

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>.

---

\* I would like to thank Alexei Lidov for encouraging me to participate to the *Hierotopy* symposium. A preliminary report of this paper was published in: *Hierotopy. Material from the International Symposium* / Ed. A. Lidov. Moscow, 2004, p. 92–94. My thanks go also to Professors P. Brown and Sl. Ćurčić and to Dr. Natalia Teteriatnikov for their valuable remarks after my presentation. In the following notes I use the abbreviations of the *L'Année philologique*.

<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-

---

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.* Caričin 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*, Caričin 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'euclologio 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.

Янис Варалис

*University of Thessaly, Volos*

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.

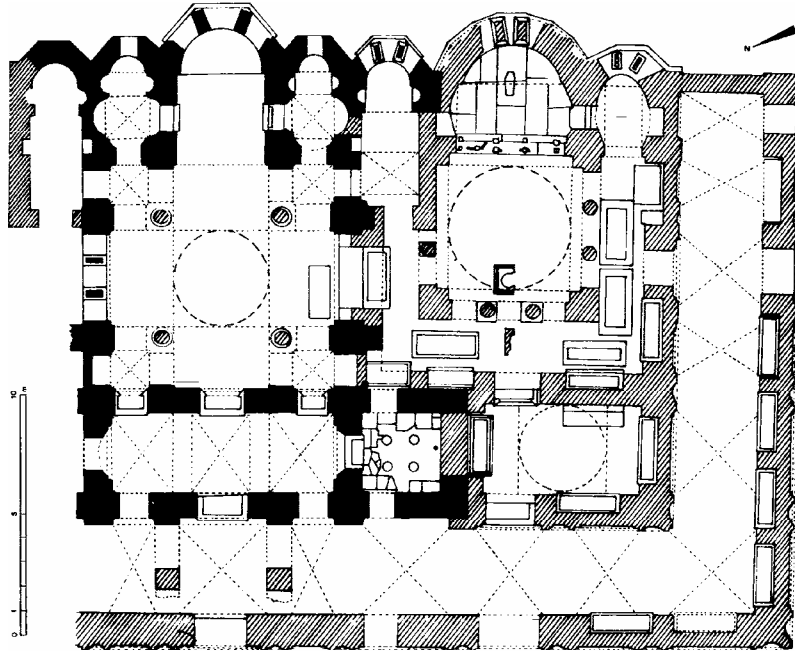
Дьяконник также упоминается в 21-м правиле Лаодикийского собора, датируемого немногими ранее 380 г. Этот канон был переведен на латынь и подтвержден в 506 г. в 66-м каноне церковного собора в Агата (Agatha, Agde в современной Франции). В нем отождествление *secretarium* и диаконника должно пониматься 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-

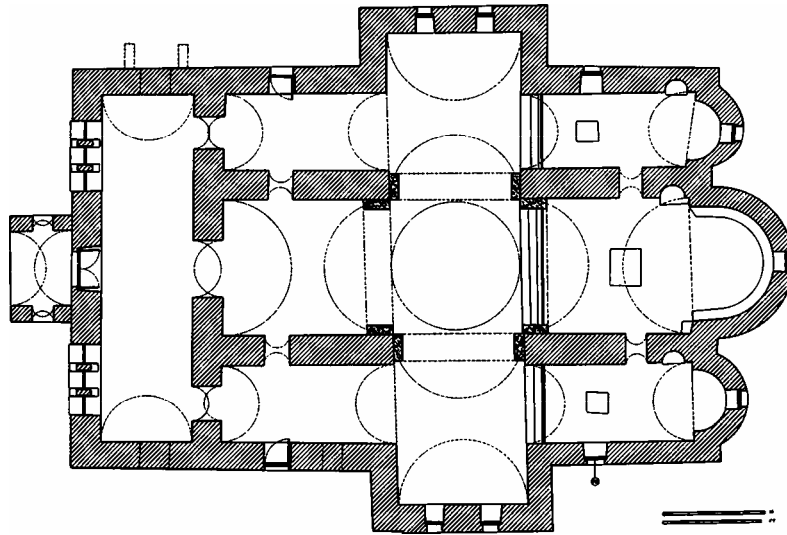
ках, наиболее древняя часть которого недавно была датирована Г. Веленисом серединой VIII в. Разумно предположить, что когда восточная Иллирия перешла из юрисдикции римского престола в патриархате Константинополя в 732–733 или 753 гг., новые церковные власти возвели новый собор в столице провинции и снабдили 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.

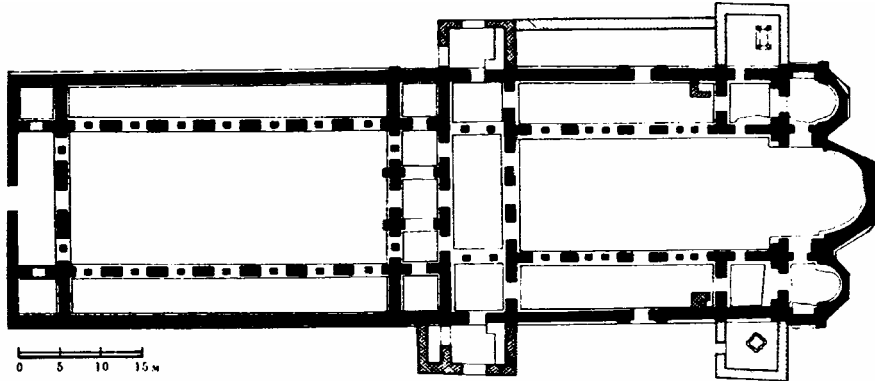
Кажется, прямолинейного процесса добавления вспомогательных помещений к алтарю с эпохи раннего христианства до средне-византийского периода не существует. Жертвенник и диаконник могли обозначать и несомненно обозначали разные помещения в разных регионах и в разные периоды. Их происхождение действительно 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 *martugia* могли послужить архитектурными прототипами включения сакристий в объем церкви, как уже предположил А. Орландос, хотя промежуточные связи отсутствуют или их еще предстоит исследовать.



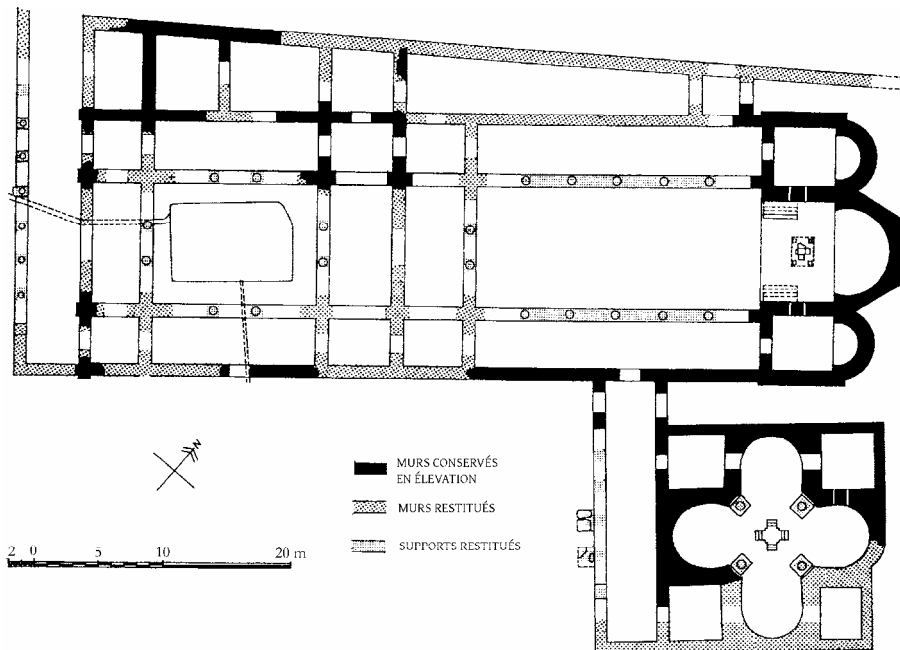
1. Constantinople, complex of the churches of the monastery of Constantine Lips (907). Plan (source: C. Mango, *Architecture byzantine*, Milan 1993, 108, fig. 160)



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)