPACES  
IN THE ST. NEOPHYTOS' ENCLEISTRA, PAPHOS

Recent studies have drawn considerable attention to the numerous replicas of Jerusalem and its *loca sancta* in art and architecture of medieval Russia<sup>1</sup> and the West<sup>2</sup> since the time of the Crusaders. These publications illustrate how the concepts of Jerusalem and its holy sites — particularly the Holy Sepulcher — were captured in the minds of Christians both in the East and West and then replicated in the form of architectural buildings or artifacts. For Byzantium, however, studies of the evidence are still scarce. The purpose of this article is to present the evidence for Cyprus. I believe that the Encleistra monastery, founded by St. Neophytos near Paphos, Cyprus in 1159, exhibits the pattern found in Russia and the West: its founder Neophytos went for pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land and used his memories and imagination to recreate in his own hermitage near Paphos (fig. 1) the secret places and *loca sancta* of Jerusalem.

The monastery architecture, wall paintings, and relics of the Holy Cross were identified and published by Cyril Mango<sup>3</sup>. Robin Cormack further discussed the connection between the church, its wall paintings, and Neophytos' writings<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Ierusalim in Russian Culture / Ed. A. L. Batalov, A. M. Lidov. New York–Athens, 1994; *Batalov A. Grob Gospoden' v sacral'nom prostranstve Russkogo chrama XVI–XVII vekov* // Eastern Christian Relics / Ed. A. Lidov. Moscow, 2003, p. 513–532.

<sup>2</sup> *Ousterhout R. Flexible Geography and Transportable Topography / The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian, and Islamic Art* // Jewish Art, 23/24, 1998, p. 393–404.

<sup>3</sup> *Mango C., Hawkins E. J. W. The Hermitage of St. Neophytos and Its Wall Paintings* // DOP 20 (1966), p. 119–206.

<sup>4</sup> *Cormack R. Writing in Gold: Byzantine Society and Its Icons*. New York, 1985, p. 215–251.

Still, the peculiarities of the Encleistra plan and its paintings poses the questions, what this puzzling complex all about and what inspired its creation?

In order to understand better the Encleistra architecture and its decoration, I would like to review some aspects of the saint's life that were not fully explored in the study of the Encleistra complex — the saint's visit to Jerusalem and Palestine and his finding a cross in Cyprus.

#### BIOGRAPHY OF NEOPHYTOS

Neophytos composed his biography in the monastery typikon, which he signed in September 1214<sup>5</sup>. According to the typikon, he was born in Cyprus in 1134 in the village Lefkara<sup>6</sup>. Neophytos became a monk in 1152 in the monastery of John Chrysostom at Koutsovendes, where his brother John was an abbot. The monastery had close ties with Jerusalem and Palestinian monasticism. The typikon of Koutsovendes was based on that of St. Sabas<sup>7</sup>. So, it is not a coincidence that the pro-Palestinian atmosphere at Koutsovendes monastery inspired Neophytos to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and Palestine.

In 1158 Neophytos went to Jerusalem, which was then under Crusader rule at that time. He stayed there for six months and returned to Cyprus the same year. In his typikon, Neophytos described the purpose of his trip and the places he visited:

Henceforward then, departing from the monastery, I arrived at the Holy Land of Jerusalem, both for the sake of worship, and in the hope of encountering in those deserts some solitary and eremitic man and follow him. For which purpose, having first searched out the region of Tiberias, even as far as the desert in which Christ blessed the loaves, and the hills of Magdala and Mount Tabor, and then, after venerating the holy and life-possessing tomb, and having searched the desert of Souka, the torrent of Saint Sabas and the regions of Choziba and of the Jordan, searching the caves like a hunter of bees, and having failed in my aim, I was distraught<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments / Ed. J. Thomas, A. C. Hero. Washington, D.C., 2000, p. 1338–1373.

<sup>6</sup> For biography on St. Neophytos: *Petit L.* Vie et ouvrages de Néophyte le Reclus // EO 2 (1898–99), p. 257–268; *Delehaye H.* Saints de Chypre // AB 26 (1907), p. 274–297; *Tsiknopoulos I.* He thaumaste enkleistou // Byzantion 37 (1967), p. 311–413; *Kazhdan A.* Neophytos Enkleistos // ODB, v. 2, p. 1454–1455; *Galatariotou C.* The making of a Saint. The life, times and sanctification of Neophytos the Recluse. Cambridge, 1991, p. 13–19.

<sup>7</sup> *Papacostas T. C.* Byzantine Cyprus: The Testimony of Its Churches, 650–1200 / Ph. D. diss., Oxford, University, 1999, 2: 45.

<sup>8</sup> Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents, p. 1350.

From this rather vague description, it appeared that Neophytos had two goals in Palestine. First, he intended to worship at holy places. Second, he was looking for a mentor for his own monastic life. Therefore, he searched all the major Palestinian monastic settlements in Tiberias and Mt. Tabor, Magdala, Souka, St. Saba Great Lavra, Choziba, and Jordan. He also went to Jerusalem, where he venerated “the holy and life-possessing tomb”.

Soon after his return to the monastery of Koutsovendes, Neophytos tried to go to Mt. Latros, Asia Minor, but unspecified circumstances following a false arrest prevented him. Instead, Neophytos found a natural cave on the feast day of the Nativity of John the Baptist, 24 June, 1159<sup>9</sup>. He enlarged it, excavated a tomb, and set up an altar on the day of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (14 September). He called his monastic settlement an Enclieistra (place of seclusion):

Having also fully carved out a tomb deep inside the cave, I told myself: “You shall possess nothing more than this, even if you come to rule the whole world”. I called the cave by the name of the Holy Cross, having fixed an altar for the holy rites, so as not to distance myself from the holy communion of the body and blood of Christ<sup>10</sup>.

It seems that already Neophytos was thinking about the True Cross. Five years later, in 1165, Neophytos miraculously found one of its relics. Scholars suggested that the relic may have come from the monastery of Stavrovouny, the Monastery of the Holy Cross<sup>11</sup>. His desire to possess a relic of the Holy Cross most likely came from observing the particles of the Holy Wood in the Holy Sepulcher, which the Crusaders had just rebuilt and dedicated on 15 July 1149<sup>12</sup>. The new building incorporated Christ’s Calvary, the Golgotha, the Crucifixion, and Christ’s tomb. According to the early twelfth-century Russian traveler Daniel<sup>13</sup> and the early thirteenth-century traveler St. Saba of

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 1351.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> *Mango and Hawkings*, The Hermitage of St. Neophytos, p. 12, 158, n. 126. There were two pieces of the relics of the True Cross in Cyprus in the monastery of Stavrovouny: *Ansilmi cantoris S. Sepulcri Epistola* // PL 162, col. 732A. Later the monastery of Lefkara also obtained the relic of the True Cross: *Makhairas L. Recital concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus* / Ed. R. M. Dawkins. Oxford, 1932, I, p. 38. The cross of Lefkara was stolen from the monastery Stavrovouny: *Mariti G. Travels in the Island of Cyprus* / Trans. C. D. Cobham. Cambridge, 1909, p. 92.

<sup>12</sup> *Wilkinson et al.* Jerusalem Pilgrimage, 1099–1185. Oxford, 1988, p. 33. See also: *Coiiasnon C.* The Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem. London, 1974; *Corbo V. C.* Il Santo Sepolcro di Gerusalemme // Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Coll. Major, 29, 3 vols. Jerusalem, 1981–1982.

<sup>13</sup> Venevitinov M. A. Zhitie i chozhdenie Daniila Rus’skiai zemli igumena 1106–1107 gg. // Pravoslavni Palestinski Sbornik 1, 3 (1883–1885); reprint, *Igumen Daniil* (1970); *Garza-*

Serbia<sup>14</sup>, the Holy Sepulcher was the first building Christian pilgrims visited in Jerusalem. The holy sites associated with Christ's Passion, Crucifixion, and Resurrection probably had such a profound impression on Neophytos that he desired to obtain for his homeland a relic of the Holy Cross. Cyprus was known for its possession of a relic of the Holy Cross and its devotion to it. The above-mentioned traveler Daniel, who visited Cyprus during this period, wrote in his diary a legend of the Holy Cross which he probably learned in Cyprus:

There is a very high mountain here and on that mountain St. Helena erected a great cross of cypress to drive away devils and cure all manner of ills and she placed in the cross one of Christ's sacred nails. And in this place by that cross there occur great signs and miracles even to this day. And this cross stands up in the air, not fixed to the ground in any way but held up in the air by the Holy Spirit<sup>15</sup>.

Daniel saw this cross and reported the occurrence of miracles near it. The monastery of Stavrovouni, which was built in the eleventh century, possessed two pieces of the relic of the Holy Cross<sup>16</sup>. The monastery was rebuilt in the fifteenth century but the relic of the Cross still exists in the naos of the church<sup>17</sup>. In his typikon, Neophytos often mentions the bishop Basil Kinnamos, who encouraged him to expand his settlement, ordained him as priest (1170), instructed him in administrative and financial matters, and helped his monastery financially<sup>18</sup>. It would not be possible to get the relic without the blessing of the local bishop.

The bishop supported the holy man and probably encouraged him to develop and enlarge his monastic settlement. Neophytos writes in his typikon that the monastery needed a built construction as a protection from the outside world<sup>19</sup>. Thus, he enlarged his hermitage and accepted disciples, whose cells were added near the Neophytos hermitage. Gradually the Enclistra hermitage was transformed into a small *lavra*. The fame of the holy man and the relic of the True Cross attracted visitors to the monastery. In order to ovoid visitors, he created a cell "Hesihasterion", where he attended the lit-

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*niti M. Ierusalim v "Chozhdenii igumena Daniila" // Oh Jerusalem / Ed. W. Moskovich, S. Schwarzband and G., Dell'Agata, S. Garzonio. Pisa-Jerusalem, 1999, p. 9–18, especially 1–3, with bibliography.*

<sup>14</sup> *Marković M. Prvo putovan'e svetog Save u Palestinu // Zograph 29 (2002–2003), p. 47–92, especially 89.*

<sup>15</sup> *Wilkinson et al. Jerusalem Pilgrimage, 1099–1185, p. 125–126.*

<sup>16</sup> See note 11.

<sup>17</sup> Later, the second piece of relic was stolen and found in the monastery at Lefkara.

<sup>18</sup> *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents, p. 1346, 1352.*

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1352.

urgy. In 1197, six years after the Latin occupation of Cyprus by the Lusignans of Jerusalem, Neophytos moved into another cell, which he called “New Sion”. After he signed his *typikon* in 1214, he died sometime before 1220. During his life, Neophytos wrote several books, in addition to the *typikon*<sup>20</sup>. Although we do not have detailed records of his trip to Palestine, Neophytos’ works reveal his acquaintance with Palestinian monastic tradition and its holy sites. Similar to Sts. Hilarion, Saba, Alypios and others Neophytos went for pilgrimage to Palestine<sup>21</sup>, suggesting that the hermits’ virtues inspired him. He visited Hilarion and Saba’s monasteries and observed the traditions they established. Although the traditions in these monasteries may have changed since the hermits’ death, Neophytos’ contemporary experience with Palestinian monasticism was important.

Thus, Neophytos’ *typikon* and other works help to further reconstruct the program of the building and its painted decoration. His trip to Jerusalem and Palestine impacted the saint’s choice of his monastery site, his search for the relic of the True Cross, and his building a cell New Sion. Indeed, Neophytos’ knowledge of the *loca sancta* was consistently implemented in his *Enkleistra*.

#### THE MONASTERY AND ITS SITE

The monastery is located about six miles northwest from the city of Paphos at the end of the valley on a high cliff (figs. 1–3). It is partially excavated in the rock and partially built. The elevated monastery was reached by some sort of a staircase, now replaced by a modern one. The monastery had a masonry enclosure with a gate and sitting places for pilgrims in front of the monastery on the ground. Visually the site reminds one of the Palestinian hermitages of the Judean desert such as the monastery of St. Saba, near Bethlehem<sup>22</sup>, or that of St. George of Choziba<sup>23</sup>, and other hermitages of Judean desert (fig. 4)<sup>24</sup>. This type of cliff *lavra* was first established in the Judean desert; the earliest is the *lavra* of Pharan (ca. 330)<sup>25</sup>. Monks occupied natural caves and did minor alterations in order to convert them to dwelling complexes. They built additional walls and structures to be better protected from the outside world. Some hermitages made from these natural caves became elaborate, depending on the number of monks who lived

<sup>20</sup> *Galatariotou*, *The making of a Saint*, p. 13–19.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 103–104.

<sup>22</sup> *Patric J. Sabas, Leader of Palestinian Monasticism. A Comprehensive Study in Eastern Monasticism, Fourth to Seventh Centuries*. Washington, D.C., 1995, esp. p. 6–133, figs. 26–61.

<sup>23</sup> *Hirschfeld Y. The Judean Desert Monasteries in the Byzantine Period*. New Haven and London, 1992, p. 36–37, fig. 15.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, especially p. 18–68.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 20ff.

in them. This Palestinian type of lavra, partially rock-cut and partially built, was usually placed in mountainous areas, in the high cliffs of valleys. The use of the natural rock cave was desirable for monastic holiness<sup>26</sup>. Built constructions, on the other hand, protected the monastic settlement from the dangers of the outside world. This model was used by monks for numerous isolated monastic settlements around the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, in places such as Bulgaria, Serbia, Crimea, and Asia Minor, during the Middle and late Byzantine periods.

In his works, Neophytos reveals his understanding of the caves in the mountains. He describes the Cross as the pride of the cross-bearing life of the monks, and the support of the holy men in “the mountains and in caves in the holes of the earth”<sup>27</sup>. In his discourse on the dedication of the church of the Resurrection (in Jerusalem) and on all churches, Neophytos writes:

When the house of his rest and the present house together with every sacred house of God are gathered into one holy catholic and apostolic Church, and are based firmly on the unbreakable rock of faith, the gates of hell of the devil and of the tyranny of the unorthodox cannot prevail against it; for since it has its foundations in the holy mountains of the mercies of God<sup>28</sup>.

Thus deciding upon the mountainous area and the natural cave were the initial steps in his establishing the monastery site. As mentioned above, Neophytos says in his typikon that he went to Palestine to search the caves to find a solitary monk that he could follow<sup>29</sup>. In his travels, Neophytos probably saw numerous hermitages, built into the rock ledge or against the cliff, as for example the hermitages of the Great Lavra of St. Saba, which is extended along the cliff of the Kidron ravine. Thus, after coming back home, he was very much aware of how Palestinian monastic hermitages looked, and he used them as a model to construct his monastery.

<sup>26</sup> Walker P. W. L. *Holy City, Holy Places?: Christian Attitudes to Jerusalem and the Holy Land in the Fourth Century*. Oxford, 1990, p. 110, 173, 179, 184–198, 203, 205, 213, 236, 277–278.

<sup>27</sup> Εἰς τὸν βίον τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀρκαδίου ἐπισκόπου Ἀρσινόης // *Sants de Chypre* / Ed. H. Delehaye, AB (1907): 200. p. 16–201.3. See: *Galatariotou*, *The Making of a Saint*, 25, n. 16.

<sup>28</sup> Englezakis B. *St. Neophytos the Recluse and the Beginning of Frankish Rule in Cyprus // Studies on the History of the Church of Cyprus, 4<sup>th</sup>–20<sup>th</sup> Centuries*. London, 1995, p. 167.

<sup>29</sup> *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, p. 1150.

## THE MONASTERY CHURCH, ITS PLAN, AND ITS DECORATION

The earliest phase of the monastery complex included the cell with the saint's tomb and the bema with an altar (figs. 3, 5–6). These two areas were excavated and then decorated in 1183 by the artist Theodore Apseudes<sup>30</sup>. Although examples of monks' tombs in the churches are known, they are located mostly in the naos or narthexes, as in the case of St. Symeon in Zelve<sup>31</sup>. Neophytos most likely re-created his own tomb like Christ's tomb in the Holy Sepulcher. After 1183 the church naos was hewn and dedicated to the Holy Cross. Mango suggested that it was decorated sometime after 1197, when Neophytos moved to his new cell, New Sion<sup>32</sup>. Other scholars believe that the paintings were done in 1196, as indicated in an inscription of 1503<sup>33</sup>, or at the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century<sup>34</sup>. The layout of its decorative program, however, strongly suggests that the entire program of the naos was planned by Neophytos himself and was most likely accomplished before Neophytos moved to New Sion.

After the enlargement of the naos, the church received a small porch and an oddly shaped single naos. The original bema served as a sanctuary (fig. 6). The nave is separated from the sanctuary by a wooden templon screen (figs. 3, 7). This plan shows that the sanctuary altar is not on the central axis with the sanctuary doors but is attached to the wall on the east side. When the sanctuary doors were opened during the liturgy, the altar was not visible to monks and visitors standing in the naos. To the right (southeast) of the sanctuary, in the northeast corner of the naos there is an alcove of the True Cross (fig. 8). Originally, there was a small rock-cut altar on the east wall of the alcove; the altar is no longer there. It is visible on an archival photograph that was made during the conservation campaign of the 1960<sup>s</sup>. The photograph shows that the altar is placed just below the relic of the True Cross, which is still in situ<sup>35</sup>. I would like to suggest here that by design the alcove was planned to display the relics of the True Cross. The altar below the relic of the True Cross has the same orientation as the altar in the sanctu-

<sup>30</sup> Mango and Hawkins, *The Hermitage of St. Neophytes*, p. 193.

<sup>31</sup> Rodley L. *Cave Monasteries of Byzantine Cappadocia*. New York, 1985, p. 189–193.

<sup>32</sup> Mango and Hawkins. *The Hermitage of St. Neophytes*, p. 198–206; Cormack, *Writing in Gold*, p. 221.

<sup>33</sup> Stylianou A. and J. *The Painted Churches of Cyprus: Treasures of Byzantine Art*. London, 1985, p. 354; Papageorgiou A. *The Monastery of Agios Neophytos. History and Art (A Short Guide)*, Nicosia, 1998, p. 19, dates the frescoes to after 1214.

<sup>34</sup> Wharton A. J. *Neophytos Enkleistos* // ODB 2: 1455; Wharton Epstein A. J. *Formula for Salvation: A Comparison of Two Byzantine Monasteries and Their Founders* // *Church History* 50 (1981), p. 385–400.

<sup>35</sup> Teteriatnikov N. *Relics in the Walls, Pillars, and Columns of Byzantine Churches* // *Eastern Christian Relics* / Ed. A. M. Lidov, Moscow, 2003, p. 78–79, fig. 4.



ary. The naos and the templon screen are oriented to the north whereas both altars are oriented to the east. This suggests that both altars served for the celebration of the liturgy. The alcove is a key architectural and functional component of the naos design. If we compare the location of the alcove of the True Cross in the church of Neophytos with the reconstructed plan of the twelfth-century Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem (the time when Neophytos visited it), we notice an interesting feature (fig. 9)<sup>36</sup>. In the Holy Sepulcher the place of Calvary (the Golgotha) is to the right (south) of the Crusader Choir. Similarly, Neophytos designed an alcove of the True Cross in his church to the right of the templon, echoing the location of the Calvary in the Holy Sepulcher. He could see the layout of the Holy Sepulcher only during his visit to Jerusalem.

#### DECORATIVE PROGRAM OF THE NAOS

Before discussing the program in the naos it is important to note that the sanctuary and the templon are not on the east but on the north, and the entrance to the church is from the south. The ceiling of the naos is decorated with the scene of the Ascension. Walls are of uneven height because the ceiling is higher on the east side. The south wall of the naos begins with the Hospitality of Abraham (repainted in the fifteenth century). The lower zone is devoted to the monastic figures. The upper zone of the walls displays the scenes of Christ's Passion (figs. 7–8, 10–11). The cycle starts with the Last Supper and the Washing of the Feet (all repainted in the fifteenth century) followed by the Agony in the Garden of Gethsemane, and the Betrayal. The north wall above the wooden templon exhibits the Judgment of Pilate and the Road to Calvary, and the east wall of the alcove depicts the Crucifixion. Following the alcove, the east wall of the naos shows the Deposition from the Cross, the Lamentation, the Anastasis, and *Noli me tangere*. The lower zone on this wall following the alcove displays Constantine and Helena holding a Cross.

The layout of the Passion scenes in the church is peculiar. The body language of the figures and the orientation of the scenes reinforce the alcove as the main architectural and functional unit in the naos.

When entering the naos through a small porch one notices that behind the sanctuary door there is no apse, often decorated with images of Christ or

<sup>36</sup> *Ousterhout R.* An Apologia for Byzantine Architecture // *Gesta* 35.1 (1996), p. 24, fig. 4. Annabel Wharton noticed an unusual composition of the Annunciation above the door between the cell and the bema in the Enclistra. Significantly, the image of Christ Emmanuel between the figures of the Virgin and Gabriel was depicted in a similar way in the church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem above the sanctuary door. *Wharton Epstein A.* Formulas for Salvation: A Comparison of Two Byzantine Monasteries and their Founders // *Church History* 50/4 (1981), p. 397–98.

the Virgin and designed to provide a directional orientation toward the sanctuary. On the contrary, the eastern wall above the templon is decorated with a continuous strip of the Passion cycle.

The subject that occupies a prominent position just above the Royal Doors is the Judgment of Pilate (fig. 12). It stands out from other scenes in the cycle because it is placed in a slightly arched niche with a painted frame. Its location on the wall above the sanctuary door is unusual for Byzantine churches. Nevertheless, this subject is found on the wall above the water basin in the Kokar Kilise, Ihlara valley, in Cappadocia<sup>37</sup>. The subject is based on Matthew 27:24. Pilate washes his hands to prove his innocence, and therefore the image symbolizes purification. This could perhaps explain the appearance of the subject above the Royal Doors, to alert the viewer to undergo purification before the Eucharist. But the scene is also significant because it directs the viewer to the right through the visual language of figures and composition. Christ stands before Pilate and stretches out his right hand over a basin, into which an attendant is pouring water from a ewer. The following scene, Christ carrying the Cross, again guides the viewer to the right, to the alcove of the Holy Cross, with the painted image of the Crucifixion. The Passion scenes on the church's walls and especially above the sanctuary templon are the prelude to the Crucifixion, and they direct the viewer to the relic of the Cross in the alcove.

The alcove is a separate space that unites the decoration of the walls; it is the focal point of the Passion cycle (fig. 8). Here the painted program incorporates the relic of the True Cross, which is still in situ. The relic is raised 0.46 m above the floor level and positioned over the rock-cut altar. The altar suggests that this recess may have functioned as some sort of added sanctuary for veneration of the relic. Fortunately, in the St. Neophytos church the relic is preserved, with some alterations. The particles of the True Cross are inserted into the center of the wooden cross that is in the cross-shaped cavity in the wall. The decorative program of the east wall of the alcove adds further importance to the relic of the Holy Cross. The cross is situated at the center of the lower zone of the wall. Its upper arm is flanked by two images of angels. Above the relic of the Holy Cross there are two scenes: the Road to Calvary and the Crucifixion. The Crucifixion is lined up just above the relic of the Holy Cross. The next wall, adjacent to the right side of the recess of the Holy Cross, has a related iconographic program: the first image at the end of this wall, beneath the scene of the Deposition from the Cross and closest to the relic, is Constantine and Helena holding a cross. This concludes the story of the Cross by depicting its

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<sup>37</sup> *Teteriatnikov N. B. The Liturgical Planning of Byzantine Churches in Cappadocia. Orientalia Christiana Analecta 252, Rome, 1996, p. 106.*

discovery by the empress Helena. The subject was popular during the Middle Byzantine period<sup>38</sup>. Hymns to Constantine and Helena were included in the troparion dedicated to the Holy Cross and sung on 14 September, the feast day of the discovery of the Cross, and the very day the hermitage was dedicated. Therefore this subject was visible to the monks standing near the alcove of the True Cross during the celebration of the feast of the dedication of the Neophytos church.

So, it is apparent that the founder of this monastery church, St. Neophytos, carefully planned the location of the relics of the Holy Cross on the east wall to relate to the decoration of the nearest walls. He vividly advertised the importance of this relic and its location in the church naos. Similar instances of inserting original relics in the decorative program of a church's wall are found in the West, as for example in the apse mosaic in the church of San Clemente in Rome<sup>39</sup>. The mosaic was completed in 1118 or 1119. According to the inscription below the apse conch, the particle of the True Cross was inserted in the body of Christ. The apse mosaic depicts the Crucifixion, an image that appears to have functioned in some way similar as that in the church of Neophytos. In both cases the images were authenticated by the presence of the particles of the True Cross. In both cases the presence of the relics attracted pilgrims. The distinguishing feature of St. Neophytos is that the True Cross was incorporated within the Passion cycle and became a part of it. As discussed above the relic is a part of Christ's Crucifixion. The idea of making the relic a part of the program probably came from the location of Golgotha in the Holy Sepulcher of Jerusalem which Neophytos visited.

The ceiling of the church, the final part of this survey of the decorative program of the naos, is decorated with a scene of Christ's Ascension (fig. 13). At the center and slightly toward the east there is a square opening outlined in red, indicating that it was painted after the shaft it outlines was created. The opening is located next to the place where the head of Christ should be depicted. Unfortunately, this section of the painting is lost. But the reconstruction published by Cyril Mango allows us to visualize the original location of the figure of Christ in the composition of the Ascension (fig. 14)<sup>40</sup>. The head of Christ was placed just below the rectangular shaft, which leads to the upper cell called the Hagiasterion.

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<sup>38</sup> *Teteriatnikov N.* The True Cross Flanked by Constantine and Helena: A Study in the Light of the Post-Iconoclastic Re-evaluation of the Cross // *DChAE* 18 (1995), p. 169–188.

<sup>39</sup> *Kessler H., L. Zacharias J.* Rome 1300: On the Path of the Pilgrim. New Haven, London, 2000, p. 81–83.

<sup>40</sup> *Mango and Hawkins,* The Hermitage of St. Neophytes, p. 141–142, fig. 19.

## HAGIASTERION

This cell is 2 × 2.10 m (figs. 3, 15). According to the typikon, Neophytos used this cell during the liturgy; he also had communion there. The cell has a small prayer niche, which was also used for storing bread. The niche is decorated with the cross, the crown of thorns at the cross's center, the lance, and the sponge — all instruments of the Passion. The use of the prayer niche with a cross for a private cell may have been inspired by prayer niches in private monastic cells in the early monasteries in Palestine, as for example the Hesychasterion of St. Saba<sup>41</sup> or the hanging cell of St. Chariton in the Judean desert<sup>42</sup>. A parallel tradition existed in the monasteries in early Egypt, such as in the monastic cells at Kellia, the monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit, and the monastery of Apa Jeremiah at Saqqara<sup>43</sup>. What distinguishes Neophytos' niche decoration is the depiction of the cross with the crown of thorns at its center and the sponge and lance on both sides of the cross. This image appeared in the Middle Byzantine period under the influence of the relics of the crown of thorns, the lance, and the sponge, all of which were in the Pharos imperial chapel in Constantinople<sup>44</sup>.

An interesting factor might explain the presence of this cell and its connection with the decorative program of the naos. Among several *loca sancta* venerated on Mount Sion in Jerusalem was the upper room where the apostles retreated after the Resurrection and where they awaited Christ's Ascension<sup>45</sup>. Therefore, the creation of a cell connected to the naos below by a rectangular shaft, through which Christ is ascending, seems no coincidence. The choice of the Ascension was appropriate. Like the apostles, Neophytos waited for Christ's Ascension and his communion. The depiction of the cross with the instruments of the Passion in the niche of this cell seems also to echo the Passion scenes on the walls of the naos. The creation of the Hagiasterion was probably based on Neophytos' memory of his visit to Mount Sion. During the same trip Neophytos visited the monastery of St.

<sup>41</sup> *Patrich*, Sabas, Leader of Palestinian Monasticism, p. 90–96, figs. 27–28.

<sup>42</sup> *Hirschfeld*, The Judean Desert Monasteries in the Byzantine Period, p. 228–229, fig. 130.

<sup>43</sup> In monastic cells in early Egypt Latine painted cross or cross in a wreath is often found. *Bolman E. S.* Depicting the Kingdom of Heaven: Paintings and Monastic Practice in Early Byzantine Egypt // Egypt in the Byzantine World. Forthcoming. *Rassart-Debergh M.* Choix de peintures // Explorations aux Qouçoûr el-Izeila lors des campagnes 1981, 1982, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1989 et 1990 / Ed. P. Bridel, N. Bosson, and D. Sierro. Mission Suisse d'Archéologie Copt de l'Université de Genève sous la direction de R. Kasser, EK 8184, Tome III. Louvain, 1999, chap. 6.3, dépliant 11, fig. 135.

<sup>44</sup> *Kalavrezou I.* Helping Hands for the Empire: Imperial Ceremonies and the Cult of Relics at the Byzantine Court // Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204 / Ed. H. Maguire. Washington, D.C., 1997, p. 56–57.

<sup>45</sup> *Wilkinson et al.* Jerusalem Pilgrimage, p. 46–47.

Saba, where he probably was able to see the hesychasterion of St. Saba (fig. 16)<sup>46</sup>. This is located in the cave above the monastery in a high cliff, and has a very simple arrangement, including a painted prayer niche. Neophytos' Hagiasterion is very similar to, and is probably modeled on, the one in St. Saba's monastery. Such private cells were used in the Judean desert by various monks, as for instance John the Hesychast, John of Choziba, and others<sup>47</sup>. The purpose of the cell was to escape from the disturbance of daily life and for hesychia, private prayer. Neophytos explains:

Since a good stretch of my life has been granted to me in this Hermitage and I have lived here without anxieties for nearly forty years, and a constant stream of visitors, both welcome and unwelcome, has disturbed me, it seemed good, I think, first to God and then to me, that I should ascend to the upper rooms of the Hermitage and the higher parts of the cliff, with God's help, and there dig out for myself another small hole difficult of access for the multitudes so that I can have privacy there whenever I wish and can escape the disturbance of large numbers of frequent and importunate visitors and not fall away in the least from my beloved *anachoresis* and *hesychia* known only to God<sup>48</sup>.

Like St. Saba and his monastery, Neophytos intended to make a new cell higher in a cliff. Furthermore, he wanted to ascend into the cell. Therefore, the scene of Christ's Ascension on the ceiling of the naos and the layout of the figure of Christ just below the shaft suggest that Neophytos visualized his ascension to the cell similar to Christ's Ascension.

#### THE NEW SION

In 1197 Neophytos excavated another cell above the naos of the church and higher than the Hagiasterion. He called it "New Sion". As in the Hagiasterion, this cell has a niche decorated with the cross, the crown of thorns, and the instruments of the Passion (fig. 17). As discussed above, the cross was a typical decoration for private chapels in Palestine. So Neophytos consistently used a cross as a prayer image in all his private cells. It seems that the idea for the creation of this cell also came from memories of Jerusalem's holy places. It is

<sup>46</sup> *Patric*, Sabas, Leader of Palestinian Monasticism, p. 90, figs. 27–29. These were created for single monk and they served as a place of worship. They were also used for a monk's commemoration after his death. Such hesychasteria were usually a part of the monastic complex.

<sup>47</sup> *Patric*, Sabas, Leader of Palestinian Monasticism, p. 98, nn. 15–16.

<sup>48</sup> *Englezakis*, Studies on the History of the Church of Cyprus, 4<sup>th</sup>–20<sup>th</sup> Centuries, p. 200.

not a coincidence, therefore, that the cell was named after Mount Sion — an important hill site in Jerusalem that was one of the first sites visited by pilgrims in the holy city. This site bears a lot of holy places including the upper room where the apostles stayed after the Resurrection and where the Pentecost occurred. It is possible that Neophytos associated his cell with the apostles' room on Mount Sion. It is difficult to confirm, but the importance of his cell's namesake, Mount Sion, indicates that Neophytos was inspired by the holiness of this site in Jerusalem. In his typikon Neophytos wrote: "For you have not come to a mountain that may be touched but you have come to Mount Sion and the city of the living God, the Heavenly Jerusalem"<sup>49</sup>.

His memory of the Holy Land resulted in the re-creation of the sacred spaces in Enkleistra and their decoration. But how did Neophytos get the idea of creating such replicas of Palestinian holy places? Historically, Cyprus and Palestine were close. It is known that monasteries at Cyprus, such as Asinou and Koutsoventes, had direct contact with Jerusalem. Since Neophytos was a monk of Koutsoventes, it was natural for him to desire to go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and Palestine was well established during the Crusader period<sup>50</sup>. We have detailed records from Daniel of Russia and St. Saba of Serbia, cited above, who traveled to Jerusalem and Palestine at approximately the same time as Neophytos. These distinguished Orthodox monks had common stopping points in their itinerary. The Holy Sepulcher was the first building they visited in Jerusalem<sup>51</sup>. Among other places, they visited the monastery of St. Saba, which continued to be the center of Palestinian monasticism during the Crusader period.

#### CONCLUSION

Examination of the Enkleistra architectural design, the cell, bema, and the naos reveal that its elements are memoirs of Palestinian and, especially, Jerusalem holy places. The saint's pilgrimage to the Holy Land provided an important model for the construction of his own site, which incorporates glimpses of Jerusalem's important pilgrimage points, such as the Holy Sepulcher and Holy Sion, as well as other significant Palestinian monastic settlements. Neophytos' most significant creation was the alcove of the True Cross in the naos of his church. The relic was incorporated into a decorative cycle, the painted story of Christ's Passion, Crucifixion, and Resurrection, and the discovery of the True Cross by St. Helena. The location of the alcove recreates that of Christ's Calvary in the church of the Holy Sepulcher. By establishing the relics of the cross permanently in the church naos, Neophytos showed his

<sup>49</sup> Englezakis, *Ibid.*

<sup>50</sup> Wilkinson *et al.* Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099–1185, p. 33–38.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*

willingness to continue the flourishing the cult of the Cross in Cyprus. The depiction of the Ascension in the naos ceiling is most likely associated with the location of the Hagiasterion as the place of Neophytos' Eucharist, and alludes to the apostles' cell on Mount Sion. The apostles' cell may have been a model for monastic private cells, such as the one of St. Saba discussed above. Thus, the monastery of Enkleistra alluded to the holy sites that Neophytos saw in Jerusalem and passionately discussed in his own works.

During the process of the creation of Enkleistra Neophytos expanded his private sacred space into a pilgrimage center where the relic of the True Cross was venerated by numerous pilgrims. After Neophytos' death, his own corpse became a relic and, as such was incorporated into the collection of Jerusalem memorabilia in Cyprus.

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РЕЛИКВИЯ ЧЕСТНОГО КРЕСТА  
И ИЕРУСАЛИМСКАЯ *LOCA SANCTA*:  
СОЗДАНИЕ САКРАЛЬНЫХ ПРОСТРАНСТВ  
В ЭНКЛИСТРЕ СВ. НЕОФИТА В ПАФОСЕ НА КИПРЕ

Скит-Энклистра был основан св. Неофитом в районе Пафоса на Кипре в 1159 г. Церковь была устроена позднее и посвящена Честному Кресту. Храм и его фрески часто публиковались, и о присутствии в церкви реликвий хорошо известно. До сих пор в тени оставалась лишь роль Честного Креста в создании сакрального пространства церкви. Эта статья посвящена архитектурным особенностям церкви, ее убранству и ее функции. Итоговый анализ показывает, что реликвия Честного Креста всегда была ключевым элементом, определявшим облик церкви, ее план и уникальную схему декора.

Типикон скита Св. Неофита содержит важную информацию о происхождении названия церкви. Согласно этому тексту, Неофит совершил путешествие в Палестину, где предавался монашеской жизни. По возвращении на Кипр он нашел в скале пещеру, расширил ее и стал владельцем реликвии Честного Креста, вероятно, получив ее в местном монастыре Ставровуни. Неофит был рукоположен в священники и под покровительством епископа Кипрского расширил свою обитель. Путешествие в Палестину, а конкретно — в центр паломничества Иерусалим, привело Неофита к идее получить реликвию Честного Креста. Затем Неофит построил церковь и посвятил ее Честному Кресту.

По устройству церкви можно предположить, что Неофит предназначил наос для хранения реликвий. В маленький однефный храм необычной формы можно попасть через небольшой портик. Наос отделен от алтаря преградой. Престол имеет форму подковы и не находится на одной оси со святыми вратами и наосом, а примыкает к стене в правом углу алтаря; он ориентирован на восток. Из-за такой планировки престол не был виден стоящим в нефе верующим во время богослужения, когда святые врата были открыты. Наос имеет прямоугольную пристройку, так называемый «Альков Честного Креста», примыкающий справа к алтарю. Изначально этот альков имел небольшой вырезанный в скале престол, убранный вскоре после консервации фресок в 1960-е гг. На сделанных во время консервации фотографиях оригинальный престол виден рядом с восточной стеной. На стене над алтарем находится крестообразная ниша, хранящая реликвию Честного Креста, часть которой еще сохранилась. Таким образом, Альков был изначально задуман для демонстрации реликвии Честного Креста, и более того, ориентация престола под реликвией совпадала с ориентацией на восток престола в алтаре. Наос и темплон ориентированы на север, а не на восток, такая планировка позволяет предположить, что храм не был обычной монастырской или приходской церковью, в которых, как известно, наос и престол расположены на одной линии. Расположение престола рядом с восточной стеной, т. е. справа от главного алтаря, показывает, что службы в церкви, возможно, проводились рядом с реликвией Честного Креста.

Анализ убранства церкви подкрепляет эту гипотезу. Вошедшему в церковь открывается темплон, над которым — стена, украшенная изображениями сцен жизни Христа. В византийских церквях того периода Христос и Богородица изображались обычно в конхе апсиды, которая была видна над темплоном. Здесь же стена над ним выступает как замена апсиды. В центре стены и над темплоном находится изображение суда Пилата. Христос показан идущим направо, фигура Пилата, протягивающего руку в чашу с водой, также повернута в эту сторону. Вместо симметричной композиции художник построил ее с намеренным движением вправо. За следующей сценой Несения Креста идет большая композиция на восточной стене Алькова с реликвией Честного Креста. На правой стене наоса рядом с Альковым — изображение сцены Снятия с Креста сверху и Константина и Елены с Честным Крестом снизу. На левой стене наоса внизу — преподобные святые, а на сводах и потолке — большая сцена Вознесения. Основными сюжетами на фресках церкви выступают Страсти Христовы, Распятие в Алькове, Константин и Елена с Честным Крестом.



Это позволяет предположить, что Неофит старался передать зрителям историю святого Креста и его обретения Константином и Еленой, а посредством этого — историю своего собственного открытия Честного Креста. Более того, он создал пространство, напоминающее храм Святого Гроба в Иерусалиме. Кроме этого, он вырыл небольшую келью над потолком церкви, которую назвал «Сион». Через прямоугольное окно в потолке Неофит мог слушать церковные службы. Так, вдохновленный *loca sancta* Святой Земли и особенно Иерусалимом, он создал собственное сакральное пространство, приобщавшее его к сакральному пространству Гроба Господня.

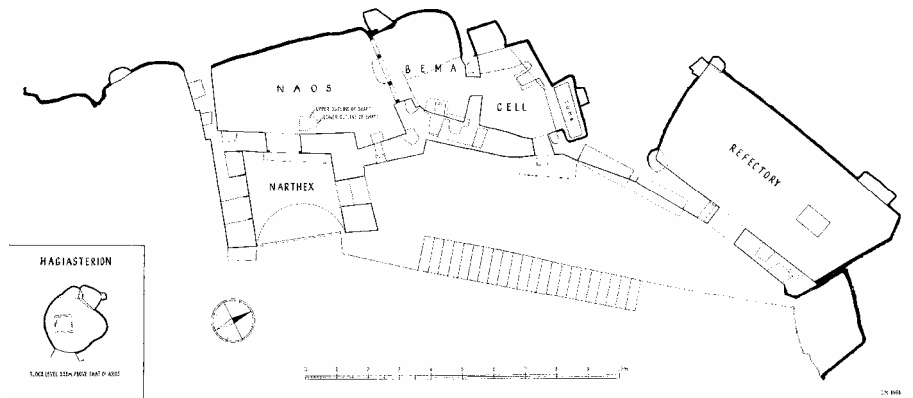
Это сакральное пространство несомненно задумывалось как центр паломничества. Из типикона известно, что пустынь получала пожертвования деньгами, вероятно, от паломников. Существует более позднее свидетельство паломника XV в. Феликса Фабри, описавшего свое посещение святого монастыря и поклонение реликвиям. Так Неофит создал свое уникальное сакральное пространство, в свою очередь ставшее святым местом.



1. Cliff of Enclustra, distant view (photo: C. Mango, courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks)



2. Enclustra, view from east (photo: E. Hawkins, courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks)



3. Enclustra, plan (after *Mango and Hawkins*, *The Hermitage of St. Neophytos and Its Wall Paintings*, pl. D)



4. Monastery of St. George of Choziba (after *Hirschfeld*, *The Judean Desert Monasteries in the Byzantine Period*, fig. 15)



5. Cell, north wall, tomb chamber (photo: Ann Wharton, courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks)



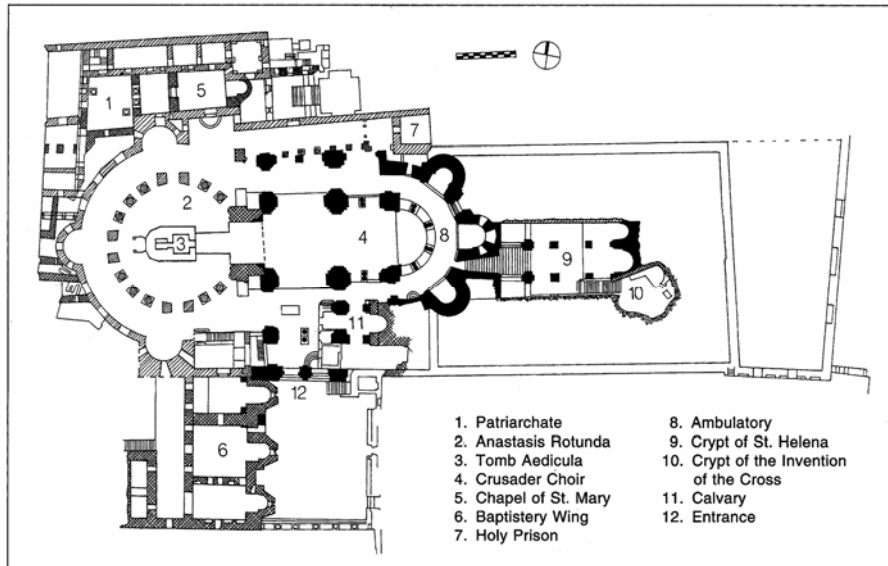
6. Bema, looking east (photo: Ann Wharton, courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks)



7. Naos, looking north, alcove of the Holy Cross (photo: Ann Wharton, courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks)



8. Naos, east wall (photo: Ann Wharton, courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks)



9. Jerusalem, Holy Sepulcher, plan (after *Ousterhout, An Apologia for Byzantine Architecture*, fig. 4)



10. Naos, looking southwest (photo: Ann Wharton, courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks)



11. Naos, looking southeast (photo: Ann Wharton, courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks)



12. Bema, north wall, Christ before Pilate (photo: Ann Wharton, courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks)

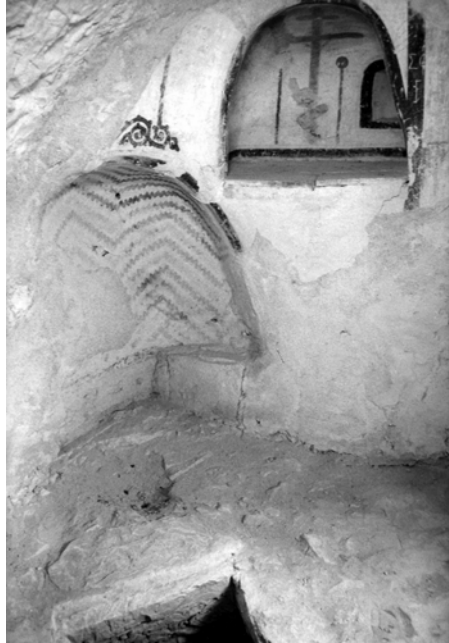


13. Naos, bema, ceiling, Ascension (E. Hawkins, courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks)

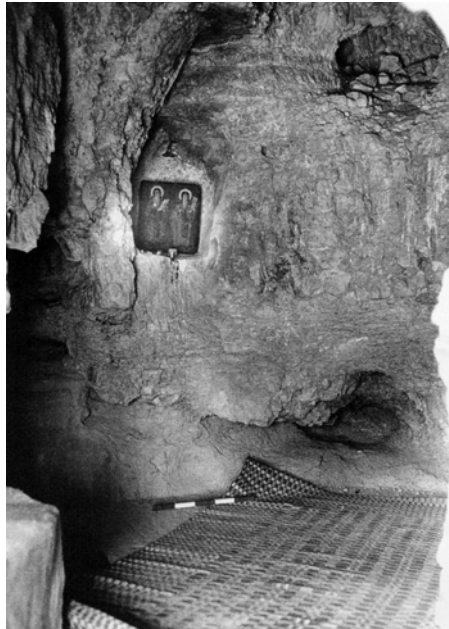


14. Ceiling with reconstructed scene of the Ascension (after *Mango and Hawkins*, *The Hermitage of St. Neophytos and Its Wall Paintings*, pl. D)





15. Hagiasterion (E. Hawkins, courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks)



16. The Great Lavra, St. Sabas's Hesychasterion (after *Patrich*, Sabas, Leader of Palestinian Monasticism, fig. 28)



17. New Sion (C. Mango, courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks)

Elka Bakalova, Anna Lazarova

THE RELICS OF ST. SPYRIDON  
AND THE MAKING OF SACRED SPACE ON CORFU:  
BETWEEN CONSTANTINOPLE AND VENICE

Although one of the most interesting aspects of Christian piety is that of the cult of relics, it has not been studied sufficiently, above all the cult of the relics in the Orthodox world. The least studied cults remain those of a number of local saints, which appear relatively late and which are still active today.

For the purposes of our presentation we have chosen a Greek saint, probably familiar to most of you, namely, St. Spyridon. First, because the cult of St. Spyridon's relics at Corfu (Kerkyra) offers an interesting and, perhaps, a unique example of the structuring of a sacred space, both in the very capital of the Ionian islands and in the region as a whole. Second, because, thanks to the Onassis Foundation we were lucky to be able to participate last year in the Palm Sunday procession on Corfu with the relics of St. Spyridon. One aspect of our study, that which involves the creation of sacred space, owes a lot to the current interests of Alexei Lidov.

This cult of Saint Spyridon began initially on Cyprus, where Spyridon was the bishop of Trimythus in the 4<sup>th</sup> century; he participated in the First Ecumenical Council at Nicaea in 325<sup>1</sup>. This is why he is mentioned in the

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<sup>1</sup> *Delehaye H.* Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae. Bruxelles, 1902 (Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum, Novembris), col. 303; *Idem.* Saints de Chypre // *Annalecta Bollandiana*, XXVI, 1907, p. 204 sq.; *Georg J., Herzog zu Sachsen.* Der Heilige Spyridon. Seine Verehrung und Ikonographie. Leipzig–Berlin, 1913; *Van der Ven P.* La légende de St. Spyridon, évêque de Trimithonte. Louven, 1953; *Walter Ch.* L'iconographie des conciles dans la tradition byzantine. Paris, 1970, p. 256, fig.121; *Bakalova E.* Cypriot Saints in Medieval Bulgarian Painting // *Πρακτικόν του πρώτου διεθνούς Κυπριολογικού Συνεδρίου.* Τόμος Β. Λευκωσία, 1972, p. 175–211; *Walter Chr.* Icons of the first Council of Nicaea // *Δελτίον της χριστιανικής αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας.* Περ. Δ, τ. ΙΣΤ. Αθήναι, 1992, p. 217–218; Βίος, θαύματα και ακολουθία του αγίου Σπυρίδωνος. Κέρκυρα, 1993. About the cult of St. Spyridon in Bulgaria see: *Βακαλοβα Ε.* Св. Спиридон в православната църковна традиция и фолклора // *Медиєвистика и културна антропология.* Сборник в чест на Д. Петканова. София, 1998, с. 319–325.

Ecclesiastical Histories of Socrates, Sozomen and Rufinus<sup>2</sup>. According to H. Delehaye's and P. Van der Ven's studies the Vita took shape relatively early composed by authors such as Theodore, Bishop of Paphos in Cyprus (7<sup>th</sup> century), Leontius of Naples and others<sup>3</sup>. The texts of the lives emphasize the fact that St. Spyridon was a shepherd; even after he became a bishop he continued to go about with a shepherd's crook and wear a hat made of willow twigs. The name of his hat — σπυρίς — meant 'a round crochet-work basket'<sup>4</sup> and could be seen as a possible etymon of the Saint's name. In fact this hat served to differentiate him from other bishop figures who, like him, are depicted wearing a phelonion and omophorion.

In the 7<sup>th</sup> century his relics were transferred to Constantinople, which led to the spread of his cult in the entire Orthodox world. According to various sources the relics of the saint were placed in a nunnery which, according to the Synaxarion of Constantinople was the monastery of the Holy Virgin Kecharitomene<sup>5</sup> although there are reports of the presence of relics of St. Spyridon in other churches in the Byzantine capital such as the Holy Apostles and the Holy Virgin Hodegitria<sup>6</sup>.

When did the images of St. Spyridon appear in Byzantine art? We cannot offer a precise answer to this question. Some of the earliest images to have reached us are frescoes in several churches in Cappadocia, dated to the 10<sup>th</sup> century<sup>7</sup>. It is necessary to recall that at this time the life of the saint had spread widely, and his commemoration was noted in the menologion of one of the oldest Glagolitic works from the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century — the Gospel of Assemani (Codex Vaticanus slavicus 3 glagoliticus)<sup>8</sup>. In the course of the 10<sup>th</sup> century other saints, venerated hitherto only in some regions of the Orthodox world were added to the calendar.

<sup>2</sup> Delehaye H. Op. cit. 240 sq. Cf. The Church History of Rufinus of Aquileia, Books 10 and 11 / Transl. by Philip R. Amidon. S. J. New York, Oxford, 1997, 10.5, p.12–13.

<sup>3</sup> Beck H.-G. Kirche und theologische Literatur im Byzantinischen Reich. München, 1959, S. 463; Van den Ven P. La Légende de St. Spyridon, évêque de Trimithonte. Louven, 1953.

<sup>4</sup> Глацинская Л. Пережитки дохристианских верований в Новгородском искусстве XIV века // Новгородский исторический сборник, вып. III–IV, Новгород, 1938, с. 127–134.

<sup>5</sup> In 1200 Antonios of Novgorod is testifying that the head of St. Spyridon was to be seen at the Church of the Holy Apostles, but the hand and the other relics were to be seen at the Church of the Virgin Hodegitria. Janin R. Le géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire Byzantine. Première partie. Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique. T. 3. Les églises et le monastères. Paris, 1969, 1960.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> On the dating of C. Jolivet-Levy: Église N 4, Saint-Jean de Gülü dere, region de Cavuşin, Chapelle sud, 913–920; Tokali 2 (Nouvelle église de Tokali), couloir transversal, 10<sup>th</sup> century; Göreme 29, Kiliclar kilisesi, abside centrale. 10<sup>th</sup> c. see: Jolivet-Levy C. Les églises Byzantines de Cappadoce. Paris, 1991, p. 39, 105, 139.

<sup>8</sup> Иванова-Мавродинова В., Джурова А. Асеманиево Евангелие. Старобългарски глаголически паметник от X век. Факсимално издание. София, 1981.

Their integration is noted in the Menologion of the Byzantine Emperor Basil II, where an image of St. Spyridon already appears. The image also is found in some of the illustrated menologia of Metaphrastes<sup>9</sup>. Throughout the 11<sup>th</sup> century the image occurs in the calendar icons from Sinai, and in the murals of the church of St. Sophia in Ohrid and in many other churches. His portrait — a broad face, with a short sharp beard, white hair and his characteristic headgear — were the iconographic features which did not change until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>10</sup>.

This is the place to note that in the very formation of the cult of St. Spyridon the day he was venerated — 12<sup>th</sup> of December — was linked with the pagan celebration of the winter solstice. In Novgorod this feast is known as *Спиридонов поворот* ('Spyridon's turn'). In Medieval Novgorod the veneration of St. Spyridon was connected with the veneration of the sun and the awakening forces of nature. For this reason, and also because of the fact that St. Spyridon was a shepherd, in the Novgorod icon painting he is depicted together with St. Blaise as a protector of fertility in an icon from the 14<sup>th</sup> century<sup>11</sup>.

Depicted among the bishops in the apse, St. Spyridon is also depicted as one of the participants of the First Ecumenical Council in miniatures, murals and icons. Usually he can be only identified by his characteristic headgear. However in later images, after the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the images of the First Ecumenical Council are often presented together with the miracle of St. Spyridon with the tile. This episode is drawn from a later variant of the life of the saint, and was spread through Agapios Landos of Crete's book 'New Paradise' (1641), where the participation of the saint in the Council is explained through the story of the miracle performed by St. Spyridon during the dispute with the Arians. He had explained the Christian concept of the Trinity (Father, Son and Holy Spirit unified but distinct) by using a piece of pottery. He said that pottery is made of three elements of earth, fire and water, and yet is unified into a single object. During this lesson, water flowed from the bottom of the shard as fire miraculously billowed from the top: "...And the saint took a tile, turned to the east, made the sign of the cross and with two hands pressed the tile. O miracles, water dropped

<sup>9</sup> Patterson-Ševčenko N. Illustrations of the Metaphrastian Menologion (Studies in Medieval Manuscript illumination). Chicago and London, 1990, p. 109, 131.

<sup>10</sup> On the iconography of the saint see: Lexicon der christlichen Ikonographie. Rom–Freiburg–Basel–Wien, 1976, col 387–389; Cf. Treasures of the Monastery of Saint Catherine / Ed. K. Manafis. Athens, 1990, fig. 17, p. 148–149.

<sup>11</sup> Малицкий Н. Древнерусские культы сельскохозяйственных святых по памятникам искусства // Известия Государственной Академии истории материальной культуры, 1932/XI, вып. 10, с. 21–26; Лазарев В. Новгородская иконопись. Москва, 1969, с. 21–22, № 23.

on the earth, fire came out in the air, a finger remained in the hands of the saint. When the pious people saw this, they were filled with great joy and happiness. The Holy Trinity was not announced through the word, but through deeds. The impious were shamed, and the true (believers) praised the Lord, while the saint was venerated by all the clergy with great honour”<sup>12</sup>. It was precisely this episode, as Christo Vakarelsky, the Bulgarian ethnographer notes, that was the reason why the Bulgarian people venerate St. Spyridon as the patron saint of tile-makers, potters, brick-makers and coppersmiths... i. e. those crafts where fire was essential<sup>13</sup>.

In 1489, after the fall of Constantinople, St. Spyridon's relics were translated to Corfu (Gr. Kerkyra); this led to a further development of his cult and the appearance of new forms of veneration, lasting to the present time. According to tradition, a Greek, recorded as having been both priest and wealthy citizen, Georgios Kalochairetis, brought the relics of Saint Spyridon and Saint Theodora to Corfu from Constantinople. The relics remained the property of the Kalochairetis family and later were given to the municipality of Corfu. Georgios Kalochairetis' daughter Asimia was married into the Voulgaris family and she brought the relics as her dowry. Up to 1577 the relics of St. Spyridon were placed in the privately owned church of the Voulgaris. Following the fortification of Corfu Town, the church was demolished. The relics were transported to a newer church, which was built inside the fortifications (its present position) and became the property of the Orthodox church. Here he remains today, universally loved and respected throughout the Ionian islands<sup>14</sup>.

His popularity is so strong, that St. Spyridon is the only holy person called just “the saint” on the island, and many of the local inhabitants bear the name Spyridon. Local faith in St. Spyridon incorporates the belief that he is a holy man, who really lives in a church in Corfu Town near the people, and that he can see them, can feel their pain, and come to their aid. He could drive away the Turks, save his people from plague, and bring them grain to eat, so today the people offer him decorated slippers because he is *a walking saint*. If earlier he was a Cypriot, today he is a Corfiote, the Saint of the Corfiots. The Corfiots' constant prayer to him whenever they have difficulties, created an intimate relationship like that of a child and father.

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<sup>12</sup> «Νέος Παράδεισος ήτοι βίοι Αγίων εκλεχθέντες εκ των βιβλίων Συμεώνος του Μεταφραστού υπό Αγαπίου Μοναχού του Κρητός, και υπ' αυτού εις την απλήν γλώσσαν μετενεχθέντες. Εν Βενετία παρά Αντωνίω τω Ιουλιανώ. 1641».

<sup>13</sup> *Vakarelsky Chr.* Български празнични обичаи. София, 1943, с. 118.

<sup>14</sup> On details on the translation of the relics of St. Spyridon see: *Νικηφόρου Α. Δημόσιες τελετές στην Κέρκυρα κατά την Περίοδο της Βενετικής Κυριαρχίας 14ος–18ος αι //* Εκδ. Θεμέλιο, 1999, 348–357 sq.

We shall try to describe what the sacred space created by the saint looks like. Actually we could outline several circles of a sacred space: *The first circle or the core of the sacred area is the church dedicated to the saint, where the relics are kept.* This church in everyday conversation is referred to as “στον άγιο” (by or at the Saint). It was built in 1590 by the Voulgaris family as their private place of worship and became world famous for accommodating the relics of the miracle working saint. Its Venetian campanile is the most impressive feature of its exterior. The belfry itself, which is visible from everywhere, marks the epicenter of the sacred area.

The ceiling, called by the Corfiots “ουραία” was first painted in 1727 by Panayotes Doxaras, a painter and author of a manual of painting compiled from Renaissance texts, and replaced later by copies of Nicolas Aspiotis, “a well-regarded and skillful religious painter who did much work in Montenegro as well as in Corfu”<sup>15</sup>. The ceiling is divided up into thirteen scenes of the life and posthumous miracles of the Saint. The iconostasis was made from marble in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, shaped like the entrance to an Italian baroque church. The section of the sanctuary, where the relics of St. Spyridon are laid, and which actually takes the place of the diakonikon, is called “the crypt”. “Crypt” is possibly the most suitable word which Corfiots use to designate the sacred place where their greatest treasure is to be found. According to them this place is also associated with a burial chamber which was usually under the altar and contained the relics of the patron saint of the church. The view has been expressed that when the church was built, no underground chamber was made, deliberately, to allow the relics to be open to the greatest extent possible. The saint has two sarcophagi — an outer one and inner one. The outer one is made of wood, with silver and gilt decoration, while the inner one is covered by crimson velvet material. The bottom of the inner one can be removed, to allow for an easier changing of the slippers. The Corfiots call the outer sarcophagus “cassa” — a coffin, and not only clean it, but also swear oaths in its name. (“I swear on the coffin of the Saint...” is among the most common oaths on the island.) This area has a special “stage setting” made up of the specific fresco and metal decoration. Above the sarcophagus hang 53 votive censers — 35 of them silver and 18 golden. The dim light also adds to the solemn atmosphere and intensifies the sense of sacredness. Pilgrims are allowed access here. Daily veneration through the kissing of the saint's feet, the middle of his body and the head happens every day from 9 o'clock to 1 PM “while the priest, who opens the sarcophagus, reads prayers and chants”.

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<sup>15</sup> Foss A. *The Ionian Islands: Zakynthos to Corfu*. London, 1969, 182. Cf. Σκιαδόπουλος Ι. Δ. Άγιος Σπυρίδων. Η Ιστορία του Ιερού Ναού και του Πανιερού Λειψάνου. Κέρκυρα, 2000, p. 91–135.

The 12<sup>th</sup> of December, the feast day of the saint, was among the regular occasions when the memory of Saint Spyridon was celebrated, becoming in time one of the most important feasts of the island. The feast lasts for three days, during which the relics are taken out of the “crypt” and placed in front of the altar, before the closed doors of the so called “crypt”, for veneration. The presentation of the relics for the two 3-day-long veneration form part of the customary rules contained in the testament of Kalochairetis-Voulgaris dated 1571 and can be seen as a Constantinopolitan tradition, mentioned in the Oktoechos of Emmanuel Chrysaphis, who lived in the time of Constantine Palaiologos. The regular presence of the Venetian authorities at the feast, as well as the Catholic archbishop is proof of the common acceptance of the cult<sup>16</sup>. It is exactly this moment that is shown in unusual compositions, called the Relics of St. Spyridon (Λείψανον του αγίου Σπυρίδωνος), common in the Orthodox world from the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> century<sup>17</sup>. Vita icons of the saint, particularly popular from the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> century<sup>18</sup> have as their final element the scene of the standing coffin with the relics of the saint. A similar variant appears in the icon of St. Spyridon with scenes from his Life, done in 1744 by Nikolaos Kallergis, now in the Velemezis collection of the Benaki Museum in Athens. The inscriptions on the scrolls of the angels who flank the central figure of the saint are also interesting in this icon: ΧΑΙΡΟΙΣ ΤΡΙΜΥΘΟΥΝΤΟΣ Η ΚΑΛΛΟΝΗ (Rejoice thou the Beauty of Trimythous) and ΧΑΙΡΟΙΣ ΚΕΡΚΥΡΑΣ ΩΝ Ο ΣΟΦΩΤΑΤΟΣ (Rejoice thou being, the wisest of Corfu), point to the two centres of the cult<sup>19</sup>.

From the moment when St. Spyridon was declared protector saint of Kerkyra jointly with St. Mark, and then later alone, a fourth feast cycle began to take shape and became part of the calendar, alongside the existing three ones. This is the place to recall that throughout the period of Venetian rule at Corfu (Kerkyra) Orthodoxy and Catholicism co-existed; hence there

<sup>16</sup> Karapidakis N. *Civis fidelis: l'avenement et l'affirmation de citoyennete corfiote (XVIe–XVIIe siecles)*. Frankfurt, 1992, passim; *Idem*. *Corfu and the Venetians: Reading the Dynamic of the Urban Space // Corfu: History, Urban Space and Architecture 14<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> Century* / Ed. E. Concina and A. Nikifrou-Testone. Corfu, 1994, p. 41–49; *Nikifrou-Testone A. The transformation of the Urban Landscape in Public Ceremonies during the Venetian Occupation (14<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> century) // Corfu: History, Urban Space and Architecture 14<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> Century* / Ed. E. Concina and A. Nikifrou-Testone. Corfu, 1994, p. 59–71.

<sup>17</sup> Судоренко Г. В. Документируя святуюню. Изображения реликвий в позднесредневековой живописи // Восточнохристианские реликвии / Ред.-сост. А. М. Лидов. Москва, 2003, с. 608–627.

<sup>18</sup> Chatzidakis M. *Studies in Byzantine Art and Archeology*. London, 1972, p. 172, n. 1–3, 5; Μπίθα Ι. Απεικονίσεις των πολιορκιών της Κέρκυρας, μικρή συμβολή στην εικονογραφία του αγίου Σπυρίδωνα // ΔΧΑΕ ΙΗ' (1995), 164 ff., figs. 1, 6–8; Βοκοτόπουλος Π. Α. *Εικόνες της Κέρκυρας*, Athens, 1990, no. 88, fig. 243.

<sup>19</sup> Chatzidakis N. *Icons. The Velemezis Collection*. Athens. 1998, N 46, p. 346–354.



were Catholic, Orthodox, and mixed (common) feasts and ceremonies<sup>20</sup>. A similar policy of acceptance of the cult of the local patron saint linked to the community by a particular bond reaching beyond the religious sphere into the domain of civic relations can also be observed on the island of Crete, where the cult of Saint Titus was incorporated in the church calendar of the Venetian colonists<sup>21</sup>. As M. Georgopoulou notes “the close link between the relics of Saint Titus and the sacred history of Crete provided a parallel to the relics of Saint Mark and their special association with Venice”<sup>22</sup>. A procession on the feast of Saint Titus in which the entire clergy of the city, both Latin and Greek, was required to participate also was held in Crete.

When the relics of St. Spyridon were moved to the island of Corfu in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, they became the principal factor in the religious life of the Orthodox population. Gradually rituals connected with the veneration of the saint’s relics, grew in importance and included a great number of participants, who joined regular and extraordinary ceremonies. In a similar way on the island of Crete “the direct association of the sacred relics with the governmental representatives of Venice transformed the old Byzantine traditions into symbols of Venetian colonial ideology” as M. Georgopoulou pointed out<sup>23</sup>.

So, *the next larger circle, or circles of the holy space, are marked by the processions*. As A. Lidov has pointed out “Sacred space is relevant not merely to church environment but also to any urban or natural milieu that could be temporarily made sacred through religious processions, special performances and liturgical rites”<sup>24</sup>. We should mention four litanies to the regular ceremonies, which established themselves over the 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries in memory of St. Spyridon’s intervention and deliverance of the island.

The litany on Palm Sunday comes first in the calendar (yet second chronologically). According to information from the end of 1629, an Ottoman vessel trading cloth brought the plague to the island. Day after day quick death spread among the inhabitants and the Venetian Governor was at a loss what to do. Then people began to gather and pray to the Saint for deliverance. During the night, when everyone was praying, sentries along the fortress saw a light above the church to which the relics of St. Spyridon had been moved, driving away the darkness. On the next day casualties

<sup>20</sup> Νικηφόρου Α. Δημόσιες Τελετές στην Κέρκυρα κατά την περίοδο της Βενετικής Κυριαρχίας 14ος–18ος αι. εκδ. Θεμέλιο, 1999, 110–131.

<sup>21</sup> Georgopoulou M. Late Medieval Crete and Venice: An Appropriation of Byzantine Heritage // The Art Bulletin, 1995, vol. 77, p. 484.

<sup>22</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>23</sup> Ibidem, p. 491.

<sup>24</sup> Lidov A. Hierotopy. The creation of sacred space as form of creativity and subject of cultural history // Hierotopy. Studies in the Making of Sacred Space. Moscow, 2004, p. 33, and in the present volume.

were fewer and on Palm Sunday they ceased altogether. The Venetian authorities immediately following the deliverance of the town from the plague ordered litany with the relics of the saint. The second and oldest procession was established in 1550 and takes place every Holy Saturday, in thanks for the relief of the island from famine. This procession traditionally takes place on Easter Saturday starting at 9 in the morning. The third commemorates the Saint's intervention in saving the island from plague a second time, and is held on the first Sunday in November. On August 11, the fourth procession takes place, in memory of the deliverance of the island from the Turks after the month-long siege in 1716. On August 9 a destructive storm created havoc in the Turkish camp. "During the confusion, the panic-stricken Turks saw a number of acolytes with lighted candles approaching them, urged forward by an elderly bishop, staff in hand, who could only have been St. Spyridon"<sup>25</sup>. The departure of the Turks on August 11 was a rout and was attributed to the miraculous intervention of the saint. This was the first siege that had not cost any civilian lives. Venice legislated the establishment of the litany of St. Spyridon on the August 11 as a commemoration of the event.

The function of the processions in mapping the sacred space and spreading the protection of the saint so that the outlined area would be blessed is obvious. In this way the entire town was designated a sacred space under divine protection. The litanies with the relics of St. Spyridon re-enact the history of Corfu, so that secular history and legend become as sacred as the Christian mysteries. The dates of the annual celebrations correspond either to the feast days of the calendar or to events in the history of the island and the conception of civic time came increasingly to rely on ritual performances.

The litany on Palm Sunday, the longest procession of all, goes around the entire fortified town (leaving out only the Jewish ghetto). The procession sets out from the Saint's own church at 11 in the morning and follows the line of the old town walls from where the Saint drove out the diseases. From the church the relics of the saint are carried out to Mandraki and then to the New Fortress (the Spilia locality) and from there taken on to the church of St. Francis in the center of the town<sup>26</sup>. Still following the old town walls, the procession goes to the place where the church of St. Athanasios once existed. Here the festive procession stops for a prayer, because the relics of St. Spyridon were for some time accommodated in this church. Then the litany goes down to the square called Spianada only to stop once again in front of the Gate of the Old Fortress, where the relics of St. Spyridon were also housed for a while, and return to the church.

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<sup>25</sup> *Foss A.* Op. cit., p. 180.

<sup>26</sup> *Νικηφόρου Α.* Op. cit., p. 363.

Who took part in the litanies and what was their role in them? Today the first to pass are the 15 philharmonics of Kerkyra, most of whom come from all parts of the island to pay their respects to St. Spyridon. They are followed by schools and the University. The Old Band, known as *Palaia* (the Philharmonic Society of Corfu) follows and accompanies the holy relics everywhere, even in the church. The Immediate “escort” of the saint are the priests, dressed for the feast, moving in two lines respectively left and right. Next comes the Saint himself borne by four priests. Whenever the relics are taken out, four sailors carry a special canopy (or portable tent) above the sarcophagus, which is taken away only when a prayer is being said. Military honors are given on both sides of the sarcophagus. The structure of the procession is determined by the rule that the most important person walks at the end. Thus in the litany of Holy Saturday the relics of St. Spyridon are penultimate, last and most important is the Epitaphios, The Body of Christ. Immediately after the Saint come the local notables — the mayor and the deputies, and after them the “common” people. Naturally the composition of the participants over the five centuries underwent change. While Kerkyra was under Venetian, French and British rule, numerous garrisons were stationed there; they took an active part in the processions, in place of the schools. Throughout the period between the 15<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century the local Venetian representatives also took part in the ceremonies, in their capacity as officials. The General Captain (Provveditore) of the Sea himself carried the canopy above the sarcophagus during the litany, and when the relics were taken back to the church he bowed<sup>27</sup>. The church fraternities and the craft unions also took part. In the past, participation was strictly regulated: a fine was imposed for any refusal to take part. Sound effects are important elements of the festive atmosphere: bands took part as well as shooting cannons. It was not by chance that, as the first President of the Philharmonic Society writes in a letter of his of 1840 about “a civil band which will add splendor to religious ceremonies and great dignity to our beloved country, aiming to enable the customs of its children”. The budget of the Municipality allocated special funds for the gun-powder used at the litanies.

The veneration of St. Spyridon on Corfu and the specific rites connected with his relics have been considered a major feature of the island by all visitors throughout the 16<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> century. The impressions of various travelers and visitors to the island provide such evidence. This is what Pietro della Vale, an Italian who visited the island, wrote in 1614: “Our vessel arrived at the port of Corfu; about which the Venetians have constructed, on roads which frown defiance, some very strong fortresses... The only thing that I found remarkable was the fortress, which is defended more by nature than by

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<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 365.

art, and is impregnable. *Here, the defunct human body is preserved so perfectly, that, in the instance of one in particular, although he lived in the time of the First Council, his flesh appears yet lively and fresh; that of his leg, when touched, rising again from the pressure...*<sup>28</sup>

Rev. S. I. Mahoney, late a Capuchin Friar in the convent of the Immaculate Conception at Rome, provides valuable information on the practice of the Spyridon cult in the 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>29</sup>. The author was Irish, a former Roman Catholic clergyman who after several years in the Capuchin monastic order in Rome not only left the order but abandoned Catholicism and Christianity, firmly convinced of the fallacy of the system of religion. His views are Socinian. (The Socinians were sect which started in Italy in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. They hold Unitarian views, including denial of the divinity of Jesus.) This is important to know with regard to the views and attitudes he expresses as he observes and describes: “At Corfu, one of the Ionian islands, there is also another lot of sanctified bones, christened ‘the body of Saint Spy-ri-done’, which are worshipped most idolatrously by the Greeks, as well as the Latins of this island. The body, made up in the manner before described, is deposited in a massive chest of solid silver, which requires, on account of its great weight, the strength of four men to support it, when carried in procession, as it frequently is, through the streets of Corfu. Its shrine is in the Greek church, called after the saint, with whose putrid bones it is honoured, ‘Spiridione’. This body has been the apple of contention between the followers of the eastern and western churches of this island for many years. Very few knew who or what Spiridione was, yet all affirm that he was a great saint. It is equally unknown how his body found its way to the island, or what wind drove it there; for all confess that he was not a Corfuote. This mystery, in which the knowledge, or rather no *knowledge* of his country, tended to increase the people’s devotion to him. The Latins, taking advantage of the obscurity in which his history is involved, affirm that he was a bishop of their own church, and a most zealous adherent of the pope’s: they paint him accordingly, with a miter and a crosier, and, under such a form, his picture is adored by them. The Greeks, on the other hand, assert, that he was the friend and companion to Photius, patriarch of Jerusalem, who, in the middle of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, caused the Greek church to separate from the Latin, on the account of the errors of the latter; and that he was waylaid and murdered by emissaries from the pope, by whom he had the honour of being excommunicated.

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<sup>28</sup> *Jervis-White H.* History of the island of Corfu, and of the Republic of the Ionian Islands. London, 1852, p. 126–127.

<sup>29</sup> Special thanks are due to Dimitri Gondicas who recommended this author to us as well as to Todor Todorov for the excerpts of the text and information on the author.

He is, therefore, placed by the Greeks in the number of their martyrs, and painted by them with blood issuing from a wound in his breast, which he is in the act of receiving from two grim-looking villains, dressed in the habit of Latin monks. The Latins, when Corfu was under the Venetian dominion, having the force on their side, took the liberty of transporting Spiridione — case and all, which very probably the priests coveted more than the bones, as being of greater value — from the Greek church into their own cathedral, pleading in excuse for this act of violence, the sin of permitting a Roman Catholic saint to be worshipped in a schismatic church. This excited a rebellion, on the part of the Greeks, against the tyranny of the Venetians, which was not suppressed without the loss of many lives — sacrificed, no doubt, to appease the bones of the contested saint. Some thirty years after, a new governor being sent from Venice, he thought it would be a good way to gain popularity, and propitiate the affections of the Greeks, or, perhaps, — which is more likely — being bribed thereto by a good sum of money (the Venetian governors of the Ionian islands were proverbially venal), to use his influence with the Doge and senate to have Spiridione restored to his former owners. With much difficulty, and after surmounting the obstacles placed in the way by the Latin side, he at length succeeded, and Spiridione changed masters again, or rather returned to his former ones, and was triumphantly replaced in his former shrine... Spiridione remains in possession of the Greeks down to the present time, nor is there any likelihood of their again losing him, till, guided by the Spirit of Truth, and by His precious Word, they throw aside, of their own accord, his degrading worship, and convert his silver case into something of real service to their island, leaving his body to return to the dust from which it was created, if, indeed, the bones that are shown as his ever formed the part of a human body; a thing, in itself, a matter of doubt. The worship of Spiridione, as now practiced in Corfu, is idolatrous in the extreme — perhaps Vincenzo Ferreri is not more idolatrously worshipped at Valentia, nor St. Peter at Rome, that he is in that island; for certainly the superstitious and idolatrous rites practiced at his shrine can hardly be surpassed. It is remarkable, and at the same time surprising, how England allows her policy to get the better than of her religion. *The British soldiers quartered in this island have positive orders from their general to present arms to the bones and images of this saint, as they are carried along in procession through the streets; the bones by the Greeks, the images and pictures by the Latins. Nor is this all: a guard of honour, commanded by a commissioned officer, is always in attendance on every solemn occasion, and draw up in front of the church, to do honour to the relics of this idol: thus is a British soldier obliged to sacrifice his duty to God to his duty as a soldier.*

This may be good policy, but very bad religion, and serves to confirm that other continental nations in their ideas of English religion; for it is no uncommon thing for an Italian, when he wishes to express his opinion of the want of religion in one of his acquaintances, to exclaim '*Quello la di religione quanto un Inglese*' — *He has as much religion as an Englishman*; meaning to say, he has none at all<sup>30</sup>. And further: "I have already, in former part of this work, given a sketch of the state of religion at Corfu. The idol Spy-ri-done is the god of the island, and from him are expected all the blessings, spiritual and temporal, which its inhabitants pray for. The Greek priests are proverbially ignorant and illiterate; and, consequently, bigoted in the extreme to their own superstitious form of worship. Their supine ignorance is so well known, that the Latin inhabitants, when they wish to express a more than usual degree of that *mother* of *devotion*, say one of their acquaintances '*Egli è piu ignorante, che un papa Greco*'. (He is more ignorant than a Greek priest.)"<sup>31</sup>.

Rituals specific for Corfu had their models. It is hardly necessary to recall that imperial and ecclesiastical processions in Byzantine Constantinople played an important role in the public life of their time. As for the processions, where relics are carried, they are known only when the relics are moved from one place to another. Thus on the day of St. Stephen (August 2) the procession started on the Golden Horn shore and went to the aqueduct where the saint was buried in his church. The special route of this procession was explained by the fact that it reproduced the original route of the translation of St. Stephen's relics (the ship that transported the relics to Constantinople landed at the Zeugma on the Golden horn)<sup>32</sup>. A similar case is the procession in memory of St. John Chrysostom on January 27, during which the translation from the church of St. Thomas of Amantos to the Holy Apostles was repeated. However the relics of the saint together with the shrine are not borne at the annual processions at the feast day of the saint<sup>33</sup>. As far as we know there is a tradition of litany processions in the Orthodox world for some saints, but they are usually restricted to going around the monastery (as

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<sup>30</sup> Rev. Mahoney S. I. *Six years in the monasteries of Italy, and two years in the islands of the Mediterranean and in Asia Minor: containing a view of the manners and customs of the Popish clergy in Ireland, France, Italy, Malta, Corfu, Zante, Smyrna, &c. With anecdotes and remarks, illustrating some of the peculiar doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church.* Philadelphia, 1836, p. 264–267.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 368.

<sup>32</sup> Berger A. *Imperial and ecclesiastical processions in Constantinople // Byzantine Constantinople: monuments, topography and everyday life / Ed. Nevra Necipoglu.* Leiden; New York; Köln: E. J. Brill, 2001, p. 73–85.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibidem*.

is the case with the relics of Hosios Loukas at his monastery in Phokis) or the church itself (for instance the relics of St. John the New of Suceava, at the church of St George in Suceava, Romania)<sup>34</sup>.

On the other hand Venice played an important role in religious life on Corfu. It is well known that in 1386 the Council of Corfu asked for the protection of Venice. This is known as the Second Period of Venetian rule and it lasted until 1797. This was probably the most important period for the island, not only because of the economic progress and the building that went on but also because it was during this period that the rest of Greece fell under Ottoman domination. The island became a fortress and the base of the admiral of the Venetian fleet.

This is the place to note that Venice was known as “The Republic of Processions”<sup>35</sup> and especially in Venice can we find close parallels to a number of elements in the litanies with the relics of St. Spyridon. As E. Muir pointed out “There had been a marked increase in the number of obligatory processions since the beginning of the century and especially after the 1540<sup>s</sup>, a remarkable extension of pageantry display in connection with the ducal processions. Consequently, solemn processional observances were becoming, if anything, a more popular and more important characteristic of Venetian life”<sup>36</sup>. It is interesting to note that particularly towards the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century the major fraternities took the decision to represent the greatest episodes in their history. It suffices to recall the procession in St. Mark’s Square on 25 April, the feast day of the Holy Apostle Mark, represented in a painting by Gentile Bellini of 1496 (Galleria dell’Academia, Venice). As E. Crouzet-Pavan observes “...la Scuola di San Giovanni Evangelista décide d’exalter l’objet principal de sa dévotion, le reliquaire offert par Philippe de Mesièsres où est enchâssé un fragment de la Vraie Croix”<sup>37</sup>. Passing directly in front of us the white-robed members of the Scuola of San Giovanni hold aloft their renowned relic of the True Cross, encased in a special reliquary resting on a gilded platform. Four confratelli support a baldacchino (a canopy) above it, flanked by others who carry twelve heavy processional candles. Together they provide an honorable frame for the relic. (On the left above the procession a profusion of oriental carpets hangs from the windows and in most of the arches women appear.)<sup>38</sup> We can also cite the engraving

<sup>34</sup> See: *Bakalova E.* Цамблаковото “Мъчение на св. Йоан Нови Сучавски” в румънската монументална живопис от XV–XVII век // *Paleobulgarica / Старобългаристика XV* (1991), 4, с. 56–77.

<sup>35</sup> *Muir E.* *Civic ritual in Renaissance Venice.* Princeton, 1981, *passim*.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 212.

<sup>37</sup> *Crouzet-Pavan E.* “Sopra le aque salse”: espace, pouvoir et société à Venise à la fin du Moyen Age. Rome, 1992, p. 645.

<sup>38</sup> *Fortini-Brown P.* *Art and Life in Renaissance Venice.* New York, 1997, 56. On G. Bellini’s picture see pp. 83, 86, fig. 57.

of Matteo Pagan representing the Procession of the Doge on Palm Sunday (Venice, Museo Correr). It is a valuable visual source allowing direct comparisons between the participants of these processions and their counterparts on Corfu. This is how E. Muir describes it: “First to emerge from the Ducal Palace were eight standard-bearers carrying the banners with the Lion of Saint Mark. Commanders were second and behind them walked six musicians whose long silver trumpets were carried on the shoulders of small boys. Then came the squires of the visiting ambassadors etc. ... The third segment of the procession consists of the most important office-holders each placed according to the rank of his office and the Doge himself”<sup>39</sup>.

It is not difficult to see that the processions of St. Spyridon on Corfu were organized in a similar manner, while their participants were organized according to their rank. Here we find almost all elements characteristic of Venetian processions, including a brass band and windows decorated with red carpets (in Venice these were imported carpets from the east) along the route of the procession<sup>40</sup>. However the fact that relics are carried in some of the annual processions in Venice is particularly important. Besides the above-mentioned procession on the 25<sup>th</sup> of April with the relics of the Holy Cross, the processions on the feast of Corpus Christi, a new Eucharistic feast, established in the mid-thirteenth century, and disseminated from the early years of the next century<sup>41</sup> were especially of relevance to the processions with the relics of St. Spyridon. Here too the procession included both clergy and laity, the consecrated host was kept in a precious vessel, and the heart of the procession is the vessel containing it. Visual representations of Corpus Christi processions often show the eucharistic vessel or tabernacle carried by one or more priests and there is often a canopy (an important symbol of dignity) stretched above the group, usually on staves, carried by four laymen or priests<sup>42</sup>. This feast was widely spread in Western Europe from the 14<sup>th</sup> century on and was associated with spectacular effects. The procession consisted of Scuole Grandi members, guildsmen, members of the scuole piccoli dedicated to the Eucharist, the regulars, and congregations of scholars<sup>43</sup>. Corpus Christi attracted thousands of spectators from Venice and the terraferma to watch a sumptuous parade under a canopy of white cloth erected in the Piazza for the event. This is how the Venetian Sansovino describes it in his book “Venetia citta

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<sup>39</sup> Muir E. Op. cit. p. 190–198.

<sup>40</sup> On the Venetian models of the processions on Corfu see between others: Νικηφόρου Α., op. cit., p. 30–38 and passim.

<sup>41</sup> Rubin M. Corpus Christi. The Eucharist in Late medieval Culture. Cambridge, 1991. Especially “Corpus Christi processions”, p. 243–271.

<sup>42</sup> Ibidem, p. 252–256, fig. 12 and 14.

<sup>43</sup> Muir E. Op. cit., p. 224.



nobilissima et singolare” (first published in 1581): “With so much greater solemnity (than the other processioners) because they all are pompously turned out with decorated robes, with silver-plate, *with relics in their hands*, and with scenes on platforms so rare and beautiful that it is a worthy thing to see”<sup>44</sup>. Particularly important for us is the practice of displaying relics in these processions. Théodulf of Orleans was the first to note that the sacred relics, owing to their ‘intimate’ link with the saints and martyrs, also possess a mystic link with God. The relics are also like the holy gifts of the Eucharist; their blessing makes them Holy and includes them in the sacraments<sup>45</sup>. This is the place to recall that Corpus Christi was also introduced by the Venetians on Corfu<sup>46</sup>. This is why we can emphasize the influence of this procession on the formation and regulation of the processions with St. Spyridon whose relics in the precious coffin replace the tabernacle with the Host.

It is interesting to note how sacred space organized around the relics of St. Spyridon compares with the sacred spaces of other relics in the town, for instance those of St. Theodora, the Empress associated with the Restoration of the Holy Images. Yet the relics of St. Theodora are taken out only once, on the Sunday of Orthodoxy (the first Sunday in Lent), the feast which celebrates the official end of Iconoclasm in 843. Moreover, the ritual is new, introduced in 1984. The route of the procession is quite different from that of the route followed by the procession of St. Spyridon. Clearly the cult of St. Spyridon dominates; a certain hierarchy exists, as well as a strictly regulated order of feasts and processions with relics.

The rituals, connected with the veneration of the relics of St. Spyridon and the belief in the might of the protection of the saint can to a certain extent be compared with the rituals in the Greek lands connected with the veneration of the miraculous icons of the Holy Virgin. Such for example was the case with the miraculous icon of the Holy Virgin Evangelistria on the Aegean island of Tinos. On March 25<sup>th</sup> (Annunciation) and August 15<sup>th</sup> (Dormition) the miraculous icon was taken out in a procession which included sailors, and representatives of the National Government always attend the ceremonies. It is sailors who form the procession to carry the icon, and their battleships are near the shore during the ceremony. “Military symbolism also figures in religious celebrations at the church,” J. Dubish emphasizes, “particularly as it is related to naval power... In addition, since August 15 has been designated a national Day of Military Strength, the association between

<sup>44</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 227.

<sup>45</sup> *Appleby D.* Holy Relics and Holy Image: Saints Relics in the Western Controversy over Images in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries // *Word and Image*, 8: 4 (1992), p. 337.

<sup>46</sup> Νικηφόρου Α. *Op.cit.*, p. 130.

the shrine, militarism, and patriotism is made at the national level in posters displayed for the event<sup>47</sup>.

In its social significance and functions, the veneration of miraculous icons can only be compared with the cult to relics — a subject of cults much more popular in western European tradition. H. Belting emphasizes in many places<sup>48</sup>, that in Byzantium and Russia (and I would add here Bulgaria!), as well as in Italy of all countries in Western Europe, icons are endowed with the same miraculous qualities that characterize sacred relics. If in the early Middle Ages in the Orthodox world the trend was from relics to images, “*des reliques aux icônes*”<sup>49</sup>, in the Late Middle Ages (which is equivalent to the Post Byzantine period), as today, relics and “sacred images in Byzantium seem to have performed many of the same functions and enjoyed similar status”<sup>50</sup>.

The similarity between relics and miraculous icons is above all functional. While it is not possible here for us to examine this issue, we shall only note some common functions. Both function as protectors of states, capitals, towns, monasteries and separate individuals. In “the imaginary world of the Middle Ages” (*l’imaginaire médiévale* — the term was coined by Jacques Le Goff) the emphasis is on their ability to intervene in the course of real events, especially in situations of an impending danger, a serious threat to society as a whole or to separate smaller communities. Both play an equally important part for *the structuring of the sacred area*. Relics and miraculous icons alike are the object of a marked interest and pilgrimages.

Thus, according to preserved historical sources, greeting the arrival of a miraculous icon (or a copy of a famous miraculous icon), coming from afar is similar to the greeting the arrival of relics brought from afar. In both instances this is an exceptionally important event, in which the entire population of the respective town (or the respective monastery complex) participates. In both cases at the head of the procession of those that have come out is taken by either the rulers or the representatives of the high clergy (or both). In both cases a special church is built for the arriving holy relic or icon. It is interesting to note, that just as a special genre “A narrative for the translation of relics” exists, there are similar ones for the translation (or meeting) of miraculous icons. The translation of the relics of a given saint (or of other relics) is not only especially noted in hagiography; this is not

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<sup>47</sup> *Dubish J.* In a different Place: Pilgrimage, Gender and Politics at a Greek Island Shrine. Princeton, 1995, p. 173–174.

<sup>48</sup> *Belting H.* Bild und Kult. Eine Geschichte des Bildes vor dem Zeitalter der Kunst. München, 1990, passim.

<sup>49</sup> *Grabar A.* Martyrium. Recherches sur le culte des reliques et l’art chrétien antique. Paris, 1972, passim.

<sup>50</sup> *Brubaker L.* The Sacred image // The sacred Image East and West / Ed. R. Ousterhout and L. Brubaker. Urbana and Chicago, 1995, p. 12.

only a special occasion for the composition of liturgies and other hymnographic works, but a day is marked as a separate day in the church calendar. Such a transfer is always presented in the illustrated cycles of the respective saints. In this way the story of the translation and arrival of some miraculous icon, which is most often described in a text composed on this occasion, is also visualized, in particular in the late Middle Ages. The content of the narrative is also similar, for example the descriptions of visions given to particularly righteous persons in connection with the discovery of relics or the arrival of a miraculous icon.

In fact the functional similarity between miraculous icons and relics stems above all from their *miraculous powers*. Or, to be more precise, the similar manifestation of this miraculous power. The ‘type of miracle’ found in the numerous legends regarding each specific miraculous icon and each relic, are quite the similar. From a practical point of view, one which cannot be altogether excluded, both relics and miraculous icons could be useful in the event of danger or misfortune. This is why they were venerated with similar honors, expressed in similar rituals<sup>51</sup>. Both play an equally important part in *the structuring of the sacred area*.

And if the processions with miraculous icons no doubt continue Byzantine traditions, processions with relics are definitely linked to western influences. In the processions with the relics of St. Spyridon on Corfu we find beyond doubt the realization of a possible conflict-free unification of the two confessions. Besides the important political reasons for such a unification, as we see it, a certain significance should also be attributed to the circumstance that St. Spyridon was also known in the west from Late antiquity, above all as a participant in the First Ecumenical Council in Nicaea. This is what Rufinus of Aquileia, the Church historian, writes, especially emphasizing that St. Spyridon was one of the most eminent Church fathers ‘present at the Council’: “If any of their number would have been more outstanding, it is said to have been Spyridon, a bishop from Cyprus, a man belonging to the order of prophets, so much have we learned from what was said by those who saw him. *He remained a shepherd even after he was appointed bishop...*”<sup>52</sup> The fact, that St. Spyridon is the Augustinian type of saint (as prof. Peter Brown would have said) — possessing total obedience, the “gift of perseverance”, and above all — humility (as St. Augustine says in one of the sermons he preached in Carthage: “...For our way is humility”)<sup>53</sup>.

<sup>51</sup> On details on the functional similarity between relics and miraculous icons see: *Bakalova E. La vénération des icônes miraculeuses en Bulgarie: aspects historiques et contemporaines d'un pèlerinage // Ethnologie française, 2001/2, p. 261–275.*

<sup>52</sup> Cf. *The Church History of Rufinus of Aquileia, Books 10 and 11 / Transl. by Philip R. Amidon, S. J. New York, Oxford, 1997, 10.5, p. 12–13.*

<sup>53</sup> *Brown P. Augustin of Hippo. A Biography. Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2000, p. 459.*

Yet the influence of St. Spyridon, who is one of the most popular miracle-working saints today, spread not only over Kerkyra, but over the other Ionian islands. Comparable as miracle workers on other Ionian islands are St. Dionysios (born in 1547 on the island of Zakynthos) and St. Yerasimos (on the island of Cephallonia).

The cult of Yerasimos of Cephallonia deserves special attention. It was here that the saint lived as a hermit and performed miracles. Two holy feasts with processions of the saint's remains are held on August 16 — the anniversary of Saint's death in 1579 — and on October 20 — the date of his beatification, attracting pilgrims from all over Greece. Yerasimos was born in Trikala, Corinthia, belonged to the noble Notaras family who had distinguished themselves in Constantinople during the reign of the Palaiologoi. Very early he decided on the monastic life and lived on Mount Athos, in Crete and in the Holy Land for 12 years before becoming a hermit on Zakynthos for 5 years<sup>54</sup>. He came to Cephallonia in 1560 and lived in a cave in the place called Spilia, near Argostoly. Later he founded the Omala convent, known as "New Jerusalem". In 1582 the monastery was declared stauropegial-patriarchal, in all matters related to the monastery its representatives turned directly to the Ecumenical Patriarch<sup>55</sup>.

Saint Yerasimos was officially canonized in July 1622 and became the patron saint of the island and every other Cephalonian man is named after him. The saint was seen as an intermediary and patron between the Cephalonians and local and foreign sailors, and God. The monastery is a place of pilgrimage for the faithful of the Greek Orthodox Church. The rituals connected with the veneration of his relics have much in common with the rituals on Corfu. As with St. Spyridon, the relics are kept in two caskets. The interior casket is known as the coffin "cassa", and is made of wood, gilded, with three glass sides. The body of the saint is lying on its back and attached by belts. This small casket with the relics is placed standing on feasts and is carried in processions. The large casket placed on the grave of the saint was covered in 1940 with silver relieves on the front and on the right side, from the top to the bottom, as these are the sides visible to the pilgrims. At the bottom left, on the base, are images of people cured by the saint. At the middle of the base is a procession with the relics. A small silver embossed dome was made for the Litany of the saint. The small casket is placed vertically and left in front of the southern gate of the altar for veneration on the eve of the feasts on the 16<sup>th</sup> of August and the 20<sup>th</sup> of October<sup>56</sup>. After the liturgy a

<sup>54</sup> *Πρωτοπρ. Κωνστ. Γ. Γκέλης*. «Ο Άγιος Γεράσιμος Κεφαλληνίας», Δ' εκδ., Ι. Μονής Αγ. Γερασίμου «Νέα Ιερουαλήμ». Αθήνα, 1991, p. 13–27.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 107.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 120–125.

procession is made to the plane tree. At the end of the litany the casket is once again placed vertically in front of the southern door of iconostasis, where it remains throughout the duration of the feasts, i. e. 23<sup>rd</sup> of August and the 26<sup>th</sup> of October. After the liturgy at the end of the feasts the relics are taken around the monastery to the threshing floor and then the saint is returned lying in the large casket<sup>57</sup>. St. Yerasimos (Gerasimos) is so famous for his healing gifts and to such a degree inseparable from the thinking of the inhabitants of the island, that it is described together with the rituals related to the relics, in the famous novel “Captain Corelli’s Mandolin” which later is made into a film. Here is what the author writes about the saint: “St. Gerasimos, withered and blackened, sealed inside his domed and gilded sarcophagus by the reredos of his own monastery, dead for five centuries, rose up at night. Decked in scarlet and golden robes, precious stones and ancient medals, he rattled and creaked his way discreetly amongst his flock of sinners and the sick, visiting them in their homes, sometimes even going abroad to his native Corinthia, there to visit the bones of his fathers and wander amongst the hills and groves of his youth. But the dutiful saint had always returned by morning, obliging the garrulous nuns who attended him *to clean the mud from the golden brocade of his slippers* and resettle his emaciated and mummified limbs into a posture of peaceful repose. He was a real saint, a genuine holy man with nothing in common with the imaginary and doubtful saints of other faiths... *Like St. Spyridon of Corfu, Gerasimos had lived an exemplary life and left his entire mortal shell as an inspiration and as evidence*”<sup>58</sup>.

The cult of St. Dionysios developed on the island of Zakynthos from the 18<sup>th</sup> century on. Draganigos Sigouros (St. Dionysios) was born on Zakynthos and in 1547 became archbishop, dying on the 17<sup>th</sup> of December 1622; his wish was to be buried on the Strofades. His body was buried in the church of St. George of Strofades. A few years later the grave was dug out in accordance with monastery rules and the relics were found intact. The monks moved him to the narthex of the church of the Transfiguration of Christ. When the Venetian-Turkish war for Crete began, the monks feared that the barbarians might attack their monastery and secretly moved the relics to a metochion of theirs on Zakynthos. This was the first transfer of the relics of the saint, which was also connected with many miracles.

At the end of the war the relics were returned to the Strofades. By the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and the early 18<sup>th</sup> century the monks from the Strofades began taking steps to declare archbishop Dionysios a saint and sent a delegation to Constantinople in 1708. Not long after that Gabriel, Patriarch

<sup>57</sup> Ibidem, p. 120–125.

<sup>58</sup> De Bernière L. Captain Corelli’s mandolin. London: Secker & Warburg, 1994, p. 71–72.

of Constantinople, through a Ruling of the Synod declared Archbishop Dionysios Sigouros a saint<sup>59</sup>.

In August 1717 Turkish pirates robbed the monastery on the Strofades and cut off the hands of the saint when they left, placing the rest of the relics on a barrel with gun powder, and lit a fire. However the saint performed a miracle: the gun powder failed to explode. Mostrinos, the Chief of the pirates decided to present the hands of St. Dionysios to Bishop Akakis, who returned them to the Strofades monastery. After the attack, on August 22, 1717 the monks carried the relics once and for all to Zakynthos on a Venetian vessel. The inhabitants, the authorities and the clergy met for the veneration of the relics in the metropolitan church of “St Nicholas of the For- eigners”. Three days later came the first official procession with the relics in the town, after which the relics were moved to the church of the Nativity of the Virgin in Kalytera at the metochion of the monastery of the Strofades. They remained in this church for three years (1717–1720). Subsequently they were moved to the church dedicated to the saint at Ammos.

The translation of the holy relics from the Strofades to Zakynthos was the most important event in the history of the island, enriching it with the lasting treasure for the salvation of the souls of many generations, past and future. When the Zakynthos community declared St. Dionysios patron saint of the island is not known. According to some sources this took place in 1724. According to others the proclaiming of the saint as a patron protecting Zakynthos in place of The Virgin Skopiotissa and St. John the Fore- runner must have occurred after 1758 and prior to 1763, when the Venetian authorities approved the decision of the Governor General of Zakynthos to declare the 17<sup>th</sup> of December an official yearly feast. Until then the annual feast of the Dormition of St. Dionysios was celebrated with an unofficial procession of the relics around the town and the fair. And the 24<sup>th</sup> of August, the anniversary of the translation of the relics from the Strofades to Zakynthos, was also declared an official feast. Later a litany on the 24<sup>th</sup> of August was established in 1901, when the mayor was Antonios Makris and the archbishop of Zakynthos Dionysios Plesas. Thus the Zakynthians celebrate the saint on two occasions: on the 24<sup>th</sup> of August and the 17<sup>th</sup> of December. The main feast was the winter one, the anniversary of the Dor- mition of the saint.

The relics of these three saints have an apotropaic function to protect the seven Ionian Islands from conquest, plague, famine and other disasters. In times of crisis there are instances when the sarcophagus of St. Spyridon and of the other two saints of the Ionian Islands cannot be opened, which is ex-

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<sup>59</sup> *Κονόμος Ν. Άγιος Διονύσιος ο Πολιούχος Ζακύνθου // Β' έκδ., Αθήνα, 1996, Ιερά Μονή Στροφάδων και Αγίου Διονυσίου Ζακύνθου, p. 59–65.*

plained as the absence of the saint, who has gone to repulse the misfortune. Several days later, when the sarcophagus is opened, proof is found in the sea-weed on the “saint’s slippers”. The three saints are depicted side by side in the Metropolitan church of Corfu. The cults of St. Dionysios and Yerasimos emerged later and are connected with St. Spyridon only with regard to their function and their geographic location. Among the three there is the hierarchy, Spyridon being at the top. Miniature copies of his sarcophagus and relics are to be found on other Ionian islands, including Cephalonia and Zakynthos. The cults of St. Yerasimos and St. Dionysios in general repeat, on a smaller scale, that of St. Spyridon.

Thus the cult of St. Spyridon effectively creates a concentric model of sacred space, whose very center — the concentration of sanctity — is the sarcophagus with the relics of the saint in his church on Corfu. *A outer circle of sacred space includes all the Ionian Islands — a galaxy related to the relics of St. Spyridon, a global paradigm of holiness expressed through diffusion in space.* Other saints from the Ionian Islands merely enhance this power of protection.

The frequent miracles of the saint strengthen the sense of security and protection characteristic of the spiritual climate of present day Corfu. The contemporary cult practice, which indeed is an external manifestation of Orthodox cultural traditions, is in fact far from the context which shaped it. Yet contemporary life also raises complex issues, threats to individuals and the community. The idea of a free city under divine protection was so enticing that it survived even to the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In contrast to the belief that modernity brought a decline in ritual and an accompanying loss of communal unity, the evidence from Corfu indicates the persistence of the elaborated popular myths. On Kerkyra an intense community life seems to have been fostered by an intricate design of both religious and civic rituals, which succeeded in melding parochialism and the tendency to hold certain offices and institutions sacred into an unusually vibrant and durable civic patriotism. In the great cycle of rituals linked with the cult of St. Spyridon may be read the story created by the citizens of Kerkyra about their own world which represents a sacred space under divine protection.

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РЕЛИКВИИ СВ. СПИРИДОНА И СОЗДАНИЕ  
САКРАЛЬНОГО ПРОСТРАНСТВА НА О. КОРФУ:  
МЕЖДУ КОНСТАНТИНОПОЛЕМ И ВЕНЕЦИЕЙ

Почитание реликвий св. Спиридона на о. Корфу (Керкире) — интересный и, возможно, уникальный пример структурирования сакрального пространства как в самой столице Ионических островов, так и в данном регионе в целом. Этот культ изначально зародился на Кипре, где в IV в. Спиридон был епископом Тримифунта, участвовавшим в Первом Вселенском соборе в Никее в 325 г. В VII в. его реликвии были перенесены в Константинополь, в результате чего культ святого распространился по всему православному миру. После падения Константинополя реликвии Спиридона в 1489 г. оказались на о. Корфу (Керкире), что привело к появлению новых форм почитания святого, существующих и по сей день. Популярность подвижника настолько велика, что его, единственного из всех, называют на острове просто «святым», и многие из местных жителей носят имя Спиридон. Более того, этот культ не просто определил структуру городского пространства, но и весьма своеобразно отразился в местном изобразительном искусстве. Интересно на связь между поклонением святому и иконописью. На иконах иногда изображается не сам святой, а саркофаг с его открытыми мощами. Кроме того, святой изображается стоящим, именно таким его видят верующие во время городских процессий с саркофагом святого.

В посвященном святому сакральном пространстве можно выделить несколько уровней:

1. Прежде всего, конечно, следует назвать церковь, посвященную святому, в которой хранятся его реликвии. Она именуется «στον άγιο» («η φιλαρμονική πλαίνει στον άγιο»). Внутреннее пространство церкви можно разделить по крайней мере на две зоны. Первая, меньшая, вокруг раки с реликвиями — это диаконник церкви, где и находится саркофаг, «эпицентр божественной энергии». Она организована при помощи разнообразных подходов к святыне, а также «декорацией», скульптурой и фресковой живописью. В это пространство позволено входить паломникам. Поклонение происходит ежедневно с 9 до 13 часов, верующие прикладываются к ногам святого, его телу и голове, «в то время как священнослужитель, открывающий саркофаг, читает молитвы и поет псалмы». Вторая зона — особым образом структурированное внутреннее пространство храма. В праздничные дни вход туда разрешен лишь певчим, которые воспевают святого, но и они могут находиться только в нартексе.



2. Сакральное пространство соотносится не только со средой внутри церкви, но и «с любой городской или природной средой, которая может временно сделаться священной посредством религиозных процессий, специальных действий и литургических служб» (А. Лидов). Следующая зона сакрального пространства определяется процессиями. Каждый год на Вербное Воскресенье, в субботу перед Пасхой, 11 августа и в первое воскресенье ноября реликвии святого выносятся из церкви, и торжественная процессия проходит по городу, позволяя каждому получить благословение святого. Эти процессии призваны маркировать территорию, находящуюся под защитой святого. Они складывались на протяжении 16–18 вв., возникая по разным поводам, связанным с чудотворным вмешательством св. Спиридона в судьбы о. Корфу.

3. Ритуалы, связанные с почитанием св. Спиридона на Корфу, построены по определенным моделям. Достаточно напомнить, что процессии с реликвиями имели место в Константинополе. Но не следует забывать, что с 1386 по 1797 г. существенную роль в общественной жизни Корфу, так же как и некоторых других греческих островов, играет Венеция. А именно Венецию называли «республикой процессий». По структуре и составу участников, по оформлению в целом (включая использование духовой музыки) процессии с реликвиями св. Спиридона напоминают целый ряд венецианских процессий — например, процессию с реликвиями Честного креста 25 апреля, изображенную на известном полотне Джентиле Беллини 1496 г. Но главным прообразом процессий с реликвиями является процессия на празднике *Corpus Christi*, совершающаяся в Западной Европе и по всему католическому миру с XIV в. и до наших дней. Именно в этой процессии участвуют все слои городского населения — представители светской и церковной власти, монахи различных орденов, ремесленники разных гильдий и все горожане по иерархии. То же самое наблюдается и на о. Корфу. Процессии с реликвиями св. Спиридона на Корфу как бы демонстрируют возможность бесконфликтного объединения обеих конфессий.

4. Сакральное пространство, организованное вокруг реликвий святого Спиридона, интересно сравнить с сакральными пространствами других городских реликвий, например, реликвий святой Феодоры, императрицы, прославившейся восстановлением иконопочитания. Реликвии Феодоры выносятся лишь раз в году, в воскресенье Торжества Православия (первое воскресенье Великого Поста) — на праздник, отмечающий победу над иконоборчеством в 843 г. Важно отметить, что этот ритуал возник недавно, в 1984 г. Маршрут процессии отличается от маршрута шествия в честь святого Спиридона, почитание которого несомненно преобладает. Существует некоторая иерархия, а также

строго установленный порядок проведения праздников и процессий с реликвиями.

5. Влияние святого Спиридона, который является одним из самых популярных чудотворцев, распространилось не только на Керкире, но и на других Ионических островах. Кроме того, существует почитание святого Дионисия (на острове Закинфос) и святого Герасима (на острове Кефалония). Культ святого Герасима, покровителя Кефалонии, заслуживает особого внимания. Именно там святой жил как отшельник и творил чудеса, поэтому остров важен как его сакральное пространство. На острове проводятся две ярмарки, во время которых устраиваются процессии с мощами святого: 16 августа и 20 октября. Реликвии трех святых наделены отвращающими зло функциями, они защищают все семь Ионических островов от завоеваний, эпидемий, голода и прочих бедствий. Есть свидетельства о том, что в тяжелые времена саркофаги святого Спиридона и двух других святых Ионических островов не могли открыть, что традиционно объяснялось отсутствием покровителей, ушедших на борьбу с напастями. Спустя несколько дней, когда саркофаг уже удавалось открыть, на сандалиях (а точнее, на тапочках) святого находили водоросли, что считалось доказательством его временной отлучки.

6. Таким образом, культ святого Спиридона создает концентрическую модель сакрального пространства, в эпицентре которой сосредоточена святость — саркофаг с реликвиями святого в его церкви на Корфу. Самая внешняя зона сакрального пространства включает все Ионические острова — своего рода «галактику», охраняемую реликвиями св. Спиридона. Речь идет о глобальной парадигме святости, выраженной через распространение в пространстве. Другие святые Ионических островов участвуют в этом процессе, усиливая защитную силу реликвий.

Частые чудеса, совершаемые святым, укрепляют чувство безопасности и защищенности, характерное для современного духовного климата Корфу. Нынешняя культовая практика, служащая внешним проявлением православных культурных традиций, на деле далека от сформировавшего ее контекста. Но в современности также существуют свои проблемы, касающиеся как всего общества, так и отдельных граждан. Образ свободного города, находящегося под божественным покровительством, был столь привлекателен, что просуществовал до конца XX в. Несмотря на сложившееся мнение, что в последнее время наблюдается упадок религиозных традиций и утрачивается ощущение общности, Корфу являет собой пример сохранения традиционной народной мифологии. На этом острове общественная жизнь выражалась в своеобразном слиянии религиозных и светских ритуалов. Стремление со-

хранить определенные религиозные традиции привело к объединению общества и необычайно ярким и устойчивым формам гражданского патриотизма. В грандиозном наборе ритуалов, связанных с культом святого Спиридона, выразились представления граждан Корфу о своем мире как сакральном пространстве, находящемся под божественным покровительством. Интересно, что сами формирующие городское пространство ритуалы восходят как к более древней константинопольской традиции, так и к венецианским процессиям, чье появление легко объясняется многовековым присутствием итальянцев на этом греческом острове.



1. The relics of St. Spyridon on Corfu island



2. The altar in the church of St. Spyridon in Corfu town



3. The outer sarcophagus of the Saint



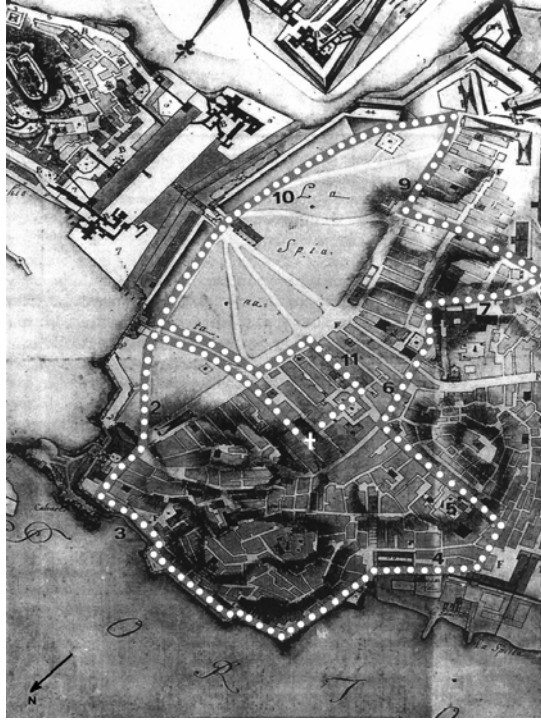
4. The 53 votive censers above the sarcophagus of St. Spyridon in the diakonikon



5. The sarcophagus with the relics presented for veneration in front of the entrance to the diakonikon



6. Icon of the relics of St. Spyridon from the church in the village Korakiana on Corfu island



7. The itinerary of the procession on Palm Sunday



8. The priests moving in two lines in front of the relics of the Saint



9. The Old Band (Η Παλαιά) in the procession with relics of St. Spyridon on Palm Sunday today on Corfu



10. Procession of the Doge on Palm Sunday in Venice, engraving of Matteo Pagan, 1556–1559 (detail)





11. Military honors are given on both sides of the sarcophagus of St. Spyridon on Corfu



12. Procession in the Piazza San Marco, Gentile Bellini, 1496 (detail)

М. Н. Бутырский

ПЕЧАТИ ВЕЛИКОЙ ЦЕРКВИ.  
ОБРАЗ САКРАЛЬНОГО ПРОСТРАНСТВА  
В ИКОНОГРАФИИ ВИЗАНТИЙСКИХ  
МОЛИВДОВУЛОВ

Византийская сфрагистика была и остается областью, исследование которой существенно расширяет источниковую базу сопредельных научных дисциплин, в том числе истории искусства Византии. Печати эдиктов Св. Софии Константинопольской не только проливают свет на исторические и юридические аспекты существования этого судебного института империи, но и предоставляют богатые возможности для иконографического анализа образов самой Великой Церкви, запечатленной на них в виде миниатюрной модели.

В недавней обобщающей работе Дж. Котцониса<sup>1</sup> очерчен и подробно рассмотрен круг основных вопросов, связанных с этими интереснейшими памятниками византийской сфрагистики. На выводы Дж. Котцониса мы будем опираться в собственном обзоре иконографии Великой Церкви Константинополя, темы, позволяющей сделать печати объектом иеротопического исследования.

Институт церковных эдиктов (ἑκδικοὶ или ἐκκλησιέκδικοὶ — адвокаты, защитники), объединенных в коллегию при храме Св. Софии, существовал в Византии с VI по XV в. Правовые основания для его создания и функционирования были заложены еще юстиниановским законодательством, реципированным в период Македонской династии. Однако то сравнительно небольшое количество моливдовулов, которые введены в научный оборот (около 30), датируется XI–XIV вв. и по вариантам легенд распределяется по пяти разновременным груп-

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<sup>1</sup> *Cotsonis J. The Virgin and Justinian on Seals of the *Ekklesiekdikoi* of Hagia Sophia // DOP 56 (2003), p. 41–55.*

пам<sup>2</sup>. На каждом в полный рост изображены Богородица и император Юстиниан I, сообща держащие модель (макет) Софийского храма. Богородица чаще изображена слева по отношению к зрителю, император — справа, облачением ему служит лор, оба показаны в нимбах<sup>3</sup>. Выбор обеих персонажей объясняется назначением самого трибунала эдиктов, в первую очередь защищавших обвиняемых в убийстве и гарантировавших право церковного убежища. В Богоматери византийцы издавна видели свою первейшую заступницу и ходатайницу; со слов ΘΕΟΤΟΚΕ ΒΟΝΘΕΙ начинаются инвокативные легенды большинства византийских моливдовулов, в том числе и моливдовулов церковных судей, кроме того, на некоторых из них Ее образ сопровождается эпитетом Η ΒΟΝΘΙΑ («Помощница»). Императора Юстиниана в XI–XII вв. продолжали чтить как патрона трибунала эдиктов и строителя Софийского храма, где судьи выносили свои вердикты.

Оборотную сторону всех печатей занимает надпись «*Богочестивейшим пресвитерам и церковным эдиктам*»<sup>4</sup>, завершающая призыв о помощи ко Христу (не изображавшемуся) или Богородице (но не Юстиниану!) на лицевой стороне. В связи с этим Дж. Котзонис высказывает мнение об особом значении Богородицы и правосудного царя для осужденных, в качестве чьих помощников и заступников они фигурировали на печатях<sup>5</sup>. Перемена субъекта отношений крайне важна: она, в частности, помогает понять уникальную особенность моливдовулов эдиктов — невиданно большие для артефактов этого класса размеры. Если обычные византийские печати имеют стандартные размеры 1,5–4,5 см, то печати эдиктов — 4,5–8,5 см. По версии Дж. Котзониса, ими запечатывались так называемые «симейомата» (*semeiomata*), письменные судебные вердикты, свидетельствовавшие о раскаянии преступника и спасении его души, а также обеспечивавшие ему защиту от дальнейшего преследования. Крупные вислые печати с легко различимыми изображениями обретали функции икон-оберегов, каждая деталь кото-

<sup>2</sup> *Cotsonis*, p. 41–42. Там же см. историографический обзор. В настоящей работе указания на конкретные экземпляры даны по изданию: *Zacos G. Byzantine Lead Seals / Compiled by J. W. Nesbitt, Berne, 1985.*

<sup>3</sup> Тех же самых персонажей можно видеть на мозаике X в. из храма Св. Софии, однако на ней запечатлена сцена адорации василевсов Константина и Юстиниана своим небесным Суверенам. Более адекватную иконографическую параллель композиции на печатях эдиктов дают монеты фессалоникского императора Мануила Комнина Дуки (1230–1237), на которых он и св. Димитрий держат модель города Фессалоники (*Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore collection. IV / Ed. by M. Hendy. Washington, 1999, pl. XLI, 9.*)

<sup>4</sup> ΤΟΙΣ ΘΕΟΣΕΒΕΣΤΑΤΟΙΣ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΙΣ [καὶ] ΕΚΚΛΗΣΕΚΔΙΚΟΙΣ.

<sup>5</sup> *Cotsonis*, p. 55.

рых наделялась спасительным смыслом. Это в полной мере относится и к изображениям храма. Известно, что заседания судебного трибунала проходили в нартексе Св. Софии (рис. 1), сам храм пользовался правом убежища, дарование которого традиционно связывали с законодательством Юстиниана. Поэтому укрупненное изображение здания прямо по центру печатей, служащее «замковым камнем» всей композиции, оказывается столь же содержательным компонентом ее иконографии, как образы Богородицы и царя.

На всех печатях изображения храма монументальны и вместе с тем компактны, лаконичны. Строго отобранные детали позволяют воссоздать как внешние формы здания, так и признаки его интерьера. Все изображения Св. Софии можно разделить на несколько групп, по степени угадываемой в них «реалистичности» архитектурного образа, созданного путем выдвижения на передний план наиболее значимых его элементов. К такому в первую очередь относится мощное полукружие купола с водруженным на него крестом. Изменения в трактовке купола сводятся к нюансам точечно-линейного заполнения сегмента, придающего куполу зонтичную форму. Выделяется печать позднего XII в. (рис. 9), на которой можно уловить стремление к более тонкой дифференциации рисунка, словно воссоздающего некую не подлежащую опознанию структуру. Гораздо более вариативна трактовка подкупольной части здания, которая, собственно, и является объектом исследования. На ряде печатей XI в. она показана в виде совокупности трех (рис. 4а)<sup>6</sup> либо пяти (рис. 4б)<sup>7</sup> экседр. Такой способ передачи конструктивных отличий Св. Софии, зримо убеждающий в достоверности архитектурной композиции как ее внешних, так и интерьерных членений, может быть сопоставлен с надпортальной мозаикой конца X в. из юго-западного вестибюля самого храма, где изображен, в частности, император Юстиниан, подносящий Богородице и Младенцу модель выстроенной им Великой церкви (рис. 2). На ней хорошо различимы особенности форм храма, с узнаваемыми очертаниями купола, больших полукуполов и внешних контрфорсов на боковых фасадах здания. В изображении Св. Софии на моливдовулах, напротив, скорее угадывается вполне достоверный образ ее внутреннего пространства, словно бы собираемого, полностью или частично, из пяти экседр центрального нефа или трех восточных экседр. Примером создания аналогичного пространственного образа может служить навершие скипетра из слоновой кости (рис. 3) с именем императора Льва (VI), датируемое 886–912 гг. (Берлин, Музей позднеантичного и византийского искусства)<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> *Zacos*, fig. 62–65; *Cotsonis*, fig. 1.

<sup>7</sup> *Zacos*, 70 a–c.

<sup>8</sup> *Corrigan A.* The Ivory Scepter of Leo VI: A Statement of Posticonoclastic Imperial Ideology // *Art Bulletin*, 60, 1978, p. 413.

Более поздние печати демонстрируют принципиально иную трактовку образа Великой церкви. В одном случае, на печатях конца XIII–XIV вв., это помещенные прямо под куполом фрагменты условной алтарной преграды на трех или четырех столбиках, соединенных тремя арочками, и заалтарный 6-конечный крест между ними (рис. 5, 6)<sup>9</sup>, так что сам купол в их окружении более ассоциируется с киворием, воздвигнутым над алтарным престолом.

Целью такой иконографии могла быть не столько графическая реконструкция конкретного архитектурного прототипа, в данном случае, Св. Софии Константинопольской, сколько создание символического аналога ее пространства, сакральность которого служила гарантом права на убежище. В качестве его источника и сосредоточения выступает алтарь — наиболее священное место любого церковного интерьера. На печатях эдиков алтарное пространство лишено признаков, идентифицирующих его именно со Св. Софией, и претендует на универсальность — качество, присущее сакральному пространству христианского храма как таковому.

Такая иконографическая вокабула получила широкое распространение в искусстве византийской миниатюры, иконы и монументальной живописи, где посредством ее воссоздавались символические церковные интерьеры (например, в таких композициях, как Введение Богородицы во храм или Сретение)<sup>10</sup>. На печатях эдиков, помимо собственно преграды и кивория, имеется изображение 6-конечного запрестольного креста, отчетливо видимого в проеме алтарной преграды. Он редко встречается в этой иконографии храма, однако его присутствие на молливулах эдиков может иметь особое значение, которое будет объяснено ниже.

На печатях следующей группы, датируемых поздним XII в., архитектурная композиция наиболее оригинальна (рис. 7–9)<sup>11</sup>. Купол зрительно опирается на арку пролетом почти во все подкупольное пространство, не ассоциирующуюся, однако, ни с одним из конструктивных элементов Св. Софии. Поле под аркой, разделенное посередине вертикальной чертой, трактовано как створки закрытых дверей. В созданной таким способом модели Великой церкви трудно не увидеть известного сходства с богослужебной утварью, являющейся литургической моделью храма, — сосудами-дарохранильницами, сионами или иерусалимами.

<sup>9</sup> *Zacos*, fig. 73–77; *Cotsonis*, fig. 2.

<sup>10</sup> Обзор темы см. *Шалина И. А.* Вход «Святая святых» и византийская алтарная преграда // *Иконостас* / Ред.-сост. А. М. Лидов. М., 2000, с. 52–84.

<sup>11</sup> *Zacos*, fig. 68–69, 71–72; *Cotsonis*, fig. 5.

Иконография византийских иерусалимов XI–XII вв. восходит к образам кивория над Гробом Господним в Палестине и содержит те же элементы, что и образ Св. Софии на печатях: купольную сень на колонках и дверцы, ведущие во «внутреннее пространство» этих литургических сосудов<sup>12</sup>. На одной из печатей (рис. 10а)<sup>13</sup> дверцы кажутся раскрытыми, так что в образовавшемся проеме угадывается изображение креста. Будучи местом пребывания Святых Даров во время перенесения их на алтарь, иерусалимы представляли видимым символом и изобразительным аналогом его сакрального пространства.

Все три варианта иконографии Св. Софии на моливдовулах церковных судей, при очевидной несхожести в них трактовок образа собственно храма, могут быть интерпретированы как способы полного или частичного воспроизведения его внутреннего пространства. Процедура церковного судопроизводства позволяет в этой связи конкретизировать представления о сакральной ценности пространственных зон Софийского собора. Помимо алтаря и связанного с ним права на убежище по меньшей мере еще один компартимент Великой церкви — ее нартекс — выделялся своей значимостью для обладателей «симейомата». Там располагался трибунал эдиков (*эдиксион* или *протекдикий*, как называет его в своей «Истории» Никита Хониат)<sup>14</sup>. Выбор места был, очевидно, не случаен. Эта часть храма, насыщенная избранными христианскими реликвиями, может служить примером иеротопического проекта времени Льва VI (886–912), имевшего целью создание сакрального пространства для очищающего душу покаяния<sup>15</sup>.

Здесь, согласно сообщениям паломников и св. Симеона Солунского, находилась древняя чудотворная икона Богоматери, по преданию, говорившая некогда с Марией Египетской и перенесенная в Св. Софию при Льве Мудром. Помещенная справа от главного входа в храм, она составляла часть комплекса святынь нартекса, объединенных общей программой покаяния и снискания Божественной милости грешниками. Кроме нее, следует упомянуть еще об одной иконе, по рассказам паломников XIV в. входившей в этот комплекс: висевшую слева от дверей икону Христа Исповедника, перед которой признава-

<sup>12</sup> Стерлигова И. А. Иерусалимы как литургические сосуды в Древней Руси // Иерусалим в русской культуре / Ред.-сост. А. Баталов, А. Лидов. М., 1994, с. 48–50.

<sup>13</sup> *Zacos*, p. 68.

<sup>14</sup> *Niketas Choniates. Historia* / Ed. J. van Dieten. Berlin, 1975, p. 238.

<sup>15</sup> Об этом см.: Лидов А. М. Чудотворные иконы в храмовой декорации. О символической программе императорских врат Софии Константинопольской // Чудотворная икона в Византии и Древней Руси. М., 1996, с. 44–71; он же. Иеротопия. Создание сакральных пространств как вид творчества и предмет исторического исследования // Иеротопия. Материалы международного симпозиума. М., 2002, с. 21.

лись в самых тяжких грехах, противных людскому слуху. Именно в нартексе Св. Софии, согласно византийской рукописи XV в. (Moscow 477), совершалась процедура отмаливания преступниками своих грехов<sup>16</sup>. В назначенный день они проходили перед экдиклионом и, сбросив свои одежды, располагались у дверей храма, в непосредственной близости обеих икон. Здесь, со связанными руками, они калялись, простираясь ниц, исповедовались и затем, получив в письменной форме епитимью, одевались в углу. По завершении процедуры глава трибунала (протэксдик) вручал им «симейомата». Не исключено, что этот ритуал существовал уже в средневизантийскую эпоху. На это указывает миниатюра конца XII — нач. XIII вв. в рукописи Лествицы из Ватиканской Библиотеки (gr. 1754)<sup>17</sup> с изображением Богоматери, ходатайствующей за преступников, изображенных в поклоне, со связанными за спиной руками. Созданное реликвиями и включенное в литургию, сакральное пространство нартекса Великой церкви обладало очевидной ценностью и с точки зрения функционирования института церковных судей. Его изобразительная фиксация на моливдовулах могла принимать как символическую, так и более наглядную, более естественную форму.

На печатях XIII–XIV вв. (рис. 5) наряду с фрагментами алтарной преграды имеется изображение 6-конечного запрестольного креста. Не исключено, что его присутствие могло быть обусловлено не только иконографически точным воспроизведением предметной среды заалтарного пространства. Устав Великой Церкви предписывал священнику во время утреннего ритуала Малого входа каждение нартекса с одновременным пением 50-го покаянного псалма. *«Затем он (священник) берет в алтаре запрестольный крест и ставит крест на правой стороне близ великих дверей, где он и стоит до окончания псалмов. Тогда возжигаются три свечи и открываются двери, и бывает торжественный вход»*. Изображение запрестольного креста, отчетливо видимого в проеме алтарной преграды, совмещало пространственные образы алтаря Софийского собора и его нартекса, тех мест, где преступники получали убежища и совершали покаяние.

Другая возможная попытка создания пространственного образа нартекса Великой церкви связана с единственным моливдовулом XII в., известным в трех экземплярах (рис. 10b)<sup>18</sup>. Изображение храма на нем включает неизменный купол и подкупольную часть, изобилующую мелкой разбивкой на вертикальные зоны-полоски. Центральная из них,

<sup>16</sup> Cotsonis, fig. 54.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., fig. 52.

<sup>18</sup> Zacos, fig. 66; Cotsonis, fig. 3.

судя по фотографии печати, выделяется чуть большей высотой в сравнении с остальными. Допущение, что таким способом на моливдовуле были воспроизведены особенности пространства нартекса Св. Софии, с его множеством входных проемов и повышенными средними «царскими воротами», выглядит достаточно правдоподобным. Заметим, что на этих печатях инвокативная легенда единственный раз призывает в помощники Христа, а не Богородицу. Даже с учетом клишированности обеих формул, трудно удержаться от искушения связать первую из них с реальными апелляциями к иконе Христа Исповедника, находившейся в нартексе и дополнявшей собой образы милосердия Богоматери к кающимся.

Модели Св. Софии в том виде, в каком они запечатлены на печатях экиков XI–XIV вв., убеждают в сознательном подборе элементов, слагающих символический образ храма как сакрального объекта и вместилища сакрального пространства, не только алтарного, но и (возможно) пространства нартекса перед входом в храм. Конкретные архитектурные формы Великой церкви Константинополя при этом минимализируются и отходят на второй план, причем печати позволяют отчетливо проследить динамику этого процесса во времени. На печатях XI в. облик Софийского собора наиболее узнаваем в обобщенном и в то же время достоверном образе внутреннего пространства центрального нефа, с тремя или всеми пятью апсидами-экседрами. Малые масштабы изобразительного поля моливдовулов не умаляют внушительности этих архитектурных форм. Печати конца XII в. несут более условный образ храма, в котором, тем не менее, сохраняется представление о монументальном купольном сооружении, перенесенное с его литургических моделей. По мере обезличивания архитектурного образа усиливается и его символическая функция. На печатях поздневизантийского времени она полностью доминирует, более не требуя безошибочной идентификации здания именно как Святой Софии Константинопольской. Однако и в этом предельно обобщенном и деконкретизированном образе храма можно усмотреть иконографические признаки реальной пространственной среды Великой Церкви.



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THE SEALS OF THE GREAT CHURCH.  
THE IMAGE OF THE SACRED SPACE  
IN THE BYZANTINE SPHRAGISTIC ICONOGRAPHY

The lead seals of ekdikoi of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople (XI–XIV centuries) allow to give an iconographical analysis of the Great Church's images. This theme will permit to make the seals an object of hierotopical research. In our overview of the Great Church iconography we rely on: *Cotsonis J. The Virgin and Justinian on Seals of the Ekklesiekdikoi of Hagia Sophia // DOP 56, 2003, p. 41–55.*

Ekklesiekdikoi or ekdikoi (advocates, defenders) of Hagia Sophia spoke in support of the accused in murder and guaranteed them the right of sanctuary. The Virgin and emperor Justinian I, holding the model of the Hagia Sophia are represented on their seals. J. Cotsonis considers both these personages as helpers and protectors of the condemned. It helps us to understand the characteristic property of the ekdikoi seals — the big dimensions. They were utilized to seal up the judicial verdicts, evidences of the criminal's repentance, ensuring the protection (semeiomata), that's why the large seals with the images assumed the functions of the icons-guards, and every detail of them was provided by salutary sense.

All images of Hagia Sophia can be divided into several groups according to a degree of the realism of her architectural image, made by assembling it's most significant elements — dome and under-dome part. The number of XI century seals represents the under-dome part of the building as a 3 or 5 exedras totality (fig. 4). We can divine in this picture quite authentic image of Hagia Sophia internal space, formed by five exedras of the central nave or by three eastern exedras. One can see the typologically similar example of the spatial temple image's creation in the top of the scepter with the name of the Emperor Leo VI (Berlin).

The later seals demonstrate fundamentally different methods of temple's image reconstruction. The seals of the end of XIII century — beginning of the XIV (fig. 5–6) show the dome, and under it — the fragments of the symbolical altar barrier with the 6-pointed cross between them. That's why the cupola is much more associated with the ciborium constructed above the altar.

The aim of such iconography could be the creation of Hagia Sophia altar space's symbolical analogue. On the ekdikoi seals this space has no signs identifying it exactly with Hagia Sophia and aspires to universality. This kind of iconography was widespread in Byzantine art; by means of it were recre-

ated symbolical church interiors (we can see the examples in compositions like “Presentation of the Blessed Virgin” or “The Feast of the Purification”).

The most original image of Hagia Sophia we find on late XII century seals (fig. 7–10a). Visually the cupola leans on the arch whose ban occupies almost the whole under-dome space; the field under the arch, divided in the middle by the vertical line reminds the leaf of the closed door. This model of the Great Church bears similarities to the church plate, which is the liturgical model of the temple — tabernacles, zions or jeruselems.

The iconography of Byzantine jeruselems of XI–XII centuries goes back to the ciborium images above the Saint Sepulchre. It contains the same elements as the Hagia Sophia image on the seals: cupola shelter on the columns and the doors leading to the “internal space” of these liturgical vessels.

All the three variants of the Hagia Sophia iconography on the seals of the church judges can be interpreted as the modes of the full or partial reproduction of the temple’s internal space. Its sacral concernment wasn’t homogenous. Besides the altar the narthex of the Great Church also had the special meaning for the holders of the semeiomata — there was situated the ekdikioi tribunal (ekdikion). This part of the temple rich by selected Christian relics is an example of Leo VI (886–912) hieratopical project, the goal of which was the creation of the sacred space for the repentance clearing the soul.

Near the enter there was the miracle-working icon of Our Lady who once talked to Mary of Egypt. It formed the part of narthex sacred objects complex, united by the common program of repentance and gaining of divine mercy by the sinners. In the same place hung the Christ Confessor’s icon. Before this image people confessed the heaviest sins, repugnant to other humans. Just in Hagia Sophia narthex, according to XV<sup>th</sup> century Byzantine manuscript (Moscow 477), took place the procedure of praying for forgiveness. In conclusion of the ceremony the head of the tribunal (protekdikos) delivered to the former criminals the “semeiomata”. The miniature in the Heavenly Ladder manuscript from the Vatican Library (Vat. gr. 1754, late XII — early XIII century) shows the possibility of this ritual’s existence in mid-Byzantine epoch — it has the image of the Virgin soliciting for the criminals with the hands tied behind the back. On the ekdikoi seals narthex could be depicted as in symbolical as in more direct form.

The picture of the altar cross in the barrier embrasure on the XIII–XIV century’s seals (fig. 5) could be associated with the rites held in narthex. The statute of the Great Church prescribed to the priest to cense the narthex singing the 50<sup>th</sup> repentant psalm on every morning Small Enter. “*Then he (the priest) takes the altar cross and places the cross on the right near the Great doors, where it stands till the completion of the psalms. Then three candles are kindled and the doors are opened and the solemn enter takes place*”. The picture of the altar cross united the spatial images of

Hagia Sophia altar and its narthex as the places where the criminals got the refuge and repented.

On the only seals of XII century (fig. 10b) the representation of the temple includes the dome and the under-dome part with the minute laying out to vertical zones-ledges. The central one in comparison with others is high enough. We can surmise that in this way were represented the particularities of Hagia Sophia narthex space, with its multitude of the doorways and heightened middle King Doors. On these seals the invocative legend only once calls for help Christ and not the Virgin. It could be associated with real appellations to the icon of Christ Confessor in the narthex.

The iconography of Hagia Sophia on the *ekdikoi* seals of XI–XV centuries convinces of the deliberate choice of the elements, component the symbolical image of the temple as a repository of the sacred space — naos, altar, and, possibly, narthex. At the same time the architectural appearance of the Great Church becomes more and more abstract. On the XI centuries seals it is most easy to recognize the temple in the generalized image of the central nave space, with three or five apses-exedras. The seals of the late XII century bear more relative image of the temple. Nevertheless, it preserves the idea of the monumental domical building, transferred from its liturgical models. As the lines of architectural universality grow, the symbolical function of the picture becomes stronger. This function predominates on the late-Byzantine seals, as the architectural identification of the building with the Hagia Sophia was no longer needed. But even in this deconcretized image of the temple we can discover iconographical characteristics of the real spatial midst of the Great Church.



1. Нартекс Св. Софии Константинопольской



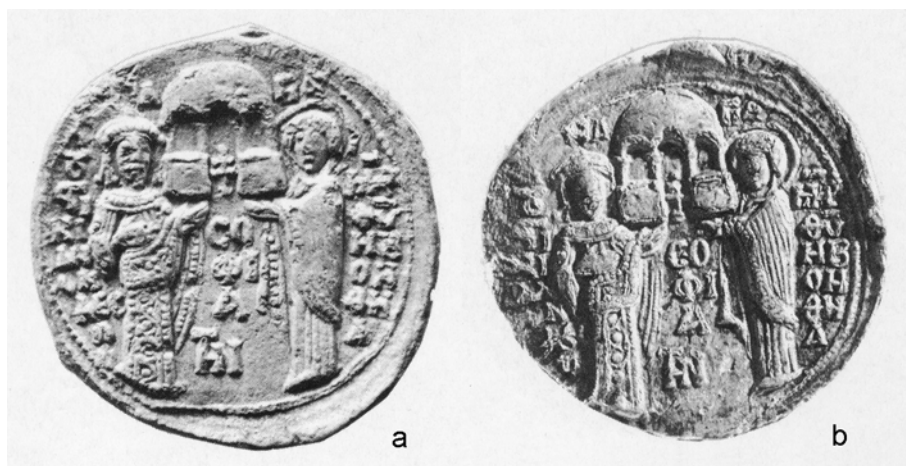
2. Император Юстиниан с моделью Софийского собора в руках. Мозаика. Конец X в. Собор Св. Софии



3. Навершие скипетра с образом императора Льва. IX в.



4. Печати экдика Св. Софии. XI в.: *a* — Zacos, 62; *b* — Zacos, 70a



5. Печати экдика Св. Софии. Кон. XIII — XIV вв.: *a* — Zacos, 73a; *b* — Zacos, 73b



6. Печать экдика Св. Софии. Кон. XIII — XIV вв. Zacos, 77



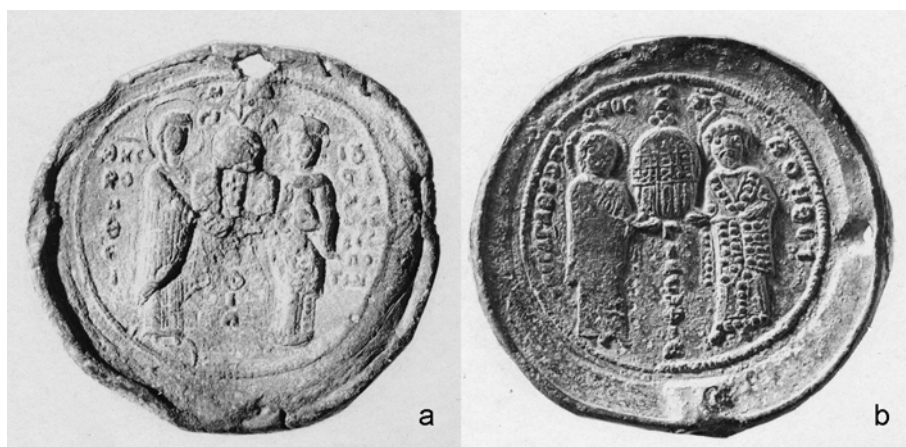
7. Печати экдика Св. Софии. Кон. XII в.: *a* — Zacos, 72; *b* — Zacos, 69a



8. Печать экдика Св. Софии. Кон. XII в. Гос. Эрмитаж (М-8153, 8154).  
Опубл. в: *Лихачев Н. П.* Моливдовулы Греческого Востока. М., 1991.  
Табл. LXXXII, 1–2



9. Печать экдика Св. Софии. Кон. XII в. Zacos, 67a



10. Печати экдика Св. Софии. XII в.: *a* — Zacos, 68; *b* — Zacos, 66



В. Я. Петрухин

## ИЕРОТОПИЯ РУССКОЙ ЗЕМЛИ И НАЧАЛЬНОЕ ЛЕТОПИСАНИЕ<sup>1</sup>

*Иеротопия* как организация сакрального пространства или интерпретация «исторического» пространства как сакрального, освященного традицией, характерна уже для дохристианской Руси. Древнейшие культовые сооружения — курганы («могилы») первых русских князей — «отмечали» узловые пункты государства — Русской земли, где свершались главные для этой земли события. Эти могилы стали естественными историко-географическими ориентирами для начального летописания, и локальные предания о могилах князей заставляли летописцев редактировать предшествующие своды и предлагать собственные исторические реконструкции: более всего это связывается с судьбой первого правителя Древнерусского государства Вещего Олега, могилы которого известны в Киеве у Щекавицы<sup>2</sup> и в Ладоге<sup>3</sup>. Княгиня Ольга велела побежденным ею древлянам участвовать в организации тризны по убитому ими князю Игорю, приготовив поминальное питье («меды многи») — курган Игоря возле древлянского града Искоростня должен был напоминать о даннических отношениях. Погребальный культ был демонстрацией «окняжения» Русской земли. Составитель уже ранней редакции Повести временных лет (Начального свода 1090-х гг.) столь же естественным образом должен был подчинить эти языческие ориентиры христианской исторической парадигме. Показательно при этом соотношение локализации курганов первых киевских князей с христианскими памятниками Киева: могил Аскольда у церкви Николы, могила Дира — у монастыря Ирины; у энтузиастов раннего крещения Руси это соотношение вызывает даже не впол-

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<sup>1</sup> Работа выполнена при финансовой поддержке программы фундаментальных исследований ОИФН РАН «История, языки и литературы славянских народов в мировом социокультурном контексте».

<sup>2</sup> Повесть временных лет. 2-е изд. СПб., 1996.

<sup>3</sup> Новгородская первая летопись.

не оправданные исторические реконструкции — в частности, Аскольду приписывается христианское имя Николай. Едва ли первые киевские князья были христианами. Во всяком случае, когда сам князь Ярослав Мудрый перенес в Десятинную церковь останки князей Ярополка и Олега Святославичей, извлеченные из «могил» в Киеве и Овруче (о чем и сообщает Повесть временных лет под 1044 г.), он должен был крестить их кости: Десятинная церковь, построенная убийцей Ярополка Владимиром, призвана была собрать и примирить после смерти княжеский род в новом христианском центре нового Русского христианского государства — Русской земли<sup>4</sup>.

Библейско-христианская историческая парадигма, объединявшая тексты так называемого Начального свода, была явлена составителем в самом начале космографического введения, начиная с заглавных вопросов о начале Русской земли. В соответствии с библейской традицией — как в «Таблице народов» — вопрос о начале Руси был разделен на две части — о том, «откуда есть пошла Русская земля», и о том, «откуда Русская земля стала есть»: в генеалогическом смысле Русь пошла от варягов, в «историко-географическом» она «стала есть» в Восточной Европе после призвания славянами и другими племенами варяжских князей. «Варяжская» традиция сохранялась в княжеской и дружинной среде — не даром такое внимание уделялось и могилам дохристианских князей. Исходный «дуализм» руси и славян, русского и словенского «языков» не мог не волновать составителей летописи, ведь летопись составлялась уже на русском языке, который «одно есть» со словенским. Проблеме становления этого славяно-русского единства и посвящена начальная часть Повести временных лет, включающая космографическое введение и повествование о первых князьях — Рюрике и Олеге.

Собственно «славянская» традиция была известна составителям летописи из кирилло-мефодиевского текста, именуемого «Сказанием о преложении книг на словенский язык». Он повествовал о миссии Константина и Мефодия к дунайским славянам, князья которых сами *призвали* себе учителей при императоре Михаиле III. Эта миссия избражалась как продолжение апостольской миссии Павла и Андроника в Иллирике, славяне отождествлялись с нарцами — жителями Норика, части Иллирика<sup>5</sup>, так что первоучителем их был сам Павел. Повесть временных лет, основываясь на этой традиции и Хронографе по великому изложению, помещает славян на Дунай, где они сели «по мнозех

<sup>4</sup> Петрухин В. Я. К дохристианским истокам древнерусского княжеского культа // ПОЛУТРОПОН. К 70-летию В. Н. Топорова. М., 1998, с. 882–892.

<sup>5</sup> Ср. об архаических истоках этой традиции — Трубачев О. Н. Этногенез и культура древнейших славян. М., 2002, с. 333 и сл.

временех» после вавилонского столпотворения там, «где ныне Угорьска земля и Болгарьска»<sup>6</sup>. Оттуда они начинают расселяться по рекам Восточной Европы, и тут им приписывается «словенская грамота» (хотя рассказ о преложении книг еще не приводится). Затем следует рассказ об основании Киева Кием, Щеком и Хоривом, о «княжениях» славян с их городами Киевом у полян, Новгородом у словен, Смоленском у кривичей и об «иных языцех, иже дань даютъ Руси»<sup>7</sup>. Даже если не принимать в расчет общее число восточнославянских племен (двенадцать), само описание их расселения следует той же библейской традиции расселения 12 колен с их городами и упоминаний поработанных народов (в книге Иисуса Навина). Этот тип историко-географического описания не менее популярен в хронографии, чем «таблица народов».

В этот летописный текст и вставляется знаменитый «иеротопический» рассказ о пути из варяг в греки и путешествии по нему «в Варяги» и Рим апостола Андрея. Вставка появляется после описания расселения славян и упоминания славянской грамоты перед легендой о полянском Киеве и является как бы комментарием — глоссой к рассказу о киевских горах. Казалось бы, этот рассказ «избыточен», ибо у славян уже есть свой апостол — Павел, и это должно быть известно летописцу. Интересно, однако, что в рассказе о благословении Андреем киевских гор летописец ничего не говорит об их обитателях — для него поляне еще пребывают на Дунае. Это кажется тем более неясным, что на месте Новгорода Андрей застаёт словен, которые поражают его воображение своей парной баней. Естественно бросается в глаза противопоставление «возвышенного», хоть и в грядущем, Киева, «сниженному» Новгороду: несмотря на свою экзотическую чистоплотность, словене не сподобились апостольского благословения. Любопытно, что рассказ о словенской бане находит соответствие в «Книге о чудесах» Андрея Григория Турского<sup>8</sup>: сам апостол, пришедший мыться в баню, изгоняет бесов из одержимых ими. Но дело, очевидно, не в знакомстве составителя летописи с этим эпизодом: рассказ о новгородской бане представляет собой характерный для летописания этиологический мотив, подтверждающий достоверность происходящего. Заметим, что это описание — свидетельство «этнографической» работы летописца: баня осталась характерной чертой этнографии русского Севера и практически была неизвестна на юге. Эта этиологическая концовка, завершающая рассказ о путешествии Андрея, сродни окончаниям жизнеописания

<sup>6</sup> Повесть временных лет, с. 8.

<sup>7</sup> Повесть временных лет, с. 10.

<sup>8</sup> *Виноградов А. Ю.* Деяния апостола Андрея. М., 2003, с. 91.

саний русских князей, где упоминаются их могилы. Значит, суть была не в противопоставлении киевского юга и новгородского севера, а в подтверждающих путешествие Андрея этиологических иллюстрациях: будущей Русской земле, как и дунайским славянам, нужен был свой апостол. Естественным для летописца был и его путь из Скифии через Русь в Рим — то был путь из варяг в греки<sup>9</sup>.

С точки зрения композиции летописи представляется странным, что рассказ о славянском апостоле Павле перенесен из космографического введения, где остались фрагменты «Сказания о преложении книг», в собственно летописную часть, да еще не в рассказ о начале Руси, а в повествование об обретении венграми своей земли в Паннонии под 898 г. Между тем, именно сюжет о начале Руси вызывает прямые ассоциации с рассказом о Константине и Мефодии: оба события произошли практически одновременно при Михаиле III, а формулы призвания князей и учителей — «земля наша велика и обильна, а наряда в ней нет», «земля наша крещена есть, но нет в ней учителя» — свидетельствуют о единой традиции, той кирилло-мефодиевской традиции, которую продолжает летопись<sup>10</sup>. Почему рассказ о преложении книг оказался не на месте и что заставило летописца нарушить хронологический порядок?

Можно предположить, что летописца заставили сделать это как раз его разыскания о славянской грамоте. Естественно, летописец знал, что грамота составлялась для перевода богослужебных книг и не могла распространиться ни у языческих славян, ни у языческой Руси. И вместе с тем ему были известны документы, написанные словенским языком от имени языческой Руси: то были договоры с греками, первый из которых, договор Олега 911 г., был заключен от имени «всей Руси», послы которой носили явно неславянские (скандинавские) имена, но составлен на славянском языке.

Эти включенные в летопись договоры до сих пор вызывают споры у исследователей — распространены предположения о том, что переводчиками их на славянский были болгары. Летописец не знал ничего о переводчиках и должен был начать разыскания об известных ему славянских «кандидатах», которые могли выполнить эту работу. В списке дунайских славянских племен, восходящему к кирилло-мефодиевской традиции, он обнаружил полян. То были не киевские, а польские поляне, живущие рядом с моравами и чехами, но летописец, выстраивавший концепцию единства словенского языка в соответствии с принципами

<sup>9</sup> Ср.: Мюллер Л. Понять Россию: историко-культурные исследования. М., 2000, с. 196–197.

<sup>10</sup> Петрухин В. Я. Древняя Русь: Народ. Князья. Религия // Из истории русской культуры. Т. 1. М., 2000, с. 69 и сл.

средневековой этимологии, отождествил их с полянами киевскими, заключив, что это те поляне, которых ныне зовут Русью.

Теперь мы можем понять, почему летописец так «не спешил» помещать полян на киевские горы, благословленные Андреем: они нужны были ему среди дунайских славян, воспринявших славянскую грамоту. Летописец не знает и времени, когда появились поляне на Днестре, не называет имени императора, при котором Кий хотел утвердиться на Дунае: все события «спрессовываются» в царствовании Михаила III, когда стала «прозываться Русская земля», Рюрик обосновался в Новгороде, а Аскольд и Дир пошли из полянского Киева на Царьград. Но первым памятником русско-словенского языка был договор, заключенный Олегом. Согласно княжескому преданию, которому следовала летопись, Олег с Игорем, наследником Рюрика, явились из Новгорода в Киев (под 882 г.), схоронившись на урочище Угорском под городом (опять характерный этиологический мотив), выманили и убили Аскольда и Дира. Тогда Олег обосновался в Киеве: «и беша у него варязи и словени и прочи, прозвашася русью». Под «прочими» следует понимать полян, но летописец «резервирует» их упоминание для статьи 898 г.: достаточно заявить о том, что дружинное имя скандинавской руси распространяется и на варягов, и на словен — всех членов княжеской дружины.

Наконец, под 898 г. говорится о венграх — уграх, которые прошли мимо Киева и урочища Угорского до Дуная и «Селуня» — Фессалоник. «Бе един язык словенск: словени, иже сидяху по Дунаеви, их же прияха угри, и моравя, и чеси, и ляхове, и поляне, яже ныне зовомая Русь. Сим бо первое преложены книги мораве, яже прозвася грамота словенская, яже грамота есть в Руси и в болгарех дунайских»<sup>11</sup>. Угры объединили в одном историческом пространстве славяно-русский Киев, дунайских славян и родной город Константина и Мефодия, как Андрей объединял своим маршрутом Киев, Новгород, Рим и Константинополь. В связи с их походом приводится «Сказание о преложении книг на словенский язык» и заключение о том, что «словенску языку учитель есть Павел, от него же языка и мы есмо Русь, тем же и нам руси учитель есть Павел... А словенский язык и русский одно есть, от варяг бо прозвашася Русью, а первое беша словене»<sup>12</sup>.

Это заключение в летописном контексте также выглядит парадоксальным, ибо славяне и русь в X в. различаются по языку и обычаям, и это известно летописцу. Описывая возвращение русского войска Олега из похода на Царьград, летописец приводит рассказ о том, как князь

<sup>11</sup> Повесть временных лет, с. 15.

<sup>12</sup> Там же, с. 16.

велел дать руси паруса из прочного шелка — паволок, а словенам — непрочные «кропильные», так что их разорвал ветер, и словене должны были пользоваться парусами из простой холстины. Этот рассказ приведен не для того, чтобы унижить славянских «федератов» Руси. В договоре с Олегом греки именовали себя просто «христианами», подчеркивая «безбожный», варварский статус руси. Это противопоставление «преодолевалось» летописным преданием о высоком статусе руси в сравнении со славянами.

В своей конструкции летописец прибегнул к традиционному методу средневековой «этимологии», отождествив на основании не просто созвучия, а полного совпадения племенных названий «дунайских» и днепровских полян. Рассказ о моравской миссии славянских первоучителей, продолжившей миссию Павла в Иллирике, он завершает утверждением: «А словенский язык и русский одно есть, от варяг бо прозвашася Русью, а первое беша словене; аще и поляне звахуся, но словенскаяа речь бе».

Нельзя не заметить, что летописец ощущал некоторую искусственность своего построения, несмотря на то, что исторический его итог был вполне документирован: договор Олега, в войско которого входили и поляне, был составлен на словенском языке. Характерна, однако, завершающая рассказ о словенском языке ремарка о полянах: «Полями же прозвани быши, зане в поли седяху, а язык словенски един»<sup>13</sup>. Ремарка как бы лишает полян этнографической специфики, апеллируя к «ландшафтному» значению этнонима.

Показательно, что в киевской легенде летописец характеризует полян как мужей «мудрых и смысленых»<sup>14</sup> в противоположность древлянам и прочим племенам, живущим «звериньским образом». Отказ от рецидивов племенного сознания в пользу общеславянского и, наконец, общерусского — формирование русско-славянского самосознания — и есть определенный итог работы летописца в поисках самоидентификации или самопознания (если пользоваться терминологией Н. С. Трубецкого и Н. И. Толстого)<sup>15</sup>.

Крещеная Русь, объединившая славянские языки в новый народ, уже не противопоставляла себя грекам, как это было свойственно древ-

<sup>13</sup> Там же.

<sup>14</sup> Там же, с. 9.

<sup>15</sup> См.: Толстой Н. И. Этническое самопознание и самосознание Нестора Летописца, автора «Повести Временных лет» // Исследования по славянскому историческому языкознанию. М., 1993, с. 4–12; ср.: Живов В. М. Об этническом и религиозном самосознании Нестора летописца // Слово и культура. Т. II. М., 1998, с. 321–337; Ведюшкина И. В. Формы проявления коллективной идентичности в Повести временных лет // Образы прошлого и коллективная идентичность в Европе до начала Нового времени. М., 2003, с. 304 и сл.

ним словенам на дунайской границе Византии<sup>16</sup> и языческой Руси в договоре Олега. Напротив, возникает тенденция к сближению и даже отождествлению Руси и Греции в скандинавской литературе<sup>17</sup>: ср. эсхатологическое прорицание волхва в Повести временных лет (с. 75) — «стати Гречьскы земли на Руской, а Руськей на Гречьской». В Повести, однако, подробно описывается и многократно упоминается европейский «поганый» (языческий) народ, не отнесенный в космографическом введении к потомкам Иафета (подобно тому, как не относились к его потомкам русь и словене у Амартола), но постоянно противопоставляющийся христианской руси. Это половцы, обычай которых «нечист», как и происхождение от Измаила: они — «безбожные сыны Измаиловы»<sup>18</sup>. Обретающая христианское самосознание Русь имела на границах собственных варваров.

Можно сказать, что летописная статья 898 г. представляет собой содержательное и «риторическое» завершение повествований о начале Руси и расселении славян: синтезом этих процессов этногенеза и образования государства стало возникшее в Киеве, центре летописания, славяно-русское единство. Поскольку ни славяне, ни русь не были включены византийскими хронографами в круг цивилизованных народов — потомков Иафета, а отсутствие у них апостольской проповеди, которая должна была просветить все 72 библейских языка, усугубляла это положение, летописец и последующие редакторы должны были выполнить ту работу, которую мы попытались проследить. В результате славяне и Русь — Русская земля — были включены в пространство цивилизации<sup>19</sup> и сакральное пространство, которое сподобилось посещения апостолами. Русь обрела свое «иеротопическое» место между Царьградом и Римом.

Параллельно этой «этнокультурной» традиции начальное летописание трактует и традицию государственную. Ее истоки также возводятся к библейскому прецеденту. Сразу вслед за заглавными вопросами о начале Русской земли в летописи цитируется Хронограф по великому изложению, включающий фрагменты библейского псевдоэпиграфа «Малое бытие»: Сим, Хам и Иафет, «разделивше землю, жребьи метавше, не преступати никому же в жребий братень». О па-

<sup>16</sup> Петрухин В. Я. Древняя Русь: Народ. Князья. Религия // Из истории русской культуры. Т. 1. М., 2000, с. 38 и сл.

<sup>17</sup> Ср.: Успенский Ф. Б. Скандинавы. Варяги. Русь. Историко-филологические очерки. М., 2002, с. 286 и сл.

<sup>18</sup> Ср.: Чекин Л. С. Безбожные сыны Измаиловы // Из истории русской культуры. Т. 1. (Древняя Русь). М., 2000, С. 691-716

<sup>19</sup> Петрухин В. Я. Древняя Русь: Народ. Князья. Религия // Из истории русской культуры. Т. 1. М., 2000.

радикальности мотива трех братьев — основателей Киева и основателей Русского государства — для начального летописания уже не раз говорилось<sup>20</sup>.

Показательно, что и географическое пространство собственно Русской земли оказывается ориентированным на жребии новых сыновей: в упомянутом описании пути из варяг в греки говорится, что главные речные магистрали Руси берут начало из некоего Оковского леса — Двина течет на север к Варяжскому морю, Днепр на юг в Понт, откуда можно следовать в Царьград, Волга — на восток в Каспийское море и предел Симов. Далее следует рассказ о днепровском пути Андрея.

Русская земля оказывается в центре картины мира летописи: существенно, что в других странах, отделенных от Руси водными границами, герои русской истории добывают благо — из-за моря призываются варяжские князья, из-за Дуная — первоучители Константин и Мефодий, в Царьград (или Корсунь) отправляются за богатствами и верой русские князья.

Показательно, что библейская заповедь «не преступати в жребий братень» специально упоминается в контексте русской истории, в статье 1054 г., когда Ярослав дает завет и разделяет землю и грады между пятью своими сыновьями, и в статье 1073 г., когда трое из оставшихся в живых Ярославичей вступили в распрю. Собственно, эта заповедь является лейтмотивом Начального свода (и одной из основ его текстологической реконструкции), но она оказывается и «княжеской конституцией» Русской земли.

Характерно, что не старший Изяслав Ярославич, а лишь трое старших братьев распоряжаются судьбами Русской земли: после смерти младшего Вячеслава в Смоленске они переводит туда Игоря из Владимира Волынского и т. д. Более того, по наблюдениям А. Н. Насонова<sup>21</sup>, трое старших Ярославичей получают от отца те города в Среднем Поднепровье — Киев, Чернигов и Переяславль, — которые при Владимире Святославиче входили в домен киевского князя и не раздавались сыновьям. Позднейшая летописная традиция<sup>22</sup> реконструировала завет Ярослава как разделение всей Русской земли между тремя Ярославичами: «И преставися Ярослав, и ошася 3 сынове его: вятший Изяслав, а среднии Святослав, меншии Всеволод. И разделиша землю, и взя болший Изяслав Киев и Новгород и инии города многи киевския во пределех; а Святослав Чернигов и всю страну

<sup>20</sup> Петрухин В. Я. История славян и Руси в контексте библейской традиции: миф и история в «Повести временных лет» // Древнейшие государства Восточной Европы. М., 2003, с. 93–113.

<sup>21</sup> Насонов А. Н. «Русская земля» и образование территории Древнерусского государства. М., 1952.

<sup>22</sup> Новгородская первая летопись, с. 160.



ввосточную и до Мурома; а Всеволод Переяславль, Ростов, Суздаль, Белоозеро, Поволжье».

Эта реконструкция, в отличие от другого сакрализованного в Повести временных лет разделения Русской земли и градов, которые Владимир Святославич после крещения якобы раздал 12 сыновьям — подобиям родоначальников колен Израилевых и апостолов, основывалась на политических реалиях. Киевские князья действительно считали Новгород своей отчиной, а переяславские распоряжались Поволжьем, как черниговские — левобережьем Днепра до Рязани и Тмутаракани. Более того, при Ярославичах на три части была разделена и киевская митрополия. В. О. Ключевский возводил триумвират Ярославичей к родовому, а затем «местническому» праву, согласно которому лишь три старших брата относились к «властному» поколению. Основания для такого заключения имеются в самой начальной истории Русского государства, где первыми князьями были три брата — Рюрик, Синеус и Трувор, носившие, в отличие от легендарных «топонимических» Кия, Щека и Хорива, настоящие скандинавские имена; ср. также рассказы восточных источников о трех видах и царях Руси IX в.<sup>23</sup> Однако только одно из этих имен — Рюрик — сохраняется в княжеском именовании, и это заставляет предполагать «искусственность» двух других «братьев» варяжской легенды как членов княжеского рода. Скорее можно заключить, что исторический прецедент, правление трех Ярославичей, актуализировало «иеротопические» библейские мотивы о сыновьях Ноя и заповеди братней любви, равно как и переселенческие сказания о трех братьях, при составлении Начального свода. Показательно, что сам Начальный свод завершался рассказом о смерти Всеволода Ярославича и деяниях трех его наследников — Святополка Киевского, Владимира Черниговского и Ростислава Переяславского. Вероятно этот свод и представлял собой первую редакцию Повести временных лет: она была дополнена разысканиями о начале славян и Руси.

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<sup>23</sup> Петрухин В. Я. Три центра Руси: фольклорные истоки и историческая традиция // Художественный язык средневековья. М., 1982, с. 143–158.

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HIEROTOPY OF THE RUSSIAN LAND  
AND THE PRIMARY CHRONICLE

Hierotopy as organization of sacred space or interpretation of a “historical” space as sacred, sanctified by tradition, is typical since pre-Christian Rus'. The most ancient cult constructions — the mounds (“graves”) of the first Russian princes — “marked” the focal points of the state — the Russian land, where the major events took place. These graves became natural historical and geographical reference points for the first chronicles. The author of the early version of the Primary Chronicle (PVL) inevitably had to subject these pagan reference points to a Christian historical paradigm. Actually, such “subjecting” was carried out prince by Jaroslav the Wise: under this prince the bones of princes Jaropolk Svjatoslavich and Oleg Svjatoslavich were baptized and transferred to the Desjatinnaja Church (as it is stated in PVL under year 1044).

The historical paradigm consolidating the texts of PVL was demonstrated by the author in the very beginning of his cosmographic introduction, after the title-questions about the formation of the Russian Land. Here he quotes the Chronograph, including the fragments of the Biblical pseudoepigraph called 'The Book of Jubilees' about Shem, Ham and Japhet who divided the earth, and decided not to trespass upon the brother's lot. It is essential that the Biblical commandment not to trespass upon the brother's lot is specially noted in the entry of 1054, where Jaroslav pronounces his Testament and divides the land and the towns among his five sons, and in the entry of 1073 where the three brothers Jaroslavichi begin a strife. In fact, this commandment is at the same time the leading idea of PVL and of the “princely constitution” of the Russian Land.

Characteristically, not the eldest Izjaslav Jaroslavich, but all the three elder brothers are in command of the Russian Land: after the death of the younger brother Vjacheslav in Smolensk they transfer there Igor from Vladimir Volynsky etc. Moreover, as A. N. Nasonov noted (1952), the three elder brothers Jaroslavichi got from their father the towns in the Middle Dnieper region — Kiev, Chernigov and Perejaslavl' which under prince Vladimir Svjatoslavich were a part of the domain of the prince of Kiev and were not distributed among his sons. The later chronicle tradition (the Novgorodian I chronicle, p. 160) reconstructed Jaroslav's Bequest as the distribution of the whole Russian land among the three Jaroslavichi: Jaroslav had three sons, the eldest Izjaslav, the middle Svjatoslav and the youngest Vsevolod, who divided the land: Izjaslav took Kiev and Novgorod and many

Kievan towns, Svjatoslav took Chernigov and the entire Eastern land up to Murom, while Vsevolod took Perejaslavl', Rostov, Suzdal', Beloozero, the Upper Volga.

This reconstruction is actually based on the political reality contrary to another distribution of the Russian Land and towns sanctified in the chronicle: the alleged distribution by Vladimir Svjatoslavich after his Baptism among his 12 sons reminiscent of the forefathers of the Twelve Tribes and the Apostles. The princes of Kiev really considered Novgorod to be their patrimonial estate while the princes of Perejaslavl were in command of the Volga region and the princes of Cernigov of the Left-bank Dnieper region down to Rjazan' and Tmutarakan'. Moreover, under the Jaroslavichi the metropolitan bishopric of Kiev was also divided into three parts.

Vasilij O.Kluchevskij derived the triumvirate of Jaroslavichi from the tribal and later "order of seniority" law which stated that only three elder brothers constituted the "generation in power". This conclusion is based on the facts of the early history of Russian state whose first princes were three brothers – Rjurik, Sineus and Truvor. They had real Scandinavian names - contrary to the legendary "toponymical" princely names Kij, Szczek and Khoriv. As only one of these names — Rjurik was preserved in the list of Russian princely names list, one should suppose the "artificiality" of the two other "brothers" of the Varangian legend — as the members of the princely clan. One should rather conclude that when PVL was composed, the historical precedent — the rule of the three brothers Jaroslavichi actualized the Biblical motifs of the sons of Noah and the commandments of brotherly love, as well as "migration" legends about three brothers. Essentially, the Primary Version of PVL ended with the narration about the death of Vsevolod Jaroslavich and the deeds of his three successors — Svjatopolk of Kiev, Vladimir of Chernigov and Rostislav of Perejaslavl.

А. Е. Мусин

## СОБОРНЫЕ ОКРУГА ДРЕВНЕРУССКОГО ГОРОДА: ОТ САКРАЛЬНОЙ ТОПОГРАФИИ К ИЕРОТОПИИ

Термин «собор» в истории древнерусского города обладает по крайней мере тремя значениями. «Собором» именовался богослужебный округ на территории поселения, совокупность соборов составляла городскую церковную организацию. Он объединял находящиеся на его территории церкви, а в ряде случаев и монастыри, вокруг главного храма, по аналогии именованного «собором». К совокупности клириков, совершавших службу на этой территории, также прилагалось именование «собор». Духовенство «собора-округа», совершавшее праздничные и воскресные богослужения в местных церквях в силу «прикомандирования», рассматривалось каноническим правом как «приписанное» к «собору-храму», в котором отправлялась ежедневная служба. Само понятие «собор» в его широком значении не исключает ассоциаций иеротопического характера, предполагающих «соборность» как форму единства и единственности и в силу этого ортодоксальности городской церковной общины, что проявляется в том числе и через сакрализацию урбанистического пространства в результате «соборного», т. е. общего богослужения.

Термин «собор» в отношении способа организации городского духовенства зафиксирован в источниках не позднее первой половины XI в. Сегодня можно считать установленным, что соборы-храмы были местом организации «вседневной службы», производства церковного суда и осуществления церковного фиска. Эта функциональность древнерусских соборов доказуема как в результате исследования современных событиям источников, так и в процессе ретроспективного исследования актовых документов Судного приказа Новгородского дома Святой Софии середины — второй половины XVII в.<sup>1</sup> В истории соборной организации

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<sup>1</sup> Греков Б. Д. Новгородский дом Святой Софии (Опыт изучения организации и внутренних отношений крупной церковной вотчины). Ч. I, с. 131–132; Яновский П. Описание актов новгородского Софийского дома // ЛЗАК за 1901 г. Вып. 14. СПб., 1902.

Древней Руси можно выделить четыре этапа: XI–XIV вв. — период становления и развития, XIV–XV вв. — период оформления и расцвета, XVI в. — период кризиса и функциональной трансформации, XVI — XVII в. — период стагнации и возникновения двойственной — богослужебной и административной — структуры. Возглавляемые, по крайней мере с XVI в., поповскими старостами, они явились прообразами благочинных округов образца 1764 г. Однако вопросы, связанные с конкретными путями и хронологией образования древнерусских соборов и соотношением соборной системы с организацией социального и иеротопического пространства древнерусского города, остаются в современной исторической науке без окончательного ответа.

В раннехристианской культуре связь городского духовенства с конкретным округом обеспечивала участие горожан в общегородской стациональной литургии (литании-литии), центром организации которой был окружной храм. В свою очередь, это являлось свидетельством принадлежности локальных общин к церкви полиса, возглавляемой местным епископом<sup>2</sup>. Несмотря на фундаментальную роль древнерусских соборов в организации общегородских крестных ходов в эпоху позднего средневековья<sup>3</sup>, полные аналогии этому феномену русской культуры, как по существу, так и терминологически, в средиземноморском мире неизвестны, будь то *regiones* Константинополя или *tituli* Рима, как об этом можно судить на основе анализа немногочисленных сохранившихся источников. Есть основания полагать, что на Руси соборы явились творческой рецепцией некоторых принципов организации византийского духовенства. Однако характер этой рецепции, как и конкретные социо-культурные характеристики сложившегося феномена, нуждаются в самостоятельном изучении. Это поможет выявить как определенные различия, так и общие нормы в функционировании этих институтов в христианском мире, которые не нашли адекватного выражения в византийских памятниках, но отчасти сохранились в русских источниках.

Среди древнерусских соборов наиболее известны церковные округа Великого Новгорода и Пскова, достаточно полно представленные в источниках, являющихся не только наиболее информативными, но и самыми ранними. Изучение новгородских соборов стало возможно благодаря «Семисоборной росписи».<sup>4</sup> Этот памятник, обычно датирующийся

<sup>2</sup> *Baldovin J. F.* The urban character of Christian worship: the origins, development and meaning of stationary liturgy // Pont. Institutum Studiorum Orientalium. № 228. Roma, 1987.

<sup>3</sup> *Голубцев А. П.* Чиновники Новгородского Софийского собора. М., 1898; *Голубцов А. П.* Соборные чиновники и особенности службы по ним. М., 1907.

<sup>4</sup> *Никольский А. И.* Описание семи новгородских соборов по списку XVI в. Санкт-Петербургской библиотеки Св. Синода // ВИА. Вып. X. СПб., 1989, с. 76–81; *Янин В. Л.* «Семисоборная роспись» Новгорода // Средневековая Русь. М., 1976, с. 108–117; *Анд-*

концом XV — началом XVI вв., представляет списочный перечень всех городских церквей в черте Окольного города и их престолов с распределением по семи соборным округам — Софийскому, Архангельскому, Владиевскому, Четырдесятскому, Яковлевскому, Иоанновскому и Успенскому — с соответствующими соборными церквами во главе. Шесть соборов Пскова — Троицкий, Софийский, Никольский, Спасско-Дмитриевский, Покровско-Похвальский и Входа-Иерусалимский известны благодаря летописным и актовым известиям об их создании в середине XIV — второй половине XV вв.<sup>5</sup>

Архимандрит Макарий (Миролюбов) первый поднял вопрос о соотношении пятикончанского и семисоборного устройства Новгорода<sup>6</sup>. Выводы исследователя несут на себе печать «идеально-символического» подхода к истории, который предполагал, что человек средневековья, как раннего, так и позднего, руководствовался искусственным мышлением, по идеальным образцам которого и создавал социальные, топографические и архитектурные модели реальной жизни. Семь соборов Новгорода в его представлении «соответствовали числу семи вселенских соборов», что предполагало, что количество церковных округов было искусственно доведено до сакральной цифры. Локализация Архангельского собора на Торговой стороне, а не на Софийской, где он находился в действительности, порождена, по нашему мнению, теми же представлениями: в этом случае на каждой из сторон симметрично существуют по три собора, а Софийский храм занимает в этой структуре особое место. Такие представления о происхождении соборных округов сегодня уже не могут быть удовлетворительными, однако в ряде случаев продолжают удерживаться научным и обыденным сознанием<sup>7</sup>.

В дальнейшем исследователи обращали преимущественное внимание на социальный контекст и функции соборной организации. Е. Е. Голубинский связывал появление соборов с развитием народного

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*реев В. Ф.* Новый список «Семисоборной росписи» Новгорода // НИС. № 3 (13). Л., 1989, с. 219–223; *Мусин А. Е.* Христианская община средневекового города Северной Руси XI–XV вв. по историко-археологическим материалам Новгорода и Пскова / Автореф. докт. дис. СПб., 2002, с. 22–27.

<sup>5</sup> *Беляев И. Д.* История города Пскова и Псковской земли. М., 1867, с. 69, 80; *Лабутина И. К.* Историческая топография Пскова в XIV–XV вв. М., 1985; *Мусин А. Е.* Христианская община средневекового города Северной Руси XI–XV вв., с. 14–16, 27–29; *Круглова Т. В.* Церковь и духовенство в социальной структуре псковской феодальной республики / Автореф. канд. дис. М., 1991.

<sup>6</sup> *Макарий (Миролюбов)*, архимандрит. Археологическое описание церковных древностей в Новгороде и его окрестностях. Ч. 1. М., 1860, с. 31, 33, 35, 41.

<sup>7</sup> *Романов г. А.* Семисоборная организация крестных ходов в Москве XVI в. // Этнографическое обозрение. № 5. 1997, с. 46–60; *Романов Г. А.* Городские крестные ходы XIV–XVI вв. (по материалам Новгорода и Пскова) / Автореф. канд. дис. М., 1997.

благочестия, выразившемся в ежедневной литургии и умножении храмов, но не исключал и их функции судебно-административного характера<sup>8</sup>. В исследовании А. П. Голубцова соборы выглядели прежде всего богослужебно-административными округами<sup>9</sup>. Я. Н. Щапов связывал возникновение соборов с увеличением числа городских церквей<sup>10</sup>. Я. Е. Водарский обратил внимание на различное количество соборов в городах России XVII в.: в Москве существовало 4 соборные церкви, в Великом Устюге — 3, во Владимире и Торопце — 2, в прочих городах — по одной<sup>11</sup>.

Представляется, что наличное состояние источников способно дать более детальную информацию о времени, обстоятельствах и причинах появления многособорной организации на Руси. Конец XIV — начало XV вв. определенно являются *terminus ante quem* для ее возникновения. Первое упоминание о 7 соборах в Новгороде относится к 1417 г., однако уже в 1386 г. в состав новгородского посольства к великому князю входило 7 белых священников<sup>12</sup>. В Пскове первый соборный храм Св. Троицы упоминается в 1341, а образование второго и третьего отнесено к 1356 и к 1416 годам соответственно<sup>13</sup>.

Поскольку соборы являются каноническим новообразованием, стоит вспомнить, что именно в это время очень остро встает проблема церковного суда, особенно во взаимоотношениях новгородского архиепископа и киевского митрополита, что влечет за собой апелляцию к византийскому каноническому праву (1337, 1342, 1353, 1391–1392 гг.)<sup>14</sup>. Это привело, по крайней мере временно, к созданию в Новгороде автокефальной архиепископии Вселенского патриархата — на это указывает право ношения ставрофория, полученное местным епископом.

В связи с эволюцией внутренней структуры новгородской церкви необходимо обратить внимание на изменение летописной формулы, описывающей совокупность всей организации местного духовенства. Подчеркивая присутствие городского клира во время общественных мероприятий на протяжении первой половины XIV в., летописец постоянно употребляет словосочетание «игумены и попове» (1325, 1331, 1339, 1342, 1359, 1360 гг.)<sup>15</sup>. Последнее употребление устоявшейся идиомы —

<sup>8</sup> Голубинский Е. Е. История Русской Церкви. Т. 1. Ч. 1. М., 1997, с. 497–503, 367.

<sup>9</sup> Голубцов А. П. Соборные чиновники, с. 99–104.

<sup>10</sup> Щапов Я. Н. Государство и Церковь Древней Руси X–XIII вв. М., 1989, с. 124–126.

<sup>11</sup> Водарский Я. Е. Население России в конце XVII — начале XVIII вв. М., 1977, с. 87–88.

<sup>12</sup> Новгородская Первая летопись старшего и младшего изводов. М.; Л., 1950, с. 408; ПСРЛ. Т. 5, с. 241.

<sup>13</sup> Псковские летописи. Вып. 1. М.; Л., 1941, с. 21, 22; Вып. 2. М., 1955, с. 36. Псковские летописи. Вып. 2. М., 1955, с. 68.

<sup>14</sup> НПЛ, с. 348, 353, 363, 364, 385–386.

<sup>15</sup> НПЛ, с. 340, 344, 349, 355, 365, 367.

встреча новопоставленного архиепископа Алексия в 1360 г., которого «сретоша игумени и попове... посадник и тысяцкой и весь Новгород»<sup>16</sup>.

Однако уже в 1362 г. освящение владычной церкви Рождества «на сенях» совершается архиепископом «с игумены и с попы и клиросом святой Софии»<sup>17</sup>. С этого момента упоминания Софийского клироса в общеновгородских мероприятиях наравне с игуменами и попами становится обязательным. Эта идиома употребляется в описании событий 1364, 1374, 1377, 1378, 1382, 1390, 1398, 1399, 1416, 1442 гг.<sup>18</sup> До этого софийский клирос, софияне, упоминается лишь в 1156 г. при избрании епископа Аркадия и в 1194 г., при избрании архиепископа Мартирия<sup>19</sup>. Организация клирошан занимала привилегированное положение по отношению к рядовому духовенству и осуществляла богослужебно-административную и судебную деятельность на территории епархии. Совершенно очевидно, что софийский клирос существовал задолго до 1362 г. Однако в то время его функции были ограничены рамками кафедрального собора и владычного двора. Постоянное упоминание клироса в летописных текстах наряду с прочим духовенством, начиная со второй половины XIV в., свидетельствует, на наш взгляд, о трансформации функций клира главного городского собора.

Это как раз и может свидетельствовать о создании между 1360 и 1362 гг. семисоборного устройства в Новгороде. Эволюция роли Софийского клироса как духовенства главного собора раскрывается в событиях 1442 г., когда архиепископ Евфимий освящает Спасо-Преображенский храм в Русе, взяв с собой «сбор Святыя Софии». Тождество Софийского клироса и Софийского соборного духовенства очевидно. По моему мнению, семисоборная организация в Новгороде возникает одновременно в результате реформы архиепископа Алексия непосредственно после его восшествия на кафедру в 1360–1361 гг. Предположительно шесть новых новгородских соборов выделяются как самостоятельные единицы из ранее существовавшего Софийского собора с сохранением за кафедральным клиросом определенных привилегий в отношении канонических новообразований. Налицо определенный параллелизм в возникновении новой системы взаимоотношений как между митрополией и епархией, так и между городскими соборами, заключавшийся в расширении автономий первичных церковных структур.

Определенным указанием на середину XIV в. как время создания семисоборной системы указывают перестройки этого времени в одной

<sup>16</sup> НПЛ, с. 367.

<sup>17</sup> НПЛ, с. 368.

<sup>18</sup> НПЛ, с. 368, 372, 375, 378, 384, 393, 394, 398, 406.

<sup>19</sup> НПЛ, с. 30, 40, 216, 231.



из соборных церквей — храме Михаила-Архангела на Прусской улице, выявленные в процессе археологических раскопок и связанные с устройством такого атрибута соборной службы, как омфалий<sup>20</sup>.

Появление соборной системы в Новгороде должно рассматриваться как следствие внутреннего развития городской церковной организации, вызвавшее к жизни каноническую реформу судебно-административного характера, что совпало с новым витком рецепции византийского церковного права. Вместе с тем, топографические основания соборного деления и его исторические предпосылки требуют дополнительных изысканий. Для того чтобы ответить на эти вопросы, необходимо рассмотреть дальнейшую судьбу соборной системы Новгорода, которая в XVI–XVII вв. переживала организационный кризис. Первым этапом разрушения семисоборной организации было изъятие из нее Софийского соборного округа и переподчинение его в 1551 г. непосредственно архиерейской канцелярии по соборному приговору св. митрополита Макария<sup>21</sup>. Кризис соборного строя виден и в описи церквей 1617 г., который создан по территориальному, а не по соборному признаку<sup>22</sup>. После Смутного времени Власиевский, Архангельский и Четырехдесятский храмы Софийской стороны утрачивают соборный статус. Здесь значение соборного центра приобретает кремлевская церковь Похвалы Божией Матери. Однако на Торговой стороне, словно замещая структурный hiatus, появляются два новых собора — Знаменская церковь и Никольский храм на Дворище. Однако функции этих новообразований исключительно литургические, но не административные. Из старых соборов прежний статус сохраняют лишь Предтеченский и Успенский на Торговой, и Яковлевский на Софийской стороне, которые распространяют свою юрисдикцию на все остальные церкви города, за исключением новообразованных «литургических соборов». Новая семисоборная структура будет намечена Приходно-расходным списком Дворцового ведомства 1620–1621 гг. и окончательно зафиксирована Софийским соборным чиновником 1630-х гг.<sup>23</sup>

Совершенно очевидно, что в связи с социально-политическими изменениями городской жизни часть соборов утрачивают свои первона-

<sup>20</sup> Булкин В. А. Церковь Михаила Архангела на Прусской улице в Новгороде и Новгородское зодчество начала XIII века // Древнерусское искусство. Русь. Византия. Балканы. XIII век. СПб., 1997, с. 377–392; Голубцов А. П. Соборные чиновники, с. 72–79, 231–323, 239–250.

<sup>21</sup> ААЭ. Т. 1. СПб., 1841. № 229, с. 221.

<sup>22</sup> Опись Новгорода 1617 года // Памятники отечественной истории. Вып. 3. Ч. 2. М., 1984, с. 240–301.

<sup>23</sup> Опись Новгорода 1617 года, с. 240–301; Голубцов А. П. Чиновники Новгородского Софийского собора. М., 1898.

чальные функции. Однако религиозно-общественное сознание эпохи требует искусственного увеличения числа городских соборов до семичленной структуры в соответствии с предшествующей традицией соборного деления города. Известно, что именно к этому времени представления о сакральном значении числа «7» как выражения полноты Вселенских соборов, аллегории столпов Премудрости (Прем. 9:1), даров Святого Духа и завершенности церковных таинств облекаются в отрефлексированную книжную форму. Считаю возможным говорить о сложении к этому времени новых форм «богословия города». Естественно, что этот феномен основывается на ранее сформировавшихся представлениях о полисе как о преображенном литургическом пространстве. Но теперь его теологемы стремятся заполнить исчезнувшие «священные места» новыми топосами. Однако, сохраняя семичленную форму, три новых собора совершенно не причастны к практической функциональности своих предшественников. Тем самым новое образование начала XVII в. целиком соответствует принципам «иеротопического творчества», подчиняясь задачам реконструкции городского пространства в исключительно сакральной парадигме, которая оказывается в эту эпоху сущностным формообразующим признаком.

Отсюда следует ряд принципиальных выводов. В эпоху образования семисоборной организации Новгорода в середине XIV в. количество соборов должно было соответствовать не столько умозрительным построениям, которые формируются позднее, уже непосредственно в процессе функционирования многособорной организации, сколько проистекать из особенностей социальной топографии. Очевидно, что границы семи новгородских соборов проходили по соответствующим рубежам пяти концов средневекового Новгорода, как это и предусмотрено церковным правом: 17-е правило 4-го Вселенского собора (451 г.), подтвержденное 38-м правилом 5–6-го Вселенского собора (692 г.), устанавливает, что «распределение церковных пределов да последует гражданскому и земскому порядку»<sup>24</sup>. При этом четкое соответствие между количеством гражданских и церковных образований не было обязательным. Юрисдикция Софийского собора с его особым статусом архиерейского кафедрала охватывала владычную половину Кремля, не входившую в кончанскую организацию. Власиевский собор располагался в границах Людина конца, Архангельский соответствовал Загородскому, Четырдесятский и Яковлевский умещались в Неревском конце, Успенский собор руководил церковной жизнью Славенского, а Предтеченский управлял храмами Плотницкого конца (рис. 1) Известно, что Неревский конец упоминается в

<sup>24</sup> *Никодим (Милош)*, епископ. Правила Православной Церкви с толкованиями. Т. 1. СПб., 1911, с. 372–375, 521–522.

1172 г., Людин конец — в 1195 г., Славенский конец — в 1231 г., хотя топоним Славно существует много раньше, Плотницкий конец — в 1367 г. (топоним известен с 1196 г.), Загородский конец — в 1433 г. (возможно — в 1372 г., топоним — с 1218 г.). Следовательно, пятикончанская структура в своем окончательном виде фиксируется источниками как раз ко времени образования многособорной системы. Представляется, однако, что можно проследить ее истоки уже в предшествующий период новгородской истории и связать ее особенности с эпохой становления города и ее социально-политическом контекстом.

Скорее всего, Новгород возникает в результате синойклизма боярских патронимий, представленных на территории будущего города несколькими поселками хуторского типа, которые явились ядрами концов<sup>25</sup>. При этом процесс эволюции городских концов из ранних поселков X–XI вв. зафиксирован археологически лишь для Неревского, Людина и Славенского концов, в остальных районах города появление поселенческой структуры относится к концу XI в. и очевидно происходит в результате постепенного освоения территории будущего города сотенным населением, находящимся в княжеской юрисдикции. Сотни возникали на необояренных местах и выполняли роль своеобразной «соединительной ткани», заполнявшей пространство между боярскими гнездами. Взаимоотношения сотенной и кончанской систем в Новгороде традиционно рассматривается как высвобождение сотен из-под юрисдикции князя и подчинение их боярской аристократии через включение в систему концов, так называемое «обояривание». Ко времени не позднее первой половины XIV в. должность тысяцких, а позднее и сотских замещается представителями новгородского боярства<sup>26</sup>. Это привело к формированию однородной в правовом отношении городской общины, что нашло свое выражение в завершенности кончанского устройства.

Однако такая социально-правовая однородность сказывается и в развитии церковной организации города. В эпоху христианизации способы первичной организации Церкви на Руси представляли собой не приход как таковой, впервые упомянутый в письменных памятниках лишь в 1485 г.<sup>27</sup>, и не «предел — переезд — уезд» Устава князя Ярослава

<sup>25</sup> Янин В. Л. Социально-политическая структура Новгорода в свете археологических исследований // Новгородский исторический сборник. № 1 (11). Л., 1982, с. 88–91; Янин В. Л. Я послал тебе бересту... М., 1998, с. 199–202; Янин В. Л., Колчин Б. А. Итоги и перспективы Новгородской археологии // Археологическое изучение Новгорода. М., 1978, с. 45.

<sup>26</sup> Янин В. Л. Новгородские посадники. М., 2003, с. 493.

<sup>27</sup> Акты социально-экономической истории Северо-Восточной Руси конца XIV — начала XVI в. М., 1964. Т. 3, с. 369; Баловнев Д. А. Низший церковный округ в терминологии XIV–XV вв. // Церковь в истории России. М., 1998. Вып. 2; Балов-

о митрополичьих судах XII–XIV вв.<sup>28</sup>, являющийся проекцией византийского территориального деления на Руси. Основной формой церковной жизни в древнерусский период были существующие подразделения социально-политической организации общества, представленные княжеским двором, городской сотней или боярской патронимией. Их население объединялось в церковном отношении вокруг входившего в эту социальную группу священника и сопоставимо с «покаяльной семьей» источников XII–XV вв., по большому счету не зависящей от территориальных границ<sup>29</sup>.

Данные исторической топографии и археологии подтверждают такое развитие городских христианских структур. Соборные храмы (Михаило-Архангельский на Прусской улице (1092 г. — ?, 1175 г.), Власиевский (1050–1109 гг., 1186 г.), 40 мучеников (1116 г., 1199 г.), Яковлевский (после 1069 г., до 1135 г., 1172 г.), Иоанн Предтеча на Опоках (1130 г.), Успение на Торгу (1135 г.) являются одними из древнейших в Новгороде. Они изначально располагаются на окраинах протогородских боярских поселков или княжеских городских владений. Первые церкви при патронимиях (храм свщмч. Власия, связанный с династией Мирошкиничей из Людиного конца, Михаила-Архангела, вокруг которого группировалось прусское боярство Загородья, и св. ап. Иакова — оплот Неревского боярства) и княжеско-купеческие храмы Торговой стороны, объединявшие сотенное население, послужили основой соборного строя. Последующее подчинение сотен кончанской администрации в церковном отношении приводит к переходу ктиторских прав на «сотенные» храмы в руки боярских родов. Характерный пример: храм Сорока мучеников в пограничье Неревского и Загородского концов в 1116–1227 гг. был связан с тысяцким и, соответственно, с сотенным населением<sup>30</sup>. Однако к началу XIV в. ктиторские права на эту церковь переходят к роду Оницифоровичей, о чем свидетельствует погребение в церковных стенах Юрия Мишинича и Варфоломея Юрьевича в 1316 и 1342 гг.<sup>31</sup> Этот факт способен объяснить «двойное» соборное представительство в Неревском конце, когда традиционный боярский храм Св. Иакова был вынужден в 1361 г. поделиться своей церковной властью с духовным центром новой новгородской аристократии. Таким образом, процесс формирования городского простран-

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*нев Д. А.* Церковные приходы и приходское духовенство в XIV–XV вв. на Руси / Автореф. канд. дис. М., 1998.

<sup>28</sup> Древнерусские княжеские уставы XI–XV вв. М., 1976, с. 89, 98, 106; Памятники древнерусского канонического права. Ч. I. Памятники XI–XV вв. СПб., 1908. Ст. 108.

<sup>29</sup> *Смирнов С. И.* Древнерусский духовник. М., 1913, с. 45, 176–177.

<sup>30</sup> НПЛ, с. 44, 65, 238, 270.

<sup>31</sup> НПЛ, с. 355.

ства, однородного в социально-правовом и церковно-каноническом отношениях, завершился к середине XIV в. созданием семисоборной организации Новгорода в границах пяти городских концов.

Такой взгляд на образование и содержание многособорной системы в Древней Руси как социальной в своих истоках находит подтверждение в истории соборной организации Пскова. Однако ее изучение имеет важное источниковедческое преимущество. Территориальный рост Новгорода был ограничен природно-ландшафтными условиями и задан изначальными принципами его социальной организации — город практически не развивался вширь, а лишь интенсифицировал свое внутреннее развитие. Соборная структура Пскова, будучи функцией расширения городской территории, формировалась по мере роста городской общины и включения в ее орбиту новых пригородных районов. Этот процесс с точными указаниями дат основания очередного собора нашел отражение на страницах псковских летописей, словно компенсируя будущим исследователям дефицит источников. Известно, что осенью 1485 г. новопоставленный архиепископ Великого Новгорода и Пскова Геннадий (Гонзов) прислал во Псков боярина Безсона и игумена Евфимия с распоряжением «описать по всей земли псковской церкви и монастыри и колико престолов и попов всех в число написать»<sup>32</sup>. Псковичам эта архиерейская затея пришлась не по нраву, и они «невдашася в волю его», что и обусловило отсутствие в истории «шести-соборной псковской росписи».

Однако изучение соборного деления Пскова затруднено не только отсутствием информации о локализации границ церковных округов, но и отягощено историографическим наследием, рассматривающим псковские соборы в отрыве от норм средневекового церковного права, т. е. как профессиональные объединения духовенства без соответствующей канонической территории. Уже И. Д. Беляев считал соборы во Пскове самоуправляемыми «пресвитерианскими обществами»<sup>33</sup>. Сегодня П. С. Стефанович полагает, что соборы в Пскове были органом сословного самоуправления, тогда как подобные организации в России носили богослужебный характер<sup>34</sup>. Если М. Х. Алешковский изначально рассматривал вопрос о соборах в связи с делением города на шесть боярских концов<sup>35</sup>, то впоследствии он также утверждал, что они формировались по

<sup>32</sup> П2Л, с. 68.

<sup>33</sup> Беляев И. Д. История города Пскова и Псковской земли. М., 1867, с. 69, 80.

<sup>34</sup> Стефанович П. С. Приход и приходское духовенство в России в XVI–XVII вв. М., 2002, с. 214–216.

<sup>35</sup> Алешковский М. Х. Социальные основы формирования территории Пскова X–XVI веков (в связи с проблемой археологического исследования древнерусского города) //

профессиональному признаку. И. К. Лабутина и Т. В. Круглова рассматривают соборы как способ организации местного духовенства без какой либо определенной связи с социальной и территориальной структурой псковской Церкви<sup>36</sup>. По их мнению, упоминаемое в источниках «невкупное духовенство», еще не объединенное в соборы, самостоятельно объединилось в эти системы. Целью создания соборов была организация ежедневной службы, доходы от которой распределялись между его членами, становясь своеобразной формой взаимопомощи.

Представляется, что данные о соборной организации Пскова должны быть проанализированы в контексте норм канонического права, о которых речь шла выше, при условии привлечения данных о топографии Пскова. Известно, что в городе было шесть концов. И. К. Лабутина полагает, что к 1467–1468 гг. кончанскую организацию города составляли следующие округа, впервые упомянутые в середине — второй половине XV в., но сложившиеся, судя по данным археологии, значительно ранее: Боловинский-Петровский в восточной части Застенья и Среднего города вплоть до стены 1465 г., Остролавицкий в их средней части, Городецкий в Застенье, Опоцкий в Среднем городе, Богоявленский и Козмодемьянский на Запсковье. Однако оснований для выделения района, прилегающего к Козмодемьянской церкви на Запсковье, в самостоятельный конец явно недостаточно. Очевидно, что этот район средневекового города входил в границы Богоявленского конца, а шестым городским районом в действительности был Полонищский конец, упомянутый в Платежной книге 1585–1587 гг.<sup>37</sup> Он располагался в центральной и западной части городского пространства между стенами 1375 и 1465 гг. и р. Великой.

В соответствии с этими шестью городскими районами мы и предлагаем рассматривать соборную систему средневекового Пскова XV в. (рис. 2). Границы соборных округов должны быть соотнесены каким-либо образом с территориями городских концов. При этом допускается, что несколько концов могли объединяться в один соборный округ, точно так же, как на территории одного конца могло существовать несколько округов, как это имело место в Новгороде. «Невкупные попы», инициаторы образования новых соборов, скорее всего, не столько являлись бесприходным духовенством, сколько составляли клир тех храмов, которые возникли в период после образования предыдущего собо-

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СА. 1978. № 2, с. 121; См.: *Лабутина И. К.* К топографии городских концов Пскова в XV в. // *Новое в археологии.* М., 1972.

<sup>36</sup> *Лабутина И. К.* Историческая топография Пскова в XIV–XV вв., с. 229, *Круглова Т. В.* Церковь и духовенство в социальной структуре псковской феодальной республики, с. 15–17.

<sup>37</sup> Псков и его пригороды // *Сборник МАМЮ.* Т. 5, 6. М., 1913–1914.

ра. Поскольку каждый раз центром новой соборной организации становился один из храмов Довмونتова города, а новые храмы возникали в разных частях Пскова, стоит предположить, что в процессе появления новых соборов старые округа подвергались дроблению. Они были «вынуждены» передавать часть своих церквей новому округу, по аналогии с тем, как из состава Софийского собора Новгорода было выделено шесть новых соборов.

Попробуем реконструировать соборно-территориальную организацию города. Первый соборный храм — Троицкий — упоминается в 1341 г. В XIII — первой половине XIV в. в Пскове на посаде уже существовало не менее 17 церквей, которые входили в общегородской округ. В 1356 г. основывается второй собор при храме вмч. Софии. В период 1341–1356 гг. нам практически неизвестны факты основания новых храмов в Пскове. Однако буквально накануне реформы в 1351/1352 г. псковское купечество перестраивает этот храм, а под 1415/1416 г. сообщается, что новую Софийскую церковь «начаша делати за Довмонтовой стеной»<sup>38</sup>. Это может убедить нас в том, что старая София стояла, скорее всего, на Торгу, где и подобает находиться купеческому храму. Лишь в процессе консолидации псковской общины, когда Довмонтов город определенно выдвигается на роль общегородского церковного центра, соборный храм сотенного населения переносится в его пределы. Характерно, что второй собор основывают не «некупные попы», а местное духовенство, что свидетельствует о появлении нового собора как следствия внутреннего развития самой общины. Предположительно Троицкий собор охватывал храмы Крома и Довмونتова города, а Софийский соборный округ — церкви Среднего города в пределах стен 1309 и 1375 гг., обнимая Боловинского, Остролавицкий, Гордецкий и Опоцкий концы.

В период 1356–1416 гг. появляется не менее одиннадцати новых храмов, что, скорее всего, и приводит к появлению третьего собора — Никольского на Гребле,<sup>39</sup> юрисдикцию которого мы связываем с Боловинско-Петровским концом. Храмы Никольского собора предположительно были выделены из Софийского округа. Вероятно, сначала в Никольский собор входили храмы Рождества Христова, Покрова Богородицы и Сошествия Святого Духа в Довмантовой стене в силу их связи с посадником Захарией Костроминичем, видимо, представлявшим именно этот конец, что явствует из строительной активности этого политического деятеля. В 1395 и в 1398 гг. Захария Костроминич строит каменные церкви свт. Николая и св. Архангела Михаила в женском монастыре в Поле в Петровском конце. Одновременно воз-

<sup>38</sup> П1Л, с. 22, 33, 34; П2Л, с. 27, 36; ПЗЛ, с. 102, 120.

<sup>39</sup> П2Л, с. 36.

водятся и каменные церкви Покрова Божией Матери и Рождества Христова в Довмонтовом городе, в последней посадник и был похоронен в 1401 г.<sup>40</sup>

С 1416 по 1453 г. появилось не менее семи храмов, что привело к необходимости создания четвертого собора с главными храмами Спаса на Торгу и вмч. Димитрия в Довмантовой стене<sup>41</sup>. Мы предполагаем, что этот соборный округ, также выделенный из Софийского собора, в 1453–1462 гг. обнимал собой церкви Гордецкого и Остролавицкого концов. Полагаем также, что в этот собор должен был войти и Воскресенский храм Довмонтова города, поскольку в 1465 г. его старостой являлся посадник Тимофей Власевич, связываемый либо с Городецким, либо с Остролавицким концом. Храмы Опоцкого и Полоницкого концов по логике вещей должны были входить в Софийский соборный округ, а церкви Запсковья и Завеличья — в Троицкий. Последнее тем более вероятно, что клир Троицкого собора во второй половине XVI в., согласно Писцовой книге 1585 г., достаточно компактно проживал именно в Запсковье.

Пятый собор появляется в 1462 г. «у трех церквей» — Похвалы Богородицы на Полонище и Покрова Богородицы и Сошествия св. Духа в Довмантовом городе<sup>42</sup>. Известно, что этому времени возникает не менее трех новых храмов, но, как свидетельствуют данные археологии, происходит активное освоение Полонища, что и приводит к образованию в этом псковском конце нового собора. Он мог быть выделен из Софийского округа, в котором остались лишь церкви Опоцкого конца, остальные округа были, очевидно, оставлены без изменений.

В период 1460-х — 1470х гг. в Пскове известно лишь о немногочисленных фактах церковного строительства на Запсковье. Это говорит о приоритетном развитии именно этой части города. Рискнем предположить, что созданный в 1471 г. соборный округ со всedневной службой при храме Входа Господня в Иерусалим<sup>43</sup>, мог предназначаться для Запсковья и для Завеличья. Представляется, что нам удалось показать возможность существования во Пскове территориальных соборных округов, которые были известны и в других городах Древней Руси (рис. 3). Большая мобильность соборных границ по сравнению с Новгородом объясняется, на наш взгляд, особенностями социально-политической организации города с преобладанием в нем сотенного

<sup>40</sup> П1Л, с. 25, 26; П2Л, с. 30,31; ПЗЛ, с. 108, 110; *Лабутина И. К.* Историческая топография Пскова в XIV–XV вв., с. 173, 231, примечание 76; П2Л, с. 31.

<sup>41</sup> П1Л, с. 51; П2Л, с. 48; ПЗЛ, с. 140.

<sup>42</sup> П2Л, с. 55; ПЗЛ, с. 186.

<sup>43</sup> П2Л, с. 55; Памятники древнерусского канонического права. Ч. 1. Ст. 731–734.



населения и отсутствием родовых боярских традиций, которые складываются не ранее XIV в. как результат социального расслоения псковского общества и превращения государственных должностей в объект наследования «княжских мужей». Мы полностью отдаем себе отчет в высокой степени гипотетичности предлагаемой реконструкции кончанских границ псковских соборов, однако сам факт их территориальной приуроченности не может подлежать сомнению. В целом отнесение храмов того или иного конца к соответствующему собору нуждается в дополнительных обоснованиях. Косвенным подтверждением этому служат, на наш взгляд, упоминания в писцовых книгах совместной собственности соседних храмов на землю и средства производства, в частности на водяные мельницы по реке Пскове<sup>44</sup>. Стоит отметить, что совпадение 6-кончанского деления Пскова с его 6-соборным устройством носило случайный характер, хотя границы соборных округов должны были соответствовать административному членению города.

Определенно во Пскове, как и в других городах, существовала связь между городскими соборами и сельскими церквями. С трансформацией этих церковно-административных отношений и связана, на наш взгляд, эволюция соборной системы Пскова от социально-топографической к иеротопической. В 1544 г., во время визита архиепископа Новгородского Феодосия во Псков, «попы сельские и пригородские отколишася от городских попов всех 6 соборов»<sup>45</sup>. Это решение было одобрено архиереем, который дал им особого поповского старосту, тем самым создав седьмой псковский собор из пригородов и сельских территорий. Разрыв традиционных канонических отношений между городской и сельской церковными организациями находит своеобразное восполнение в создании искусственной структуры, связанной с сакральным значением числа «семь». Эта «иеротопическая» по своей сути реформа практически совпадает во времени с созданием литургической семисоборной структуры в Москве (1551 г.) и на полстолетия опережает появление новой системы семи новгородских соборов (1620–1630 гг.). Кризис функциональности во Пскове, как и повсюду, сопровождается расцветом символичности.

Только в свете предлагаемых выводов может быть понята запутанная история соборов Москвы, известия о которых восходят лишь к середине XVI в. Новая соборная организация, приуроченная к недавно построенным каменным храмам, отвечающим вкусам эпохи, вошла в противоречие с уже, очевидно, существовавшей системой «сороков», историческое происхождение которых не ясно, но предположительно связано с наличием внутригородских административных и судебных

<sup>44</sup> Сборник МАМЮ. Т. 5, с. 6, 7, 140, 162, 169, 171, 180, 183, 186, 190.

<sup>45</sup> ПЛД, с. 111.

единиц<sup>46</sup>. Впрочем, в XVII–XVIII вв. понятия собора и сорока находят свое взаимное отождествление, по крайней мере, в том, что касается территории округа и совокупности окружных священников<sup>47</sup>. Предположительно это происходит за счет утраты сороками своих изначальных юридических функций.

Приговор Стоглавого собора 1551 г. связывает назначение семи поповских старост «царствующего града» как с фиксацией их обязанностей дисциплинарного характера, так и с организацией соответствующего количества соборных округов с богослужебными функциями, в число которых входит, прежде всего, пресловутое «хождение со кресты»<sup>48</sup>. «Копийность» семисоборной Москвы по новгородскому образцу несомненна. Организация искусственно-символического количества соборных округов, как и повсеместная практика общегородских литаний<sup>49</sup>, есть одно из новшеств св. митрополита Макария, привнесенных им с занимаемой в течение 15 лет новгородской кафедры, как, впрочем, и неслыханная здесь доселе иконографическая программа, вызвавшая искреннее недоумение диака Ивана Висковатого<sup>50</sup>.

Однако новое, в полном смысле иеортопическое устройство города (Всехсвятский собор в Черторье, Борисоглебский на Арбате, Никитский на Никитиной улице, Введенский в Псковичах, Покровский на Площадке, Ивановский за Болотом, Варварский в Новом и Старом городе)<sup>51</sup> отличалась от его традиционно сложившихся церковно-административных связей<sup>52</sup>. Поповские старосты избирались из числа духовенства, служащего в иных, нежели соборных, храмах, что приводило к перераспределению функций — это видно из записи об их избрании 17 февраля 1551 г. и ряда последующих актов: Всехсвятский староста был из Алексеевского монастыря, Борисоглебский — из Иоанно-Предтеченской церкви, Никитским старостой стал священник Дмитриевской церкви с Воздвиженки, Введенским — представитель храма архангела

<sup>46</sup> Аверьянов А. К. Московские сорок сороков // Проблемы отечественной истории. Период феодализма. М., 1991, с. 19–21.

<sup>47</sup> Малиновский А. Ф. Обзорение Москвы. М., 1992, с. 30; Голубцов А. П. Чиновник Нижегородского Преображенского собора. М., 1905, с. 28, 31, 41, 59, 62, 301.

<sup>48</sup> Стоглав / Изд. Д. Е. Кожанчикова. СПб., 1863, с. 60, 116.

<sup>49</sup> Баталов А. Л. Московское каменное зодчество конца XVI века. Проблемы художественного мышления эпохи. М., 1996, с. 287.

<sup>50</sup> Розыск или список о богохульных строках и о сомнениях святых честных икон диака Ивана Михайлова сына Висковатого / Предисловие О. Бодянского // Чтения в Обществе истории и древностей Российских. 1858. Кн. 2. Отд. 3, с. 1–42.

<sup>51</sup> Акты археографической экспедиции. Т. 1. СПб., 1836. № 232, с. 227–229.

<sup>52</sup> Главной задачей соборной организации «ставилось создать в городе как бы неподвижные, постоянные точки духовного, церковного тяготения... никак не зависящие от частой смены поповских старост и десятских». См.: Беляев Л. А. Древние монастыри Москвы по данным археологии. М., 1994, с. 249.

Гавриила, Покровским старостой — священник Предтеченской церкви из Котельников, Предтеченским — Архангельский поп из Руновки, а Варварским — клирик храма во имя Зачатия святых Богоотец. В Новгороде, насколько можно судить по источникам, обязанности соборных настоятелей и поповских старост в ранний период совпадали, что, впрочем, не исключает возможности автоматического назначения новоизбранного поповского старосты настоятелем соборного храма. К тому же уже в 1594 г. количество старост было доведено до восьми человек<sup>53</sup>, а соборы на протяжении XVII в. не только сократились количественно, но и поменяли свое посвящение и локализацию. Так, вместо Всехсвятского возникает Пречистенский, вместо Введенского — Сретенский, а на месте Покровского — Предтеченский.

В плане оценки истоков и содержания иеротопического сознания Москвы изучаемого времени весьма значимо наблюдение Л. А. Беляева о строительстве в 1561 г. в Даниловом монастыре каменного храма с посвящением святым отцам семи Вселенских соборов, который лишь «выявляет некий общий идеологический фон» эпохи, но так и остается «семисоборным» «только по замыслу и названию», но не богослужебно<sup>54</sup>. Стоит отметить не только тот факт, что к концу XVI в. административным центром соборной организации стал Покровский собор на Площадке, где была создана специальная поповская изба для старост и десятских, но и то, что собор Данилова монастыря вообще не входил в семисоборную организацию города. Этот феномен, на наш взгляд, в принципе разводит в идеологическом пространстве идею семи Соборов Вселенских и концепцию семи городских соборов и подчеркивает их независимое сосуществование в менталитете эпохи.

Таким образом, иеротопические конструкции соборного деления русского города позднего средневековья, связанные с новым уровнем сакрального восприятия урбанистической среды, определенно фиксируются письменными источниками не ранее XVI–XVII вв. Однако именно к этому времени относится иной тип исторических источников, способный подтвердить мои наблюдения. Ярким проявлением «иеротопизации» сознания является изображение городских реалий на иконах середины XVI–XVII вв., включавшее физический город в метафизическое, иконическое пространство. Представляется, что подобные иконы как оригинальное воплощение идеи сакрализации городской среды бытуют весьма ограниченное время. Более поздние реплики в силу размытости в изображении городских реалий не могут быть поставлены в один ряд с этим феноменом. Если знаменитый образ «Битва новгородцев с суздаль-

<sup>53</sup> Акты археографической экспедиции. Т. 1. СПб., 1836. № 360, с. 439–442.

<sup>54</sup> Беляев Л. А. Древние монастыри Москвы по данным археологии, с. 125, 126.

цами (Знамение)» (конец XV в., НГОМЗ) еще достаточно слабо отражает городские реалии, представляя символически-абстрактный город, то серия икон «Видение пономаря Тарасия» (конец XVI — начало XVII в., рис. 4) как в ранних, так и поздних списках является отличным «путеводителем» по средневековому городу<sup>55</sup>. В свою очередь он предвосхищает появление изображений города и Кремля на серии икон Знаменского культа начала XVIII вв. — ныне утраченном кивоте собственно Знаменской иконы, литографической копии иконы из церкви свв. Флора и Лавра, а также Михайловской (НГОМЗ, № 4171) и Николо-Дворищенской икон (НГОМЗ, № 10916)<sup>56</sup>.

Подобное явление происходит во Пскове. Здесь городская топография отражена в иконах «Видение старцу Дорофею» и «Богородица Псково-Покровская» (конец XVI — начало XVII вв.)<sup>57</sup>. Ее событийными и литературными истоками является осада Пскова 1583 г. и «Повесть о приходе Стефана Батория на Псковскую землю». Икона представлена двумя изводами. Первый известен по двум образцам: I. 1. Икона из церкви Покрова Божией Матери от Пролома, похищенная во время Второй мировой войны, находилась в частном собрании в ФРГ и недавно возвращена в Псков. Она известна также в фотографиях Кампарда (конец XIX в., рис. 5) и К. Романова (1917 г., фотоархив ИИМК РАН Q-721/4 П-68077); I. 2. Образ Богородицы Псково-Покровской из церкви Богоявления с Запсковья, ныне утраченный, список с которого хранился в Успенском соборе Московского Кремля. В настоящее время икона известна по фотографии К. Романов (1923–1925 г., рис. 6). Второй извод дошел до нас в трех иконах: II. 1. Икона из Псково-Печерского монастыря, известная по фотографиям К. Романова (1923–1925 г., фотоархив ИИМК РАН Q-1697/8, П-48942)<sup>58</sup>; II. 2. Икона из «лавки Жиглевича»,

<sup>55</sup> Гусев П. Л. Новгород XVI века по изображению на Хутынской иконе «Видение пономаря Тарасия» // ВИА. 1900. Т. XIII; Гордиенко Э. А. Изображения Новгорода на иконах XVI–XVII веков и связь их с общественно-политической ситуацией своего времени // НИС. 1989. № 3 (13).

<sup>56</sup> Гусев П. Новгородский детинец по изображению на иконе Михайловской церкви // Вестник археологии и истории. СПб., 1913. Вып. 23; Янин В. Л. Планы Новгорода Великого XVII–XVIII веков. М., 1999, с. 40–48, рис. 9–11, 14, 15, 15а, 17.

<sup>57</sup> Ткачева Н. М. Псковские иконы конца XVI — начала XIX вв. на сюжет сказания о видении старца Дорофея // Белецкий В. С. Псковский Кремль в планах и изображениях XVII–XIX вв. (Белецкий В. Д., Белецкий С. В. Городское ядро средневекового Пскова. Ч. 2. Вып. 1.). СПб., 1997, с. 36–47. В публикации перепутаны и искажены номера альбомов и негативов фотоархива ИИМК РАН. Святая Русь. Приложение к каталогу выставки в Нойсе (Германия) 17 апреля — 29 мая 1994 г. Псков, 1994. Илл. 5–9, с. 44–46.

<sup>58</sup> Автор выражает глубокую признательность коллегам из фотоархива ИИМК РАН — Г. В. Длужневской, Т. С. Ершовой, Н. А. Лазаревской, М. В. Медведевой за их помощь в работе с материалами архива.

являющаяся копией третьей четверти XVIII в. с иконы XVI ст. (ПГОИ-ХАМЗ, рис. 7)<sup>59</sup>; П. 3. Икона «Сретение Богородицы 1784 г. из часовни Владычного креста», которая находится ныне в собрании Псковского музея (рис. 8).

Исследователи отмечают для псковских икон искусственное выделение Покровского монастыря в иконографической композиции и некоторую условность топографии первого извода. Однако в любом случае в русле иконографической традиции на данных иконах фиксируется новая информация, связанная с особым восприятием урбанистического пространства в контексте иеротопической парадигмы. Феномен иконизации городской среды известен не только в городах с развитой соборной организацией. Так, к Тверской школе принадлежит икона «Свв. князя Михаил Ярославич и Ксения Тверские» из ризницы Спасо-Преображенского собора в Твери, которая является вкладом 1702 г. архиепископа Сергия (1682–1702) (конец XVII в. МиАР (№ ВП 526). Икона выполнена в стилистике традиционного ктиторовского портрета, однако ей сопутствуют важные топографические реалии. К Твери же относится и икона «Свв. епископ Арсения и князь Михаил Ярославич», характеризующаяся теми же особенностями (поступила в Тверской музей от коллекционера П. И. Щукина в 1893 г., рис. 9)<sup>60</sup>. Исследователи полагают, что икона является своеобразной репликой образа Симона Ушакова 1668 г. «Древо Московского государства. Похвала Богоматери Владимирской». Московское влияние, если не конкретное исполнение в московских мастерских, прослеживается, по мнению исследователей, и в муромской иконе «Свв. Петр и Феврония в житии» конца XVI — начала XVII вв. из Рождественского собора в г. Муроме (рис. 10)<sup>61</sup>. Известно также, что серия икон с образами митрополитов Петра и Алексия, стоящими на фоне Московского Кремля, создана в Оружейной палате в 1680–1690 гг. Таким образом, этот процесс был общерусским явлением, своеобразным следствием аккультурации эпохи XVI–XVIII вв., охватившим основные центры российской культуры этого времени: Москву, Новгород, Псков, Тверь, Муром. Этот феномен еще подлежит детальному изучению, и стоит рассчитывать на пополнение коллекции иконических

<sup>59</sup> Ямщиков С. В. Псков. Памятники архитектуры и искусства XII–XVII веков. Л., 1978, с. 10, ил. 11.

<sup>60</sup> Попов Г. В. Тверская икона XII–XVII веков. СПб., 1993. № 180, 183, с. 275–276; Антонова В. И., Мнева Н. И. Третьяковская галерея: Каталог древнерусской живописи. Опыт историко-художественной классификации. М. 1963. Т. 2, с. 384. илл. 142, 143, 181.

<sup>61</sup> Тысячелетие русской художественной культуры. М., 1988, с. 80, 344–345, № 102; с. 145, 363, № 178.

образов, изображающих реальное пространство русского города в его метафизическом измерении.

В заключение считаем возможным вернуться к намеченной в начале проблеме соотношения византийской традиции и древнерусских особенностей в феномене городских соборов эпохе Средневековья. А. П. Голубцов возводил городские соборы на Руси непосредственно к влиянию Устава Великой Церкви в Константинополе, подразделенном на 14 церковных округов-«околотоков»<sup>62</sup>. Однако вопрос о соотношении церковной жизни Нового Рима с 14 *regiones*, подражавшими Риму, оказывается весьма проблемным. Р. Жанэн, посвятивший значительную часть своих трудов топографии Константинополя, никогда не пытался связать церковную жизнь с административным районированием Константина<sup>63</sup>. В дальнейшем ни К. Манго, ни П. Магдалино практически никак не используют информацию о регионах для изучения развития церковной структуры Константинополя<sup>64</sup>.

Единственный памятник, упоминающий регионы, — это *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* (425–450 гг.)<sup>65</sup>. Несмотря на то, что текст утверждает, что на 14 регионов приходится 14 церквей, в реальности он упоминает лишь 12, причем их распределение в городе весьма неравномерно. Если в I, III, V, VI, VIII, XII регионах храмы не упомянуты вовсе, то на II приходится сразу 2 (*ecclesiam magnam* и *ecclesiam antiquam*), на VII — 3 (*ecclesiam siue martyrium tres hoc est Irenen, Anastasiam, et sancti Pauli*), а на IX опять 2 (*ecclesias duas, Caenopolim et Homonoeam*). В остальных регионах указано по одной церкви (IV — *ecclesiam siue martyrium sancti Menae*, XI — *ecclesiam siue martyrium sancti Acacii*, XII — *Martirium Apostolorum*), причем в XIII и XIV они анонимны. Складывается впечатление, что автор текста задался целью связать искусственную структуру города с естественно образовавшейся тканью городских церквей. Невозможно также найти никаких следов соответствия между новеллой императора Ираклия 612 г., устанавливающей предельное число клириков для Софии (600 клириков, в

<sup>62</sup> Голубцов А. П. Соборные чиновники и особенности службы по ним. М., 1907, с. 99–104.

<sup>63</sup> Janin R. Constantinople byzantine: développement urbain et répertoire topographique. Paris, 1964, с. 43–58; *Idem*. Géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin. Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat Oecuménique. Les églises et les monastères. Paris, 1969, p. XII.

<sup>64</sup> Mango C. The Development of Constantinople as an Urban Centre // Studies on Constantinople. Aldershot: Variorum, 1993, I. 118–125; Magdalino P. Medieval Constantinople: built environment and urban development // The economic history of Byzantium: from the seventh through the fifteenth century / Ed. A. E. Laiou, C. Bouras, C. Morrisson, N. Oikonomides, C. Pitsakis. Washington D.C., 2002. Vol. II, p. 529–537.

<sup>65</sup> *Notitia dignitatum. Accedunt Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae et Latercula provinciarum* / Ed. Otto Seeck. Frankfurt am Main, 1962, p. 229–243.

том числе 80 священников, 150 диаконов, 40 диаконис и 70 иподиаконов) и Влахернского храма (72 клирика, в том числе 12 священников, 18 диаконов, 6 диаконис и 8 иподиаконов) со столичными регионами<sup>66</sup>. В последнем случае номенклатура имеет очевидные евангельские коннотации, связанные с императорским статусом храма. Никак не проявляют себя регионы и в составленном около 990 г. памятнике «Patria de Constantinopolitana» и почти современном ей Патриаршем Типиконе, где перечисляется соответственно 137 и 248 константинопольских храмов и монастырей<sup>67</sup>.

Изучение маршрутов императорских и церковных процессий показало, что они также не отражают значимость регионов для этого церемониала<sup>68</sup>. Лишь упомянутая в Книге Церемоний лития на праздник Вознесения имела 14 остановок, однако это совпадение носит случайный характер. Императорские маршруты, вытянутые вдоль главной городской улицы — Мезе, были ориентированы на специально организованные пространства: форумы, колонны, прочие монументы, а не регионы и их храмы. Собственно церковные процессии локализуются преимущественно в восточной части города и носят весьма ограниченный характер<sup>69</sup>. Тем самым, они еще менее связаны с городскими регионами.

К тому же источники свидетельствуют о нежизнеспособности самих регионов. К. Манго отмечает, что с развитием Константинополя их количество не увеличилось, а сократилось. XIII регион — Сике — еще при Юстиниане приобрел статус отдельного города, а XIV, локализация которого до сих пор не совсем ясна, исчез вовсе. В IX в. в столице империи известно лишь 12 гетонархов, представлявших свои *geitoniai*<sup>70</sup>. Очевид-

<sup>66</sup> *Magdalino P.* Constantinople médiévale: études sur l'évolution des structures urbaines. Paris, 1996, p. 28–29.

<sup>67</sup> *Berger A.* Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinopoleos. Bonn, 1988; *Magdalino P.* Constantinople médiévale, p. 19.

<sup>68</sup> *Berger A.* Imperial and ecclesiastical processions in Constantinople Byzantine // Constantinople: monuments, topography and everyday life / Ed. N. Necipoglu. Leiden, Boston, Köln, 2001, p. 73–87; *Guilland R.* Sur les itinéraires du Livre des Cérémonies // Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft 10 (1961), p. 39–52.

<sup>69</sup> *Bauer F. A.* Urban space and ritual: Constantinople in Late Antiquity // Imperial art as Christian art — Christian art as imperial art: Expression and meaning in art and architecture from Constantine to Justinian / Ed. J. R. Brandt, O. Steen. Roma, 2001, p. 50–52, 58–59; *Janin R.* Les processions religieuses à Byzance // Revue des Études Byzantines. 1966. 24, p. 69–88.

<sup>70</sup> *Mango C.* Le Développement urbain de Constantinople, 4e–7e siècles. Paris, 1990, p. 46–47; *Mango C.* Le mystère de la XIVe région de Constantinople // Travaux et Mémoires. Paris, 2002. Vol. 14 (Mélanges Gilbert Dagron), p. 449–455; *Mango C.* The fourteenth region of Constantinople // Studien zur spätantiken und byzantinischen Kunst Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann gewidmet. Mainz, 1986. Vol. 1, p. 1–5.

но, искусственность в образовании регионов и привела к быстрой утрате их практического значения. Само же строительство храмов, согласно наблюдениям П. Магдалино, приурочивалось к старым участкам застройки, которые можно сопоставить как с императорскими, так и с аристократическими ойкасами<sup>71</sup>, что целиком соответствует практике основания частных церквей в эпоху поздней Античности<sup>72</sup>. Таким образом, несмотря на свидетельства литургических источников об организации местных литаний в Константинополе, у нас нет даже гипотетической информации о соотношении созданных основателем городских округов и о церковной организации, которая имела иные истоки. Этот факт, как и деградация изначальной 14-частной структуры, должны расцениваться как отрицательная реакция городской среды на искусственное навязывание ей моделей иеротопического характера в то время, когда для этого не существовало достаточных оснований в области христианской культуры. В любом случае, противоречие между идеально заданными параметрами города и его историческим развитием приводит к тому, что эти параметры не закрепляются на уровне иеротопического сознания. Это доказывает тем, что впоследствии, после деградации изначальной структуры, они не воспроизводятся в сакральной топографии города. Сакрализации традиционно подвергаются иные реалии, сформировавшиеся на стадии исторического развития.

То же можно сказать и об эволюции в Риме титулов как центров стациональной литургии и осуществления церковного права<sup>73</sup>. *Liber Pontificalis* приписывает их создание папе Эваристу (99–105 гг.), вроде бы назначившему семь диаконов в семь районов, которые были созданы св. Климентом. Однако впоследствии их число увеличивалось, будучи функцией городской демографии. К 311 году существовало лишь 11 титулов вместо 25, которые традиция усваивает папе Маркелу (308–309 гг.), римский собор 449 г. упоминает уже 29 титулов, а собор 595 г. — всего 23. В любом случае количество титулов, размещавшихся в границах 14 римских округов, превосходит их количественно и не является умозрительной производной. При этом несомненна изначальная связь наиболее архаичных титулов с патрицианскими *domus*'ами, вокруг которых формировались первые христианские общины Вечного Города.

<sup>71</sup> *Magdalino P.* Medieval Constantinople: built environment and urban development, p. 529–537; *Idem.* Constantinople médiévale: études sur l'évolution des structures urbaines, p. 42–48.

<sup>72</sup> *Thomas J. P.* Private religious foundations in the Byzantine Empire. Washington, 1987, p. 6–12.

<sup>73</sup> *Baldovin J. F.* The urban character of Christian worship, p. 112–115.



Вообще же классическое исследование городской стациональной литургии Д. Болдуина убедительно демонстрирует следующий факт. Несмотря на то, что христианское богословие рассматривало полис как преобразенное пространство, эта теологема изначально не повлияла на городскую топографию. Маршруты процессий и их остановки были обусловлены в большей степени социальным контекстом города, чем богословскими и литургическими предпосылками. Лишь впоследствии сакральная топография стала формировать социальный контекст и его восприятие<sup>74</sup>.

Таким образом, в начальный период на Руси, как и повсюду в христианском мире, церковная организация города была следствием исторически сложившейся социальной топографии и базировалась на первоначально возникших христианских общинах, носивших частноправовой характер. Исторически границы церковных структур совпадали с существовавшим административным делением города, однако не были им строго определены. Развитие церковной структуры, переход домовых церквей в непосредственную епископскую юрисдикцию приводили к усложнению соотношения административной и сакральной топографии города. Христианская организация по своим количественным характеристикам зачастую превосходила административную, продолжая развиваться в административных границах. В случае естественного формирования городского районирования, особенно в условиях одновременного становления урбанистических и христианских структур, число церковных округов более строго соответствовало числу городских кварталов. В случае создания искусственных урбанистических образований по идеальным моделям или наложения христианской организации на уже сформировавшуюся городскую ткань приоритетное развитие церкви обычно опережало развитие полиса, что тормозило формирование искомого территориального соответствия.

Соборы-округа выполняли судебную-каноническую роль, однако их правовая деятельность не отделялась от их литургических функций, что и формировало сакральную топографию. В эпоху позднего средневековья, в условиях кризиса традиционной культуры, эсхатологических ожиданий и столкновения московской административной практики по организации приходов со сложившейся местной системой территориальных общин соборы на Руси постепенно утрачивают свои административные функции. Социально-демографические изме-

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<sup>74</sup> Ibid., p. 250–251, 257, 259. «The greatest influence on the development of the Roman stationary scheme was the topographical and social history of the city itself rather than theological or inner-liturgical considerations» (p. 166).

нения эпохи Московского царства и Смутного времени окончательно разрушают связь между литургическим и историческим. Соборные храмы и округа приобретают преимущественно сакральные функции. Количество соборов в ряде случаев сознательно увеличивается до семи, ассоциируясь со значимыми топосами христианского мироздания и спекулятивного богословия. Москва заимствует для себя лишь форму семисоборной организации, наполняя ее умозрительным содержанием. Параллельно делаются попытки воплощения эталонных сакральных топосов в локальной среде (наиболее яркие примеры — закладка новой православной Казани в 1552 г. в соответствии с заранее созданной сакральной топографией, воплощение образа Священного Града в архитектурных замыслах царя Бориса Годунова и создание Нового Иерусалима патриархом Никоном)<sup>75</sup>, осмысленность которых независимо фиксируется различными типами источников. Сакрализация городского пространства в это время служит культивированию образа «Святой Руси» и влияет на иконическое восприятие городской среды. Эта среда оказывается насыщенной священными местами с историко-коммуникативным значением, что находит свое отражение во внесении реалий городской топографии в пространство иконы. Все это свидетельствует о том, что именно в это время происходит активное развертывание культурного процесса, справедливо названного «конкретизацией символического мышления»<sup>76</sup>. Именно в это время соборность Церкви в городе как ее метафизическое свойство начинает в полной мере увязываться с ее вполне материальной соборной организацией.

В целом развитие соборной организации древнерусского города хорошо соответствует известному феномену постепенного замещения функционального значения литургических действий и объектов их символическим восприятием в условиях, когда их происхождение и изначальная функция начинают стираться в исторической памяти. Этот основополагающий принцип развития культурных форм был выработан и апробирован в первой половине XX в. представителями петербургской церковно-археологической и литургической школы в лице А. А. Дмитриевского, А. И. Карабинова, А. И. Яцимирского и Н. Д. Успенского. Сегодня при изучении христианской культуры схожие принципы независимо применяются различными школами мировой искусствоведческой науки, в частности, С. Бойд<sup>77</sup>.

<sup>75</sup> Баталов А. Л. Московское каменное зодчество конца XVI века, с. 288, 299–302.

<sup>76</sup> Баталов А. Л. Московское каменное зодчество конца XVI века, с. 299.

<sup>77</sup> Архив ИИМК РАН. Ф. 2. Оп. 3. № 267. Л. 6; Яцимирский А. И. К вопросу о назначении так называемых «кратиров» Софийского новгородского собора / Труды Новго-

Все это свидетельствует, на наш взгляд, о сложении законченных форм иеротопического сознания («конкретизации символического мышления») накануне Нового времени. Вместе с тем, есть смысл различать собственно феномен иеротопии и иеротопическое (символическое) мышление. Иеротопия городского пространства предстает перед нами как мера соотношения в городской топографии сакрального и социального, спонтанного и сознательного, которая вырабатывается в результате развития урбанистической среды, но не задается изначально. Иеротопия зачастую не была осмыслена современниками, особенно на начальных этапах своего сложения. Ее можно распознать в процессе аналитического исследования, подчиненного особой методологии, основанной на выявлении регулярности пространственно-сакральных связей. Иеротопическое осмысление городской среды не столько предшествует этому феномену, сколько складывается в процессе его создания и развития, окончательно закрепляясь после потери им своей первоначальной функциональности. В результате происходит определенное осмысление уже сложившейся топосферы, а затем и сознательное конструирование иеротопических пространств по заданным образцам и искусственным схемам. Такой процесс более характерен для эпохи развитого спекулятивного мышления в христианском богословии. Это подтверждается, на наш взгляд, как практическим отсутствием современных нарративных источников, так и фактом исторической нежизнеспособности идеальных городских образований. В целом иеротопия позволяет не только определить особенности общественного менталитета своего времени. При корректном использовании метода исторической ретроспекции выявленные иеротопические структуры становятся надежным историческим источником, позволяющим реконструировать исторические процессы, приведшие к их образованию. Главной характеристикой иеротопии, в отличие от сакральной топографии, складывающейся в значительной мере стихийно, является, на наш взгляд, осознанное привнесение в городскую среду сакральных пространственных связей и поиск для них соответствующих архетипов.

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родского церковно-археологического общества. Новгород, 1914. Т. 1, с. 73–76; Boyd S. A. Art in the service of the liturgy: Byzantine silver plate // Heaven on earth: art and the Church in Byzantium / Ed. by Linda Safran. The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998, p. 163.

Alexandr Mousin

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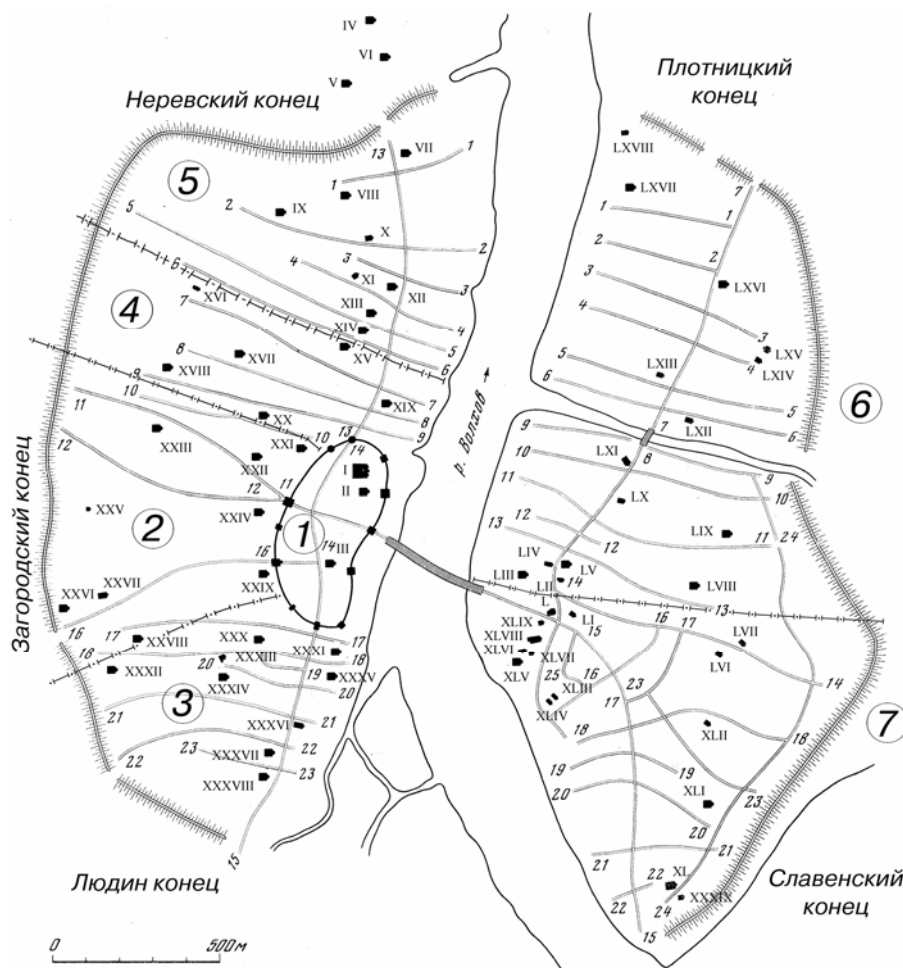
ECCLESIASTICAL DISTRICTS OF MEDIEVAL RUSSIAN CITIES:  
FROM THE SOCIAL TOPOGRAPHY TO THE HIEROTOPY

The present article discusses the problem of the origin, development and social, symbolical and liturgical meaning of the ecclesiastical districts of some medieval Russian towns such as Novgorod, Pskov and Moscow in a large historical and cultural context of Christian Mediterranean World. The number of the regions reaching in some cases seven and its Old Russian native name — “sobor” that means “council” as a hierarchical meeting and a spiritual unity, provoke sometimes among the scholars the connotations with the symbolical meaning of the number of the Ecumenical Councils, the Holy Sacraments, the gifts of Holy Spirit or more frequently the seven pillars of the house of Divine Wisdom, mentioned in the Bible. In any case, this “seven-council” system of a medieval city was thought of as artificial, man-made construction based on the speculative theology that forms the symbolical vision of urban space.

The new research, by necessity transversal and multidiscipline clearly show that the city regions under investigation developed gradually and shaped themselves on the socio-historical base of town which formed at the same time the urban administrative boundaries. The districts that served the purposes of the church administration were composed from the parish’s churches and formed around the main cathedrals inasmuch as the homogeneous structure of the urban community had been shaped on the juridical and social level. The Russian medieval “sobory” can not be regarded as direct borrowing of the ecclesiastical organization of Byzantines cities. In Constantinople, where 14 *regiones* were artificial, they rapidly lost their social significance and we have no evidences of its influence on the urban life of the Church. In Rome the ancient regions had not any visible connections with the *tituli* and their basilicas that were linked to the primary social organization of primitive Church. In any case, the “sobory” in Russia were a creative development of some common basic principles of the canon law and social structure of ecclesiastical life in the local conditions that demonstrate several phasic features.

In Novgorod 7 sobors-districts corresponding to 7 urban political centers were created simultaneously as part of the administrative reform of archbishop Alexei around the 1362 AD. In Pskov 6 sobors formed during the 1356–1472 AD as a result of the increase of the urban territory. At the mid-16th century social and political changes caused the collapse of the “sobory” system of the Northern Russian cities. In the same time as a result of the

concretization of symbolical mind the “seven-sobory” system received the a special theological meaning: new seven liturgical districts were created in the 1551 AD in Moscow and the number of Novgorod’s districts, previously destroyed, was deliberately completed until seven during the 1620<sup>th</sup>. This phenomena of the sacralization of Russians medieval town’s space was also reflected in Russians icons dated from the 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries which represented the historical urban topography (of Novgorod, Pskov, Mosow, Tver, Murom and others), included in the sacred space of icons. This information, showing the sacred spatial connections took deep roots in the collective mind of the epoch, testifies to the definitive forming of the urban hierotopization no earlier than the late mediaeval period. In the preceding time, even if attempts were made to create sacred space according to the symbolical archetypes, they were not accepted by the cultural milieu.



1. Схема расположения храмов Великого Новгорода XV–XVII вв. по 7 соборным округам.

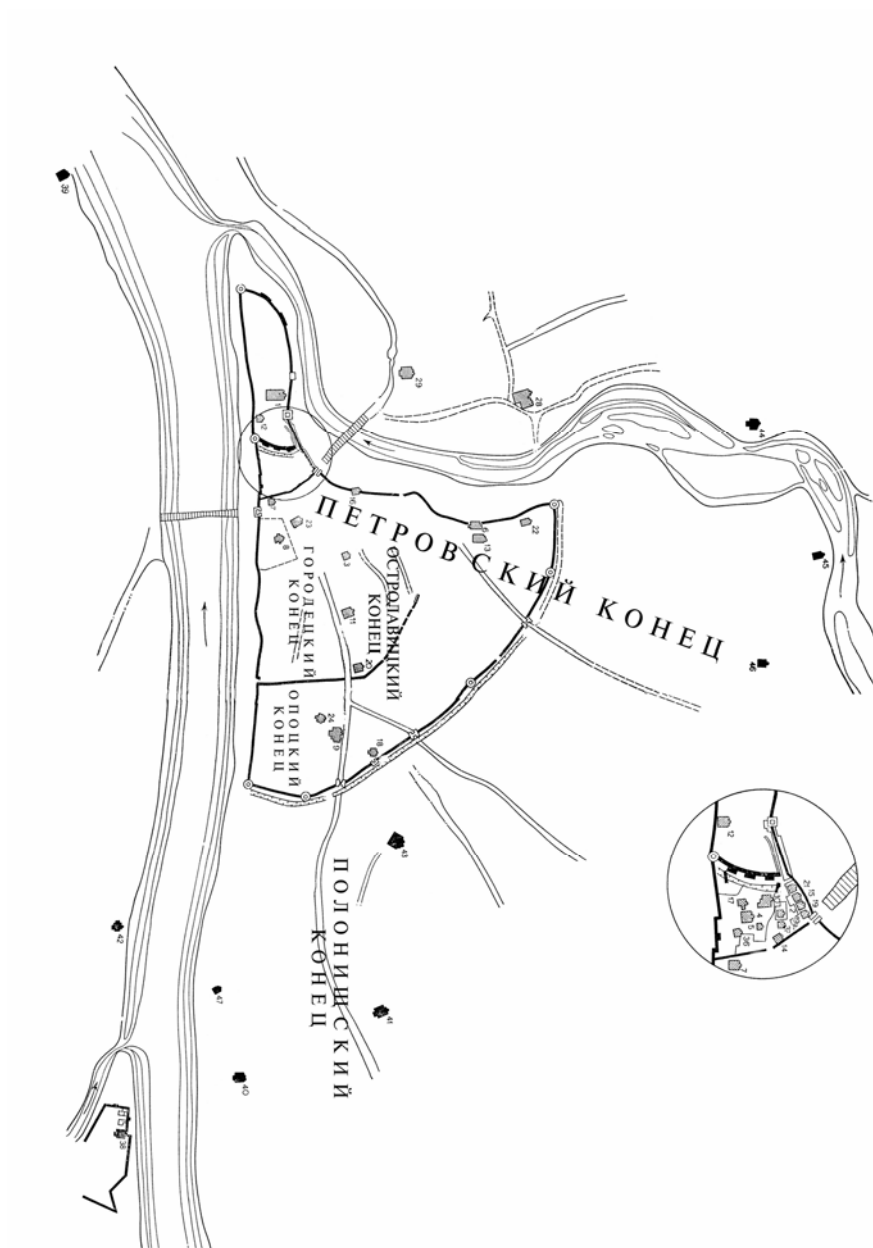
Соборные округа: I — Софийский соборный округ, II — Михаило-Архангельский соборный округ, III — Власиевский соборный округ, IV — Четыредесятский соборный округ, V — Яковлевский соборный округ, VI — Иоанно-Предтеченский соборный округ, VII — Успенский соборный округ.

Храмы: I — Софийский собор, II — церковь Входа Господня в Иерусалим, III — церковь Свв. князей Бориса и Глеба, IV — Зверин Покровский монастырь, V — церковь Свв. апп. Петра и Павла в Кожевниках, VI — Лазорев монастырь, VII — церковь Вмч. Дмитрия Солунского на Даньславле улице, VIII — церковь Вмч. Мины на Даньславлей улице, IX — церковь Свт. Николая на Яковли улице, X — церковь Св. ап. Иакова на Яковли улице, XI — церковь Свв. мчч. Козмы и Дамиана на Холпоей улице, XII — церковь Вмч. Георгия на Боркове улице, XIII — церковь Прп. Саввы на Козмодемьяне улице, XIV — церковь Свв. мчч. Козмы и Дамиана на

Козмодемьянской улице, XV — церковь Преображения Господня на Розважи улице, XVI — церковь Вмч. Феодора Стратилата на Щерковой улице, XVII — церковь Свв. Константина и Елены на Яневой улице, XVIII — Иоанно-Предтеченский монастырь на Ростокиной улице, XIX — собор Сорока мучеников Севастийских на Щеркове улице, XX — церковь Свв. Константина и Елены на Ростокиной улице, XXI — церковь Архангела Гавриила на Фревковке улице, XXII — церковь Свв. Фрола и Лавра на Легоще улице, XXIII — церковь Св. Симеона Столпника на Чудинцевей улице, XXIV — церковь Усекновения главы Иоанна Предтечи на Чудинцеве улице, XXV — церковь Двенадцати апостолов на Пропостех, XXVI — церковь Вознесения Господня на Прусской улице, XXVII — Михаило-Архангельский собор на Прусской улице, XXVIII — церковь Св. ап. Иакова на Добрыни улице, XXIX — церковь Введения во храм Пресвятой Богородицы на Прусской улице, XXX — церковь свт. Василия Кесарийского на Ярышewe улице, XXXI — церковь Спаса Нерукотворенного Образа на Добрыни улице, XXXII — церковь Рождества Божией Матери Десятинного монастыря, XXXIII — церковь Свщмч. Власия на Волосове улице, XXXIV — Варваринский монастырь на Черницной улице, XXXV — церковь Свт. Василия Парийского на Новинке, XXXVI — церковь Святой Троицы на Рядятине улице, XXXVII — церковь Воздвижения Креста Господня на Воздвиженской улице, XXXVIII — церковь Св. ап. Луки на Лукинской улице, XXXIX — церковь Свв. апп. Петра и Павла на Славне, XL — церковь Св. пророка Или на Славне, XLI — Павловский монастырь на Вареской улице, XLII — церковь Св. ап. Филиппа на Нутной улице, XLIII — церковь Благовещения Пресвятой Богородицы на Михайловской улице, XLIV — церковь Михаила Архангела на Торгу, XLV — церковь Святых Отцов 7 Вселенского собора на Князем Дворе, XLVI — церковь Свв. Жен мироносиц на Дворище, XLVII — церковь Св. вмч. Прокопия на Дворище, XLVIII — церковь Свт. Николая на Дворище, XLIX — церковь св. вмч. Параскевы Пятница на Торгу, L — Успенский собор на Козьей бородке на Торгу, LI — церковь Иоанна Ишкова у Немецкого Двора, LII — церковь Вмч. Георгия на Торгу, LIII — церковь Свв. князей Бориса и Глеба на Погребнице, LIV — собор Рождества св. Иоанна Предтечи на Опоках, LV — церковь Св. вмч. Дмитрия на Лубянице, LVI — церковь Знамения Матери Божией на Ильине улице, LVII — церковь Преображения Господня на Ильине улице, LVIII — церковь Св. ап. Луки на Лубянице, LIX — церковь Св. вмч. Евпатия на Рогатице, LX — церковь Вмч. Дмитрия на Славковке улице, LXI — церковь Свщмч. Климента на Иворове улице, LXII — церковь Вмч. Феодора Стратилата на Федорове улице, LXIII — церковь Свщмч. Никиты на Никитиной улице, LXIV — церковь Собора Божией Матери на Михалице, LXV — Рождества Богородицы монастырь на Михалице, LXVI — церковь Св. ап. Андрея на Щитной улице, LXVII — Евфимиевский монастырь в Плотницком конце, LXVIII — церковь Свв. князей Бориса и Глеба на Коннохове улице.

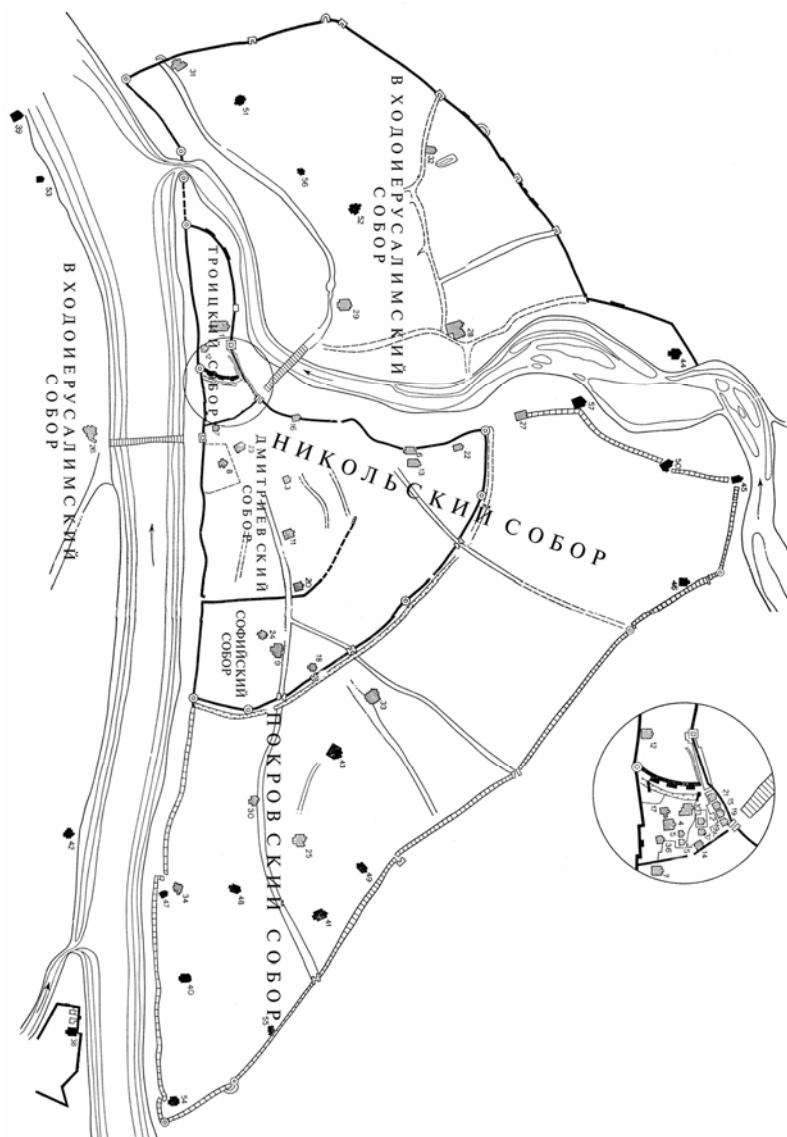
Улицы Софийской стороны: 1 — Даньславля, 2 — Яковлева, 3 — Боркова, 4 — Холопья, 5 — Козмодемьянская, 6 — Розважа, 7 — Щеркова, 8 — Янева, 9 — Ростокина, 10 — Хревкова, 11 — Легоща, 12 — Чудинцева, 13 — Великая, 14 — Пискупля, 15 — Пробойная, 16 — Пруская, 17 — Добрыня, 18 — Волосова, 19 — Ярышева, 20 — Чернищина, 21 — Рядятина, 22 — Воздвиженская, 23 — Лукинская улица.

Улицы Торговой стороны: 1 — Коннохова, 2 — Щитная, 3 — Молотковская, 4 — Маницина, 5 — Никитская, 6 — Федорова, 7 — Плотенская Пробойная, 8 — Пробойная, 9 — Коржева, 10 — Славкова, 11 — Рогатица, 12 — Буяна, 13 — Лубяница, 14 — Ильина, 15 — Славная, 16 — Витков переулок, 17 — Дубошин переулок, 18 — Нутная, 19 — Вареская, 20 — Воскресенская, 21 — Киривановская, 22 — Кончанская, 23 — Бардова, 24 — Загородская, 25 — Михайлова улица.



2. Расположение городских концов средневекового Пскова





3. Схема расположения храмов во Пскове в соответствии с соборным устройством города после 1472 г.

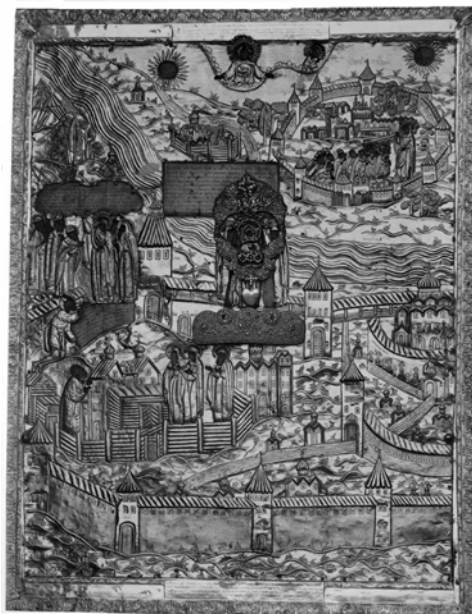
Церкви приходские и монастырских подворий: 1 — Троицы, 2 — Дмитрия в Довмантовой стене, 3 — Георгия на Болоте, 4 или 10 — Воскресения Иисуса Христа в Довмантовой стене, 5 — Феодора Стратилата, 6 — Петра и Павла, 7 — Власия в Торгу, 8 — Воздвижения Честного креста на Княжи дворе, 9 — Николы на Восе в Опочком конце, 10 или 21 — Николы над Греблею, 11 — Михаила и Гавриила Архангела, 12 — Благовещения Богородицы, 13 — Бориса и Глеба, 14 (4, 10 — ?) — возможно, Софии, 15 или 19 — Покрова Богородицы в

Довмантове стене, 16 — Иоанна Богослова на Снетогорском дворе, 17 — Кирилла у Смердя моста над Греблею, 18 — Василия на Горке, 19 или 19а — Сошествия св. Духа в Довмантове стене, 20 — Преображения Господня у Старого костра, 21 или 15 — Рождества Христова в Довмантовой стене, 22 — Богоявления, 23 — Спаса на Торгу, 24 — мученицы Варвары на Усохе в Опоцком конце, 25 — Похвалы Богородицы на Романове горке, 26 — Успения Богородицы на Завеличье, 27 — Богоявления в Бродах, 28 — Богоявления на Запсковье, 29 — Козмы и Дамиана на Запсковье, 30 — Воскресения на Полонище, 31 — Варлаама Хутынского на Званице на Запсковье, 32 — Образа Иисуса Христа на Запсковье у Жабьей лавицы, 33 — Анастасии на Полонище на Кузнецкой улице, 34 — Георгия на Взвозе, 35 — Алексея в Довмантове стене, 36 — возможно, Входа Господня в Иерусалим, 37 — не атрибуируется

Монастыри: 38 — Спаса над Мирожью рекою, 39 — Иоанна за рекой на Завеличье, 40 — Пантелеймона на Красном дворе, 41 — Старое Вознесение, 42 — Климента, 43 — Новое Вознесение, 44 — Козмы и Дамиана на Гремячей горе, 45 — Николы в Песках, 46 — Михаила, 47 — Николы на Взвозе, 48 — Успения Богородицы, 49 — Трех святителей на Болоте, 50 — Благовещения Богородицы, 51 — Воскресения на Запсковье, 52 — Ильи на Запсковье, 53 — Ильи на Завеличьи, 54 — Покрова Богородицы на Полонище у Великой реки, 55 — Козмы и Дамиана в Утопленниках, 56 — Спас Надолбин, 57 — св. Параскевы Пятницы



4. Икона «Видение пономаря Тарасия» с изображением Новгорода. ГТГ № 14966; середина XVI в.



5. Икона «Видение старцу Досифею» с изображением Пскова. Фотография Компарда, конец XIX в., фотоархив ИИМК РАН О-595/9 П-99970



6. Икона «Богородица Псков-Покровская» с изображением Пскова из Псково-Печерского монастыря, фотография К. Романова 1923–1925 гг. фотоархив ИИМК РАН Q-1697/7, П-48941



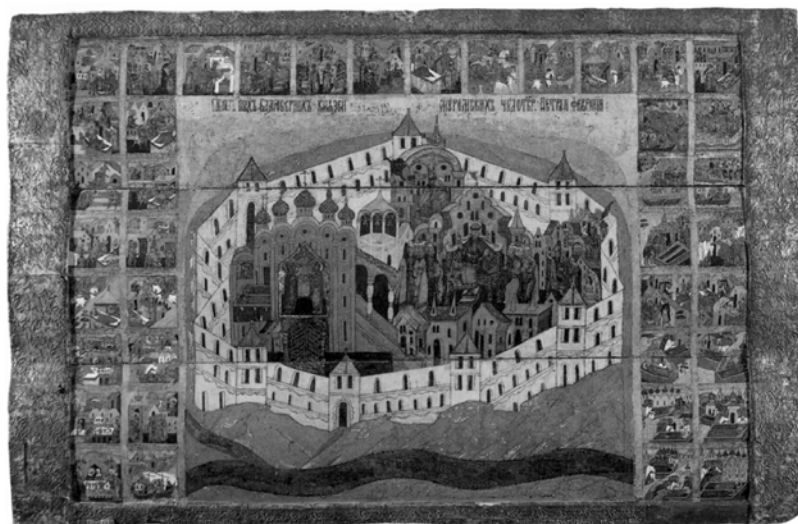
7. Икона «Богородица Псков-Покровская» с изображением Пскова, третья четверть XVIII в., ПГОИХАМЗ, № 936



8. Икона «Сретение Богородицы 1784 г. из часовни Владычного креста» с изображением Пскова, ПГОИХАМЗ



9. Икона святителя Арсения и князя Михаила с изображением Тверского кремля, XVII в., ТОКГ № Ж-860



10. Икона свв. Петра и Февронии в житии с изображением Муром, конец XVI в. — начало XVII в., Муромский музей, № М-6608/В-22305

М. В. Рождественская

СОЗДАНИЕ САКРАЛЬНЫХ ПРОСТРАНСТВ  
В ЛИТЕРАТУРЕ СРЕДНЕВЕКОВОЙ РУСИ  
(К ПОСТАНОВКЕ ПРОБЛЕМЫ)<sup>1</sup>

Задаваясь вопросом, применимо ли понятие иеротопии и иеротопичности к славяно-русским средневековым литературным текстам, мы сталкиваемся с целым рядом трудностей. Во-первых, всегда ли имеются в виду тексты, посвященные пространственным перемещениям или состояниям, то есть такие, в основе которых лежит идея движения, пути? Во-вторых, относительно какой точки отсчета даются пространственные характеристики в подобных текстах? В-третьих, зависит ли жанровое оформление каждого конкретного памятника от возможности или невозможности выявить иеротопические черты в нем и каково его функциональное назначение? В-четвертых, что дает такой подход к жесткой иерархической системе средневековой христианской книжности для понимания и толкования отдельных памятников?

Вопросов немало, и данная статья в определенном смысле является заявкой на тему, но не окончательным ответом.

Развитие древнерусской литературы во всех ее жанровых разновидностях есть, по сути, освоение пространства Священного Писания, Священной истории, которое по определению иеротопично. Проследить, какими путями шло это освоение (через цитату, топос, образ, реминисценцию, аналогию, отсылку, вставку в текст и т. д.) можно на материале апокрифических хождений в сакральные земли, «видений» ада и рая, вопросо-ответной литературы вроде «Беседы трех святителей», русской летописи и некоторых других сочинений, входящих в византийско-славянский культурный круг.

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Если мы называем иеротопией способы описания сакрального пространства, то прежде всего надо определить, какое именно пространство воспринималось средневековым книжником в качестве сакрального<sup>2</sup>. Со Священным Писанием как будто все ясно. Но если обратиться, например, к летописному жанру, то при описании географического пространства нередко обнаруживается его сакрализация или мифологизация изначально профанного пространства в зависимости от исторической ситуации. Поясним сказанное на конкретных примерах.

Что означало с иеротопической точки зрения принятие христианства князем Владимиром Святославичем в 988–989 гг., как об этом рассказывает «Повесть временных лет»? Это прежде всего *пространственное* освоение новой веры русской землей. Вера утверждается *на путях*: топография превращается в иеротопию, когда Христос отправляет апостолов по разным странам проповедовать Слово Божие. Святой апостол Андрей Первозванный, обходя Причерноморье и предрекая возникновение и славу будущему граду Киеву, превращал географию, по сути, в *христианскую топографию*. Путь русских послов князя Владимира Святославича в Константинополь для знакомства с греческим церковным обрядом в храме Св. Софии и возвращение их назад, в Киев, ошеломленных увиденным и услышанным («не свемы, на небе ли есмы были, ли на земли»)<sup>3</sup>, можно рассматривать не только в традиции рассказов о крещениях языческих народов и в парадигме мотивов «выбор веры» и «прение о вере», но одновременно и в традиции сказочного сюжета: как путь за волшебным предметом (золотым яблоком, мечом-кладенцом, серебряным колечком и т. д.), который обычно является главной целью путешествия сказочного или эпического героя. Сюжет испытания вер князем Владимиром Святославичем в «Повести временных лет» составлен по сказочно-легендарной схеме. С одной стороны, это действительно «прение о вере», принявшее форму вопросов князя и ответов представителей разных исповеданий, с другой — послы Владимира уже сами подвергаются испытанию, а именно, *испытанию верой* в храме Св. Софии в Константинополе. Конечно, ответ послов князю был предопределен, Владимир Святославич и отправлял-то их, в общем, за подтверждением величия христианской веры, и они это задание с честью выполнили. Кроме того, послы должны были стать *свидетелями*

<sup>2</sup> См. ставшие классическими работы Ю. М. Лотмана и Д. С. Лихачева: *Лотман Ю. М. О понятии географического пространства в ранних средневековых текстах // Труды по знаковым системам. II. Тарту, 1965, с. 210–216; Лихачев Д. С. Поэтика древнерусской литературы. Изд. третье, дополненное. М., 1979, с. 335–351 (гл. «Поэтика художественного пространства»).*

<sup>3</sup> *Повесть временных лет / Подготовка текста, статьи и комм. Д. С. Лихачева. Изд. второе, исправленное и дополненное. СПб., 1996, с. 49.*

*телями* правдивости слов греческого философа и красоты христианского богослужения и тем самым *удостоверить* правоту Владимира, то, что он в своем выборе, выборе веры, не ошибся. Разумеется, сказанное ни в коей мере не может вполне относиться к реальной исторической ситуации конца X в., описанной «Повестью временных лет», но связано с той литературно-мифологической основой, которая превратила изложенную фэбулу в литературный сюжет. В данном случае мы рассматриваем «Повесть временных лет» только как *литературный текст*. На наш взгляд, в ситуации выбора и проявляется иеротопический смысл отправки послов, их присутствия на литургии в Софии Константинопольской и возвращение к князю Владимиру в Киев. Взаимоотношения Константинополь — Киев отныне сакрализуются, и в дальнейшем в письменных памятниках средневековой Руси, начиная со «Слова о Законе и Благодати» митрополита Илариона, литературная характеристика Киева как второго Константинополя и Владимира как второго Константина станет постоянной.

Иной пример убеждения читателей летописи в достоверности рассказываемого встречаем в знаменитой летописной статье под 945 г. о княгине Ольге, отомстившей древлянским послам за смерть мужа. Этот сюжет в свое время И. П. Еремин отнес к так называемому «летописному сказанию», если принять членение им летописного текста на особые формы: погодную запись, летописное сказание, летописную повесть и летописный рассказ<sup>4</sup>. При этом исследователь оговаривал, что между названными летописными формами не всегда возможно провести четкую границу. Рассматривая элементы «беллетристичности» в летописи, О. В. Творогов вычленял лишь два основных стилистических пласта в ней — эпический и агиографический<sup>5</sup>. Как бы то ни было, речь в летописной статье 945 г. идет о явно легендарном материале и, как показал еще в работе 1947 г. Д. С. Лихачев<sup>6</sup>, а за ним современные исследователи М. Н. Виролайнен<sup>7</sup> и Илиана Чекова<sup>8</sup>, о материале, осно-

<sup>4</sup> Еремин И. П. «Повесть временных лет» как памятник литературы // Литература Древней Руси. Этюды и характеристики. М., 1966.

<sup>5</sup> Творогов О. В. Сюжетное повествование в летописях XI–XIII вв. // Истоки русской беллетристики. Возникновение жанров сюжетного повествования в древнерусской литературе. Л., 1970. Гл. I, с. 31–66.

<sup>6</sup> Лихачев Д. С. Русские летописи их культурно-историческое значение. М.; Л., 1947.

<sup>7</sup> Виролайнен М. Н. Загадки княгини Ольги (Исторические предания об Олеге и Ольге в мифологическом контексте) // Виролайнен М. Речь и молчание. Сюжеты и мифы русской словесности. СПб., 2003, с. 71–83.

<sup>8</sup> Чекова И. Эпос, мифы и мифологемы в древнейшем летописании Киевской Руси // Ruthenica. Том II. Київ, 2003, с. 85–92. См. также: Чекова И. Летописное повествование о княгине Ольге под 6453 г. в свете русской народной сказки. Опыт определения жанровой природы. // Старобългарска литература. Кн. 23–24, 1990, с. 77–98.



ванном на переплетении элементов свадебной и погребальной обрядовости в дохристианские времена русской истории. «Для обозначения своеобразного сочетания сказочно-мифологического и историко-документального, — пишет И. Чекова, — можно применить термин „летописная сказка“»<sup>9</sup>. Однако мы не стали бы использовать этот термин, поскольку можно отметить лишь сказочные мотивы или сказочные топосы в отдельных летописных сюжетах, но не весь комплекс сказочного нарратива. В летописи обычно имеется точная, пусть и фантастическая, хронологическая привязка таких сюжетов, в отличие от весьма неопределенной временной приуроченности события в сказке. Стремясь соотнести события далекого прошлого с современной ему эпохой и придать максимум достоверности своему рассказу, летописец отсылает читателей к знакомой им топографии древнего Киева, и это соотнесение прошлого с настоящим строится на противопоставлении «тогда» — «ныне»: «Бе бо тогда вода текущи въздоле горы Киевския, и на подольи не седяху людье, но на горе. Градь же бе Киевъ, идеже есть ныне дворъ Гордятинъ и Никифоровъ, а дворъ князь бяше в городе, идеже есть ныне дворъ Воротиславль и Чюдинъ, а перевесище бе вне града»<sup>10</sup> и т. д. Кто такие эти Воротислав, Чудин и Гордята, современникам, очевидно, объяснять было не нужно. Сюжет данной летописной статьи выстроен, как об этом уже неоднократно писалось, по схеме волшебной сказки о хитрой и мудрой деве-невесте, испытывающей незадачливых женихов (здесь — древлянских послов), где топография носит вполне условный, но не случайный характер, она ориентирована на оппозицию «низ — верх», которая проявляется в замкнутом пространстве исторического Киева середины X в. Сначала древлянские послы, остановившись *внизу*, на Подоле, отправляют своих людей *вверх*, к Ольгиному терему *на горе* уведомить ее о своем прибытии и цели, то есть, о сватстве их князя Мала к Ольге, а затем Ольгины люди *спускаются* на Подол к древлянам передать завуалированную загадку княгини о погребальной ладье. Наутро *вознесенные в ней над землей* древлянские послы, не поняв смысла Ольгиной загадки и таким образом попавшие в ложное положение, оказываются *сброшенными вниз*, в приготовленную смертную яму, и затем уже Ольга, *склоняясь над ними*, иронически спрашивает, хороша ли им оказанная честь. Только тогда древляне поняли смысл Ольгиных «загадочных» слов. Казнь послов восстанавливает нарушенный их гордостью и глупостью иерархический властный порядок.

<sup>9</sup> Чекова И. Эпос, мифы и мифологемы... С. 88.

<sup>10</sup> Повесть временных лет. СПб., 1996, с. 27.

Обозначая современную топографию Киева в рассказе о давних событиях и соотнося ее с давней топографией, летописец превращает легендарный материал в документированное свидетельство, что позволяет органично включить его в летописное повествование, в последовательный рассказ о реальных событиях прошлого.

Если же речь в литературе средневековой Руси шла о путешествиях к святыням на христианский Восток, то реальная география, включаясь в сакральное пространство средневековых «хождений», также менялась, насыщаясь элементами святости. При описании путешествий в благочестивые земли средневековые авторы обычно называли точные параметры пройденного пути, отмечали все то, что можно исчислить — дни, часы, версты, длину, ширину, высоту увиденных священных предметов, реликвий и т. д.

Земля древней Палестины, насыщенная библейской историей, в силу своей сакрализованности оказывалась тем самым пространством, при описании которого соединялись историография и география, создавая *христианскую топографию* как способ описания святых мест. Пространство, на котором разворачивалась библейская история, становилось знаковым и иерархическим. Не только паломники, ощутившие на себе благодать святых и священных мест, но и герои путешествий в поискахрая, или райских видений, наделяются не свойственными им ранее качествами. Так, например, в апокрифическом «Хождении старца Агапия в рай» рассказано о том, как, отведав райского хлеба, данного ему в раю пророком Илией, Агапий начинает совершать чудеса исцеления<sup>11</sup>.

Иерархичность пространства особенно наглядна при анализе средневековых «видений». В апокрифическом «Видении пророка Исаяи о последних днях», славяно-русский перевод которого известен в рукописях с конца XII в., герой возносится ангелами с одного небесного яруса на другой, пока не оказывается перед Божьим престолом. Каждому ярусу соответствует новое знание, открывающееся пророку, и точная пространственная характеристика: «Потомъ възведе мя на сущая выше твьрди, еже есть пьрвое небо. И видехъ ту престоль *посреде* и на немъ седяща ангель въ велице чьсти, и *одесную* его седяща и *ошую* ангелы, инаку же славу имеяху иже одесную, и пояху единымъ гласьмь. А иже *ошую* въ следъ ихъ пояху, песнь же ихъ не беаше яко и *десныхъ*»<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> Подробнее об этом см.: *Рождественская М. В.* Святая земля и Иерусалим как воплощениерая // Антропология религиозности. Канун. Альманах под общей ред. Д. С. Лихачева. СПб., 1998, с. 121–146.; *Она же.* Рай «мнимый» и Рай «реальный»: древнерусская литературная традиция // Образрая: от мифа к утопии. Серия “Symposium”. Выпуск 31. СПб., 2003, с. 31–46.

<sup>12</sup> Библиотека литературы Древней Руси. Том 3. XI–XII века. СПб., 1999. Далее цитаты по этому изданию.

И далее: «И паки възведе мя на вѣторое небо. Высота же небесе беаше, яко от първаго небесе до земля». Пророк Исайя должен был оставить свою плотскую оболочку и духом увидеть и услышать все то, о чем поведал ему восхитивший его Ангел. Только когда пророк оказался перед престолом Божьим, ему было предсказано вновь вернуться в мир и пребывать в нем до тех пор, пока он не покинет пределов земли, пока не взойдет его душа на небеса и не сядет в славе великой «одесную Отца». И Исайя вновь возвращается в свою плоть. При этом на протяжении своего рассказа царям о видении пророк находится одновременно в двух пространствах — на небесах и в Иерусалиме, перед царем Иезекией и другими пророками.

В «Житии Андрея Юродивого» видение святым рая происходит также в тот момент, когда он из реального географического пространства, а именно, из Царьграда-Константинополя, переносится в пространство рая, то есть, вполне сакральное. Это происходит после того, как юродивый, замерзая от ледяного холода, случившегося в Царьграде, нигде не смог найти убежища — ни у таких же нищих, как он сам, ни у бродячего пса. Отчаявшись, святой начинает жарко молиться Богу о даровании ему смерти. Он впадает в «сладкий и твердый» сон и чувствует, как вокруг него разливается тепло. Он видит незнакомого юношу с цветущей ветвью в руках. Ею юноша ударяет Андрея по лицу, и тот, проснувшись, обнаруживает себя в райском саду: «Видих же себе яко в раи красне и дивне велми и оудивихся духомъ, розмышлях же си, что се ны есть, еже видя, яко в Костянтине граде есть селище мое. Да что сде творю, не веде»<sup>13</sup>. Андрей Юродивый обнаруживает, что одет вместо привычного рубища в царскую одежду — знак того, что он находится в подлинно Царском граде, граде Небесном, в раю, где перестает быть юродивым, ибо рай уготован лишь праведникам. Подвиг юродства Христа ради представляет собой перевернутую позицию, и перенесение Андрея юродивого в рай есть только восстановление божественного порядка вещей и раскрытие истинного смысла его подвижничества в земном Царьграде, оказавшемся жестоким к нему. Из нищего странника, скитающегося по улицам столицы, юродивый превращается в смиренного раба Небесного Царя, который удостоил его особым вниманием и поведал ему «тайные слова», запретив передавать их кому бы то ни было. Так меняется символика пространства в зависимости от статуса человека и от его духовного устремления: здесь *последний* вновь становится *первым*.

Еще в одном апокрифическом памятнике, известном «Хождении Богородицы по мукам», чей перевод с греческого был знаком древнерус-

<sup>13</sup> Молдован А. М. Житие Андрея Юродивого в славянской письменности. М., 2000, с. 197.

ским книжникам уже с XII–XIII вв., пространственные характеристики ада, по пространству которого архангел Михаил водит Богородицу, весьма расплывчаты. Четыре стороны света — север, юг, запад и восток — реальны и нереальны одновременно. Перемещение персонажей из одной стороны в другую происходит как будто в иной системе координат. Богородица молится Господу на Елеонской горе, и это центр мира, так как по ее молитве с небес сходит архангел Михаил и с ним 400 ангелов: сто с востока, сто с запада, сто с юга и сто с севера. Когда Богородица просит показать ей все муки, которыми мучаются грешники на небесах и на земле, то «тогда повеле архистратигъ явитися ангеломъ отъ полудне, и отверзесе Адъ, и виде во Аде мучающаяся»<sup>14</sup>. Вопреки распространенным средневековым представлениям, здесь местоположение ада связано с югом, а не с севером или западом. На южной, «адской», стороне Богородица видит затем огненную реку. Потом архангел ведет ее на северную сторону. Там «бысть облакъ огнень распростертъ, посреди его одрове, яко пламеный огнь, и на нихъ лежаше множество мужъ и женъ». Как видим, важный атрибут «адского» пространства — не только лютый холод (подобно ставшему адом для Андрея Юродивого Царьграду), но и жаркое пламя. Далее архангел Михаил предлагает Богородице выбрать, куда идти: «Куды хощеша, Благодатная, да изыдемъ, на востокъ или на западъ; или в рай, надесно, или на лево, идеже суть великия муки?»<sup>15</sup>. Здесь рай, как и библейский рай, связан с востоком и правой стороной, а запад — с левой и с мучениями грешников, соответственно, с адом. Движение Богородицы вслед за архангелом Михаилом подчинено последовательности размещения в аду мучающихся грешников в зависимости от характера и степени их прегрешений.

В апокрифическом «Слове на воскресение Лазаря»<sup>16</sup> события разворачиваются тоже в аду, но одновременно и на земле, в Вифлееме и Иерусалиме. Пророки и праведники, на которых прогневался Господь, ждут освобождения от мучений и узнают от царя Давида, что родился Христос-Спаситель, который скоро придет освободить их. Пространство «Слова» то сжимается до «ясель скотиих», где лежит новорожденный Христос, то раздвигается до вселенских масштабов: «Слыши, Небо, внуши, Земля, яко Господь глаголет» — этими словами пророка Исайи начинается «Слово» в одной из двух сохранившихся редакций. В аду пророк Давид под звуки струн возвещает пленникам о рождении младенца-Христа. Он уже слышит топот копыт персидских коней, чьи всадники несут дары родившемуся Спасителю всего мира. Богоматерь скло-

<sup>14</sup> Библиотека литературы древней Руси. Т. 3, с. 306.

<sup>15</sup> Там же, с. 314.

<sup>16</sup> Там же, с. 256–261.

няется над яслями, горестно вопрошая: «О всевышний, страшный Царю небесный! Почто еси восхотел к нам нищим на землю снити?», то есть *спуститься*. Топографию «Слова на воскресение Лазаря», как и летописного сказания о мести Ольги, определяет оппозиция «верх — низ» и, как в летописи, эта оппозиция проявляется в *движении*. Именно движение делает текстовое пространство «Слова» иеротопичным. Из ада *наверх*, к Христу, взывает Адам, когда узнает, что тот собирается воскресить Лазаря. Когда Христос, разбив оковы, *спускается* в ад, в темноту, он *выводит* на белый свет, то есть опять *наверх*, всех пленников и ведет их далее в рай, еще более высоко, в Царство Небесное. Процессию снова открывает пророк Давид, играющий на гуслях. Устанавливается истинный порядок вещей и тем самым утверждается Сила и Слава Христа: вчерашним пленникам, «рабам ада», возвращается утраченный статус, совершается божественная справедливость, но не сама по себе, а по молитве и заступничеству первого грешника — Адама. Таким образом, пространство текста «Слова на воскресение Лазаря» всецело иеротопично, так как описывается постольку, поскольку оно знаково и связано с главной идеей, идеей божественной справедливости.

При переходе в сферу крестьянского полу-книжного, полу-фольклорного бытования некоторые апокрифы меняли свою литературную функцию, воспринимались как магические, заговорные тексты («Сон Богородицы», «Сказание о двенадцати пятницах», «Хождение Богородицы по мукам» и др.). В этих случаях к сакральному пространству древнего христианского Востока, Иерусалима, ада и рая добавлялось и реальное пространство бытования этих текстов как амулетов, которые надо было носить на себе, хранить в определенном месте крестьянского дома или за его пределами. Но эти функции апокрифической литературы уже выходят за рамки нашего рассмотрения.

Итак, изучение приемов описания сакрального пространства или пространства, которое сакрализуется в ходе повествования при определенных сюжетных ситуациях, может быть весьма продуктивным, и славяно-русская книжность, как переводная, так и оригинальная, предоставляет для такого изучения весьма благодарный материал.

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THE CREATION OF SACRED SPACE  
IN MEDIEVAL RUSSIAN LITERATURE:  
APOCRYPHA AND CHRONICLES

The sacred space is a crucial, though still unstudied, phenomenon of Medieval Russian literature: all of its genres deal with the sacred history as it is reflected in the Scripture. Forms of the creation of sacred space (by citations, images, analogies, references, insets etc.) are particularly significant in apocrypha (various journeys to the Heaven and to the Hell) and in Russian chronicles. Any geographical space described in a chronicle became sacred, or at least, an initially profane space was presented as a part of the mythological setting which was connected with a historical situation. In the present paper the two entries of the Primary Chronicle (*Povest vremennykh let*) have been discussed in details: the first one, under the year of 945, on the vengeance of the Princess Olga for the murder of her husband Prince Igor, and, under the year of 986, on the choice of religions by the Prince Vladimir.

In the journeys to the holy places of the Christian East the real geography was included into the sacred space of medieval pilgrimages. The space, in which the Biblical history took place, was perceived as a symbolical and iconic one structured by a strict hierarchy. The most characteristic examples are presented by apocryphal visions: 'The Vision of Prophet Isaiah On the Last Days', and 'The Vision of Heaven by St. Andrew the Fool'. These texts demonstrate well that the space of the Christian imagination is always determined by the vertical opposition 'Earthly — Heavenly'. The spatial characteristics of the Hell, situated under the earth, are described in this paper on the basis of an apocrypha 'The Travel (*Khozhdenie*) of Our Lady to Ordeals' and 'The Word on the Resurrection of Lazarus'.

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«ХОЖДЕНИЕ ПОСОЛОНЬ» И СТРУКТУРА  
САКРАЛЬНОГО ПРОСТРАНСТВА  
В МОСКОВСКОЙ РУСИ

1. Вопрос о том, как нужно двигаться при обхождении купели (при крещении), аналая (при венчании) или самого храма (при освящении церкви или во время крестного хода, а также при погребении плащаницы) — «пóсолонь» (по часовой стрелке) или же «против солнца» (против часовой стрелки), — оказался одним из принципиальных моментов в полемике старообрядцев и новообрядцев (последователей реформ патриарха Никона). Старообрядцы во всех перечисленных случаях ходят посолонь, тогда как в официальной церкви после реформ патриарха Никона — точнее говоря, после решений Большого московского собора 1666–1667 гг., одобдившего эти реформы, — принято ходить против солнца. Равным образом и греки во всех этих случаях ходят против солнца, тогда как в латинском обряде круговое движение совершалось, как правило, по солнцу. Старообрядцы следуют при этом традиции, принятой в русской церкви до реформ патриарха Никона и его последователей; реформы эти, как известно, были вызваны стремлением привести русские обряды в соответствие с греческими. Таким образом, старообрядцы следуют традиции, принятой в Московской Руси, тогда как новообрядцы следуют той традиции, которая представлена в греческой церкви. Необходимо иметь в виду, что в служебниках и требниках указания такого рода обычно не фиксировались, и священнослужители должны были основываться на предшествующей традиции либо на осмыслении обряда; то или иное осмысление оказывалось особенно актуальным при столкновении разных традиций.

Этот вопрос возникает еще до раскола. Так, когда 12 августа 1479 г. при освящении московского Успенского собора глава русской церкви митрополит Геронтий совершил хождение с крестами вокруг храма «не по солнечному восходу» (т. е. не посолонь, а против солнца), об этом бы-

ло донесено великому князю (Ивану III); по словам летописца, «нецыи прелестницы клеветаша на митрополита князю великому, яко не по солнечному восходу ходил митрополит с кресты около церкви». Великий князь выступил против митрополита, заявив, что за то «гнев Божий приходит». Было произведено расследование; обратились к книгам, но не нашли на этот счет указаний («написания не обрете о священнии церкви, что по солнцу ли ходити или не посолонь»). На стороне великого князя оказались такие видные церковные деятели, как ростовский архиепископ Вассиан Рыло (духовник Ивана III) и чудовский архимандрит Геннадий Гонзов (ставший впоследствии архиепископом новгородским); не исключено, что великий князь действовал по их инициативе<sup>1</sup>.

Митрополит Геронтий исходил, несомненно, из того, как поступали в подобных случаях его предшественники — митрополиты, возглавлявшие русскую церковь, которые до середины XV в. были, как правило, греками и, соответственно, опирались на практику греческой церкви<sup>2</sup>. Когда один из сторонников митрополита сослался на то, что на Афоне освящают церковь, обходя ее против солнца, это не было сочтено достаточным аргументом<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> См.: ПСРЛ, VI, 1853, с. 221–222; ПСРЛ, VI/2, 2001, стлб. 286–287; ПСРЛ, XX/1, 1910, с. 335; ср.: Голубинский, II/1, с. 553–555; Макарий, IV/1, с. 44–45; Клосс и Назаров, 1997, с. 356–367. Совпадающие тексты II Софийской и Львовской летописей, которые мы цитируем, восходят к митрополичьему летописному своду 1518 г. (см.: Клосс и Назаров, 1997, с. 357).

<sup>2</sup> Согласно «Сказанию о порядке освящения храмов» (1481 г.), где специально рассматривается этот вопрос, ранее при освящении церквей не было единообразия: одни ходили посолонь, другие — против солнца. Надо полагать, что митрополиты-греки ходили против солнца, как это и было принято вообще в Византии. В середине XV в. русская церковь отделилась от Константинополя; этому предшествовало поставление русскими епископами митрополита Ионы без санкции Константинополя (фактически оно положило начало автокефалии русской церкви, хотя окончательный разрыв с Константинополем произошел лишь в 1461 г. при поставлении его преемника, митрополита Феодосия; см.: Успенский, 1998, с. 211 сл.). Как указывает «Сказание...», когда Иона был поставлен (в 1448 г.), он обратил внимание на неодинаковую практику освящения церквей и созвал собор, чтобы решить данный вопрос (по-видимому, в 1451 г.). На основании расспроса тех священников, которые были еще при предшественниках Ионы, митрополитах Киприане и Фотии (Фотий был греком, а Киприан болгарин, однако и он был, несомненно, носителем византийской традиции), было предписано «ходить к востоку [т. е.: против солнца], как при тех митрополитах было». Итак, Иона обратился к практике своих предшественников; так же действовали и его преемники по митрополичьей кафедре (митрополиты Феодосий, Филипп и Геронтий). См.: Клосс и Назаров, 1997, с. 384–386.

<sup>3</sup> ПСРЛ, VI, 1853, с. 221–222; ПСРЛ, VI/2, 2001, стлб. 287; ПСРЛ, XX/1, 1910, с. 335; ср.: Голубинский, 1905, с. 23. Хождение против солнца при освящении церкви предписывается, в частности, в служебнике 1532 г., написанном в Молдавии для афонского Зографского монастыря (Порфирьев, Вадковский, Красносельцев, III, № 709/1015, с. 43); то же говорится об освящении церкви в сборнике (конволюте) конца XV — начала XVI в. (ГБЛ, Муз. 3271, л. 44 об. (Седельников, 1932, с. 42; первая часть сборника, где содержится данная запись, датируется 1492–1494 гг., см.: Кудрявцев, 1962, с. 225).



По приказанию великого князя был устроен диспут между Геронтием и его оппонентами, Вассианом и Геннадием; «и много спирашася, не обретоша истинны», говорит летописец. Вассиан и Геннадий заявили, что поскольку Христос есть «солнце праведное» (Мал. IV, 2)<sup>4</sup>, необходимо ходить посолонь, т. е. вместе с Христом, а не против него: «Солнце праведное Христос на ада наступи и смерть связя и души свободы, и того ради... исходят [т. е. совершают крестный ход] на Пасху, то же прообразуют на утрени»<sup>5</sup>. До окончания спора Иван III приказал не освящать церквей, построенных в Москве и готовых к освящению. Решение вопроса было отложено из-за нашествия хана Ахмата в 1480 г., и построенные московские церкви оставались неосвященными. В 1481 г. спор возобновился; по словам летописца, на стороне митрополита были «все священники и книжники и иноки и миряне», а на стороне великого князя — архиепископ Иоасаф Оболенский, преемник Вассиана на ростовской кафедре, и тот же архимандрит Геннадий. В знак протеста против вмешательства великого князя в церковные дела Геронтий демонстративно покинул митрополичью кафедру и уехал в Симонов монастырь, оставив свой посох — знак митрополичьей власти — в Успенском соборе; он пригрозил «до конца оставити сан митропольской», если великий князь «не добьет челом ему и роптания того не оставит». Великий князь вынужден был уступить и просить митрополита вернуться на кафедру, винясь во всем и обещаясь слушаться митрополита «и по хождении в воле митрополиту дасть, яко же велит, как было в старину»<sup>6</sup>.

Хотя митрополит Геронтий и смог настоять на своем, практика хождения против солнца не закрепилась в русской церкви; как констатирует летопись, споры не привели к установлению истины («и много спирашася, не обретоша истинны») и не был определен единый порядок богослужения («устава же не учинили»)<sup>7</sup>.

Во всяком случае практика хождения посолонь оказалась очень устойчивой: по крайней мере в начале XVII в. именно такой порядок фиксируется в русских богослужебных книгах. Поэтому в середине XVII в. после реформ патриарха Никона русский обряд вновь был приведен в соответствие с греческой практикой. Хождение против солнца (при об-

<sup>4</sup> Наименование Христа «праведным солнцем» (или в позднейшей редакции «солнцем правды»), восходящее к Библии, часто встречается в литургических текстах (см., например, тропари Рождеству Христову и Сретению, 4-ю и 5-ю песни пасхального канона и т. п.).

<sup>5</sup> ПСРЛ, VI, 1853, с. 221–222; ПСРЛ, VI/2, 2001, стлб. 287; ПСРЛ, XX/1, 1910, с. 335. На интерпретации этого высказывания мы специально остановимся ниже (см. § 6).

<sup>6</sup> ПСРЛ, VI, 1853, с. 233–234; ПСРЛ, VI/2, 2001, стлб. 313–314; ПСРЛ, XX/1, 1910, с. 348.

<sup>7</sup> ПСРЛ, VI, 1853, с. 222, 234; ПСРЛ, VI/2, 2001, стлб. 287, 314; ПСРЛ, XX/1, 1910, с. 335, 348.

хождении церкви, а также при венчании) было закреплено специальным решением Большого московского собора 1666–1667 гг., в котором принимали участие греческие патриархи; соборные решения были опубликованы в Служебнике 1667 г. и затем воспроизведены в Служебнике 1668 г. Протесты старообрядцев против этого нововведения напоминают протесты противников митрополита Геронтия. Старообрядцы отказывались ходить в церкви, «для того, что... нынешние церкви освящены все по новому уставу, а не против старых освящений, против солнца»<sup>8</sup> и не признавали брак, совершенный в новообрядческой церкви, на том основании, что вокруг аналоя там водили против солнца<sup>9</sup>.

2. Позиция Ивана III и его сторонников (архиепископов Вассиана и Иоасафа и архимандрита Геннадия) и затем старообрядцев обусловлена тем обстоятельством, что движение посолонь признается *естественным* — иначе говоря, нормальным, правильным движением — в случае хождения по кругу. В русских народных обрядах движение посолонь может соотноситься с действиями правой рукой, тогда как движение в обратном направлении — с действиями левой рукой. Хождение посолонь — так же, как и действия правой рукой — явно понимается при этом как следование естественному порядку, установленному Богом, который и отражается в движении солнца.

Итак, хождение посолонь может признаваться естественным и правильным при движении по кругу. Но при этом возникает вопрос, который нуждается в специальном разъяснении. Необходимо отметить, что требование ходить посолонь, которому, как мы видели, может придаваться столь большое значение, *не распространялось на действия в алтаре*: хождение вокруг престола (в частности, при каждении престола, при рукоположении) совершалось и совершается против солнца, и правомерность этого никогда не вызывала сомнения. Почему же сторонники движения посолонь, которые говорят о том, что хождение против солнца означает отступление от Бога и предполагают, что оно может вызвать гнев Божий, — не настаивают на том, чтобы и обхождение престола совершалось по солнцу? Вместе с тем, алтарь является главной частью храма, и к совершаемым здесь обрядам относятся с особым вниманием.

На это обстоятельство, собственно, и указывали противники хождения посолонь — как в XV, так и в XVII в. Их аргументация представ-

<sup>8</sup> Доп. АИ, XII, № 17, с. 257, 1689 г.; *Дружинин*, 1889, с. 184.

<sup>9</sup> *Яковлев*, 1888, с. 171. О случаях отказа ходить против солнца при крещении, а также при венчании в XVII–XVIII вв. см. также: *Румянцева*, 1973, с. 66–67; *Есипов*, I, с. 516, ср. с. 199; *Есипов*, II, с. 153–154 первой пагинации, с. 250 второй пагинации, ср. с. 132, 134, 140 первой пагинации.

ляется совершенно ясной: поскольку алтарь является главной частью храма, действия священнослужителей в алтаре должны распространяться на аналогичные действия вне алтаря. Замечательно, что этот аргумент не имел никакого влияния на их оппонентов: признавая, что в алтаре обхождение совершается против солнца, они никоим образом не протестовали против этого, но, тем не менее, продолжали настаивать на хождении в обратном направлении (посолонь) вне алтаря.

Так, когда митрополит Геронтий на диспуте со сторонниками движения посолонь, архиепископом Вассианом и архимандритом Геннадием, сослался именно на то, как совершается обхождение престола — «митрополит свидетельство приводя: егда престол диакон кадит в олгаре, на правую руку ходит с кадилом»<sup>10</sup>, — они на это отвечали словами, которые мы уже приводили выше: «Солнце праведное Христос на ада наступи и смерть связя и души свободы, и того ради... исходят на Пасху, то же прообразуют на утрени». Выход из алтаря сопоставляется здесь с воскресением Христа. Таким образом, замкнутое пространство алтаря противопоставляется внеалтарному пространству церкви (или примыкающему к церкви), где находятся верующие — те, кому даровал жизнь Христос своим воскресением.

Аргументация митрополита Геронтия повторяется затем в «Сказании о порядке освящения храмов» (1481): необходимо, говорится здесь, обходить церкви не «по двизанию солнечному», но «к востоку, якоже и округ престола устав держит кропити и кадити»<sup>11</sup>. То же писал Геронтию молдавский (романо-войварский) епископ Василий в послании 1484 г., ссылаясь при этом как на греков, которые ходят против солнца (в качестве положительного примера), так и на латинян, которые ходят по солнцу (в качестве отрицательного примера): «В гречестем законе нищожно [т. е. ничто] действует в святой церкви по солнцу, али, господине, усе по кадилу [т. е. как диакон кадит престол в алтаре], а кто иметь действовати по солнцу у гречском закони, а тот есть проклят от перваго собора 318 святых богоносных отець, иже в Никеи; у нас латини тако творят»<sup>12</sup>.

Равным образом Большой московский собор 1666–1667 гг. осудил тех, кто совершает обхождение храма, а также обхождение купели или аналоя по солнцу («не ходят по обычаю святых восточных Церкви на право к востоку, но ходят на лево к западу, мудрствующе, яко по солнцу подобает ходити»), ссылаясь прежде всего именно на то, как принято

<sup>10</sup> Имеется в виду хождение против солнца: «на правую руку [т. е. на правую сторону] ходит» означает здесь: ходит на восток.

<sup>11</sup> Клосс и Назаров, 1997, с. 384.

<sup>12</sup> Бычков, 1882, с. 507–508. Ср.: Голубинский, II/1, с. 555 (примеч. 2).

обходить престол («святую трапезу») в алтаре: «И то не смыслено мудрствуют: зане не согласно есть с прочими чины Церковными. Ибо егда хиротонисается диакон, или священник, или архиерей, во хиротонии обхождения святыя трапезы со хиротонисаемым бывает не на лево по солнцу, но на десно против солнца. Такожде и со святым евангелием малый вход и великий вход со святыми дарми [совершается] на право против солнца, а не по солнцу. И чин каждения во святом олтаре окрест святыя трапезы и в Церкви [т. е. вне алтаря] подобне бывает. Чесо убо ради творят разнство, вход со святою плащаницею в великую субботу, и вход со святыми мощми на освящении Церкви, и во святом крещении и венчании? Каковое особое таинство всех показывают? Ей, никакова: токмо суемудрие, и мятеж, и раскол. Лепо бо есть во святей Церкви согласию быти, нежели расколу. Подобаает убо яко же есть чин входа со святым евангелием, и со святыми дарми, и во хиротонии Диаконства, и Иерейства, и Архиерейства, такожде и входу со святою плащаницею, и во освящении Церкви со святыми мощми, и во святом крещении и венчании быти. Да престанет суемудренных и расколников безчинное предание и да будет согласие со святою восточною Церковию и с самыми прочими Церковными чины выше писанными»<sup>13</sup>. Несоответствие церковных обрядов, утверждается здесь, является причиной раскола: чтобы избежать раскола, сходные между собой действия должны подчиняться единому принципу. При этом естественно ориентироваться именно на обряды, совершаемые в алтаре, поскольку алтарь представляет собой особо выделенное сакральное пространство, где действия строго регламентированы и при этом не вызывают каких-либо разногласий. Старообрядцы, однако, оставались глухи к такого рода доводам.

3. Позиция митрополита Геронтия и участников Большого московского собора 1666–1667 г. (которые настаивали на движении по кругу против солнца) представляется вполне последовательной. Она соответствует греческой традиции и, вместе с тем, она отвечает внутренней логике обряда: так поступают в алтаре и, следовательно, так надо поступать в церкви и в других случаях. Но как понять позицию их оппонентов? Мы могли бы считать, что здесь отражается — в той или иной

<sup>13</sup> Служебник, 1667, л. 10–10 об. второй фолиации; Деяния соборов 1666–1667 гг., л. 12–12 об. четвертой фолиации; *Субботин*, II, с. 231–232; Доп. АИ, V, № 102, с. 470; ср.: *Зеньковский*, 1970, с. 301.

В настоящее время обхождение престола при хиротонии совершается в Русской православной (новообрядческой) церкви при поставлении диакона и священника, но не при поставлении архиерея. Обхождение вокруг престола было исключено из чина поставления епископа при патриархе Иоакиме; иоакимовский чин был в дальнейшем отредактирован Гавриилом Бужинским в 1721–1725 гг. и лег в основу современного чина епископской хиротонии (см.: *Неселовский*, 1906, с. 321, 327–328; *Дмитриевский*, 1904, с. 187 сл.).

форме — почитание солнца, которое ассоциируется с Христом; но и в этом случае их позиция представляется не вполне ясной. В самом деле, если движение по солнцу расценивается как естественное и правильное и если движение в обратном направлении способно вызвать гнев Божий, то почему оставляются без внимания действия в алтаре? Если же действия в алтаре признаются безусловно правильными, то почему такую реакцию вызывают аналогичные действия вне алтаря? Создается впечатление, что позиция противников митрополита Геронтия и затем старообрядцев непоследовательна и противоречива.

Это впечатление обманчиво.

Для того, чтобы понять позицию сторонников хождения посолонь, необходимо иметь в виду специфику организации литургического пространства в православном храме вообще и русском православном храме в особенности: алтарное пространство отчетливо противопоставлено здесь пространству остальной части храма. Это противопоставление оказывается особенно актуальным для русского храма в связи с появлением здесь высокого иконостаса, отделяющего алтарь сплошной стеной и превращающего его таким образом в самостоятельное замкнутое пространство. Высокий иконостас, образовавшийся, как обычно полагают, из алтарной преграды — темплона (греч. *templon*, откуда слав. «тябло»), вообще говоря, известен и в греческой традиции и, следовательно, не может считаться собственно русским явлением<sup>14</sup>; однако именно на Руси это явление приобретает нормативный характер: с определенного времени высокий иконостас становится здесь типичным явлением — нормой храмового декора.

Характерным образом при этом на алтарь были перенесены представления о храме как таковом; показательным в этом смысле, что название «царские (цесарские) двери» (греч. *basilikai pylai*), которое ранее выступало как обозначение церковных дверей (средних западных дверей, ведущих из притвора в храм), с конца XIV — начала XV в. становятся обозначением центральных алтарных дверей<sup>15</sup>. Применительно к входу в храм это название соотносится с мирским царем; применительно к входу в алтарь оно соотносится с Царем Небесным; таким образом,

<sup>14</sup> См.: *Epstein*, 1989; *Taft*, 1978, с. 413; *Meyendorff*, 1993, с. 80 (примеч. 36); ср. также: *Walter*, 1971, с. 252; *Delvoye*, 1966, стлб. 596; *Бетин и Шередега*, 1982, с. 52–55; *Толстая*, 1985, с. 102–103; *Лидов*, 2000, с. 16–17, 23.

<sup>15</sup> См.: *Успенский*, 1998, с. 144–150; *Uspenskij*, 1998, с. 66–67. Выражение «царские двери» как обозначение алтарных дверей впервые фиксируется в конце XIV в. в текстах, связанных с именем митрополита Киприана: послание Киприана в Псков после 1395 г. (РИБ, VI, № 30, стлб. 241–242); Служебник, переведенный Киприаном с греческого по списку конца XIV в. (ГИМ, Син. 601; *Горский и Невоструев*, III/1, № 344, с. 20), см.: *Красносельцев*, 1889, с. 61; ср. такой же текст в служебнике Ватиканской библиотеки конца XIV — начала XV в., принадлежавшем митрополиту Исидору (Slav. 14, л. 133; 1885, с. 185).

алтарное пространство противопоставлено внеалтарному пространству храма как небесное — мирскому. Отметим, что название «царские двери» (*basilikai pulai*) как обозначение алтарных (а не церковных) дверей может быть прослежено и у греков<sup>16</sup>, но именно на Руси оно становится обычным (типичным) наименованием. Мы видим здесь в точности ту же картину, что и в случае высокого иконостаса: оба явления, по видимому, усваиваются русскими от греков, однако на Руси они приобретают нормативный характер.

Достоинно внимания, что в русских церквях по обеим сторонам церковных дверей, ведущих в церковь из паперти, на столбцах находились иконы Спасителя и Богоматери, которые соответствуют таким же иконам в местном ряду иконостаса — на столбцах царских врат<sup>17</sup>: священнослужители, входя в церковь через «церковные двери», целовали сначала икону Спасителя, потом икону Богоматери, подобно тому, как священник делает это, входя в алтарь через «царские двери». Таким образом, «царские» и «церковные» двери как бы дублируют друг друга: вход в алтарь оказывается аналогичным входу в храм. Отсюда, например, молитву «Непроходимая дверь, тайно знаменана, благословенная Богородице Дево, прими молитвы наша...», которую Стоглавый собор 1551 г. предписывает священнику или диакону читать перед западными (церковными) дверями при входе в церковь, московские печатные служебники XVII в. (начиная со Служебника 1602 г.) предписывают читать перед царскими дверями при входе в алтарь (в начале литургии)<sup>18</sup>. Не случайно на Великом входе (перед входом в алтарь) произносились слова «Возьмите врата князи ваша и внидет царь славы» (Пс. XXIII, 9), которые принято произносить перед входом в храм (перед закрытыми церковными дверями) при освящении церкви: надо полагать, что чинопоследование Великого входа оказались в данном случае именно под влиянием обряда освящения церкви.

Таким образом, представления о церкви были перенесены на алтарь. При этом ориентация в алтаре *была прямо противоположной* по отно-

<sup>16</sup> См.: *Успенский*, 1998, с. 147–148; ср.: *Goar*, 1647, с. 24–25. Уже у греков — и притом достаточно рано — возглас «Двери, двери!» на литургии, по своему первоначальному смыслу относящийся к церковным дверям, может переосмыслиться как относящийся к дверям алтарным (см.: *Taft*, 1978, с. 408–409; *Taft*, 2000, с. 72). Можно видеть здесь предпосылки того процесса, который окончательно оформляется на Руси, определяя в конечном итоге специфику русских представлений о литургическом пространстве.

<sup>17</sup> См.: Стоглав, 2000, с. 272 (гл. 9). Ср.: *Дмитриевский*, 1884, с. 67.

<sup>18</sup> Стоглав, 2000, с. 272 (гл. 9). Ср.: *Никольский*, 1978, № 7, с. 75. Имеется в виду молитва: «Непроходимая дверь, тайно знаменана, благословенная Богородице Дево, прими молитвы наша...». В настоящее время эта молитва не читается; она отсутствует уже в Служебнике 1655 г., исправленном при патриархе Никоне (ср.: Служебник, 1655, с. 171).

шению к ориентации молящихся, находящихся в самой церкви и обращенных к лицу к иконостасу, что и проявлялось, в частности, в дифференциации правого и левого. Такого рода смена ориентации в особенности характерна для Московской Руси и в существенно меньшей степени — для Руси Юго-Западной. Это объясняется тем, что Юго-Западная Русь оставалась (до 1685 г.) в юрисдикции Константинопольской патриархии и, соответственно, здесь сохранялась связь с греческой традицией; у греков же, по-видимому, такого противопоставления не было (по крайней мере в рассматриваемый период) или во всяком случае оно не было для них характерно. Напротив, Московская Русь после поставления русскими епископами митрополита Ионы (1448 г.) и последующего образования русской автокефальной церкви (1461 г.)<sup>19</sup> оказалась изолированной от греческого влияния, что в принципе открывало возможность для самостоятельного развития в церковно-литургической сфере.

4. Итак, ориентация в алтаре в Московской Руси оказывается зеркально противоположной ориентации, принятой в остальной части храма. Соответственно, правая (для нас) сторона алтаря может определяться здесь как «левая», и наоборот. Напротив, в остальной части храма — вне алтарного пространства — точкой отсчета при определении правого и левого является именно позиция молящихся, присутствующих в церкви, т.е. позиция человека, который смотрит на алтарь. Так обстояло дело до реформ патриарха Никона: в книгах, исправленных при Никоне и их последующих переизданиях принята более или менее последовательная ориентация на внешнюю по отношению к алтарю точку зрения молящихся (обращенных к востоку) — в соответствии с тем, как это имело место у греков и могло иметь место в Юго-Западной Руси<sup>20</sup>.

<sup>19</sup> См.: Успенский, 1998, с. 211 сл. Ср. выше (примеч. 2).

<sup>20</sup> Указания на то, как обстояло дело до Никона (т.е. какая сторона в каком случае называлась «правой», а какая — «левой»), можно найти в старопечатных московских служебниках, предшествующих никоновской реформе. Так, в Служебнике 1651 г. (или идентичном ему Служебнике 1652 г.) мы читаем в чине проскомидии: «Диакон: Аминь, Господу помолимся, Господи помилуй. И устроит святые сосуды. Святыи убо дискос целовав, поставляет на святем жертвеннице, *от десныя страны*, против *своей левыя руки*, и потирь поставляет *от левыя страны*, против *своей правыя руки*» (Служебник, 1651, л. 93 об.; Служебник, 1652, л. 95 об.). Как видим, «десной», т.е. правой стороной считается в данном случае наша левая, а «левой» — наша правая сторона, постольку, поскольку действие происходит в алтаре. Точкой отсчета является Агнец (св. хлеб), покоящийся на жертвеннике: «правой» является его правая сторона, «левой» — его левая сторона. Диакон при этом обращен к жертвеннику, т.е. на восток, и таким образом правой называется северная, а левой — южная сторона алтаря. Вообще в дониконовских служебниках «правой» (или «десной») последовательно именуется та сторона алтаря, которая в никоновских и послениконовских книгах называется «левой», и наоборот.

Соответственно, на границе между алтарем и остальной (предалтарной) частью храма в Московской Руси происходит резкая смена ориентации: правое становится левым, а левое — правым.

Эта граница обозначена иконостасом. Более того, она проходит по самому иконостасу, — поскольку, нижний (местный) ряд иконостаса, находящийся по обеим сторонам от царских (святых) дверей, противопоставлен в интересующем нас отношении основной его части.

В самом деле, в основной части иконостаса иерархия правого и левого ориентирована на внутреннюю точку зрения: над царскими дверями — в центре деисусного ряда — расположена деисусная композиция, где Богоматерь приходится по правую руку Христа, т. е. слева для нас, а Иоанн Предтеча — по его левую руку, т. е. справа для нас. Деисусная композиция является центральной и главнейшей частью всего иконостаса: она изображает моление Церкви за мир. Все остальные ряды иконостаса (кроме местного), находящиеся над деисусным чином, содержательно объединены с ним, представляя собой развитие единой иконографической программы: в своей совокупности они представляют изображение Церкви и вместе с тем основные моменты Боговоплощения и человеческого спасения.

В то же время местный ряд иконостаса выделяется из этой программы, представляя собой самостоятельную композицию, не соотносимую с основной его частью. Показательно, что здесь повторяются изображения, представленные в основной части иконостаса: так, здесь повторяется изображение Спасителя, которое представлено в центре деисусного ряда, и может повторяться изображение праздника, которое представлено в праздничном ряду иконостаса. Равным образом изображение Благовещения на царских дверях повторяет сцену Благовещения в праздничном ряду. Очевидно, таким образом, что местный ряд композиционно выделяется из иконостаса, будучи противопоставлен основной его части. Характерно в этом смысле, что все остальные ряды иконостаса (расположенные над царскими дверями) в своей совокупности могут именоваться «тяблом»<sup>21</sup>; напротив, местный ряд оказывается вне «тябла». Как мы уже упоминали, название «тябло» восходит к греч. *templon* как обозначению специальной преграды, отделяющей алтарь от наоса. Первоначально «тябло» и означало эту преграду, результатом эволюции которой является, как полагают, русский высокий (многоярусный) иконостас. Следовательно, именно основная часть иконостаса, находящаяся над местным рядом, представляет собой исходную границу между алтарем и наосом.

<sup>21</sup> См.: Никольский, 1907, с. 23; ср.: Голубинский, II/2, с. 343, примеч. 3 (иначе: Голубинский, I/2, с. 217, примеч. 2).



Итак, основная часть иконостаса, находящаяся над царскими дверями, соотнесена с внутренней ориентацией, противоположной точке зрения молящихся.

Напротив, в нижнем (местном) ряду иконостаса имеет место ориентация именно на точку зрения молящихся. Так, справа для молящихся здесь помещается икона Спасителя, слева — Богородицы, и это, несомненно, отвечает их иерархической значимости<sup>22</sup>. Соответственно,

<sup>22</sup> Такое же расположение икон Спасителя и Богородицы имеет место в греческих иконостасах — при том, что греческие иконостасы вообще существенно отличаются от русских (см.: *Дмитриевский*, 1887, с. 388–389; *Дмитриевский*, 1887а, с. 425). Следует отметить, что в русских иконостасах указанное расположение икон Спасителя и Богородицы установилось не сразу; такое расположение могут связывать именно с греческим влиянием, приписывая его инициативе патриарха Никона. Вот что говорит в этой связи Павел Алеппский в своем описании московского Успенского собора (1655 г.): «Во всех московских церквах существует такой обычай, что икону Владычицы ставят справа от жертвенника [т. е. от престола], а икону Троицы слева. Но наш владыка патриарх [Макарий, патриарх Антиохийский] под конец посоветовал им, и Никон уничтожил прежний обычай и сделал по нашему, и это по той причине, что патриарх Никон, чрезвычайно любящий греческие обряды, всегда просил нашего учителя, чтобы он, какую бы неуместную вещь ни заметил, сообщал ему о том для исправления. Как только наш владыка сказал им об этом, тотчас Никон вынул эту икону с ее шкафом с этой стороны и поставил налево на место иконы Троицы, а на ее место греческую икону Спасителя, принеся ее из конца ряда. Так он сделал и в большинстве церквей» (*Павел Алеппский*, III, с. 104). Это свидетельство, безусловно, заслуживает доверия в отношении Успенского собора, где «справа [от царских врат] в киоте находилась „Владимирская Богоматерь“... в золотом фотиевском окладе, почитавшаяся как палладиум Русского государства, слева — „Троица“, которая могла служить заменой иконы Спаса» (*Толстая*, 1985, с. 109, ср. с. 118–119). Однако Успенский собор представляет собой особый случай — именно в виду того значения, которая имела чудотворная икона Владимирской Божьей Матери. Можно предположить, что помещение ее по правую сторону от царских дверей обусловлено уподоблением Успенского собора константинопольскому Софийскому собору, где у входа в храм (в «царских вратах», ведущих из нартекса в наос) справа находилась чудотворная икона Иерусалимской Богоматери, а слева — икона Спасителя; входя в храм, патриарх целовал именно икону Богородицы, после чего он целовал икону Христа, находящуюся внутри храма — на западной стене наоса (см.: *Лидов*, 1996, с. 45 сл.). В обоих случаях помещение иконы Богоматери на правую сторону может объясняться не соотношением Богоматери и Спасителя (или же Троицы), а особым значением соответствующего чудотворного образа; это неудивительно, если иметь в виду вообще ориентацию сакральной топографии московского Успенского собора на константинопольские святыни — Св. Софию и Влахернский храм (см. об этом: *Толстая*, 2004, с. 145). Вместе с тем Павел Алеппский говорит о «всех московских церквах», и это утверждение, вообще говоря, может быть менее достоверным. Мы знаем во всяком случае более ранние примеры местного ряда (правда, не относящиеся к Москве), где икона Спасителя находится справа, а икона Богородицы — слева от царских врат: так обстояло дело в Преображенском соборе Соловецкого монастыря, согласно описи 1514 г., хотя позднейшие описи фиксируют другое расположение икон (см.: *Мельник*, 2000, с. 75 сл.). По-видимому, композиция местного ряда до поры до времени была вообще достаточно свободной. Если инициатива помещения иконы Спасителя справа, а иконы Богородицы — слева действительно принадлежала Никону, то она определенно вписывалась в тенденцию, существовавшую и до него.

входя в алтарь через царские двери, священник целует маленькие иконы Спасителя и Богородицы по обеим их сторонам — они дублируют соответствующие иконы местного ряда, — сначала правую (с точки зрения молящихся), затем левую. Равным образом при входе в алтарь священнослужители творят поклон сначала перед иконами местного ряда, находящимися справа от них (и, соответственно, справа для молящихся, которые смотрят на алтарь), а затем перед иконами, которые находятся от них слева.

Знаменательно, что у старообрядцев иконе Спасителя в местном ряду иконостаса, т. е. на внешней стороне алтаря, соответствует икона Богородицы на внутренней стороне алтаря, представляющей собой обратную сторону иконостаса, и, напротив, иконе Богородицы на внешней стороне алтаря соответствует икона Спасителя внутри алтаря. В обоих случаях икона Спасителя находится справа, а икона Богородицы — слева, однако противопоставление правого и левого в одном случае предполагает внешнюю, а в другом — внутреннюю ориентацию.

Таким образом, граница между двумя пространствами проходит как по горизонтальной, так и по вертикальной оси: противопоставление «внутреннего» и «внешнего», соотносится с противопоставлением «верхнего» и «нижнего». Следовательно, местный ряд иконостаса соотносится с находящимся перед ним предалтарным пространством: он принадлежит солее, образуя вместе с ней нечто вроде просцениума. Между тем деисусный ряд вместе с остальными рядами иконостаса как бы принадлежат алтарному пространству.

5. Как видим, ориентация в алтаре в Московской Руси оказывается диаметрально противоположной по отношению к ориентации молящихся, находящихся в самой церкви — вне алтаря. Это проявляется как в отношении противопоставления правого и левого, так и в отношении движения по кругу. Мы уже отмечали, что противопоставление кругового движения в том или ином направлении — по солнцу или же против солнца — так или иначе ассоциируется с противопоставлением правого и левого. Подобно тому, как левая сторона в алтаре соответствует правой стороне вне алтаря, так и движение в алтаре против солнца соответствует движению посолонь в остальной (внеалтарной) части церкви (или же в примыкающем к церкви пространстве — при обхождении храма).

Соответственно, при выходе из алтаря — или же при входе в него — правое превращается в левое, и наоборот; и совершенно так же меняется и направление движения по кругу. Если в алтаре престол обходят, двигаясь против солнца, то при выходе из алтаря, напротив, обхождение храма (наоса) с кадиллом — на вечерне и утрени, а также на часах — совершает-

ся по солнцу. Равным образом и обхождение как аналоя при венчании, так и купели при крещении ранее совершалось по солнцу — постольку, поскольку аналой и купель находятся вне алтаря; так же ходили вокруг храма при освящении церкви или во время крестного хода. Такой порядок сохраняется в старообрядческом богослужении, тогда как у новообрядцев во всех этих случаях — при обхождении аналоя, купели, хождении вокруг храма — принято ходить против солнца<sup>23</sup>.

6. Позиция противников митрополита Геронтия и затем старообрядцев представляется теперь вполне ясной: пространство алтаря противопоставляется пространству остальной части храма, и это выражается в смене ориентации: правая сторона в алтаре соответствует левой стороне в остальной части храма, и точно так же движение против солнца, совершаемое в алтаре, должно отвечать движению по солнцу вне алтаря. Это отвечает вообще противопоставлению потустороннего и посюстороннего мира<sup>24</sup>. При этом в алтаре мы движемся против солнца, обращаясь к Востоку, откуда исходит свет, откуда является солнце; вне алтаря мы ходим вместе с солнцем. Христос есть «солнце праведное», и таким образом в алтаре мы направляемся к Христу, вне алтаря мы следуем за Христом: в одном случае движение символизирует *обращение к Христу*, в другом — *пребывание с Христом*. Алтарь предстает при этом как место совершения таинства, а внеалтарное пространство церкви — как место собрания верующих.

Заметим, что хождение против солнца соответствует древнейшей христианской традиции моления на Восток (т. е. обращения к Востоку при совершении молитвы).

Как мы знаем, сторонники хождения против солнца могут обосновывать свою позицию, ссылаясь на действия в алтаре: алтарь — главная, основная часть храма, и если в алтаре мы ходим против солнца, мы должны так же действовать и в самом храме. Но точно так же и сторонники хождения посолонь — архиепископ Вассиан и архимандрит Геннадий — исходят из обряда, а именно из хождения по солнцу на Пасху, которое призвано символизировать воскресение Христа.

Напомним еще раз слова, сказанные ими на диспуте с митрополитом Геронтием в 1479 г. В ответ на аргументацию Геронтия, который

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<sup>23</sup> Исключение представляет лишь каждение аналоя с поставленной на нем праздничной иконой на утрене при пении полиелея: это каждение совершается у старообрядцев (как и у новообрядцев) против солнца, т. е. в точности так же, как каждение престола; следует полагать, что престол и аналой в этом случае ассоциируются друг с другом (объединяясь в самом процессе каждения) — образно говоря, происходит экспансия алтарного пространства, которое распространяется в этом случае на середину храма.

<sup>24</sup> См. об этом: Успенский, 1996.

ссылался на то, что в алтаре обхождение престола совершается против солнца («митрополит свидетельство приводя: егда престол диакон кадит в олтаре, на правую руку ходит с кадилом»), Вассиан и Геннадий сказали: «Солнце праведное Христос на ада наступи и смерть связя и души свободы [имеется в виду сошествие во ад, изображаемое на иконах Воскресения Христова], и того ради... исходят [т. е. совершают крестный ход по солнцу] на Пасху, то же прообразуют на утрени [имеется в виду обхождение храма по солнцу с кадилом на полиелее при пении воскресных тропарей]». Ход рассуждения здесь, видимо, следующий: Христос — солнце праведное, и когда на Пасху мы празднуем его воскресение, мы символизируем это хождением вместе с солнцем. Поэтому, говорят Вассиан и Геннадий, мы ходим посолонь вокруг церкви на Пасху, и так же ходят в самой церкви на праздничной утрени во время пения тропарей, повествующих о воскресении. Соответственно, идти против солнца означало бы — в этом и подобных случаях — идти против Христа.

Ассоциация Христа с солнцем и воскресения Христова с появлением солнца отражается в песнопениях Страстной недели. Так, на утренней службе в Великую субботу поется: «Заходиши под землю, Спасе, Солнце Правды; тем же рождающая ты Луна печальми оскудевает, вида твоего лишаема». Этому песнопению предшествует следующий текст, который поется накануне — на повечерии в Великий пяток (т. е. в Страстную пятницу): «Солнце незаходяй, Боже превечный и Творче всех тварей, Господи, како терпиши страсть на кресте, Чистая плачущи глаголаше»<sup>25</sup>. Смерть Христа предстает как захождение «солнца незаходящего» и, соответственно, его воскресение — как восход солнца. Такое восприятие и отразилось, видимо, в пасхальном шествии, когда воскресение Христа празднуется хождением по солнцу — вместе с Христом или вслед за Христом. В древнерусской учительной литературе можно встретить мнение, что когда Христос воскрес, солнце, не заходя, стояло всю неделю<sup>26</sup>; это мнение в какой-то мере соответствует литургической практике, поскольку на пасхальной неделе каждый день

<sup>25</sup> Равным образом в слове Кирилла Туровского «О снятии тела Христова с креста» о Иосифе Аримафейском читаем: «Въпияше же Иосиф, глаголя сице: Солнце незаходяй, Христе, творче всех и тварем Господи! Како пречистемь прикоснуса теле твоемь, неприкосновеньну ти сущу небесным силам, служащим ти страшно!» (*Еремин*, 1989, с. 68).

<sup>26</sup> См., например, «Слово о посте и о Петрове говеньи и о Филиппове» в Златой Цепи XIV в. (*Буслаев*, II, с. 124), «Устав людем о велицем посте» в Соловецкой кормчей 1493 г. (*Смирнов*, 1913, прилож., с. 183, ср. с. 414), «Поучение о воскресении Господа нашего Иисуса Христа» (там же, с. 220) и другие сочинения. С этим мнением polemизирует Максим Грек в «Сказании к глаголющим, яко во всю светлую неделю солнце не заходя стояло, и того ради глаголют един день всю светлую неделю» (*Максим Грек*, III, с. 164–169).

служится как воскресенье. Таким образом, солнце в этот день восходит и не заходит, оно является и не исчезает: пасхальное богослужение отвечает восприятию Христа как незаходящего солнца.

Итак, обряд, совершаемый на Пасху и символизирующий воскресение Христа, должен распространяться, с точки зрения Вассиана и Геннадия, на внеалтарное пространство храма; между тем Геронтий и его сторонники распространяют на внеалтарное пространство действия, совершаемые в алтаре. В обоих случаях соответствующие обряды имеют архетипическое значение: они служат моделью для других действий.

Но алтарь — это место, где совершается литургия. Между тем внеалтарное пространство храма предстает как место, где люди общаются с воскресшим Христом.

В своем рассуждении Вассиан и Геннадий исходят, по-видимому, из символического истолкования литургии: пресуществление Даров, которое происходит на литургии, понимается как воскресение Христа. Эта мысль органически вытекает из самого чинопоследования литургии. Действительно, в начале литургии на проскомидии священник «жрет Агнца» (т. е. приносит в жертву), прободая его копьем и воспроизводя таким образом распятие Христа. Последующий перенос Агнца с жертвенника на престол, который ознаменован действиями Великого входа, изображает погребение Христа и, соответственно, при положении Агнца на престол читается тропарь «Благообразный Иосиф, с древа снем пречистое тело твое...» — тот же, который поется на вечерне великой субботы. Престол изображает вообще гроб Господень, и он покрывается «срачицею», изображающей плащаницу, которой было обвито тело Христа; вместе с тем престол называется «святою трапезой», поскольку на нем предлагаются в пищу и питье тело и кровь Христовы; наконец, престол понимается как небесный трон, на котором восседает Христос после своего воскресения (вместе с Богом Отцом) — как престол (*thronos*) славы, на котором восседает Царь славы (этот момент особенно отмечен в церковнославянском языке, где слово «престол» объединяет значения греческих *trapeza* и *thronos*). Остается добавить, что перенесение св. Даров с престола на жертвенник в конце литургии символически изображает вознесение Христа (этому предшествует молитва священника: «Вознесися на небеса, Боже...»).

Таким образом, последование литургии начинается с символического изображения распятия Христа и заканчивается изображением его вознесения. Соответственно, евхаристия как центральный момент литургии, когда св. Дары претворяются в тело и кровь Христовы, после чего становится возможным соединение с ним верующих через

причащение, — может осмысляться как воскресение Христа; такое понимание находит отражение в молитве при потреблении Даров, читаемой на литургии Василия Великого, когда в конце литургии священник молится, обращаясь к воскресшему Христу: «Совершишася и скончашася вся, еже предложи нам нетленные дары: обретохом смерти твоеи память, видехом воскресения твоего образ, исполнихомся некончаемая твоя пища, насладихомся вечных твоих благ, ихже и в будущем веке всех нас получитьи сподоби благодатию и человеколюбием»<sup>27</sup>.

Это, по-видимому, и имеют в виду Вассиан и Геннадий, когда упоминают о Пасхе. Мы можем реконструировать их мысль следующим образом: в алтаре священнослужители обращаются к востоку, т. е. к Христу, но после воскресения Христова (которое ассоциируется с евхаристическим пресуществлением) все верующие оказываются вместе с Христом и символически выражают это, обходя церковь на Пасху так, как движется «солнце праведное» — посолонь. Пасхальное шествие воспринимается как архетип обряда, символизирующего соединение людей с воскресшим Христом. Если пресуществление Даров на литургии ассоциируется с воскресением Христовым, то хождение по кругу вне алтаря должно совершаться в церкви таким же образом, как совершается обхождение церкви на Пасху.

<sup>27</sup> Орлов, 1909, с. 301–313. Характерно современное старообрядческое толкование евхаристии: «В совершении животворного таинства притворения [sic!] Пречистого Тела и Честной Крови Христа Бога нашего проображается Его воскресение. Мы же, увидев в этом таинстве воскресшего Христа и желая приобщиться Его вечной жизни, вновь молимся, чтобы он сподобил нас неосужденно причаститься святых таинств во очищение наших грехов»; хождение по солнцу трактуется здесь как хождение «за Христом», а хождение против солнца — как хождение «навстречу Христу» (Елисеев, 2000, с. 115, 116).

Ср. описание литургии в «Поучении тайноводственном» Феодора, епископа Мопсуестийского (конца IV в.): «Когда мы видим жертву на престоле, как если бы она была положена в гробницу после смерти, на всех присутствующих нисходит великая тишина. Раз то, что происходит, внушает такой священный трепет, они должны воспринимать его в размышлении и страхе, ибо так подобает, что вот сейчас во время литургии... Христос Господь наш воскреснет, возвещая всем несказанные блага. Поэтому в евхаристических дарах мы вспоминаем смерть Господню, ибо они являют нам воскресение и несказанные блага» (Taft, 1978, с. 36; ср.: Mingana, VI, с. 87–88). Сходным образом понимает пресуществление св. Даров и Николай Кавасила в «Толковании на божественную литургию». Кавасила специально обсуждает возникающий при этом вопрос: с одной стороны, мы знаем, что «Христос, воскреснув из мертвых, уже не умирает» (Рим. VI, 9), что Он пострадал однажды во времени; «однажды принесся Себя в жертву, чтобы поднять грехи многих» (Евр. IX, 28); с другой же стороны, поскольку Его тело приносится в жертву каждый раз на литургии, Он умирает — и воскресает — ежедневно (Cabasilas, 1960, с. 80–81; ср.: Wybrew, 1989, с. 183). См. еще в этой связи: Paprocki, 1993, с. 364.

7. Как известно, в Древней Руси не было богословия как специальной дисциплины; богословие воспринималось главным образом через обряд — иначе говоря, было то, что принято называть литургическим богословием. Древнерусский человек исходил из практики общения с Богом, которая выражалась в определенных обрядах, — из непосредственного чувства, которому сопутствовало совершение этих обрядов. Он твердо верил в то, что, совершая эти обряды, он общается с Богом, и только исходя из этого мог анализировать богословские представления; именно поэтому он столь болезненно реагировал на изменение обрядов. Восприятие обряда сопоставимо при этом с восприятием иконы: как в том, так и в другом случае представления о Боге усваиваются в процессе общения с Богом — через знаки, посредством которых происходит это общение. При таком понимании церковный обряд и предстоял, в сущности, как своего рода икона — иконическое представление богословской мысли. Именно это и определяет позицию Вассиана Рыло и Геннадия Гонзова в их полемике с митрополитом Геронтием: алтарь понимается ими как место, где на литургии воскресает Христос, тогда как внеалтарное пространство церкви — как собрание верующих, которые общаются с Христом воскресшим. И при этом в своем понимании воскресения Христова Вассиан и Геннадий исходят прежде всего из обряда, который совершается на Пасху и который призван выразить символическое значение этого события. Это определяет их представление о том, как следует действовать в церкви вне алтаря, где во время богослужения и происходит общение верующих с воскресшим Христом.

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'THE MOVEMENT FOLLOWING THE SUN'  
AND THE STRUCTURE OF THE SACRED SPACE IN MOSCOVY

The paper deals with an issue which became a focus of a controversy in Moscow of 1479 in conjunction with a new consecration of the Dormition Cathedral of the Kremlin, and later in polemics with old-believers since the seventeenth century. The central point concerned a question, how clerics should move in liturgical processions inside and outside the sanctuary, following the sun, or against the sun? The Metropolitan Gerontii in 1479 insisted that the procession had to go around the church 'against the sun', like priests did it inside the sanctuary during the liturgy. This position has been supported by later Russian and Greek practices. Yet, some bishops of the fifteenth century, and old-believers in the seventeenth century did not agree with that concept. They insisted that the procession around the church should move 'following the sun' because this environment is quite different from the altar space. The author of the present paper explains the second point of view by the specific perception of sacred space in Moscow. According to the deeply rooted symbolism, the ecclesiastical space consisted of two considerably different parts, inside and outside the sanctuary. The orientation, and notions of the right and the left changed according to a type of the sacred space. It reflected in several cultural phenomena, including the structure of the Russian high iconostasis. The author argues that Medieval Russia did not have the theology in traditional sense of the word, it was replaced by the iconic perception of rites which actually determined religious life in Moscow.

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САКРАЛЬНОЕ ПРОСТРАНСТВО  
ДРЕВНЕРУССКОГО ХРАМА:  
АРХИТЕКТУРНЫЙ АСПЕКТ

Возникновение нового направления науки может быть подготовлено предшествующим развитием различных направлений, а может идти вразрез с накопленными этой наукой приемами и методическими «ходами». В случае с иеротопией, наукой о создании сакральных пространств (а также наукой о людях, создающих сакральные пространства), история архитектуры оказывается не слишком подготовленной к тому, чтобы комплексно исследовать причины возникновения того или иного типа сакрального пространства или для того, чтобы классифицировать эти типы и определить особенности культуры, их породившей. Господствующие в науке археологически-описательный и эссеистический методы помогают опубликовать отдельные памятники, но не приводят к пониманию причин их возникновения. Более развитые типологический и иконографический подходы способствуют определению места памятника в архитектуре того или иного времени, но для осознания архитектурной составляющей сакрального пространства они могут быть полезными лишь в сочетании с культурологическим и историческим анализами. Речь, таким образом, идет о разработке некоего нового подхода, который позволит исследовать комплексно и синтетически такое сложно организованное, динамически изменчивое и одновременно исторически конкретное явление, как сакральное пространство.

Византийский историк VI в. Агафий Миринейский, описывая вторжение гуннов, рассказывает о своеобразной эвакуации «ценных предметов и всего прочего инвентаря» из храмов вне стен Константинополя, которые император Юстиниан, опасаясь разграбления варварами, решил временно лишить их украшений. «И тогда в тех местах можно было видеть священные здания, лишенные своих украшений, как будто

еще не освященные и недавно начавшиеся строиться»<sup>1</sup>. Этот отрывок дает своеобразный ключ к византийскому пониманию храмового убранства: оно должно быть законченным и комплексным и включать самые разнообразные формы и предметы, созданные разными видами искусства. Если же этих форм и предметов нет, то храм как будто лишен части своей красоты и «как будто недавно начал строиться».

Намного позже, в начале XIV в., византийский историк Георгий Пахимер на страницах, посвященных осаде Галаты войсками императора Михаила Палеолога в 1260 г., рассказывает об осмотре византийскими вельможами древнего монастырского храма в Константинопольском предместье Евдоме: «От этой обители оставалось тогда одно имя, а не самая обитель. Завернули они в тамошний храм: он тоже был разрушен и обращен в помещение для овец. Смотри туда и сюда, они и в самых остатках удивлялись красоте здания»<sup>2</sup>. Здесь говорится уже не об ощущении незавершенности здания, лишенного своего убранства, а о своеобразной красоте «остатков» архитектуры храма, сохранившего стены и своды, но разоренного и превращенного в овечий хлев. В этом отрывке видится уже многовековой опыт разглядывания собственно архитектуры, «насмотренность» относительно формы стен, сводов, куполов и оконных проемов. Этот опыт византийцев, на который только косвенно указывает приведенный отрывок, следует восстановить и реконструировать, поскольку он дает ключ к пониманию архитектурной составляющей в организации сакрального пространства храмов не только самой Византии, но и того размытого культурно-политического образования, которое Д. Д. Оболенский назвал византийским содружеством наций.

Историк архитектуры имеет дело не с убранством внутреннего пространства, а с самими архитектурными формами и созданным с их помощью архитектурным пространством. Он должен отчетливо осознавать, что эти формы и это пространство тоже создают сакральное пространство храма и, может быть, организуют его в первую очередь. На первом этапе изучения сакрального пространства с архитектурной точки зрения нужно прежде всего определить те составляющие, те конкретные формы, из которых и при помощи которых строится внутреннее пространство храма и его оболочка. На втором этапе следует попытаться создать типологию сакральных пространств, а на третьем — определить культурное, идеологическое и социальное содержание ар-

<sup>1</sup> *Агафий Миринейский*. О царствовании Юстиниана. М., 1996, с. 189–190.

<sup>2</sup> *Георгий Пахимер*. История о Михаиле и Андронике Палеологах. Т. 1 // Георгий Пахимер. История о Михаиле и Андронике Палеологах. Патриарх Фотий. Сокращение церковной истории Филосторгия. Рязань, 2004, с. 86.

хитектурных форм и их совокупности, а значит — определить культурное содержание того или иного типа сакрального пространства или его конкретного образца.

Древняя Русь, как известно, получила монументальную каменную архитектуру из рук Византии в конце X — начале XI в., то есть в момент наивысшего развития средневизантийской архитектуры. Ясно, что при таких условиях формы древнерусской архитектуры с необходимостью должны быть византийскими, и можно только различать столичный «набор» форм и деталей и «набор» провинциальный. И если в начале развития древнерусской архитектуры уже присутствовали отдельные формы провинциальные, то затем они продолжали накапливаться, в то время как уже полученные столичные формы упрощались, а новые поступали только с редкими прямыми влияниями из Византии.

Действительно, пятинефные памятники (такие как три Софийских собора: в Киеве, Новгороде и Полоцке) вскоре были заменены трехнефными; константинопольские граненые барабаны, появившиеся вначале, были вскоре заменены круглыми (уже в новгородской Софии 1045–1050 гг. барабаны круглые), граненые абсиды тоже исчезли уже в XI в., уступив место полукруглым абсидам. В течение XI — первой половины XII вв. еще встречаются купольные и крестовые своды, перекрывающие отдельные части храмов, но затем они были прочно забыты и надолго заменены более простыми полуциркульными или коробовыми сводами. В организации внутреннего пространства поначалу господствовал тип с включенным в композицию фасадов, но отделенным внутри от основного пространства нартексом, но затем этот тип (называвшийся долгое время учеными «шестистолпным») был уже в XII в. заменен на более простой тип храма с четырьмя опорами и как будто «вдвинутыми» внутрь хорами. «Шестистолпные» же храмы строились во второй половине XII — начале XIII вв. очень редко.

Можно было бы представить весь процесс развития древнерусской архитектуры XI–XII вв. как постепенное упрощение византийских приемов, а также накладывающийся на это упрощение процесс перманентных заимствований из той же византийской архитектуры или из архитектуры романского (а затем и готического) Запада, но такая схема просто сводит развитие архитектуры к длительной, линейной и при этом механической смене деталей с постепенным стиранием четкости самих деталей. Это предполагает и наличие первоначальной парадигмы — комплекса византийских архитектурных форм, и постепенное их ухудшение в результате отсутствия притока новых форм и решений (при этом подразумевается, что туземная архитектура не рождает новых решений, а только перерабатывает старые), и постоянные попытки решить вопрос «приобретения» новых решений и форм за счет приглас-

шения или получения другими способами иноземных мастеров<sup>3</sup> (если византийских получить не удастся или связь с Византией ослабевает вообще — то мастеров с латинского Запада).

Набросанная нами печальная картина в определенном смысле верно передает процесс развития древнерусской архитектуры до конца XII в., когда активно проявляется возникшее несколько ранее стремление к созданию башнеобразных храмов — обычно с небольшим внутренним пространством и высоким интерьером, которому соответствует внешний облик со ступенчатым, пирамидальным силуэтом. Эти храмы составляют отдельный архитектурный пласт, изучавшийся довольно давно<sup>4</sup>. Их происхождение, стиль, и развитие в конце XII — начале XIII вв. порождают особый круг проблем, исследование которых выходит за рамки данной работы. Башнеобразные храмы, таким образом, образуют верхнюю границу нашего исследования. Но до их появления картину развития древнерусской архитектуры все же нельзя сводить только к скольжению по наклонной плоскости постоянного и постепенного упрощения того византийского словаря форм и типов, который был привнесен почти одномоментно, в конце X — начале XI в.

Мы считаем, что на фоне упрощения византийских форм и приемов происходил и противоположный процесс. Это было «собрание» форм, исходно византийских, но в комплексе порождающих нечто, характерное именно для древнерусской архитектуры. Эти формы, собранные на протяжении двух первых веков истории русской архитектуры, послужили основой компоновки сакрального пространства древнерусского храма — как некоего общего явления, развивавшего византийский тип храма в XI–XVII вв. И именно это «собрание», происходившее в XI–XII вв., позволяет говорить об одной из особенностей древнерусского подхода к созданию сакрального пространства. Этот подход еще очень трудно уловим, но сейчас важна даже сама постановка вопроса о своеобразии по-

<sup>3</sup> П. А. Раппопорт отстаивал мысль о том, что «в архитектуре Руси воспринимались лишь те внешние влияния, которые отличали эстетическим запросам самой страны», а самостоятельность древнерусского зодчества связана со «способностью поглощать и по-своему перерабатывать эти влияния». См.: *Раппопорт П. А.* Внешние влияния и их роль в истории древнерусской архитектуры // *Византия и Русь*. М., 1989, с. 139–145. Этот взгляд, предполагающий избирательность влияний, особенно трудно ложится на материал домонгольской архитектуры, где влияния во многом случайны или происходят в случае «вакуума» и могут восприниматься как попытки его заполнения.

<sup>4</sup> *Брунов Н. И.* К вопросу о самостоятельных чертах русской архитектуры X–XII вв. // *Русская архитектура*. М., 1940, с. 106–126; *Воронин Н. Н.* У истоков русского национального зодчества (из истории зодчества периода феодальной раздробленности XI–XV вв.) // *Ежегодник института истории искусств*. 1952. Живопись. Архитектура. М., 1952, с. 257–316; *Раппопорт П. А.* Русская архитектура на рубеже XII–XIII веков // *Древнерусское искусство. Проблемы и атрибуции*. М., 1977, с. 12–29.



нимания сакрального пространства в Древней Руси, а также о своеобразии средств создания такого пространства.

Следует сразу оговориться, что древнерусский храм по количеству и разработанности форм может только приближаться к византийскому столичному храму средневизантийской эпохи. Это значит, что с константинопольской, столично-византийской точки зрения все древнерусские храмы все равно были упрощением чистых и продуманных столичных форм и типов. «Свое», локальное в Древней Руси создавалось из провинциальных или хотя и столичных, но периферийных для самой столичной архитектуры форм. Мы можем перечислить пять основных оригинальных составляющих древнерусского интерьера: 1) крестообразные в сечении столбы (затем упростившиеся до квадратных); 2) пониженные относительно сводов рукавов креста подпружные арки; 3) купола, помещенные намного выше окон барабанов; 4) развитые хоры, «вдвинутые» в пространство храма; 5) «простой» тип храма на четырех опорах, без дополнительного членения с востока. Все эти формы вместе взятые и образуют древнерусский «диалект» византийского архитектурного языка, создающего на территории Древней Руси сакральное пространство храма с особым акцентом и даже особым синтаксисом. Все эти формы связаны с византийской основой, но трактуют ее по-своему.

Однако если мы попробуем понять первоначальный «адрес» всех перечисленных форм, то окажется, что две из них имеют попросту провинциально византийское происхождение, тогда как три других являются византийскими, но не константинопольскими, а малоазиатскими по происхождению.

К провинциальному варианту византийской архитектуры, безусловно, принадлежат купола на высоких барабанах, в которых окна своими арочными завершениями не касаются основания купола и, тем более, не врезаны в это основание. Если в Константинополе подавляющее большинство куполов храмов средневизантийского времени, вероятно, в подражание Софии Константинопольской, было сделано так, что окна врезаны в основание купола, то в провинциальной архитектуре (например — в Греции, Болгарии) подобные древнерусским купола на высоких барабанах встречаются повсеместно, тогда как столичный тип купола практически неизвестен.

То же самое можно сказать про «простой» тип храма без дополнительного восточного членения перед абсидами: он используется почти повсеместно в материковой Греции, на Пелопоннесе и в Болгарии, тогда как столичный «сложный» тип встречается в этих местах очень редко и его появление часто связано, по всей видимости, с какими-то особыми

претензиями заказчиков<sup>5</sup>. В Древней Руси с самого начала, со времени строительства в Киеве Десятинной церкви и Софийского собора господствовал «простой» тип храма, тогда как столичный «сложный» тип с дополнительным восточным членением появляется всего в дюжине памятников, причем часть из них построена уже в следующий период, то есть на рубеже XII–XIII вв. В интересующее нас время, то есть в XI–XII вв., «сложный» тип появляется только в 8 храмах: в Спасо-Преображенском соборе в Чернигове (вторая четверть XI в.), в Софийском соборе в Полоцке (середина XI в.), в церкви Бориса и Глеба в Вышгороде (конец XI в. — 1115 г.), в церкви Михаила в Переяславле (Южном) (1089 г.), в Успенском соборе в Галиче (до 1187 г.), в Успенском соборе во Владимире (Залесском) в том виде, который он приобрел после перестройки времени князя Всеволода Большое Гнездо (1185–1189 гг.), а также в двух храмах Полоцка — в Большом соборе Бельчицкого монастыря (первая половина XII в.) и в церкви в Детинце (вторая пол. XII в.). Часть этих памятников с большой долей достоверности можно связать с работой византийских мастеров, призванных на Русь<sup>6</sup>.

Но вероятное византийское (и столичное) происхождение большинства храмов «сложного» типа в архитектуре Древней Руси не объясняет того предпочтения, которое заказчики и строители большинства храмов отдавали «простому типу». Нам кажется, что «сложный» тип, предназначенный для сохранения внутренней симметрии четырех поддерживающих купол опор и перенесения алтарной преграды к востоку, к дополнительной паре опор, был настолько изощренным изобретением константинопольских мастеров (которые, к тому же, имели дело даже не со столбами, а с полированными колонками), что его применение в других странах было вызвано не пониманием проблемы внутренней симметрии и центричности пространства, а равнением на абстрактный или конкретный столичный образец. Как мы видим из приведенного списка древнерусских памятников «сложного» типа такое равнение на Константинополь возникало, хотя и достаточно редко.

<sup>5</sup> Об этом см.: *Millet G. L'école grecque dans l'architecture Byzantine. Paris, 1916, p. 55–62.*

<sup>6</sup> Только один из перечисленных памятников П. А. Раппопорт связывает с работой приезжих византийских мастеров: это собор Михаила в Переяславле. Он же говорит с осторожностью об участии какого-то византийского зодчего в строительстве церкви в Полоцке в первой половине XII в. См.: *Pannonopt П. А. О роли византийского влияния в развитии древнерусской архитектуры // Византийский временник. Т. 45. М., 1984, с. 185–191.* Однако следует подчеркнуть, что для Спасо-Преображенского собора в Чернигове и Софии в Полоцке авторство византийцев вряд ли может быть поставлено под сомнение, и, следовательно, очень ограниченный список византийских работ в Древней Руси, предложенный П. А. Раппопортом, должен быть расширен и уточнен.

Три остальных составляющих, как уже было сказано, принадлежат малоазийскому варианту византийской архитектуры, а точнее, — встречаются в архитектуре византийской провинции Понт и ее столицы Трапезунда<sup>7</sup>, а также в архитектуре Абхазии, Алании и Крыма, то есть во всех тех землях, которые в церковном или культурном отношении зависели от Трапезунда. Мы собираемся посвятить малоазийским (понтийским) влияниям на древнерусскую архитектуру отдельное исследование, а пока всего лишь констатируем, что сочетание крестообразных в плане (или даже квадратных в сечении) столбов с пониженными подпружными арками под барабаном, составляющее одну из основных особенностей древнерусской архитектуры, встречается также в целом ряде храмов Юго-Восточного и Восточного Причерноморья. Сооружение развитых хор, занимающих значительную часть западной части храма, встречается в этих районах не так уж часто, но в двух храмах X–XI вв., в Златоглавой церкви (Хризозефалос) в Трапезунде<sup>8</sup> (где церемониал для императорских наместников мог напоминать церемониал константинопольский), и в едва ли не главном храме Абхазии, в Мокви, мы видим распространенные хоры, занимающие довольно большую площадь<sup>9</sup>.

Прибавим к крестообразным столбам, пониженным подпружным аркам, развитым хорам (в сочетании со столбами и арками именно такой формы) встречающееся в нескольких древнерусских храмах сочетание средней граненой абсиды и полукруглых боковых, которое мы обнаруживаем также в архитектуре Понта и зависимых от него областей, и мы должны будем признать, что в языке древнерусской архитектуры начального периода присутствовал отнюдь не только столичный, константинопольский диалект<sup>10</sup>, но и малоазиатский, понтийский диа-

<sup>7</sup> См. литературу по архитектуре Трапезунда и Понта: *Alpatov M.* Reliefs de Sainte-Sophie de Trebizonde // *Byzantion*, IV (1929), p. 410–418; *Baklanov N.* Deux monuments byzantins de Trebizonde // *Byzantion*, IV (1927–1928), p. 363–391; *Brunov N.* La Sainte-Sophie de Trebizonde // *Byzantion*, IV (1927–1928), p. 393–405; *Rice D. T.* Notice on some religious buildings in the city and vilayet of Trebizonde // *Byzantion*, V (1929–1930), p. 47–81; *Ballance S.* The Byzantine Churches of Trebizond // *Anatolian Studies*, X (1960), p. 141–175; *Winfield D., Wainright J.* Some Byzantine Churches from the Pontus // *Anatolian Studies* XII (1962), p. 131–161; *The Church of Hagia Sophia of Trebizond* / Ed. D. Talbot Rice. Edinburgh, 1968; *Bryer Anth., Winfield D.* The Byzantine monuments and topography of the Pontus. Washington, 1985. Vol. I.

<sup>8</sup> *Ballance S.* The Byzantine Churches of Trebizond // *Anatolian Studies*, X (1960), p. 146–152.

<sup>9</sup> *Рчеушвили Л. Д.* Купольная архитектура VIII–X веков в Абхазии. Тбилиси, 1988, с. 46–66.

<sup>10</sup> О столичном, константинопольском вкладе в создание древнерусской архитектуры см.: *Schäfer H.* Architekturhistorische Beziehungen zwischen Byzanz und der Kiever Rus im 10 und 11 Jahrhundert // *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*. Band 23/24 (1973/1974). Tübingen, S. 197–224; *Pannonopt П. А.* О роли византийского влияния в развитии древнерусской архитектуры, с. 186–187; *Комеч А. И.* Древнерусское зодчество конца X — начала XII в. М., 1987, особенно с. 315–318. О влиянии Малой Азии говорил, и то без

лект средневизантийской архитектуры, привнесший немалую долю своеобразия в кафедральные и придворные соборы и монастырские храмы Древней Руси.

Этот диалект, еще почти совсем не исследованный и не выявленный в древнерусских памятниках, в определенной степени «сбивает» наши представления о формах и средствах древнерусского архитектурного языка, поскольку нерешенные вопросы о происхождении той или иной формы заставляют ученых заниматься, прежде всего, генезисом конструкций, мотивов и форм, а не тем, как и в какой мере эти формы отразили особенности мышления Древней Руси и как они были связаны с тем или иным кругом заказчиков. Для нас же важно то, что, рядом с константинопольской строительной техникой из плинфы и целым рядом константинопольских строительных, конструктивных и декоративных приемов, в древнерусских храмах присутствуют очень значительные и едва ли не заслоняющие собой константинопольские приемы и формы черты архитектуры Понта, восточновизантийской провинции, архитектура которой в X–XII вв. обладала значительной степенью своеобразия. Обозначив два основных влияния, на скрещении которых и возникла, по нашему мнению, древнерусская архитектура, мы можем обратиться к тем формам, которые непосредственно зависели от заказчиков и которые обозначают основные проблемы древнерусской архитектурной поэтики.

Два аспекта древнерусской архитектуры лежат на поверхности и довольно часто упоминаются в литературе. Это, прежде всего, большие размеры древнерусских храмов, а также очень развитые хоры с особыми приделами и множеством помещений и с отдельными лестничными башнями, позволявшими подняться на хоры.

По своим размерам древнерусские памятники, на наш взгляд, не представляют собой ничего особенно грандиозного. При сравнении с крупными памятниками средневизантийской архитектуры, константинопольскими храмами Георгия в Манганах, Гюль Джамии или южной церковью монастыря Пантократора, композиционные ядра и подкупольные квадраты таких крупных древнерусских построек, как София Киевская, София Новгородская или Успенский собор Печерского монастыря, не так уж и выдаются своими размерами и выглядят вполне сопоставимо. Если древнерусские памятники в чем-то и выигрывают

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подробной аргументации, Ф. И. Шмит: *Шмит Ф. М.* Искусство древней Руси — Украина. Харьков, 1919, с. 22–49. Н. И. Брунов упоминает Малую Азию, наряду с Константинополем, в качестве источника форм Софии Киевской, но не называет самих форм: *Брунов Н. И.* К вопросу о самостоятельных чертах русской архитектуры X–XII вв. // Русская архитектура. М., 1940, с. 121.

сравнение с константинопольскими храмами, то это в количестве обходов, галерей, состоящих из достаточно мелких ячеек и как будто «окутывающих» ранние храмы Киева, Новгорода и Полоцка. Сразу надо сказать, что эти галереи со временем так же упрощаются и уменьшаются, как и сами древнерусские храмы. Самые развитые и большие Галереи были практически сразу выстроены у Софии Киевской. Историки архитектуры справедливо усматривают здесь результат требования заказчика: киевский князь хотел видеть в своем столичном храме столь же развитую систему хор, что и в Софии Константинопольской<sup>11</sup>. В Киеве, при совершенно другом типе храма и значительно меньших размерах, это привело к тому, что средний по размерам храм на четырех опорах «дополнили» десятками ячеек. Такой принцип формообразования не характерен ни для Константинополя, где ядро всегда главенствует, а галереи подчинены ядру, ни для столичных же средневизантийских мастеров, которые в конце XI в. построили огромный собор Сан-Марко в Венеции по образцу цельного крестообразного и ясного ранневизантийского собора Апостолов в Константинополе. Киевский принцип умножения похожих форм и «окутывания» основного ядра храма встречается в византийской архитектуре не в Константинополе, а в столицах окружающих Византию государств. Мы можем указать на два храма X в.: в Преславе (Болгария)<sup>12</sup> и в Мокви (Абхазия). В обоих случаях ядро с трех сторон дополнено галереями, но совсем не так, как в типе, напоминающем купольную базилику (храм в Дергачи, Спасо-Преображенский собор в Чернигове — здесь галереи «вобраны» внутрь ядра), а как в Киеве — с опоясывающими ядро галереями. Так что в Киеве, Новгороде и Полоцке мы видим некий византийский способ увеличения размеров «для провинциалов». А этот способ предполагает и умножение ячеек, и добавление этажности, и устройство лестничных башен, и устройство дополнительных куполов на барабанах — для освещения верхних ярусов галерей.

Все эти обстоятельства добавляют сложности в общую картину образования древнерусской архитектуры, но отнюдь не снимают проблемы взаимоотношения двух диалектов внутри этой архитектуры: речь идет о странной и не всегда устойчивой смеси константинопольского и

<sup>11</sup> См.: *Комеч А. И.* Роль княжеского заказа в построении Софийского собора в Киеве // *Древнерусское искусство. Художественная культура домонгольской Руси.* М., 1972, с. 50–64.

<sup>12</sup> *Иванова В.* Двете църкви при чупката на източната стена на вътрешния град в Преслав // *Известия на археологическия институт.* Кн. XX. Офия, 1955, с. 463–484; *Чанева-Дечевска Н.* Църковната архитектура на Първата Българска държава. София, 1984, с. 87–93.

понтийского архитектурных языков. Но сама эта смесь, влияние которой на всем протяжении истории древнерусской архитектуры будет очень значительным, не является единственным основанием своеобразия древнерусских храмов. Есть еще несколько факторов, которые определили особенности архитектуры Руси.

Одним из основных факторов своеобразия можно считать довольно рано возникшее следование собственным традициям. В результате работы на Руси в первой половине XI в. византийской артели (состав которой, на наш взгляд был смешанным, константинопольско-понтийским, как и конкретная архитектура построек) возникло несколько крупных храмов, которые можно воспринимать как энциклопедии архитектурных форм для последующих строителей и заказчиков. Такими «энциклопедиями» были Десятинная церковь в Киеве, София Киевская, София Новгородская, София Полоцкая, а также, вероятно, еще несколько киевских храмов (Ирины, Георгия). В результате равнения на эти храмы древнерусская архитектура оказывалась связанной не только с уже возникшим (во многом случайно) языком форм, но и с довольно осознанным представлением об этих формах как о местных, освященных традицией.

В связи с этим особенно показательной можно считать историю сложения форм Успенской церкви Киево-Печерской Лавры, выстроенной в 1075–1089 гг. под руководством четырех прибывших из Константинополя византийских мастеров<sup>13</sup>. В этом храме, три граненые абсиды, граненый барабан, а также арочные уступчатые ниши которого свидетельствуют о приезде столичных мастеров, все остальные формы говорят не о Константинополе, а о равнении на киевские соборы первой половины XI в. Сам тип храма на четырех опорах с нартексом легко выводится в качестве производной от Софии Киевской (как результат «очищения» этого собора от галерей), тогда как такие формы, как крестообразные столбы, пониженные подпружные арки под барабаном, высокий барабан, внутренние пристенные лопатки, — все восходят к

<sup>13</sup> Основную литературу и сведения см.: *Раннопорт П. А.* Русская архитектура X–XIII вв. Каталог памятников. Л., 1982, с. 23–25. Новую лит. см.: *Комеч А. И.* Возникновение позакомарного завершения фасадов в храмах Киева второй половины XI — начала XII века // Реставрация и исследования памятников культуры. Вып. 1. М., 1975, с. 9–21; *Асеев Ю. С., Харламов В. А.* Об архитектуре Успенского монастыря в Киеве (Исследования 1982 г.) // Архитектурное наследство. Вып. 34. М., 1986, с. 208–214; *Асеев Ю. С.* Успенский собор Киево-Печерского монастыря I його значения в розвитку архітектури Київської Русі // Історія Русі — України (історико-археологічний збірник). Київ, 1998, с. 61–70; *Сіткарьова О. В.* Успенський собор Києво-Печерської Лаври. Київ, 2000. О призвании четырех мастеров из Константинополя см. Киево-Печерский патерик: Памятники литературы Древней Руси. XII век. М., 1980, с. 418–420.

киевским архитектурным «энциклопедиям» предшествующего периода. И хотя в Успенском соборе происходит создание нового типа, но само это создание крайне показательно своим «наборным» характером и равнением на свою, киевскую традицию. В дальнейшем тип Успенского собора станет одним из ведущих в архитектуре XII в., но при этом претерпит дальнейшее упрощение: столь свободной расстановки столбов мы уже не увидим, пространство сузится, стены «потолстеют», барабаны и абсиды вновь станут круглыми, а не гранеными, вообще кристалличность и рациональность пространства в целом и отдельных форм раннекиевской архитектуры (назовем ее так) поменяются на сплавленность и иррациональность пространства и отдельных форм древнерусской архитектуры XII в.

В Новгороде в начале XII в. князь Мстислав Владимирович и его сын князь Всеволод Мстиславич ведут строительство ряда монументальных храмов, для которых источником форм служат не только принесенные с юга, из Киева, приемы современной им архитектуры, но и формы и пропорции Софии Новгородской<sup>14</sup>. Высокие хоры, равняющиеся на высоту хор Софии, при меньших размерах определили необычайный вертикализм храмов, ориентация на Софию привела к использованию крупных лестничных башен, круглых барабанов. В результате возникли храмы, поражающие необычайной мощью, в которых воплощенные в камне и смыкающиеся идеи величия и силы княжеской власти и христианского вероучения переданы грубым и простым языком, следующим местным традициям (в виде форм Софии Новгородской), а принесенная с юга более рафинированная традиция Киева (восходящая, в конечном счете, к Успенскому собору Киево-Печерской Лавры) упрощается до лаконичности. При этом рациональные и «просчитываемые» глазом и телом формы и пропорции интерьера постепенно переходят в иррациональные формы и пропорции, в которых основную роль играет не точный геометрический расчет и четкость соотношений, а мистическое претворение этих первоначально ясных и рассчитанных пропорций, отдельных форм (будь то столбы или своды). То же касается освещения храмов: четкая система расположения окон постепенно сменяется все более прихотливой и как будто иррациональной, использующей ряд «броских» приемов, что только

<sup>14</sup> О новгородской архитектуре этого времени см.: *Афанасьев К. Н.* Построение архитектурной формы древнерусскими зодчими. М., 1961, с. 78–87; *Гладенко Т. В., Красноречьев Л. Е., Штендер Г. М., Шуляк Л. М.* Архитектура Новгорода в свете последних исследований // Новгород. К 1100-летию города. М., 1961, с. 185–190; *Комеч А. И.* Два направления в новгородской архитектуре начала XII в. // Средневековое искусство. Русь. Грузия. М., 1978, с. 45–62; *Он же.* Древнерусское зодчество конца X — начала XII в. М., 1987, с. 297–314.

усиливает господствующее в интерьере храмов ощущение таинственности и чудесности. Этот путь от ясности к таинственности, от величественной рациональности к величественной алогичности, описанный на примере новгородской архитектуры XII в., является, на наш взгляд обычным путем, который проделывает древнерусская архитектура в целом и каждая отдельная ее региональная школа в частности.

Мы могли бы создать романтическую «нордическую» версию о свежем, варварском, молодом претворении византийских форм в Древней Руси. Эта версия объясняла бы в духе национально-романтических идей начала XX в. особенности древнерусской архитектуры особенностями национального (и стадийного, варварского) видения и понимания формы. На наш взгляд, такая версия не может полностью удовлетворить исследователя, поскольку, несмотря на то, что она объясняет отдельные процессы (постоянное упрощение форм, например), она не может убедительно объяснить появление той мистической иррациональности, которую мы увидели в интерьерах древнерусских храмов XII в. и которая стала одной из основных особенностей древнерусской архитектуры вообще. Национально-романтическая версия сводила бы эту мистическую, таинственную по ощущению нелогичность только к национальному (и варварскому) чувству формы.

Мы, напротив, являемся сторонниками версии о существовании некоего «составителя программы», то есть такой фигуры, которая выступает в качестве посредника между заказчиком и архитектором. Следует отметить, что персона эта двойственная: она нужна заказчику для того, чтобы подсказать, направить его желания, но она нужна и архитектору для того, чтобы пересказать ему не всегда ясные требования заказчика. Мы можем представить себе ситуацию, когда составитель программы не является отдельным лицом, а сливается с заказчиком (когда тот просто достаточно образован и его желания отчетливы) или с зодчим (когда этот зодчий особенно чуток к требованиям заказчика и «вчувствуется» в них). Но в некоторых случаях, когда требовалось создать что-то доселе невиданное, или в некоторые периоды, когда устанавливаются, кристаллизуются взгляды заказчиков и манера архитекторов, неизбежно должна появляться промежуточная фигура составителя программы.

Нам представляется, что в тех случаях, когда составителями программы были сами князья, Рюриковичи, ими чаще всего формулировались простые и легко воспринимаемые требования — размер, образец, представительность. Откуда же в древнерусских памятниках появляются иррациональность, мистика, сложность соотношений при бедности форм? Неужели их привносили сами мастера? Но почему тогда не во всех памятниках есть эти качества, почему они накапливаются параллельно с ростом лаконизма, скупости формальных решений?



В византийской архитектуре было два центра архитектурной мысли, но это были не столица и провинция, а двор и монашество. Императорский двор и придворная жизнь Константинополя вообще генерировали изысканную архитектуру, основанную на знании геометрии, инженерном расчете и позднеантичном иллюзионизме, направленном на создание исключительных по эффекту, но внутренне просчитанных и логичных по соотношениям сооружений и пространств. Эта культура и эта архитектура причудливо смешивали христианство и «эллинскую премудрость», в результате возникал особый мир, недостижимый для варваров по учености, но желанный по внешней эффектности и видимому богатству.

На другом полюсе культурной (и архитектурной) жизни было монашество, причем не придворное, а провинциальное, опиравшееся на монастыри Афона, вифинского Олимпа и других мест. Здесь, благодаря императорскому патронажу, а иногда и вопреки ему, возникла особая культура православия, которая отрицала античную науку и рассчитывала прежде всего на мистические прозрения и озарения — как средства постижения. С этой культурой, во многом враждебной столичной и придворной, можно связать те памятники средневизантийской архитектуры, в которых появляются не полуциркульные своды, а эллиптические, яйцевидные, в которых свет распределяется не ровными потоками, а пучками, в которых экзальтация или мистическая сосредоточенность приобретают главенствующее значение. Эти качества опираются в византийской архитектуре на провинциальный комплекс форм, но это не значит, что они не могут быть переданы столичными формами. В монастырской церкви в Нерези, например, или в монастырской же церкви в Веррии столичный комплекс форм направлен на создание монашеского, мистического интерьера. Но есть и целый ряд памятников, в первую очередь собор Лавры на Афоне, в которых монашеская эстетика и провинциальные формы слиты воедино. Для нас эти памятники (среди которых можно назвать храмы в Скрипу, в Германе, Иоанна Крестителя в Месемврии (Несебре), в Бояне и на полуострове Мани на Пелопоннесе)<sup>15</sup> важны цельным ощущением воплощенной простыми средствами христианской мистики.

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<sup>15</sup> Чанева-Дечевска Н. Църковната архитектура на Първата Българска държава. София, 1984 (о храмах в Германе, в Водоче и Иоанна Крестителя в Месемврии–Несебре). О храме в Бояне см.: Стойков Г. Боянская церковь. София, 1954. О храмах на полуострове Мани см.: Аравдакѝ Н. В. Βυζαντινές τοιχογραφίες της Μεσα Μανης. Αθήνα, 1995. См. также очерки Р. Краутхаймера об архитектуре Северной Греции и Болгарии: Krautheimer R. Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture / Revised by R. Krautheimer and S. Ćurčić. New Haven — London, 1986, p. 311–321; 369–395.

В Древнюю Русь придворная константинопольская культура могла попасть только с купюрами и в упрощенном виде: как набор столичных признаков. Ее архитектурное претворение (с поправкой на малоазийский диалект, примешавшийся в самом начале) мы видим в Софии Киевской и Спасо-Преображенском соборе в Чернигове, то есть на раннем этапе. Вряд ли эта культура могла быть сколько-нибудь полно понята в самом начале, а позднее ее следов в древнерусской архитектуре мы практически не найдем.

Со временем все большее значение в транспортиции, транслировании и ассимиляции византийской культуры и архитектуры на Руси стали играть архиереи русской церкви, связанные больше всего с монашеской культурой. В результате усиления этой монашеской, мистической составляющей<sup>16</sup>, а также благодаря тому, что место составителя программы чаще всего занимал митрополит, епископ или игумен, советовавший князю, получился необычный сплав из ориентированных на столицу (Константинополь) запросов князей (хоры как в столице, способ погребения как в столице, отдельные цитаты) и все более усиливавшегося монашеского направления мысли — как в прочтении целого пространства храма, так и в принятии отдельных форм: эллиптических сводов, таинственного соотношения пространств, экспрессивного освещения, сочетания простоты отдельных форм и применения сильных, аффектированных архитектурных средств (пучок света, острое сопоставление света и тьмы, подчеркивание несения или кривизны в сводах). Со временем монашеская составляющая одерживает победу почти окончательную, и образ храмового интерьера, как и образ храма, становится адекватным монашескому, аскетическому видению мира и искусства. Но это не отменяет желанную для князей представительность, большие физические размеры, в отдельных случаях — сложные формально-композиционные заимствования: пятиглавие, галереи, приделы, столичный тип алтарного пространства с дополнительным членением. Просто эти формы также окрашиваются мистическим оттенком, становятся иррациональными или попадают в систему иррациональных соотношений и иррационального построения формы, где некоторые эффекты достигаются прежде всего благодаря нелогичности и иррациональности сопоставлений, в результате использования неясных пропорциональных решений или отказа от логичного пропорционирования.

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<sup>16</sup> В. М. Живов говорит об аскетической традиции и подчеркивает ее значение для рецепции византийской культуры на Руси. См.: *Живов В. М.* Разыскания в области истории и предыстории русской культуры. М. 2002 (статья «Особенности рецепции византийской культуры в Древней Руси», с. 73–115, особенно — с. 77–82).

Древнерусскую архитектуру, на наш взгляд, можно охарактеризовать как мистическую по духу, но княжескую по масштабам, монументальности и столичным интенциям. Все это накладывается на постепенное упрощение когда-то почти одновременно заимствованного архитектурного лексикона (проблему западных влияний в зодчестве Галицкой, Черниговской и Владимиро-Суздальской земель мы здесь не затрагиваем). Но и при исчезновении княжеского заказа и замене его на боярский (как в Новгороде в середине — второй половине XII в.) мистический характер архитектуры остается основным, как он остается основным и в дальнейшем, в послемонгольской архитектуре Москвы, Новгорода и Пскова XIV—XV вв. Этот мистический характер мы можем считать одной из главных особенностей древнерусской архитектуры вообще. Его появление из аскетической византийской культуры и связанной с ней провинциальной архитектуры связано с фигурами «составителей программ», с иерархами русской православной церкви, несшими идеалы и культурные установки очень определенного свойства.

Особенно важно подчеркнуть, что в данном случае одна из принципиальных особенностей целой области архитектуры византийского мира, древнерусской, связана не столько с заказчиками или архитекторами, сколько с промежуточной фигурой некоего медиума, обладающего знаниями церковных канонов, а потому воспринимаемого заказчиком в качестве эксперта по всем вопросам церковного строительства. Эта промежуточная фигура, этот составитель программы, в древнерусской архитектурной практике не столько создает или проявляет иконографический проект (столько-то нефов, столько-то глав, такие-то своды), сколько способствует выбору той манеры, которая больше всего отвечает особенностям его религиозности. В результате, наряду с «княжескими» хорами, погребальными приделами и галереями и «княжеским», государственным масштабом, возникает тот мистический оттенок, то таинственное и подчеркнуто-аффектированное прочтение и претворение форм, которое будет характеризовать древнерусскую архитектуру на протяжении многих веков.

Итак, при описании процессов, развивавшихся в древнерусской архитектуре в первые два века ее истории, можно говорить об упрощении и даже варваризации первоначальных, занесенных почти одновременно, византийских форм, которые происходили, однако, на фоне амбициозной политики князей и, как следствие, — на фоне амбициозных княжеских требований к храмостроительству. В результате это упрощение, а также постепенно накапливавшееся своеобразие конкретных форм и неосознанная варваризация приемов накладывались на желание

заказчиков создать что-то величественное. Происходит «варварская монументализация» форм, сливающаяся в единый стиль, который и можно охарактеризовать как древнерусский.

В этом стиле, использующем как столичные, так и провинциальные византийские формы, логичное, «просчитываемое» пространство преобразуется в пространство нелогичное, мистическое, без ясных взаимоотношений частей; отдельные столичные формы тонут в массивной оболочке, появившейся в результате смешения форм столичных и провинциальных и «растягивания» тех и других. В то же время, этот процесс монументальной варваризации, происходивший естественно и вытекавший из возможностей и желаний князей и зодчих, все больше подвергался постепенно растущему интенсивному влиянию мистической, аскетической, монашеской культуры Византии, следствием чего стало усиление иррациональной пластичности и провинциальной аффектированности в древнерусской архитектуре. Начало этому направлению положили греческие миссионеры, а продолжили греческие и русские иерархи Киевской митрополии. Оно развивалось параллельно с варварской монументализацией и окрашивало ее особыми оттенками. Взаимодействие князей и церковных иерархов принимало разные формы, и в зависимости от тех или иных соотношений внутри этого взаимодействия мы можем выделить школы, где преобладал «княжеский» элемент (Киево-Черниговская и Владимиро-Суздальская), и школы, где более важное значение приобретал «монашеский» элемент (Новгородская и Полоцкая). Но для нас наиболее существенно то, что рядом с заказчиком, между заказчиком и архитектором, выявляется фигура «составителя программ» или даже «арбитра духовности» (если программа не меняется, а меняется только оттенок духовности внутри архитектуры), которыми в XI–XII вв. на Руси были церковные деятели, близкие к князьям, но имевшие более или менее четкие представления об идеале и способе его претворения в архитектуру. Эти «арбитры» способствовали принятию, распространению и развитию в древнерусской архитектуре особого мистического и эмоционального языка, происходившего от провинциального по формам и монашеского по идеям зодчества Византии.

Это направление в древнерусской архитектуре стало настолько жизнеспособным, что выдержало и наплыв романских форм (в зодчестве Владимиро-Суздальского княжества) в XII в., и период создания «башнеобразных храмов» на рубеже XII–XIII вв., и период послемонгольский, бедный на новые формы. Этот мистический диалект иррационально сочетаемых форм стал основой древнерусской архитектуры вплоть до приезда итальянских мастеров в конце XV в., но, естественным образом, повлиял и на их творчество и на архитектуру двух по-

следних столетий развития древнерусского искусства. Мистический диалект в сочетании с варварской монументализацией форм — еще одним диалектом древнерусской архитектуры — составляют некий единый формальный язык, общий для подавляющего большинства памятников, а значит — и для заказчиков, и для зодчих, и для «составителей программ». Направленность этого языка, его интенция будет прочитываться как стремление к созданию монументального храма путем использования крайне ограниченного набора средств провинциальной и упрощенной столичной архитектуры (это первый вектор), а также стремление к созданию сакрального пространства с помощью иррациональных объемных и метрических соотношений (второй вектор). Этот второй вектор базируется на одной из линий развития византийской архитектуры, но линии маргинальной, которую в древнерусской традиции со временем превратили в одну из ведущих. Итак, перед нами два направления, два вектора, иногда переплетающихся или накладывающихся, но все же сливающихся в один общий архитектурный язык. Эти направления и определили особенности древнерусского варианта сакрального пространства восточнохристианского храма.

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THE SACRED SPACE OF THE MEDIEVAL RUSSIAN CHURCH:  
THE ARCHITECTURAL ASPECT

The appearance of a new direction of scholarship can be prepared by previous development in various directions, and by the results achieved by the disciplines and methodical “courses” involved. In the case of hierotopy (hierotopia), the research of the creation of sacred spaces (and of the people who created those sacred spaces), the history of architecture does not seem very well prepared to investigate the reasons of appearance of particular types of sacred space, or to classify these types and to define specific features of the culture which had initially determined them. There is a challenge to create a certain synthetic method of studies of the sacred space as a complex and multi-layered subject.

We support the hypothesis postulating “a composer (creator) of the spatial program” (Lidov), that is such figure that mediates between the donor and the architect of a building. It is necessary to state, however, that this figure had two functions: on the one hand, it was necessary to help donors to formulate their desires, but he also had to transmit to the architect the requirements of the commissioner, which were not always clear. One can

imagine a situation when the composer of the program is not a separate person, but doubles up as a donor, or an architect. But in some cases, when it was required to create something really innovative, or during some periods, when the role of donors and architects was well established, the intermediate figure of the composer of the program had necessarily to appear.

When composers of the program were Russian princes (*Rurikovichi*), they formulated simple and easily perceived demands concerning the prototype, the size and monumental and solemn view of a church. Yet where does another characteristic feature of the space of Medieval Russian cathedrals come from — the impression of some irrationality and mysticism, a strange combination of the complexity of spatial structure with the poverty of forms?

The court culture of Constantinople could be perceived and recreated in Medieval Russia only through simplification of originally refined forms which were usually presented as a set of Constantinopolitan attributes. For the first time this approach may be seen in the architecture of St Sofia Cathedral in Kiev, and of the Spaso-Preobrajensky (Transfiguration) Cathedral in Chernigov. This culture could hardly be fully understood right at the beginning, and its traces are practically not to be found in Old Russian architecture afterwards.

In due course bishops of the Russian church, linked primarily to monastic culture, began to play increasing role in transmission, projection and assimilation of the Byzantine culture and architecture in Old Russia. The result of strengthening of this monastic, mystical component, and also of the fact that the place of the composer of the program was occupied more often by a particular metropolitan, bishop or abbot who advised the prince, an unusual alloy came to being of the princely requirements focused on Constantinople which concern the complex eastern part like in the capital, the way of burial, certain formal citations. The more and more intensified monastic traits were embodied both in the perusal of the entire space of the church, and in the adoption of certain forms: elliptic arches, mysterious parity of spaces, expressive illumination, combination of simplicity of certain forms and application of strong, affected architectural means (a bunch of light, sharp contrast of light and darkness, underlining of the bearing or underlining of the curvature in the arches). In due course the monastic component wins almost completely and the image of a church interior, as well as the entire image of a church, comes to reflect monastic, ascetic vision of the world and art. But it does not phase out the imposing appearance desired by princes, namely greater physical size, occasionally complex borrowings in form and composition: five domes, galleries, subsidiary chapels, capital type of the altar space with additional partitioning. These forms are also cast over with a mystical shade, they become irrational or end up in a system of irrational correspondences and of irrational form construction where some effects are

primarily achieved by illogical and irrational juxtapositions and by use of unclear proportion decisions or by rejection of logical proportions.

The Old Russian architecture, in our opinion, can be characterized as 'mystical' in its spiritual intention, but princely in its external forms, i.e. huge sizes, monumental character and metropolitan ambitions. All this is superimposed on the gradual simplification of the architectural lexicon that was once borrowed almost in one piece. However, when the princely commission disappears and is replaced by the seigniorial one, the mystical character of architecture still remains basic in the 14–15<sup>th</sup> century architecture of Moscow, Novgorod and Pskov. This mystical character can be considered one of the main features of the Old Russian architecture in general. Its emergence from the ascetic Byzantine culture and the provincial architecture linked to it has to do with figures of “program composers”, with the hierarchs of the Russian Orthodox church as bearers of ideals and cultural intentions of very specific nature.

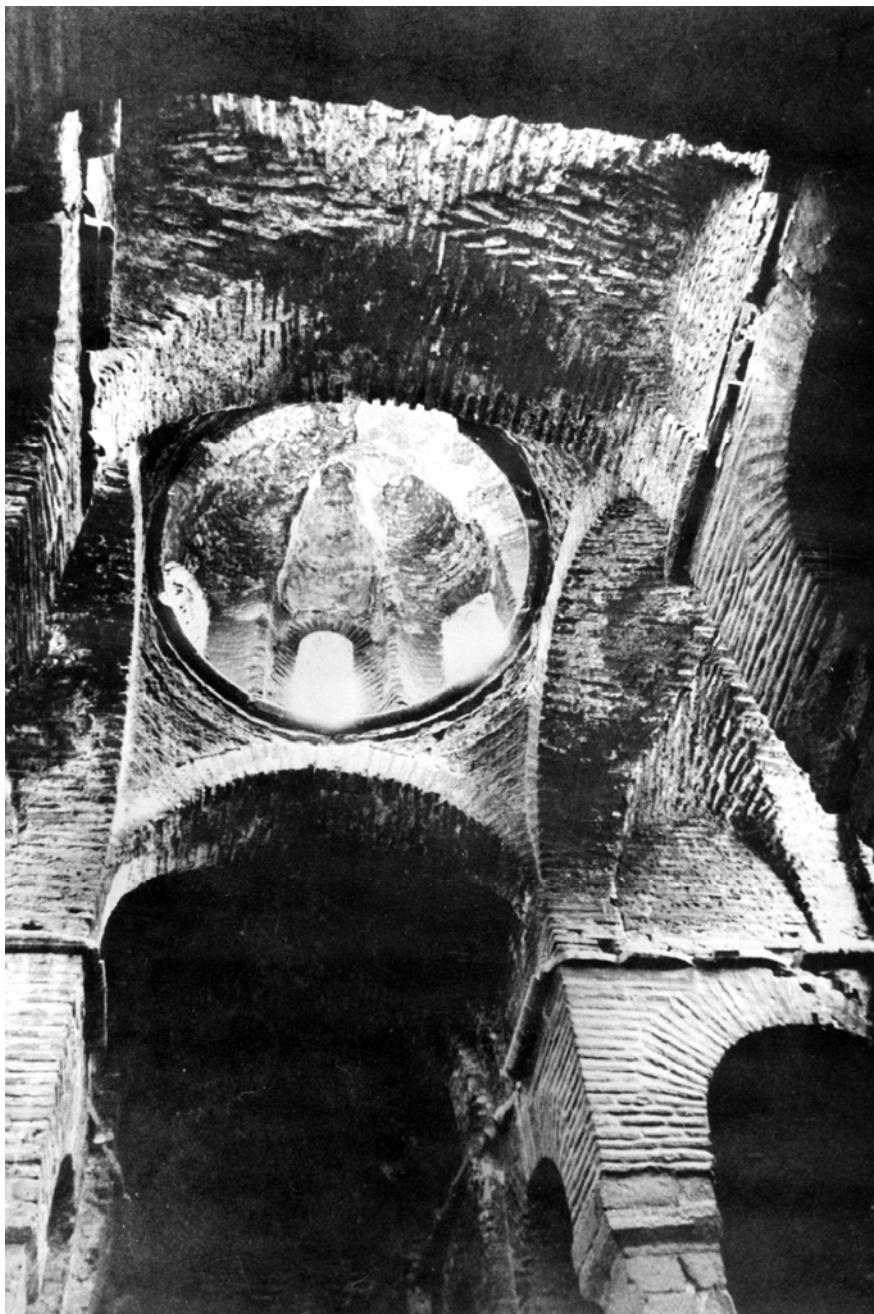
When describing processes that were going on in Old Russian architecture over the first two centuries of its history, it is possible to speak about simplification and even barbarization of the initial, Byzantine forms borrowed almost in one piece. This, however, was happening against the background of the princes' ambitious policies that manifested themselves in ambitious princely requirements concerning church building. As a result this simplification, as well as the gradually accumulating originality of specific forms and unconscious barbarization of techniques were superimposed on the desire of commissioners to create something majestic. There happens a “barbaric monumentalization” of forms, merging in a uniform style. It is this style that be characterized as Old Russian.

In this style, however, which used both metropolitan and provincial Byzantine forms, the logical nature of the “reckoned” space turns to illogical mystical space without clear mutual relations of the parts. Certain metropolitan forms are lost in the massive environment which has appeared as a result of mixture of metropolitan and provincial forms and as an “extension” of both. This process of the monumental barbarization, which occurred naturally and resulted from resources and desires of princes and architects, was accompanied by another process: the gradual, but very intensive influence of the mystical, ascetic, monastic culture of Byzantium and, as a consequence, increase of irrational plasticity and the provincial affectation within Old Russian architecture. At the beginning of this process were Greek missionaries, while Greek and Russian hierarchs of the metropolitan bishopric of Kiev continued it. It went in parallel with the barbaric monumentalization and added special shades to it. Interaction of princes and church hierarchs had different forms, and according to certain relations within this interaction we can determine schools, where the “princely” element was leading (Kiev-

Chernigov and Vladimir-Suzdal) along with schools where the “monastic” element prevailed (Novgorod and Polotsk). What, however, is of prime importance for us, is that beside the customer, between the customer and the architect, there emerges a figure of “the program composer ” or even “the arbitrator of spirituality” (if the program does not change, and it is just the shade of spirituality within the architecture that varies). In the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries in Old Russia they were church figures who were close to princes but had more or less precise perceptions of the ideal and the way of its realization in architecture. These “arbitrators” promoted adoption, distribution and development in the Old Russian architecture of the special, mystical and emotional language which went back to the architecture of Byzantium, provincial in form and monastic in ideas.

This direction in the Old Russian architecture became so viable, that it sustained the influx of Romanesque forms (in the architecture of the Vladimir-Suzdal principality) in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, as well as the vogue for “tower shape churches” on the verge of the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> of centuries, and the paucity of new forms after the Mongol invasion. This mystical dialect of irrationally combined forms became the basis of the Old Russian architecture down to the arrival of Italian masters towards the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. It has, however, naturally affected both the work of those masters and the architecture of the two last centuries of development of the Old Russian art. The mystical dialect in combination with barbaric monumentalization of architectural forms, which makes up the second dialect of the Old Russian architecture, form a certain uniform formal language, common to the overwhelming majority of the monuments and, consequently, to customers as well as to architects and to “program composers”. The orientation of this language, its intention can be interpreted as aspiration to create of a monumental church building using extremely limited set of means of the provincial and simplified metropolitan architecture (it is the first vector), as well as aspiration to create sacred space by means of irrational volume and metric relations (the second vector). This second vector is based on one of lines of the Byzantine architecture, albeit a marginal one, which in the Old Russian tradition was gradually transformed into one of leading trends. So, we have two directions, two vectors sometimes interlaced or superimposed, but nevertheless merging in one common architectural language. These two directions have defined main features of the Old Russian variant of the sacred space of the Eastern Christian church.





1. Интерьер храма монастыря Мирелейон в Константинополе. Нач. X в.  
Пример рациональной иллюзорности столичной архитектурной школы



2. Интерьер Георгиевского собора Юрьева монастыря в Новгороде. 1119 г.  
Пример варварской монументализации византийских архитектурных форм



3. Интерьер собора Рождества Богородицы Антонова монастыря в Новгороде. 1117 г. Пример усиления мистических и аскетических форм, еще соседствующих с княжеским монументализмом



4. Интерьер монастырской церкви Спаса-Преображения на Нередице близ Новгорода. 1198 г. Пример крайней фазы мистической иррациональности форм и пространства в целом

Т. Е. Самойлова

## СВЯЩЕННОЕ ПРОСТРАНСТВО КНЯЖЕСКОГО ГРОБА

Многочисленные археологические исследования, проведенные в древнерусских храмах, позволили установить, что многие из них являлись княжескими усыпальницами. Археологи проделали большую работу по выявлению княжеских погребений в храмах-некрополях: они располагались в нартексах, приделах, в западной части наоса или в специальных нишах-аркосолиях вдоль стен, что соответствует традиции размещения захоронений в храмах византийского мира. Большой вклад в изучение княжеских некрополей внесли М. К. Каргер, Н. Н. Воронин, В. Л. Янин, П. А. Раппопорт, Н. А. Макаров, Т. Д. Панова, Н. В. Холостенко, А. Л. Монгайт, Вл. В. Седов<sup>1</sup>. Последнему принадлежит работа «Погребения „святых князей“ и архитектура княжеских усыпальниц Древней Руси», имеющая обобщающий, подводящий итоги изучения

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<sup>1</sup> *Воронин Н. Н.* Владимир, Боголюбово, Суздаль, Юрьев-Польский. М., 1958; *он же.* Зодчество Северо-Восточной Руси XI–XV вв. М., 1962. Т. 1; *Воронин Н. Н., Раппопорт П. А.* Зодчество Смоленска XII–XIII вв. Л., 1979; *Каргер М. К.* Княжеское погребение XI в. в Десятинной церкви // КСИИМК. М.; Л., 1940. Вып. 4; *он же.* Раскопки и реставрационные работы в Георгиевском соборе Юрьева монастыря // Советская археология. М.; Л., 1946. № 8; *он же.* Древний Киев. Очерки истории материальной культуры древнерусского города. М.; Л., 1958. Т. 1; *он же.* Памятники Киевского зодчества X–XIII вв. М.; Л., 1961. Т. 2; *он же.* Храм усыпальница в Ефросиньевском монастыре в Полоцке // Советская археология. М., 1977, № 1; *Макаров Н. А.* Топография погребений в древнерусских храмах XI–XII вв. // Тезисы докладов советской делегации на IV Международном конгрессе славянской археологии. М., 1980; *Монгайт А. Л.* Работа рязанской археологической экспедиции в 1966–1970 гг. // Археология Рязанской земли. М., 1974; *Панова Т. Д.* Царство смерти. Погребальный обряд средневековой Руси XI–XVI веков. М., 2004; *Седов В. В.* Погребения «святых князей» и архитектура княжеских усыпальниц Древней Руси // Восточнохристианские реликвии / Ред.-сост. А. М. Лидов. М., 2003; *Холостенко Н. В.* Исследования Борисоглебского собора в Чернигове // Советская археология. М., 1967, №2; *Янин В. Л.* Некрополь Новгородского Софийского собора. М., 1988.

данной проблемы характер. Однако понятие «княжеский гроб» относится не только к области археологии. Почти каждое княжеское захоронение, расположенное в храме, было отмечено надгробием, форма и декор которого относятся уже скорее к области истории искусства. Впервые в отечественной литературе древнерусское надгробие как явление художественной культуры со своей историей развития было рассмотрено В. В. Ермонской<sup>2</sup>. Она проследила эволюцию таких захоронений от X до XVII в., обращая внимание на смену типов надгробий и изменения в области декорации и орнаментики. 1980-е и 1990-е годы были особенно плодотворны для изучения древнерусского надгробия, так как в этот период значительные археологические исследования проводились в Кремле (Т. Д. Панова), на территории древних московских монастырей (Л. А. Беляев), в Новгороде и Пскове (В. В. Седов)<sup>3</sup>. В 1996 г. вышла книга Л. А. Беляева «Русское средневековое надгробие», во многом обобщившая накопленные за истекший период сведения. Автор рассматривает надгробие как культурно-историческое явление, обязанное своим происхождением широкому распространению христианства. Внимание ученого сосредоточено на проблеме генезиса надгробных плит так называемого антропоморфного типа и семантике орнамента, использовавшегося для их украшения. Однако в свете предпринятого нами исследования особенно важна книга сербской исследовательницы Д. Попович «Сербский владарский гроб в среднем веку» (1992)<sup>4</sup>. Само название книги говорит о том, что владарский гроб рассмотрен здесь как особое явление, обладающее своей спецификой. Д. Попович дает и его определение, считая это понятие комплексным, включающим в себя три основных компонента: саркофаг, предназначенный для захоронения в грунте, надгробный памятник и помещенные вблизи надгробия живописные композиции мемориального или эсхатологического характера. Д. Попович проследила систему декорации, принципы изготовления надгробных памятников, а также убедительно доказала, что присутствие владарского захоронения часто в существенной степени определяло иконографическую программу росписи не только того компартимента, где находился гроб, но и всего храма. В отличие от Сербии, где сохранилось значительное число украшенных росписью храмов-усыпальниц с гробницами *in situ*, русский материал — значительно более разрозненный, фрагментарный. Тем не менее, нам представляется интересным и необходимым по-

<sup>2</sup> Ермонская В. В. Памятники Древней Руси // Русская мемориальная скульптура. К истории художественного надгробия в России XI–XX в. М., 1978.

<sup>3</sup> Седов В. В. Погребения «святых князей» и архитектура княжеских усыпальниц Древней Руси // Восточнохристианские реликвии / Ред.-сост. А. М. Лидов. М., 2003.

<sup>4</sup> Поповић Д. Српски владарски гроб у средњем веку. Београд, 1992.

новому взглянуть на него, следуя исследовательским принципам, разработанным Д. Попович, и попытаться выявить русскую специфику.

Самый древний дошедший до нас пример княжеской гробницы — это монолитный каменный саркофаг Ярослава Мудрого, украшенный резьбой и установленный в северной внутренней галерее заложеного им Софийского собора. Как показали исследования, саркофаг изначально находился и находится сейчас в восточной части галереи, вблизи алтарной части устроенного здесь придела<sup>5</sup>. Именно этот придел выполнял функцию княжеской усыпальницы. Неоспоримым является тот факт, что захоронение Ярослава Мудрого в монолитном саркофаге было проявлением приверженности ранней (до XI в.) традиции захоронения византийских императоров. В X в. Византия хоронила своих императоров в знаменитой церкви Святых Апостолов в особых приделах-усыпальницах, напоминающих об античных героонах с установленными в них величественными монолитными каменными саркофагами<sup>6</sup>. Огромные выточенные из дорогих пород камня саркофаги, установленные в храмах, выполняли, по мнению исследователей, репрезентативную функцию, способствуя возвеличиванию имени императора<sup>7</sup>. После XI в. происходит христианизация императорского погребального обряда. Согласно христианским представлениям, человек, созданный из персти земной, по смерти должен вернуться в землю («земля еси и в землю отыдеши»). Следуя этой заповеди, византийские императоры средневизантийского периода отказались от античных традиций в области погребальных сооружений. Они принимали перед смертью постриг, и тело их предавали земле, а над местом захоронения возводили надгробный памятник, имевший вид полого саркофага. Согласно исследованиям Д. Попович, сербские правители восприняли византийский ритуал. Раскопки, проведенные в сербских храмах, показали, что все правители средневековой Сербии были погребены в грунтовых могилах, над которыми в интерьере храма в качестве надгробного памят-

<sup>5</sup> Никитенко Н. Н., Никитенко М. М. Княжеская усыпальница в Софии Киевской // ПКНО. 1977. М., 1998.

<sup>6</sup> О храме Святых Апостолов в Константинополе как усыпальнице императоров см.: Grabar A. *Martirium*. Paris, 1946. Т. 1, p. 227–244; Janin R. *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin. Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecumenique*. Paris, 1953. Т. 3, p. 46–48; Downey G. *The Tombs of the Emperors at the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople* // *The Journal of the Hellenic Studies*. London, 1959. Vol. 69, p. 28–54; Беляев Б. Ф. Обзор главных частей Большого дворца византийских царей. СПб., 1891. Кн. 1 (*Byzantina*; 1), с. 138–145; Высоцкий А. М., Шелов-Коведяев Ф. В. Первая церковь Святых Апостолов в Константинополе и ее наследие в средневековом мире // *Римско-константинопольское наследие на Руси: идея власти и политическая практика*. М., 1995.

<sup>7</sup> Поповић Д. Српски владарски гроб... с. 190.

ника устанавливали полый саркофаг<sup>8</sup>, воспроизводящий в общих чертах форму ранних саркофагов. Таким образом, очевидно, что Ярослав Мудрый, которому также необходимо было утвердить достоинство великого князя как христианского правителя Руси, избрал для себя ту форму погребения, которая на тот исторический момент была более укорененной в императорском искусстве Византии. Данные археологии говорят о том, что этот тип императорского погребения пришел на Русь во времена Владимира, крестителя Руси, и великий князь первым избрал для себя «героическую» форму погребения<sup>9</sup>. Однако этот тип княжеского гроба довольно скоро сменился другим, отразившим наступление нового исторического этапа.

Данные археологических раскопок на памятниках XII–XIII вв. демонстрируют резкую смену архетипа в области мемориальных сооружений. Особенно интересный и цельный материал, если такое выражение применимо к археологии, дали раскопки Н. Н. Воронина и П. А. Раппопорта в Смоленске<sup>10</sup>. Им удалось установить, что почти все храмы этого периода в той или иной степени служили княжескими усыпальницами. Причем принципиально важным представляется вывод о том, что для главных инициаторов храмоздательства — князей — было характерно понимание возводящейся по их заказу церкви как памятника роду, династии. Именно поэтому в первоначальный замысел таких построек входило устройство мест для погребения заказчика и членов его семьи. Погребения располагались как в приделах и на галереях, так и непосредственно в самом храме, но все они находились в нишах-аркосолиях, устраиваемых в стенах храма. Некоторые смоленские храмы являлись некрополями весьма внушительного масштаба: так, в Борисоглебском соборе на Смядыни насчитывается 21 аркосолий, а в соборе на Протоке открыли 11 аркосолиев. Сам гроб, вместилище останков, приготавливался таким образом, что его лицевая стенка выкладывалась одновременно с кладкой самой погребальной ниши. Довольно долго он мог оставаться пустым в ожидании предназначенного ему хозяина. После совершения погребения гроб закрывали тесанными плитами песчаника (церковь Иоанна Богослова, усыпальница рода князя Романа Ростиславича, 1160–1180)<sup>11</sup>.

Взгляд на план такого рода храма-усыпальницы, все стены которого прорезаны прямоугольниками гробниц, заставляет задуматься о том, что, возможно, в самой идее расположения гробниц, когда останки кня-

<sup>8</sup> Поповић Д. Српски владарски гроб... с. 199.

<sup>9</sup> Ермонская В. В. Памятники Древней Руси // Русская мемориальная скульптура. К истории художественного надгробия в России XI–XX в. М., 1978, с. 17.

<sup>10</sup> Воронин Н. Н., Раппопорт П. А. Зодчество Смоленска XII–XIII вв. Л., 1979.

<sup>11</sup> Там же, с. 58, 62–63, 88–89, 125, 134, 209, 245, 309, 315, 316.

зей в прямом смысле оказывались погребенными в основании церковных стен, заложена аллюзия на ритуал положения мощей мучеников в основание престола каждого христианского храма. Возникновение и реализация подобной идеи, безусловно, говорит о более глубоком по сравнению с предыдущим периодом процессе христианизации княжеской среды, причем ее представители, выступающие заказчиками храмов-некрополей, следовали тем же изменениям, которые происходили и в византийском обществе. Действительно, начиная с XI в. византийцы отказываются от погребений античного типа и переходят к грунтовыми погребениям в аркосолиях, располагая их в параклесионах и на галереях храма. Как правило, в качестве усыпальницы выступает храм, выстроенный на территории фамильного монастыря. Непосредственно над захоронениями теперь возводят надгробный памятник, который чаще всего представляет собой прямоугольный саркофаг простой формы, составленный из отдельных тесаных плит<sup>12</sup>. Итак, смена архетипического образца налицо. Однако вопрос, что именно послужило образцом для императорских надгробий, в литературе пока не поднимался. Попробуем предложить свою версию.

В фокусе исследований последних лет, посвященных изучению реликвий восточно-христианского мира, оказалась главная христианская святыня — Гроб Господень, находящийся в иерусалимском храме Воскресения. Как показывают новейшие исследования, архитектура собственно храма Воскресения и шатра-кувуклия, устроенного внутри него непосредственно над Гробом, оказали огромное влияние и на развитие архитектуры христианских стран, и на становление многих иконографических схем, находивших свое воплощение в иконах, в мелкой пластике, лицевом шитье. Трудно себе представить, чтобы главная святыня не оказала влияния и на оформление захоронений, тем более что Святой Гроб в данном случае в прямом смысле выступал архетипическим образцом. Нам представляется, что углубление христианизации византийского общества, заставившее отказаться от античных моделей, способствовало тому, что внимание императоров, при жизни готовивших себе место погребения, обратилось к главной святыне христианского мира. Святой Гроб, конечная цель всех паломнических потоков, устремлявшихся в Иерусалим, находился в храме Воскресения в маленькой пещере, над которой был возведен специальный шатер-кувуклий, осеняющий святыню. Сам Гроб предстал перед глазами верующих в виде саркофага простой прямоугольной формы, собранного из тесанных плит и закрывающегося сверху отдельной плитой. Нам представляется, что идея полого саркофага над захоронением импера-

<sup>12</sup> Поповић Д. Српски владарски гроб... с. 195.



тора, также не монолитного, а собранного из тщательно обработанных плит, родилась именно благодаря общению со святыней. Пустота Святого Гроба для христиан всего мира также была знаковым понятием. Она, с одной стороны, свидетельствовала о непреложности факта Воскресения Христа, а с другой — являлась предзнаменованием воскресения каждой христианской души. Обычай же размещать полые саркофаги в аркосолиях, устроенных в стенах храмов, служит дополнительным аргументом, подтверждающим нашу версию, так как аркосолий есть не что иное, как «воспроизведение», образ пещеры, в которой находится Гроб Господень. Многочисленные примеры, почерпнутые из византийских исторических источников, также свидетельствуют о том, что иерусалимская святогробская тема была весьма актуальной при оформлении императорских погребений. Так, известно, что при гробнице императора Мануила Комнина находился красный камень величиною в рост человека. Он считался истинным камнем помазания, на котором тело Христа было повито плащаницей. Император еще при жизни вывез его из Эфеса, и так как это был камень, на котором лежало божественное тело Спасителя, сам нес его, возложив на свой хребет, от Вуколеоновой пристани до дворцового храма. После смерти Мануила камень был установлен на пьедестале у его гробницы<sup>13</sup>.

Толкование архитектурной формы аркосолия как образа святогробской пещеры подтверждают и дошедшие до нас копии Гроба Господня, получившие распространение в Западной Европе в XI–XII вв. Установленные в храмах, они выполняли определенную роль в литургическом ритуале Положения во Гроб — *Depositio*<sup>14</sup>. Внутри этих каменных сооружений саркофаг, знаменующий Гроб Господень, размещался именно в сводчатой нише-аркосолии, подобии иерусалимской пещеры. Яркий пример — устройство копии Гроба Господня в соборе в Аквилее (XI в.) с его глубокой сводчатой нишей<sup>15</sup>. Выразительные аналогии можно найти и в изобразительном материале той эпохи. Так, в соборе Винчестера, в капелле Гроба Господня одна из фресок XII в. представляет сцену Положения во Гроб<sup>16</sup>. Не исключено, что в какой-то степени она является воспроизведением ритуала *Depositio*, однако для нас особенно важно то,

<sup>13</sup> *Mango C.* Notes of Byzantine monuments // DOP. 23–24 (1980–1981); *Никита Хониат.* История начинающаяся с царствования Иоанна Комнина. Т. 1. СПб., 1861, с. 286.

<sup>14</sup> *Sekules V.* The Tomb of Christ at Lincoln and the Development of the Sacrament Shrine: Easter Sepulchres Reconsidered // *Medieval Art and Architecture at Lincoln Cathedral.* Lincoln. 1986.

<sup>15</sup> *Баталов Л. А.* Гроб Господень в сакральном пространстве русского храма // *Восточнохристианские реликвии...*, с. 516, 524.

<sup>16</sup> *Он же.* Гроб Господень в сакральном пространстве русского храма, с. 516; *Беляев Л. А.* Пространство как реликвия: о назначении и символике каменных икон Гроба Господня // *Восточнохристианские реликвии...*, с. 511, ил. 10.

что архитектурным обрамлением этой сцены является арка, изображающая нишу-аркосолий. Кстати сказать, и в русской традиции аркосолии было принято называть либо «каморами», либо «печерами»<sup>17</sup>.

Итак, очевидно, что княжеские погребения в Смоленских храмах, следуют новой византийской модели, которая, в свою очередь, имела прообразом Гроб Господень. Любопытно, что в сравнении с византийскими погребениями они представляют собой некий переходный тип, поскольку смоленские саркофаги, устроенные в аркосолиях, не оставались пустыми, но принимали в себя останки умершего. На торцевых стенках смоленских гробниц сохранились фрагменты орнаментальной росписи, которая, как установил Н. Н. Воронин, имитировала драгоценные византийские ткани. На некоторых гробницах были обнаружены следы от широкошляпочных гвоздей, которыми, по мнению П. А. Раппопорта и Н. Н. Воронина, реальные ткани прикреплялись к нише и покрывали крышку саркофага и его переднюю стенку<sup>18</sup>. Нам пока не известно, существовал ли обычай украшать императорские надгробия этого времени тканями. В литературе, посвященной императорским надгробиям, таких сведений не приводится. Единственный известный нам пример — упоминание Клавихо о надгробии супруги императора Михаила VII (1071–1078), находившемся в церкви Св. Георгия в Константинополе: ее драгоценный саркофаг из ясписа был покрыт шелковой тканью<sup>19</sup>. Однако декоративная ткань — столь излюбленный на Востоке материал украшения интерьеров, что трудно предположить в этом случае абсолютную самостоятельность русских князей в оформлении своих гробниц. Нельзя исключить и то, что сам Святой Гроб в Иерусалиме был покрыт драгоценным покровом. Так или иначе, в русском варианте оформления княжеской гробницы на самом раннем этапе покров был важной составляющей. В конечном счете именно он придавал гробнице, содержащей останки князей, качество драгоценности, почти реликвии, почти реликвария.

Ассоциативную связь семантики оформления княжеской гробницы с главной реликвией христианского мира подтверждают и другие факты. Прежде всего, следует вспомнить знаменитый серебряный «терем» Владимира Мономаха. Как известно, в 1115 г. Владимир Мономах вместе со своими братьями задумал перенести раки с мощами святых Бориса и Глеба в новый храм. Однако между братьями разгорелся жаркий спор по поводу того, куда и как будут поставлены раки. Олег и Давыд Святославичи хотели, чтобы по традиции они были размещены в заранее приго-

<sup>17</sup> ПСРЛ. Т. 1. Стлб. 471; ПСРЛ. Т. 2. Стлб. 280–281.

<sup>18</sup> Воронин Н. Н., Раппопорт П. А. Зодчество Смоленска XII–XIII веков. Л., 1979, с. 209.

<sup>19</sup> Поповић Д. Српски владарски гроб... с. 142, прим. 40.

товленных аркосолиях, тогда как Владимир Мономах настаивал, чтобы их поставили посреди храма под сводом серебряного «терема». Победили Олег и Давыд<sup>20</sup>. Проект Владимира осуществлен не был. Однако для нас интересен сам факт возникновения подобного проекта. Что же представлял собой задуманный Мономахом «терем»? Исследователи убеждены, что прообразом для него послужил киворий, устроенный в базилике святого Димитрия в Фессалониках<sup>21</sup>. Согласно исследованиям Д. Палласа и П. Лемерля, этот киворий изначально располагался в западной части центрального нефа древней базилики, а внутри него находились иконы Христа и Богородицы. Однако уже в конце VI — начале VII вв. укореняется представление о том, что под киворием покоятся мощи самого святого Димитрия, несмотря на то, что в базилике никогда не было собственно мощей, то есть костных останков мученика. В X столетии под киворием стоял пустой саркофаг, на крышке которого был изображен святой Димитрий<sup>22</sup>. Как выглядел знаменитый фессалоникский киворий, мы можем представить благодаря хранящемуся в музеях Кремля серебряному ковчегу XI в. — копии святыни. Этот серебряный реликварий имеет форму октогональной эдикулы, покрытой шатровым сводом. Внутри нее размещен прямоугольный «саркофаг» с выдвигающейся крышкой<sup>23</sup>.

Итак, именно под сводом такого «терема» хотел установить великий киевский князь саркофаги Бориса и Глеба, уподобляя Вышгородский храм салоницкой святыне. Однако возникает вопрос, к какому прообразу восходил сам салоницский киворий? Случайно ли то обстоятельство, что он имел форму эдикулы с шатровым верхом, так сильно напоминающую нам распространившиеся в Европе копии Святого Гроба? Случайно ли возникла идея установить пустой саркофаг под сводами этого кивория? Вполне возможно, что и в византийском мире были распространены копии Святого Гроба, которые либо не дошли до нас, либо пока не идентифицированы как таковые. Заметим лишь, что салоницский киворий, как и европейские копии эдикулы Гроба Господня, занимал место в западной части храма<sup>24</sup>.

Что касается Руси, то следует напомнить, что в Софийском соборе Новгорода, в западной части его южного нефа еще М. К. Каргером были обнаружены остатки белокаменной сени, которые Г. М. Штен-

<sup>20</sup> ПСРЛ. Т. 2. Стлб. 280–281.

<sup>21</sup> *Стерлигова И. А.* Византийский мощевик Димитрия Солунского из Московского Кремля и его судьба в Древней Руси // *Дмитриевский собор. К 800-летию создания.* М., 1997, с. 265.

<sup>22</sup> См.: там же, с. 263, прим. 44, 45.

<sup>23</sup> Там же, с. 255–256.

<sup>24</sup> Там же, с. 263.

дер впоследствии атрибутировал как княжеский митаторий XI в.<sup>25</sup> Т. Ю. Царевская недавно предложила новую интерпретацию и датировку остатков этого сооружения. Она привела убедительные аргументы в пользу того, что это был киворий Святого Гроба, созданный в XII столетии. Более того, исследовательница считает, что в Софийском соборе он мог иметь кроме богослужебного еще и реальное погребальное предназначение. С точки зрения Т. Ю. Царевской, согласованной с данными раскопок В. В. Седова, под киворием либо в непосредственной близости от него находились погребения ктиторов Софийского собора — князя Владимира Ярославича и его матери Анны, перенесенные сюда из южной галереи (установлено, что их останки еще в древности были перезахоронены)<sup>26</sup>. Если выдвинутая гипотеза верна, мы имеем в Софийском соборе наиболее древний русский вариант копии Святого Гроба.

Тем не менее нельзя не признать, что принцип расположения захоронений под киворием или вблизи него был весьма непривычным для времени, когда самой распространенной формой княжеского захоронения было погребение в аркосолии<sup>27</sup>. Этим и объясняется дискуссия, возникшая в 1115 г. между «прогрессивным» Владимиром Мономахом, хотевшим разместить саркофаги с останками Бориса и Глеба под сводами эдикулы, и его братьями-традиционалистами. Владимиру Мономаху, потерпевшему фиаско в осуществлении своего проекта, не оставалось ничего другого, как направить свои усилия на декорацию вновь устроенных «печер» и украсить их таким образом, чтобы приблизить к новому пониманию копии Святого Гроба. «Володимер же окова раце сребром и златом и оукраси гроба ею тако же и комаре покова сребром и златом». Кроме этого, он «искова въ бо сребрьныя дъскы и стыя по ним издражав. И позолотив покова. Воръ (ограду) де сребремь и золотемь с хроустальными великыми разнизании оустрой. Имоушь връху пообилоу злато светильна позолочена и

<sup>25</sup> Штендер Г. М., Сивак С. И. Архитектура интерьера Новгородского Софийского собора и некоторые вопросы богослужения // Византинороссика. Т. 1. Литургия, архитектура и искусство византийского мира. СПб., 1995, с. 295.

<sup>26</sup> Царевская Т. Ю. О царьградских реликвиях Антония Новгородского // Восточнохристианские реликвии..., с. 405–408.

<sup>27</sup> Тем не менее, есть и другие примеры погребения в «тереме». В 1150 г. у святого Спаса в «тереме» было положено тело черниговского князя Игоря Ольговича. В том же храме в «тереме» был погребен митрополит Константин. (См.: ПСРЛ. Т. II. Стлб. 282; ПСРЛ. Т. VII. СПб., 1856, с. 70–71.) Однако некоторые исследователи склоняются к тому, что упоминающийся в летописи «терем» не что иное, как придел. См.: Седов В. В. Погребения «святых князей» и архитектура княжеских усыпальниц Древней Руси // Восточнохристианские реликвии..., с. 450, прим. 22.

на нихъ свеще горяще оустрои в иноу»<sup>28</sup>. И. А. Стерлигова считает, что позолоченные светильники, устроенные в верхней части ограды, были сделаны именно по образцу солунского кивория и, соответственно, по образцу московского серебряного ковчежца, на котором светильники в виде чаш украшают карниз «ограды» эдикулы<sup>29</sup>. Так, в сверкании серебра и золота, хрустальных «разнизаний» и горящих светильников предстают перед нашим мысленным взором аркосолии, в которых были поставлены первые раки с мощами первых русских святых князей<sup>30</sup>. Однако несмотря на то, что Борис и Глеб уже тогда почитались как святые и их раки были обильно украшены, все-таки в системе захоронений родового храма-усыпальницы они не были выделены как особое явление, но оставались самыми украшенными в ряду всех прочих княжеских погребений. Это обстоятельство убедительно свидетельствует в пользу того, что в домонгольской Руси XII–XIII вв. главной святыней для князей была их родовая усыпальница, внутри которой каждое захоронение, подтверждающее своим присутствием незыблемость и вечную жизнь рода, обретало свою ценность как часть целого, уходящего корнями в далекое прошлое. И смоленские, и вышгородский примеры, так же как и не упомянутые здесь, но широко известные примеры погребений в храмах владимиросудзальской земли<sup>31</sup>, были «украсно украшены» и в этом смысле уподоблены святыне. Для сравнения укажем на тот факт, что монашеские погребения домонгольской эпохи в Киево-Печерской Лавре, которые совершались в рукотворных пещерах, не имели никаких украшений, несмотря на то, что там были погребены весьма значимые для той эпохи личности<sup>32</sup>.

Демонстрируемое русским средневековым обществом отношение к княжескому гробу как к сакральному объекту безусловно восходило к глубокой древности. Хорошо известно, что в языческом мире было укоренено представление о том, что присутствие царя в городе магическим образом защищает город от неприятеля<sup>33</sup>. В Древней Руси это поверье распространялось и на усопших правителей. Не случайно князья-братья Борис и Глеб с самого начала стали восприниматься как

<sup>28</sup> Успенский сборник XII–XIII вв. М., 1971, с. 68–69.

<sup>29</sup> Стерлигова И. А. С. Византийский мощевик Димитрия Солунского из Московского Кремля и его судьба в Древней Руси, с. 263.

<sup>30</sup> Там же, с. 255.

<sup>31</sup> Седов В. В. Погребения «святых князей» и архитектура княжеских усыпальниц Древней Руси // Восточнохристианские реликвии. М., 2003.

<sup>32</sup> Ермонская В. В. Памятники Древней Руси // Русская мемориальная скульптура. К истории художественного надгробия в России XI–XX в. М., 1978, с. 19.

<sup>33</sup> Блок М. Короли-чудотворцы. 1988, с. 125.

молитвенники за княжеский род, за принадлежащий ему город, за отечество. Псковичи, начиная с XIII в., с молитвами о защите города обращались к своему первому князю Всеволоду, погребенному в Троицком соборе. В минуты особой опасности мощи князя обносили вокруг стен города. Русским людям была близка и идея «харизмы крови», которую исповедовали древние германцы: они верили, что властность и могущество наследуются представителями особого священного рода. Именно из представителей такого рода они избирали своих вождей<sup>34</sup>. Например, новгородцы в XII в. стремились приглашать на новгородский стол князей из рода Мстислава Храброго, а с каждого приглашенного князя брали клятву умереть в Новгороде и быть погребенным в Софийском соборе рядом со своим прославленным предком. В летописи приведен красноречивый рассказ о том, как новгородцы выгнали из города князя Всеволода Мстиславича, предъявив ему целый список проступков, но когда Всеволод умер, будучи уже псковским князем, они явились в Псков с требованием вернуть мощи Всеволода, которые, по их словам, были необходимы «на утверждение Великому Новгороду и на исцеление недугом»<sup>35</sup>. Этот эпизод из русской истории, относящийся к 1138 г. ясно показывает, что погребенный в городском соборе правитель, в котором русские люди видели общего предка, «отца народа», часто приобретал статус молитвенника, защитника города перед Богом задолго до его официальной канонизации, а его гробница становилась местом молитвенного поклонения. Подчеркнем здесь, что этому в немалой степени способствовала принятая система декорации княжеского гроба.

В XIII в. появился еще один тип надгробия — белокаменная плита (самый ранний известный пример — плита из Рязанского музея — имеет дату 1237 г. ), которая могла служить памятником и для захоронения на кладбище, и для могилы, устроенной в храме<sup>36</sup>. Именно этому типу суждено было стать самым распространенным. Археологи видят причину этого явления в еще более широком и глубоком распространении христианства, проповедавшего равенство всех социальных слоев перед лицом смерти. Добавим также, что XIII в. стал временем страшного татарского разорения, и храмовое строительство в этот период практически не велось. В XIV–XV вв. шли кровопролитные феодальные войны, что также не могло способствовать развитию такого явления, как

<sup>34</sup> См. прим. 30.

<sup>35</sup> ПСРЛ. Т. 21. Ч. 1. С. 199.

<sup>36</sup> Ермонская В. В. Памятники Древней Руси // Русская мемориальная скульптура. К истории художественного надгробия в России XI–XX в. М., 1978, с. 21–22; Беляев Л. А. Русское средневековое надгробие. М., 1996, с. 41–45, 65–74.

родовая усыпальница. По экономическим причинам снизилась активность князей как заказчиков новых храмов. Все это привело к тому, что новый упрощенный тип надгробия оказался востребованным широкими социальными слоями, в том числе и княжеской средой. Такие плиты, вытесанные из белого камня и украшенные геометрическим орнаментом, семантика которого подробно исследована Л. А. Беляевым<sup>37</sup>, как правило, или незначительно возвышались или находились почти на одном уровне с грунтом или с отмосткой храма. А так как храмы довольно часто перестраивались, то многие захоронения благополучно «терялись», и о них прочно забывали с тем, чтобы впоследствии заново открыть и обрести уже в новом качестве. Еще в 1931 г. замечательный русский историк Г. В. Федотов, исследуя понятие княжеской святости, отмечал, что почитание князей в Древней Руси зачастую вырастало не из живой памяти об их деяниях, а из «немой гробницы», сохранявшей иногда лишь святое имя князя, в ней погребенного<sup>38</sup>. Запечатленное на гробовом камне имя позволяло «навивать» вокруг него «ноосферическую» ткань святости<sup>39</sup>.

Действительно, на сегодняшний день данные археологии, сопоставленные с летописными свидетельствами, позволяют констатировать, что история русской княжеской святости — это история идентификации гробниц, обнаруженных при перестройках древних соборов либо в связи с какими-то другими особыми обстоятельствами. Наибольшее количество таких идентификаций приходится на XV–XVI вв., время интенсивного формирования пантеона русских святых. Так, например, хорошо известно, что в Софийском новгородском соборе хоронили представителей высшей знати республики — архиепископов и князей — начиная с XI в. Однако в XV в. обнаружилось, что современники не могли точно определить, кому именно принадлежит та или иная гробница. Когда архиепископ Евфимий задумал установить местное празднование погребенным в соборе князьям и святителям, ему потребовались знамения и чудеса, чтобы определить, где чья гробница. Опись соборного имущества, сделанная в XVII в., донесла до нас рассказы о таких чудесах, большинство из которых относится именно к XV–XVI вв.<sup>40</sup> В них говорится о том, что чудесная сила содержащихся в гробнице останков требует выволить ее из забвения и выделить из ряда безымянных надгробий. Показательна в этом смысле и история прославления ярославских князей Василия и Константина. В Ярославле

<sup>37</sup> Беляев Л. А. Русское средневековое надгробие. М., 1996, с. 38–195.

<sup>38</sup> Федотов Г. П. Святые Древней Руси. М., 1990, с. 105–106.

<sup>39</sup> Топоров В. Н. Святость и святые в русской духовной культуре. Т. 1. М., 1995, с. 428.

<sup>40</sup> См.: Янин В. Л. Некрополь Новгородского Софийского собора. М., 1988, с. 7–12.

в 1501 г. сгорела древняя Успенская церковь<sup>41</sup>. Среди обгорелых камней нашли два гроба с надписанными на них именами князей Василия и Константина. На основании местных преданий они были идентифицированы как сыновья Всеволода Константиновича. Народная память немедленно связала факт их смерти с преданием о гибели русских князей в бою с татарами на Туговой горе<sup>42</sup>, несмотря на то, что в летописи сообщалось о смерти князя Василия, последовавшей во Владимире, а о князе Константине вообще не было никаких сведений. От найденных княжеских гробов последовали чудесные исцеления<sup>43</sup>, и по завершении строительства собора мощи князей Василия и Константина были положены на правой стороне храма между столпов для поклонения, а список почитаемых ярославских святых пополнился двумя новыми именами.

Нередко «обретение» останков князей, погребенных в том или ином храме, носило целенаправленный характер, обусловленный определенными историческими событиями. Так, создание или, скорее всего, восстановление культа муромского князя Константина и его двух сыновей непосредственно связано с той особой ролью, которую Мурому выпало играть при подготовке Иваном Грозным казанской военной кампании. Иван Грозный посетил Муром, чтобы просить помощи у муромских святых. Одна из редакций Жития Константина рассказывает о том, что царь «у чудотворцев [князей Константина и его сыновей, Михаила и Федора. — Т. С.] учал прощатися со слезами»<sup>44</sup>. О том, что в соборе была рака с мощами князей, ничего не сказано. Очевидно, согласно древней традиции, царь молился в храме у места погребения муромских князей, а чтобы у него не оставалось сомнений в том, что именно там были погребены его сродники, клир церкви продемонстрировал Ивану Грозному «дцку каменную велику самородную», на которой были высечены имена князя и его сыновей. Этот факт приведен в одном из сборников XVII в.<sup>45</sup> Одержав победу над Казанью, царь по обету построил в Муроме Благовещенскую церковь с приделом, посвященным муромскому князю<sup>46</sup>. Тогда-то, при подготовке фундамента, и «обрели» мощи святых князей, а прибывший в Муром епископ Гурий переложил их в раку и поставил ее «в стене каменной, в пещере», то есть в аркосолии<sup>47</sup>. Так, мы видим, в данном случае своеобразный

<sup>41</sup> Ключевский В. О. Древнерусские жития как исторический источник. М., 1871, с. 175–176.

<sup>42</sup> Ключевский В. О. Древнерусские жития как исторический источник. М., 1871, с. 175–176.

<sup>43</sup> Прохоров Г. М. Пахомий // Словарь книжников и книжности Древней Руси. С. 177.

<sup>44</sup> Сокращенная редакция Жития благоверного князя Константина Муромского // Се-ребрянский Н. Н. Древнерусские княжеские жития. М., 1915, с. 100–107.

<sup>45</sup> Сборник XVII в. РГБ. Собр. Долгова. № 53. Л. 355–356 об.

<sup>46</sup> ПСРЛ. Т. 7, с. 130, 141; ПСРЛ. Т. 6, с. 305.

<sup>47</sup> Там же.



акт возврата к домонгольской форме погребения, которая теперь, однако предназначалась для останков прославленного святого.

В XVI столетии наблюдается процесс постепенного возвышения надгробной плиты над уровнем пола и превращения ее в надгробие<sup>48</sup>. Это ясно видно на одной из миниатюр Лицевого летописного свода, где изображен интерьер Архангельского собора, заполненный возвышающимися над полом надгробиями, имеющими двускатное, плоское или коробовое покрытие<sup>49</sup>. В некоторых случаях наблюдается своеобразный возврат к византийской идее полого саркофага, стоящего над могилой. Археологические исследования в усыпальнице Ивана Грозного показали, что первый русский царь и два его сына были погребены в белокаменных саркофагах антропоморфной формы, крышка которых находилась почти в одном уровне с полом, тогда как над ней была возведена так называемая надгробница, выложенная в один кирпич и имеющая вид полого саркофага<sup>50</sup>. Поздние источники указывают на то, что иногда над местом захоронения возводились деревянные «надгробницы». Так, Описание Спасо-Прилуцкого монастыря в Вологде 1623 г. свидетельствует, что над захоронением князя-инока Игнатия Угличского, умершего в 1525 г. была устроена деревянная надгробница<sup>51</sup>. «Гроб древян» над захоронением Владимира Ярославича упоминает Описание Новгородского собора 1617 г., а в Новгородской Первой летописи сказано, что архиепископ Евфимий «позлати гроб князя Володимера, внука великого Володимера, и подписа...»<sup>52</sup>. Не исключено, что речь здесь также идет о деревянном надгробном саркофаге. Это позволяет предположить, что деревянные надгробницы устраивались и ранее XVII в., однако в результате многочисленных пожаров и перестроек в храмах они исчезали, возобновлялись и снова исчезали и потому не дошли до нас. Мы не знаем точно, как выглядели деревянные надгробницы, но знаем, что их расписывали и золотили, подобно ракам святых. Вполне возможно, что на новом историческом витке именно деревянные резные или окованные серебром раки повлияли на возрождение надгробия в виде полого саркофага. Эти два типа надгробия — возвышающаяся над полом плита и полый «саркофаг» — сохранились и в XVII столетии. Относительно царского храма-усыпальницы — Архангельского собо-

<sup>48</sup> *Беляев Л. А.* Русское средневековое надгробие. М., 1996, с. 146.

<sup>49</sup> Лицевой летописный свод. XVI в. Шумиловский том. СПб. РНБ. Л. 679 об.; Остермановский том. СПб., БРАН. Л. 302.

<sup>50</sup> *Панова Т. Д.* Средневековый погребальный ритуал по материалам некрополя Архангельского собора Московского Кремля // Советская археология. М., 1987. № 4.

<sup>51</sup> *Савваитов П.* Описание Вологодского Спасо-Прилуцкого монастыря. Вологда, 1844, с. 34–35.

<sup>52</sup> Новгородская Первая летопись старшего и младшего изводов. М.; Л., 1950, с. 35.

ра — известно, что в царствование Михаила Федоровича была предпринята попытка унифицировать все находящиеся в этом храме надгробия, придать им единообразный вид. Их облицовывали белокаменными резными плитами и расписывали<sup>53</sup>.

Вне зависимости от эпохи княжеский гроб внутри храма, благодаря украшенности, образовывал вокруг себя «концентрированное» пространство святости. Самым древним и, пожалуй, самым главным элементом его декорации была, как мы видели уже на примере смоленских памятников, драгоценная ткань, покров. Летописи предоставляют нам материал, говорящий о том, что первоначально в XII–XIII вв. роль покровов выполняли порты. Так в древней Руси называли одежду, ткань. «Порты блаженных первых князей еже бяху повешены в церквах на память собе» упоминаются, например, в летописном рассказе о разграблении в 1203 г. Рюриком Ростиславичем Десятинной церкви и Софийского собора<sup>54</sup>. Княжеские «порты», повешенные при гробе, в глазах современников приобретали статус княжеской реликвии, поскольку были личной вещью, тесно связанной с памятью о погребенном. Летописец даже называет князей, похороненных в Десятинной церкви и Софийском соборе, «блаженными», прилагая к ним термин, которым, как правило, обозначали местно почитаемых святых. Интересно, что княжеский обычай вкладывать в храм на помин души свои парадные одежды оказался очень устойчивым и, несколько видоизменившись, продолжал существовать и в эпоху позднего средневековья. Так, протоиерей Н. Д. Извеков, автор книги об Архангельском соборе Кремля, упоминает о том, что после совершения погребения семья покойного князя оставляла в дар причту храма-усыпальницы богатую княжескую шубу, покрывавшую гроб. Правда, в этот период шуба уже не использовалась для украшения гробницы, а служила своеобразной наградой причту<sup>55</sup>. Сейчас трудно сказать, когда именно произошла замена княжеских одежд традиционной формой надгробного покровца, так как история покровца пока остается неисследованной. Тем не менее, можно с уверенностью говорить о существовании таких покровцов в XV–XVI вв. В связи с покровцом нельзя не вспомнить знаменитое письмо Ивана Грозного к кирилловским монахам, где он «критикует» их за то, что

<sup>53</sup> *Снегирев И. М.* Москва. Подробное историческое и археологическое описание города. Т. 2. М., 1873, с. 21.

<sup>54</sup> ПСРЛ. Т. 1. Л., 1926. Стб. 418.

<sup>55</sup> Царь Алексей Михайлович заменил обычай оставлять причту богатую шубу денежной наградой. См.: *Извеков Н. Д.* Московский придворный Архангельский собор. Сергиев Посад, 1916, с. 152. Об этом же сообщает А. Лебедев, ссылаясь на сведения, почерпнутые им из жалованных грамот великих князей и царей. См.: *Лебедев А.* Московский кафедральный Архангельский собор. М., 1880, с. 32.

сосланным в монастырь боярам по смерти оказывались слишком большие почести. Первый русский царь Иван Грозный подчеркивал, что привилегия иметь покров на гроб должна принадлежать только представителям царской власти и официально канонизированным святым. Он писал: «...лишь царской власти достоин величаться церковью, гробницею и покровом»<sup>56</sup>. Однако сам предмет речи самодержца свидетельствует о том, что украшение надгробия покровом было довольно широко распространено в аристократических кругах. Описи Иосифо-Волоколамского монастыря XVI в. не только упоминают, но и подробно описывают надгробные покровы прямоугольной формы на гробах князей Волоцких, нашедших упокоение под сводами монастырского собора в самом начале XVI столетия. Их самой примечательной чертой является шитое в среднике изображение креста, а также летопись, идущая по кайме<sup>57</sup>. В уже упоминавшейся нами Описи Софийского новгородского собора рассказывается о чуде, произошедшем в соборе в 1551 г. «Некий царедворец... видя гроб неведомого архиерея в небрежении, положи намерение о нем попещися... и абие услыша неведомый глас, рекший: „Подобает покровену быти гробу“»<sup>58</sup>. Этот эпизод истории собора не только подтверждает принятый обычай покрывать гробницу надгробным покровом, но и говорит о том, что покров был самым главным, самым необходимым элементом декорации гроба, способным выделить его из ряда безымянных гробниц. Драгоценная ткань образовывала род сени над гробницей, наделяя и сам гроб, и покоящиеся в нем останки качеством святыни, реликвии. Вышитый на покрове голгофский крест выражал христианскую идею жизни за гробом. Именно такую интерпретацию функции покрова подтверждает надпись на покрове царевича Алексея Алексеевича: «Божию милостию великий государь царь и великий князь Алексей Михайлович... повеле сии покров украсити и положи на гробницу идеже погребено тело сына ево... во украшение и в надежду будущего упования...»<sup>59</sup>. Хорошо известны надгробные покровы из Архангельского собора. Все они относятся к XVII в., но можно предполагать, что принцип их декорации всходит к значительно более ранним временам. Просто со временем заменяли ветшавшую

<sup>56</sup> Послание Ивана Грозного в Кирилло-Белозерский монастырь // Памятники литературы Древней Руси. Вторая половина XVI в. С. 153.

<sup>57</sup> ЦГАДА. Ф. 1192. Оп. 2. Д. 365, 1572 г. Л. 15 об.; ИРЛИ. Древнехранилище. Р. IV. Оп. 26. Д. 20. 1591 г. Л. 29 об. Приношу благодарность за эти сведения В. А. Меньяло.

<sup>58</sup> Описание Новгородского Софийского кафедрального собора // Труды XV Археологического съезда в Новгороде. 1911. М., 1916, с. 75–76.

<sup>59</sup> Вишневецкая И. И., Смирнова Н. А. Предметы из тканей в ризнице Архангельского собора // Архангельский собор Московского Кремля. М., 2002, с. 383.

тканевую основу, перешивая на нее древние серебряные дробницы, из которых составлялся крест, и жемчужную обнизь<sup>60</sup>.

Изображение голгофского креста на покрове говорит о том, что принцип его декорации следовал византийской традиции. В Византии гроб императора никогда не украшали изображением погребенного в нем, как это делали на Западе (имеются в виду так называемые «gisants»), но только крестом или орнаментальными мотивами. Так, на гробницу Исаака Комнина была возложена мраморная плита, украшенная серебряным энколпионом<sup>61</sup>. В Древней Руси для изготовления покрыва на гроб князя или царя выбирались самые дорогие и нарядные ткани, причем из описания царских гробниц в Архангельском соборе, сделанного в XVII в. Павлом Алеппским, известно, что для украшения надгробий существовало два комплекта — каждодневный и парадный<sup>62</sup>. В том случае, когда погребенный князь являл через чудеса свою святость и вставал вопрос о его церковной канонизации, на гробницу заказывался лицевой покров с изображением погребенного. Так, в 1501 г. невестка последнего ярославского князя Мария завершила работу над лицевым покровом на гроб ярославских князей Федора, Давида и Константина, задуманным в 1463 г., после того, как были прославлены их чудотворные мощи<sup>63</sup>. Раку царевича Дмитрия в Архангельском соборе первоначально, как полагают исследователи, покрывал покров с Голгофским крестом, аналогичный тем, что лежали и на других княжеских гробницах в соборе. Однако уже в 1626 г. на нее как на гробницу прославленного святого был возложен лицевой покров, который знаменит иконописец Иван Владимиров<sup>64</sup>, а уже в 1730 г. один покров находился непосредственно на мощах царевича, а поверх раки лежало пять лицевых покровов и один ветхий с голгофским крестом<sup>65</sup>. Таким образом, многочисленные покровы на раку, созданные и вложенные в собор за этот период, стали в прямом смысле «тканью святости»: количество покровов самым непосредственным образом отражало степень почитания последнего Рюриковича.

<sup>60</sup> Вишневецкая И. И., Смирнова Н. А. Предметы из тканей в ризнице Архангельского собора. С. 383–387.

<sup>61</sup> Ševčenko N. The Tomb of Isaak Komnenos at Pherrai // The Greek Orthodox Theological Review. 1984. Vol. 29, № 2, p. 135–140.

<sup>62</sup> Павел Алеппский. Путешествие Антиохийского патриарха Макария в Россию в половине XVII века, описанное его сыном. М., 1898. Вып. 3, кн. 8, с. 106.

<sup>63</sup> Якунина Л. И. Памятники портретного шитья конца XV в. // Древнерусское искусство XV — начала XVI веков. М., 1963.

<sup>64</sup> Маясова Н. А. Произведения лицевого шитья из Архангельского собора // Архангельский собор Московского Кремля. М., 2002, с. 347.

<sup>65</sup> Там же.

Покров был главным, но не единственным предметом, формирующим пространство княжеского гроба. Гробницы, размещенные вдоль стен храма, включались в смысловое поле, образуемое теми композициями росписи храма, которые находились в непосредственной близости. Как правило, если расписывался храм, в котором уже находилась гробница либо заранее было определено ее место, то над ней старались разместить, во-первых, портрет ктитора, а во-вторых, сюжеты, связанные с темой молитвы о его судьбе за гробом («Деисус») или являющиеся выражением надежды на воскресение («Распятие», «Жены-мироносицы у гроба Господня», «Воскресение» и др.). Жизнь и развитие этой древней византийской традиции в средневековых храмах Сербии и Греции прекрасно показаны в трудах Д. Попович, Т. Папамасторакиса, С. Чурчича, М. Эмануэль<sup>66</sup>.

Немногочисленные дошедшие до нас древнерусские памятники XII–XIII в. свидетельствуют, что Русь в общих чертах следовала византийской традиции. Так, над самой древней княжеской гробницей в Мартирьевской паперти Софийского собора был написан «Деисус», фреска, которая датируется, как и сама гробница, началом XIII в.<sup>67</sup> К этому же времени, по-видимому, относятся и так называемые «княжеские головы» — фрагменты фресок с изображением персонажей в светских одеждах, найденные в ходе раскопок в Мартирьевской паперти. Не исключено, что они представляют собой фрагменты надгробных княжеских «портретов». Хорошо известен ктиторийский портрет князя Владимира Ярославича в церкви Спаса на Нередице (1199 г.) и изображение византийской принцессы, матери князя Всеволода, в церкви Бориса и Глеба в Кидекше (80-е гг. XII в.)<sup>68</sup>. Фрагменты росписи некоторых аркосолиев смоленских храмов XII–XIII вв. также идентифицируются как «деисусы», композиции патронального характера либо изображения ктиторов<sup>69</sup>.

<sup>66</sup> Поповић Д. Српски владарски гроб... с. 184; Emmanuel M. Funerary Iconographic Programmes in the Chapels of Mystras // Древнерусское искусство. СПб., 2002; Ćurčić S. Medieval Royal Tomb in the Balkans. An Aspect of the “East or West” Question // Greek Orthodox Review. 1984. Vol. 29; Papamastorakis T. Funerary Representations in the Middle and Late Byzantine periods. Athens, 1997.

<sup>67</sup> Янин В. Л. Некрополь Софийского собора. М., 1988, с. 26.; Штендер Г. М. «Деисус» Мартирьевской паперти Софийского собора в Новгороде // Древнерусское искусство. Монументальная живопись XI–XVII вв. М., 1980; Дмитриев Ю. Н. Стенные росписи Новгорода, их реставрация и исследование (работы 1945–1948 гг.) // Практика реставрационных работ. М., 1950. Сб. 1, с. 153.

<sup>68</sup> Пивоварова Н. В. Ктиторийская тема в иконографической программе церкви Спаса на Нередице // Вспомогательные исторические дисциплины. Л., 1991. Т. 23; Сычев Н. П. Предполагаемое изображение жены великого князя Юрия Долгорукого // Сообщения Института истории искусства АН СССР. Вып. 1. М., 1951.

<sup>69</sup> Воронин Н. Н. Смоленская живопись XII–XIII веков. М., 1977, с. 54, 74.

В непосредственной близости гробницы помещались иконы, которые развивали и артикулировали пространство царского гроба. Н. Шевченко опубликовала дошедшее до нас описание гробницы Исаака Комнина, устроенной его волею в нартексе церкви монастыря Богоматери Космосотирии, где говорится, что гробница была отделена от остального пространства нартекса бронзовой оградой, а в непосредственной близости от гроба располагались иконы. Это были иконы Христа и Богоматери Космосотирии, а также портреты почивших родителей императора и его собственное изображение иконного характера<sup>70</sup>. Драгоценные дошедшие до нас сведения об оформлении царской гробницы, позволяют поставить вопрос о генезисе так называемых древнерусских надгробных иконостасов, которые известны по описаниям Архангельского собора и соборного некрополя Новодевичьего монастыря. Надгробные иконостасы Архангельского собора были подробно описаны в XIX в. протоиереем А. Лебедевым (при написании книги, посвященной этому храму, он пользовался не дошедшей до нас соборной описью XVII в.)<sup>71</sup>. В XVII столетии надгробные иконостасы, воздвигнутые у гробниц первых царей из рода Романовых, включали в себя иконный портрет погребенного, патрональную икону, то есть образ соименного ему святого, мерную или родимую икону и так называемые гробовые иконы Богоматери и Иисуса Христа<sup>72</sup>. Все они располагались над каменной украшенной гробницей, покрытой драгоценным покровом.

Недостаток материала не позволяет последовательно проследить эволюцию такого явления, как надгробный иконостас, однако пунктирную линию наметить можно. Самое раннее известное нам упоминание надгробной иконы содержится в летописи под 1243 г., где сообщается, что в Пскове в Иоанновском монастыре над гробом жены князя Ярослава Владимировича находилась икона святого Спаса, которая начала мироточить<sup>73</sup>. Возможно, над гробом митрополита Петра в Успенском соборе находился знаменитый «Спас Оплечный» XIV в., на что косвенным образом указывает Опись имущества Успенского собора, составленная в XVII столетии<sup>74</sup>. По-видимому, это были иконы, подобные образам Спасителя и Богоматери Космосотирии на гробнице Исаака Комнина, которые в русской традиции получили название гробовых.

<sup>70</sup> Ševčenko N. The Tomb of Isaak Komnenos at Pherrai // The Greek Orthodox Theological Review. 1984. Vol. 29. № 2, p. 135–140.

<sup>71</sup> Лебедев А. Московский кафедральный Архангельский собор. М., 1880, с. 176–193.

<sup>72</sup> Сорокатый В. М. Некоторые надгробные иконостасы Архангельского собора Московского Кремля // Древнерусское искусство. Проблемы и атрибуции. М., 1977.

<sup>73</sup> ПСРЛ. VII. М., 2001. Стб. 1244.

<sup>74</sup> Попова О. С. Искусство Новгорода и Москвы первой половины XIV в. Его связи с Византией. М., 1980, с. 240, прим. 200.

Из описания русского погребального ритуала XVI–XVII вв. мы знаем, что немаловажное место в нем отводилось так называемым гробовым иконам, в качестве которых выступали иконы Спасителя и Богоматери. Они принимали участие в похоронной процессии — их нес впереди гроба специально назначенный протопоп. Они находились на аналое во время чина последнего целования: — икону целовали, перед тем как попрощаться с умершим<sup>75</sup>, после чего она оставалась в храме при гробе, занимая свое место в надгробном иконостасе. В русской традиции в похоронной процессии участвовали иконы, которые брались из покоев умершего. Как правило, это были образы, особенно почитавшиеся умершим при жизни. Так, гробовой иконой Ивана Грозного, по-видимому, была Богоматерь Иосафовская, которую ему предположительно подарил митрополит Иосаф при крещении<sup>76</sup>. Документально известно, что эта икона, имеющая невероятно роскошный оклад, находилась в усыпальнице Ивана Грозного, устроенной в диаконнике Архангельского собора, и лишь позднее, как особая святыня, была установлена на специальном аналое слева от царских врат<sup>77</sup>. Гробовые иконы царей Романовых, находившиеся в надгробных иконостасах над их захоронениями в Архангельском соборе, представляют собой образы Христа или Богоматери. Они невелики по размерам, но также имеют богатые оклады.

Первое по времени упоминание о надгробных патрональных иконах и иконных портретах относится к XVI в. Согласно Описи имущества Иосифо-Волоколамского монастыря 1572 г., в юго-западном углу монастырского собора находились гробницы двух волоцких князей, братьев Ивана Борисовича и Федора Борисовича, а над их гробницами стояли две иконы. «На одной писан Иван Богослов, в облаче образ Спасов, да на той же иконе написано лицо подобие князя Ивана Борисовича. А на другой иконе написан Федор Стратилат, во облаче образ Спасов, да на той же иконе написано лицо подобие князя Федора Борисовича».<sup>78</sup> Методом сравнительного анализа Описей Иосифо-Волоколамского монастыря, относящихся к XVI и XVII столетиям, В. А. Меняйло удалось установить, что иконы эти были небольшими

<sup>75</sup> О преставлении и погребении царицы Агафии Сменовны. О преставлении и погребении царевича Ильи Федоровича. О преставлении и погребении царевны Татьяны Михайловны. О преставлении и погребении царя Федора Алексеевича // Древняя Российская Вивлиофика. Ч. 11. М., 1789, с. 207–216.

<sup>76</sup> Щенникова Л. А. О двух чтимых богородичных иконах Архангельского собора // Архангельский собор Московского Кремля. М., 2002, с. 287.

<sup>77</sup> Максимович М. А. Опись домашнего имущества царя Ивана Васильевича по спискам и книгам 90 и 91 годов. М., 1850, с. 1.

<sup>78</sup> ЦГАДА. Ф. 1192. Оп. 2. Д. 365, 1572 г. Л. 15 об.

по размеру двусторонними пядницами или локотницами. На лицевой стороне был изображен святой соименник князя в молении Спасу, а на оборотной — подобие князя. Иконы выполнены по смерти князей и датируются соответственно 1503 и 1513 гг.<sup>79</sup> Опись сообщает также, что к иконам были сделаны запоны из желтой тафты. Написание икон вскоре после смерти волоцких князей позволяет предположить, что их изображения носили портретный характер. Возможно, портреты погребенных создавались и в более раннее время. Так, на иконе конца XVI в. «Александр Невский в житии» на одном из клейм изображена гробница Александра Ярославича, а над нею — погрудный образ святого князя, облаченного в схиму.

Идея сосуществования на одной иконной доске портретного образа погребенного и образа его святого покровителя, прозвучавшая в волоцких надгробных иконах, получила дальнейшее развитие в середине 60-х гг. XVI в. Именно к этому времени относится создание для Архангельского собора надгробной иконы великого князя Василия III, которая, как установила Т. Б. Власова, первоначально находилась в нижнем ярусе иконостаса непосредственно над гробницей великого князя<sup>80</sup>. На этой иконе, в отличие от волоцких образов, изображения князя и его святого покровителя не разнесены по разные стороны иконной доски, но представлены в молитвенном предстоянии по сторонам от изображения Богоматери Знамение в верхнем сегменте. Интересно отметить, что именно XVI век дал всплеск развития иконографии, согласно которой на иконе изображался русский святой из числа недавно канонизированных в молении Спасу или Богоматери Знамение в паре со святым, с которым его связывали узы духовного родства. Так, в 1544 г. в Великом Устюге была написана икона юродивого Прокопия Устюжского с преподобным Варлаамом Хутыньским. Эта икона находилась при гробе Прокопия Устюжского в церкви Бориса и Глеба<sup>81</sup>. Из села Ошевенское происходит икона XVI в., изображающая Александра Ошевенского вместе с Кириллом Белозерским (Архангельский музей изобразительных искусств). На одной из икон XVI в. из ГТГ Кирилл Белозерский изображен в паре с Кириллом Александрийским. Как мы видим, в ряде случаев подобные иконы создавались для гробниц уже прославленных святых, и именно они, по-видимому, послужили источником идеи над-

<sup>79</sup> *Меняйло В. А.* Иконы инока Паисия в Иосифо-Волоколамском монастыре // Центральный музей древнерусской культуры и искусства имени Андрея Рублева. Материалы научных конференций. 1989–1990 гг. Вып. 1. М., 1991, с. 16–19.

<sup>80</sup> *Власова Т. Б.* История формирования иконостасов Архангельского собора // Архангельский собор Московского Кремля. М., 2002, с. 243.

<sup>81</sup> *Сорокатый В. М.* Образ Прокопия Устюжского в иконе // Житие святого праведного Прокопия Христа ради Устюжского чудотворца. М., 2003, с. 129.



гробной иконы Василия III, которого Иван Грозный страстно хотел причислить к лику святых<sup>82</sup>. Именно эта икона стала первым надгробным образом Архангельского собора. В 1564–1565 гг. она в свою очередь вдохновила на создание надгробных портретов князей московского дома, ставших частью созданного в эти годы фрескового ансамбля. Разница состояла лишь в том, что на фресках святой покровитель князя был изображен в медальоне, так как очевидно, что в масштабах композиции стены невозможно было осуществить идею «парного портрета» в молении Спасу. Впоследствии, однако, данная идея была реализована в надгробных портретах первых Романовых, которым не осталось другой возможности, кроме как продолжить династическую портретную галерею в иконных образах: в молении Спасу вместе со своими святыми покровителями-соименниками изображены царевичи Иван Михайлович и Василий Михайлович.

Кроме патрональных, гробовых икон определенное место в надгробном иконостасе отводилось мерным иконам, писавшимся в меру роста новорожденного младенца. Нам неизвестно, когда именно мерные иконы, составлявшие «личную святость» умершего, попадали в надгробный иконостас. Однако саму идею их присутствия в надгробных иконостасах помогают понять миниатюры иллюстрированных Синодиков, которые в русской традиции являются аналогом западноевропейской книге *Ars moriendi*<sup>83</sup>. На одной из миниатюр Синодика XVII в. изображено, как мамка качает в люльке спеленутого младенца. В нижней части той же миниатюры — гроб, в котором в погребальных пеленах лежит умерший. Миниатюра снабжена следующей подписью: «Приидите, последнее целование дадим брату умершему, Бога похваляюще, се бо отшел... от рождения своего... от суеты страстных плоти во гроб идет» (Мин. 13)<sup>84</sup>. Текст и изображение раскрывают идею пространства жизненного пути, заключенного между иконой в меру роста новорожденного и его гробницей, между его отправной и конечной вехой: при рождении измеряли пришедшего в мир человека, чтобы в меру роста написать икону его святого покровителя, по смерти с него снимали мерку для изготовления гроба.

<sup>82</sup> Самойлова Т. Е. «Новооткрытый» портрет Василия III и идеи святости государя и государева рода // Искусствознание. 1. М., 1999, с. 51–53.

<sup>83</sup> Возникновение Синодика как книги определенного типа относится к XV в. Окончательно он оформился в XVII столетии, превратившись в иллюстрированный миниатюрами сборник, заключавший в себе поминания и рассказы, объединенные темой необходимости поминовения усопших. См.: Петухов Е. В. Очерки литературной истории Синодика. СПб., 1895, с. 122, 147, 153.

<sup>84</sup> Гольцман И. Г. Альбом рисунков рукописных Синодиков 1651, 1679, 1688. Мстера, 1885.

Покрытый покровом, княжеский гроб с установленным над ним иконостасом нередко выделялся из общего пространства храма решетками-оградами. Бронзовая решетка, окружавшая гроб, упомянута и в описании гробницы Исаака Комнина в монастыре Богородицы Космо-сотирии<sup>85</sup>. Бронзовые решетки окружали и гробницы Романовых в Архангельском соборе<sup>86</sup>. Решетка-ограда выделяла гробницу из общего пространства храма, создавая вокруг нее пространство частной надгробной молитвы. Такое решение было оправдано и с литургической точки зрения. Известно, что в Архангельском соборе Кремля существовало особое «расписание» поминовения всех погребенных в нем князей по дням памяти: каждому князю «праздновали» в день его рождения и в день его кончины<sup>87</sup>. В эти дни на гробницах поставлялись особого рода сосуды для поминальной кутьи и меда. У отеческих гробов князья испрашивали молитвенной помощи в военных походах, приводились к клятве верности старшему брату, а впоследствии «знаменовались» у гробов родителей после коронации<sup>88</sup>.

Важным элементом в создании сакрального пространства княжеского гроба был живой свет неугасимой свечи. Стоящий при гробе подсвечник прежде всего был знаком чести, воздаваемой погребенному. Так, в Типике Константинопольского монастыря Пантократора составивший его император Иоанн Комнин оставил распоряжение, чтобы в храме, где находились гробницы, горело три негасимых свечи: одна в алтаре, две других на его собственной гробнице и гробнице его супруги<sup>89</sup>. В русских княжеских житиях прослеживается мотив самовозгорающейся на могиле князя свечи. Такая свеча интерпретируется как главный признак явленной миру его святости. Этот образ присутствует уже в Сказании о Борисе и Глебе, а затем повторяется в летописных рассказах, посвященных Дмитрию Донскому, Евдокии Донской, Михаилу Тверскому<sup>90</sup>. Горящая у гроба неугасимая свеча воспринималась и как свидетельство праведности князя, и как символ живой, бессмерт-

<sup>85</sup> Ševčenko N. The Tomb of Isaak Komnenos at Pherrai // *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*. 1984. Vol. 29. №2, p. 135–140.

<sup>86</sup> Путешествие Антиохийского патриарха Макария в Россию в половине XVII в. Вып. 3. М., 1898, с. 106, 107.

<sup>87</sup> Там же; Извеков Н. Д. Московский придворный Архангельский собор. Сергиев Посад. 1916, с. 152.

<sup>88</sup> Извеков Н. Д. Московский придворный Архангельский собор, с. 154; Лебедев А. Московский кафедральный Архангельский собор, с. 32.

<sup>89</sup> Бутырский М. Н. Византийское богослужение у иконы согласно типу монастыря Пантократора 1136 // Чудотворная икона в Византии и Древней Руси / Ред.-сост. А. М. Лидов. М., 1996, с. 151.

<sup>90</sup> Моршакова Е. А., Самойлова Т. Е. Реликвии русских святых // Христианские реликвии в Московском Кремле / Ред.-сост. А. М. Лидов. М., 2000, с. 191.

ной души погребенного и его связи с миром живых. Составляя свои духовные грамоты — завещания, русские князья выражали желание, чтобы свеча на их гробе не угасала<sup>91</sup>: она была для них знаменем вечной, непреходящей памяти перед лицом Бога, той самой, которая воспевается умершим в поминальных молитвах, и в то же время — знаменем непрерывности заветов, передаваемых от отца к сыну.

Итак, гроб, покров, иконы, свеча, ограда — вот составляющие сакрального пространства гроба. Однако все перечисленное можно увидеть не только при княжеской гробнице, но и при гробнице, например, архиерея. Что же характерно исключительно для княжеской гробницы? Во-первых, в ранний период при гробе князя наряду с иконами устанавливалось и принадлежавшее ему оружие, атрибут воинской славы, добытой князем в сражениях. Так, сохранилось летописное свидетельство, что при гробе Всеволода Псковского в Троицком соборе находились щит и меч князя. Меч Всеволода посчастливилось видеть еще самому Ивану Грозному, посетившему Псков<sup>92</sup>. Очевидно, княжеское оружие находилось и при гробах московских князей в Архангельском соборе. Однако с течением времени оружие было заменено установленными рядом с гробницами хоругвями. В дальнейшем эта традиция, дожившая вплоть до XX в., нашла свою опору в обществе хоругвеносцев, состоящих при храме<sup>93</sup>. Второй отличительной чертой пространства княжеского гроба является идея прочной, живой связи предков со своими потомками, которая проводится прежде всего при помощи создания галереи надгробных «портретов» погребенных и их предков. Вспомним, что именно портреты родителей заказывает для оформления своей гробницы византийский император Исаак Комнин. Над гробницами сербских королей также помещаются изображения всех предков, предшественников на престоле, так что они образуют вереницу, возглавляемую родоначальниками королевской династии — святыми покровителями рода — Симеоном и Саввой<sup>94</sup>. Такие династические портреты, кроме того, что они были данью памяти рода, служили также наглядным свидетельством легитимности власти нового правителя. В русской традиции идея династического портрета получила развитие и оригинальную интерпретацию в надгробных княжеских портретах Архангельского собора. В росписи этого княжеского храма согласно с волей заказчика — Ивана Грозного — были изображены все его предки, начиная с Ивана Калиты, погребенные в соборе, а также большое коли-

<sup>91</sup> Собрание Государственных Грамот и Договоров в Государственной Коллегии Иностранных дел. Ч. 1. М., 1813, с. 37.

<sup>92</sup> ПСРЛ. Т. 4, с. 344.

<sup>93</sup> Извеков Н. Д. Московский придворный Архангельский собор. С. 66, 67.

<sup>94</sup> Поповић Д. Српский владарский гроб... с. 172–175.

чество святых русских князей. Так первый русский царь заставил «звенеть славу предков», которая, как показал Ю. М. Лотман, является чрезвычайно важной категорией исторического сознания русского средневековья. Иван Грозный рассматривал свои деяния как продолжение подвигов, совершенных его сродниками в древности. Он лишь обновлял их, как сказано в «Слове о полку Игореве» — «звонячи в прадедню славу»<sup>95</sup>. Именно для этого обновления или, как бы мы сейчас сказали, актуализации памяти необходимо было, чтобы все его сродники, прославившиеся в ратных сражениях, в государственном делании, в аскезе и молитве, были изображены в грандиозной династической портретной галерее, созданной в княжеской усыпальнице.

Tatiana Samoilova  
*State Museums of the Moscow Kremlin*

#### THE SACRED SPACE OF THE PRINCELY TOMB IN MEDIEVAL RUSSIA

According to archeological excavations in ancient Russian churches, many of them were used as princes burial places. But the idea of a prince's tomb belongs not only to the field of archeology. Every prince's tomb in a church was marked with a gravestone, the form and decoration of which have to do with art history.

The process of christianization of the Byzantine society led the emperors to reject ancient models of gravestones. They paid their attention to the main sacred object of Christian world — the Holy Sepulchre. The emptiness of the sarcophagus in the Holy Sepulchre was symbolic for every Christian. It testified for the fact of the Resurrection and at the same time prefigured resurrection for every person. In the Byzantine and Russian tradition empty sarcophagus were placed over graves in *arcosolia*, which were interpreted as an image of the cave of the Sepulchre.

In ancient Russia a prince was buried in the main cathedral of his principality. Very often his tomb became a place of his veneration long before his official canonization: he was considered as a forefather of his people. The decoration of prince's tomb provoked in a high degree prince's veneration. A richly decorated tomb formed around itself a concentrated sacred space. The most ancient and the main element of this decoration was a cloth or a cover. Initially, in 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries princes' dresses were used as a

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<sup>95</sup> Лотман Ю. М. «Звонячи в прадеднюю славу» // Лотман Ю. М. Избранные статьи. Т. 3. Таллин, 1993.

cover. Such cover was like a relic, because it was closely connected to the memory of the deceased.

The tombs placed along walls of a temple were inclusive in the space of meaning, which was created by frescoes above the tombs. Here Russia followed Byzantium. Near the tomb icons were also placed. They articulated a sacred space around the tomb. The tradition of placing an iconostasis above the tomb emerged in Russia. The light of a candle was one more important element. It was a symbol of the immortal soul of the prince. The distinctive feature of a sacred space around a prince's tomb was the idea of lasting links with descendants, which was embodied through the creation of a gallery of portraits of the person buried there and his ancestors placed above the tombs. Such dynastic portraits were a tribute to the memory of a kinsman; they confirmed the legitimate power of the new ruler. In Russian tradition the idea of dynastic portraits received an original interpretation in princely portraits of the Archangel Cathedral in the Moscow Kremlin.



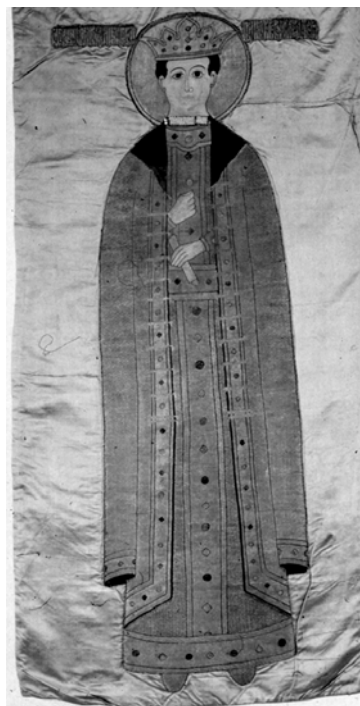
1. «Деисус» над княжеской гробницей в Мартирьевской паперти новгородского Софийского собора. Фреска. Начало XIII в.



2. Рака царевича Дмитрия Угличского в Архангельском соборе Московского Кремля под белокаменной сенью XVII в.



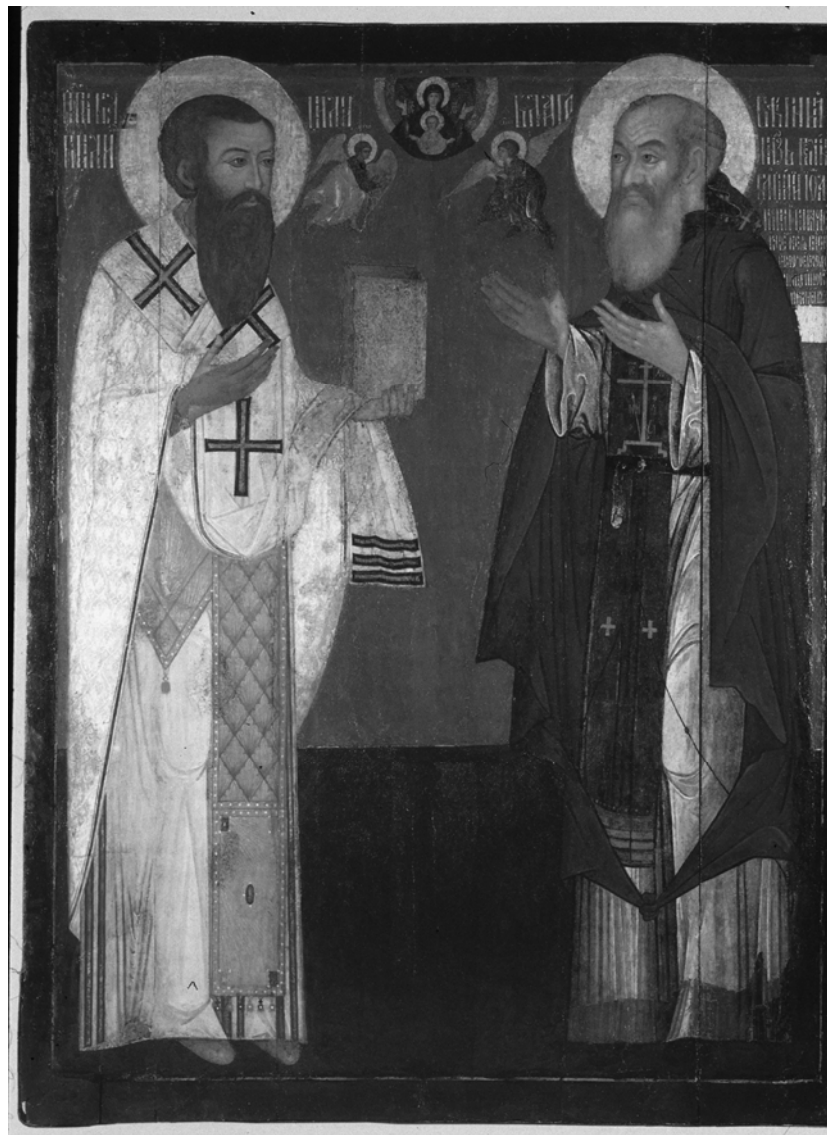
3. Покров на гроб царевича Ивана Михайловича из Архангельского собора. 1639 г.



4. Покров на раку царевича Дмитрия Угличского. Середина VII в.



5. Рака князя Федора Ярославича в новгородском Софийском соборе. XX в.



6. Икона «Святой Василий Великий и великий князь Василий III во иноцех Варлаам». 1560-е годы. Москва





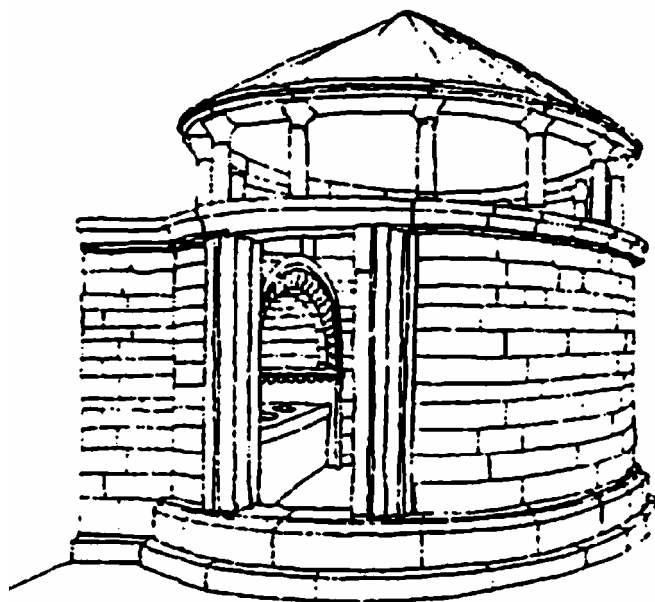
7. Архангельский собор Московского Кремля. Вид на княжеские надгробия XIV–XVI вв.



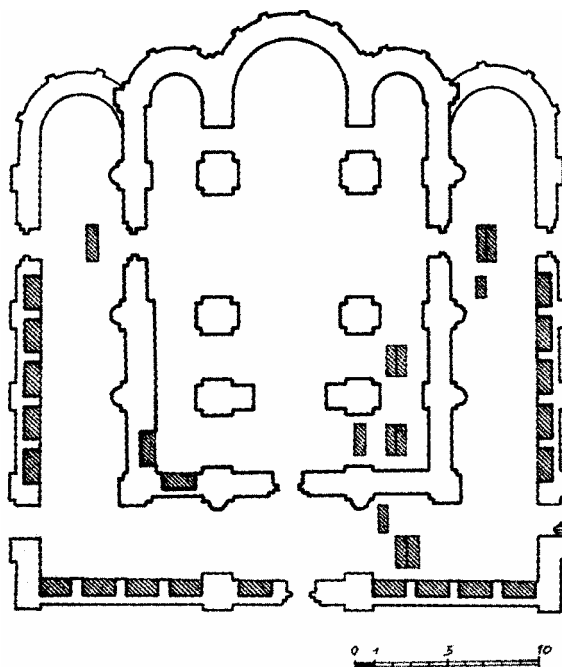
8. Аркосолий с белокаменным саркофагом в соборе Бориса и Глеба в Кидекше. Фото В. М. Рудченко



9. Икона «Великомученик Иоанн Белоградский и царевич Иван Михайлович». Первая половина XVII в.



10. Святой Гроб в соборе Аквилеи. XI в. Реконструкция



11. Собор Бориса и Глеба на Смядыни в Смоленске. План с погребениями



12. Интерьер Архангельского собора Московского Кремля. Вид на надгробный иконостас у юго-восточного столпа. Фото 1924 г.

И. А. Стерлигова

ИКОНА КАК ХРАМ:  
ПРОСТРАНСТВО МОЛЕННОГО ОБРАЗА  
В ВИЗАНТИИ И ДРЕВНЕЙ РУСИ

История художественного оформления средневековой моленной иконы может послужить одним из самых последовательных примеров сформулированной А. М. Лидовым идеи иеротопии как создания священных пространственных образов<sup>1</sup>. В число «утварей» византийской и древнерусской моленной иконы, создававших особое пространство святыни, входили не только металлические или тканые уборы, крепившиеся непосредственно к ее доске (оклады, венцы и другие украшения, «сорочки», скрывавшие оборот). Это были и сооруженные для иконы ковчеги, киоты, проскинетарионы или аналои, пелены, покровы, завесы, поставные или подвесные светильники, а в некоторых случаях — и находившиеся подле нее рипиды, а также приспособления, сопровождавшие икону в литиях: специальные балдахины и даже повозки. Все они расширяли, раскрывали «внутреннее» пространство иконы, потому что каждая икона с полями, и особенно с палеосными изображениями, по сути, уже создавалась как образ христианского храма<sup>2</sup>, все были дарами иконе, связывающими дарителей с ее священным пространством. В некоторых случаях документальные сведения или надписи на самих приношениях сохранили имена вкладчиков и даже их распоряжения, касающиеся использования драгоценных утварей в богослужениях.

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<sup>1</sup> Лидов А. М. Иеротопия. Создание сакральные пространств как вид творчества и предмет исторического исследования // Иеротопия. Исследование сакральных пространств: Материалы международного симпозиума / Ред.-сост. А. М. Лидов. М., 2004, с. 16; см. также его статью в настоящем сборнике.

<sup>2</sup> О символической общности иконы и храма и, соответственно, общности зрительного восприятия иконной доски и всего комплекса пространственной храмовой декорации см.: Этингоф О. Е. Образ Богородицы: Очерки византийской иконографии XI–XII веков. М., 2000, с. 177–204.

Прежде чем обратиться к облику древнерусской моленной иконы, нельзя не отметить в культуре России, с ее глубочайшей приверженностью к иконопочитанию, множества других связанных с иконами аспектов «иеротопии». Например, трансляции при помощи иконы сакрального пространства церкви — донныне сохраняющегося в России обычая перемещения иконы в день храмового праздника по домам верующих<sup>3</sup>, или, напротив, символического присутствия живого или усопшего прихожанина в храме через его личную икону<sup>4</sup>, или того, что моленный образ является ядром малой домашней Церкви, или русской традиции хождений с иконами странников и нищих, с которой тщетно боролся церковный Собор 1551 г.<sup>5</sup>, и многого другого. Подобные темы заслуживают внимания представителей различных гуманитарных дисциплин. Однако задача изучения иконы как святыни стоит и перед историками искусства, потому что «внутренняя связь иконы с догматами, таинствами и священнодействиями православной восточной Церкви», о необходимости исследования которой писал еще И. М. Снегирев<sup>6</sup>, во многом осуществляется художественными средствами.

Мы будем говорить о пространстве моленных икон, то есть икон Христа, Богоматери и святых (небесных заступников, а не икон праздников или притч), которые могут участвовать в богослужениях, перемещаются как внутри храма, так и в крестных ходах. Необходимо помнить, что на Руси до XVIII в. такие иконы находились в храмах в киотах, как правило, или стоявших перед иконостасом, или составлявших его местный ряд, но при этом всегда самостоятельных, отдельных, по-своему устроенных и украшенных<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Цеханская К. В. Иконопочитание в русской традиционной культуре. М., 2004, с. 182–183, 202.

<sup>4</sup> Руцинский Л. П. Религиозный быт русских по сведениям иностранных писателей XVI–XVII вв. М., 1871, с. 123. См. также сведения о выносе определенных пядничных икон из царской Образной палаты в Благовещенский домовый храм при служении в нем царских часов: Стерлигова И. А. Драгоценный убор икон царского храма // Царский храм: Святыни Благовещенского собора в Кремле. М., 2003, с. 71–72.

<sup>5</sup> Согласно постановлению Стоглава, чернецы и миряне, которые «со святыми иконами бесчинно скитаются», нарушали правило «Почитай божественное честне». Собор повелевал, чтобы «с иконами однолично не ходили. А которые после царевы заповеди учнуть съ святыми иконами без чину скитатися, и у тех иконы отнимати да по святым церквам ставити...» — Емченко Е. Б. Стоглав: Исследование и текст. М., 2000, с. 376.

<sup>6</sup> Снегирев И. Взгляд на православное иконописание // «Душеполезное чтение». Ч. II. М., 1862, с. 400.

<sup>7</sup> Наиболее яркий пример можно найти в Описи царского домового Благовещенского собора 1680 г. См.: Переписная книга Московского Благовещенского собора XVII века. По спискам: Архива Оружейной Платы и Донского монастыря // Сборник на 1873 год, изданный Обществом древнерусского искусства при Московском Публичном музее. М., 1873, с. 4–7.

Целостные примеры убранства восточнохристианского средневекового моленного образа<sup>8</sup> не сохранились, но его следы, связанные с литургической жизнью древних икон, можно обнаружить на их досках. Это углубления для мощей, надставки полей, сделанные для сооружения драгоценного оклада со священными изображениями, следы крепления рукояти, колец или сами уцелевшие кольца (ил. 1) для «поднятия» (выноса из храма) образа и многое другое. В культуре России некоторые разновидности убора икон продолжали развиваться и в поствизантийскую эпоху. Как мы увидим ниже, поздние русские памятники или сведения о них дают иногда прямые параллели византийским текстам. Письменные источники позволяют утверждать, что типы репрезентации моленных изображений, сложившиеся в Византии после восстановления иконопочитания, сохранялись в России вплоть до конца XVII столетия. Менялись художественные вкусы, разными были материальные возможности, однако поразительным образом сохранялась целостная система, созданная византийскими богословами и мастерами церковных художеств.

Современному человеку трудно представить, что каждая из частей древнего убора иконы, на его взгляд лишь мешающего ее восприятию, была связана с богослужением или приготовлением к нему. Символика убора, его внутренняя связь с образом раскрываются лишь в системе координат средневекового литургического искусства, предполагавшего включенность всех объектов в действие, творимое в воспоминание Христа, а людей — в переживание сопричастности Небесному Царствию.

Традиция оформления иконы как святыни, ее сбережения и украшения коренится в самих основах иконопочитания — ведь каждая икона была не только образом божественного мира, но его реальным присутствием на земле. Посмертная жизнь святых и в мощах, и иконах, предопределившая возможность слияния этих двух форм материализации божественного, превращало мощевики и иконы в центры особого сакрального пространства, места молитвы, уподоблявшиеся храму<sup>9</sup>.

Они раскрывались молящимся и в священных изображениях на окладах, киотах, покровках и пеленах икон, программа которых в целом соответствовала закономерностям храмовой росписи, и в самих образных формах утварей иконы, и даже в их веществах. Все приношения, потребованные Господом у Моисея для устройства скинии, — золото, серебро

<sup>8</sup> Библиографию см. в: Стерлигова И. А. Драгоценный убор древнерусских икон XI–XIV веков: Происхождение, символика, художественный образ. М., 2000.

<sup>9</sup> Связь оформления поклонных икон в храме с более древней традицией украшения гробниц святых была справедливо отмечена Слободаном Чурчицем: *Ćurčić S. Proskynetaria icons, saint's tomb, and the development of the iconostasis // Иконостас: Происхождение — развитие — символика / Ред.-сост. А. М. Лидов. М., 2000, с. 134–142.*

и медь, дорогие ткани, кожи, дерево и елей, ароматы для воскурения и драгоценные камни (Исход, 35, 5–10) — служили и созданию сакрального пространства иконы, а киоты-кивории, киоты-ковчеги иконы бывали прямо уподоблены храмам или кивориям над престолом и имели завесы.

Способы поклонения иконе, восприятие божественного через материальное также предопределили создание для нее охраняемого священного пространства. Согласно византийским канонам, чудотворный образ «не должен был быть видимым для всех, где и когда пожелают»<sup>10</sup>, однако при богослужении его можно было не только созерцать, но и при определенных условиях целовать, вкушать (источаемое иконой миро, воду, которой была омыта икона и масло из лампы, горевшей перед образом), вдыхать (дым при каждении иконы). Художественно претворенное пространство иконы, ее драгоценный убор, многослойные покровы (убрусы, застенки и завесы) — тяжелые, богато украшенные или тончайшие полупрозрачные — вызывали чувство священного трепета, превращали все эти формы поклонения в своего рода лестницу, возводящую человека в мир высших переживаний.

В совершенном виде византийский тип особого пространства иконы предстает уже в анонимном тексте проповеди, написанной в 944 г. по случаю устроенного Константином Багрянородным прославления Мандилиона, через год после его торжественного перенесения в Константинополь императором Романом I. В проповеди рассказывается о торжественном поклонении образу в Неделю Православия. Нерукотворный образ, хранившийся в Эдесском соборе в отдельно расположенном скевофилаксии (сосудохранительнице, или ризнице), извлекался из драгоценного киота. Покрытый со всех сторон белым полотнищем, он возлагался на специальный трон. Затем, в «преднесении» креста, торжественно шествовал на троне по храму в окружении служителей со множеством золотых скипетров, рипид и кадилниц, совершавших особую службу. После целования иконы архиереем с нее совлекалось белое полотнище и возлагалось порфирное, и святыня возвращалась в скевофилакий. Во время ее шествия осуществлялось также «несение осиянных покровов иконы», на что нам хотелось бы особо обратить внимание читателя. Сами дважды налагаемые на Мандилион полотнища являли: белое — пришествие божества в мир, порфирное — непостижимость сущности, сокровенную природу Господа. В среду Крестопоклонной седмицы великого поста ар-

<sup>10</sup> «О святой и нерукотворенной божественной иконе Иисуса Христа, истинного Бога нашего, как чтилась в городе Эдессе жителями его». См.: *Dobschütz E., von. Christusbilder: Untersuchungen zur christlichen Legende. Leipzig, 1899. S. 217–218.* Русский перевод текста, сделанный Э. Н. Добрыниной, см.: *Стерлигова И. А. О значении драгоценного убора в почитании святых икон // Чудотворная икона в Византии и Древней Руси / Ред.-сост. А. М. Лидов. М., 1996, с. 127.*



хиерей вновь входил в скевофилакий, раскрывал створчатый киот Нерукотворного Образа и отирал ее новой губкой, смоченной в воде, после чего целительную воду раздавали народу. В течение года Мандилион дважды в неделю выносился в закрытом киоте — ни устами, ни взором коснуться его уже было нельзя. По словам автора проповеди, «обычай не позволял более часто приступать к неприступному, чтобы в наилегчайшей доступности не ослабла ревность веры»<sup>11</sup>.

Эти действия, унаследованные от ветхозаветного богослужения и эллинского язычества и переосмысленные христианскими отцами церкви, получили развитие в Византии и в основных чертах сохранялись в православных странах вплоть до позднего Средневековья. (Здесь можно упомянуть обычай омовения иконы «Владимирской Богоматери», описанный в XII в.<sup>12</sup>, или присутствие рипид у чудотворного образа, о котором речь пойдет ниже, или выносы во время богослужения в XVII столетии в кремлевском Успенском соборе покровов с мощей московских святителей<sup>13</sup> и многое другое.) С ними были связаны сооружения для икон каменных или деревянных, стационарных или переносных поклонных мест, а также завес, пелен и различных устройств для «хождения» в литиях.

Тот факт, что до начала богослужения моленные иконы находились в закрытых киотах или под покровами, подтверждают и византийские тексты, и древнерусские храмовые описи, и этнографические материалы XIX столетия<sup>14</sup>. Прежде всего, следует упомянуть так называемое «обычное пятничное чудо» Влахернского храма, неоднократно описанное в XI–XII вв. и хорошо известное на Руси<sup>15</sup>. Видимая суть «обычного чуда» состояла в том, что драгоценная завеса (*katapetasma*) с множеством изображений, висевшая перед чудотворной иконой Богоматери, в опре-

<sup>11</sup> Там же, с. 127.

<sup>12</sup> Древнейшая редакция Сказания об иконе Владимирской Богоматери / Вст. статья и пред. В. А. Кучкина и Т. А. Сумниковой // Чудотворная икона в Византии и Древней Руси. М., 1996, с. 506. О связи омовения чудотворных икон с историей Мандилиона см.: Лидов А. М. Святой Мандилион. История реликвии // Спас Нерукотворный в русской иконе / Авт.-сост. Л. М. Евсеева, А. М. Лидов, Н. Н. Чугреева. М., 2005, с. 16.

<sup>13</sup> Саенкова Е. М. Надгробные покровы московских святителей и иерусалимы в богослужении Успенского собора в XVII веке // Церковное шитье Древней Руси / Ред.-сост. Э. С. Смирнова (в печати).

<sup>14</sup> «В богатую божницу вставлялись стеклянные дверцы со шторками или она просто закрывалась пеленами (архангл.), которые открывались при молитве, чтобы она «скорее дошла Бога» и на время еды, если хозяин приглашал богов откусать вместе со всей семьей» (Бернштам Т. А. Приходская жизнь русской деревни: Очерки по церковной этнографии. СПб., 2005, с. 207).

<sup>15</sup> Weyl Carr A. Threads of Authority: the Virgin Mary's Veil in the Middle Ages // Robes and Honor: The Medieval World of Investiture / Ed. St. Gordon. New York, 2001, p. 62 и далее; Шалина И. А. Реликвии в восточнохристианской иконографии. М., 2005, с. 359–367.

деленный момент богослужения вздымалась сама, тогда как в обычных случаях такие завесы служители должны были поднимать вверх и закреплять (обычно наматывать концы на боковые выступы завершения киота, как это видно на византийских иконах и миниатюрах). Рассказ о том, что византийский император Алексей I излечился от тяжелой болезни после того, как его накрыли покровом, висевшим перед иконой Христа Халкитиса<sup>16</sup>, также важен для нашей темы. Можно вспомнить и о богатых пожертвованиях к прославленной константинопольской иконе Одигитрии, совершаемых в XII столетии членами правящей семьи Комнинов. Это всегда были роскошно вышитые завесы на икону, которые, по мнению А. Вейл Карр, «предполагали покрытие и, соответственно, контролирование образа, делая его сокровенным»<sup>17</sup>. И наконец, древнерусские подтверждения этого обычая. Наиболее раннее — в тексте XI в.: «Аже полотно икона покрывана, не достоит в нем себе ничего имети, но церкви»<sup>18</sup>. Следующее по времени — в рассказе Киево-Печерского патерика об Алимпии Иконнике (1225–1226 г.): люди, стремившиеся поймать голубя, чудесным образом излетевшего из уст мозаичного изображения Богородицы и, в конце концов, севшего «за иконою чудною богородичиною наместною», приставили к ее киоту лестницу, но голубь «не обретеся за иконою, ни за завесою», скрывавшей икону<sup>19</sup>. В Житии Авраамия Смоленского (1224–1237) рассказывается, как святой украсил церковь Богородицы «Иконами и завесами и свещами»<sup>20</sup>. летописное сообщение о перемещении в 1528 г. архиепископом Макарием в новгородской Софии «цареградских икон» указывает и на сооружение для них новых «пелен от паволок», вероятно, покрывавших и оберегавших огромные драгоценные иконы<sup>21</sup>.

<sup>16</sup> Позже другой Алексей, сын *севастократора* Андроника и *севастократиссы* Ирины, был также исцелен покровом иконы Христа Халкитиса. По мнению Кирилла Манго, эта икона находилась в церкви Иисуса Христа у ворот Халки. Никита Хониат сообщает, что эту икону император Андроник I «покрыл драгоценным украшением». См.: *Weyl Carr A. Court Culture and Cult Icons in Middle Byzantine Constantinople // Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204 / Ed. H. Maguire. Washington, 1997, p. 83.*

<sup>17</sup> Там же, p. 95.

<sup>18</sup> «Устав белеческий», или Заповедь митрополита Георгия // Голубинский Е. Е. История русской церкви: Период первый, киевский или домонгольский. М., 1997. Т. 1. Вторая половина тома, с. 540.

<sup>19</sup> *Абрамович Д. Киево-Печерский патерик. Киев, 1931, с. 173.*

<sup>20</sup> Памятники литературы Древней Руси. М., 1981, с. 94.

<sup>21</sup> «Всемиловитый Спас наш Господь Иисус Христос стоящ, от злата и сребра велми чюдно устроение, и святии Апостоли Петр и Павел, такоже стоящи, от злата и сребра чюдно устроены; и си чюдные иконы противу своего святительского места постави и пелены от паволок устрои, чюдно и лепо видети...» — ПСРЛ. Т. 6. СПб., 1853, с. 285. Уточнение «от паволок», судя во всему, поясняет, что речь идет просто о тканых покрывах, а не шитых или низанных. Если бы речь шла о подвесных пеленах, было бы сказано «приложил».

Сведения о нескольких завесах и пеленах чтимой иконы встречаются в древнерусских текстах с XIII столетия. Вплоть до начала XX в. в России сохранялись богородичные иконы, к расширенному верхнему полю киотов которых был прикреплен покров-убрус, к нижнему — одна или несколько пелен. Наиболее известный пример — икона XIV в. Одигитрии со Спасом на обороте из Покровского монастыря в Суздале<sup>22</sup>. Однако, согласно старейшей монастырской описи 1597 г., иконе принадлежали также не дошедший до нас застенок из цветного бархата (покров, равный по размеру доске иконы) и большая завеса из камки, скрывавшая, вероятно, и икону, и ее подвесные пелены<sup>23</sup>. Особенно интересны упоминания в документах не сохранившихся, но известных по изображениям в византийской живописи (ил. 2) прозрачных светлых покровов (вплоть до XVII в. они существовали на запрестольном образе Богородицы в Благовещенском соборе — домово́й церкви московских государей<sup>24</sup>), а также белых пелен в рукописном Чиновнике кремлевского Успенского собора 1660-х гг.: в предпразднество Рождества «обметають иконы и гробницы и кладут покровы на чудотворцев и патриархов и ко образом пелены белые, а большие пелены ко обедне сносят и сосуды златые с камнем, а Евангелие и крест золотой к вечерне сносят»<sup>25</sup>.

Поднятие или смена покровов и пелен на иконах, так же, как и открытие их киотов, являлись приготовлением к литургии, действиями, связанными с чествованием иконы или ее участием в литиях; в описаниях утварей икон отмечалось: «пелена праздничная, бывает в ходях»<sup>26</sup>. Праздничное или повседневное состояние поклонных образов характерно и для католического богослужения (например, большее или меньшее раскрытие створок живописных или резных алтарей, переоблачение статуй Мадонны и т. п.).

<sup>22</sup> Икона и большая часть ее убора хранятся в ГТГ (см.: Лукашев А. М. Икона «Богородица с младенцем — Спас Вседержитель» из Покровского монастыря в Суздале и ее убор // Сообщения Гос. Третьяковской галереи. М., 1995, с. 38–52), одна из лицевых пелен — в Музеях Московского Кремля (Маясова Н. А. Древнерусское лицевое шитье. М., 2004, с. 142, кат. № 28).

<sup>23</sup> Опись Покровского женского монастыря в Суздале 1597 года // Георгиевский В. Памятники старинного русского искусства Суздальского музея. М., 1927, с. 4.

<sup>24</sup> Переписная книга Московского Благовещенского собора XVII века. По спискам: Архива Оружейной Палаты и Донского монастыря // Сборник на 1873 год, изданный Обществом древнерусского искусства при Московском Публичном музее. М., 1873, с. 48.

<sup>25</sup> ГИМ., Усп. 89. Л. 44. Сердечно благодарю Е. М. Саенкову, обратившую мое внимание на этот текст.

<sup>26</sup> Переписная книга Московского Благовещенского собора XVII века. По спискам: Архива Оружейной Палаты и Донского монастыря // Сборник на 1873 год, изданный Обществом древнерусского искусства при Московском Публичном музее. М., 1873, с. 25.

Сменяемые по праздникам утвари иконы<sup>27</sup> были своего ее «доспехами», посредством которых она являла миру свою благодать. На «прикладных» пеленах, помимо священных изображений, волоченным или пряденым золотом и жемчугом вышивались и тексты прославляющих икону песнопений, как бы вечно звучащих в ее священном пространстве. Эта традиция получила особенное развитие на Руси<sup>28</sup>. Пелены прикладывали к иконам, согласно летописным записям и вкладным надписям, «на память себе», «церкви Божии на украшение, а по своей душе и по своих родителей в вечное благословение». Таким образом, в пространство чудотворной храмовой иконы включались все «сродники» вкладчика, в том числе и усопшие, в «блаженную память» которых «жаловали» иконе убрусы, венцы, цаты или прикладывали к ней принадлежавшие усопшим украшения, наперсные образки и кресты.

Приложенные к иконе шитые завесы и покровы прообразовали как новозаветные святыни (убрус с Нерукотворным Образом, покров Богоматери), так и завесы Святая Святых ветхозаветного храма и бесконечно расширяли связанные с иконой символические ряды. Как пример подобной многозначности, осознаваемой на Руси и в XVII в., упомянем шитый покров, входивший в убор чудотворной иконы «Богоматери Тихвинской»: «У того же образа внутри киот обложен отласом участочным золотным у того же образа... под иконою во главе вышит деисус золотой впятери, а поверху деисуса вышиты херувимы золотом же по червчатому отласу 9 дробниц круглых. Над чудотворным образом кругом деисуса обложено серебром басменным»<sup>29</sup>. Документы сохранили имена «благодеев» убора иконы (и, соответственно, ее сакрального пространства). Этот покров был прислан к иконе в 1636 г. князем С. В. Прозоровским, «и тот покров игумен Герасим устроил под чудотворной иконою... в киоте вверху и обложил серебром тот киот»<sup>30</sup>.

<sup>27</sup> Традиция праздничного убранства икон сохранялась в русском быту вплоть до XX в. «От праздника к празднику внутренность киота оклеивалась цветной или золотной (у народа победнее — просто чистой) бумагой, в красном углу развешивались гирлянды бумажных цветов, ленты, а сами иконы покрывались расшитыми полотенцами... «(На)божие полотенце», «пелена/рушник для богов» обязательно входили в состав приданого, а на Смоленщине просватанная невеста готовила «на каждого боженёночка по набожничку», т. е. столько рушников, сколько икон было в доме жениха, так как в праздничные обязанности молодежи входило их покрытие своими рушниками» — *Бернштам Т. А.* Приходская жизнь русской деревни..., с. 207.

<sup>28</sup> См.: *Маясова Н. А.* Древнерусское лицезовое шитье. М., 2004, с. 112, 122, 146, 230, 236, 242 и др.

<sup>29</sup> Опись Успенского Тихвинского монастыря 1640 г. — СПб ФИРИ РАН. Ф. 132, оп. 2, д. 71, л. 13 об.

<sup>30</sup> Там же, д. 33, л. 129. Благодарю И. А. Шалину, предоставившую мне выписки из архивных документов.

В XIV–XVI вв. подвесные пелены прославленных русских моленных икон, как правило, имели лицевые изображения. Анализ сохранившихся или упоминаемые в описях пелен богородичных икон позволяет заключить, что их шитые изображения далеко не всегда повторяли живописные. Если древнейшая сохранившаяся русская пелена конца XIV в., с изображением Покрова Богородицы, избранных святых и Успения на полях из Покровского монастыря в Суздале (ныне в ГИМ) предназначалась для храмового чудотворного образа Покрова<sup>31</sup>, то другие пелены с изображением Покрова или Успения были приложены к иконам Одигитрии<sup>32</sup> и таким образом расширяли ее символическое пространство.

Вернемся к перенесению «осиянных покровов» Нерукотворного Образа в Эдессе, выражающему, по словам автора Слова, «благоговение и почитание Владыки Небесного». К этой древней традиции восходят перемещения в пространстве как живописных икон, так и лицевых пелен, выносившихся в торжественных случаях из храмов. Никита Хониат, описывая триумфальное возвращение в 1133 г. в Константинополь императора-победителя Иоанна II, замечает, что улицы были украшены золотыми и пурпурными пеленами и что «не было недостатка в образах Христа и святых, которые искусство шитья так изготовило, что казалось, будто изображения живут и дышат»<sup>33</sup>. Вплоть до XVII в. на Руси в богослужениях участвовали разного рода пелены с шитыми иконами: переносились большие воздухи, пелены, приложенные к иконам, покровы на раки чудотворцев<sup>34</sup>. Шитые выносные иконы упоминаются во многих русских храмовых описях, но особенно полно они представлены в Описи 1601 г. связанного с царским двором Кирилло-Белозерского монастыря. Здесь упомянуто 10 «плащаниц», описанных после больших воздухов, покровов и хоругвей. Около двух первых, с образами Спасителя, сохранилась помета: «что священники в руках носят», возможно, относящаяся ко всем десяти. У трех из десяти пелен по углам были шиты евангелисты, у двух — херувимы, две пелены имели священные изображения на полях, на одной был шит тропарь

<sup>31</sup> Стерлигова И. А. Древнейшая русская лицевая подвесная пелена к иконе // Византийский мир: Искусство Константинополя и национальные традиции. М., 2005, с. 553–564.

<sup>32</sup> См., напр.: Макарий, архим. Опись Новгородского Спасо-Хутынского монастыря 1642 года // Записки Императорского Археологического общества. СПб., 1857. Т. 9, вып. 2, с. 419; 421; 432–433.

<sup>33</sup> Никита Хониат. История со времени царствования Иоанна Комнина. Рязань, 2003, с. 32.

<sup>34</sup> Об участии в великом входе «плащаниц» с образами митрополитов Петра и Ионы см.: Устав церковных обрядов, совершавшихся в Московском Успенском соборе. Около 1634 г. // Русская историческая библиотека. СПб., 1876. Т. 3. Стб. 101–102.

чудотворцу Кириллу. Помимо двух плащаниц со Спасом, на одной из которых был Спас в Силах («Видение Ивана Богослова Апокалипсис»), интересна плащаница с образом «Пречистыя Богородицы Воплощение со святителю и с преподобными, шиты золотом, и серебром, и шолки» — иконографическая параллель вышеупомянутому византийскому воздуху из Национального музея в Софии, две — с Распятием, на остальных были Преображение, Положение во гроб, Снятие со креста, преподобный Кирилл, преподобная Евпраксия. Судя по иконографии, эти хранившиеся в ризнице плащаницы участвовали в литургических шествиях не только во время Страстной седмицы, но и в другие праздничные дни. Подтверждение этому есть во вкладной надписи на обороте шитой пелены 1656 г. с образом царевича Димитрия из сольвычегодского Благовещенского собора: «...сия плащаница святого благоверного царевича и великого князя Димитрия московского и всея Руси чудотворца. А носити ея за переносом на праздники, на рождество его и на убиение и на перенесение, по обещанию Димитрия Андреевича Строгонова»<sup>35</sup>. Вероятно, эта пелена с образом небесного заступника вкладчика после переноса возлагалась для поклонения на особый аналой, к живописной иконе святого. Известно, что при украшении Сольвычегодского собора Д. А. Строганов в точности воспроизводил многие утвари и чины храмов Московского Кремля. Возможно, не только в Успенском, но и в Архангельском соборе шитые иконы во время великого входа шествовали по храму. Каждая из таких шитых плащаниц являла священный образ, нередко сопровождаемый небесными силами, и одновременно способствовала превращению церкви, в которой совершалась служба, в живую пространственную икону Небесного Царствия.

Существовала традиция художественного оформления священного пространства не только храмовой, но и домово́й, келейной или путной моленной иконы. Как и во многих других случаях, в поисках старейших дошедших до нас ее примеров следует обратиться к грузинским древностям. Триптих первой половины XIII в. из Сети, ныне находящийся в Музее истории и этнографии Сванетии (ил. 3)<sup>36</sup>, дает представление об устройстве и символике византийских складней. В его центре — окованный золоченым серебром и украшенный драгоценными камнями объемный образ Одигитрии, своего рода «изваянный» ковчег Завета, сокрытый в уподобленном скинии драгоценном киоте с образами небесных сил. На киоте, среди плетения виноград-

<sup>35</sup> Силкин А. В. Строгановское лицевое шитье. М., 2002. Кат. 23, с. 196.

<sup>36</sup> Chichinadze N. Some Compositional Characteristics of Georgian Triptychs of the Thirteenth Through Fifteenth Centuries // Gesta, 1996, XXXV/1. P. 67–69.

ной лозы — образы пророческих видений: Етимасия на триумфальной арке, серафимы и херувимы. На внешней стороне створок — апостолы (основатели земной церкви) соседствуют со святыми воинами (стражами врат храма) и святыми женами, одна из которых, на нижнем поле, — небесная покровительница заказчицы; надпись с мольбой о покровительстве ее роду размещена на основании складня. Такие драгоценные иконы Богоматери делались во образ Скинии Моисеевой Иерусалимского храма: ковчег Завета также был устроен из дерева, обложенного золотом, а по краям его золотого покрытия были два херувима, «а лицами своими будут друг к другу» — сказано о них в Библии. Когда Моисей входил в скинию, «чтобы говорить с Господом, то слушал голос, говорящий ему с крышки, которая над ковчегом откровения между двух херувимов...» (Числа, 7: 89). И христианские складни создавали своего рода пространство для личного общения с Богом.

Самым роскошным и глубоко символичным был средневековый убор икон Царицы Небесной. Вернемся к «обычному пятничному чуду» во Влахернах. Б. Питараки справедливо отметила, что Михаил Пселл, сопоставивший в своем описании (1075 г.) «обычного чуда» поднятия завесы иконы Богоматери в момент снисхождения на нее Святого Духа с разверзанием завесы ветхозаветного Храма в момент смерти Христа<sup>37</sup>, был вдохновлен и евангельским текстом, и святоотеческой экзегезой, прославляющей Богоматерь как покров воплотившегося Логоса. Исходя из того, что покров или завеса — символ не только инкарнации, но и жертвоприношения, исследовательница связывает «обычное чудо» одновременно с идеей воплощения и евхаристической жертвы, сопоставляет покров иконы Богоматери с литургическими покрывалами на Святые Дары и соотносит таким образом «обычное чудо» с одной из важнейших тем византийского богословия<sup>38</sup>. О прообразовательной связи завес и иконных покровов с Девой Марией писала и А. Вейл Карр<sup>39</sup>.

Подтверждением справедливости выводов о связи покровов с темой Воплощения может стать и византийский покров с шитым образом стоящей Богоматери Платитеры (ил. 4), вложенный в 1216 или 1223 г. деспотом Эпира Федором Комнином и его супругой Марией Дукиней в собор Святой Софии в Охриде (ныне в Национальном Историческом

<sup>37</sup> Перевод текста см.: *Бельтинг Х.* Образ и культ: История образа до эпохи искусства. М., 2002, с. 568.

<sup>38</sup> *Pitarakis B.* A propos de l'image de la Vierge orante avec le Christ-Enfant (XI<sup>e</sup>–XII<sup>e</sup> siècles) // *Cahiers Archeologiques* 47 (1999), p. 45–58.

<sup>39</sup> *Weyl Carr A.* Threads of Authority: the Virgin Mary's Veil in the Middle Ages..., p. 64–67.

музее в Софии)<sup>40</sup>. По размерам, пропорциям и иконографии этот покров кажется повторяющим одну из чудотворных икон Влахернского святылища, а греческая литургическая надпись на кайме, соседствующая с вкладной<sup>41</sup>, свидетельствует, что он являлся малым воздухом — покровом на Святые Дары. Хотелось бы отметить несомненную связь «обычного чуда» и с темой Покрова Богоматери. По словам Пселла, «святая завеса (именуема им в этом случае уже *perlos*, то есть так же, как реальное одеяние. — *И. С.*) поднимается перед иконой Богоматери для того, чтобы она приняла входящую толпу как в новый безопасный приют и прибежище»<sup>42</sup>.

Но вернемся к теме Воплощения. В XVI столетии, когда на Руси иконные завесы постепенно сменяются створчатыми киотами, на створках Богородичных икон, как правило, размещают именно изображение Благовещения. Приведем пример: в 1566 г. княгиня Ефросиния Старицкая (в иночестве Евдокия) вложила в Кирилло-Белозерский монастырь роскошно убранный, вероятно, родовой, образ Одигитрии. Помимо серебряных оклада и украшений, образ, согласно вкладной книге XVI в., имел богатейшие тканые утвари: «застенок жемчугом сажен... убрусец жемчугом сажен з дробницами, пелену жемчугом сажену з дробницами»<sup>43</sup>. По Описи монастыря 1601 г., приклады к этой иконе умножились, у нее было уже две пелены, но застенок исчез (возможно, он превратился во вторую подвесную пелену), а серебряный киот без затворов был заменен новым, который был «обложен медью, золочен, затворы обложены серебром басмянным золоченым, а на затворех писаны образы Благовещения Пречистые Богородицы да четырех евангелистов»<sup>44</sup>. Новые утвари не только способствовали сохранности приложенных к иконе драгоценностей, но и лучшему образному раскрытию Божественного домостроительства, идеи воплощения Логоса: «затворы» с изображениями Благовещения и евангелистов по сторонам золоченого ковчега перед началом богослужения распахивались и являли молящимся икону Богоматери с воплотившимся Спасителем. Это действие, как и поднятие вверх более раннего жемчужного «застенка», составляло своего рода символи-

<sup>40</sup> Размер пелены 75 × 55 см. См.: Христианское искусство Болгарии: Выставка [произведений из Национального Исторического музея в Софии в ГИМ] 1 октября — 8 декабря 2003 года, Москва. Б. м., б. г, с. 60, № 62.

<sup>41</sup> «О, Слово Бога Отца, неизреченными способами взявшего от Безмужней девы плоть, которую теперь мы видим уготованной людям в пищу...» (перевод надписи уточнен О. С. Шашиной, за что мы приносим ей глубокую благодарность).

<sup>42</sup> См. прим. 37.

<sup>43</sup> Опись строений и имущества Кирилло-Белозерского монастыря 1601 года / Сост. З. В. Дмитриева и М. Н. Шаромазов. СПб., 1998, с. 238.

<sup>44</sup> Там же, с. 44.



ческую параллель к самой литургии. Киоты с образом Благовещения на створках были в XVI–XVII вв. и у кремлевских чудотворных Владимирской<sup>45</sup> и Донской<sup>46</sup> икон Богоматери.

Еще один пример существования на Руси византийских типов утварей связан с так называемыми проскинетарионами — аналоями для поклонения иконам с сенью в виде храма. Миниатюры византийских рукописей донесли до нас изображения драгоценных проскинетарионов, облицованных цветными мраморами, например, кивория со стоящей в нем иконой Василия Великого<sup>47</sup>. К подобным святилищам внутри храма принадлежал и древний драгоценный киворий святого Димитрия в его солунском святилище, внутри которого стояли и икона святого, и его серебряный погребальный одр. Такие проскинетарионы, по мнению исследователей восходившие к античным погребальным толосам<sup>48</sup>, доныне сохраняются в афонских монастырях. Проскинетарион в виде пятиглавого храма в соборной церкви Хиландара, сооруженный в 1688 г., принадлежит к этому же типу утварей (ил. 5). Большая икона, как и икона Василия Великого, здесь стоит, малая, предназначенная для лобзания — лежит на пелене.

С высоким проскинетарионом несомненно связаны и необычные пропорции (122 × 68 см) древнейшей сохранившейся византийской подеи (подвесной пелены к иконе) с изображением «Распятия» (ил. 6). Около 1295 г. эта пелена, как следует из надписи на ней, была вложена к иконе Христа ктиторами храма Богородицы Перивлепты в Охриде<sup>49</sup>. Вероятно, она полагалась на проскинетарион на Страстной седмице.

В древнерусских описях слово «проскинетарион» не встречается, поклонные иконы именовались в них «налойными» или «стоящими (а не лежащими. — И. С.) на поклоне»<sup>50</sup>. Но киоты византийского типа, в

<sup>45</sup> См. Опись Успенского собора 1627 г. — Русская историческая библиотека. СПб., 1876. Т. 3. Стб. 374.

<sup>46</sup> Переписная книга Московского Благовещенского собора XVII века, с. 5.

<sup>47</sup> Воспр. см.: *Cormak R. Writing in Gold*. London, 1986, p. 63. Il. 18.

<sup>48</sup> О проскинетарионах в виде сени см.: *Pallas D. I. Le ciborium hexagonal de Saint-Demetrios de Thessalonique // Зограф*, 10. Београд, 1979, с. 52–58.

<sup>49</sup> Хранится в Национальном историческом музее в Софии См.: *Бойчева Ю. Един паметник на византийската везба от Охрид, датировка и атрибуция // Проблеми на изкуството*. София, 1998. Т. 3, кн. 8, с. 8–12.

<sup>50</sup> Характерен текст из Устава московского Успенского собора, относящийся к празднованию обретения мощей чудотворца Петра: «А после обеда до вечери рано приходять в церковь ключари и приготовить киоть, в чем поставити икону Петра Чюдотворца... и кладут в киоть полосатой покровь, пополосы белые да черные, и сгибають втрое или вчетверо, чтобы кресть посреде стал, и принесуть от государя крестовые дьяки образ Петра Чюдотворца и поставять ключари в том киоте на раке Петра Чюдотворца» (Устав церковных обрядов, совершавшихся в Московском Успенском соборе. Стб. 102).

виде храма, существовали и на Руси. В древнерусской повести XVI в. «Чудо о тати великия соборныя Пречистыя Богородицы честнаго ея Успения» есть описание проскинитария, стоявшего перед алтарной преградой в Успенском соборе Кремля: «Близ же того киота [чудотворной иконы Владимирской Богоматери] рака сребренна, образом яко церквица, в ней стояша другая икона Пречистыя Богородицы, юже великий чудотворец преосвященный митрополит Петр своими священнымим руками написал, о ней же доволно свидетельство имаж в житии того самого святейшаго»<sup>51</sup>. Находившаяся в этой раке икона — так называемая «Богоматерь Петровская», сохранилась до наших дней. По мнению исследователей, она является списком с иконы конца XIII — начала XIV в. письма митрополита Петра, утраченной в пожаре 1382 г., «когда в кремлевских храмах погибли почти все иконы, а гроб чудотворца Петра распался от огня. Новая Богородичная икона-список могла быть исполнена по благословию митрополита Киприана одновременно с изготовлением нового гроба чудотворца Петра»<sup>52</sup>. Это предположение подтверждается описанием драгоценного проскинитария византийского типа, вероятно, сооруженного одновременно с возобновлением святыни по повелению болгарина или серба митрополита Киприана. Редкостное для русской церковной утвари XVI в. устройство обитого серебром пространственного киота, в котором «стояла» икона, было особо отмечено автором Повести. На Руси такие поклонные места, судя по всему, существовали в редуцированном виде. «Храмцами» именовались неглубокие киоты, увенчанные главками, подобные киотцам царских дверей XVI в, хотя среди памятников русской резьбы по дереву встречаются и глубокие киоты в виде храма, как роскошные (высокий киот XVII в. из Романова-Борисоглебска в ГРМ<sup>53</sup>), так и более скромные<sup>54</sup>.

Существуют древнерусские сведения и о кивориях икон в виде сени, хорошо известных по изображениям в живописи. Характерно описание 1580-х гг. иконы из соборной церкви Димитрия Солунского в Гдове, находившейся в храме не за престолом, а «против правого крылоса»: «Образ Воплощение Пречистые Богородицы выносная, весь об-

<sup>51</sup> Зимин А. А. Повести XVI века в сборнике Рогожского собрания // Записки Отдела рукописей Гос. библиотеки им. В. И. Ленина. М., 1958. Вып. 20, с. 198–203. Благодарю Т. В. Толстую, обратившую мое внимание на этот текст.

<sup>52</sup> Щенникова Л. А. Икона «Богоматерь Петровская» // Христианские реликвии в Московском Кремле / Ред.-сост. А. М. Лидов. М., 2000, с. 246.

<sup>53</sup> Побеждая время: Реставрация в Русском музее. К 100-летию Русского музея. 1898–1998. Каталог выставки. СПб., 1998. Ил. на с. 155.

<sup>54</sup> Киот XVI в. из ГИМ. См.: Соболев. Русская народная резьба по дереву. М., 1934, с. 227–228. Ил. 130.

ложен, басмы медены золочены, в венце, и по сторонам, и у Спаса в венце восемь каменев хрустелей; да крест серебрян, тощ, скань золочена; чепочка серебряна; да две прониски серебряны, да пять камешков; да дватцать один колтков серебряных; два золотых малых. Да две пелены тяфтяны червчаты, а кресты на них нашиваны золотом и серебром. *А над иконою сень* (выделено нами. — И. С.) резь на древе золочена»<sup>55</sup>.

В первой половине XVII в. в царском Благовещенском соборе «на налоях» было пять икон, древних, в роскошных золотых окладах и в деревянных оклеенных червчатом бархатом киотах с серебряными наугольниками и слюдяной в серебре кровлей. Налои были покрыты свисающими драгоценными пеленами, украшенными лицевыми изображениями на серебряных дробницах, а киоты снабжены боковыми ручками для выноса. Напомним, что константинопольскую «Одигитрию» в середине XIV в. также выносили из храма в киоте. По словам Стефана Новгородца, во время чудесного движения иконы «два диакона держат рипиды, а иные кивот пред иконою»<sup>56</sup>.

Наиболее ранние из известных нам упоминаний рипид в связи с чтимой иконой, помимо вышеприведенного текста XV в. о почитании Нерукотворного Образа, содержатся в пространной вкладной грузинской надписи, вычеканенной по контуру рипиды рубежа X–XI вв. Приводим ее в переводе Г. Н. Чубинашвили: «Во имя Бога я, Парсман Эриваст <...> сделал эти рипиды <...> и положил в святой церкви Зарзма, вотчине моей, перед иконой Преображения. Ныне, святые иереи и дикаконы, которые будете служить службу Телу и Крови Господа нашего Иисуса Христа, помяните нас в святой молитве вашей»<sup>57</sup>. Рипиды, судя по русским храмовым описям<sup>58</sup>, и в XVII в. все еще стояли у запрестольных выносных икон.

Среди утварей иконы были и светильники с удостоверяющими эту принадлежность вкладными надписями<sup>59</sup>, различного вида и устройства, в том числе и обетные «негасимые свечи».

<sup>55</sup> Города России XVI века: Материалы писцовых книг / Изд. подг. Е. Б. Французовой. М., 2002, с. 169.

<sup>56</sup> Из странствия Стефана Новгородца // Малего Е. И. Антология хождений русских путешественников. XII–XV века. Исследования. Тексты. Комментарии. М., 2005, с. 255.

<sup>57</sup> Чубинашвили Г. Н. Грузинское чеканное искусство. Тбилиси, 1959. Т. 1, с. 129.

<sup>58</sup> Опись Новгородского Спасо-Хутынского монастыря 1642 года архимандрита Макария // ЗОРСА РАО. СПб., 1875. Т. 9, с. 40–41.

<sup>59</sup> Лампада к иконе Спаса Вседержителя со вкладной надписью царя Михаила Федоровича существовала в кремлевском Вознесенском монастыре. См.: Пишеничников А. Соборный храм Вознесения Господня в Вознесенском девичьем монастыре в Москве. М., 1886, с. 16. Другие примеры см.: Игошев В. В. Церковные светильники // Декоративно-прикладное искусство Новгорода Великого: Художественный металл XVI–XVII вв. (в печати).

С Владимирской Богородицей, палладиумом Руси, можно связать достаточно необычные драгоценности: большие серебряные блюда, упомянутые в духовных грамотах московских великих князей XIV в. Иван Данилович Калита (1328 г.) «дал святей Богородици Володимерьской» «блюдо великое серебряное о 4 колцы»<sup>60</sup>. В духовной Ивана Ивановича (1356 г.) записано: «а из моих судов серебряных дадут к святей Богородици Володимерь блюдо великое серебряное с колци; а иными суды серебряными дети мои... своею матерью поделятся на трое»<sup>61</sup>. Как тут не вспомнить обычай приношений в скинию серебряных блюд «начальниками Израилевыми!» (Числа, 7: 7). Эти блюда в обиходе собора могли быть связаны с уже упомянутой нами традицией омовения чудотворного образа по образцу Влахернского святилища Богородицы. Как и Нерукотворный Образ в Эдессе, иконы отирались морской губкой. В Расходной книге новгородского Софийского дома за 1593 г. упомянута «губа грецкая», «а тою губою ... отирати образы»<sup>62</sup>.

Слава чудотворного образа прямо соотносилась с числом его тканых, металлических и деревянных утварей, создававших для него многослойный ковчег. Даже невидимые части убранства икон бывали драгоценными. Вот пример из документа XVI в.: «А на исподи у образа прут серебрян, а на нем пелена прикладная, у нее шесть колец серебряны, на пелене сорочка тафтяная гвоздичная»; и здесь вспоминается библейское описание скинии, завеса которой имела покрытие и еще «покров верхний».

Важнейшей для всего поствизантийского мира особенностью сакрального пространства древнерусской иконы было присутствие в нем знаков и символов власти православного государя. В свое время А. Вейл Карр пришла к выводу, что ни одна икона в Константинополе не являлась символом государства и не подтверждала права императора на власть каким-нибудь удивительным знаменем<sup>63</sup>. Это же заключение можно отнести и к Московской Руси. Однако, стремясь к божественному покровительству своей власти, русские князья и цари прибегали к посредничеству чудотворных икон. Уже в домонгольский период на Руси сложилась традиция прикладывания к чудотворным образам реальных или символических знаков власти: венцов, гривен, монист, драгоценных поясов, имеющая параллели скорее в Западной

<sup>60</sup> Духовные и договорные грамоты князей великих и удельных. М., 1909, с. 13.

<sup>61</sup> Там же, с. 18.

<sup>62</sup> Отрывок из расходной книги Софийского дома 1593 г. // Греков Б. Д. Монастырское хозяйство XVI–XVII вв. М., 1924, с. 98.

<sup>63</sup> *Weyl Carr, A. Court Culture and Cult Icons in Middle Byzantine Constantinople...*, p. 84.

Европе<sup>64</sup>, чем в Византии. В эпоху Московского царства эта традиция приобретает откровенно политическую окраску. Приложение драгоценностей к иконе, особенно к иконе высокопочтимой, «устройство» ее убора совершается «по цареву и великого князя слову» и является подтверждением высокого места вкладчика в государственной иерархии. Тема эта заслуживает специального исследования, поэтому мы коснемся лишь одного примера.

В Описи 1597 г. Покровского монастыря в Суздале, упоминающей множество вкладов царя Ивана Грозного и его семьи, среди богатейшего убора иконы Одигитрии «над Пречистою с обе стороны» были «две аравеи золоты со яхонты и з жемчуги»<sup>65</sup>. Слово «аравея», не известное составителям словарей древнерусского языка, связано с названием Аравийского полуострова, издревле служившего символом богатства. В Псалтири аравийское золото — один из образов прославления Господа: «Цари Аравстии... дары приведут и поклонятся ему вси цари земстии, все языцы поработают ему... и дастся ему от злата Аравийска, и... весь день благословят его...» (Пс. 71: 10). В русской книжности XVI в. аравийское золото прямо связывалось и со знаками царского достоинства: вавилонский царь Навуходоносор имел венец «из камней драгих: сапфира, измарагда и жемчуга великого и злата ававитска»<sup>66</sup>. В «Сказании о князьях Владимирских» и в надписи на правой дверце Мономахова трона 1551 г. в московском Успенском соборе среди даров, посылаемых Константином Мономахом в Киев, названа и «чепь от злата ававийска искована» — военный трофей, так как Константин «в то время брань имеа с персы и с латыною». На Мономаховом троне, в сцене передачи Константином даров, изображена эта золотая цепь-аравея, прикрепленная к наперсному животворящему кресту<sup>67</sup> как один из символов вселенского значения Московского государства и его самодержца, восприявшего славу от древних царей<sup>68</sup>. Во время Ливонской войны, трактуемой идеологами той эпохи как религиозная<sup>69</sup>, Иван Грозный прикладывает драгоценности из завоеванного золота к главным святы-

<sup>64</sup> Этой проблеме был посвящен мой доклад «Итальянский след в древнерусском искусстве украшения икон», прочитанный на конференции «Россия и Италия» в Музеях Московского Кремля в 2005 г.

<sup>65</sup> Опись Покровского женского монастыря в г. Суздале 7105/1597 года, с. 5.

<sup>66</sup> Барсов Е. В. Древнерусские памятники священного венчания царей на царство в связи с греческими их оригиналами, с историческим очерком чинов царского венчания в связи с развитием идеи царства на Руси // ЧОИДР. М., 1883. Кн. 1, с. VI.

<sup>67</sup> Соколова И. М. Мономахов трон. М., 2001. Ил. 25.

<sup>68</sup> Цит. по: Хорошкевич А. Л. «Измена» Пимена и поход Ивана Грозного на Новгород // Великий Новгород в истории средневековой Европы: К 70-летию Валентина Лаврентьевича Янина. М., 1999, с. 227.

<sup>69</sup> Там же, с. 227.

ням Московского царства — к рублевской «Троице», согласно Вкладной книге монастыря, «цепь Ливонского походу»<sup>70</sup>, а к «честному образу иконы Владимирския, державы Руския заступление» (слова самого Грозного)<sup>71</sup> — «понагею золоту невелику. На ней образ Воплощение пречистые Богородицы, наведена чернью, вверху ярлык серебрян: приложил государь к Богородице, как ходил в ливонский поход»<sup>72</sup>. Дар, подобный мономаховой «аравее», был приложен Грозным и к храмовому образу Софии Премудрости новгородского Софийского собора. Это был золотой крест на цепи с тремя серебряными «лепестками» (или «ярлыками»), на которых находился летописец царя Ивана и его сына Ивана<sup>73</sup>. Таким образом, осуществлялось и при помощи ярлыков «публиковалось» и монаршее попечение о Церкви, и освящение власти христианского государя.

Итак, древнерусские источники и сохранившиеся памятники XII — XVII вв. отражают общие закономерности культуры византийского мира и позволяют проследить исторические изменения утварей иконы, эволюцию которых можно сравнить с эволюцией текстов Сказаний о чудотворных иконах. В XVII в. убор прославленных русских чудотворных икон становится все более многосложным. Он не только включает в себя все новые приношения образу, но и соответствует сменяющимся в течение столетий представлениям о священном пространстве. К образу вкладываются многие предметы, наделенные для человека той эпохи качеством прекрасного или необычного, параллели чему можно найти в западноевропейском ренессансном благочестии. Для чтимых икон устраивались особые сени на столбцах, увенчанные серебряными чеканными херувимами. К ним подвешивались «приложенные» к иконе «решетчатые яблоки» с шелковыми кистями, «строфокамиловы» (страусиные) и «мангафетовы» (чудодейственные) яйца и другие украшения. Одновременно в храмах, связанных с царским двором (Успенском и Благовещенском соборах Кремля, соборе Саввина Сторожевского монастыря<sup>74</sup>), появляются целые комплексы художественно однородных иконных пелен, предназначенных сразу для двух-трех образов, и

<sup>70</sup> Николаева Т. В. Оклад с иконы «Троица» письма Андрея Рублева // Сообщения Загорского Государственного историко-художественного музея-заповедника. Загорск, 1958. Вып. 2, с. 38.

<sup>71</sup> Духовные и договорные грамоты князей великих и удельных / Ред. С. В. Бахрушин. М., 1909, с. 52.

<sup>72</sup> РИБ. Т. 3, стб. 543. По описи Успенского собора в 1627 г. эта панагия находилась уже не на иконе, а сберегалась в соборной казне, но выражение «приложил к Богородице» в контексте той эпохи следует понимать как «к Владимирской иконе Богоматери».

<sup>73</sup> См.: Описи Софийского собора XVIII–XIX вв., 1988, с. 41. Прим. 64.

<sup>74</sup> Интересные сведения об иконных пеленах и завесах XVII в. см.: Описи Савина Сторожевского монастыря XVII века. М., 1994, с. 71–78.

завес, сшитых из нескольких (вплоть до семи) тканых полотнищ, объединяющих моленное пространство храма и уподобляющих его целостной иконе Небесного Иерусалима.

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ICON AS A TEMPLE:  
THE SPACE OF A VENERATED ICON  
IN BYZANTIUM AND MEDIEVAL RUSSIA

The article is devoted to the particular space of a Byzantine and Old Russian venerated icon, which was created using various decorations, veils and constructions (reliquaries, baldachins, proskinetarions) as well as lamps and flabellas. All these items expanded the inner space of an icon and were offerings to it, connecting it with the donators. In some cases names, inscriptions and directions of donators concerning the sacred usage of the precious paraphernalia have been preserved.

The tradition of protecting and decorating icons is rooted in the very foundation of the icon cult, with icons being not only images of divine world, but it is real presence on earth. Veneration of icons and relics of saints presupposed the opportunity of merging the two forms of divine materialization. It also turned them into centers of a special sacred space, a space of prayer, which was assimilated to a church. The space was shown to the praying people as the sacred images on the settings, kiots and icon veils, and also as the very forms of these constructions and even the precious materials they were made of.

The ways of icon veneration and of perception of the divine by tangible means have also predetermined construction of a special space for it. According to the Byzantine canon the miraculous image “should not be visible for everyone, where and when they might want it”. Nevertheless during the service it was possible not only to behold the icon, but to kiss, taste (the emitted myrrh, water, which was used when washing the icon, or oil from the lamp in front of it), inhale (the smoke while censuring the icon). The artwork of the icon space and it is obvallate proskinetarions and multi-layered veils (either thick and heavily decorated, or light and transparent) evoked a sense of divine awe and led one into the realm of higher experience.

Each of the parts of icon decoration was linked with the service or preparation to it. Traces of liturgic life of old icons can be seen on their panels. These are hollows made for saints’ relics, extensions made for the deco-

rated setting with sacred images, marks of attached handles and rings, or the rings themselves, made to ease the carrying out of the church.

Byzantine texts, Old Russian church inventories and ethnographical studies of the 19<sup>th</sup> century do confirm that venerated icons before the service were kept in closed kiots or under veils. Accounts mentioning several veils and shrouds of a revered icon are found in the Old Russian texts from the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Up to the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in Russia there were icons with a veil attached to the upper part of their kiots, and several shrouds attached to the lower part of it, which were changed during major feasts. Festive and everyday states of venerated icons are also typical of catholic mass (e. g. wide or less wide opening of figurative or carved altar doors, the Virgin's statues disguise etc.).

The curtains and veils attached to an icon symbolized both the New Testament sacred objects (Sudarium or the Virgin's Veil) and the Sancta Sanctorum curtains of the Old Testament.

During 14<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> centuries, the attached shrouds of famous icons often included front images. Analysis of preserved items or those described in inventories allows the conclusion that their embroidered images could not copy those of the icons they covered, but had to match their meaning and expand their symbolic space.

Painted and embroidered icons were bound to the old tradition of moving the sacred images in the church. Up to the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century in Russia they have been carried during the Great Entry on festive or eparchial services. Sacred image on embroidered icons were often combined with images of cherubs. Carrying of such icons helped the church to transform into a living spatial icon of Divine Realm.

There existed not only the tradition of sacred space decoration of church icons, but also decoration of home, cell or travel icons. Iconography and construction of folding icons (trptychs) created a sort of space for private communication with God.

The most luxurious and deeply symbolic was decoration of icons of Our Lady — Queen of Heaven. Their curtains were linked to the tradition of venerating the Virgin as the shroud of the Logos Incarnate. The idea of incarnation determined the other decorations of Marian icons. Russian icon curtains of the 16<sup>th</sup> century were gradually displaced by folding kiots. On the wings of cases of the Virgin's icons one can usually see the Annunciation.

The feature of the sacred space of the Old Russian icon, the most important for the post-Byzantine world, was the complex of signs of power of an Orthodox ruler contained it. As early as the 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries there existed a custom in Old Rus' of applying real or symbolic signs of power (wreaths, pectoral ornamentals, precious belts) to venerated icons, which was more typical of Western Europe, than of Byzantium. In the age of Moscow Czar-



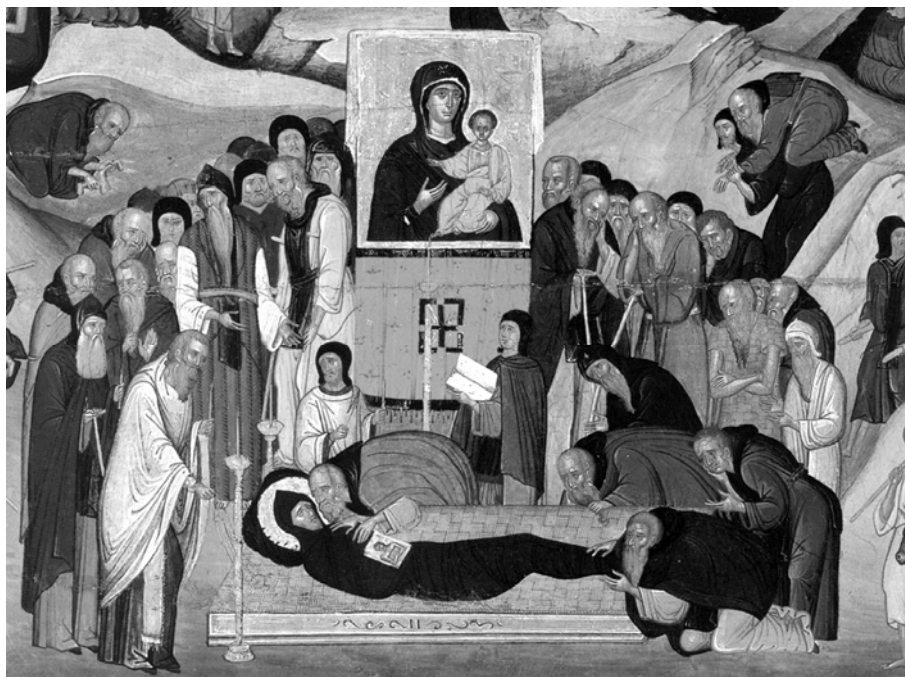
dom this custom turned into a political rite. Applying jewelry to a famous icon now could take place only with Czar's approval and showed high rank of the donator in the state hierarchy.

Old Russian sources and remaining monuments of 12<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries allow us to trace historical changes of icon decorations. Their evolution could be compared to the evolution of stories about miraculous icons. The 17<sup>th</sup> century decorations of famous Russian icons are even more complicated. They both include various gifts to the image and correspond to the changing representations of sacred spaces. Sometimes even exotic items, beautiful and unique for a person of that epoch, were applied to the icon, which finds parallels in the Western European Renaissance devotion. Churches associated with royal court housed complexes of similar icon veils, made for two or three icons together, and icon curtains, sewn of several woven widths, which united the devotional space of the church and turned it into a resemblance of an integral icon of Heavenly Jerusalem.

The conclusion, based on the study of artworks and written sources, is as follows: the types of representation of venerated images, which were formed in Byzantium after the end of iconoclasm, continued to develop in Russia up to the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Tastes and materials changed, but the system as a whole, which was created by Byzantine theologians and masters of ecclesiastical arts as we know it from the texts of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, remained preserved.



1. Кольцо для поднятия образа на грузинской иконе XIV в. из храма в Убиси. Национальный музей Грузии, Тбилиси



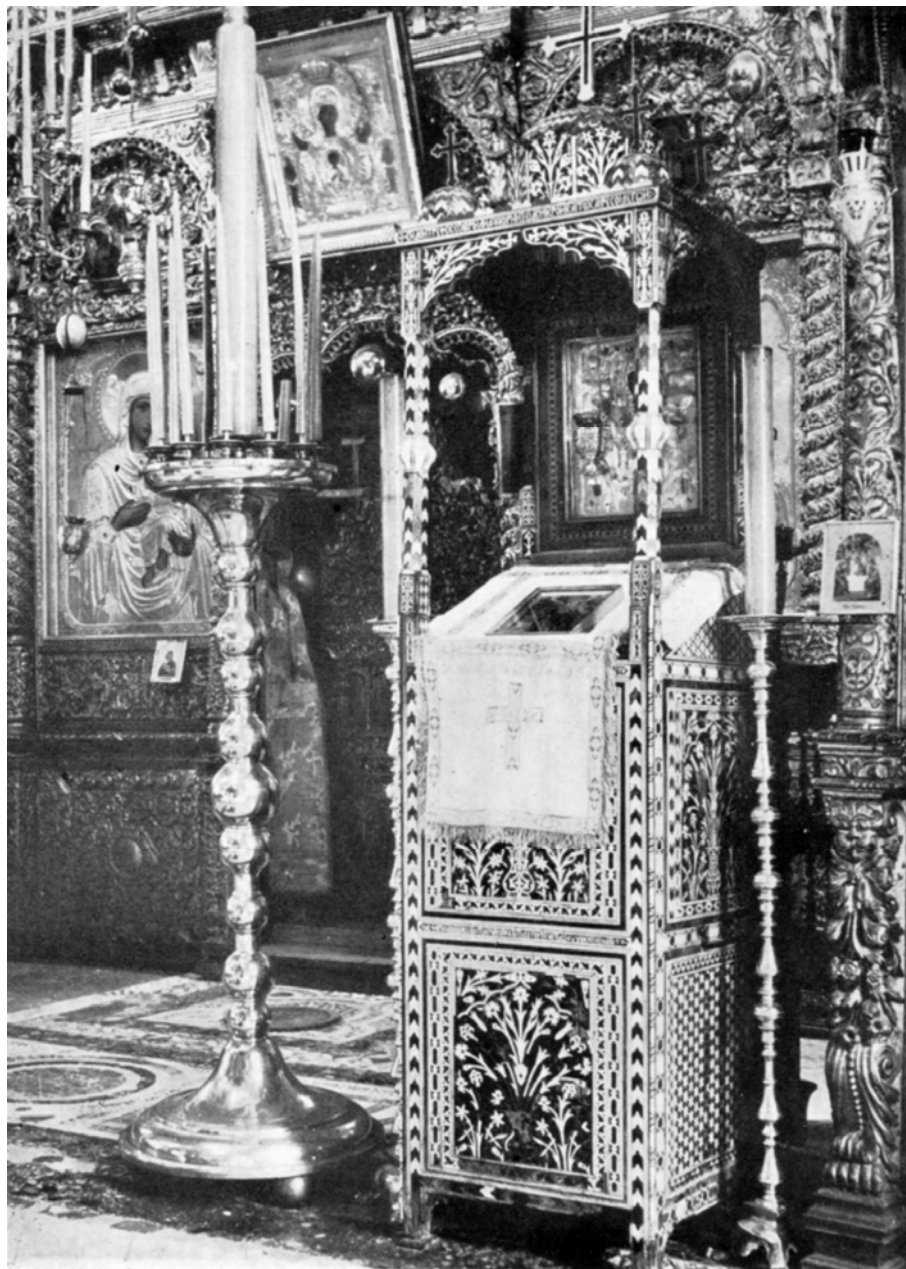
2. Тонкая белая пелена на византийской иконе. Деталь иконы «Успение святого Ефрема Сирина» Крит, XV в. Византийский и христианский музей, Афины



3. Складень: Одигитрия, Етимасия, Силы небесные. Избранные святые. Первая половина XIII в. Музей истории и этнографии Сванетии, Местия. Фотография 1910 г. и фотография, фиксирующая современное состояние памятника (из: *N. Chichinadze. Some Compositional Characteristics of Georgian Triptychs of the Thirteenth Through Fifteenth Centuries // Gesta, 1996, XXXV/1. Fig. 3, 4.*)



4. Воздух: Богоматерь Платитера. 1216 г. Национальный Исторический музей, София



5. Проскинетарион. 1688 г. Собор монастыря Хиландар, Афон



6. Пелена: Распятие. Конец XIII в. Национальный Исторический музей, София.

Л. М. Евсеева

## АНАЛОЙНЫЕ ИКОНЫ И ЛИТУРГИЧЕСКИЕ ТКАНИ В СОЗДАНИИ САКРАЛЬНОГО ПРОСТРАНСТВА ДРЕВНЕРУССКОГО ХРАМА

Аналойные и литийные иконы, а также литургические ткани, которые выносились в церковный наос в определенные праздничные дни, выкладывались или устанавливались в центре храма, либо проносились в процессии, должны были играть, уже в силу своего временного присутствия в наосе, особую роль в создании сакрального храмового пространства. Однако возможность изучения данной функции этих произведений крайне ограничена: они сохранились в единичном виде, чаще всего вне связи с тем конкретным храмом, которому предназначались. Между тем их совокупность и взаимодействие между собой, как и соотношения с постоянно присутствующими в наосе иконными комплексами и фресковыми ансамблями должны были насытить священными образами центральное пространство храма, создать в нем наглядный эффект свершения сакрального акта. Естественно, что данная «мистерия икон» реализовывалась через взаимодействие с текстами Св. Писания, молитв и песнопений, а также с музыкальными гласами распева, подчиняясь ходу и смыслу богослужения.

Троицкий собор Сергиева монастыря и предметы его ризницы дают редкую возможность подобного рода исследования. Возведенный в 1422–1425 гг. как зримая слава основателя обители Сергия Радонежского и как монументальный реликварий его обретенных в 1422 г. мощей, собор в дальнейшем не перестраивался. Мощные арки и широкий купол, как встарь, осеняют соборный наос, открытое единое пространство храма, зримо объединяющее всех молящихся. Подобный архитектурный образ исследователи связывают с общежительным устройением монастыря<sup>1</sup>. Вы-

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<sup>1</sup> *Комеч А. И.* Интерьеры псковских храмов XII–XV столетий // Доклад на конференции «Художественная жизнь Пскова и искусство поздневизантийской эпохи. К 1100-летию основания города» в ГосНИИ Искусствознание, 23 сентября 2003 г.

сокий иконостас, создание которого в Троицком соборе явно замышлялось изначально, органично вписан в соборный интерьер. Первоначальный его вид, без верхнего ряда праотцев, появившихся уже в XVII в., оставлял открытой верхнюю часть храма, так что иконостас воспринимался не как делящая интерьер стена, а как единая грандиозная икона, образ Рая и Будущего века. Всепрощающий образ Христа в варианте «Спаса в силах» в центре деисусного ряда обещал небесное блаженство. Залогом и условием будущего спасения являлась земная жизнь Христа и его Жертва, представленные в иконах праздничного ряда. В центре составленного из 19 композиций ряда располагались сюжеты Страстей и евхаристического приобщения апостолов Жертве Христа. Акцентирование этих евангельских сцен было связано с тем новым для русской церкви составом Божественной Литургии, который распространился с конца XIV в. как часть Иерусалимского Устава. Чин Проскомидии и завершающий его Великий Вход в богослужении по этому Типикону заметно выросли в объеме. Чин последовательно прообразовал жертву Христа: «отныне, — пишет Р. Ф. Тафт, — все литургическое действие до и после перенесения даров стало интерпретироваться, исходя из того, что Дары у входа символизируют уже тело распятого Бога. Это стимулировало: эволюцию проскомидии... возрастание торжественного ритуала Великого входа самого по себе и его символизацию; результирующее умножение тропарей с погребальными мотивами при возложении даров...»<sup>2</sup>. Согласно другому исследователю Литургии, К. Х. Фельми, «каноны, характерные для этого Типикона [Иерусалимского Устава], указывают на более интенсивный интерес к истории, в наибольшей степени к истории Страстей Христовых»<sup>3</sup>. В годы создания Троицкого иконостаса Иерусалимский Устав вводился в богослужение Сергиевой обители<sup>4</sup>, но его основная направленность, питавшая искусство этого времени, уже была, без сомнения, освоена написавшими иконы иконостаса московскими художниками. Естественно предположить, что принесенный в монастырь

<sup>2</sup> Тафт Р. Ф. Византийский церковный обряд. Краткий очерк. М., 2000, с. 92.

<sup>3</sup> Felmy K. Ch. Verbrängung der eschatologischen Dimension der byzantinischen göttlichen Liturgie und ihre Folgen // Литургия, архитектура и искусство византийского мира (Византинороссика. Т. I). СПб., 1995. с. 39–49.

<sup>4</sup> Как известно, первым славянским списком Иерусалимского Устава на Руси явилась рукопись 1401 г., переписанная Афанасием Афонским в Константинополе. В собрании рукописей Троице-Сергиева монастыря сохранился кодекс с текстом Иерусалимского Устава 1429 г. (Казань, Гос. университет, Научная библиотека им. Н. И. Лобачевского, 4634. См.: Вздорнов Г. И. Роль славянских монастырских мастерских письма Константинополя и Афона в развитии книгописания и художественного оформления русских рукописей на рубеже XIV–XV вв. // ТОДРЛ. XXIII: Литературные связи древних славян. Л., 1968. № 6, с. 191–192) и рукописи, написанной после 1435 г., так как содержит Пасхалию, начиная с этого года (Указана у А. В. Горского: Горский А. В. Историческое описание Свято-Троицкой Сергиевой лавры. М., 1878, № 239 (1523), с. 22–23).



артелью художников, возглавляемой Андреем Рублевым, новый состав праздничного ряда был по заслугам оценен настоятелем монастыря Никоном и всей монастырской братией за его явную связь с новым богослужебным Уставом.

В то же время традиционное истолкование Божественной Литургии как явленной на земле реальности Горнего мира оставалось действенным в русском обществе и в годы распространения и укрепления в русской церкви Иерусалимского Устава<sup>5</sup>, несмотря на иной, исторический аспект истолкования Литургии византийскими богословами XIV–XV вв.<sup>6</sup> Традиционное понимание литургии было особенно популярным в XV в. ввиду ожидаемого в 7000 (1492) г. «конца света» и также нашло прямое отражение в иконографии<sup>7</sup> и образности Троицкого иконостаса<sup>8</sup>. Единое гармоническое начало в художественном решении иконостаса лежало в русле творчества Андрея Рублева. Художественным нормам, заложенным в ансамбле, художники подчинили и изображения страстных сюжетов, в которых только меланхолическая печаль ликов и трогательная узнаваемость жестов напоминают о земных страданиях Спасителя.

Аналогичные иконы-таблетки Троицкого собора, исполненные, как мы считаем, в середине XV в. тверскими художниками<sup>9</sup>, были решены совсем в ином художественном ключе. Комплект этих икон, созданных единовременно, представляет собой ансамбль, подчиненный единой программе<sup>10</sup>. К настоящему времени от него сохранилось 14 двусторонних таблесток (одна из них переписана в XVIII в. с сохранением древней иконографии)<sup>11</sup>. Сюжеты икон соответствуют основным Господним и Богородичным праздникам литургического

<sup>5</sup> Felmy, 1995.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Икона «Спаса в силах» в центре деисусного ряда, является, по мнению К. Х. Фельми, эсхатологическим образом (Felmy, 1995), как и весь деисусный чин иконостаса, представляющий все лики святости.

<sup>8</sup> Евсева Л. М. Эсхатология 7000 года и возникновение высокого иконостаса // Иконостас: происхождение — развитие — символика / Ред.-сост. А. М. Лидов. М., 2000, с. 411–430.

<sup>9</sup> Евсева Л. М. Двусторонние иконы-таблетки из Сергиево-Посадского музея. Состав, назначение и история серии // Троице-Сергиева лавра в истории, культуре и духовной жизни России / Мат-лы Междун. конф. Москва, 2000, с. 239–258.

<sup>10</sup> Евсева Л. М. Двусторонние иконы «на полотенцах» середины XV в. из Троице-Сергиева монастыря в контексте духовных идей времени // Труды Центрального музея древнерусской культуры и искусства имени Андрея Рублева. Т. II: Художественная культура Москвы и Подмосковья XIV — начала XV в. / Сб. ст. в честь Г. В. Попова. М., 2002, с. 137–144.

<sup>11</sup> Раскрыты в ГосНИИР О. В. Лелековой, Ю. А. Рузавиным, Н. Г. Брегманом, А. Н. Яблоковым в 1990–2000 гг.

года и памятям наиболее почитаемым святым<sup>12</sup>, в соответствующие дни они поочередно выкладывались на церковный аналой для поклонения верными. Троицкая серия — древнейшая в русском искусстве среди произведений такого рода.

Из 28 самостоятельных композиций таблеток 20 явно повторяют палеологовские произведения солуно-македонского круга<sup>13</sup>. Русские мастера оперируют элементами художественного языка, характерного для палеологовского искусства конца XIV — первой четверти XV в. Яркие стилистические различия, которые имеются между живописью таблеток серии, можно характеризовать как следствие разной степени приближенности их стиля к художественным нормам палеологовской живописи<sup>14</sup>.

Можно сделать вывод о том, что в основе серии аналойных икон-таблеток из Троицкого собора лежит некий единый комплект византийских произведений, соответствующий основным праздникам литургического года и памятям избранных святых. Наиболее вероятно, что это была серия палеологовских аналойных икон<sup>15</sup>. Существование таких

<sup>12</sup> Сюжеты праздничных композиций таблеток: «Рождество Богоматери — Введение во храм», «Благовещение — Рождество Христово», «Сретение — Богоявление», «Исцеление расслабленного — Беседа Христа и самаритянкой», «Преображение — Вход в Иерусалим», «Распятие — Сошествие во ад» (переписана в XVIII в.), «Уверение Фомы — Мироносицы у гроба», «Вознесение — Воскрешение Лазаря», «Сошествие Св. Духа — Троица Ветхозаветная», «Успение — Спас Нерукотворный»; таблетки с изображением избранных святых: «Пророк Иоанн Предтеча — Апостол Иоанн Богослов», «Верховные апостолы Петр и Павел», «Вселенские святители Василий Великий, Иоанн Златоут, Григорий Богослов — «Святители русской церкви Леонтий Ростовский, митрополиты Петр и Алексей», «Бессребреники Косма и Дамиан — «Мученики Гурий, Самон и Авив», «Великомученики Георгий, Димитрий и Никита — «Преподобные Евфимий Великий, Савва Освященный, Арсений Великий».

<sup>13</sup> Не связанными прямо с палеологовской иконографической традицией являются композиции таблеток: «Троица Ветхозаветная», «Нерукотворный Образ», «Апостолы Петр и Павел», «Митрополиты Петр, Алексей и святитель Леонтий».

<sup>14</sup> Эти различия в основном касаются изображений фигур и ликов, их динамики и статики, пластической и физиономической выразительности. См.: *Евсеева Л. М.* Двусторонние иконы-таблетки XV в. из Троице-Сергиева монастыря. К проблеме интерпретации палеологовского стиля // *Византийский мир: искусство Константинополя и национальные традиции. Тезисы докладов Международной конференции.* М., 2000, с. 9–10.

<sup>15</sup> Исходя из общего состава сюжетов троицкой серии, мы можем утверждать, что ее прообраз не был циклом евангельских иллюстраций, так как здесь присутствуют «Рождество Богоматери» и «Введение во храм»; кроме того, в этот комплект входят изображения святых, расположенные по иерархическому принципу. Правда, в известных нам палеологовских сериях аналойных икон, как и в копирующих их миниатюрах XIV в., нет изображений «Троицы», «Нерукотворного образа Христа» и сюжетов богородичного цикла. Однако в цикле афонской книги образцов конца XV в., созданной в Иверском монастыре на Афоне, где также повторена серия аналойных икон, «Рождество Богоматери» и «Троица Ветхозаветная» присутствуют, хотя по-

серий с изображением Великих праздников подтверждают как полиптихи второй половины XIV в.<sup>16</sup> из коллекции монастыря Св. Екатерины на Синае<sup>17</sup>, так и циклы миниатюр с праздниками в Минологии Димитрия Палеолога 1322–1340 гг. (Оксфорд, Бодлеяния, F. 1)<sup>18</sup> и Евангелии второй половины XIV в. в Ватопедском монастыре на Афоне (MS 937)<sup>19</sup>, которые повторяют серию небольших по размеру икон литургического назначения<sup>20</sup>. Названные произведения в основном исполнены мастерами Фессалоники, подобные бытовали и на Афоне.

Примером развитого цикла изображений святых в византийских аналойных иконах может служить таблетка с четырьмя целителями, исполненная на Афоне русским мастером; она является частью серии аналойных икон, повторяющей палеологовскую<sup>21</sup>. Кроме того, в созданной на Афоне в конце XV в. книге образцов один из циклов миниатюр, написанный художником солуно-македонского круга, также является повторением аналойных икон с изображением Великих праздников и избранных святых, которые представлены по ликам святости. Протограф всей серии аналойных икон Троицкого собора, по нашему мнению, пришел с Афона<sup>22</sup>.

Особенностью аналойных икон Троицкого собора, как и его протографа, было точное следование евангельскому тексту, обычно чтению на Литургии в тот или иной праздник. Так, изображение плачущих иудеев на таблетке «Воскрешение Лазаря» иллюстрируют текст Евангелия, где говорится о пришедших вместе сестрой Лазаря иудеях «плачущих» (Ин. 11: 33). Изображение купальни о пяти сводах со многими

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следний праздник здесь, возможно, связан с другим днем празднования, чем в Троице-Сергиевом монастыре. «Христос во гробе» в данном цикле афонской рукописи может считаться неким содержательным аналогом «Нерукотворного Образа» (Евсеева Л. М. Афонская книга образцов. XV в. М., 1998, с. 53–55, кат. № 31, 32).

<sup>16</sup> Sinai. Treasures of the Monastery of Saint Catherine. Athens, 1990. II. 72.

<sup>17</sup> Weizmann K., Alibegavili G., Volskaja A., Chadzidakis M., Babic G., Alpatov M., Voinescu T. The Icon. London, 1982; Лазарев В. Н. История византийской живописи. М., 1986. Табл. 518.

<sup>18</sup> Попова О.С. Византийские и древнерусские миниатюры. М., 2003. Ил. VII.

<sup>19</sup> Οι ησαυροι του Αγίου Ορους. Εικονογραφικα χειρογραφα. Σερα Α. Τ. Δ. Μονη Βατοπεδίου, Μονη Ζωγραφου. Αθηναί, 1991. Εικ. 249–265.

<sup>20</sup> Belting H. Das illuminierte Buch in der spätbyzantinischen Gesellschaft. Heidelberg, 1970, S. 14–15. Fig. 8, 10.

<sup>21</sup> Поствизантийская живопись. Иконы XV–XIII веков из собраний Москвы, Сергиева Посада, Твери и Рязани. Каталог выставки. Афины, 1995. Кат. № 27.

<sup>22</sup> Византийская серия-протограф находилась, видимо, в Твери (в городском соборе или греческом монастыре Св. Феодора), где и написана, в известной мере скопирована, тверскими художниками как исследуемый комплект икон-таблеток для Троицкого собора. Об этом говорят характерные для тверской живописи особенности стиля таблеток, а также аналогии их иконографии и стилю в тверских произведениях XV в.

страдающими в сцене «Исцеление расслабленного» точно соответствует строкам Евангелия (Ин. 5: 1–9), где сказано о купальне с «пятью крытыми входами», в которых «лежало великое множество больных». В «Вознесении» представлен редкий извод, где принятое в иконографии с глубокой древности изображение апостола Павла отсутствует, что соответствует последовательности новозаветных событий. Большинство изображенных сцен характеризуют эмоциональность и определенный драматизм.

Данное решение сцен на табличках сполна отвечает особенностям богослужения по Иерусалимскому Уставу с его определенным историческим аспектом в истолковании Литургии. Содержательные и художественные особенности серии аналойных икон гораздо последовательней, чем ансамбль троицкого иконостаса, отвечали идеям и акцентам, заложенным в новом для русской церкви богослужебном Уставе. Можно предположить, что монастырь как заказчик комплекта аналойных икон для Троицкого собора заранее представлял их художественное и содержательное решение: монастырскому представительству, делающему заказ, должен был быть знаком их образец. При этом предполагаемая заказчиком обрядовая функция табличек не только не препятствовала развитию содержательного начала, но, скорее, наоборот — выделенность иконы на аналое в интерьере храма предполагала повышенную творческую самостоятельность ее замысла и исполнения.

В результате икона на аналое Троицкого собора, где евангельская сцена представляла в историческом и даже драматическом аспектах, не вторила композиции праздничного ряда иконостаса, модус ее изображения не совпадал со сценами этого ряда. Соответствуя в деталях евангельскому чтению дня, которое звучало на богослужении, приближенная к молящемуся в силу своего положения на аналое, она должна была с большей силой воздействовать на них экспрессией своего образа, вызывая «импульсы литургического приобщения».

Напомним также, что согласно новому Уставу в кануны праздников полагалось продолжавшееся всю ночь всеобщее бдение, длительность которого явно предполагала и время для созерцания иконы на аналое. Укажем также на стоявшие рядом с аналогом светильники<sup>23</sup>. Свет — обязательная составляющая обряда поклонения иконе, он одновременно освещал образ на аналое и концентрировал внимание инок на изображении праздника.

<sup>23</sup> Например, как указывает опись 1601 г. Кирилло-Белозерского монастыря, у аналое стояли три подсвечника: «Перед аналом свешник медной тощей, да 2 свешника малых тощие же» (Опись строений и имущества Кирилло-Белозерского монастыря 1601 г. / Сост. З. В. Дмитриева и М. Н. Шарамазов. СПб., 1998, с. 71).

Противопоставление образа на аналое праздничной иконе в иконостасе вполне укладывается в рамки задач, стоящих в средневековом искусстве перед произведениями разного типа и предназначения. В данном случае созерцание и получение «литургических импульсов приобщения» от образа на аналое, самостоятельного единичного произведения, соответствующего текстам и распевам богослужений дня, противопоставлено целостному восприятию идеальной гармонии Будущего века в широком панно иконостаса. Это противопоставление друг другу изображений сакрального события — как, в некотором смысле, временного и как идеально-вечного — становится одним из средств организации сакрального пространства, в котором, таким образом, проявляется динамика отношений времени и вечности.

В Троицком соборе небольшой образ на аналое (23×18 см) для получения нужного эффекта воздействия на молящегося был усилен его повтором. Композицию той или иной иконы на аналое повторяла аналойная пелена, где сцена, того же размера, что и на таблетке, была шита на ткани золотом и цветным шелком. В монастырской ризнице сохранились четыре небольших шитых пелены со сценами «Благовещение», «Рождество Христово», «Богоявление», «Сшествие во ад»<sup>24</sup>, датированные XV в.<sup>25</sup>, отличающиеся своей иконографической и стилистической близостью к аналойным иконам-таблеткам Троицкого собора. По нашему мнению, они созданы одновременно с аналойными иконами и в мастерской того же художественного центра, которому мы обязаны изготовлением икон-таблеток<sup>26</sup>. Можно предположить, что состав пелен не

<sup>24</sup> «Благовещение», 37×37 см, инв. 362, реставр. в 1974 г. в ВХЦНР А. Н. Беляковой; «Рождество Христово», 35×32 см, инв. 368; «Богоявление», 40×39 см, инв. 660; «Сшествие во ад», 31×32 см, инв. 363, реставр. в 1974 г. в ВХНРЦ Г. А. Горошко. См.: *Маясова Н. А.* Художественное шитье // Троице-Сергиева лавра. Художественные памятники. М., 1968, с. 119–120, ил. 136 («Рождество Христово»); *Николаева Т. В.* Собрание древнерусского искусства в Загорском музее. Л., 1968. № 56 («Богоявление»), № 57 («Рождество Христово»); Художественное шитье Древней Руси в собрании Загорского музея / Авт.-сост. Т. Н. Манушина. М., 1983. № 1, с. 55 («Благовещение»), № 2, с. 55 («Сшествие во ад»).

<sup>25</sup> Н. А. Маясова датирует пелены первой половиной XV в. и относит к московской школе (*Маясова*, 1968, с. 120); Т. В. Николаева и Т. Н. Манушина датируют их широко, XV в. (*Николаева*, 1968; *Манушина*, 1983).

<sup>26</sup> Практически одинаковый размер композиций пелен, без полей (новых), примерно 22×20 см, своеобразный стиль с округлыми хорошо смоделированными фигурами и контрастным колоритом, где сочетаются синий и малиновые цвета шелка, а также использование в шитье деталей пряженной золотой и серебряной нити убеждает нас в том, что пелены представляют собой единую серию, с чем согласна и Н. А. Маясова (*Маясова*, 1968). Законченность и самостоятельность шитых композиций пелен позволяет утверждать, что это не клейма одной большой пелены, разрезанной на части, а самостоятельные предметы. При этом необходимо отметить, что комплект одина-

ограничивался четырьмя предметами, видимо, эта была серия, которая включала, как минимум, все двенадцатые праздники<sup>27</sup>.

В праздничной Литургии в наосе присутствовал еще один мощный по впечатлению образ, а именно «Оплакивание Христа» или «Положение во гроб», шитый золотом и цветным шелком на третьем, верхнем, покрове на литургические сосуды. Его выносили в процессии Великого входа. Помещение на воздухе сцены «Оплакивание» или «Положение во гроб» связано с особенностями Иерусалимского Устава: процессия Великого Входа в рамках этого Устава прообразует погребальное шествие. Покрытие Св. Даров на алтаре третьим покровом интерпретируется как символ положения тела Христа во гроб, его умащение и обертывание плащаницей<sup>28</sup>.

В Троицком монастыре таких покровов сохранилось несколько. Древнейший из них — так называемая Голубая плащаница начала XV в., где представлено оплакивание Христа Богородицею, Иоанном Богословом и ангелами<sup>29</sup>. Более сложный и редкий иконографический извод на воздухе с 14 клеймами праздников<sup>30</sup>, окружающих «Оплакивание» в средней части, о котором документально известно, что он принадлежал Троицкому собору<sup>31</sup>. Состав сюжетов в клеймах воздуха

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ковых по размеру лицевых шитых пелен с праздниками является редким примером в древнерусском искусстве, а для XV в. примером исключительным. См.: *Евсеева Л. М.* Аналойные подвесные пелены XV в. из ризницы Троице-Сергиева монастыря // Троице-Сергиева лавра в истории, культуре и духовной жизни России. Мат-лы III междунар. конф. Сергиев Посад, 2004, с. 239–258, 252–266.

<sup>27</sup> Подобные серии небольших пелен мы находим среди сохранившихся строгановских произведений, которые, как известно, служили подвесными пеленами к аналойным иконам. Особенно важно для нашей темы соответствие иконографии, в отдельных случаях особой и редкой, аналойных строгановских икон и подвесных пелен к ним (*Силкин А. В.* Строгановское лицевое шитье. М., 2002. Кат. № 11, 18, 19, 138, 139 и др.).

<sup>28</sup> *Тафт*, 2000, с. 90.

<sup>29</sup> *Маясова Н. А.* Древнерусское шитье. М., 1971. Табл. 2. Данный иконографический вариант пришел, по-видимому, на Русь с мастерами патриарха Фотия, более убедительной представляется датировка памятника 1510-ми годами.

<sup>30</sup> Клейма расположены следующим образом: внизу — «Благовещение», «Рождество Христово», «Сретение», «Богоявление», «Преображение»; справа — «Распятие», «Воскрешение Лазаря»; слева — «Вход в Иерусалим», «Сошествие во ад»; верхний ряд — «Уверение Фомы», «Жены-мироносицы», «Вознесение», «Сошествие Св. Духа», «Успение».

<sup>31</sup> Плащаница, как сообщает опись ризницы Троице-Сергиева монастыря от 1848 г., «употреблялась в Троицком соборе». Согласно той же описи, она была исключена из монастырского инвентаря за ветхостью. См.: *Опись ризничных вещей, исключенных из описи 1805 г., обветшавших и подлежащих уничтожению, 1848 г.* СПМЗ, № 36, с. 14. Сведения описи приведены в ст.: *Манушина Т. Н.* Плащаница из собрания Загорского музея // Памятники культуры. Новые открытия. М., 1977, с. 246. Видимо, в том же году плащаница была передана в церковь Рождества Богородицы дома призрения Троице-Сергиевой лавры, построенного на посаде в 1842 г. О принадлежности воздуха к этой

из ризницы Троицкого монастыря, где двенадцатые праздники дополнены сюжетами евангельских чтений по Цветной Триоди «Явления ангела Женам-мироносицам» и «Уверение Фомы» необычен для произведений шитья. Их присутствие в клеймах воздуха можно объяснить только влиянием цикла икон. Иконография праздников в клеймах воздуха в своем большинстве соответствует аналойным иконам-таблеткам Троицкого собора, а не праздничному чину его иконостаса. Стиль этих шитых сцен близок четырем аналойным пеленам, которые повторяют иконографию и частично стиль таблеток Троицкого собора. По нашему мнению, воздух с 14 праздниками был исполнен в середине XV в.<sup>32</sup> в тех же тверских мастерских, что и аналойные пелены, и входил в общий комплекс произведений, связанных с проведением богослужения, который дополнил убранство Троицкого собора после 1448 г., года канонизации преподобного Сергия.

«Оплакивание» в среднике воздуха с 14 праздниками представлено развитой сценой, основанной на евангельском рассказе: тело Христа с закинутой головой распростерто на красном ложе, голову Спасителя поддерживает сидящая Богоматерь, ноги — Иосиф Аримафейский, юный апостол Иоанн припадает к приподнятой руке. Теребящая в отчаянии косы жена и другая, с жестом моления, как и Никодим, изображены на втором плане, по сторонам сцены представлены два ангела в диаконских стихарях, оба с рипидами, в руке одного кадильница, другой на плате держит ладаницу. На фоне изображен киворий с подвешенной внутри него лампадой. Сцена повторяет, за исключением изображения кивория, иконографическую схему иконы праздничного ряда из иконостаса 1425–1427 гг. Троицкого собора Троице-Сергиева монастыря<sup>33</sup>. Особенно подчеркнем сходство в изображении Христа с запрокинутой головой и изогнутым, застывшим в напряжении телом. Красный цвет смертного ложа Христа на воздухе необычен в русских плащаницах, вышивальщицы здесь также повторили цвет гробового ложа на иконе Троицкого собора. Как и на византийских фресках, это ярко-розовая каменная плита, почитаемая как реликвия<sup>34</sup>. Композиция является од-

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церкви говорит надпись на его новой подкладке: «из церкви Дома призрения» (там же). По мнению Т. Н. Манушиной, расположение сюжетов изменено при грубой реставрации в XIX в., широкая кайма с литургической надписью утрачена (*Манушина*, 1977, с. 246–247). Размер воздуха, таким образом, был несколько большим (в настоящем его виде размер 76×117,5 см).

<sup>32</sup> Н. А. Маясова относит воздух к московской школе и датирует первой половиной XV в. (*Маясова*, 1968, с. 120.), Т. Н. Манушина — концом XV в. (*Манушина*, 1977, с. 245–252).

<sup>33</sup> *Манушина*, 1977, с. 247.

<sup>34</sup> Каменное погребальное ложе Христа в пещере-гробнице почиталось как реликвия, его описали многие паломники. Русский игумен Даниил в 1106–1107 г. видел его об-

ной из самых развитых и экспрессивных на данную тему в палеологовском искусстве.

Развернутая «историческая» сцена Оплакивания на воздухе известна на Балканах с начала XV в. — плащаница этого времени в Хиландарском монастыре, где у гроба Христа изображены Богоматерь, апостол Иоанн, Мария Магдалина, Иосиф Аримафейский и Никодим<sup>35</sup>. В русском искусстве, по нашему мнению, исследуемый воздух является одним из древнейших среди покровов с подобной развитой композицией «исторического» типа<sup>36</sup>. Покровы с клеймами двенадцатых праздников существовали на Балканах с середины XIV в. — воздух с «Оплакиванием» в окружении 12 евангельских сюжетов христологического цикла, а также «Рождества Богоматери», «Успения» и сцены «Служба Св. Отец» из церкви в Скопле (в настоящее время в Хиландарском монастыре)<sup>37</sup>. Плащаницы с двенадцатыми праздниками, окружающими центральную «историческую» сцену «Оплакивания», особенно последовательно соотносятся с историческим аспектом в истолковании Литургии, которую нес в себе Иерусалимский устав.

Возможно, подобные литургические покровы стали известны троицким инокам по описанию выходцев с Афона или паломников, посетивших Святую гору. Непосредственным же образцом для средника послужила икона Троицкого иконостаса, а для праздников — аналойная серия икон (напомним, что сцены «Оплакивания» нет в комплекте аналойных икон Троицкого собора).

История не сохранила нам никаких свидетельств относительно распорядка выноса в наос и выкладывания на аналой икон-таблеток в службах Троицкого монастырского собора. Судя по составу серии, на соборный аналой в праздники выкладывалась одна соответствовавшая

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ложенным мраморными пластинам. Византийская иконографическая традиция изображает его розовым, мраморовидным, что, видимо, соответствует реальному виду погребального камня (*Millet G. Recherches sur l'Iconographie de l'Evangile aux XIV<sup>e</sup>, XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles d'après les monuments de Mistra, de la Macédoine et du mont Athos. Paris, 1916 (2-e ed., 1960, p. 529).*

<sup>35</sup> Богдановић Д., Бурић В., Медаковић Д. Хиландар. Београд, 1978, с. 126, ил. 105.

<sup>36</sup> Т. Н. Манушина считает древнейшим воздухом с «исторической» сценой Оплакивания покров 1464 г. из Архангельского собора московского Кремля (Манушина, 1977), однако, кроме общей типологии, между памятниками нет сходства в иконографии. На кремлевском покрове представлено «Снятие со креста», «Оплакивание» и «Сошествие во ад» в иконографических вариантах соответствующих праздничных икон 1410-х годов, находящихся в настоящее время в иконостасе кремлевского Благовещенского собора; состав и иконография праздников в клеймах также иные, чем на воздухе Троицкого собора. Данные покровы не являются производными один от другого, хотя время их изготовления достаточно близкое.

<sup>37</sup> Богдановић Д., Бурић В., Медаковић Д. Хиландар. Београд, 1978, с. 112–113, ил. 94.



дню икона. Как нам сообщают чиновник 1626–1634 гг., составленный по более старым записям новгородского Софийского Успенского собора<sup>38</sup>, и некоторые старообрядческие источники (см. ниже), вынос аналойной иконы происходил в канун праздников и памятей святых. Икона вместе с соответствующей ей пеленой находилась на аналое весь день праздника. За отдельными сюжетами серии можно предполагать более сложную схему выноса и пребывания на аналое, что связано с особенностями богослужения Страстной седмицы и Пятидесятницы.

Вопрос о конкретной роли таблетки «Сошествие Св. Духа — Троица Ветхозаветная» в богослужении ставит серьезную проблему, которая историками литургики еще окончательно не решена. Подобное сочетание сюжетов на сторонах одной аналойной иконы является уникальным. Оба принадлежат празднику 50-го дня по Пасхе, к тому же престольному празднику монастырского собора. Исследователи пока не могут дать точный ответ на вопрос, был ли в древности один день празднования Сошествия Святого Духа и Святой Троицы, а именно Неделя (воскресенье), или два. Разделение этого праздника в современной православной церкви на два дня празднования, когда в воскресенье празднуется Св. Троица, а в понедельник — Сошествие Св. Духа, относится уже к поствизантийской эпохе<sup>39</sup>.

По мнению исследователей, празднование «Дня Святой Троицы» является особенностью русской богослужебной практики. Празднование собственно Святой Троице, как считает М. Скабалланович, начало складываться в XI в. в Византии, но в византийской церкви оно не приобрело самостоятельных черт. По мнению прот. Н. Озолина, «первоначально Троицын день соотносился в православном праздновании Пятидесятницы со вторым днем праздника, именуемым днем Св. Духа, и понимался как Собор или Синакисис сошествия Св. Духа. „Ветхозаветная Троица“ становится иконой этого „понедельника Св. Троицы“ на Руси среди учеников преподобного Сергия»<sup>40</sup>. «„Троица“ стала иконой первого дня Пятидесятницы, т. е. Недели, уже после раскола»<sup>41</sup>.

М. Скабалланович приводит выписку из старообрядческого Устава, где говорится: «В субботу к недели поставляем на вечерни к Троицину дню на налое образ Сошествия Св. Духа... В неделю вечером на налое поставляем образ Троицы единоначальныя... На вечера добавляем особоно молитву Св. Духу, творения Филофея, патриарха Константинополь-

<sup>38</sup> Голубцев А. Чиновник новгородского Софийского собора // ЧОИДР, 1899. Кн. 2.

<sup>39</sup> Озолин Н., протоиерей. Троица или Пятидесятница? // Философия русского религиозного искусства XVI–XX вв. М. 1993; он же. Православная иконография Пятидесятницы: Об истоках и эволюции византийского извода. М., 2001, с. 7.

<sup>40</sup> Озолин, 1993. с. 384.

<sup>41</sup> Там же.

ского: Царю небесный, утешителю Владыко»<sup>42</sup>. По мнению прот. Н. Озолина, здесь описана древняя церковная практика<sup>43</sup>. Таблетка серии из Троице-Сергиева монастыря доказывает эту мысль: ее расположенные по двум сторонам сюжеты предполагают, что в канун Пятидесятницы таблетка выкладывалась на аналой стороной с «Сошествием Св. Духа», а перед повечерием этого дня ее переворачивали и устанавливали на аналое «Троицу Ветхозаветную». Сочетание сюжетов «Сошествие Св. Духа — Троица Ветхозаветная» на таблетке говорит о лежащем в основе всей серии самостоятельном замысле, который органично связал ее с особенностями богослужения Троице-Сергиева монастыря. Перемена стороны иконы на аналое вносит динамику в момент ее пребывания в соборе, элемент некоего действия с иконами.

Можно предположить особую роль таблеток монастырской серии в драматизации церковной службы во время служб страстной седмицы. По всей видимости, на протяжении всей седмицы на аналое находился Спас Нерукотворный — образ Воплощения и ехаристической Жертвы. Согласно исследованию Г. Белтинга, в византийском богослужении страстной недели участвовал «Нерукотворный Образ»<sup>44</sup>, чаще всего, видимо, это была выносная икона. О древности этого обычая на Руси свидетельствуют надписания на отдельных выносных иконах «Нерукотворного Образа» XIV в., характерные для образа Распятия или указывающие на него<sup>45</sup>. Функция выносных икон была близка аналойным.

В канун Великой пятницы Нерукотворный образ на аналое Троицкого собора дополнялся «Распятием», которое, по всей видимости, выкладывалось на втором аналое. В ночь с Великой пятницы на субботу, согласно Иерусалимскому Уставу, совершался чин погребения Спасителя, который вошел в практику богослужения Византийской церкви с конца XIV в. Известие о существовании чина погребения Спасителя в русской богослужебной практике относится уже к 1540-м годам<sup>46</sup>, однако отсутствие более ранних сведений об этом чине не означает, что он не совершался<sup>47</sup>.

<sup>42</sup> Скабалланович М. Христианские праздники: Пятидесятница. Киев, 1916, с. 169 (репр. Jordanville, N.Y., 1980).

<sup>43</sup> Озолин, 1993, с. 384.

<sup>44</sup> Belting H. An Image and Its Function in the Liturgy. the Man of Sorrow in the Byzantium. // DOP 34, 35 (1980–1981).

<sup>45</sup> На ростовской иконе конца XIII — раннего XIV в. в Третьяковской галерее имеется надпись «ІС ХС ЦАРЬ СЛАВЫ», на иконе первой половины XVI в., также ростовской и в том же собрании, — «ОБРАЗЪ [ІСА] ХСТА РАСПЯТОГО» (Спас Нерукотворный в русской иконе / Авт.-сост. Л. М. Евсеева, А. М. Лидов, Н. Н. Чугреева. М., 2005. Кат. № 3, № 19).

<sup>46</sup> Чин Новгорода и Пскова // Голубцов, 1899.

<sup>47</sup> Чин погребения Спасителя, совершаемый в храмах Троице-Сергиева монастыря, по сей день отличает древность состава и редкая полнота.

Центром чина погребения Спасителя стал третий покров на литургические сосуды, или, как его стали называть, плащаница с изображением, почти в натуральную величину, Христа во гробе или сцены оплакивания<sup>48</sup>.

Вынос плащаницы в службе погребения Спасителя в ночь с Великой пятницы на субботу являлся кульминацией богослужений года. Значимость чина усиливало мистическое «общение» образов в центре наоса. Плащаница, убранная, как показывают византийские источники, цветами<sup>49</sup>, окруженная светом свечей являла наглядный, как в мистерии, образ Христа во гробе. Присутствующий на аналое Нерукотворный образ Христа воспринимался одновременно и как земной лик Спасителя, и как лик Христа Второго пришествия, перед которым предстанет каждый на Страшном суде. Сопоставление этих двух изображений — на аналойной иконе и на литургической ткани — передавало выраженную в пасхальном каноне идею вечного присутствия Спасителя на небесах и, одновременно, свершение его Жертвы. События земной жизни Христа были представлены на клеймах воздуха. Через текст, обряд и, во многом, через вынесенные в наос и специально освещенные изображения на аналойной иконе и плащанице, а также через вынос плащаницы и проводы ее в алтарь, что выражало акт погребения Спасителя, воссоздавалось пространство евангельского Иерусалима и великое событие божественной Жертвы. Верующим дано было пережить подлинный катарсис сакральной драмы.

Драматизм совершения Богослужебного чина погребения Спасителя, как и его обиход, пришли в Троицкий монастырь, вероятней всего, с Афона. Напомним, что иконография аналойных икон Троицкого собора, как и воздуха со сценой оплакивания «исторического типа» в окружении праздников, также находит аналогии среди византийских произведений, бытующих на Афоне.

Духовная связь с монастырями Афона постоянно ощущалась в обители — во-первых, через общежительный монастырский устав, который приняла Троицкая обитель при жизни Сергия<sup>50</sup> и который главенствовал на Афоне. Наставление в общежитии монастырь получил из рук константинопольского патриарха, бывшего настоятеля Великой лавры Филофея Коккина, который в 1376 г. прислал Сергию Радонежскому грамоту с благословением, а также парамант, схиму и

<sup>48</sup> Johnstone P. *The Byzantine Tradition in Church Embroidery*. London, 1967.

<sup>49</sup> *Belting*, 1980–1981.

<sup>50</sup> Б. М. Клосс считает, что общежительный устав в Троицком монастыре был принят между 1364–1376 гг. См.: *Клосс Б. М. К изучению биографии преподобного Сергия Радонежского // Древнерусское искусство: Сергий Радонежский и художественная культура Москвы XIV–XV вв.* СПб., 1998, с. 12.

крест<sup>51</sup>. Во-вторых — через Иерусалимский богослужебный устав, который вводится в Троицком монастыре в первой трети XV в., причем это была редакция Иерусалимского Устава, которую составил константинопольский патриарх Филофей Коккин и которая вызрела и оформилась на Афоне (Диадаксис Филофея)<sup>52</sup>. Данная редакция уже в XIV в. была сполна воспринята афонскими монастырями<sup>53</sup>.

Кроме того, сама личность преподобного Сергия, одного из первых на Руси иноков-мистиков<sup>54</sup>, была близка духу и образу афонита. Не случайно, как отмечает Л. И. Лифшиц, что многие таинственные знамения в жизни Сергия, в первую очередь посещение обители Богородицей, так сходны с фактами мистической жизни св. Афанасия, основателя Великой лавры<sup>55</sup>. И обретение мощей преподобного Сергия совершается в день памяти этого святого. После смерти Сергия развернувшиеся в монастыре и связанные с фиксацией его личности литературные и иконографические начинания «ориентируются на византийские, прежде всего афонские образцы»<sup>56</sup>.

В первой половине — середине XV в. Троицкий монастырь поддерживал связь с Афоном и со всем греческим миром и посредством других прямых контактов. В 1419–1422 гг. троицкий инок Зосима ходил в Константинополь, Фессалоники и на Афон, а также в Иерусалим и на Кипр. Его миссия, как считается, была дипломатической и связана с подготовкой канонизации Сергия Радонежского<sup>57</sup>. Известен и другой выходец из России, возможно, из Троицкого монастыря, который составил сборник (не сохранившийся) в 1431 г. на Афоне в лавре Св. Афанасия<sup>58</sup>. Уже, может быть, через год рукопись находилась в Троицком монастыре, где

<sup>51</sup> Кучкин В. А. Сергий Радонежский и «филофеевский крест» // Древнерусское искусство: Сергей Радонежский и художественная культура Москвы XIV–XV вв. СПб., 1998, с. 16–22.

<sup>52</sup> Тафт, 2000, с. 100–102.

<sup>53</sup> Там же.

<sup>54</sup> Федотов Г. Святые Древней Руси. М., 1990, с. 150.

<sup>55</sup> Лифшиц Л. И. Иконография явления Богоматери преподобному Сергию Радонежскому и мотивы теофании в искусстве конца XIV — начала XV в. // Древнерусское искусство: Сергей Радонежский и художественная культура Москвы XIV–XV вв. СПб., 1998, с. 81.

<sup>56</sup> Там же, с. 90.

<sup>57</sup> Ченцова В. Г. О причинах путешествия русского паломника XV в. Зосимы на Христианский Восток // Московия: Проблемы византийской и новогреческой филологии. К 60-летию Б. Л. Фонкича. М., 2001. с. 447–457.

<sup>58</sup> Вздорнов Г. И. Роль славянских монастырских мастерских письма Константинополя и Афона в развитии книгописания и художественного оформления русских рукописей на рубеже XIV–XV вв. // ТОДРЛ. XXIII: Литературные связи древних славян. Л., 1968, с. 197, № 15.

была переписана<sup>59</sup> по заказу игумена Зиновия (1432–1445)<sup>60</sup>; в сборнике рядом поставлены жития Афанасия Афонского и Сергия Радонежского (РГБ. Ф. 304. № 746). Между 1438 и 1443 гг., т.е. относительно незадолго до года канонизации преподобного Сергия и изготовления к этому значимому моменту (или в связи с ним) связанных с богослужением аналойных икон, пелен к ним и литургических тканей, приезжает в Троицкий монастырь афонский монах писатель Пахомий Серб, приглашенный в Россию, по мнению Е. Голубинского, тем же игуменом Зиновием<sup>61</sup>. У Троицы Пахомий живет долгие годы, и одним из его основных трудов здесь был труд по созданию новых редакций Жития Сергия и написание службы святому. Пахомий подготовил четыре редакции Жития, два минейных и два проложных; по мнению Е. Голубинского, два проложных «нужны были властям Троицкого монастыря для чтения на всенощных бдениях под праздники преподобного Сергия... Но власти не хотели, чтобы в оба раза читалось одно и тоже житие». При этом исследователь уточняет, что первое чтение, по 2-й кафизме, полагалось по афонскому обычаю, а второе, по 6-й песне канона — согласно монастырскому уставу<sup>62</sup>. Данный афонский обычай чтений, следовательно, был усвоен в Троицком монастыре через Пахомия. Можно предположить, что и другие обряды Святой Горы, в том числе касающиеся сопровождения службы аналойными иконами и особый вид плащаницы, должны были стать известными монахам Троицы через Пахомия Серба, как и через троицких иноков, посетивших обители Афона.

Вполне закономерно намерение Троице-Сергиева монастыря приблизить внешние формы богослужения к афонским, вслед за уставами, как монастырским, так и богослужебным. В богослужебный обиход входят аналойные иконы, подробно иллюстрирующие евангельские чтения. Третий покров на литургические сосуды получает редкий, сугубо исторический вариант иконографии. В результате этих нововведений сакральное пространство наоса Троицкого собора через действие

<sup>59</sup> На л. 336 об. списка имеется запись, где объединены сведения о русском ее писце и, возможно, составителе и сведения о ее заказчике и переписчике в Троице-Сергиевом монастыре: «В лето 6939 (1431) списася книга сия в святой горе Афонске, в обители царсте в лавре великого Афанасия, подкрылием св. Григория Паламы и преподобнаго отца нашего Петра Афонскаго в кущи святаго и славнаго пророка Илия. Преписася (рукой) многогрешного и смиреннаго инока Афанасия русина. Последи же повелением господина Зиновия, игумена Сергиева монастыря, съписася грешным Ионою игуменом Угрешским» (Цит. по: *Вздорнов*, 1968, с. 197).

<sup>60</sup> *Горский*, 1878, с. 63; *Строев П.* Списки иерархов и настоятелей монастырей Российской церкви. СПб., 1877. Стлб. 138.

<sup>61</sup> *Голубинский Е.* Преподобный Сергий Радонежский и созданная им Троицкая лавра. М., 1909, с. 7, 144.

<sup>62</sup> Там же, с. 9.

с иконами и литургическими тканями в момент богослужения формировалось по афонскому образцу. Можно также считать, что присутствие надмирного и абсолютного в богослужении было выявлено в Троицком соборе более действенно, чем в соборах Святой Горы — ввиду противопоставления драматическим образам аналойной иконы и «Оплакивания» на плащанице идеального и гармоничного по своему решению ансамбля соборного иконостаса.

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PROSKYNESIS ICONS AND LITURGICAL CLOTHES  
IN THE SETTING OF SACRED SPACE

*Proskynesis* icons and liturgical clothes with embroidered images brought to naos in festive days or in particular liturgical moments played special role in the making of holy space in churches as temporary variable part of church decoration. But we have very limited data to study the role of these icons and clothes since these objects are preserved only in few exempla and small numbers without information about their provenance.

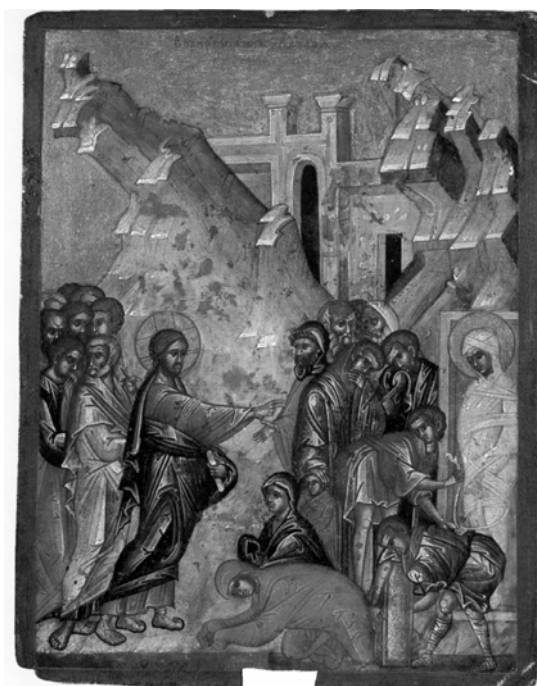
However, some art objects from the sacristy of Troitse-Sergiev monastery provide for a rare opportunity of such a research. There are 14 *proskynesis* double-sided icons-tablets with scenes of feasts and twenty one portraits of saints (restored by the Institute of Restoration in 1990–2000), as well as some small *podeas* (embroidered hangings beneath icons) and *epitaphios* with the “Lamentation” in the centre surrounded by 14 feast scenes on borders. The objects originate from the cathedral of the Trinity-St Sergius Lavra (1422–1425). The icons and embroideries replicate Byzantine iconography. All objects were created close to 1448, the data of the canonization of Sergii Radonezhskii. The items of this type are the oldest in this type in the Russian art.

The *proskynesis* icons represent the Great Feasts, four additional Tridion feasts and two of the Holy Virgin, moreover, The Trinity, The Holy Face. The Combination of subjects of the Trinity and the Descent of the Holy Spirit on two sides of one tablet is unique. It reflects liturgical peculiarities of the services in the Trinity-St. Sergius monastery. The Trinity feast in days of Pentecost is peculiar for the Russian Church, which came to being at the Trinity-St. Sergius monastery. The iconography of the Trinity on the tablet is similar to the Trinity icon by Andrei Rublev.

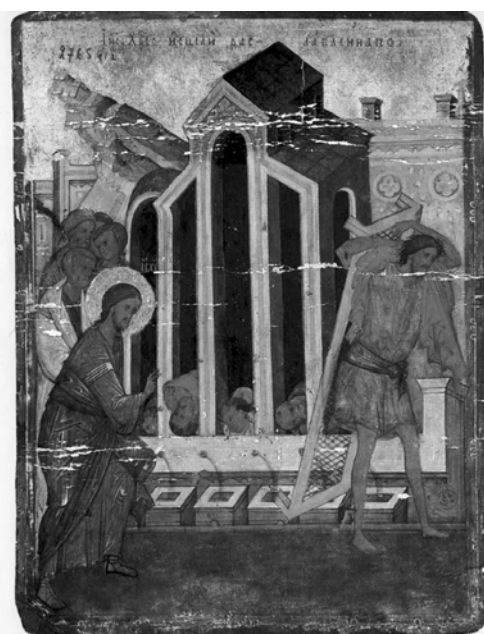
The feast scenes of the tablets illustrated Gospel stories in details, like Paleologean *proskynesis* icons. It is possible to connect this peculiarity to the

historical interpretation of the Liturgy which took shape in the Jerusalem Typicon. It was adopted by the Trinity-St. Sergius Lavra in the first third of the 15<sup>th</sup> century in the Athonian redaction — as in the Diataxis of Patriarch Filofei. The monastery's *proskynesis* icons and the *epitaphios* with the “Lamentation”, surrounded by 14 feast scenes on borders, reflect Athonite ordinary services as well.

On the feast days in Trinity cathedral these icons were placed on the *proskynetarion* (lectern) for veneration, the *podeas* were hanged on the lectern beneath the *proskynesis* icon. The *Epitaphios* was used in the Liturgy and in the service of the Great Saturday. The set of *proskynesis* icons and liturgical clothes were shaped for the holy space setting of the Trinity cathedral in accordance with the practice of Mt. Athos churches.



1. Воскрешение Лазаря. Середина XV в. Тверь. Икона-таблетка

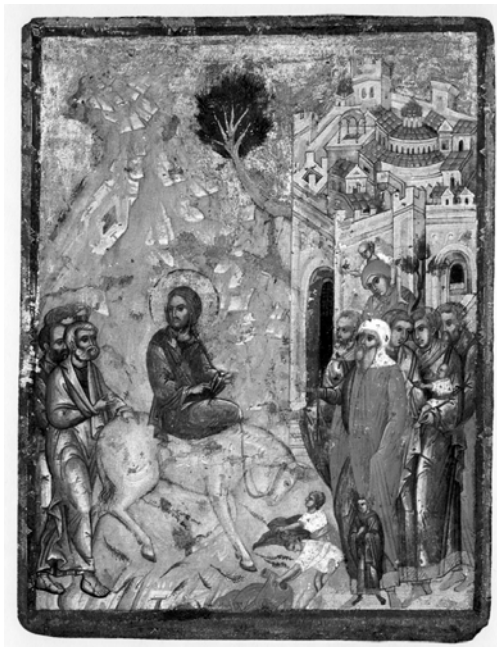


2. Исцеление расслабленного. Середина XV в. Тверь. Икона-таблетка





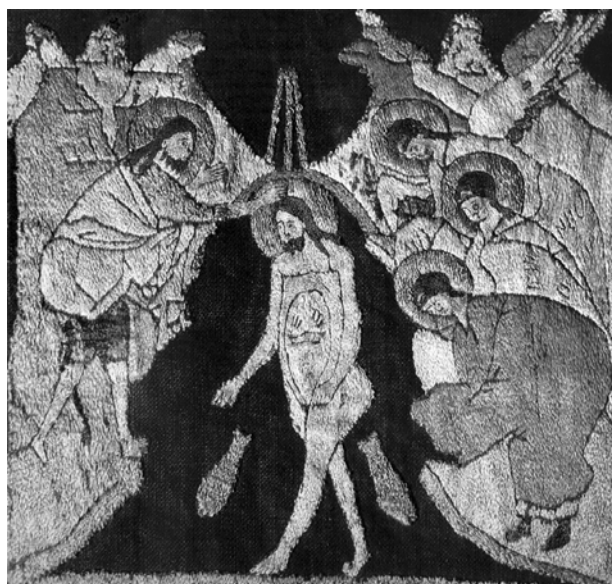
3. Вознесение. Середина XV в. Тверь. Икона-таблетка



4. Вход в Иерусалим. Середина XV в. Тверь. Икона-таблетка



5. Богоявление. Середина XV в. Тверь. Икона-таблетка



6. Богоявление. Середина XV в. Тверь. Подвесная пелена



7. Оплакивание Христа с Великими праздниками. Середина XV в. Тверь. Воздух



8. Оплакивание Христа с Великими праздниками. Середина XV в. Тверь. Воздух. Фрагмент



9. Оплакивание Христа с Великими праздниками. Середина XV в. Тверь. Воздух. Фрагмент

Г. В. Сидоренко

САКРАЛЬНОЕ В САКРАЛЬНОМ.  
О ПРОСТРАНСТВЕННОЙ СТРУКТУРЕ  
РУССКИХ ДЕРЕВЯННЫХ ПОКЛОННЫХ  
КРЕСТОВ XVI–XVII ВЕКОВ

В русской монастырской культуре XVI–XVII вв. особое распространение получил иконографический тип резных деревянных крестов четырехконечной формы с изображением Троицы на верхнем конце, в центре — восьмиконечного Распятия с предстоящими, на нижнем конце — фронтально расположенных под Распятием избранных святых. Как правило, святые представлены в один или в два ряда, по три или по четыре фигуры: святитель Николай, архиепископ Мирликийский, преподобные Сергей Радонежский, Кирилл Белозерский, Зосима и Савватий Соловецкие, митрополиты московские Петр и Алексий, а также отцы Церкви — Иоанн Златоуст, Василий Великий и Григорий Богослов.

Эти кресты преимущественно связаны с землями Новгородской епархии (еп. с X в.) и Вологодской (еп. с 1492 г.), прежде всего, с монастырями Кирилло-Белозерским и Соловецким<sup>1</sup>. Связь крестов данного

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<sup>1</sup> Например: Крест поклонный (33×29), КБИАХМЗ, инв. № ДЖ 956 КП КБИАХМ 2844, происх. неизвестно, атрибуция — начало XVI в., Кирило-Белозерский монастырь — *Плешанова И. И.* Работы кирилловских резчиков в собрании Государственного Русского музея // Древнерусское искусство. Художественные памятники русского Севера. М., 1989, с. 235, 237; Дионисий «Живописец Пресловущий». К 500-летию росписи Дионисия в соборе Рождества Богородицы Ферапонтова монастыря. Выставка произведений древнерусского искусства XV–XVI вв. из собраний музеев и библиотек России. М., 2002. № 53 (автор описания Л. Л. Петрова). Кресты поклонные Музеев Московского Кремля — *Соколова И. М.* Русская деревянная скульптура XV–XVIII вв.. Каталог. М., 2003, № 14, 15, 16 — кресты Кирилло-Белозерского монастыря; № 45, 46 — кресты Соловецкого монастыря.

Кресты поклонные XVI в. в собрании ГТГ: Крест поклонный (35,5 × 22,5, инв. 12611) из коллекции И. С. Остроухова; Крест поклонный (21,8 × 11,3, инв. 4288) приобретен Советом галереи в 1918 г., атрибуция дана по учетной документации музея; Крест по-

иконографического типа с монастырской культурой была отмечена А. В. Рындиной<sup>2</sup>, а ряд крестов в собрании ГРМ был отнесен И. И. Плешановой к мастерской Кирилло-Белозерского монастыря, о резчиках которой свидетельствовали монастырские вкладные книги<sup>3</sup>.

Кресты, по типологической классификации известного русского археолога, графа А. С. Уварова (1825–1884), не устаревшей до настоящего времени, относятся к разряду поклонных. Название «поклонный» А. С. Уваров объяснял наличием резных молитвенных текстов, а также праздничного тропаря: «Кресту Твоему поклоняемся владыко, и Твое воскресение славим»<sup>4</sup>. Основание считать их поклонными, при отсутствии соответствующих текстов, дает и молитвенное «предстояние» святых Распятию на крестах<sup>5</sup>. И. М. Соколова, в каталоге собрания русской деревянной скульптуры XV–XVII вв. музеев Московского Кремля, кресты рассматриваемого типа также относит к поклонным<sup>6</sup>.

Композиция рассматриваемых крестов XVI–XVII вв., судя по известному каменному кресту 1447 г. Дмитровского Борисоглебского монастыря<sup>7</sup>, сложилась в более ранний период<sup>8</sup>.

По поводу догматического содержания программы резных четырехконечных крестов определенных суждений не высказывалось. В основе программы резных четырехконечных крестов, как нам представляется, лежит идея Божественного Домостроительства. Композицию

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клонный 1665 г. (49,5 × 23, инв. ДР 927) поступил из Оружейной палаты Московского Кремля, происходит из Соловецкого монастыря.

Крест поклонный XVI в. Вологодский государственный историко-архитектурный и художественный музей-заповедник (21,8 × 11,3, ВОКМ, инв. № 5432), происходит из Глушицкого Сосновецкого монастыря — Искусство земли Вологодской XIII–XX вв.. Каталог выставки. М., 1990. № 77, илл. на с. 85 (автор катал. статьи Н. А. Золотова).

<sup>2</sup> Рындина А. В. Влияние творчества Андрея Рублева на древнерусскую мелкую пластику XV–XVI. Ветхозаветная «Троица» // Древнерусское искусство. XV — начало XVI вв.. М., 1963, с. 123, 130–131.

<sup>3</sup> Плешанова И. И. Указ. соч., с. 232–235.

<sup>4</sup> Каталог собрания древностей графа Алексея Сергеевича Уварова. Отд. VIII–XI. М., 1908, с. 123–132.

<sup>5</sup> По сути, каждый крест является поклонным. Безотносительно к иконографическому типу, крест, выносимый из алтаря и полагаемый на аналой в праздник Воздвижения Креста и в Крестопоклонную неделю Великого Поста, служит поклонным Крестом.

<sup>6</sup> Соколова И. М. Указ. соч., № 14, 15, 16, 45, 46.

<sup>7</sup> Попов Г. В. Художественная жизнь Дмитрова в XV–XVI вв. Москва и искусство московских уделов. М., 1973, с. 32–34, ил. 5. На наш взгляд, шестиконечная форма борисоглебского креста в данном случае не принципиальна. Размер нижней горизонтали с выступающими концами обусловлен компоновкой фронтальных фигур святых.

<sup>8</sup> Схема композиции: Распятие; поклонение предстоящих; Троица «рублевского извода»; фронтальные изображения святых; резные надписи на лицевой стороне.

возглавляет образ Предвечного Совета Пресвятой Троицы. В центре креста — исполнение замысла таинственного Совета — смерть за грехи мира распятого Христа. Достоверность реально принесенной Христом жертвы подтверждается оплакивающими Христа, предстоящими распятию на Голгофе Марией и Иоанном, врученными перед смертью Христом друг другу как мать сыну и сын матери (Иоанн, 19: 27). Крест восьмиконечной формы, составленный из трех основных частей: вертикальной, горизонтальной и наклонного подножия, в соответствии с церковным толкованием, символизирует образ Пресвятой Троицы<sup>9</sup>. Распятию поклоняются архангелы с апостолами — свидетелями воплотившегося в мире Сына Божьего. Апостолы и мученики, наряду со святыми и преподобными, стоящими под подножием Распятия, представляют образ Церкви Святого Духа.

Форма резных крестов традиционна. Такое явление в ставрографии, как изображение Распятия в центре четырехконечного креста, известно еще в ранний период христианского искусства. Наибольшее распространение имели реликварии-энколпионы VI–XI вв. в виде четырехконечных крестов<sup>10</sup>.

Со времени императора Юстиниана (482/483–565) византийская практика водружать крест на месте закладки новой церкви<sup>11</sup> и сооружение церквей в VI в. крестообразной формы (церковь Святых апостолов в Константинополе, церковь Иоанна Богослова в Эфесе)<sup>12</sup> позволяют предположить, что бронзовые энколпионы-реликварии могли иметь значение крестов-храмов, быть вообще символом церкви, основанной Христом, распятым на кресте. Таким образом, первоначально четырехконечная форма бронзовых крестов VI–XIII вв., по всей вероятности, обозначала собой Церковь, центром сакрального пространства которой был распятый Христос<sup>13</sup>. В этом смысле символика четырехконечного

<sup>9</sup> Представление о кресте как «трехчастном» высказывалось разными отцами церкви, но сошлемся на стихире императора Льва VI Мудрого (ум. 911 г.): «Ты — моя крепкая защита трехчастный крест Христов; освяти меня силою твоею...» (*Скабалланович М.* Воздвижение честнаго креста. Киев, 1915. Репринт. Свято-Троицкая Сергиева лавра, 1995, с. 47).

<sup>10</sup> *Donceva-Petkova L.* Croix D'or — Reliquaire de Pliska // Известия на археологический институт. XXXV. 1979, с. 74–91.

<sup>11</sup> *Шляпкин И. А.* Древнерусские кресты. Кресты новгородские, до XV века, неподвижные и не церковной службы. СПб., 1896, с. 11, прим. 6.

<sup>12</sup> *Брунов Н. И.* Очерки по истории архитектуры. Том второй. Греция — Рим — Византия. М.–Л., 1935, с. 447–448, ил. 284–285.

<sup>13</sup> В символике канона Косьмы Маиумского (VIII в.), посвященного празднику Воздвижения Животворящего Креста, мир освящается «четырёхчастным народом», двенадцать колен которого, группируясь вокруг Скинии и охраняя ее, образуют «крестообразный чин» (песнь четвертая). Передвигающийся строй войска по святой земле в

креста с изображением на нем Распятия сохраняется неизменной, но рассмотрение поклонных крестов XVI–XVII вв. в аспекте иного сочетания двух образов, иконографического и поэтико-богословского, предполагает дополнительный взгляд на священное пространство внутри границ резных крестов.

В коллекции Государственного Исторического музея в Москве находится четырехконечный деревянный резной крест конца XVI в.<sup>14</sup> Основная идея, которая прослеживается через изображения на нем — представить Животворящее Древо Креста Господня как реликвию. Тенденция к «документированию» святынь, наметившаяся в русском искусстве XVI в., проявилась здесь в сюжете, посвященном истории Животворящего Древа и истинной подлинности честного Креста. Восьмиконечная форма и внешний вид при его обнаружении показаны в сцене обретения. Поясные фигуры Девы Марии и Иоанна, Лонгина сотника и одной из жен-мироносиц, вероятнее всего, Марии Магдалины, изображены традиционно, с жестами, характерными для композиции «Распятия», с акцентом их свидетельства подлинности Голгофского Креста. Восьмиконечный крест с терновым венцом на месте лика Христа, сопровождаемый монограммой Христа, а также надписями «ЦАРЬ СЛАВЫ» и «НИКА», торжественно вознесен императором Константином Великим и его матерью, царицей Еленой. Чин поклонения апостолов и мучеников Кресту как символу Христа здесь равнозначен деисусу с предстоянием Христу Вседержителю. На верхнем конце креста — образ Троицы, на нижнем — трое святителей.

Крест Распятия, как повествует церковный историк Сократ Схоластик (около 380 — после 439), обретенный царицей Еленой в пещере гробницы Христа<sup>15</sup>, в течение длительного времени был подвержен раздроблению и рассеянию<sup>16</sup>. Через эти «дробления», подобные евхаристическому действию, Крест, непосредственно связанный с Христом, пребывал в мире сохранившимися частями в качестве священной реликвии. «Исторической участью» «дробления» Животворящего Древа Креста Господня формировалось сакральное пространство христианского мира. Освящение Крестом всего мира воспевается в первом светильне службы празднику Воздвижения Креста Господня: «Крест — хранитель всей вселенной; крест — кра-

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виде живого четырехконечного креста со Скинией в центре прообразовывал Животворящий Крест (*Скабалланович М.* Указ. соч., с. 72).

<sup>14</sup> ГИМ, 25,6×18; инв. 37826/447.

<sup>15</sup> *Сократ Схоластик.* Церковная история. М., 1996. Книга I, глава 17, с. 39.

<sup>16</sup> Там же, с. 40; *Болотов В.* К истории императора Ираклия // *Византийский временник.* Т. XIV, вып. I (1907). СПб., 1908, с. 75, 79, 89–91.



сота церкви; крест — держава царей...». Не только обретение Голгофского Креста в IV в. стало источником этого процесса. Одновременно «дроблению» Животворящего Древа Крест Распятия оставался, тем не менее, цельным образом, благодаря «видениям», в которых Крест как бы привносился Христом в видимое пространство неба и земли. О видении реальном сообщается церковным историком Евсевием Памфилом (IV в.) в «Жизни блаженного василевса Константина». По рассказу Евсевия, вслед за световидным знаменем Креста «на диске полуденного солнца» Христос, с тем же Крестом, является во сне Константину<sup>17</sup>. В легендарном видении святому Евстафию Плакиде из житийного сказания, предположительно относящегося к VII в. и включенного в патрологический корпус Симеона Метафраста (X в.), возникает Христос «в воздухе, будто на иконе», и Крест — «горящий, как пламя» среди рогов оленя<sup>18</sup>.

Вид Креста становится иконой победного процессионного знамени и знаком мученичества. Его вертикаль и горизонталь — словно соединительные оси духовного и земного мира. Распространяясь в различных иконографических типах, крест утверждается как символ Христа.

В песнопениях службы празднику Воздвижения Креста Господня наиболее ярко выразилось отношение к Кресту как носителю духовной сущности. В стихире на литии Лев VI Мудрый (ум. 911) обращается к Кресту: «Ты — моя крепость, защита... освяти меня силою Твоею»<sup>19</sup>, а некоторые стихиры на стиховне начинаются с приветствия Кресту: «Радуйся!»<sup>20</sup>.

Подножие креста Господня, с момента распятия Христа, становится святым местом, которому вначале предстоят Богородица и Иоанн Богослов, а затем все лики святости. Именно оно стало центром всего сакрального пространства христианского мира. Вторая стихира святого Андрея Критского (ум. ок. 712 г.) на литии праздника Воздвижения Креста дает осознание смысла помещения на резных крестах фронтально

<sup>17</sup> *Евсевий Памфил. Жизнь блаженного василевса Константина.* М., 1998. Кн. I, гл. 29, с. 44. Неотъемлемость креста от Христа выражена еще в формуле Иоанна Дамаскина: «Хотя много — Христов и Иисусов, но один — распятый» (Иоанн Дамаскин. Точное изложение православной веры. СПб., 1894. Репринт. М.–Ростов на Дону, 1992, с. 287). Изображение крестчатого нимба, по сути, также является крестом на «диске солнца» в видении Константина.

<sup>18</sup> Мученичество святого Евстафия и кровных его // *Византийские легенды.* Л., 1972, с. 209.

<sup>19</sup> *Лев Мудрый VI.* Стихира на литии праздника Воздвижения честного креста // Скаблланович М. Воздвижение честного креста. Киев, 1915. Репринт. Свято Троицкая Сергиева лавра, 1995, с. 47.

<sup>20</sup> Там же, с. 50–52.

изображенных святых под подножием креста, поскольку стихи псалма 98: «превозносите Господа, Бога нашего, и поклоняйтесь подножию ног Его: свято оно!» Андрей Критский конкретно соотнес с подножием креста Распятия и воспел дарованную возможность явного поклонения «подножию пречистых ног» распятого Христа, усматривая в том исполнение пророческого призыва царя Давида<sup>21</sup>.

Таким образом, деревянные резные поклонные кресты четырехконечной формы воспринимаются подобными ковчегу-киоту, вмещающему величайшую христианскую реликвию — Крест Распятия и пространство с поклоняющимися «подножию ног» Христа. На Кресте Распятия поклонных крестов из Соловецкого монастыря 1665 г. (ГТГ) и второй половины XVII в. (Музеи Московского Кремля) имеются специфические полуциркулярной формы вырезы на концах большой перекладины и подножия. Правые стороны подножия неровные, словно «обломаны». Нарушена как бы внешняя целостность Креста Распятия. Не является ли подобное изображение стремлением показать, что дерево Креста Распятия, как реликвия, было подвержено дроблению?

В своем исследовании о новгородских крестах профессор И. А. Шляпкин обратил внимание на цитату из канона Честному Кресту преподобного Григория Синаита (60-е гг. XIII в. — 40-е гг. XIV в.), где византийским исихастом даны два определения: кресту — как «четвероко-нечная сила» и земному миру — как «четвероко-нечному»<sup>22</sup>.

На наш взгляд, иконографический сюжет креста конца XVI в. из ГИМа и слова канона Кресту преподобного Григория Синаита могут служить ключом к толкованию сакрального пространственного образа поклонных крестов.

Определение в каноне преподобного Григория Синаита Креста Господня «четвероко-нечной силой», освящающей и спасающей «четвероко-нечный мир», наиболее объясняет смысл расположения Голгофского Креста на плоскости четырехконечных крестов. Они, сохраняя символику Креста, тем не менее представляют и символику дольного «четверо-конечного мира», как бы соединяя два пространства, внутреннее са-

<sup>21</sup> Там же, с. 43–44.

<sup>22</sup> Шляпкин И. А. Указ. соч., с. 37. Цитата следующего содержания: «Кресте всечестный, четвероко-нечная сила, немощных здравие, болящих исцеление и заступление, воздвижение умерших всечестное... Ты ми сила буде крепость и держава избавитель и предратник на борящихся... Четвероко-нечный сый мир яко триобю-днный меч начало тьмы сечеси...». Примерами изображения Голгофского креста на поверхности четырехконечного креста служат и новгородские намогильные каменные кресты до XV в., изданные И. А. Шляпкиным (табл. XV–XXIV). Использование четырехконечной формы намогильных крестов с Голгофским Крестом на них могло символизировать не только принадлежность к Церкви, но и спасение «четыреко-нечного мира» через Распятие.

кральное вокруг Креста Распятия и внешнее — вокруг «четвероконачной силы», освящающей «четвероконачный мир». Поэтические определения Григория Синаита базируются на более ранних представлениях о сакральном пространстве в форме четырехконачного креста, замечательным примером чему служит повторение в Мюнхенской рукописи IX в. миниатюр V–VI вв. «на листах в крестообразной форме»<sup>23</sup>. Гильдесгеймский крест — наперсный реликварий в форме квадрифолия, принадлежавший, по осторожному предположению И. А. Шляпкина, новгородскому архиепископу Илье-Иоанну (?–1186)<sup>24</sup>, своей программой близок кресту из Исторического музея. На внешней стороне верхней створы Гильдесгеймского креста изображены основная реликвия — крест Распятия, его свидетели, Дева Мария с Иоанном Богословом, и его хранители, архангелы Михаил, Гавриил, Уриил и Рафаил. На внутренней стороне верхней створы — крест обретения, с императором Константином Великим и императрицей Еленой, как двойное свидетельство подлинности Животворящего Древа Креста Господня. На внешней стороне нижней створы — лики святых: пророка, апостолов и святителей. Форма и иконография Гильдесгеймского реликвария позволяют осознать его как образ «четвероконачного мира», составленного землей, освященной Животворящим Древом (квадрат) и твердью с чином Небесной Иерархии и апостолов (округлые сегменты).

Представление о «четвероконачной силе» Животворящего Креста Господня, излучаемой во вселенную и поглощающей все ее пространство, отражено на каменном резном диске XIII–XIV вв. с сакральным образом византийского императора из коллекции музея Dumbarton Oaks (Вашингтон)<sup>25</sup>.

Косьма Индикоплов (VI в.), исходя из слов апостола Павла о ветхозаветной Скинии, что «она есть образ настоящего времени» (Евр.

<sup>23</sup> Кондаков Н. П. Иконография Богоматери. Т. I. М., 1995. Репринт (СПб., 1914, с. 124–125). Очевидно, с этой же точки зрения следует рассматривать и четырехконачные кресты с праздниками, заключенными в круги на «малом» саккосе митрополита Московского Фотия (конец XIV — начало XV в.). — Искусство Византии в собраниях СССР. Каталог выставки. Т. 3. М., 1977, с. 154, № 1004.

<sup>24</sup> Шляпкин И. Русский крест XII века в городе Гильдесгейме. СПб., 1914. Реликварий своей формой квадрифолия отчасти сходен с архитектурными планами некоторых ранних армянских и грузинских церквей VI–VII вв. и русской архитектуры XII–XIII вв. — Брунов Н. И. Очерки по истории архитектуры. Т. 2. Греция — Рим — Византия. М.–Л., 1935, с. 489; Рампопорт П. А. Русская архитектура X–XIII вв. Каталог памятников. Свод археологических источников. Л., 1982. № 65, 71, 72, 137. Форма реликвария в виде квадрифолия может быть уподоблена границам сакрального пространства отмеченных храмов.

<sup>25</sup> Grabar A. Sculptures byzantines du Moyen Age. II. (XI<sup>e</sup>–XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle). Paris, 1976. Pl. CXVII b.

9: 9), следуя за Филоном Александрийским (ок. 25 до н. э. — ок. 30 н. э.) и Иосифом Флавием (37 — после 100), толковал форму и содержание Скинии как символический образ Мира<sup>26</sup>. По этой системе толкования четырехконечная трапеза в святилище четырехконечной Скинии обозначают Землю<sup>27</sup>. Внутреннее пространство крестов рассматриваемого типологического ряда разделено перегородкой на две части, верхнюю, с Распятием и предстоящими, и нижнюю, с избранными святыми. В Скинии катапетасма отделяла Святое от Святого Святых. То же значение имеет алтарная завеса восточно-христианских храмов. Возможно, и нижняя горизонтальная перегородка на крестах также обозначает катапетасму.

Крест 1665 г. из Соловецкого монастыря занимает исключительное место среди поклонных четырехконечных крестов. Он имеет все характерные признаки рассматриваемой иконографии резных крестов, но выделяется из подобного ряда не только своим размером (49 см в высоту) и характером высокой резьбы (в  $\frac{3}{4}$  объема), но и особым составом фигур святых, непосредственно связанных с сакральной топографией самого монастыря. Уникальной особенностью креста, несомненно, являются его надписи: одна — резная на нижнем конце лицевой стороны, другая — написанная краской на оборотной стороне. Прежде всего, это прямое свидетельство изготовления креста в Соловецком монастыре. Даты в надписях дают возможность составить историю бытования креста в пределах Соловецкого монастыря<sup>28</sup>, а также попытаться найти объяснение выбранному заказчиком составу святых.

Очевидно, крест первоначально находился в Преображенском соборе, а затем, возможно как имеющий образ святого настоятеля, был перенесен в церковь святого Филиппа митрополита Московского, построенную в 1688–1690 гг.<sup>29</sup> Окончание строительства и освящение новой

<sup>26</sup> Редин Е. К. Христианская топография Козьмы Индикоплова по греческим и русским спискам. Часть I. М., 1916, с. 256.

<sup>27</sup> Там же.

<sup>28</sup> По свидетельству Н. Н. Померанцева, крест был им найден в одном из скитов на Соловецких островах и вывезен в 1923 г. в Оружейную палату Московского Кремля. Об этом см.: Крылова Л. Н. Николай Николаевич Померанцев. Жизнь и деятельность (по документам личного архива) // Сохраненные святыни Соловецкого монастыря. Материалы и исследования. XVII. М., 2003, с. 12.

<sup>29</sup> Вереш С. В. Архитектурные сооружения на Соловецком архипелаге // Архитектурно-художественные памятники Соловецких островов. М., 1980, с. 128. Монастырь основан в 20–30-е гг. XV в. старцем Германом (ум. 1479) и монахами Савватием (ум. 1435) и Зосимой (ум. 1478). Во второй половине XVI в., при игумене монастыря Филиппе Колычеве (1507–1569; с 1566 — митрополит Московский) и при его приемниках деревянный монастырь перестраивается в каменный с соборной цер-

церкви Святого Филлиппа на новом месте отмечено записью на обороте креста<sup>30</sup>. На кресте Распятию поклоняются апостолы Петр и Андрей (слева), Павел и Иаков (справа). Под подножием Распятия, в верхнем ряду — святитель Николай чудотворец, архиепископ Мирликийский, митрополит Московский Филипп, преподобный Сергей Радонежский и Тихон, епископ Амафунтский; в нижнем — преподобные Зосима и Савватий Соловецкие, Дмитрий Прилуцкий и Герман Соловецкий.

Для художественной традиции монастыря, начиная с XVI в., характерно изображение на иконах и миниатюрах местных святых в пространстве сакральной топографии церквей, архитектуры монастыря в его природном окружении. Именно в Соловецком монастыре впервые возникла иконография «документированных реликвий» — изображение раков преподобных Зосимы и Савватия Соловецких<sup>31</sup>. Учитывая эту особенность «воспроизводить» святых монастыря на предметах, изготовленных в его стенах, можно соотнести изображенное на кресте с монастырскими реалиями XVII в. Образы Богородицы и святителя Николая метафорически связываются с богородичными церквями Успения и Благовещения и храмом Святителя Николая. Определенный ряд апостолов предположительно обозначает, с одной стороны, апостольские приделы Спаса Преображенского собора (1558–1566), но с другой — и сам собор, имея в виду апостолов Петра, Иоанна и Иакова — свидетелей Преображения Господня на горе Фавор. Кроме того, в Соловецком патерике можно найти очевидную патрональную связь образов святых на кресте с насельниками Соловецкого монастыря и скитов. Так, апостол Павел почитался, скорее всего, небесным покровителем первого игумена монастыря, Павла, освящавшего деревянный храм Преображения (XV в.)<sup>32</sup>.

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ковью Преображения (1558–1566), с храмами Успения Богородицы (1552–1557), Святого Николая (1574–1583), Благовещения (1596–1600) и церковью в честь Святого Филлиппа, митрополита Московского (1688–1690). Соловецкий монастырь служил центром ряда других скитов на островах архипелага — поселений отшельников, среди которых особую известность получил святой Елеазар на острове Анзеры с церковью Святой Троицы (1646).

<sup>30</sup> «СООРУЖЕН И ОСВЯЩЕН СЕЙ СВЯТЫЙ ХРАМ ВО ИМЯ ВО СВЯТЫХ ОТЦА НАШЕГО ФИЛИППА МИТРОПОЛИТА МОСКОВСКОГО И ВСЕЯ РУСИ ЧУДОТВОРЦА ВО ВТРОЕ ЛЕТОЦАРСТВОВАНИЯ БЛАГОЧЕСТИВЕЙШЕГО ГОСУДАРЯ ИМПЕРАТОРА ПАВЛА ПЕРВОГО. ПО БЛАГОСЛОВЕНИЮ СВЯТЕЙШЕГО ПРАВИТЕЛЬСТВУЮЩЕГО СИНОДА ОСВЯЩАЛ СЕГО СТАВРОПИГАЛЬНОГО СОЛОВЕЦКОГО МОНАСТЫРЯ СВЯЩЕННО-АРХИМАНДРИТ ИОНА 1799 ГОДА МЕСЯЦА ОКТЯБРЯ В 17 ДЕНЬ». Стиль записи на кресте дает основание считать, что крест и до сооружения новой церкви находился в прежней Филипповской церкви при больничной палате.

<sup>31</sup> Сидоренко Г. В. Документируя святых. Изображения реликвий в позднесредневековой иконописи // Восточнохристианские реликвии / Ред.-сост. А. М. Лидов. М., 2003, с. 618–621.

<sup>32</sup> Соловецкий патерик. М., 1991, с. 27

Среди святых «у подножия» Распятия — основатели монастыря, преподобные Герман, Савватий и Зосима; строитель каменного монастыря святитель Филипп, митрополит Московский; преподобные Сергий Радонежский и Дмитрий Прилуцкий, покровители Москвы и Вологды — городов, с которыми у монастыря на протяжении всей его истории были тесные разносторонние связи. На кресте редкое изображение святого Тихона, епископа Амафунтского на Кипре (IV — нач. V в.). Образ, имеющий лишь надпись имени, идентифицируется с Тихоном Амафунтским по его описанию в русском иконописном подлиннике XVI в. под днем его памяти, 16 июня, благодаря особенной иконографической детали, отмечающей способ, каким святой держит Евангелие — «обема руками... подъемом»<sup>33</sup>. Изображение святого Тихона Амафунтского на кресте возможно объяснить тем, что в середине XVII в., во время изготовления креста в Соловецком монастыре, в нем жили несколько монахов под именем Тихон, среди которых в Патерике назван выходец из Москвы, пустынный Тихон Москвитянин<sup>34</sup>.

Соловецкий крест может быть также назван и «памятным», судя по резной надписи на нижнем конце, служащей «памятью» о времени и месте изготовления креста и об имени настоятеля монастыря: «Лета 7173 году августа в 4 день обрезан сии крест в Соловецком монастыре при архимандрите Варфаламеи». Указанный в памятной надписи день окончания резной работы — 4 августа — обращает внимание на очевидную и возможную связь изготовления креста с определенными датами. Прежде всего, это 6 августа — праздник Преображения Господня, главный праздник Соловецкого монастыря. Крест мог быть изготовлен накануне 100-летия перенесения в 1566 г. мощей основателей монастыря, преподобных Зосимы и Савватия. Кроме того, 1 августа — праздник Происхождения честных Древ Животворящего Креста. В этот же день в церквах совершается память семи мучеников Маккавеев, среди них Елеазара и их учителя Елеазара. Следовательно, 1 августа мог быть местночтимым днем памяти преподобного Елеазара Анзерского, основателя Троицко-Анзерского скита, умершего в 1656 г.<sup>35</sup>

Выше уже было сделано предположение о связи богословских идей преподобного Григория Синаита с иконографической схемой поклонных резных крестов. В русской монастырской среде сочинения препо-

<sup>33</sup> Иконописный подлинник Новгородской редакции по Софийскому списку конца XVI в. М., 1873, с. 112. В России изображения святого Тихона стали известны с XVII в., что может объясняться своего рода откликом на завоевание Кипра в 1570 г. турками. Тем самым как бы совершалось перенесение образа для сохранения и почитания на землю, где была жива православная традиция.

<sup>34</sup> Соловецкий патерик... с. 76, 97.

<sup>35</sup> Соловецкий патерик... с. 86–108.

добного Григория Синаита были известны уже с начала XV в., а возможно и ранее. Его канон Христу находится в канонике 1407 г. преподобного Кирилла Белозерского<sup>36</sup>. Припевы святой Троице преподобного Григория Синаита читались после троичных канонов Митрофана Смирнского, а канон Кресту был включен в недельную службу на день пятницы<sup>37</sup>. Достаточно обратиться к описям монастырских библиотек, например Иосифо-Волоколамского монастыря, чтобы понять степень «внедрения» творений Григория Синаита в богослужебный чин и круг монастырского чтения. Его сочинения встречаются в различных сборниках, молитвенниках, октоихах, часословах, псалтири с воследованием XV–XVI вв.<sup>38</sup> Печатные издания канона Кресту известны с середины XVI в.<sup>39</sup>, а также в составе Псалтири с воследованием, напечатанной в Москве в первой половине — середине XVII в.<sup>40</sup> В описях монастырских библиотек находятся указания в сборниках на канон Кресту без обозначения автора<sup>41</sup>.

Появление нового канона в монастырской среде не могло остаться бесследным. Канон Кресту по красоте и вдохновению близок, местами дословно, одиннадцатой главе о Кресте четвертой книги творения святого Иоанна Дамаскина (VIII в.) «Точное изложение православной веры». Лейтмотив всего канона — Крест как непобедимое духовное оружие. Канон насыщен эпитетами и сравнениями, его отличают личные молитвенные обращения к Кресту преподобного Григория. Дав в первой песне определение Кресту как «четверокопечной силе», Григорий Синаит в ней и в последующих двух воспевае победную мощь Креста. В четвертой песне Крест представлен властелином «четверокопечного мира», где высота Креста бьет воздушного князя и закалывает змея в глубине всей бездны, а его широта низлагает мирских князей. Седьмая песнь канона посвящена Троице. В ней

<sup>36</sup> *Филарет, архиеп. (Гумилевский)*. Исторический обзор песнопевцев и песнопения греческой церкви. СПб., 1902. Репринт: Свято-Троицкая Сергиева лавра, 1995, с. 357–359; *Опись строений и имущества Кирилло-Белозерского монастыря 1601 г.* СПб., 1998, с. 121, 286.

<sup>37</sup> *Филарет, архиеп. (Гумилевский)*. Там же, с. 358.

<sup>38</sup> Книжные центры древней Руси. Иосифо-Волоколамский монастырь как центр книжности. Л., 1991. № 149, 156, 167, 277, 306, 345, 351, 357, 358, 368.

<sup>39</sup> Например, каноник 1547 года в Венеции; см.: *Филарет, архиеп. (Гумилевский)*. Там же, с. 358.

<sup>40</sup> ОР ГИМ, Мнш. 1649. Выражаю благодарность за консультации А. А. Турилову и Е. И. Серебряковой.

<sup>41</sup> Сравнение текста канона печатной Псалтири с воследованием 1651 г. позволили Е. И. Серебряковой выявить канон Григория Синаита в рукописном сборнике конца XV в. бывшей Синодальной библиотеки, ныне хранящемся в ГИМе (ОР ГИМ, Син. 350). Псалтырь с воследованием. Лл. 349–352 об.. См.: Приложение к данной статье.

монах исихаст обращается с молитвой: «Трисоставне, наши озари умные очи, доброту твою трисветне пресущественную зрети, яко человеком неведомое и непреступное ангелом». В восьмой песне звучит призыв воспеть Господа, «лабызать» крест устами, душою и сердцем. Христово подножие креста в ней уподоблено высоте Христовых страстей. Традиционное сравнение Креста с Древом Жизни творец канона усилил до определения Креста, «как честного древа Троицы». Во всех песнях Крест — основа чинов святости. Он — похвала и благолепие апостолов; слава и крепость иерархам и мученикам; утверждение, оружие и победа преподобных<sup>42</sup>.

Чтение самого канона при сопоставлении его сакральной образности с системой символического четырехконечного пространства поклонных крестов дает еще большее основание к сближению на уровне влияния текста канона с композиционной структурой этих крестов.

Возвращаясь к значению «памятный» поклонного креста 1665 г. из Соловецкого монастыря, следует отметить, что дата его изготовления также близка дню церковной памяти преподобного Григория Синаита, совершаемой после праздника Преображения, в августе, восьмого числа<sup>43</sup>. Отсюда, реконструируя духовную среду, в которой создавался поклонный крест, можно заключить, что канон Кресту преподобного Григория Синаита, определенно известный монахам-книжникам Соловецкого монастыря, составлял основу иконографии поклонного креста и присущую лишь ему характерную особенность изображения сакрального, Креста Распятия — реликвии и символа веры в сакральном мире Соловецкого монастыря, обозначенного ономастикой святых.

<sup>42</sup> Описание Канона Кресту дано по его тексту в Псалтири с воследованием. М., 1651.

<sup>43</sup> Сводный иконописный подлинник XVIII в. По списку Г. Филимонова. М., 1874, с. 412.



## ПРИЛОЖЕНИЕ

### КАНОН ЖИВОТВОРЯЩЕМУ КРЕСТУ ГОСПОДНЮ ПРЕПОДОБНОГО ГРИГОРИЯ СИНАИТА\*

Канон Кресту Честному. Глас 4. Песнь 1. Ирмос: Отверзу уста моя. **Кресте** всесилне, апостолом похвала, преподобным утвержение и верным знамение, иерархом и мучеником славо, и победа и утвержение восхваляющим тя. **Кресте** всечестный, четвероконечная сило, аггелом благолепие, и человеком крепость, немощным же здравие показася, мертвым воскресение, падающим воздвижение. **Кресте**, ты ми сила, крепость буди и держава, избавление и прератник на борющаа мя, и щит хранителей, и победа и упование мое, присно соблюдающа мя и покрывающа. (Богородичен) **На** кресте, Всенепорочная, своего Сына яко узре, оружие ютробу Твою скорьбно растерзаа, восклицаеши, рыдающи в болезни, но абие прославила еси креста сиа.

Песнь 3. Ирмос: Твоя певца Богородице. **Кресте** преподобным оружие, обоюдный меч Христов, верным удобрение, болящим исцеление и заступление, и воздвижение умершим всечестне. **Кресте** основание благочестия, бесовом показася губитель, врагом посрамление еси в день судный. **Кресте** живоносный, ты буди ми крепость и победа, и щит, и стена необоримаа, бесом отгнание и помыслом погашение, и ума моего хранение. (Богородичен) **Распятие** поносное, Дево, Твой претерпел есть Сын, и смерть неподобную, но вознеслся, низверже противных, Владычице, враг силы.

Песнь 4. Ирмос: Седяй в славе. **Четвероконечный** сый мир и яко триободный меч начала тме сечеши, нами воображаем. **Кресте** оружие великое и непобедимое Христово, победительство всесилне. **Твоя** высота, живоносне, воздушнаго князя бьет, и глубина бездны закаляет змия. Широту паки воображающе, низлагаем мирскаго князя, кресте, крепостию твоею. **Вознесся**, сопривлекл еси падшаяся, воздвигл еси естество земное ко престолу Божию, сопрослави вся. **Кресте** высота великаа, мирьский мосте, душу мою от страстей глубины вскоре вознеси. (Бого-

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\* Текст воспроизводится по рукописи конца XV в. ГИМ, Син. 350, 1<sup>о</sup>. Псалтырь с воследованием. Лл. 349–352 об. См.: *Горский А. В., Невоструев К. И.* Описание славянских рукописей Московской синодальной библиотеки. Отд. III. Книги богослужебные. Ч. I. М., 1869, с. 412–423 (№ 406); Предварительный список славяно-русских книг XV в., хранящихся в СССР. М., 1986, с. 277, № 3020. В рукописи надписания имени Григория Синаита нет, но аналогичный текст в ряде других более поздних рукописей имеет указание на его авторство. Текст дается в современной транскрипции, все титла раскрываются, выносные вносятся в строку, пунктуация проставлена в соответствии со смыслом. Киноварь обозначена жирным шрифтом. Публикация текста и примечание подготовлены Е. И. Серебряковой.

родичен) **Крестаобразно** Пречистаа Богородице длани Своа, Отроковице, распростерши к еже на кресте воздвиженому, и молитву ныне, Дево, принеси за всех иже верно молящих Тя.

Песнь 5. Ирмос: **Оудивишася** всяческа. **Кресте** небеснаа лестнице, святыни степенем наставниче, Христова высота и слава еси, и Божий образ назнаменителен, миру невидимому же и видимому единочестне. **Кресте** образе неописанный силою, освященное водам очищение и воздуху освящение же и просвещение всякому. Мужества знамение и Христов скипетр, непреложно противныа в землю попирая. **Кресте** всесилне, злочестивыа низложи врагы, ненавидящаа тя безумне и хулящаа тя языки попали, оугаси шатаниа их, о, кресте всесвятый Христоносный, державою своею. (Богородичен) **Всецарице** Владычице, скипетром Рожества Твоего разруши, Девице, востаниа хулящих крестную силу, и дай же крепость, и оцещение, победу и помощь верно царствующим ими.

Песнь 6. Ирмос: **Божественное** се и всечестно соверша. **Крест** всем воскресение, крест падшим исправление, страstem умерщвление и плоти пригвождение. **Крест** душам слава и свет вечный. **Крест** врагом губитель, крест злочестивым запаление, верным держава, благочести(вы)м хранителю, бесом отгонитель. **Крест** страstem пагуба, крест помыслом отгнание, крест сокрушение языческим искусительно, и духовом показася ловитель. (Богородичен). **Крест** воздвижется, и падают ся духов воздушных чинове. **Крест** низходит, и нечестивии все ужасаются, яко молнию видяще крестную силу.

Песнь 7. Ирмос: **Не** послужиша твари. **Неразделную** Троицу и неслианну, естество единьством богословим, Отца нерожденна, и рожденна Сына, и Духа Святого исходителнаго, песньми божественными поюще. **Незаходителными** молниями твоими, трисоставне, наша озари умныа очи, доброту твою, трисветне, пресущественую зрети, яже челоуком неведомаа и непреступнаа глаголем. **Лучами** света твоего падшую ми душу возведи от глубины, благый Боже препетый всесилней, поползшуюся от света благодатнаго, и в тму воглубившуюся. (Богородичен) **Крестаобразно** простерши и распростершему Твои руце, Чистаа, на древе крестнем руце вознесшу естество наше и оумертвившему вражебныа полкы, молящи, не престаи.

Песнь 8. Ирмос: **Отроки** благочестивыа. **Высоту** Христовых страданий, и лук, и оружие, и мечь, оружие непостыдное, сила непобедимаа, Христово подножие, и победителство знамениа, царствия ски(пе)тр верных показася, кресте победоносне. **Воздвигл** еси наше падшееся естество крестом распявшимся совоставив, высоту божественная, глубину неизглаголаннаа. Христово ты еси знамение, кресте пребогатне, и широто безмернаа, знамение непостыжныа (непостижи-

мой?) Троица, жизненосче. Оустнами, душею же и сердцем крест Господень лобызающе, приидете ныне, вознесем вси и возвеличим, и покланяющесе вкупе рцем песнь пречистую, вопия: радуйся, великое богатство, кресте, церковное. (Троичен?) Древо жизни и спасение, древо безсмертия, древо разума, древо трилюбезно, нетленно, неизнуряемо. Крест трисоставный и тричестный, древо Троицю бо носит, трисоставный и тричестный образ.

Песнь 9. Ирмос: **В**сяк земен. **К**то, слышай нас, творит яко же пишет, действия твоа, миролюбезный кресте, силы и чюдеса, умершим востание, и мир весь совознесл еси, вознесися к богу, многожелаемый. **О**утвержение верным, крест треблаженный, знамение и похвала, древо всесильное, крест Христов великий, совершенный, апостолом похвала, преподобным утвержение, мучеником крепость и держава, царем победа и похвала. **Р**адуйся, кресте, образе неописанный и многоименитый, древо трибогато, страшно же и благословенно. Радуйся, кресте всесвятый и всесильный. Радуйся, хранителю жизни нашеа, Господень кресте многопетый. **Х**ранитель души, кресте, и телу буди ми, образом своим бесы низлагая, врагы отгоняя, страсти утоляя, благословение давай ми и жизнь, и силу, и честными Пречистыя молбами. Таж: Достоино есть яко во истину.

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'SACRED WITHIN SACRED':  
ON THE SPATIAL STRUCTURE  
OF OLD RUSSIAN DEVOTIONAL CROSSES

Iconographic type of carved monumental wooden four-pointed crosses with the image of Trinity on the upper part, of eight-pointed Crucifix with adorers in the center, and of selected saints frontally depicted under the Crucifix was particularly widespread in the Russian monastic culture of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century. The saints are usually represented in one or two lines, three or four figures in each: St Nicholas Archbishop of Myra, St Sergii of Radonezh, Kirill of Beloozero, Zosima and Savvatii of Solovki, Petr and Alek-sii, Metropolitans of Moscow, as well as Church Fathers — John Chry-sostom, Basil the Great, and Gregory the Theologian. The crosses are mainly connected with the territories of the Bishopric of Novgorod (bishops from the 10<sup>th</sup> c.) and of Vologda (bishops from 1492), primarily with Kirillo-Belozerskii and Soloveckii monasteries.

According to the typological classification by the well-known Russian archeologist Count A. S. Uvarov (1825–1884) the crosses belong to the devo-tional type. No definite opinions have been put forth concerning dogmatic contents of the iconographic program of the carved four-pointed crosses. The basis of the program of carved four-pointed crosses is, in our view, the idea of the Divine Dispensation. The composition is presided over by the image of the Primordial Council of the Holy Trinity. In the center of the cross there is the realization of the design of the mystical Council, the death of crucified Christ for the sins of the world. The authenticity of the sacrifice that Christ has actually made is confirmed by the images of Mary and John who stand before the Calvary Crucifix and lament Christ, and whom Christ before his death entrusted to each other as mother to son and son to mother (John 19:27). The eight-pointed cross, composed of three parts — the vertical and horizontal beams and the inclined footboard, according to the ecclesiastical explanation, represents an image of the Church of the Holy Ghost.

The form of carved crosses is traditional. Such phenomenon in stauro-graphy as depiction of the Crucifix in the center of a four-pointed cross is known already from the early period of the Christian art. Most widespread were reliquaries-encolpia of 6<sup>th</sup> to 11<sup>th</sup> centuries in the form of four-pointed crosses. Initially the four-pointed shape of bronze crosses from 6<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> centuries in all likelihood signified the Church, whose sacred space had its center in crucified Christ.

The Cross of the Crucifix over a long period of time was subjected to fragmentation and dispersion. Through this “splintering”, similar to the Eucharist, the Cross that was immediately connected to Christ, dwelled in the world with its surviving parts as a sacred relic. The “historical fate” of the “splintering” of the Life-giving Wood of Lord’s Cross formed the sacred space of the Christian world. Simultaneously with the “splintering” of the Life-giving Wood the Cross of the Crucifix nonetheless remained a complete image due to visions in which the Cross was introduced, as it were, by Christ into the visible space of heaven and earth.

The view of the Cross becomes an icon of the victorious processional banner and a sign of martyrdom. Its vertical and horizontal beams are sort of connecting axes of the spiritual and earthly worlds. The Cross, spreading in different iconographic types, is confirmed as a symbol of Christ.

The foot of Lord’s Cross from the moment of Christ’s crucifixion becomes a holy place, which is initially adored by the Virgin and St. John the Theologian, and then by all ranks of sanctity. It is this place that became center of the entire sacred space of the Christian world. Carved wooden devotional crosses of four-pointed shape are perceived as similar to the casket-kibotio, that contains the greatest Christian relic – the True Cross of the Crucifix and the space with those adoring the “footstool” of Christ.

The definition give to Lord’s Cross in a canon by St Gregory of Sinai (1260 – 1340-s) as to “four-pointed power” which sanctifies and saves the “four-sided” world explains best of all the sense of placement of Calvary Cross on the surface of four-pointed crosses. That allows to suppose a link between theological ideas of St Gregory and the iconographic scheme of carved devotional crosses. The writings of St Gregory of Sinai were known in the Russian monastic environment already from the early 15<sup>th</sup> century or possibly even earlier. The reading of the canon itself with comparison of its sacred imagery to the system of symbolic four-pointed space of a devotional cross gives even more grounds to bring together the text of the canon and the compositional structure of the crosses on the level of influence.

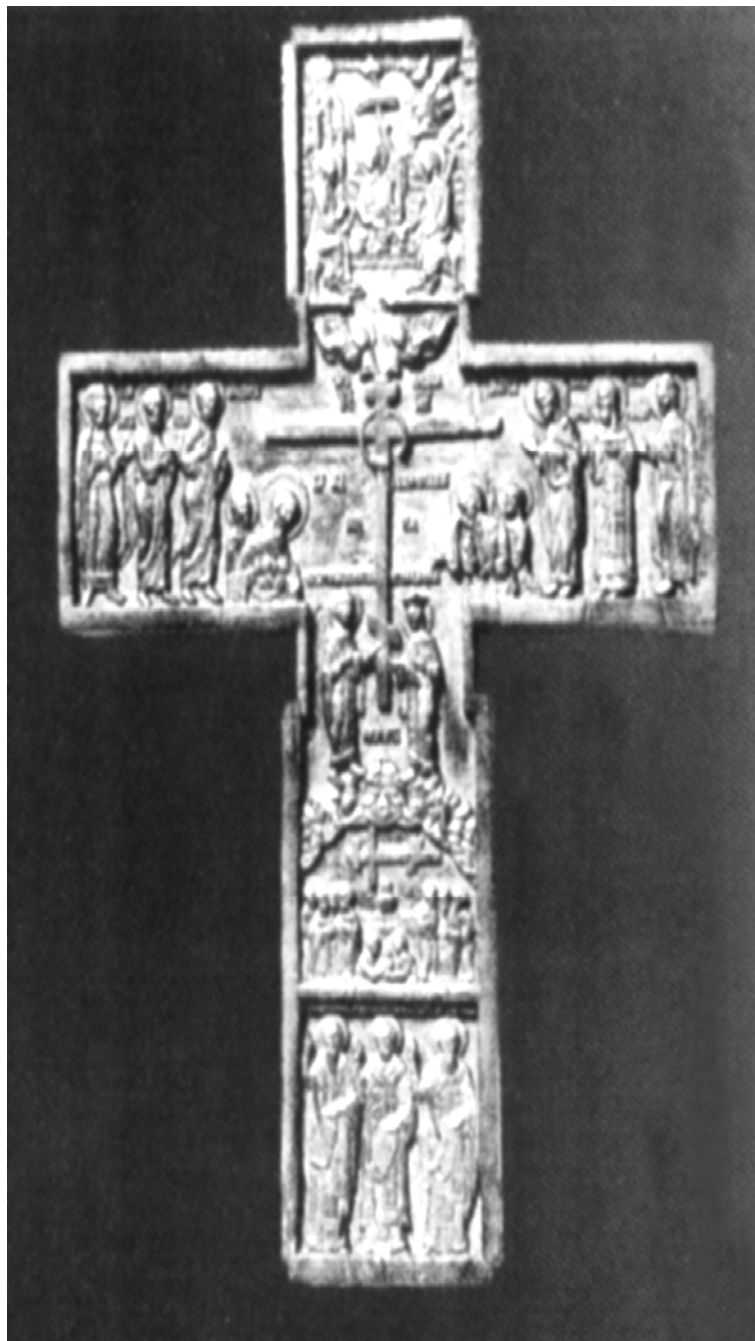
The cross of 1665 from Soloveckii Monastery occupies exceptional place among four-pointed devotional crosses. It was characteristic of the artistic tradition of this monastery, starting from the 16<sup>th</sup> century, to depict local sacred objects on icons and miniatures within the space of sacred topography of the churches and of the monastery’s architecture in its natural environment.



1. Крест поклонный. XVI в. Дерево, резьба; 21,8×11,3. ГТГ, инв. № 4288



2. Крест поклонный. Конец XVI в. Дерево, резьба; 25,6×18. ГИМ, инв. № 37826/447



3. Крест поклонный. 1665 г. Дерево, резьба, темпера; 49,5×23. ГТГ, инв. № ДР 927





5. Оборот поклонного креста. 1665 г. ГТГ

С. В. Гнутова, К. А. Щедрина

КИЙСКИЙ КРЕСТ, КРЕСТНЫЙ МОНАСТЫРЬ  
И ПРЕОБРАЖЕНИЕ САКРАЛЬНОГО  
ПРОСТРАНСТВА В ЭПОХУ  
ПАТРИАРХА НИКОНА

Три монастыря XVII в., связанные с именем патриарха Никона, — Иверский Валдайский, Крестный на Кий-острове и Воскресенский Новый Иерусалим неоднократно привлекали внимание исследователей<sup>1</sup>, однако лишь немногие работы посвящены неординарному замыслу их иконографической программы<sup>2</sup>. Еще прот. Лев Лебедев отмечал, что для наиболее полного понимания идей и конкретно-исторических целей, которые преследовали патриарх Никон и царь Алексей Михайлович, необходимо рассматривать идею создания трех монастырей как реализацию единого сакрального архитектурно-топографического комплекса на территории Русской Земли.

Несомненно, что в качестве заказчика и ктитора обители следует рассматривать не только патриарха Никона, но и царя Алексея Михайловича. Во-первых, все три обители были задуманы и заложены в момент наибольшей близости патриарха и царя, причем последний не только жертвовал большие средства на строительство, но и отменил

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<sup>1</sup> Библиографию исследований по истории Крестного монастыря на Кий-острове см.: *Кольцова Т. А.* Новые данные по строительной истории Крестного монастыря // Памятники архитектуры Русского Севера. Архангельск, 1998, с. 266–297; *Севастьянова С. К.* Грамота патриарха Никона о Крестном монастыре // Ставрографический сборник. Вып. III. М., 2005, с. 336–403.

<sup>2</sup> Из ряда исследований следует выделить работы о. Льва Лебедева, посвященные биографии и трудам патриарха Никона, в том числе его «богословие в камне». *Лебедев Лев, протоиерей.* Богословие Русской земли как образа обетованной земли Царства Небесного (на некоторых примерах архитектурно-строительных композиций XI–XVII веков) // Тысячелетие крещения Руси: международная церковно-историческая конференция. Киев, 21–28 июля 1986 г. Материалы. М., 1988. Т. 2, с. 86.

для трех новых «ставропигий»<sup>3</sup> патриарха Никона действовавшие со времен Соборного уложения 1649 г. ограничения на приобретения монастырями земельных вотчин<sup>4</sup>. Более того, предание гласит о наречении Воскресенского монастыря под Москвой «Новым Иерусалимом» самим царем во время посещения торжеств, связанных с закладкой и освящением первого храма, и благоговейном принятии этого наречения патриархом<sup>5</sup>. Во-вторых, о признании царем особого значения монастырей говорит их судьба после ссоры между царем и патриархом и последовавшим вскоре оставлением Никоном Московской кафедры. До собора 1666 г. и заточения патриарха Никона за Валдайским, Подмосковным и Кийским монастырями был сохранен статус «ставропигиальных», оставлены пожалованные и приобретенные земли, продолжалось выделение средств на строительство<sup>6</sup>. Продолжение строительства в начале 1660-х гг. в Воскресенском и Крестном монастырях, несмотря на оставление кафедры и внешнюю размолвку с царем, говорит, по нашему мнению, о важности царского замысла, который был известен лишь патриарху Никону как «собинному другу» и не мог быть передоверен никому другому. Именно этим можно объяснить и выжидающую позицию царя в деле об осуждении Московского патриарха, и нарочито властное поведение во время конфликта самого патриарха Никона, как будто имеющего своему поведению некое основание.

Для всех трех монастырей характерно использование единого типа ландшафтно-архитектурной моделировки сакрального пространства — естественный или искусственный остров, окружение монастыря водой, общность строительных приемов<sup>7</sup>.

Иконографическую программу каждого из монастырей пронизывают три идеи, развитие которых происходит в каждом конкретном случае в соответствии с выбранными сакральными образцами. Это — перенесение одного из образов Православного Востока, соотнесение монастыря с одним из трех русских духовно-политических центров и трансформация соединенных воедино двух географических реалий в

<sup>3</sup> Греч. Σταυροπύγιον — крестоводружение. Подробнее об этом обычае см.: *Щедрина К. А.* Царей держава. Реликвии и символы Креста и Страстей Христовых в церковном освящении государственной власти. М., 2000 (гл. «Царская ставропигия»); *она же.* «Малый Иерусалим» царя Феодора Алексеевича // *Искусство Христианского мира.* Вып. 7. М., 2003.

<sup>4</sup> *Митр. Макарий (Булгаков).* История Русской Церкви. Кн. VII. М., 1996, с. 133–134.

<sup>5</sup> *Зеленская Г. М.* Святыни Нового Иерусалима. М., 2002, с. 15.

<sup>6</sup> *Митр. Макарий (Булгаков).* История Русской Церкви, с. 133–134; *Кольцова Т. А.* Новые данные по строительной истории Крестного монастыря // *Памятники архитектуры Русского Севера.* Архангельск, 1998. 266–297, с. 15–22.

<sup>7</sup> Эти особенности отмечали еще первые исследователи строительной деятельности патриарха Никона М. А. Ильин и Г. А. Алферова.

один из аспектов образа рая<sup>8</sup>. Рассмотрим подробнее предложенную интерпретацию на примере Кийского Крестного монастыря.

Предыстория сооружения монастыря такова<sup>9</sup>. В 1639 г., будущий патриарх Никон, тогда еще иеромонах Анзерского скита Соловецкого монастыря, после конфликта с основателем скита преп. Елеазаром решает покинуть монастырь. Во время морского путешествия на материк в устье Онежской губы его застигает буря. Спасшись у берега острова Кий, Никон в ознаменование спасения водружает на нем деревянный крест. Через несколько лет, будучи уже новгородским владыкой, он вновь отправляется на Соловки за мощами святителя Филиппа. Проплывая мимо Кий-острова и увидев сохранившийся поклонный крест, Никон возобновляет обет о постройке монастыря, посвященного Св. Кресту<sup>10</sup>.

В 1656 г., обратившись к царю Алексею Михайловичу с просьбой о пожаловании выбранной земли, патриарх Никон получил грамоту, в которой царь разрешал на о. Кий «церковь поставить и монастырек соорудить»<sup>11</sup>. В 1657 г. на остров был торжественно отправлен уникальный крест-мошевик в меру Креста Христова (310×192) в сопровождении, как сообщает монастырское предание, стрельцов и пушек<sup>12</sup>.

Несомненно, светский и церковный владыка, затеяв подобное деяние, преследовали определенные духовно-политические цели, веря в силу кийской святыни, которая, находясь в сооруженном специально для нее монастырском комплексе, имеющем строго продуманную иконографическую программу, являла собой действующий реликварий, служащий переориентации духовных, геополитических и социально-экономических приоритетов, что в сознании средневековья не мыслилось вне духовной сферы и осуществилось, как это можно проследить из истории XVIII в., в эпоху великих преобразований Петра I.

<sup>8</sup> Подробнее о развитии этих сюжетов в иконографических программах каждого из трех монастырей см.: *Щедрина К. А.* Некоторые историко-богословские аспекты монастырского строительства патриарха Никона // Никоновские чтения в музее «Новый Иерусалим». М., 2003, с. 17.

<sup>9</sup> Об истории сооружения монастыря говорит сам патриарх Никон в своей «Грамоте о сооружении Крестного монастыря» (опубликована в: *Лаврентий, архим.* Краткое известие о Крестном Онежском монастыре Архангельской епархии, М., 1805) и Иван Шушерин, клирик патриарха Никона (*Иван Шушерин.* Известие о рождении и воспитании и житии святейшего Никона, патриарха Московского и всея России // Патриарх Никон — протопоп Аввакум. М. 1997).

<sup>10</sup> Сведения о Крестном монастыре собраны в брошюре, изданной храмом преп. Сергия в Крапивниках в Москве, где в настоящее время хранится Кийский крест-мошевик: *Кийский крест патриарха Никона / Сост. Осипенко М. В. М., 2000.*

<sup>11</sup> *Лаврентий, архим.* Краткое известие о Крестном Онежском монастыре Архангельской епархии. М., 1805.

<sup>12</sup> Православные русские обители. Репринт. СПб., 1994, с. 53.

Неслучайным был, прежде всего, выбор места расположения монастыря. Его название и топографические особенности ландшафта говорят о том, что, возможно, на острове в какое-то время находилось языческое святилище, как это нередко было на островах Беломорья. Вероятно, святилище было связано с культом камня, о чем говорит само название острова.

Монастырское предание приписывает «наречение» имени острова — Кий — самому патриарху Никону. Согласно легенде, будущий патриарх, тогда еще иеромонах, после размолвки с преп. Елеазаром Анзерским в 1639 г. отправился с Соловков на материк. В пути его застигла буря, и корабль прибило к небольшому островку. Выйдя на берег, Никон якобы спросил: «Кий сей остров?» Так как остров оказался совершенно пустынным, никому не известным и не имеющим никакого наименования, то иеромонах Никон сказал: «Так пусть же этот остров называется Кий!»<sup>13</sup> и поставил на нем деревянный крест. В 1652 г. Никон, уже митрополит Новгородский, был послан на Соловки за мощами святителя Филиппа Московского. На обратном пути будущий патриарх побывал и на Кий-острове. Увидев свой крест нетронутым, он повторил обет о сооружении на острове монастыря.

Легендарный характер повествования о названии острова очевиден. Во-первых, о нем ничего не говорит Иван Шушерин, клирик патриарха, написавший подробное «Известие о рождении и воспитании и житии святейшего патриарха Никона», а такая деталь наверняка не ускользнула бы от внимания одного из преданных слуг и почитателей патриарха. О безымянном острове ничего не говорит и сам патриарх Никон в грамоте на устройство Крестного монастыря. И в «Известии», и в «Грамоте» название «Кий» воспринимается как некая данность. Шушерин пишет об «острове, нарицаемом Кий»<sup>14</sup>, патр. Никон вспоминает в грамоте «спасение получихом пред Онежским устьем к пристанищу к Кию-острову»<sup>15</sup>.

Очевидно, что остров еще до посещения его иеромонахом Никоном имел название Кий. В противном случае вряд ли новое название прижилось бы так быстро. Проще предположить, что безымянный остров

<sup>13</sup> Там же, с. 52. Изложенное предание повторяется практически во всех изданиях XIX и XX вв. На наш взгляд, оно появилось в качестве ответа паломникам на вопрос о происхождении названия острова, что свидетельствует об устойчивом интересе к этимологии «Кий» и необходимости ее доступного объяснения.

<sup>14</sup> Иван Шушерин. Известие о рождении и воспитании и житии святейшего Никона, патриарха Московского и всея России // Патриарх Никон — протопоп Аввакум. М., 1997, с. 18.

<sup>15</sup> Лаврентий, архим. Краткое известие о Крестном Онежском монастыре Архангельской епархии, с. 2.

после основания на нем монастыря мог получить имя, связанное с посвящением обители Св. Кресту.

Нам кажется правильнее считать название острова существовавшим до патриарха Никона и происхождение слова связывать, подобно этимологии «Валаам», «Соловки», «Онега» и другие, с финно-угорскими языками. Обрусевшие финны и карелы — основное коренное население Русского Севера, поэтому большая часть географических названий региона имеет финские корни. Представляется возможным производить «Кий-остров» от карельского или эстонского *kivi* — камень, *kiur* — скала, или *kiuga* — каменный топор<sup>16</sup>.

Как известно, Крестный монастырь стоит практически на голой гранитной скале, даже престол Крестовоздвиженского собора высечен из цельного камня, и название острова вполне оправдано географически. «Кий» или «киюра» использовалось и в архангельском диалекте русского языка для обозначения «остроконечного каменного молота» или «бульжника с вицевою обвязкою для забойки кольев»<sup>17</sup>. Во всех вариантах с корнем «кий» связывается «камень».

В то же время в славянских языках «кий» — палка, пест, посох, дубинка<sup>18</sup>. На севере «кий» употребляется не только как «камень», но «каменный молот или топор». Интересно, что в таком значении слово встречается уже в ранних русских памятниках — в Изборнике Святослава 1073 г., в Суздальской летописи (под 1216 г.), где означает и молот кузничный, и боевое оружие<sup>19</sup>. Таким образом, в этимологии «кий» соединяются архетипы дерева и камня, и перепосвящение острова Св. Кресту вписывается в семантику архетипа Креста, утвержденного на Голгофе, как образа творения мира, гармонизации хаоса и утверждения власти.

Култ священных камней неотделимо связан с почитанием божества-громовника, особенно распространенным на Севере, не только в Скандинавии, но и в областях расселения финских и карельских племен. Достаточно вспомнить известные соловецкие лабиринты и карельские петроглифы.

В финно-угорской мифологии место скандинавского Тора занимает Таара (саам. Тиермес), у карелов и финнов Русского Севера называвшийся также Укко (эст. Уко) или Кыу, Эйке — персонификация грома

<sup>16</sup> Матвеев А. К. Происхождение основных пластов субстратной топонимики Русского Севера // Вопросы языкознания. 1969. № 5.

<sup>17</sup> Даль В. И. Толковый словарь живого великорусского языка. Репринтное издание. М. 1994. Т. 2, с. 113.

<sup>18</sup> Фасмер М. Этимологический словарь. СПб. 1996. Т. 2, с. 321, 343.

<sup>19</sup> Срезневский И. И. Материалы для словаря древнерусского языка по письменным памятникам. Репринтное издание. М. 1989. Т. 1. Ч. 2. Стб. 1416.

и молнии. Основные атрибуты Укко-Кьу — молния, топор, меч и молот. Можно предположить, что название беломорского острова Кий происходит не только от «камня», но связано с языческим культом божества-громовника Укко-Кьу-Эйке-Тора. В таком случае выбор патриархом Никоном места для Крестного монастыря представляется неслучайным, и мотив спасения во время бури в 1639 г. становится лишь легендой, прикрывающей его идолоборческие намерения.

Некоторые исследователи связывают с этимологией «кий — молот, дубинка» имя легендарного основателя Киева. В. В. Топоров и В. Н. Иванов пишут: «Возможно, имя Кий происходит от \*kij — обозначения божественного кузнеца, соратника громовержца в его поединке со змием»<sup>20</sup>. Иными словами, происхождение названия города может быть связано с культом громовержца, в славянской мифологии — Перуна, аналога скандинавского Тора. Молот — необходимый атрибут этого языческого божества, которым он сражается с мировым змием (у скандинавов — Ёрмундгардом). Первоначально молот Тора мыслился каменным, но в «Младшей Эдде» речь идет уже о железном оружии.

Как отмечает современный исследователь Русского Севера Н. М. Терехин, основание монастыря практически всегда было связано с определенными духовными задачами, способствующими христианизации края, и место для будущей обители выбиралось особенно тщательно. «История монастырского строительства показывает, — пишет Н. М. Терехин, — что святые подвижники стремились не просто к уединению, но устроили свои отшельнические скиты и кельи в самом центре сакральной географии языческого мира — там, где располагались инородческие святилища и могильники. Наложение христианской системы координат на языческую топографию <...> породило новую систему сакральных ценностей, приводило к переосмыслению семантики аборигенных культовых мест»<sup>21</sup>.

Косвенным подтверждением предположения о том, что некогда на острове мог существовать культ поклонения камню, можно, по-видимому, считать и тот факт, что в XIX в монастырской усыпальнице хранился «большой, более сажени в длину, камень, на котором первоначально был водружен первый крест патр. Никона. На этом камне был поставлен деревянный гроб с ликом преп. Иоанна Яренгского, в котором ранее хранились его мощи»<sup>22</sup>.

<sup>20</sup> Иванов В. В., Топоров В. Н. Мифологические географические названия как источник для реконструкции этногенеза и древнейшей истории славян // Вопросы этногенеза и этнической истории славян и восточных романцев. М., 1976, с. 109–128.

<sup>21</sup> Терехин Н. М. Семиотика пространства культуры народов Европейского Севера. Автореф. дис. ... докт. истор. наук. СПб., 1995, с. 17–18.

<sup>22</sup> Православные русские обители, с. 55.

Наиболее известные северные монастыри, находящиеся на месте бывших языческих святилищ, — Валаамский, Коневецкий и Соловки. И если монастырские предания Коневца и Валаама сохранили сведения о ранее существовавших в тех местах капищах, то на Соловках о дохристианской истории острова могут рассказать только археологические раскопки и исследования лабиринтов и могильников.

Возможно, подобное культовое святилище или культовое место могло располагаться и на Кий-острове. Учитывая, что данный вопрос для окончательного выяснения требует дополнительного тщательного натурного археологического и этнографического исследования, укажем лишь, что патриарх Никон, будучи постриженником Соловецкого Анзерского скита, особенно хорошо был знаком с подробностями религиозной жизни Русского Севера. Знал он и о соловецких артефактах (возраст соловецких каменных груд и лабиринтов колеблется от III–II тысячелетия до н. э. до XII–XV вв. н. э.).

Символическая программа Крестного монастыря, задуманного в комплексе с Валдайским Иверским и Воскресенским подмосковным монастырями патриархом Никоном, по-видимому, вместе с царем Алексеем Михайловичем, воплотила одну из граней символики рая, образа Обетованной земли на далеком северном острове.

Для именованя обители Крестной, по всей видимости, могли быть и далекие от личных аскетических устремлений патриарха Никона (в память спасения и промыслительно сохранившегося через 13 лет на острове креста) державно-строительные причины, связанные с языческой семантикой атрибута. Возможно, посвящение обители на острове Св. Кресту связано с «замещением» языческого культа громовержца и его орудия поклонением «Оружию Небесного Царя Христа». «Кий» — дубинка, посох, молот, может быть связано и с греческим σταυρος — крест, в первоначальном значении «палка, шест, кол». Сам патриарх Никон чаще всего называл свой монастырь Ставрос или Крест — именно в форме существительного, что, во-первых, подчеркивало важность помещенной на острове святыни — креста-мощевика, а во-вторых, указывало и на название места.

Иконографическая программа каждого из трех монастырей объединяла святыню Востока с русской исторической и топографической ситуацией, реализуя тем самым средневековую идею *translatio loci* — перенесения и освящения места, основанную на толковании слов Священного Писания: «Горы Сионския, ребра северова, град Царя великаго» (Пс. 47: 3). Каждый из монастырей патриарха Никона был поставлен недалеко от одного из трех прославленных русских политических и духовных центров — Соловков, Новгорода и Москвы, являясь своего рода их «священными двойниками». С другой стороны, все три мона-



стыря патриарха Никона были созданы как подобию святых мест Христианского Востока. И если для Нового Иерусалима таким прототипом послужили исторические сооружения иерусалимского храма Гроба Господня, для валдайского Иверского — одноименный монастырь на Афоне и собирательный образ горы Афон вообще, то для монастыря на Кий-острове вопрос о прототипе остается открытым.

В «Грамоте на устройство Кийского монастыря» патриарх Никон пишет о собрании в кресте-реликварии благодати святых мест Палестины, одновременно там же упоминается и некий монастырь Ставрос на Афоне, созданный, согласно «Грамоте», еще императором Константином Великим<sup>23</sup>.

Однако семантика посвящения храмов монастыря говорит о других параллелях. Главный собор Кийской обители был посвящен, согласно замыслу заказчика, Воздвижению Честного и Животворящего Креста Христова. Крест-реликварий, являющий собой иконографический тип «креста Константина», фланкированный двумя иконами с изображением святых равноапостольных царей Константина и Елены, царя Алексея Михайловича, царицы Марии Ильиничны и патриарха Никона, располагается на месте храмового образа слева от царских врат рядом с иконой Спасителя. Надписи на свитках предстоящих Кийскому кресту свидетельствуют в пользу того, что под Воздвижением Креста посвящения монастырского собора понималось, в первую очередь, не столько обретение святыни Животворящего Древа в Иерусалиме в IV в., но скорее видение небесного Знамени Креста императором Константином и создание им драгоценного креста — знамени-лабарума, а также утверждение на о. Кий уникальной реликвии русским царем Алексеем Михайловичем и патриархом Никоном<sup>24</sup>.

Царские и патриаршие портреты, были помещены в трех монастырях патриарха Никона, и, по всей видимости, должны были замещать ктиторов у святыни в их отсутствие, указывать на постоянное молитвенное обращение к Богу именно в том месте, где были расположены парсуны, что можно назвать и «мысленным паломничеством». Известно, что патриарх Никон неоднократно приглашал Алексея Михайловича посетить и Воскресенский, и Иверский монастыри, но царские паломничества осуществлены не были (Алексей Михайлович побывал в Новом Иерусалиме на освящении деревянного Воскресенского храма еще до начала постройки основных сооружений обители), хотя государь и не отказывался совершить богомолье в новые монастыри.

<sup>23</sup> *Лаврентий, архим.* Краткое известие о Крестном Онежском монастыре Архангельской епархии. Грамота...

<sup>24</sup> *Щедрина К. А.* Крест императора Константина Великого (К вопросу иконографии) // Ставрографический сборник. Кн. 2. М., 2003, с. 55–66.

Можно предположить, что значение личного предстояния у святыни имели не только портреты ктиторов и заказчиков в молении, но и поминание, и вклады в далекие храмы и монастыри, а также домашняя молитва перед списком с чудотворной иконы или частицей реликвии, принесенной из паломничества. Именно так можно объяснить появление в Теремных церквях и палатах Московского Кремля в царствование Феодора Алексеевича икон-копий, изображающих Кийский крест-мощевик и окружающие его иконы-портреты с предстоящими реликвии святыми равноапостольными Константином и Еленой, царем Алексеем Михайловичем с супругой и патриархом Никоном<sup>25</sup>. Молитва перед такой иконой становилась равносильной молитве перед самой островной святыней. Иконы-парсуны, изображающие островную реликвию, в течение XVIII–XIX вв. распространились по всей России<sup>26</sup>.

Представляется, что иконы-портреты, написанные, по-видимому, с согласия самого царя, можно считать одним из способов выполнения Алексеем Михайловичем (а возможно, и его сыном Феодором Алексеевичем) обещания посещать святые обители, которые должны были занять важное место в церковно-государственной политике царя и патриарха.

Помещение патриархом Никоном креста-реликвария в монастыре на Кий-острове подобно известному по «Повести временных лет» воздвижению креста на Киевских горах апостолом Андреем Первозванным, прорекшим славное будущее Русской Земле, тем самым символически соотнося его с библейским архетипом утверждения здания на камне (Мф. 7, 25).<sup>27</sup>

Второй храм монастыря был посвящен празднованию Происхождения Честных Древ Животворящего Креста Господня. Нам неизвестно, предполагались ли патриархом Никоном какие-либо «ставропигийные» изменения в чине монастырского богослужения в связи с акцентацией темы Св. Креста в иконографии монастырского комплекса. Однако, вспоминая историю и смысл праздника Происхождения Честных Древ в контексте русских реалий Крестного монастыря, следует отметить константинопольское происхождение праздника. Первого августа совершался общегородской крестный ход — святыня Честного Креста выносилась за пределы дворца и торжественно, с остановками для молебных пений и литаний, шествовала по городу к св. источнику, нахо-

<sup>25</sup> Соколова И. М. Новый Иерусалим в Кремле. Незавершенный замысел царя Федора Алексеевича // Макарьевские чтения. Вып. VII. Можайск, 2001, с. 499–514.

<sup>26</sup> Постернак О. П. «Поклонение Кийскому кресту» и его повторения в XVIII веке // Оригинал и повторение в живописи. Экспертиза художественных произведений. М., 1988, с. 47–60.

<sup>27</sup> Малышевский И. Е. Придорожные кресты // Ставрографический сборник. Кн. 1. М., 2001, с. 17–78.

дившемуся за стенами города у монастыря Всемилоостивого Спаса, где совершалось водоосвящение. Затем Святое Древо выставлялось для поклонения в храме Св. Софии и возвращалось в царскую сокровищницу на праздник Успения Божией Матери 14/28 августа<sup>28</sup>.

В монастырском храме Происхождения Честных Древ на Кий-острове во время посещения его патриархом Никоном в 1661–1662 гг. был вырыт колодец для водоосвящения<sup>29</sup>. Вероятно, празднование престольного праздника храма должно было сопровождаться каким-то особым ритуалом, сведения о котором до нас не дошли. Необходимо также отметить, что в Московском царстве, в особенности в XVII в., 1 августа, согласно летописным свидетельствам, вспоминался день Крещения Руси в Киеве. И именно в XVII в. празднование этого дня в Москве приобретает широкий размах и сопровождается царским выходом на берег Москвы-реки (сохранилось описание крестного хода в царском дворце Коломенское) для участия в водоосвящении, соотносясь с легендарными киевскими событиями.

Таким образом, учитывая полисемантический характер иконографии монастырского комплекса, можно предположить, что прототипом для Крестного монастыря служили на Христианском Востоке Константинополь, столица Византийской империи, а на Русской земле — Киев. С Киевом Крестный монастырь связывает сам патриарх Никон. В грамоте на устройство Крестного монастыря он говорит, что один из трех крестов, созданных императором Константином Великим, был принесен в Киев святым князем Владимиром и сейчас охраняет и дарует победы благочестивому царю Алексею Михайловичу<sup>30</sup>. Помимо высказанной выше ассоциативной связи водружения креста-реликвария на о. Кий с установлением апостолом Андреем Первозванным поклонного креста на Киевских горах, интересно отметить, что в XVII в. в Киеве храм на легендарном месте крестоводружения (ныне знаменитый Андреевский спуск) был посвящен Воздвижению Честного Креста (так же как и собор Крестного монастыря), и только позже получил имя Андреевского.

Соблазнительно также связать фонетическую близость топонимов Киев и Кий с решением царя об устройстве на отдаленном северном острове грандиозного по замыслу и масштабу исполнения монастыр-

<sup>28</sup> *Архиеп. Сергей (Спасский)*. Полный месяцеслов Востока. Т. 2. Владимир, 1901, с. 295–298.

<sup>29</sup> *Кольцова Т. А.* Новые данные по строительной биографии Крестного монастыря // Памятники архитектуры Русского Севера. Архангельск, 1998.

<sup>30</sup> *Севастьянова С. К.* Грамота патриарха Никона о Крестном монастыре // Ставрографический сборник. Кн. 3. М., 2005, с. 336–403.

ского комплекса, образующего вместе с двумя другими ставропигиальными монастырями патриарха Никона так называемую «кризисную сеть»<sup>31</sup>. Наше предположение подтверждается и тем, что в 1656 г. еще свежи были события, связанные с вопросом о воссоединении Украины с Россией (1648 г.). Декларативно и завоевание Константинополя с целью освобождения восточных христиан от турецкого гнета и воссоздания христианской империи было провозглашено главной целью русской внешней политики, однако ни при Алексее Михайловиче, ни при его преемниках-сыновьях этот утопический проект начат не был.

Для чего же в самый разгар русско-шведской войны царю и патриарху необходимо было совершить такое масштабное предприятие, как торжественная перевозка чуть ли не через всю страну (около 1000 км) драгоценнейшего (даже в материальном смысле) креста-мошевика, в состав которого входило около 300 частиц мощей и реликвий Святой Земли, и сооружение каменного ставропигиального монастыря на самой окраине государства?

Интересно рассмотреть факт изнесения Креста сначала из Палестины в Россию, а затем из Москвы на северный остров в контексте реализации священного библейского образца принесения ветхозаветной жертвы вне стана и совершившейся по ее подобию Крестной Жертвы Спасителя за стенами Иерусалима на Голгофе, в связи с чем «Кийский проект» приобретает черты «жертвы в основании царства»<sup>32</sup>.

Предлагаемое истолкование находит подтверждение в иконографической программе самого креста, по счастью сохранившегося до нашего времени. Ко времени получения патриархом Никоном 13 июня 1656 г. царской грамоты о построении Крестного монастыря на Кий-острове в Москву был привезен изготовленный в Палестине по просьбе патриарха Никона Крест «из дерева кипарисного в высоту и ширину во всем подобен мерою Кресту Христову»<sup>33</sup>.

Сам святейший патриарх «обложил [его] серебром и золотом и драгоценным камением, и бисером украсил», положил в нем святых мощей до трехсот, «понеже иные мощи сокровены в том Честном Кресте и ут-

<sup>31</sup> Щепанская Т. Б. Культура дороги в русской мифоритуальной традиции XIX–XX вв. М., 2003.

<sup>32</sup> Об этом см.: Плюханова Н. Б. Сюжеты и символы Московского царства. СПб., 1995, с. 145–170.

<sup>33</sup> Кийский крест патриарха Никона / Сост. Осипенко М. В. М., 2000; Кольцова Т. М. «Крестовый образ» Кийского Крестового монастыря // Научно-исследовательская работа в художественном музее. Сб. статей. Вып. 1. Архангельск, 1998, с. 14–32; Гнутова С. В. Кийский крест // Патриарх Никон. Облачения, личные вещи, автографы, вклады, портреты: Каталог выставки. М., 2002, с. 72–75. Кат. № 29; Гнутова С. В. Крест в России. М., 2004, с. 62–67, илл. 44–46.

верждены без надписания под честными резными кипарисными кресты и под звездами и под плащаницами кругловидными». Шесть резных афонских кипарисных крестов (в настоящее время один из них утрачен) с изображением двенадцатых праздников и евангелистов врезаны в вертикальное древко креста. На Кресте смонтированы 18 восьмиконечных звезд, в которые вставлены камни из святых мест Палестины.

На Кресте находятся также 104 серебряные пластины с гравированными изображениями святых, чьи мощи сокрыты под ними. Пластины были исполнены русскими мастерами-резчиками в довольно короткий срок в большой спешке. Изображения выполнены несколькими серебряниками разного профессионального уровня с ориентацией на иконописные прорисы и иконные образцы. Часть дробниц отличается высоким качеством техники резьбы и виртуозностью мастерства, в других же видна упрощенная манера резьбы.

На кресте были закреплены два серебряных золоченых ковчегных ковчега, содержащих наиболее значимые святыни: «Часть Святыя и Животворящая Крови Господни, часть Святыя Ризы Господни, часть Млека Пресвятыя Богородицы, часть крови Иоанна Предтечи, часть крови апостола Павла и часть самого Древа Креста Господня», во втором ковчеге находилась «часть самага же Древа Креста Господня весом 65 золотников, к которой и ныне прикладываются богомольцы». Оба ковчег, к сожалению, не сохранились, но их изображения видны на иконах XVII–XIX вв. с изображением Поклонения Кийскому Кресту<sup>34</sup>.

Такая грандиозная иконографическая программа самого Креста не имеет аналогов ни в византийском, ни в западном, ни в русском искусстве. Кийский Крест — это грандиозный реликварий. Необходимо отметить редкостное единство замысла: Крест-реликварий как центр, средоточие благодати, святости; иконы предстоящих; храм, монастырь, остров. Сочетание Креста, икон и находящегося за ними пространства — абсолютно сакральный замысел.

При переносе Креста из Москвы на всем пути его к Беломорью при остановках на ночлег изготавливались копии креста и освящались «на благословение». Это своеобразная попытка «излучения святости» на огромном пространстве севера России.

Для средневековой Руси была характерна сокровенность святынь, в отличие от их открытости на Западе. Для западной традиции была важна демонстрация святыни, на Руси же святыни скрывались в мощевиках.

В Кийском Кресте сосредоточены палестинские святыни и реликвии, частицы мощей вселенских святых и одновременно русских подвижников. Такого уровня святыни, заключенные в Кресте, свидетельст-

<sup>34</sup> Кийский крест патриарха Никона / Сост. М. В. Осипенко. М., 2000.

вуют об исключительной роли создаваемого креста-реликвария. Многие из редких реликвий Креста были взяты из ризницы придворного Благовещенского собора и Образной палаты Теремных церквей Московского Кремля. Об этом свидетельствует сопоставление состава мощей, помещенных в Кресте, и Описей Образной палаты 1669 г. и Благовещенского собора 1680–1681 гг.<sup>35</sup> Одновременно перечень более 80 частиц святых мощей, хранившихся в Ново-Иерусалимском монастыре при патриархе Никоне, приведенных в описи 1679 г. почти полностью совпадает с вложениями Кийского Креста<sup>36</sup>. Эти факты свидетельствуют о специальной программе создаваемого памятника.

Известно, что царь Алексей Михайлович проявлял особую заботу о создаваемой обители. Неслучайно почти одновременно с посылкой на Кий-остров самого креста туда же отправляются иконописные изображения предстоящих Кресту — «писанные на досках образа» царя Константина и царицы Елены, царя Алексея Михайловича и царицы Марии Ильиничны, а также самого патриарха Никона.

Позднее для Распятской церкви в Московском Кремле в 1677–1678 гг. выполняется на холсте подобие посланного на Кий-остров комплекса «Поклонение Кресту»<sup>37</sup>. Впоследствии, вплоть до XIX столетия, в Кийском монастыре писались паломнические иконы с подобным сюжетом и рассылались по всей России<sup>38</sup>.

Мощи, вложенные в Кийский Крест, можно объединить в несколько символически значимых комплексов. Это мощи покровителей царского рода Рюриковичей и династии Романовых: св. Иоанн Предтеча, небесный покровитель царя Ивана IV, вмч. Феодор Стратилат — патрональный святой царя Феодора Иоанновича; преп. Михаил Малетин — тезоименитый святой Михаила Феодоровича Романова, св. Алексий, Человек Божий — святой покровитель царя Алексея Михайловича.

Одновременно прослеживается тема святых раннехристианских воинов-мучеников, пострадавших за веру и являющихся небесными защитниками Отечества от врагов. Это вмч. Георгий, Димитрий, Прокопий, Феодор Стратилат и Феодор Тирон, Меркурий и Никита. Одним из важнейших комплексов Кийского Креста являются мощи русских святых. Среди них святые князья, святители и преподобные. Усопшие князья воспринимались, в первую очередь, как молитвенники за Русь

<sup>35</sup> Журавлева И. А. Ковчеги-мощевик Благовещенского собора // Христианские реликвии в Московском Кремле / Ред.-сост. А. М. Лидов. М., 2000, с. 128–134.

<sup>36</sup> Зеленская Т. М. Святыни Нового Иерусалима. М., 2002.

<sup>37</sup> Соколова И. М. Указ. соч.

<sup>38</sup> Например, икона «Кийский крест» с надписью «Соловецкий монастырь 1728 год» (ГИМ, № 58610, ИВШ 3380. 68×43 см) была экспонирована на выставке «Крест — хранитель вся Вселенная...», ЦМиАР, 7 ноября — 27 сентября 2005 г.

скую Землю. Это святые князя Александр Невский, Владимир Ярославич, Георгий Всеволодович и Роман Угличский. Культ святителей в Русской Церкви восходит к истории вселенского святительства. В нем прослеживается тема общественного и государственного служения одновременно с защитой чистоты веры, а также соединение иноческого и мирского с особым церковным служением. В Кийском Кресте находятся мощи митрополитов Московских Петра, Алексея, Ионы и Филиппа, а также архиепископов Ионы Новгородского и Гурия Казанского.

Не меньшее значение для России имеет культ преподобных отцов. Становление московской государственности было освящено покровительством русских преподобных. В Кийском Кресте заключены мощи преподобных Сергия, игумена Радонежского (†1382), Евфимия, архиепископа Суздальского (†1404), Саввы Сторожевского (†1406) и блаженного Иакова Боровичского (†1504).

Хотелось бы упомянуть о редких изображениях на Кресте: муч. Христофора, Спиридона Тримифунтского и женских образах. Так, мощи муч. Ирины практически не встречаются в русских крестах-мошевицах. Интересен вопрос об отсутствии некоторых особо почитаемых святых: свят. Николая, преп. Зосимы и Савватия Соловецких.

И еще немаловажный факт. Митрополит Филипп (Колычев), Савва Сторожевский и Иаков Боровичский были причислены к лику святых и прославлены в 1650-е гг., во время правления Алексея Михайловича и патриаршества Никона. Эти факты свидетельствуют о стремлении к созданию Вселенской православной империи во главе с Москвой — правопреемницей Константинополя.

Таким образом, соединение посредством вложения соответствующих мощей в одном реликварии двух духовно-плотских «генеалогий» — царской (патрональные святые, князья и воины-мученики) и святительской (святители и русские святые) — говорит о заложенной в иконографической программе памятника идее симфонии духовной и светской власти на Русской Земле, идеальных отношений между государственной и духовной властью, знаменующих образ рая, Царства Небесного.

Такая «концентрация» святости в одном памятнике являет зримый образ Царства Небесного и, вполне возможно, так же как и архитектурный замысел патриарха Никона — Новый Иерусалим или Российская Палестина, содержит идею восточно-христианского месецеслова. Такое количество заключенных в крест мощей могло составлять годовые святцы. Патриарх Никон, создавая Кийский Крест, стремился передать в нем черты Небесного первообраза — райского града Иерусалима, одновременно вложив в него эсхатологические представления.

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THE HOLY CROSS MONASTERY, THE KYI CROSS  
AND THE TRANSFIGURATION OF THE SACRED SPACE  
IN THE AGE OF PATRIARCH NIKON

Three 17<sup>th</sup> century monasteries, related to the figure of the Patriarch Nikon — Iviron on Valdai, the Holy Cross Monastery on Kyi island, and the Resurrection Monastery of Novyi Ierusalim — have frequently attracted scholarly attention, primarily due to their unusual conception. In order to fully realize the ideas and specific historical aims pursued by the founders of the three monasteries, the Patriarch Nikon and the Czar Aleksei Mikhailovich, their foundation must be regarded as an integral conception of new sacred space in the Russian Land.

Characteristic of all three monasteries is the use of a uniform type of landscape and architectural shaping of the environment: a natural or artificial island, the monastery surrounded by water, common construction methods. Three core ideas permeate iconographic programs of each of the three monasteries, ideas which are in each case developed according to the selected sacred models. This includes translation of a certain relic-icon from the Orthodox Orient, correlation of the monastery with one of the three Russian spiritual and political centers, and transformation of the two combined geographic realia into an image of the Paradise.

Iconographic program of each of the three monasteries combined a sacred object from the Orient with a Russian historical and topographic situation, thus putting into practice the medieval principle of *translatio loci* (translation of a sacred place), based on the exegesis of a saying from the Sacred Scripture (Ps 47:3). Each of the Patriarch Nikon's monasteries was placed not far from one of the three famed Russian political and spiritual centers — Solovki, Novgorod, and Moscow, representing their "sacred doublets" of a kind. All three of the Patriarch Nikon's monasteries were created as imitations of the holy places of the Christian East. Now, while historical buildings of Jerusalem Church of the Holy Sepulchre served as prototype for Novyi Ierusalim, and Iviron Monastery of Mt. Athos as well as general image of the entire mountain — for the monastery of the same name on Valdai, the question of the prototype for the monastery on Kyi island remains open.

As is well-known, in 1656 the Patriarch Nikon decided to build a monastery dedicated to Holy Cross on Kyi island. Upon request to the Czar Aleksei Mikhailovich to grant the selected land, the Patriarch Nikon received a document, by which the Czar permitted to "build a church and construct a (small) monastery" on Kyi island. In 1657 a unique reliquary cross in the



measure of Christ's Cross (310×192) was solemnly dispatched to the island, accompanied, as the monastery tradition maintains, by streltsi guard with canons. The secular and the ecclesiastical ruler by undertaking such an enterprise undoubtedly pursued specific spiritual and political aims, believing in the power of Kyi shrine, which, being placed within a monastery compound specially built for it and containing a strictly designed iconographic program, represented a working reliquary that served to re-orient spiritual, geopolitical, and socio-economic priorities.

The Kyi Cross concentrates Palestine sacred objects and relics, particles of relics of ecumenical saints and of Russian holy men at the same time. Many of the rare relics of the Cross were taken from the treasury of the court Annunciation Cathedral and from the Image Chamber of Moscow Kremlin. This is established by comparing the composition of the relics placed in the Cross with the Inventories of the Image Chamber from 1669 and of the Annunciation Cathedral from 1680–1681. At the same time the list of over 80 particles of holy relics, which were kept in the Monastery of Novyi Ierusalim (New Jerusalem) under the Patriarch Nikon, coincide almost completely with the composition of Kyi Cross relics. These facts testify for a special, royal design of the object to be created. It is well-known that the Czar Aleksei Mikhailovich demonstrated special care for the monastery under construction. It is no accident that almost simultaneously with dispatching of the Cross itself, icon representations of adorers of the Cross were sent to the same destination: the images, "painted on boards", of the Emperor Constantine, of the Empress Helen, of the Czar Aleksei Mikhailovich and Czarina Maria II'inchna, as well as of the Patriarch Nikon himself. Later, in 1677–1678, an imitation of the "Adoration of the cross" complex was painted on canvas for the Crucifixion Church in Moscow Kremlin. Later on, up until the 19<sup>th</sup> century pilgrim icons of the same contents were painted in Kyi Monastery and sent all around Russia.

The relics placed within the Kyi Cross can be grouped together into several combinations with symbolic meaning. The most important are the relics of heavenly protectors of the royal family of Riurikovichi and of Romanovs dynasty: St John the Baptist — heavenly protector of the Czar Ivan IV; the martyr Theodore Stratelates — the saint patron of the Czar Feodor Ivanovich; St Michael Maleinos — the namesake saint of Mikhail Fedorovich Romanov; St Alexius the Man of God — the saint patron of the Czar Aleksei Mikhailovich. At the same time the theme of military martyr saints of the early Church can also be traced, saints who suffered for the faith and became heavenly defenders of the Motherland from its enemies.

By collecting relics of saints from the first to recently glorified ones, the founders strove to present an image of the universal Orthodox Empire with the center in Moscow, as the legal successor of Constantinople. The idea of

“symphony”, of consent between the spiritual and secular power in the Land of Russia, which heralds the image of the Paradise on earth, is also represented in the Kyi Cross. Such concentration of sanctity in one object creates a graphic and multi-layered in time and space image of the Kingdom of Heaven on earth, forming the closest analogy to the Patriarch Nikon’s architectural designs, connected with the foundation of Novyi Ierusalim and of a Russian Palestine. The Cross and architectural and landscape-shaping projects realized an all-embracing national eschatological idea which was worth any effort. They visually confirmed the idea of the leading place of the Russian nation in the quest for the eternal Heavenly City, which will descend from heaven at the end of times.



1. Вид Кийского Крестного монастыря из книги XIX в.



2. Кийский крест в интерьере храма в Крестном Кий-островском монастыре. Гравюра из книги XIX в.



3. Кийский крест. Общий вид



4. Фрагмент вертикального древка: Афонский крест с изображением «Крещения» и 5 пластин



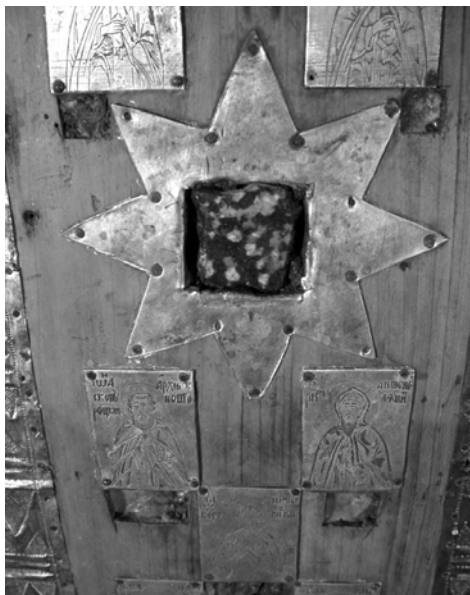
5. Фрагмент вертикального древка: Афонский врезной крест с изображением четырех праздников и 4 пластины



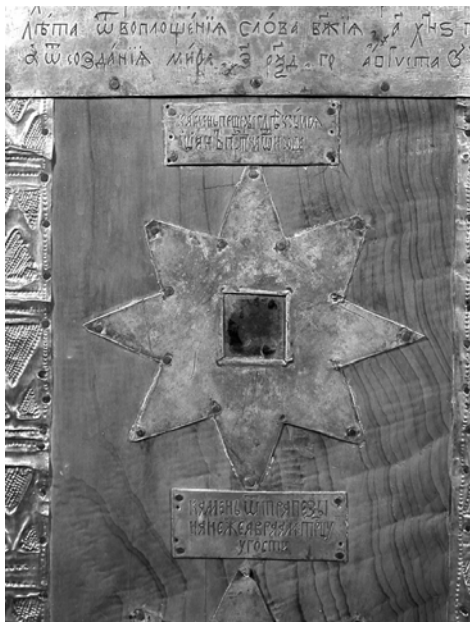
6. Фрагмент вертикального древка с врезным афонским крестом с изображением трех праздников (в центре — «Крещение», вверху — «Благовещение», внизу — «Преображение») и 10 пластин с изображением мучеников и преподобных



7. Фрагмент вертикального древка креста с врезным крестом с изображением четырех праздников (в центре — «Распятие») и 4 пластины



8. Фрагмент вертикального древка креста с изображением восьмиконечной звезды с камнем и изображением новгородских святых



9. Фрагмент вертикального древка креста с изображением восьмиконечной звезды с камнем. Подпись: «Камень пещеры где скрывался Иоанн Предтеча от Ирода»



10. Фрагмент вертикального древка креста с врезным афонским крестом в центре — «Крещение», вверху — «Сретение», внизу — «Сошествие во ад» и 4 пластины с изображением мучеников



11. Фрагмент горизонтальной ветви креста (левой) с буквами IN и 4 пластины с изображением воинов мучеников





12. Пластина с изображением Саввы Сторожевского (крупный фрагмент)



13. Фрагмент нижней косой перекладины Кийского креста и гравированная пластина с летописью



14. Фрагмент нижней косой перекладины Кийского креста и гравированная пластина с летописью



15. Крест-копия «мерой и подобием» Кийского креста в действующем храме г. Онега (копия живописная)

С. Л. Яворская

«ШУМАЕВСКИЙ КРЕСТ»  
И КАЛЬВАРИЯ ЦАРЯ АЛЕКСЕЯ МИХАЙЛОВИЧА

«Шумаевский Крест» представлял собой пластический ансамбль, состоявший из сотен разномасштабных резных и литых рельефов и скульптур. В центре ансамбля было установлено Распятие с предстоящими на фоне Иерусалима, слева и справа — архангелы с рипидами и евангелисты. Перед Распятием — трехчастное сооружение, символизовавшее храм Гроба Господня, — своеобразная «аван-композиция», предварявшая рассмотрение ансамбля. По сторонам центральной части помещались высокие резные панели, подобные неподвижным створкам киота, на каждой из которых было изображено около 50 миниатюрных рельефов, иллюстрирующих Священное Писание. Сверху был закреплен карниз с панорамой Града Небесного. Весь комплекс закрывался стеклянными дверями, над которыми возвышалось навершие с изображением Саваофа и ангелов в облаках<sup>1</sup>. Центральная часть ансамбля повторяет композиции окладов больших напрестольных евангелий. Весь комплекс был подобен роскошному фронтиспису драгоценного еванге-

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<sup>1</sup> *Соболев Н. Н.* Резные изображения в Московских церквях. Старая Москва. М., 1914. Вып. 2, с. 94. Н. Н. Соболевым было сделано много качественных снимков памятника, негативы хранятся в Музее архитектуры им. А. В. Щусева. Большая часть этих снимков опубликована в книге: *Романов Г. А.* Крест резной. Московский Сретенский монастырь. М., 1992. Размеры ансамбля: высота 7,80 м., ширина — 4,20 м., глубина 1,10 м. До 1928 г. памятник находился в соборе Сретения иконы Владимирской Богоматери Сретенского монастыря, после 1930 г. — в Новом Большом соборе Донского монастыря. В настоящее время хранится в запасниках Музея Архитектуры им. А. В. Щусева. Так как памятник в настоящее время разобран, книга Г. А. Романова и материалы Н. Н. Соболева дают наиболее полное представление о нем. Центральная часть киота — Распятие с предстоящими на фоне Иерусалима — была представлена на выставке во Всероссийском музее декоративно-прикладного и народного искусства в конце 1999 — начале 2000 г. Два боковых створа «Шумаевского креста» были представлены на выставке «Вавилонская башня. Земля-небо» в ГМИИ им. А. С. Пушкина в 2004 г.

лия и торжественному порталу. Он не соответствовал служебным надобностям литургии в православном храме, был похож на позднеготический алтарь — ретабль<sup>2</sup> и запрестольный иконостас Голгофы храма Гроба Господня в Иерусалиме. Киот создавался мастерами разных специальностей на протяжении ста лет<sup>3</sup>, при этом он сохранил основу крупномасштабного замысла, принадлежавшего влиятельному церковному или политическому деятелю. В «Подробной описи...»<sup>4</sup> отражена программа, которой руководствовались в своей работе мастера. Масштабность памятника, его уникальность, сложнейшая программа, особенности литургического действия, для которого строился этот киот, неосуществимые в обычном храме, его колоссальная стоимость, — все это говорит о том, что он должен был стать центральным звеном архитектурно-пластического ансамбля, замысел которого проявляется в сложнейшей полифонической структуре «Шумаевского креста». Представляется, что памятник требует совершенно иных методов и подходов к исследованию, не свойственных традиционному искусствоведению. Эти исследования должны в большей мере опираться на особенности пространственной композиции и функционирования ансамбля в храме.

Сложнейшие пространственные построения «Шумаевского креста» сделали его не столько «образом мира»<sup>5</sup>, сколько образной моделью сакрального центра мира. Различные аспекты темы сакрального пространства затрагивались религиоведами, этнологами, искусствоведами, но ни один из традиционных методов не позволял ученым проанализировать это явление культуры во всей его полноте. Иеротопия — новое направление в науке, которое рассматривает создание сакральных пространств как особый вид деятельности человека. При этом иеротопический проект

<sup>2</sup> *Хартмут Кром*. Скульптура Германии и Нидерландов на рубеже Средневековья и Нового времени // «Се человек». Каталог выставки. М., 1999; *Либман М. Я.* Немецкая скульптура. 1350–1550. М., 1980; Ханс Бельтинг. Образ и культ. История образа до эпохи искусства. М., 2002, с. 36–37.

<sup>3</sup> Первый исследователь памятника Н. Н. Соболев, датирует его 1721–1761 гг. Г. А. Романов относит начало работ в последнее десятилетие XVII в. По мнению автора, работы над киотом начались в конце 1650-х гг. *Соболев Н. Н.* Русская народная резьба по дереву. М., 2000, с. 473; *Романов Г. А.* Крест резной. Московский Сретенский монастырь, с. 176; *Яворская С. Л.* «Шумаевский крест» — малоизученный памятник русской сакральной скульптуры XVII–XVIII веков. Уточнение датировки (в печати).

<sup>4</sup> *Соболев Н. Н.* Резные изображения..., с. 108. «Подробная опись резного креста работы Григория Семеновича Шумаева, хранящегося в московском Сретенском монастыре, составленная в 1762 году при передаче его в ведение игумена того же монастыря», сопровождавшая киот во время передачи его настоятелю Сретенского монастыря Моисею, имеет в своей основе более ранний список.

<sup>5</sup> Впервые «Образом мира» «Шумаевский крест» назвал Г. А. Романов (указ. соч., с. 53).

включает не только собственно произведения религиозного искусства с их статической пространственной составляющей, но и динамические аспекты их бытования в храме, литургию, драматургию света, музыки и многое другое. Иеротопический проект осуществляется по научно обоснованной программе, он изначально полифоничен и не может сводиться к механической совокупности различных форм и явлений культуры. Такой ансамбль в большей степени рассчитан на подготовленного зрителя (прихожанина, паломника) и поэтому должен направлять движение паломника, равно как и движение его мыслей и переживаний. Зритель-паломник становится равноправным участником проекта и ритуального действия, — таким образом, одним из важнейших аспектов исследования и построения сакрального пространства является перформативность образа сакрального пространства как некоей «живой картины»<sup>6</sup>. Рассмотрение «Шумаевского креста» как иеротопического проекта — тема отдельного исследования. Однако именно «дисфункция» этого грандиозного пластического ансамбля, не отвечающего требованиям традиционного большемерного моленного пластического образа, каким он был представлен в Сретенском монастыре<sup>7</sup>, заставила автора более внимательно отнестись к вопросам пространственной структуры «Шумаевского креста» как основы его замысла. По мнению автора, «Шумаевский крест» является одним из немногих сохранившихся полномасштабных иеротопических проектов и может быть исследован в полной мере только при помощи методов иеротопии.

В традиционной христианской иконографии сюжет изображается, а место, то есть пространство, — обозначается. «Шумаевский крест» представляет собой развернутую рельефную панораму Святой Земли. Пространство становится его главной идеей, это важнейшая иконографическая новация киота, которая делает его «образной моделью мира». В самом общем виде «модель мира» является отображением всей суммы представлений о мире внутри данной традиции<sup>8</sup>. Это понятие науч-

<sup>6</sup> Лидов А. М. Иеротопия. Создание сакральных пространств как вид творчества и предмет исторического исследования // Иеротопия. Исследование сакральных пространств. Мат-лы междунар. симпозиума / Ред.-сост. А. М. Лидов. М. 2004, с. 15–31; Соколов М. Н. *Ab arte restaurata*. О сакральности эстетического в «иеротопии» нового времени. Там же, с. 48–50.

<sup>7</sup> По решению Сенатской комиссии, в соборе Владимирской Богоматери киот должен был стоять в простенке между окон у северной стены. В небольшом соборе киот занимал много места и отвлекал внимание прихожан во время службы. По реконструкции Г. А. Романова, киот был поставлен у западной стены, что представляется невозможным: все, кто хотел поклониться Распятию и рассмотреть сюжеты, должны были длительное время находиться спиной к алтарю. Г. А. Романов не приводит свидетельств о какой-либо специальной службе, которая осуществлялась бы у раскрытого киота.

<sup>8</sup> Топоров В. Н. Модель мира. Мифы народов мира. Т. 2. М., 1982, с. 161.

ного мышления предполагает создание аналога реальной действительности<sup>9</sup>. По представлению отца Павла Флоренского, «проблема пространства залегает в средоточии миропонимания во всех возникших системах мысли и предопределяет сложение всей системы... чем плотнее сработана та или иная система мысли, тем определеннее становится в качестве ее ядра своеобразное истолкование пространства. Повторяем: миропонимание — пространствопонимание»<sup>10</sup>. Пространство — один из главных элементов мифопоэтической модели мира, оно — вещь, промаркировано, организовано. Организованное, освоенное культурное пространство — космос. Профанное пространство — хаос. «Всякое священное пространство предполагает... некое вторжение священного, в результате чего из окружающего космического пространства выделяется какая-либо территория, которой придаются качественно отличные свойства»<sup>11</sup>, превращающие «конкретное место в „Дом Божий и врата небесные“»<sup>12</sup>. Центр сакрального пространства отмечается алтарем, храмом, крестом, мировой осью<sup>13</sup>. Основной вывод из культурологического толкования пространственности, по отцу Павлу Флоренскому, таков: «Вся культура может быть истолкована как деятельность организации пространства»<sup>14</sup>.

Сакральным центром христианского мира является комплекс храма Гроба Господня в Иерусалиме. Русь до середины XVI в. оказывается *вне европейской традиции копирования Святых мест*. Первым известным опытом такого копирования в правление царя Ивана IV, в Кремле, была «церковь... устроенная наподобие настоящей вифлеемской пещеры как мы сказали раньше, царь Иван посылал человека осмотреть ту пещеру и построил эту церковь»<sup>15</sup>. Святая Святых Бориса Годунова строилась как копия храма Гроба Господня, по деревянной модели<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Вагнер Г. К. От символа к реальности. М., 1980, с. 22.

<sup>10</sup> Павел Флоренский. «Значение пространственности» // Священник Павел Флоренский. Статьи и исследования по истории и философии искусства и археологии. Собрание сочинений, серия «Философское наследие», т. 131. М., 2000, с. 272.

<sup>11</sup> Элиаде М. Священное и мирское / Пер. Н. К. Гарбовского М., 1994, с. 25.

<sup>12</sup> Лидов А. М. Иеротопия... с. 16.

<sup>13</sup> Топоров В. Н. Пространство. Мифы народов мира. Т. 2, с. 340.

<sup>14</sup> Павел Флоренский. «Анализ пространственности (и времени) в художественно-образительных произведениях» // Священник Павел Флоренский. Статьи и исследования по истории и философии искусства и археологии. Собрание сочинений, серия «Философское наследие», т. 131. М., 2000, с. 112.

<sup>15</sup> Павел Алеппский. Путешествие Антиохийского Патриарха Макария в Россию в половине XVII века описанное его сыном архидиаконом Павлом Алеппским. М., 2005, с. 486.

<sup>16</sup> Исаак Масса пишет: «Образец был деревянной сделан по подлиннику как составляется святая святых». Масса Исаак. Краткие известия о Московии в начале XVII в. М., 1937, с. 63.

Храм должен был обладать значением Святого Гроба. По представлению А. Л. Баталова, Гроб Господень Бориса Годунова с его пластическим ансамблем — «уникальный памятник соприкосновения Руси с западноевропейской традицией. Новая встреча с ней произойдет лишь почти через столетие, при царе Федоре Алексеевиче в конце XVII в., когда в дворцовых церквях устраивается Голгофа и Вертоград с Господним Гробом»<sup>17</sup>. Дворцовые церкви и их интерьеры перестраивались в рамках осуществления замысла создания «Малого подобия» большого подобия — Нового Иерусалима<sup>18</sup>.

В список памятников, воспроизводящих *loca sancta* в России XVII в., должен быть также включен Гроб Господень Успенского собора Кремля, создававшийся при непосредственном участии царя Михаила Федоровича и его отца, патриарха Филарета Никитича, в 1625–1627 гг.<sup>19</sup> «Большое подобие» храма Гроба Господня — Воскресенский собор — строился на излучине реки Истра во времена царя Алексея Михайловича и патриарха Никона. Для создания уникального пластического внутреннего убранства церковью собора были приглашены лучшие скульпторы, ценители, литейщики, зеркальщики, огранщики стекол<sup>20</sup>, большинство из которых были привезены из Белоруссии. Многие из них позднее участвовали в создании «Малого подобия». По мнению автора, «Шумаевский крест» занимает полноправное место в ряду упомянутых ансамблей, имеющих государственное значение, и развивает идею строительства Воскресенского Новоиерусалимского монастыря. Раскрытию его замысла могут послужить нарушения иконографии, не встречающиеся ни в одном другом произведении русского сакрального искусства: 1) композиции «Шумаевского креста» представляют собой грандиозную пластическую панораму, единственную в русском искусстве образную модель Святой Земли; 2) распятие установлено внутри стен Иерусалима, который изображен в виде Москвы; 3) в киоте нет

<sup>17</sup> Баталов А. Л. Гроб Господень в сакральном пространстве русского храма // Восточнохристианские реликвии / Ред.-сост. А. М. Лидов. М., 2003, с. 513–514, 522.

<sup>18</sup> Соколова И. М. Новый Иерусалим в Кремле. Незавершенный замысел царя Федора Алексеевича // Художественные памятники Московского Кремля. Материалы и исследования. Вып. XVI. М., 2003, с. 53–63; Яворская С. Л. «Крест купца Шумаева». Замысел и заказчик // Мир музея. 2002, № 4.

<sup>19</sup> Стерлигова И. А. Новозаветные реликвии в Древней Руси // Христианские реликвии в Московском Кремле / Ред.-сост. А. М. Лидов. М., 2000, с. 27; Баталов А. Л. Гроб Господень в сакральном пространстве русского храма // Восточнохристианские реликвии... с. 519–523.

<sup>20</sup> Высоцкая Н. Ф. Роль белорусов в искусстве Московской Руси второй половины XVII в. // Филевские чтения. Тезисы VIII научн. конф. по проблемам русской художественной культуры XVII — первой половины XVIII вв. 16–18 дек. 2003. М., 2003.

изображения Голгофы; 4) она замещена необычным сооружением, символизирующим одновременно храм Гроба Господня и торжественный трехчастный портал входа в Горний, Новый Иерусалим; 5) этим Новым Иерусалимом показывается Москва.

Резной ансамбль формировался вокруг Креста. Под перекладиной креста и внизу, перед аван-композицией киота, изображены стены и башни города, напоминающие очертаниями Кремль. Дворцы и храмы Иерусалима повторяют архитектуру московских посадских храмов и царских теремов третьей четверти XVII в.<sup>21</sup> «Панорамная композиция превращает архитектурную декорацию из фона в смысловой центр изображения...»<sup>22</sup>, таким образом, иконография центральной части композиции выражает идею Москвы как Второго Иерусалима и перекликается с идеей таких памятников русского искусства, как икона «Богоматерь Владимирская. Древо государства Российского» (ГТГ) и «Господь Вседержитель над Московским Кремлем» из собрания В. А. Бондаренко.

В киоте нет изображения или обозначения Голгофы. Подобное нарушение иконографии распятия имеется в Голгофском приделе Воскресенского собора, повторяющем иерусалимскую Голгофу, и в молельне Распятской церкви в Теремных церквях<sup>23</sup>. Гора Голгофа была замещена сооружением, внешний облик которого одновременно напоминал дворец, монастырь, «Дом Божий» и три надвратных храма, поставленных на скале. В его скальном основании были устроены три пещеры-вертепа — как тройной портал «врат небесных», в которых были представлены небольшие скульптурные композиции: «Вход в Иерусалим», «Положение во Гроб», «Преображение». Центральная часть сооружения, с фигуркой Христа на кивории и сюжетом «Положения во Гроб» в нижнем ярусе, показывала кувуклию храма Гроба Господня<sup>24</sup>. Таким образом, весь архитектурный ансамбль аван-композиции символизировал комплекс храма Гроба Господня. В этой архитектурной декорации «нашла воплощение идея *sacrum palatium* (священного дворца) — особо торжественной

<sup>21</sup> Яворская С. Л. «Шумаевский крест» — малоизученный памятник русской сакральной скульптуры XVII–XVIII веков. Уточнение датировки (в печати); Яворская С. Л. Образ Москвы в рельефах «Шумаевского креста» (рукопись).

<sup>22</sup> Лидов А. М. Образ Небесного Иерусалима в восточно-христианской иконографии // Иерусалим в русской культуре. М., 1994, с. 17.

<sup>23</sup> «...Во Иерусалиме против креста устроен открытый престол, где совершают Литургию Православные. Там под престолом дыра, обложенная серебром, где стоял крест Христов...» Описание соборного храма Воскресения Христова, построенного по иерусалимскому образцу святейшим патриархом Никоном в Воскресенском Новом Иерусалиме именуемом монастыре. М., 2001, с. 73. См.: Крест в России / Авт.-сост. С. В. Гнутова. М., 2004, с. 66; Соколова И. М. Русская деревянная скульптура XV–XVIII веков. Каталог. М., 2003, с. 155.

<sup>24</sup> Житие и хождение Даниила. ППС. Т. I, вып. 3. СПб., 1883, с. 18.



небесной архитектуры, знаменующей переход в мир иной». Сочетание архитектурных элементов храма, дворца, театральной сцены, торжественного портала акцентирует общую идею прославления, небесного апофеоза, прямо связанную с темой триумфального явления Святого града и Царства Божьего<sup>25</sup>, которым показывается Москва, раскинувшаяся за этим торжественным порталом.

Распятие, которое было установлено в центре резного киота, является точной копией Распятия с Голгофы Воскресенского собора Новоиерусалимского монастыря<sup>26</sup>. Известно, что в Новый Иерусалим по указу Алексея Михайловича было привезено два креста, «больших самых написаны»<sup>27</sup>. Проследивая в своем исследовании «Святые Нового Иерусалима» судьбы святынь Воскресенского собора, Г. М. Зеленская ничего не пишет о втором кресте. О том, что первоначально два Распятия были связаны неким грандиозным общим замыслом, свидетельствует также совпадение размеров конструктивных элементов киота с параметрами ниши Голгофы Воскресенского собора<sup>28</sup>. Исследование этого замысла еще предстоит. Интересно, что в уже освященном патриархом Никоном Голгофском приделе не был в окончательном виде построен литостротон — собственно Голгофа. Оформление ниши Голгофы осуществилось только в середине XVIII в. В работах по восстановлению Воскресенского собора участвовали архитекторы Д. В. Ухтомский и А. П. Евлашев. За разборкой, переносом «Шумаевского креста» в Сретенский монастырь, его сборкой и сохранностью непосредственно наблюдали Ухтомский и Евлашев<sup>29</sup>.

<sup>25</sup> Лидов А. М. Образ Небесного Иерусалима..., с. 16; Яворская С. Л. Врата Сиона (рукопись).

<sup>26</sup> Яворская С. Л. «Шумаевский крест» и замысел Голгофы царя Алексея Михайловича. Ставрографический сборник. Книга третья. М., 2005.

<sup>27</sup> Зеленская Г. М. Святые Нового Иерусалима. М., 2002, с. 298–300.

<sup>28</sup> Общая ширина киота 420 см. Фасадная сторона литостротона Голгофы Новоиерусалимского собора — 421 см. Средняя глубина ниши Лобного места в соборе — 120 см, глубина резного киота — 110 см. Глубина боковых уступов ниши на Голгофе — около 50 см, ширина — приблизительно 15 см. Сечение массивов дерева боковых створов — 45×15 см. Высота Креста на Голгофе Воскресенского собора — 340 см — приблизительно равна высоте арки Голгофы до свода и боковой стороне киота XVIII в., который сегодня установлен на литостротоне. Высота боковых створов «Шумаевского креста» около 345 см.

<sup>29</sup> Видимо, не случайно о «Шумаевском кресте» вспомнили во время восстановления Воскресенского собора. Среди тех, кто участвовал в восстановлении с 1749 г., — архитекторы князь Дмитрий Васильевич Ухтомский и А. П. Евлашев. В 1754 г., когда Голгофа все еще не была построена, Сенатская комиссия поручает князю Ухтомскому срочно заняться переносом Креста из дома Шумаева в Сретенский монастырь, для завершения работ над ним. Яворская С. Л. «Шумаевский крест» и замысел Голгофы царя Алексея Михайловича; Соболев Н. Н. Резные изображения..., с. 98, 104; он же. Русская народная резьба по дереву, с. 396; Зеленская Г. М. Указ. соч., с. 295–296; Тепфер Л. Э. Указ. соч., с. 127, 131.

В Новом Иерусалиме в 1660-е гг. работали старец Ипполит, Клим Михайлов и многие другие. После опалы патриарха работы в монастыре были приостановлены и мастера отозваны. Их вывозили в Москву с семьями, материалами, инструментом и книгами. Н. Н. Соболев, рассматривая творчество старца Ипполита, пишет о «...громдном резном распятии, сделанном для Воскресенского Новоиерусалимского монастыря и перенесенном оттуда в Москву» для создания Голгофы в Теремных церквях. Распятие, которое сегодня хранится в запасниках Музея архитектуры, действительно является самым большим Распятием из всех, о которых сказано, что они изготовлены «в меру тела Христова». Но, может быть, представление о «громдном Распятии» возникло потому, что в документах говорилось о транспортировке большемерных фрагментов резного киота, например, панелей боковых створов высотой около 3 м. Далее Николай Николаевич пишет: «В Голгофе Кремлевского дворца ясно видно влияние тех западных кальварий, которые были так хорошо знакомы старцу Ипполиту и которые не могли не произвести сильного впечатления на участвовавшего в польском походе 1654–1656 гг. царя Алексея Михайловича, пожелавшего иметь при своей дворцовой церкви нечто подобное виденным им зарубежным кальвариям»<sup>30</sup>, то есть считает Голгофу в теремных церквях частью кальварии. По представлению Н. Н. Соболева, «кальварией называется резное распятие с предстоящими или без них, орудиями страстей и другими атрибутами, стоящее на высоком пьедестале»<sup>31</sup>. В словаре Брокгауза и Эфрона Кальвария — город на юго-западе Литвы, в Жемайтии. Словарь не дает терминологического определения и исторического объяснения появлению на карте Литвы города с таким названием.

В подробнейшей «Археологии страданий Господа Иисуса Христа» Николай Маккавейский цитирует памятник начала IX в.: «...исчисление современного Иерусалимского Клира производится в таком порядке церквей и монастырей: святой Гроб Господень, святая Кальвария (Голгофа), святой Сион...». В последних разделах своей книги он пишет: «По описанию Феодосия, в середине города находится базилика. С западной стороны входишь в святое Воскресение, где находится гробница Господа нашего Иисуса Христа. Есть там гора Кальвария, где Авраам принес сына своего во всеожжение... Гора камениста и восходит по ступеням. Там был распят Господь... От гробницы Господа до места на Кальварии ша-

<sup>30</sup> Соболев Н. Н. Русская народная резьба..., с. 389. Голгофу в Теремных церквях строил царь Федор Алексеевич в 1680–1681 гг. Об идее создания «Малого подобия» «Большому подобию» — Новому Иерусалиму, заложенной в перестройку комплекса теремных церквей, подробно написала в своем исследовании И. М. Соколова (см. указ. соч.).

<sup>31</sup> Соболев Н. Н. Русская народная резьба..., с. 387.

гов (числом) 15: находится под одною кровлею... Потом входишь в базилику, на Голгофу, где были обретены три креста скрытые... От места Кальварии до Голгофы шагов числом 15...»<sup>32</sup>. Николай Маккавейский, цитируя древних авторов, отмечает существование разных именовании места распятия Христа, но не комментирует это разночтение.

Голгофа — *Golgotha*, — голова — гора, возвышенность, круглая как череп. Кальвария, *Calvary* — лобное место. *Calvariae locus* (лат.) — место черепов, названное так по черепу Адама (Евангелие от Луки, 24: 33), в Вулгате ассоциируется с местом распятия Христа. Второе издание Оксфордского словаря дает толкование, подобное толкованию Н. Н. Соболева: холм с крестом на вершине, *воспроизводящий Распятие в натуральную величину* (курсив мой. — С. Я.), сооруженный в память о страданиях Христа. Ниже приведены еще два толкования: «скульптурные композиции на сюжеты страданий Христа, установленные в церкви или часовне; у католиков так называются часовни, построенные на *холмах, за чертой города* (курсив мой. — С. Я.), как, например, кальвария святого Валериана близ Парижа, которая представляет ансамбль, состоящий из небольших часовен, в каждой из которых установлена скульптурная композиция на сюжет страданий Христа»<sup>33</sup>.

Перечисленные в «Подробной описи» киота сюжеты прослеживают основные этапы паломнического пути по Святой Земле, однако большая часть сюжетов посвящена Страстям. Резной киот, с Распятием в натуральную величину, прочитывается как образная модель кальварийского пространства и может являться частью кальварии. Развивая мысль Николая Николаевича о «сильном впечатлении» царя Алексея Михайловича от «виденных им зарубежных кальварий», следует учитывать несколько факторов:

<sup>32</sup> Николай Маккавейский цитирует открытый в Базельской библиотеке профессором Герлахом “Commemoratorium de casis Dei vel monasteriis”, и «Описание Святой земли» Феодосия (Theodosius. De terra sancta). *Николай Маккавейский*. Археология страданий Господа нашего Иисуса Христа. Киев, 2003, с. 115, 277–278.

<sup>33</sup> The Encyclopedia Americana. Intern. edition, 1973. Calvary, Calvariae locus — в Вулгате — место черепов. The Oxford English Dictionary. Second edition. Vol. II. Корни «гол» — «гал» и «кол» — «кал» и семантический ряд, который выстраивают слова с этим корнем, должны стать предметом отдельного исследования: голова, глава, *galva* (по-литовски — голова), Голгофа и Кальвария соответственно. Коло — Солнце, царь Коло-Ксай (Солнце-царь), коловорот, колесо, коловращение, календы и календарь, каляды (коляды). В описании Положения во Гроб у Николая Маккавейского читаем: подкатывают (следовательно камень круглый) большой камень *Голал*, закрывающий вход в гробницу. Указ. соч., с. 200. Иначе это место называлось Голгофа, что значит «Лобное или Краниево» (от греч. Κράνιον — череп) — Мф. 27, 33; Мк. 15, 22; Лк. 23,33; Ин. 19, 17. Любопытная аналогия: Сергей Радонежский строит свою келью на горе *Маковец*.

1. Военный поход царя — его первое личное знакомство с иной культурой, несмотря на то, что Алексей Михайлович имел всестороннее представление о соседнем государстве.

2. Царь Алексей Михайлович получил прекрасное церковное образование и владел польским языком. Литовская знать говорила только по-польски.

3. Как член кружка любителей благочестия царь обязательно интересовался вопросами веры, литургии, церковного строительства — в контексте церковной реформы, противостояния ересям и иноверцам, исправления книг и поиска новой выразительности литургии на пути возврата к ранней христианской вере и ранним формам литургии, бытовавшим в Иерусалиме до взятия его Хосроем. В этом ключе необходимо рассматривать путешествия Арсения Суханова в Яссы, Константинополь и Палестину в 1649–1653 гг., результатом которых стало не столько появление знаменитого «Проскинитария», сколько привоз греческих книг и строительство Воскресенского монастыря по его описаниям и обмерам<sup>34</sup>.

В то же время, необходимо иметь в виду несколько важных обстоятельств общественно-политической и религиозной жизни Речи Посполитой этого времени:

1. Речь Посполитая — многонациональное, многоконфессиональное государство.

2. Государство переживает эпоху постреформационного раскола.

3. Католическая церковь стремится вернуть свои позиции и укрепить их, приспосабливаясь к местным условиям и становясь более толерантной.

4. Наблюдается тенденция сделать религию «народной». Церковные церемонии, догмы и чудеса осваивались не столько разумом, сколько в ощущениях. Поиски народности предполагают миссионерскую деятельность церкви и усиление дидактики в проповедях, ритуале и сакральном искусстве.

5. Духу и требованиям эпохи отвечала театрализация религиозных отправлений. Культ Спасителя проявлялся в большей степени в мистериях, в которых показывались сюжеты Ветхого и Нового Заветов и особенно жизнь и муки Христа.

6. После Тридентского собора, когда стала очевидной невозможность компромисса с реформатами, пошатнувшийся авторитет католицизма восстанавливается оправдавшей себя практикой осознания Страстных мук Христа через кальварию.

<sup>34</sup> Арсений Суханов. Проскинитарий. 1649–1653 // ППС. Т. VII Вып. 21, ч. 3. СПб., 1889.

7. В XVII в. возникает интерес к паломничествам в Святую Землю, опасным и для большинства верующих невозможным.

8. Главным событием духовной жизни Речи Посполитой XVII в. и утверждением победы католицизма становится строительство кальварий. Ко времени похода царя Алексея Михайловича в Литве было начато строительство нескольких кальварий, но построена только одна — Жемайтійская<sup>35</sup>.

В 1633–1649 гг. жемайтійским епископом был Юргис Тишкявичус (Тышкевич). Магнаты Тышкевичи имели огромные владения и оказывали влияние на политику и религиозную жизнь Литовского княжества. Епископ расселяет в жемайтійском городке Гардай доминиканцев, которых постоянно опекает. Тышкевич задумал приблизить святыни Палестины к своему церковному диоцезу — заложить станции Страстного пути недалеко от Гардай, и в 1639 году получил от папы привилегии на строительство 6 часовен. Валанчус, — исследователь церковной истории, — пишет, что епископ сам обходил все холмы, отмечал места, где собирался строить часовни, отсчитывал соответствующее Крестному пути количество шагов от станции до станции, проходя по дорожкам, сыпал землю, специально привезенную из Иерусалима. На свои деньги епископ построил на холмах 19 деревянных часовен (в одной из них — 2 станции), подарил монастырю небольшую частицу Святого Креста. За-

<sup>35</sup> Жемайтія — область на юго-западе Литвы, населенная жемайтійцами (старое название «жмудь»). Основные сведения о литовских кальвариях взяты из следующих изданий: Lietuvių Enciklopedija V. 10. Boston, USA, 1957; *Anželika Meškuotytė-Laužikienė. Vilniaus kalvarijos // Kataliku pasaulis. 1994, № 1; Dalia Vasiliūnienė. Žemaicių kalvarija // Liaudies kultūra. 1994, № 1, 2 и др. изданий. Первый материал о литовских кальвариях в советской печати опубликовал В. Далматов: *Далматов В. Архитектурный ансамбль Вардувы // Декоративное искусство СССР, 1973, № 4. В нем комплекс Жемайтійской кальварии описан как «уникальный памятник народного зодчества», который построен для «украшения своего родного края». Такая трактовка ансамбля и публикация в центральной печати с требованием «принять безотлагательные меры по сохранению и реставрации часовен» помогла его сохранению в период так называемого «бульдозерного атеизма» (кон. 1960-х — нач. 1970-х гг.) в Литве. Первая кальвария была построена доминиканцем Альваресом в Кордове в 1405 г. Первую кальварию Речи Посполитой начали строить в Зебжидове, в 1604 г. Позднее строительство кальварий объясняется поздним принятием христианства: до XV в. Литва и Польша, по сути, языческие страны. В 1640 г. начато строительство литовской Сувалкійской кальварии. Еще одна кальвария строится в районе местечка Плунге на берегу озера Бяржоро, а также рядом с Укмерге, в Веприосе. У многих народов места поклонения традиционно располагались вне поселений и городов. Напротив Гардай, за рекой, было капище, на котором позднее была возведена церковь Иоанна Крестителя (на этом месте и была построена кальвария). Виленские кальварии были построены также вне города. В расположении Голгофы — *Calvariae locus* — за пределами стен Иерусалима отражаются те же архаичные традиции и представления.**

тем, получил разрешение папы Урбана VIII написать молитвы и песнопения (видимо, на литовском языке), которые до сих пор поют люди, обходя холмы Кальварии. Создав кальварию, епископ, в 1642 году, переименовал местечко Гардай в *Новый Иерусалим* (в настоящее время — Кальвария).

Приор монастыря, опасаясь, что привелегии могут быть отменены, через посредство магистра ордена добился их подтверждения папой, что было сделано 8 июня 1644 г. Из Люблинского доминиканского монастыря была получена самая большая реликвия Св. Креста в Прибалтике, которая хранилась в реликварии. 4 июля 1649 г. реликвия была торжественно внесена в костел Марии. Позднее, в 1669 г., было завершено строительство костела Обретения Креста.

Еще до похода Алексея Михайловича в Литву Тышкевич стал Виленским епископом и составил *программу* (так!) строительства кальварии в Вильнюсе, реализовывать которую поручил монахам доминиканского ордена. По окончании войны новый епископ Юргис Бялозарас начал строительство костела, монастыря и 35 станций Крестного пути. Уже в 1669 г., во время освящения кальварии, епископ шел впереди процессии и рассыпал землю, привезенную из Иерусалима. В этот момент он объявил, что каждый прошедший Крестный путь может получить прощение грехов. Главный храм Виленских кальварий (так же, как и Жемайтийской) — храм Обретения Креста.

Приуроченность литургии в Иерусалиме к конкретным топографическим реалиям Нового Завета неизбежно приводила к трансляции стациональности иерусалимского богослужения на новую территорию: топография, топонимика и сооружения христианской Палестины могут воспроизводиться в любом географическом месте<sup>36</sup>.

Иерусалимское шествие к главной святыне христианского мира — храму Гроба Господня и Животворящему Кресту Христову, повторяющее Страстную путь, становится прообразом литургического и паломнического (кальварийского) шествия к новой местной святыне. «Литургическая пространственность в молитвенной практике и храмовом строительстве быстрее привходила в повседневную жизнь верующих»<sup>37</sup>, что отвечало требованиям христианизации новых территорий и укрепления веры в христианских странах.

Впервые «контекст событий истории Спасения, происшедших на Святой Земле... был перенесен в Константинополь во всех его материальных свидетельствах и реликвиях. Поэтому город мог претендовать

<sup>36</sup> Генисаретский О. И. Иерусалимская анатопия // Святая земля в русском искусстве. Каталог выставки. М., 2001, с. 10–11; Зеленская Г. М. Указ соч, с. 25.

<sup>37</sup> Генисаретский О. И. Указ. соч.

на то, чтобы называться новым центром христианского космоса, в котором жили православные, где православный патриарх руководил церковью, а император взял на себя роль наместника Бога на земле... иконы и реликвии были... свидетельством продолжающегося присутствия небесных сил... Таким образом, паломничество в константинопольские храмы стало не только заменой земной паломнической поездки в Святую Землю, но также *живым уроком истории, в котором идея империи становилась очевидной*» (курсив мой. — С. Я.)<sup>38</sup>. Митрополит Илларион в «Слове о Законе и Благодати» (1051 г.) пишет: «Он (Константин Великий) с матерью своею Еленою крест от Иерусалима принесоша и ко всему миру утвердиша» (курсив мой. — С. Я.). Таким образом, мы можем утверждать, что первый опыт кальварийского строительства был реализован в Константинополе и что строительство кальварии — не столько трансляция культа, сколько трансляция истории Спасения и истории паломничества, поиска, обретения и водружения — утверждения Креста как Новозаветного центра мира, взамен Святой Святынь Ветхого Завета.

Идея наследования Константинополю, с XI в. уже осознававшаяся как Новый Иерусалим, к середине XVII в. получила свое закономерное завершение в теории «Москва — Новый Иерусалим», акцентирующей миссионерскую роль России — Нового Израиля, наделяющей ее сакральными свойствами «нового центра христианского мира, хранителя истинной веры»<sup>39</sup>, а российский народ — статусом последнего оставшегося на земле «семя Авраамле, то есть, людие обновления...»<sup>40</sup>.

Эти теории достигли высшей точки официального развития к венчанию на царство Алексея Михайловича в 1645 г.<sup>41</sup>, что придает идее строительства Воскресенского монастыря особое значение. Этот более масштабный, чем все предыдущие проекты русских Великих князей и царей (начиная со строительства Боголюбова князем Андреем Боголюбским), реализует идею создания сакрального центра России путем строительства не только точной копии комплекса храма Гроба Господня с Голгофой, но и окружающего пространства. Топографическая мо-

<sup>38</sup> Бельтинг Х. Образ и культ. История образа до эпохи искусства. М., 2002, с. 33, 45.

<sup>39</sup> Лукин П. В. Теория «Москва — Третий Рим» в сочинениях старообрядческих писателей XVII века / Тез. докл. на XXIII междунар. семинаре «Город и Вселенная. Центр и периферия. От Рима к Третьему Риму». Москва, 30–31 октября 2003.

<sup>40</sup> Протопоп Аввакум. Русская историческая библиотека. Л., 1927. Т. 39. Стлб. 328; Живов В. М., Успенский Б. А. Царь и Бог. Семиотические аспекты сакрализации монархов России // Языки культуры и проблемы переводимости. М., 1987, с. 62–63.

<sup>41</sup> Богданов А. П. «Москва — центр мира». По кратким летописцам конца XVII в. / Тез. докл. на XXIII междунар. семинаре «Город и Вселенная. Центр и периферия. От Рима к Третьему Риму». Москва 30–31 октября 2003.

дель позволяет осуществить паломничество в Святую Землю, прохождение Страстного пути, «поиск» и «обретение» Креста, не покидая России. «Требование аутентичности в этом случае предполагает следование архетипам». Авторитет образа Русской Палестины связан с аутентичным ее обликом и «теологически правильным описанием события из священной истории»<sup>42</sup>, которое было заказано царем Алексеем Михайловичем старцу Арсению Суханову и оставлено им. Роль старца Арсения в создании Нового Иерусалима еще будет уточняться. Но, размышляя на эту тему, мы должны помнить, что троицкий строитель и книжник Арсений был личным секретарем и близким патриарху Филарету человеком, а также то, что патриарх Филарет Никитич провел многие годы в польском плену.

Следует признать, что генезис идеи Нового Иерусалима в России требует отдельного исследования. То, что царь Алексей Михайлович назвал Воскресенский монастырь с окрестностями Новым Иерусалимом<sup>43</sup>, возвращает нас к истории обретения Креста Христова, возведению первого комплекса царских храмов на пространстве Страстей Христовых и маркированию памятных мест царем Константином (то есть к истории строительства Нового Иерусалима царя Константина). Проект строительства Нового Иерусалима в России необходимо рассматривать строго в контексте парадигмы иконического поведения царя Алексея Михайловича<sup>44</sup> «как проявление особой харизмы — харизмы власти»<sup>45</sup>.

Строительство кальварии, в своей основе должно иметь литературное описание — подробную программу, в которой отражены устойчивые принципы построения *Loca Sancta*:

1. Кальварии моделируют сакральное пространство Страстей Христовых на местности, размечая часовнями, памятными знаками и крестами Крестный путь. Расстояние между станциями Крестного пути, приблизительно соответствует иерусалимским реалиям.

<sup>42</sup> Бельтинг Х. Указ. соч., с. 33, 45.

<sup>43</sup> Севастьянова С. К. Материалы к «Летописи жизни и литературной деятельности патриарха Никона». СПб., 2003, с. 160; Зеленская Г. М. Святыни Нового Иерусалима, с. 283; Переименование Воскресенского монастыря было документально закреплено в надписях Воскресенского собора и Елеонского креста, что неоднократно подчеркивалось архимандритом Никанором или, как он себя называл, Никанорисом (там же, с. 97–108).

<sup>44</sup> Яворская С. Л. Генезис идеи Нового Иерусалима в России и образ Животворящего Креста Христова. Доклад в ИРИ РАН, Центр по изучению отечественной культуры. Апрель, 2005 г.; Яворская С. Л. Образ Животворящего Креста царя Алексея Михайловича и патриарха Никона. Доклад на научной конференции «Царь Алексей Михайлович и патриарх Никон». Кремль, Оружейная палата, 4–5 октября 2005 г.

<sup>45</sup> Успенский Б. А. Царь и патриарх. Харизма власти в России. (Византийская модель и ее русское переосмысление). М., 1998, с. 108.



2. Кальварии обычно занимают большие территории, рельеф которых напоминает Палестину: холмистая местность, маленькая речка, овраги. Место выбирали «намоленное», не нарушая традиции поклонения, существовавшей здесь ранее<sup>46</sup>.

3. Заимствованное из Иерусалима богослужение вело к созданию святых мест, одноименных иерусалимским, и влекло за собой переименование рек, холмов, населенных пунктов.

4. Строительство кальварий в Европе становилось репликой *истории обретения и водружения креста* как главной реликвии христианства.

5. Кальварии моделируют Крестный путь на новой территории. Они могут иметь разное количество станций, так как паломнический путь, в целом повторяющий иерусалимскую топографию, складывается постепенно, как местная традиция. В этом проявляются особенности народного восприятия Страстей Христовых<sup>47</sup>.

6. Кальварийская литургия, особенно праздничная, отличалась от обычного в данной местности ритуала.

7. В центре сакрального пространства, создаваемого кальварией, всегда находится реликвия Креста, осмысливаемая как обретенный Крест, и образ Распятия, созданного в меру тела Христова. Они стано-

<sup>46</sup> Щедрина К. А. Некоторые историко-богословские аспекты монастырского строительства Патриарха Никона // Никоновские чтения в музее Новый Иерусалим. М., 2002, с. 16–21. Жемайтйская кальвария была построена на месте старого капища. На озере Бяржоро, связанном с поклонением Березе, и в местности под названием «Вепрай», то есть «Вепри», связанном с поклонением этому божеству, строятся другие литовские кальварии. Капище, Кальвария, Голгофа, Маковец, Краниево место, место черепов, Лысая гора — явления одного порядка: сарут (*лат.*), сарра (*ит.*) — голова, макушка, верхняя часть головы, черепа; капище — место черепов. См: «Хотя то место было скрыто и обесчещено установленными на нем статуями языческих богов... император обратил на него внимание и велел очистить его. *Капище* было разрушено, *статуи и демоны* (курсив автора) ниспровергнуты». Николай Маккавейский. Указ. соч., с. 258.

<sup>47</sup> В 1489 г. папа Иннокентий XI официально подтвердил религиозную практику Крестного пути, но количество станций не было регламентировано. Например, кальвария в Любеке, построенная в 1468 г., имела 4 станции. В самом конце XVII в. в Иерусалиме сформировался Страстной Путь с 14 станциями. Традиционная доминиканская кальвария имеет 19 станций. В Виленской кальварии — 35 станций, в Жемайтйской — 20. В Sacro Monte в Италии, близ Варалло, построенной в 1480 г. при участии художника Дж. Феррари, — 42 часовни. Отличием традиционной европейской «кальварии» от «Голгофы» (которое сформировалось постепенно, в результате развернувшейся по всей Европе практики строительства кальварий), на наш взгляд, является то обстоятельство, что Голгофа — вполне определенный единственный холм-гора, тогда как Кальвария, часто, — несколько холмов. «Кальварийские холмы» (*kalvai-kalni, лит.*) — холмы-горы, это напоминает русское именование Холмогоры — во множественном числе. Статья Анжелики Мяшкотите-Лаужикене (см. прим. 30) называется «Vilniaus kalvarijos» — Виленские кальварии.

вятся эквивалентом реликвии, центрообразующей святыней, «конституирующей основой, своеобразным стержнем формирования определенной пространственной среды»<sup>48</sup>, который заключается в реликварий и храм-реликварий.

8. Паломничество в кальварию приравнивается паломничеству в Иерусалим.

9. Кальварии строятся не как центр церковного диоцеза, которым обычно является кафедральный собор, а как паломнический, духовный центр этноса.

Алексей Михайлович несомненно интересовался строительством кальварий как топографических моделей Иерусалима и окрестностей, увидев в них средство укрепления веры и приближения к иерусалимскому первообразу. Этому способствовало во многом сходное состояние русского и литовского обществ в то время. В Литве — постоянное, более или менее скрытое противоборство разных конфессий и еще сильное язычество. В России — необходимость церковной реформы, раскол, смутные времена, открытость страны, ставшей прибежищем для многих православных, спасавшихся от мусульман, и иноверцев, распространение ересей. Все это происходило на фоне народного двоеверия и откровенного язычества периферийных жителей.

Основным источником для создания программы строительства Русской Палестины был Проскинитарий Арсения Суханова. Но, возможно, кто-то из «тех литовских юношей, которых царь Алексей Михайлович отдал Патриарху Никону по возвращении из польского похода», — и среди которых был будущий архимандрит Никанор<sup>49</sup>, — принимал участие в разработке программы первой русской кальварии. Программные позиции европейского кальварийского строительства были полностью реализованы в русском проекте: «первый исторический пласт (Воскресенского собора) связан с евангельскими событиями Страданий, Распятия, погребения и Воскресения Христова, отраженных в топографии и святынях Гроба Господня в Иерусалиме». Российская Палестина — грандиозный архитектурно-ландшафтный комплекс. С севера на юг его территория простирается на 10 км, с запада на восток — на 5 км. Николас Витсен, тайно посетивший Патриарха Никона в

<sup>48</sup> Лидов А. М. Иеротопия..., с. 15; Бакалова Е. Реликвии у истоков культа святых // Восточнохристианские реликвии / Ред.-сост. А. М. Лидов. М., 2003, с. 28–29.

<sup>49</sup> Историческое описание Ставропигиального Воскресенского, Новый Иерусалим именованного монастыря. М., 1876, с. 128. Архимандрит Никанорис был выходцем из Литвы, о чем свидетельствуют полонизмы в его рукописях. Мельников А. В. Неопубликованная статья академика М. М. Богословского 1924 г. «Имущество архимандрита Воскресенского монастыря Никанора 1686–16982» // Патриарх Никон и его время. М., 2004.

мае 1665 г., пишет, что местечки расположены на таком же расстоянии, как они действительно находятся в Иерусалиме<sup>50</sup>. «Новый Иерусалим как топографическое подобие Святой Земли напоминает оживший чертеж, где все масштабно уменьшено... но соотносено друг с другом... с максимальной точностью»<sup>51</sup>. Для составления планиграфии русской Палестины, помимо обмеров и описаний строителя Арсения, чертежей Бернардино Амико, вероятно, использовался чертеж града Иерусалима, привезенный патриархом Паисием в 1649 г. Известно, что в Троицком соборе Троице-Сергиевой Лавры хранилась икона «Вид Иерусалима со всеми находящимися внутри и вне его церквами, монастырями и святыми местами». Такие чертежи, гравюры с панорамами Иерусалима, Синая и других святых мест с подробными комментариями, описания, а также резные модели храмов приобретались паломниками в Палестине. В топографическую композицию русской Палестины включены только главные христианские святыни, некоторые обозначаются здесь крестом, другие — часовней<sup>52</sup>.

Монастырь строился на высоком, отчасти искусственном холме, названном Сионом. Другие холмы переименованы в Фавор и Елеон. Река Истра была переименована в Иордан, небольшой ручей — в Кедрон, подобно тому, как в Литве реки Щешупе (Жемайтійская кальвария) и Балтупе (Виленские кальварии) были переименованы в Кедрон. Переименовывались не только реки и холмы, но и деревни: село Сафатово — в Воскресенское, Котельниково — в Вознесенское, Зиновьева Пустошь на ручье — Капернаум, и т. п. Воспроизведение в Воскресенском соборе святынь, расположенных вне иерусалимского храма, но семантически связанных с ним, было «программным» для Никона<sup>53</sup>. Крестный Путь начинался от села Сафатово-Воскресенское — Вифании русской Палестины, напоминающей о месте, где было совершено чудо воскресения Лазаря. Главная церковь монастыря, некогда существовавшего здесь, — Вход Господень в Иерусалим. В Воскресенском соборе планировалось освящение следующих престолов: церковь, именуемая «Темница»; Каменные узы Спасителя; Святая Голгофа; церковь на месте, где воины делили ризы Христовы и метали жребий; почитается столб, у которого был привязан Христос; церковь на месте обретения Титла; церковь на месте Поругания Господня, или Тернового венца; Камень миропомазания; Кувуклия Гроба Господня, в соборе почитался камень, отваленный

<sup>50</sup> *Николаас Витсен*. Путешествие в Московию 1664–1665. Дневник. СПб., 1996, с. 182; *Зеленская Г. М.* Указ. соч., с. 19.

<sup>51</sup> Там же, с. 19.

<sup>52</sup> *Зеленская Г. М.* Указ. соч., с. 13, 14.

<sup>53</sup> Там же, с. 31–33.

от Гроба, (то есть Голал)<sup>54</sup>, и т. д. Второй, *исторический*, пласт храма связан с *Обретением Креста и историей храма Гроба Господня в Иерусалиме*. В Новом Иерусалиме одним из первых строится и освящается подземная церковь во имя Равноапостольных царя Константина и матери его царицы Елены и место Обретения Креста Господня с кладзем, где был установлен Крест, созданный в меру Креста Христова. Главной святыней Нового Иерусалима был Крест с Распятием, установленный в Голгофском приделе. Паломничество в Новый Иерусалим приравнивалось паломничеству в Палестину. Русская Палестина должна была стать центром грядущего Российского православного самодержавного царства. Когда царь Алексей Михайлович назвал строящийся комплекс Воскресенского монастыря Новым Иерусалимом<sup>55</sup>, он, вполне вероятно, имел в виду не только опыт царя Константина, но также опыт епископа Тышкевича.

Программа строительства Русской Палестины и приделов Воскресенского собора, как было отмечено, полностью отражена в программе резного «Шумаевского Креста», которую мы можем прочесть в сохранившейся «Подробной описи». Здесь упоминаются следующие сюжеты, маркирующие Страстной путь: Входъ во Иерусалимъ; Моление о чаше Христове; Вертоградъ идеже Иуда лобзанием предаде Христа беззаконным жидамъ; Идеже Петр Малху ухо уреза; Пещера идеже плакася Петръ егда петель възгласи; Дом Пилатов; Место идеже судять жидове Христа и хулы на него приносятъ; Церковь Иоанна Предтечи идеже Христос у столпа был привязан; Дом Каиафы архиеерея; Бысть темница идеже сидел Христос, в кладе нозе ево лежали; Придел идеже тернов венец плели; Придел идеже на главу Христову тернов венец возложиша; Место идеже задели крест Христу нести и Симонъ Кирикеевъ помогаше ему и жена веронийска убрусомъ лице Христово утре; Придел идеже ризы Христовы раздираше; Пригвождение ко кресту; Снятие со креста; Егда приять Пресвятая Богородица Пречистое Тело Господа нашего; Егда положиша Тело Христово на камени и обвиша плащаницею Иосифъ съ Никодимомъ; Положение во гробъ у главы же и у ногъ ангели проповедуютъ воскресение; Церковь воскресения Христова; Камень идеже отваленъ от гроба; Идеже стояше Пресвятая Богородица, Иоаннъ Богословъ и жены мироносицы у

<sup>54</sup> Следует обратить внимание, что камень, отваленный от Гроба, почитаемый в Новом Иерусалиме, — округлой формы. См.: *Зеленская Г. М.* Указ. соч., с. 142. В настоящее время камень Голал находится в приделе Ангела кувуклии Гроба Господня.

<sup>55</sup> *Севастьянова С. К.* Материалы к «Летописи жизни и литературной деятельности патриарха Никона». СПб., 2003, с. 160. Патриарх неоднократно подчеркивал роль царя в замысле Нового Иерусалима и называл Новый Иерусалим «Государевым богомолием».

гроба Христова; Вознесение Господне отъ горы Елеонския; Преображение Господне; Воздвижение честнаго креста Господня<sup>56</sup>.

В этом списке и в тексте «Подробной описи» обращают на себя внимание следующие особенности:

1). В подавляющем большинстве сюжетов называется место действия (город, село, море, пещера, церковь, дом или «место идеже...», или просто «идеже...»). Например «Вертоград идеже...» — изображен «Поцелуй Иуды». Некоторые композиции называются «придел идеже...» или «церковь». В крайнем случае, так могли обозначаться три сюжета — «Вход в Иерусалим», «Положение во Гроб» и «Преображение»: они помещены каждый в отдельный вертеп под храмами, символизирующими храм Гроба Господня. Однако их названия в «Описи» не содержат указаний на архитектурную декорацию. В других рельефных композициях пространство не поделено архитектурной декорацией на храмы и приделы. Представляется, что такие именованья перекочевали в список сюжетов «Шумаевского креста» из топологии Святой Земли — программы строительства Новоиерусалимского комплекса и Воскресенского собора<sup>57</sup>.

2) В программу резного ансамбля необъяснимо вторгаются мотивы реального, современного ее составителям Иерусалима: в «Описи» перечислены «палаты салтановы», «нищим питательница турецкая», «капища и училища турецкие» и т. п., что свидетельствует о том, что она составлена человеком, хорошо знакомым с реалиями Иерусалима, каким был Арсений Суханов.

3) Сюжет «Воздвижение креста», который не просматривается в фотографиях Н. Н. Соболева, вновь возвращает нас к истории обретения Животворящего креста и утверждения его на Голгофе царем Кон-

<sup>56</sup> Соболев Н. Н. Указ. соч., с. 108. К тому времени, когда составлялась программа русской кальварии, в Иерусалиме количество станций Страстного пути еще не было канонизировано. В современном Иерусалиме отмечено четырнадцать станций Страстного пути. Первая остановка — начало *Via Dolorosa*. В находившейся на этом месте башне Антония Понтий Пилат осудил Христа. Здесь ему дали крест, отсюда начался крестный путь. Рядом, на месте тюрьмы — греческая православная церковь, в которой есть углубление с каменной скамьей — темница Христа. Вторая остановка: место, где Христа бичевали, где он был увенчан терновым венцом и принял Крест. Третья остановка: где Христос упал в первый раз. Четвертая — где встретил свою мать. Пятая остановка: Симон Кириянин принял Крест от Христа. Шестая остановка у дома Вероники. Седьмая — где Христос упал во второй раз. Восьмая — где Христос воззвал к женщинам. Девятая — где упал в третий раз. Десятая и одиннадцатая — оголен и пригвожден к кресту. Двенадцатая — Голгофа. Тринадцатая — Камень Помазания. Четырнадцатая — Кувуклия Гроба Господня.

<sup>57</sup> Перечень святых мест в обители известен из материалов собора 1666 г. Дело о Патриархе Никоне. СПб., 1897, с. 439; Зеленская Г. М. Указ. соч., с. 19; Пречень существующих престолов — там же, с. 379–386.

стантином. Внимательное изучение проблемы построения сакрального пространства показывает, что именно этот сюжет является ключевым в прочтении главной идеи ансамбля. После того, как царь Константин построил Анастасис и царский храм — базилику, он утвердил Животворящий крест Христов на Голгофе и назвал возведенный на месте страданий Господа комплекс Новым Иерусалимом<sup>58</sup>. 15 сентября 1662 г. патриарх Никон водрузил на Голгофе подпрестольный крест придела в честь Воздвижения Честного и Животворящего Креста Господня<sup>59</sup>.

Особенности литургии на Голгофе Воскресенского собора отмечает в своем исследовании Г. М. Зеленская: «По чину и уставу церковному Воскресенского монастыря XVII в., в праздник Воздвижения Честного и Животворящего Креста Господня вся служба совершалась на Голгофе „у Креста, а не против олтара и Царских врат... понеже у нас Крест на Святой Голгофе великий утвержден на месте твердо, неподвижно. Тако же по сему чину и уставу творится и в 4-ю неделю святого поста и августа в 1-й день“»<sup>60</sup>.

Ориентация композиций «Шумаевского креста» в пространство перед киотом предполагает совершение действия с открыванием дверей и литургией именно в непосредственной близости к киоту.

Воскресенский монастырь мыслился царем Алексеем Михайловичем и патриархом Никоном как средоточие святынь. Подобно тому, как в церкви Богоматери Фаросской и в храме Святой Софии сосредотачивались главные христианские святыни, переносящие центр хри-

<sup>58</sup> Маккавейский Николай. Археология истории..., с. 258–285. Текст Николая Маккавейского несколько уточняет замечание Г. М. Зеленской о том, что «храм *Воскресения Господня в Иерусалиме*, сооруженный в форме пятинефной базилики тщанием святого равноапостольного царя Константина и освященный 13 сентября 335 г., вошел в христианскую историю как «предреченный пророками Новый Иерусалим, храм Спасителя». Анастасис и базилика — царский храм — разные сооружения. Строго между ними на открытом месте был утверждён Обретенный Крест, который топографически и литургически связывал место погребения и место обретения Креста в единый комплекс, названный императором Константином Новым Иерусалимом. Отсюда становится очевидной семантика водружения-утверждения Животворящего Креста в центре сакрального пространства Страстей и Спасения. О значении, которое придавалось празднику Воздвижения Креста в России XVII века, см.: *Стерлигова И. А.* Указ соч., с. 27. О значении этого праздника для Нового Иерусалима и в деятельности патриарха Никона см. также историю Кийского монастыря и креста. *Севастьянова С. К.* «Грамота патриарха Никона о Крестном монастыре» // *Ставрографический сборник*. Кн. III, с. 336.

<sup>59</sup> *Зеленская Г. М.* Указ. соч., с. 291–292, 379.

<sup>60</sup> Об особенностях Литургии у Голгофского Креста в Воскресенском соборе см.: Устав монастыря Нового Иерусалима. *Патриарх Никон*. Труды / Под ред. В. В. Шмидта. М., 2004; *Зеленская Г. М.* Указ. изд., с. 301.

стианского культа в Константинополь<sup>61</sup>, — в ризничной палатке, за алтарем Голгофской церкви, находилось большое количество христианских реликвий и частиц мощей, которые должны были обрести свое место в пространстве русской Палестины. Священная топография собора расширена: по сведениям Новгородского хронографа XVII в., патриарх Никон при создании «каменной церкви» Воскресения Христова «устрои, еликож в году дней, толико и престолов, кояждо имеет своя преграждения и двери». Частицы мощей, хранившиеся в ризничной палатке Голгофского придела, «составляли, по сути, годовые святцы», а на Всехсвятском колоколе были помещены изображения святых «во весь год»<sup>62</sup>.

В мировой космогонии число — один из классов знаков, описывающих мир, образ мира и средство для его периодического восстановления в циклической схеме развития<sup>63</sup>. Сакрализованное пространство вещно, числа и вещи неотделимы друг от друга, указывают максимально космологизированные точки в пространстве и времени (святыни и праздники), воспроизводимые в *годовом* ритуале<sup>64</sup>. Непрерывный годовой ритуал Воскресенского собора, возобновляющийся в день творения, должен образовать континуум без начала и конца, обеспечивающий борьбу с энтропическими тенденциями снашивания мира. Новый Иерусалим можно назвать попыткой «устройства новой духовно-топографической структуры, обновляющей или дополняющей (курсив мой. — С. Я.), связывающей... древние священные центры Православного Востока и Русской Земли»<sup>65</sup>. Христианский детерминизм топографической модели центра мира был вызван не только политическими устремлениями русского царя и амбициями патриарха Никона, но и фактическим разрушением центра христианского космоса в Иерусалиме. Об этом много пишет в своем Проскинитарии старец Арсений. В Иерусалиме некогда насчитывалось 366 христианских

<sup>61</sup> Бельтинг Х. Указ. соч., с. 583–586. Реликвии дворцовой часовни в Константинополе. Каталог Николая Мессарита (ок. 1200), Западный каталог реликвий Константинополя. Описание реликвий и икон дворцовой часовни, церкви Софии и некоторых церквей Девы Марии в Константинополе по латинскому каталогу начала XII в. Лидов А. М. Мандилион и Керамион как образ-архетип сакрального пространства // Восточнохристианские реликвии / Ред.-сост. А. М. Лидов. М., 2003.

<sup>62</sup> Тихомиров М. Н. Русское летописание. М., 1979, с. 296–297; Зеленская Г. М. Указ. соч., с. 39, 33–45.

<sup>63</sup> Топоров В. Н. Числа // МНМ. Т. 2.

<sup>64</sup> Топоров В. Н. Модель мира. Пространство // МНМ. Т. 2.

<sup>65</sup> Щедрина К. А. Некоторые историко-богословские аспекты монастырского строительства Патриарха Никона // Никоновские чтения в музее Новый Иерусалим. М., 2002, с. 16–21.

храмов и монастырей, к концу XVII в. их осталось около двадцати<sup>66</sup>. «Для Средневековья, глубоко и безнадежно влюбленного в Число, важнейшим атрибутом была *мера*»<sup>67</sup>. Такой мерой было и *количество* иерусалимских храмов, которое должно было повториться (или отразиться, как первообраз) в Новом Иерусалиме.

В Подробной Описи «Шумаевского креста» перечислено 265 сюжетов, но многие развернутые композиции, насчитывающие большое количество сюжетов и фигур, обозначаются одним номером или вообще его не имеют: например, огромная композиция Града Небесного не пронумерована и не разбита на сюжеты, не перечислены по номерам изображения русских святых. Программа памятника нуждается в отдельном исследовании, но в ней ясно прочитывается стремление авторов отразить «годовые святцы». «Шумаевский крест» — модель Святой Земли. Моделирование сакрального центра христианского мира на новой территории служит преобразованию профанического хаоса в христианский космос. Распространение, развертывание космоса вовне происходит от конституирующего стержня, от оси разворота, которой является Животворящий Крест. Топографическая структура «Шумаевского креста», как и всей Русской Палестины, имеет *концентрический* характер<sup>68</sup>. Крест с Распятием — самый крупномасштабный фрагмент ансамбля: другие его элементы уменьшаются по мере отдаления от центра. Ансамбль построен по иерархическому принципу, так же, как сама Русская Палестина<sup>69</sup>. Строительство *Loca Sancta*, вызванное необходимостью христианизации народа, укрепления веры, постепенно становится центром саморазвивающегося сакрального пространства, *rajas*<sup>70</sup>, присоединяющего к себе все новые профанические периферийные территории, и понимается народом как *espase rajonant* и *рай* земной.

Архитектурно-ландшафтный комплекс демонстрировал истинный путь Спасения, ориентиром которого должен был стать Животворящий Крест. В России замышлялся и, в конечном итоге, столетия строился духовный центр православного космоса — Новый Иерусалим. И в этом качестве он демонстрирует не столько «соприкосновение с европейской

<sup>66</sup> Ровинский Д. Русские народные картинки. Кн. 2. Листы исторические календари... № 645. СПб., 1881; Описание Иерусалима иеромонахом Симеоном, архимандритом иерусалимским..., с. 338.

<sup>67</sup> Беляев Л. А. Пространство как реликвия: о назначении и символике каменных иконок Гроба Господня // Восточнохристианские реликвии / Ред.-сост. А. М. Лидов. М., 2003, с. 486.

<sup>68</sup> Зеленская Г. М. Указ. соч., с. 19.

<sup>69</sup> Там же, с. 21.

<sup>70</sup> Топоров В. Н. Мифы народов мира. Т. 2 Модель мира. Пространство. Интересен ряд однокоренных слов: «гајас», «гајонант», «рай» — край, район, рой, прайт, и т. п. Но следует признать, что корень «иер» того же порядка.



традицией копирования Святых мест»<sup>71</sup>, сколько повторение опыта трансляции культа царя Константина. В роли царя — «храмоздателя»<sup>72</sup> и патриарха — зодчего отражается архаичная традиция личного участия светского владыки и главы церкви в строительстве, которое через материальное созидание осуществляет возведение основания духовного единства империи — «духовной крепости». Симптоматично, что и в Литве, и в России народ остался генеральным нарекателем такого духовного центра: в Литве — он не оставил именованя, данного епископом Тышкевичем, в России, — несмотря на столетний запрет упоминания о Новом Иерусалиме, — не отменил<sup>73</sup>. В этом проявилась суть русского (византийского) опыта переноса культа методом кальварийского строительства и его глубоко народной основы.

В основе идеологии создания кальварии как пространственной модели страстного пути Христа должна быть реликвия Креста — не орудия пытки или казни, а Животворящего Древа, растения вечной жизни и воскресения, *приводящего в рай*, и Распятия, созданного в меру тела Христова<sup>74</sup>. Воскресенский собор и Голгофский придел становятся реликварием: «В средневековом сознании гробница Христова и возведенный вокруг нее храмовый комплекс... представлялись... одной огромной многослойной реликвией, сопоставимой с Животворящим Крестом»<sup>75</sup>.

Крест с Распятием, созданным в меру тела Христова, был установлен в центре ансамбля «Шумаевского креста», который, подобно киоту, закрывался стеклянными дверями. Дверцы в резных алтарях-ретаблях служили для запираения хранилища реликвий и для того, что было присуще каждому культовому образу, — для общепринятого ритуала сокрытия, но и демонстрации святыни. Таким образом, грандиозный киот со стеклянными дверями, которые должны были открываться только в дни особых праздников, — это запрестольный реликварий-монстранц<sup>76</sup>. Тысячами огней

<sup>71</sup> См.: Баталов А. Л. Гроб Господень в сакральном пространстве русского храма, с. 513–514, 522.

<sup>72</sup> О роли создателей сакральных пространств, руководствовавшихся в своей деятельности величайшим прототипом, самим Богом, см.: Лидов А. М. Иеротопия. Создание сакральных пространств..., с. 20.

<sup>73</sup> Зеленская Г. М. Указ. соч., с. 285, 287.

<sup>74</sup> Щедрина К. А. Указ. соч., с. 16–21.

<sup>75</sup> Беляев Л. А. Пространство как реликвия..., с. 486.

<sup>76</sup> Бельтинг Х. Указ. соч., с. 66, 499. Монстранц — вид реликвария, главной частью которого был реликварий из прозрачного материала, что позволяло видеть хранившиеся в них реликвии (в более позднее время — облатки). См.: Западноевропейское декоративное искусство IX–XVI вв. из собраний музеев Лувра и Клоньи. Каталог выставки. М., 1981, с. 43. О ранней традиции сооружения запрестольных реликвариев см.: Tsafir Y. The Loca sancta and the invention of relics in Palestine from the fourth to seventh centuries: their impact on the ecclesiastical architecture of the Holy Land // Восточнохристианские реликвии / Ред.-сост. А. М. Лидов. М., 2003.

сияет несказанным светом Иерусалим «Шумаевского креста». В окна домов и мостовые улиц вставлены тысячи стразов. Во время службы, когда храм озарялся светом десятков свечей и лампад, открывались стеклянные двери, и живое, мерцающее сияние исходило от Иерусалима. Множество зеркальных призм обрамляли центральную композицию — Распятие с предстоящими, на фоне Москвы — Второго, Нового Иерусалима. Именно с Москвой связывали создатели ансамбля грядущее Царство Божие<sup>77</sup>. Она воплощала утопическую мечту о здешнем, Земном Граде, осуществленном под видом Московского государства<sup>78</sup>. Резной ансамбль — сияющий и мистически блистающий драгоценный реликварий являет образ божественного мира<sup>79</sup>.

Композиция так называемого «Шумаевского креста», так же, как сакральная топография Нового Иерусалима, стала зримым доказательством того, что Россия вступила в наследство Святой Земли. *Иерусалимская иеротопия* этого памятника, с дидактической настойчивостью его *иерархической* композиции, жестко и однозначно указывает на Животворящий Крест с Распятием, созданным в меру Тела Христова, как на центр космогенеза Нового Завета, этого памятника и Российского православного самодержавного царства, которое становится уделом Христа и Креста.

Культурологическое толкование программы «Шумаевского Креста» ставит его в один ряд с такими памятниками русской культуры, как Святая Святых Бориса Годунова, Гроб Господень патриарха Филарета в Успенском соборе Кремля, Новый Иерусалим царя Алексея Михайловича и патриарха Никона и «Малое подобие» Нового Иерусалима царя Федора Алексеевича.

«Шумаевский крест» — часть неосуществленного плана сооружения Голгофы-кальварии царя Алексея Михайловича — является итоговым памятником всей древнерусской культуры, культуры эпохи формирования русского централизованного православного государства. Его программа может и должна быть истолкована как программа формирования пространства истинной веры, в значении православного мира (космоса), православного мира (общества, церкви) и нового сакрального центра православного царства, — то есть Нового Иерусалима в Москве.

<sup>77</sup> Лукин П. В. Теория «Москва — Третий Рим» в сочинениях старообрядческих писателей XVII века / Тезисы доклада.

<sup>78</sup> Флоровский Г., *прот.* Встреча с Западом. II глава из книги «Пути русского богословия», Париж, 1937 // Из истории русской культуры. Т. 3. М., 2000, с. 313.

<sup>79</sup> Лидов А. М. Мандилион и Керамион как образ-архетип сакрального пространства // Восточнохристианские реликвии / Ред.-сост. А. М. Лидов. М., 2003, с. 257.

Svetlana Yavorskaya  
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“SHUMAYEV’S CROSS” AND THE CALVARY  
OF THE CZAR ALEXEI MIKHAILOVICH

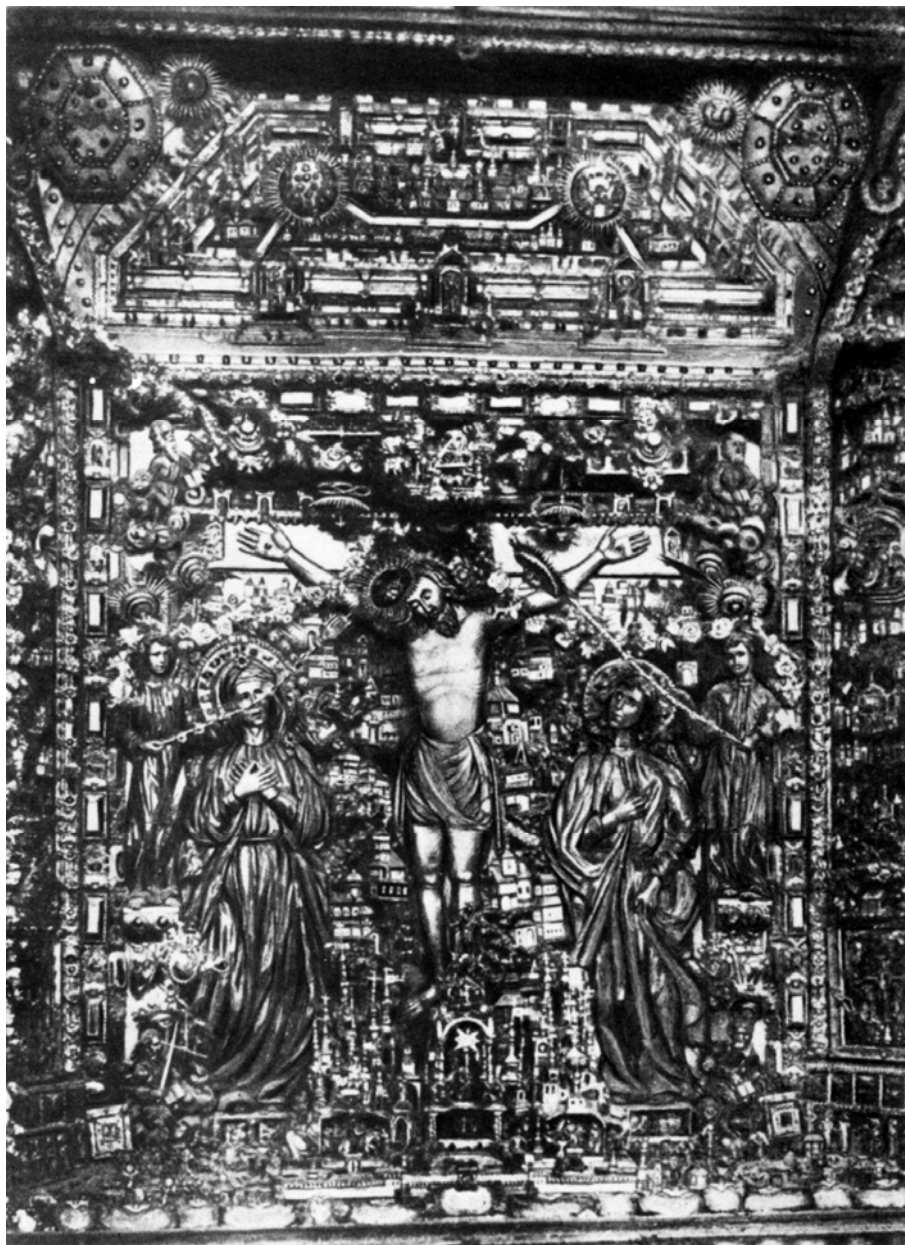
“Shumayev’s cross” is a sculptural assemblage, a kind of monstrance reliquary, which is a monumental composition consisting of a Crucifix surrounded by thousands of carved and die-cast relieves and sculptures of different scale. The complex was created over a period of one hundred years in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries by different masters. Nevertheless, it preserved as its basis a single grandiose design. The uniqueness of the object, unusual iconographic details of the Crucifix, peculiarities of the liturgical ritual, for which the assemblage was created, its high artistic merits — everything indicates that it should have been a part of an architectural-sculptural complex, similar to the “Kremlin Holy of Holies” of Boris Godunov, or the Calvary with the Holy Sepulcher, which was manufactured in the Palace churches under Czar Feodor Alekseevich.

The assemblage was formed around a cross with Crucifix, which is depicted as fixed in the center of Jerusalem. The walls, towers, houses and temples of the city are shown in the forms characteristic of Moscow architecture of the third fourth of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The Calvary is replaced with *Sacrum palatium*, which symbolizes all at once the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and the main portal of the entrance to New Jerusalem that serves as a guise for Moscow.

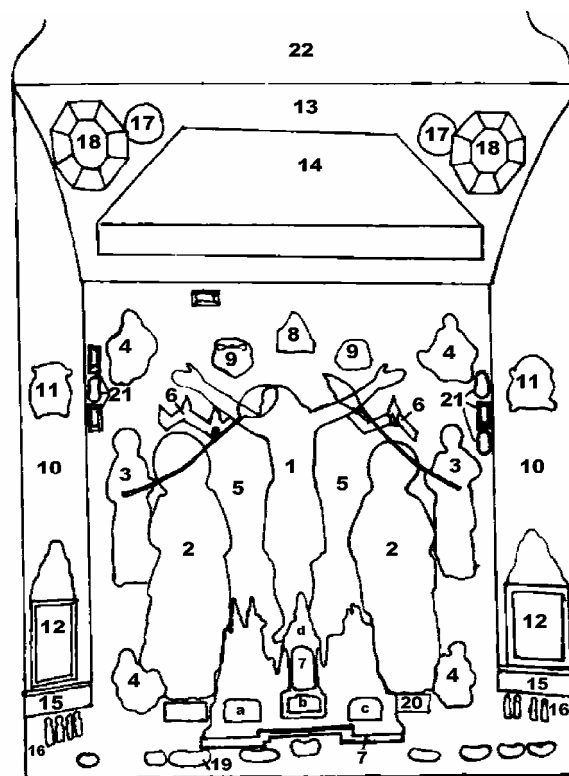
The Crucifix installed in the icon-case is an exact copy of the Crucifix from the Calvary of the Resurrection Cathedral of Novyi Ierusalim monastery. In our view both relieves were carved approximately at the same time, according to the same design. It is well-known that a Crucifix was transported from Novyi Ierusalim monastery to Moscow in order to create a Calvary in the chamber churches of the Kremlin that would resemble foreign Calvaries that the Czar Aleksei Mikhailovich saw during his Polish-Lithuanian expedition of 1654–1656.

Calvary (from *Calvariae locus*, a skulls place, *Golgothas* in Greek) is the name for architectural and landscape complexes, erected outside city boundaries, which reproduce the way of the Cross, the main episodes of which were represented in images depicting the Passion of Christ. An actual-size Crucifix is placed in one of the chapels. A cross with Crucifix in the size of Christ’s body, placed on the Calvary of the Resurrection Cathedral in 1662 became the most important relic of the first Russian Calvary — Novyi Ierusalim near Moscow. Another Crucifix became the basis of the so called “Shumayev’s Cross”.

The panoramic composition of “Shumaev’s Cross” turns its architectural decoration from a background into the semantic focus of the image. Jerusalem is shown as well recognizable Moscow. Thus the object’s program proclaims installation of Christ’s Cross — as the center of the New Testament World — in Moscow. The surviving “Detailed description of the cross” reflects very accurately the program of construction of Novyi Ierusalim monastery sponsored by the Czar Aleksei Mikhailovich and the Patriarch Nikon. The spatial composition of “Shumaev’s Cross” looks like a three-dimensional model of the Russian Palestine — the first Russian Calvary of the Czar Aleksei Mikhailovich.



1. «Шумаевский крест». Общий вид. Фотография Н. Н. Соболева начала XX века

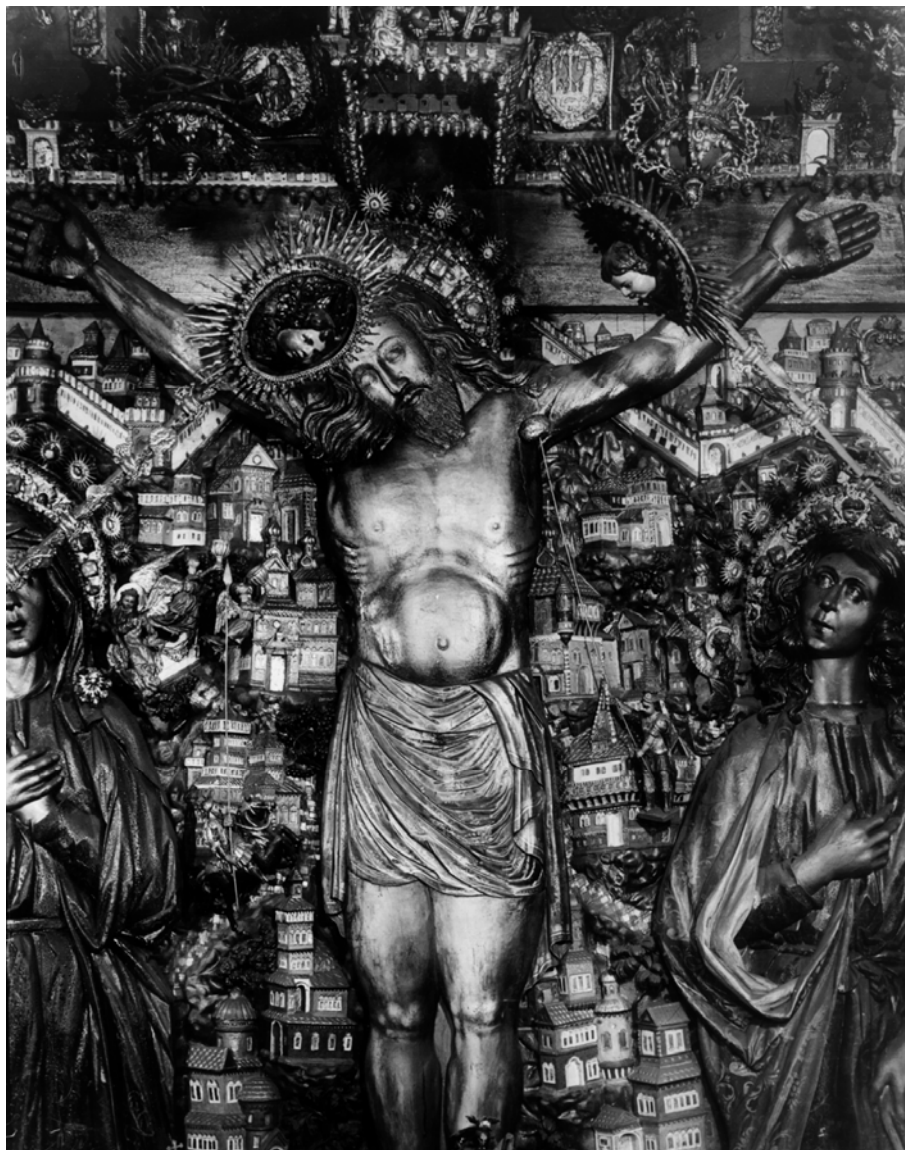


2. Схема расположения основных композиций «Шумаевского креста»:

1 — Распятие; 2 — Богоматерь и Иоанн Богослов; 3 — архангелы с рипидами; 4 — евангелисты; 5 — Иерусалим — Москва; 6 — стены города; 7 — сооружение, символизирующее храм Гроба Господня (а — «Вход в Иерусалим», б — «Положение во Гроб», с — «Преображение», d — кувуклия); 8 — сень с изображением Саваофа; 9 — Терновый венец и венец Славы; 10 — боковые створы с миниатюрами, иллюстрирующими Священное Писание; 11 — «Крещение» и «Рождество»; 12 — Иконы на зеркальных фонах «Воскресение — Сошествие во ад» и «Распятие»; 13 — верхний карниз; 14 — Град Небесный; 15 — сцены Апокалипсиса; 16 — русские святые; 17 — светила; 18 — декоративные элементы; 19 — картуши с надписями; 20 — сцены грешников в аду; 21 — зеркальные призмы и символы Страстей Христовых; 22 — навершие с изображением Саваофа и ангелов в облаках

2. Diagram of the location of the main compositions of "Shumaev's Cross":

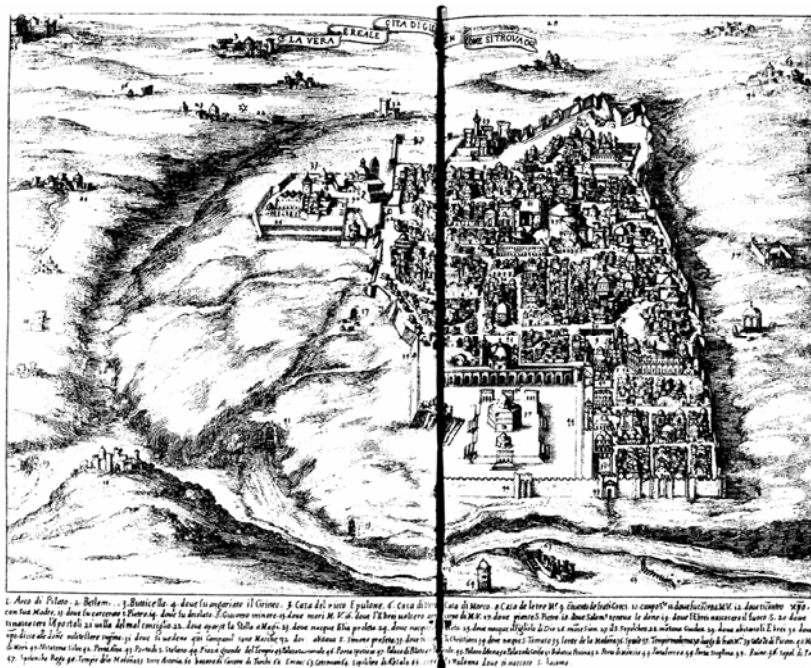
1 — Crucifix; 2 — The Mother of God and St. John Apostle the Theologian; 3 — Archangels; 4 — Evangelists; 5 — Jerusalem-Moscow; 6 — Kremlin walls; 7 — Churches symbolizing the Holy Sepulcher (a — "Entry of Christ into Jerusalem", b — "Entombment", c — "Transfiguration", d — "The Cubicle of the Holy Sepulcher"); 9 — Ciborium with the image of Sabaoth; 10 — side doors with miniature compositions; 11 — Baptism and Nativity; 12 — Icons against mirror background: "Resurrection/ Descent into Hell", "Crucifixion"; 13 — Upper cornice; 14 — The Heavenly Jerusalem; 15 — Apocalypse scenes; 16 — Russian saints; 17 — The Sun and the Moon; 18 — Decorative elements; 19 — Cartouches with a list of subjects depicted; 20 — Scenes of sinners in hell; 21 — Mirror prisms and Symbols of the Passion of Christ; 22 — Upper piece with images of Sabaoth and angels in clouds



3. «Шумаевский крест», центральная часть ансамбля



4. Распятие из Голгофского придела Воскресенского собора Ново-Иерусалимского монастыря



5. Панорама Иерусалима с окрестностями





6. Крестный путь Жемайтийской кальварии в Литве. Олеография 1896 г.



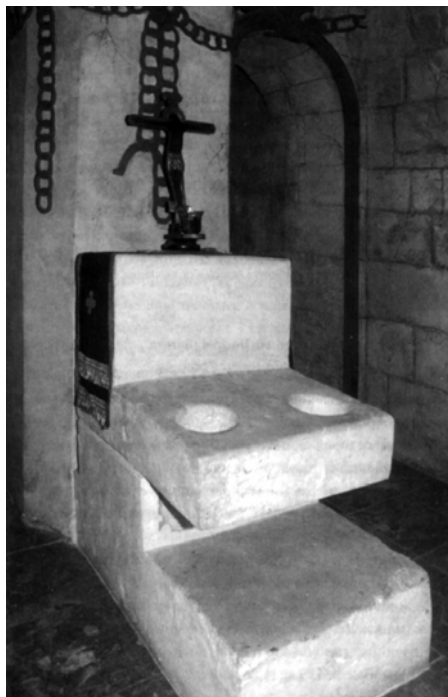
7. Российская Палестина в середине XVII в. Реконструкция Г. М. Зеленской. Карта-схема 1980-х гг.



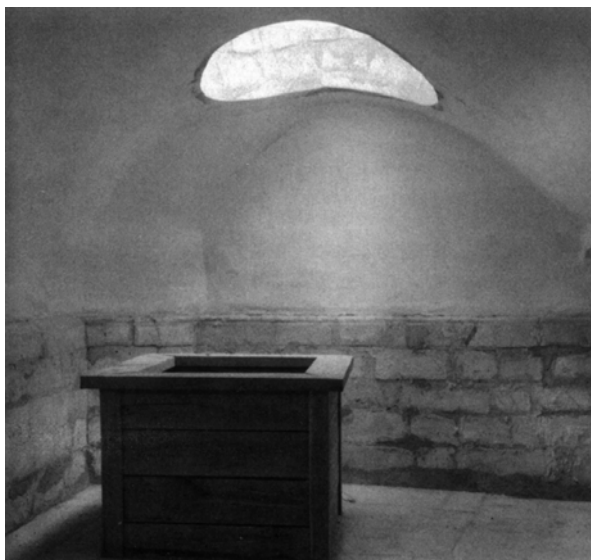
8. «Шумаевский крест». Символическое изображение храма Гроба Господня с резными композициями на сюжеты Страстей Христовых



9. Воскресенский собор Нового Иерусалимского монастыря. Вид с юга. Гравюра середины XVIII в.



10. Каменные Узы Спасителя в Темнице, в южной стене трапезы Успенского придела Воскресенского собора. Фото 2002 г.



11. Кладезь на месте обретения Животворящего Креста Господня в Воскресенском соборе. Фото 1990-х гг.



12. Камень XVII века в меру Камня, отваленного от Гроба Господня. В настоящее время находится в приделе Ангела. Фото 2002 г.

А. Г. Мельник

## РОСТОВСКИЙ МИТРОПОЛИТ ИОНА (1652–1690) КАК ТВОРЕЦ САКРАЛЬНЫХ ПРОСТРАНСТВ

Ростовский митрополит Иона (1652–1690) был не только заказчиком многочисленных произведений архитектуры, но и их подлинным автором. Именно ему принадлежали замыслы основных решений их общей композиции и оформления их внутреннего, а также наружного облика<sup>1</sup>. Он творил в переходную эпоху от русского средневековья к новому времени. Очевидно, люди данной эпохи нуждались в каком-то ином, чем прежде, обновленном чувстве сакрального. Одним из наиболее ярких выражений в России этой устремленности стали творения митрополита Ионы.

Ранее мною был осуществлен ряд специальных исследований, посвященных отдельным аспектам творчества митрополита Ионы<sup>2</sup>. Настоящая работа представляет собой попытку обобщения этих наблюдений.

Важнейшим творением Ионы стал ансамбль Ростовского архиерейского двора, носящий ныне позднее название кремля. До недавнего времени считалось, что он сложился на протяжении XVI–XVII вв.<sup>3</sup> Однако натурные исследования опровергли данное мнение. В основных своих частях собственно архиерейский двор был построен в период правления митрополита Ионы (1652–1690) и по единому замыслу<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> См. подробнее: Мельник А. Г. К проблеме авторства ансамбля Ростовского кремля // Сообщения Ростовского музея. Ростов, 1992. Вып. 3, с. 80–88.

<sup>2</sup> Ссылки на эти работы см. ниже.

<sup>3</sup> Толстой М. Древние святыни Ростова Великого. М., 1847, с. 34; Титов А.А. Кремль Ростова Великого. М., 1905, с. 76, 125; Эдинг Б. Ростов Великий. Углич. М., 1913, с. 85; Собянин В. А. Ростов в прошлом и настоящем. Ростов-Ярославский, 1928, с. 27, 29; Баниге В. С., Брюсова В. Г., Гнедовский Б. В., Щапов Н. Б. Ростов Ярославский. Ярославль, 1957, с. 74, 79; Баниге В. С. Кремль Ростова Великого XVI–XVII веков. М., 1976, с. 96, 102, 116, 118, 120, 123.

<sup>4</sup> Мельник А. Г. Исследования памятников архитектуры Ростова Великого. Ростов, 1992, с. 30–45.

Облик сооружений этого ансамбля и организация охватываемого ими пространства были наделены чертами подчеркнутой сакральности. Можно сказать, что сакрализация ансамбля носила почти тотальный характер. По замыслу митрополита Ионы, ансамбль должен был с небывалой для того времени наглядностью символизировать небесный град — горний Иерусалим.

Напомню, что, согласно Апокалипсису, небесный Иерусалим «имеет большую и высокую стену, имеет двенадцать ворот... Стена города имеет двенадцать оснований... Город расположен четвероугольником, и длина его такая же, как и ширина... И показал мне чистую реку воды жизни, светлую, как кристалл... Среди улицы его, и по ту и по другую сторону реки, древо жизни, двенадцать раз приносящее плоды...» (Апокалипсис, XXI, 12, 14, 16, XXII, 12).

Подобно горнему Иерусалиму, Ростовский архиерейский двор окружен «большими и высокими стенами». В плане он близок к квадрату, если не считать небольшого выступающего на юг хозяйственного двора. Но снаружи этот выступ практически незаметен. Почти не просматривается он и с центрального двора. Парадные западная и северная стены ансамбля воспринимаются почти как одинаковые. Двенадцать башенных верхов, включая и башню Часобойню (верх утрачен)<sup>5</sup>, напоминают о «двенадцати воротах» небесного града. Наподобие же башен возвышаются двенадцать ворот над стенами горнего Иерусалима, изображенного на фреске церкви Воскресения рассматриваемого ансамбля. Двенадцать участков, на которые его стена делится крепостными башнями, символизировали «двенадцать оснований» стен горнего Иерусалима. По замыслу Ионы, на центральном парадном дворе ансамбля был разбит яблоневый сад со специально выкопанным прудом. Теперь можно лишь мысленно представить, насколько гармонично в конце XVII в. сочетался этот сад со своим архитектурным окружением. Особенно удивительная картина открывалась взору входящего на центральный двор митрополичьей резиденции в период яблоневого цветения. В прямоугольном, замкнутом со всех четырех сторон пространстве, образованном величественными каменными сооружениями, окрашенными в молочно-розовые тона<sup>6</sup>, представал роскошный яблоневый сад, сплошь розовато-белый от распутившихся цветов и потому сливающийся в

<sup>5</sup> См. об этой башне: Мельник А. Г. Часобойня Ростовского кремля // Сообщения Ростовского музея. Колокола и колокольни Ростова Великого. Ярославль, 1995. Вып. 7, с. 170–178.

<sup>6</sup> Этот первоначальный цвет зданий ансамбля был установлен В. С. Баниге (*Баниге В. С.* Восстановление Ростовского кремля. 1953–1960. Ярославль, 1963, с. 22).

чарующий сказочный образ с окружающей архитектурой. Несомненно, у любого из современников сразу возникала мысль о рае. Характерно, что розоватая окраска зданий ансамбля соответствовала представлениям людей XVII в. о цвете райских небес, о чем свидетельствуют иконы и фрески того времени<sup>7</sup>. В описанном выше контексте садовый пруд архиерейского двора символизировал «реку воды жизни» горнего Иерусалима, а яблони — райские деревья<sup>8</sup> — уподоблялись его «дреvu жизни»<sup>9</sup>.

Как и описанный выше ансамбль, интерьеры церквей, созданных по замыслам митрополита Ионы, призваны были порождать у оказавшихся в них обостренное чувство сакрального. Для этого использовались как традиционные, так и необычные для России того времени способы оформления. Рассмотрим основные приемы, к которым Иона прибегал для придания внутреннему пространству создаваемых им храмов качества особой, по-новому переживаемой сакральности.

Зримое подчеркивание иерархических различий отдельных пространств храма. Так, если в обычном русском храме второй половины XVII в. уровень пола алтаря и примыкавшей к нему солеи был незначительно повышен по отношению к полу пространства для молящихся, то в церквях Воскресения (около 1670) и Спаса на сенях (1675) Ростовского архиерейского дома эта разница по приказанию Ионы сделана просто гипертрофированной. В первой из названных церквей на солею из собственно церкви ведут четыре высокие ступени (рис. 1), во второй — восемь. Ясно, что таким способом Иона показал иерархическое и сакральное превосходство пространства алтаря и солеи над пространством помещения для молящихся.

По сути, сходную функцию исполнял прием осенения особо сакрально значимых частей внутреннего пространства храма. Так, над царскими вратами в церквях Воскресения (около 1670), Иоанна Богослова (1683), Григория Богослова (1680-е гг.)<sup>10</sup> Ростовского архиерейского дома и Георгиевской церкви (между 1683 и 1690) Белогостицкого монастыря<sup>11</sup> по замыслу Ионы были устроены каменные сени на четырех столбах (рис. 2). Аналогичные сени по его же мысли соорудили над

<sup>7</sup> См., напр., иконы в собрании Государственного музея-заповедника «Ростовский кремль» И-790, И-940, И-1058.

<sup>8</sup> Лихачев Д. С. Поэзия садов. Л., 1982, с. 45.

<sup>9</sup> См. подробнее: Мельник А. Г. Сады Ростовского кремля // Памятники культуры. Новые открытия. 1990. М., 1992, с. 459–464.

<sup>10</sup> Мельник А. Г. Первоначальный интерьер церкви Григория Богослова Ростовского кремля // История и культура Ростовской земли. 1995. Ростов; Ярославль, 1996, с. 92–100.

<sup>11</sup> Мельник А. Г. Иконостас Георгиевской церкви Белогостицкого монастыря // VIII научные чтения памяти И. П. Болотцевой. Сб. статей. Ярославль, 2004, с. 46–52.

горними местами в алтарях упомянутых церквей Воскресения (около 1670) и Иоанна Богослова (1683). Ранее в русских церквях такие сени над царскими воротами и горним местом не сооружались. Царские ворота и горнее место символизировали Иисуса Христа. Особенно зримо эта символика выражалась во время архиерейского священнослужения<sup>12</sup>. Сень на вертикальных опорах издавна являлась выражением сакрального. Очевидно, Иона прекрасно это понимал, потому и использовал ее в указанном контексте.

В церкви Спаса на сенях (1675) всю солею осеняют особые арки, не имеющие утилитарного назначения (рис. 3). До того ни одна солея русского храма не была осенена подобными арками. Они явно предназначались Ионой для придания пространству над солеей церкви Спаса на сенях качества особой сакральности. Тому же в данном храме служили необычно монументальные каменные царские ворота, облицованные золоченой медью (рис. 4).

В обычном русском храме XVII в. настенная живопись играла второстепенную роль по сравнению с образами иконостаса и другими иконами. В принципе, русский храм того времени вообще мог обойтись без настенной живописи, поскольку она не являлась обязательным элементом оформления храмового интерьера XVII в. Не случайно большинство церквей того времени не имело монументальных росписей.

В представлении же митрополита Ионы живопись на каменной стене обладала большей сакральной значимостью, чем живопись на деревянных иконных досках. В интерьерах построенных им церквей Иона это свое понимание всячески демонстрировал. В частности, в кафедральном ростовском Успенском соборе (1508–1512)<sup>13</sup> между алтарными столпами он велел устроить совершенно своеобразное кирпичное сооружение, поднимавшееся до верхней отметки праздничного чина традиционного пятиярусного иконостаса. В нижней его части имелись облицованные золоченой медью каменные царские ворота в виде перспективного портала, а верхняя его часть представляла собой подобие большого киота с изображением Спаса в силах, выполненным в технике настенной живописи. Таким образом, этот каменный киот заменял собой обычную икону Спаса в силах деисусного чина. Остальные изображения как деисусного, так и других чинов пятиярусного иконостаса оставались вполне традиционными, то есть они были написаны на де-

<sup>12</sup> Мельник А. Г. О храмовых интерьерах второй половины XVII в. Ростова Великого, созданных по заказу митрополита Ионы // Сообщения Ростовского музея. Ростов, 1992. Вып. 3, с. 94–95.

<sup>13</sup> Обоснование этой датировки см.: Мельник А. Г. Новые данные об Успенском соборе Ростова Великого // Реставрация и архитектурная археология. Новые материалы и исследования. М., 1991, с. 125–135.



ревянных иконных досках<sup>14</sup>. Подчеркну, что в технике фрески был выполнен главный образ иконостаса — Спас в силах, чем и выражалась большая сакральная значимость такой живописи по сравнению с живописью на обычных иконных досках. В храмах же собственно архиерейского двора, Воскресенском (около 1670), Спаса на сенях (1675) и Иоанна Богослова (1683), а также в Троицком соборе (1686/87, 1689) Яковлевского монастыря по приказу Ионы создаются каменные иконостасы, целиком расписанные фресковой живописью (рис. 5, 6). Значение обычных икон в этих интерьерах Иона свел к минимуму. С особой очевидностью это выразилось в вышеупомянутом Троицком соборе, в котором только два образа местного ряда иконостаса, Отечества и Богоматери по бокам от царских врат, были написаны на обычных иконных досках. Остальные местные иконы, как и вся верхняя часть иконостаса, выполнены в технике фрески<sup>15</sup>.

Все храмы, созданные по замыслам Ионы, частично или целиком были расписаны. Очевидно, он полагал, что без таких росписей большая часть его инноваций окажется совершенно непонятной молящимся. Росписи этих храмов с предельной наглядностью выражают значение упомянутых выше новых элементов этих интерьеров. Так, если сени над горним местом и царскими вратами символизировали Иисуса Христа, то именно он и изображен на их сводах. Или если Иона хотел представить небесную иерархию, поющую славу Господу, то есть осуществляющую небесную литургию, то он велел изобразить на особых промежуточных арках в верхней части Троицкого собора (1686/87, 1689) Яковлевского монастыря небесные силы и среди них одного ангела с потиром в руке (рис. 7), а другого — со священными дарами, несомыми над головой (рис. 8) — предельно буквальное изображение Великого входа, происходящего на небесах<sup>16</sup> (рис. 9, 10). Ранее в русской храмовой архитектуре арки в подобном контексте и с подобным символическим значением никогда не применяли.

Важную роль, которая призвана была усилить сакральность рассматриваемых интерьеров, играли элементы, восходящие к древней традиции Греческой церкви. Таковы аркады местных рядов иконостасов церквей, повторявшие формы древней сквозной византийской алтарной преграды<sup>17</sup> (рис. 4).

<sup>14</sup> Мельник А. Г. К истории иконостаса Успенского собора Ростова Великого // Памятники культуры. Новые открытия. 1992. М., 1993, с. 340–342.

<sup>15</sup> Мельник А. Г. Первоначальный интерьер Троицкого собора Ростовского Яковлевского монастыря // История и культура Ростовской земли. 2002. Ростов, 2003, с. 60–80.

<sup>16</sup> Там же.

<sup>17</sup> Мельник А. Г. О храмовых интерьерах второй половины..., с. 93–94.

Повышению степени сакральности церковных интерьеров служили и крещатые своды, которые зримо осеняют ясно читающимся крестом всех находящихся в собственно храме. Такие своды были применены в четырех храмах, созданных по замыслам Ионы: Благовещенском соборе (1657) Белогостицкого монастыря<sup>18</sup>, церквях Спаса на сенях (1675), Иоанна Богослова (1683) и Григория Богослова (1680-е годы)<sup>19</sup> Ростовского архиерейского дома. Данные своды создавались явно намеренно и осознанно, поскольку со второй половины XVII в. они уже вышли из употребления в общерусской архитектурной традиции.

Можно думать, что большинство из вышеописанных инноваций храмовых интерьеров возникло в результате осмысления Ионой литургического действия. Они явно призваны были подчеркнуть важнейшие, с точки зрения Ионы, моменты церковной службы, особенно той, в которой участвовал он сам, то есть архиерейского священнослужения.

Те же интерьеры демонстрируют и еще одну, очевидно, излюбленную идею Ионы о соотносительности литургии земной и литургии небесной, что он ясно выразил в своем окружном послании 1652 г.: «Чадца моя, имать небо, и земля, и вся тварь видимая и невидимая, каждо тварь, различно пределы устроены, но единаче в своих послужениях безпрестани несуменно и неленостно славят Господа; такоже Ангелы и Архангелы, Херувими и Серафими окрест престола Божия всегда ликоствуют лицу Божию...»<sup>20</sup>. Эта идея выражена и в росписях церковью Ростовского архиерейского дома, и особенно наглядно — в архитектуре и росписях Троицкого собора Ростовского Яковлевского монастыря<sup>21</sup>.

В весьма значимых частях интерьера упомянутых церковью Иона велел размещать обычные или фресковые образа ростовских святых<sup>22</sup>. Так он обращался к чувству сакрального прежде всего представителей местного сообщества.

Анализ рассмотренных сакральных пространств позволяет сформулировать те интенции, которые определяли характер творческой деятельности митрополита Ионы. Во-первых, он стремился к максимально возможному разнообразию. Ни один из указанных церковных интерье-

<sup>18</sup> Красовский М. Вознесенская (Исидоровская) церковь в Ростове Ярославском // Зодчий. 1912. № 15, с. 148–149; Мельник А. Г. Благовещенский собор Белогостицкого монастыря // Макариевские чтения. Соборы Русской церкви. Можайск, 2002, с. 226–241.

<sup>19</sup> Мельник А. Г. Первоначальный интерьер церкви Григория Богослова., с. 93–95.

<sup>20</sup> Акты исторические, собранные и изданные Археографическою комиссиею. СПб., 1842. Т. 4, с. 175.

<sup>21</sup> Мельник А. Г. Первоначальный интерьер Троицкого собора., с. 60–80.

<sup>22</sup> Мельник А. Г. Интерьер ростовского Успенского собора в XVI – XVIII вв. // Сообщения Ростовского музея. Ростов, 1993. Вып. 5, с. 69; *Он же*. Первоначальный интерьер церкви Григория., с. 96; *Он же*. Первоначальный интерьер Троицкого., с. 63; *Он же*. Иконостас Георгиевской церкви., с. 47, 51.

ров не повторял другой. Во-вторых, он стремился к предельной буквальности в выражении символических идей. В-третьих, он стремился к подчеркнутой монументализации форм церковных интерьеров (каменный иконостас, каменные порталы царских врат). В-четвертых, он стремился придать архитектурным и живописным формам интерьеров черты явной функциональности (эти элементы почти буквально участвовали в литургическом действе).

В заключение важно отметить, что митрополит Иона не был одинок в своих исканиях новых решений в формировании сакральных пространств. Ряд его современников, такие, например, как патриарх Никон в своем Новом Иерусалиме, царь Федор Алексеевич в Распятской церкви Московского Кремля, митрополит Илларион в суздальском Рождественском соборе, по-своему выразили присущее указанной эпохе новое чувство сакрального. Однако митрополит Иона в данном отношении является наиболее самобытным и оригинальным из них.

Alexander G. Mel'nik  
*Museum of the Rostov Kremlin*

IONA THE METROPOLITAN OF ROSTOV  
AS A CREATOR OF SACRED SPACES

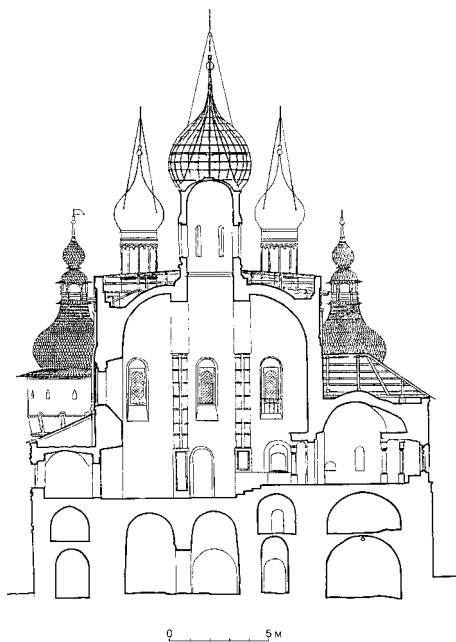
Iona the Metropolitan of Rostov (1652–1690) was no ordinary com-  
mititioner of numerous buildings which are considered now eminent archi-  
tectural monuments of his time, he was in fact a real creator of them. It was  
him who was responsible for the general ideas which determined both their  
complex as a whole and their inner and outlook in particular. His activities  
took place in the epoch of transition from the Russian Middle Ages to the  
New Epoch. The people seemed to be in need for a feeling of what is sac-  
red in a new form. Iona's works are probably the best to express this aspi-  
ration in Russia.

The most important of his projects is the Metropolitan's Residence in  
Rostov, commonly known as the Rostov Kremlin. The general sight of its  
ensemble as well as its space where to stress their sacred nature intended to  
be an unprecedented visual embodiment of the Heavenly Jerusalem.

The interior of the churches built according to his projects was to make  
all those present to feel the sacral character of the space in a most sensitive  
form with both traditional and unusual devices. Hierarchical differences of  
certain spaces of the church were markedly stressed, the most sacred ones  
visually sheltered with special architectural details. Stone iconostases cover-  
ed with frescoes were markedly preferred to traditional icons painted on

wooden plates. Mural paintings stressed the most important sacred ideas expressed in the inner space of the church. Some devices of Byzantine origin not attested in Russian art at that time were employed in the inner space, as well as cruciform vaults which no longer were in general use. The literal correlation between liturgical rites and the church decoration was explicitly stressed.

Analysis of the sacred spaces practically created by Iona leads to evaluation of the trends of his creative activity. Firstly, he strove to achieve the greatest diversity in devices, no interior of his churches repeated another, secondly, to express symbolic ideas in the most literal form, thirdly, to give the most solemn sight to the interior of the church, fourthly, to make architectural and painted forms of the interior markedly functional so that they became in fact a part of the liturgical rite.



1. Продольный разрез церкви Воскресения (около 1670) Ростовского кремля



2. Сень над царскими вратами церкви Иоанна Богослова (1683) Ростовского кремля



3. Арки над солеей церкви Спаса на сених (1675) Ростовского кремля



4. Каменные, облицованные золоченой медью царские врата церкви Спаса на сених (1675) Ростовского кремля



5. Каменный иконостас церкви Воскресения (около 1670) Ростовского кремля



6. Каменный иконостас Троицкого собора (1686/87, 1689) Ростовского Яковлевского монастыря





7. Небесные силы (в центре — ангел с потиром), представленные в росписи на стенке, опирающейся на северную промежуточную арку подкупольного пространства Троицкого собора (1686/87, 1689) Ростовского Яковлевского монастыря



8. Ангел со святыми дарами, представленный в росписи на стенке, опирающейся на южную промежуточную арку подкупольного пространства Троицкого собора (1686/87, 1689) Ростовского Яковлевского монастыря



9. Промежуточные арки в интерьере Троицкого собора (1686/87, 1689) Ростовского Яковлевского монастыря



10. Продольный разрез Троицкого собора (1686/87, 1689) Ростовского Яковлевского монастыря

## СПИСОК СОКРАЩЕНИЙ

ААЭ	— Акты Археографической экспедиции. СПб.
БЛДР	— Библиотека литературы Древней Руси
ВВ	— Византийский Временник
ВИА	— Вестник истории и археологии. СПб., Петроград
ВМЧ	— Великие Минеи Четьи, собранные всероссийским митрополитом Макарием
ВХНРЦ	— Всероссийские художественные научно-реставрационные мастерские им. И. Э. Грабаря (Москва)
ГБЛ	— Российская государственная библиотека (бывшая Государственная библиотека СССР им. В. И. Ленина)
ГИМ	— Государственный Исторический музей
ГМИИ	— Государственный музей изобразительных искусств им. А.С. Пушкина
ГММК	— Государственный историко-культурный музей-заповедник «Московский Кремль»
ГПБ	— Государственная Публичная библиотека
ГРМ	— Государственный Русский музей
ГРМ ДРЖ	— Отдел древнерусской живописи Государственного Русского музея
ГТГ	— Государственная Третьяковская галерея
ГЭ	— Государственный Эрмитаж
ДИ (ДРИ)	— Древнерусское искусство
ЖМНП	— Журнал Министерства народного просвещения
ЗОРСА РАО	— Записки Отделения русской и славянской археологии Русского Археологического общества
ИИМК РАН	— Институт истории материальной культуры Российской академии наук
КБИАХМЗ	— Кирилло-Белозерский историко-архитектурный и художественный музей-заповедник
КСИА	— Краткие сообщения Института археологии

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КСИИМК	— Краткие сообщения Института истории материальной культуры
МАМЮ	— Московский архив Министерства юстиции
МДА	— Московская Духовная академия
МИА	— Материалы и исследования по археологии СССР
МиАР (ЦМиАР)	— Центральный музей древнерусской культуры и искусства им. Андрея Рублева
МНМ	— Мифы народов мира
НГОМЗ	— Новгородский Государственный объединенный музей-заповедник
НИС	— Новгородский исторический сборник
НПЛ	— Новгородская Первая Летопись
ОИДР	— Общество истории и древностей Российских
ОЛДП	— Общество любителей древней письменности
ОР БАН	— Отдел рукописей Библиотеки Академии наук
ОР РГБ	— Отдел рукописей Российской Государственной библиотеки
ПВЛ	— Повесть временных лет
ПКНО	— Памятники культуры. Новые открытия. Ежегодник
ПЛДР	— Памятники литературы Древней Руси
ППС	— Православный Палестинский сборник
ПСРЛ	— Полное собрание русских летописей
ПСТБИ	— Православный Свято-Тихоновский Богословский институт
П1Л, П2Л, ПЗЛ	— Псковская 1-я, 2-я, 3-я летописи
РАН	— Российская Академия Наук
РГАДА	— Российский Государственный Архив древних актов
РИБ	— Русская историческая библиотека
РНБ	— Российская Национальная Библиотека
РПЦ	— Русская Православная Церковь
РФА	— Русский феодальный архив XIV — первой трети XVI в.
РА (СА)	— Советская археология
СККДР	— Словарь книжников и книжности Древней Руси

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СПб ФИРИ	— Санкт-Петербургский филиал Института российской истории Российской академии наук
ТВУАК	— Труды Вятской уездной архивной комиссии
ТОДРЛ	— Труды отдела древнерусской литературы
ЧОИДР	— Чтения в императорском Обществе истории и древностей российских при Московском университете
ЯГВ	— Ярославские губернские ведомости
ЯЕВ	— Ярославские епархиальные ведомости
AB	— Art Bulletin
ABSA	— Annual of the British School at Athens, London
АНГ	— Analecta Hymnica Graeca
ArheologijaSof	— Archeologija. Organ na Arheologičeskija institut i muzej pri Bălgarskata akademija na naukite
An. Boll.	— Analecta Bollandiana
AJA	— American Journal of Archaeology, New York
BCH	— Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, Paris — Athènes
BHG	— Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graecae
ByzF	— Byzantinischen Forschungen
BZ	— Byzantinische Zeitschrift
CA, CahArch (CArch)	— Cahiers Archéologiques
CCSL	— Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina
DChAE (DeltChAE)	— Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας, Athens
DOP	— Dumbarton Oaks Papers
EO	— Échos d'Orient
JBAA	— Journal of the British Archaeological Association
JÖB	— Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik
JWarb	— Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes
LA	— Liber Annus
MDAI	— Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Istanbul

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OCA	— <i>Orientalia Christiana Analecta</i>
OCP	— <i>Orientalia Christiana Periodica</i>
ODB	— <i>Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</i>
PG	— <i>Patrologiae corpus completus. Series graeca.</i> Ed. J.P. Migne
PL	— <i>Patrologiae corpus completus. Series latinae.</i> Ed. J. P. Migne
QDAP	— <i>Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine</i>
RB	— <i>Revue Biblique</i>
RBK	— <i>Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst</i>
REB, REByz	— <i>Revue des Études Byzantines, Paris</i>
RivAC	— <i>Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana, Città del Vaticano</i>
RSR	— <i>Revue des Sciences Religieuses, Strasbourg</i>
RLAC	— <i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum, Stuttgart</i>
TM, T&MByz	— <i>Travaux et Mémoires, Centre de recherches d'histoire et civilisation byzantines, Paris</i>
VizVrem	— <i>Византийский Временник</i>

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