

A contribution to the study of the “Athonite” church type of Byzantine architecture*

Stavros Mamaloukos**

University of Patras

UDC 726.5.033(495.631)

726.5.01

DOI 10.2298/ZOG1135039M

Оригиналан научни рад

To the memory of professor Paul Mylonas

The recent study of the history and architecture of the Vatopedi monastery's katholikon, initially built as a cross-in-square – composite four-column type church with lateral apses (“choroi”) and a two-storey narthex, can serve as a secure base for the study of the so-called “Athonite” church type, which in all likelihood had been already completely formed in Constantinople or in the area under its influence, before its architectural plan was applied on Athos.

Keywords: Byzantine architecture, “Athonite” church type, Mount Athos, katholikon

A. During the recent study of the history and architecture of the Vatopedi monastery's katholikon¹ it became evident that the main church of the building complex, the “katholikon” par excellence, was built initially as a cross-in-square – composite four-column type church with lateral apses (“choroi”) and a two storey narthex (figs. 1–2). It can thus serve as a secure base for the study of the so-called “Athonite” Church Type, whose it has long been considered a prime example.²

B. The study of the church type, established to be called “Athonite” has a long history. The first attempts to determine and describe its characteristics and clarify its origin and evolu-

tion were made about one century ago. These were based on exceptionally poor data: elementary and frequently inaccurate drawings, insufficient or completely inexistent research on the building history of the, often composite and complicated, church building complexes and on deficient or inexistent comparative material. Naturally these data frequently led research into wrong directions. Furthermore, many serious problems in the study of the type were caused by the prevailing methodology of architectural history itself. Let it be noted that many of the misunderstandings yielded by the above mentioned conditions were inherited to more recent research, giving rise to doubts and almost insurmountable problems.

Many scholars have referred to the “Athonite” type in their studies of monuments on Mount Athos and elsewhere or in text books on Byzantine architecture. Among them are A. Choisy,³ H. Brockhaus,⁴ N. P. Kondakov,⁵ J. Strzygowski,⁶ G. Millet,⁷ O. Wulff,⁸ G. Sotiriou,⁹ F. W. Hasluck,¹⁰ A. Xyngopoulos,¹¹ A. Orlandos,¹² E. Weigand,¹³ R. Krautheimer,¹⁴ Sl. Nenadović,¹⁵ C. Mango,¹⁶ G. Deme-trokallis,¹⁷ N. Nikonanos,¹⁸ I. Papagelos,¹⁹ P. Vocotopoulos,²⁰

¹⁰ F. W. Hasluck, *Athos and its Monasteries*, London 1924, 98–99.

¹¹ A. Xyngopoulos, *Ta byzantiná kai tourkiká mniméia ton Athonón*, in: *Eurethérion ton Mesaiwnikón Mnhmeión tis Elládos* 2 (Athens 1929) 77.

¹² A. Orlandos, *H επί tis ‘Othros Moní tis Antivítis*, *Επετηρίς της Εταιρείας Βυζαντινών Σπουδών* 7 (1930) 378–379, idem, *O Άγιος Δημήτριος της Βαράσοβας*, *Αρχεión Βυζαντινών Μνημείων Ελλάδος* 1 (1935) 110; idem, *H επί tis Πίνδου ιερά μονή Κορόνης*, *Επετηρίς της Εταιρείας Βυζαντινών Σπουδών* 15 (1939) 407–408.

¹³ F. Dölger, E. Wiegand, A. Deindl, *Mönchland Athos*, München 1943, 110.

¹⁴ R. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, Harmondsworth 1981, 398–399.

¹⁵ S. Nenadović, *Architektura Hilandara. Crkve i paraklisi*, *Hilandarski zbornik* 3 (1974) 199, 201.

¹⁶ C. Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, New York 1976, 216.

¹⁷ G. Dimitrokallis, *Oi staurοειδείς εγγεγραμμένοι ναοί της Σικελίας και Κάτω Ιταλίας*, in: idem, *Contribution à l'étude des monuments byzantins et médiévaux d'Italie*, Athènes 1971, 101–103.

¹⁸ N. Nikonanos, *Βυζαντινοί ναοί της Θεσσαλίας από το 10^ο αιώνα ως την κατάκτηση της περιοχής από τους Τούρκους το 1393*, Athens 1979, 151–152.

¹⁹ I. Papagelos, *O αρχιτεκτονικός όρος «χορός» και ο Όσιος Αθανάσιος ο Αθωνίτης*, 5^ο Συμπόσιο Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής Αρχαιολογίας και Τέχνης, Athens 1985, 73–74.

²⁰ P. Vocotopoulos, *Oι μεσαιωνικοί ναοί της Θεσσαλονίκης και η θέση τους στα πλαίσια της βυζαντινής ναοδομίας*, in: *H Θεσσαλονίκη μεταξύ Ανατολής και Δύσεως*, Thessaloniki 1982, 102–103; idem, *Church Architecture in Thessaloniki in the 14th century. Remarks on the Typology*, in: *L'*

* The following text is a reevaluated and completed version of a part from the chapter in the author's doctoral thesis dealing with typology issues in the katholikon of the Vatopedi Monastery (v. n. 1).

** SMamaloukos@geam-mnimeio.gr

¹ S. Mamaloukos, *To Καθολικό της Μονής Βατοπεδίου. Ιστορία και Αρχιτεκτονική*, Athens 2001, 138–152.

² P. Mylonas, *Le plan initial du catholicon de la Grande-Lavra au Mont Athos et la genèse de type du catholicon athonite*, *CA* 32 (1984) 102.

³ A. Choisy, *L'art de bâtir chez les Byzantins*, Paris 1883, 130.

⁴ H. Brockhaus, *Die Kunst in den Athos-Klöstern*, Leipzig 1891, 15–32.

⁵ N. P. Kondakov, *Pamiatniki khristianskogo iskusstva na Afone*, Sankt-Peterburg 1902, 26–31.

⁶ J. Strzygowski, *Kleinasion, ein Neuland der Kunstgeschichte*, Leipzig 1903, 148, 234; idem, *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa*, Wien 1918, 770.

⁷ G. Millet, *Recherches au Mont-Athos*, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 29 (1905) 55–141.

⁸ O. Wulff, *Altchristliche und byzantinische Kunst*, Leipzig 1914, 471–472.

⁹ G. Sotiriou, *To Άγιον Όρος*, Athens 1916; idem, *Χριστιανική και Βυζαντινή Αρχαιολογία, 1: Χριστιανικά κοιμητήρια – Εκκλησιαστική αρχιτεκτονική*, Athens 1942, 458–461.

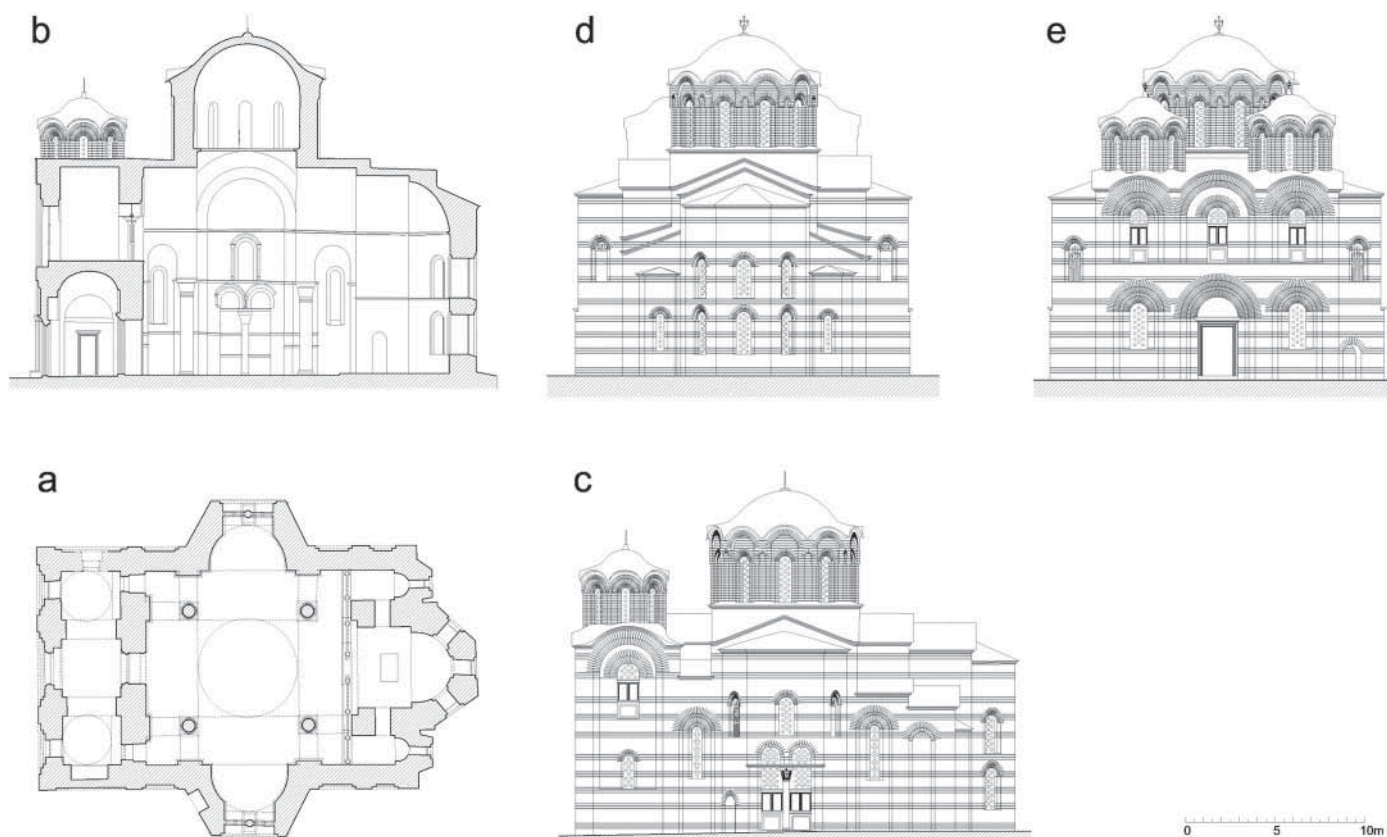


Fig.1. Vatopedi Monastery. Katholikon. Reconstruction. a. Plan, b. Longitudinal section, c. South elevation, d. Eastern elevation, e. Western elevation (S. Mamaloukos)

N. Gkioles,²¹ Đ. Bošković,²² H. Bouras,²³ Pl. Theocharides,²⁴ Th. Steppan,²⁵ Th. Papazotos,²⁶ G. Velenis,²⁷ V. Korać,²⁸ R. Ousterhout²⁹ and A. Ghazarian.³⁰ The most systematic, though, attempt in studying the “Athonite” type up to now, has been made by the late professor P. Mylonas, who has published an entire series of papers related to the subject.³¹ These publications are a product of an original study based on new and precise survey drawings and on the examination

of the buildings themselves. Unfortunately, due to the particularities of local conditions, professor Mylonas had on very few occasions the support of the archaeological research in his studies. However, a special emphasis has been given in his studies, on the clarification of the monuments’ building history as much as possible, along with the aid of historic sources, so as to interpret the building conditions and the relations between them. With this evidence, professor My-

Art de Thessalonique et des pays balcaniques et les courants spirituals au XIVe siècle, ed. R. Samardžić, Belgrade 1987, 111–112; idem, Th. Steppan, *Die Athos-Lavra und der trikonchale Kuppelnaos in der byzantinischen Architektur*, München 1995, JÖB 48 (1998) 401, 403.

²¹ N. Gkioles, *Βυζαντινή ναοδομία (600-1204)*, Athens 1987, 101–105.

²² Đ. Bošković, *Manastir Hilandar. Saborna Crkva, arhitektura*, Beograd 1992, 25, 25, 40 n. 4.

²³ Ch. Bouras, *Ιστορία της Αρχιτεκτονικής, 2. Αρχιτεκτονική στο Βυζάντιο, το Ισλάμ και την Δυτική Ευρώπη κατά τον Μεσαίωνα*, Athens 1994, 211–212.

²⁴ Pl. Theocharidis, *Η αρχιτεκτονική στο Άγιον Όρος την εποχή των Παλαιολόγων*, in: Β΄ Συμπόσιο. «Η Μακεδονία κατά την εποχή των Παλαιολόγων» (Θεσσαλονίκη 14-20 Δεκεμβρίου 1992), Thessaloniki 2002, 375.

²⁵ Th. Steppan, *Die Athos-Lavra und der trikonchale Kuppelnaos in der byzantinischen Architektur*, München 1995, passim.

²⁶ Th. Papazotos, *Η Μονή Ακαπίου – Ο ναός του Προφήτη Ηλία*, Θεσσαλονικέων Πόλις 2 (1997) 53–58; idem, *Σχόλιο πάνω σε μια φωτογραφία της Αγίας Σοφίας Αδριανουπόλεως*, Θρακική επιτηρίδα 9 (Κομοτινί 1992–1994) 35.

²⁷ G. Velenis, *Η αρχιτεκτονική Σχολή της Μακεδονίας, κατά την μέση και ύστερη βυζαντινή περίοδο*, Σύναξη 63 (Athens 1997) 57.

²⁸ V. Korać, *Crkva kralja Milutina*, in: *Manastir Hilandar*, ed. G. Subotić, Beograd 1998, 145, 148.

²⁹ R. Ousterhout, *Master Builders of Byzantium*, Princeton 1999, 29.

³⁰ A. Kazarian, *A New View about the Caucasian Precedents of the «Athos Type» of Triconch Churches*, in: *Pré-Actes. XXe Congrès international des Etudes Byzantines*, III, Paris 2001, 337; idem, *Trikonkhovye krestovo-kupol'nye tserkvi v zodchestve Zakavkaz'ia i Vizantii*, in: *Vizantiiskii mir: iskusstvo Konstantinopolia i natsional'nye traditsii. K 2000-letiiu khristianstva*, Moskva 2005, 13–30.

³¹ P. Mylonas, *Η Αρχιτεκτονική του Αγίου Όρους*, Nea Hestia 74 (1963) 189–207; idem, *L' Architecture du Mont Athos*, Thesaurismata 2 (1963). Παράρτημα. Ο εορτασμός της χλιετηρίδας του Αγίου Όρους στη Βενετία, 28–31; idem, *L' Architecture monastique du Mont Athos*, in: *Le millénaire du Mont Athos, 963-1963. Études et mélanges*, II, Chevetogne 1964, 229–246; idem, *Παρατηρήσεις στο ναό του Προπάτου*, Nea Hestia 89 (1971) 238–254; idem, *Two Middle Byzantine Churches on Athos*, Actes du XV^e Congrès international d' Études byzantines, II, Athens 1976, 545–574; idem, *Les étapes successives de construction du Protaton au Mont Athos*, CA 28 (1979) 143–160; idem, *Η αρχική μορφή του καθολικού της Μεγίστης Λαύρας*, Αρχαιολογία 1 (1981) 52–63; idem, *Catholicon de la Grande-Lavra*; idem, *Ο αρχιτεκτονικός όρος «χορός», πριν και μετά τον Όσιο Αθανάσιο τον Αθωνίτη*, 4^ο Συμπόσιο Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής Αρχαιολογίας και Τέχνης, Athens 1984, 39–40; idem, *Παρατηρήσεις στο καθολικό Χελανδαρίου και ρυθμολογικά συμπεράσματα*, 4^ο Συμπόσιο Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής Αρχαιολογίας και Τέχνης, Athens 1984, 41–43; idem, *Παρατηρήσεις στο Καθολικό Ιβήρων*, 5^ο Συμπόσιο Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής Αρχαιολογίας και Τέχνης, Athens 1985, 66–68; idem, *Notice sur le katholikon d'Iviron*, in: *Actes d'Iviron*, ed. J. Lefort, N. Oikonomidès, D. Papachryssanthou, H. Métrénéli, I, Paris 1985, 64–68; idem, *Παρατηρήσεις στο καθολικό Χελανδαρίου. Η διαμόρφωση του ναού Αθωνικού τύπου με χορούς και λιτή στον Άγιον Όρος*, Αρχαιολογία 14 (1985) 64–83; idem, *Remarques architecturales sur le Catholicon de Chilandar. La formation graduelle du catholicon à absides latérales ou chœurs et à liti au Mont Athos*, Hilendarski zbornik 6 (1986) 7–38; idem, *Βυζαντινές Αιτές και αρμενικά Γκαβίτ*, 6^ο Συμπόσιο Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής Αρχαιολογίας και Τέχνης, Athens 1986, 47–48; idem, *Τα Καθολικά Προφήτη Ηλίου Θεσσαλονίκης και Κουτλουμουσιού Αγίου Όρους. Η τελευταία φάση στην εξέλιξη του αγιορειτικού καθολικού*, 9^ο Συμπόσιο Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής Αρχαιολογίας και Τέχνης, Athens 1989, 58–61; idem, *Gavits arméniens et Litaie byzantines*, CA 38 (1990) 99–122; idem, *Le Catholicon de Kutlumus (Athos)*, CA 42 (1994) 75–86.



Fig. 2. Vatopedi Monastery. Katholikon. View from the north-east (Courtesy of the Vatopedi Monastery).

lonas went on to a series of work hypotheses related with the creation and evolution of the "Athonite" type, as this had been determined by the previous generation of scholars. Most of Mylonas's work hypotheses were initially widely accepted. Later on, however, there have been reservations and disagreements on many of them, based on more complete surveys of the monuments or different interpretations of the sources. In any case, almost all of Mylonas hypotheses related to the interpretation of the building history of the buildings, remain open to further study. Their confirmation or disapproval might only be possible, if some of the older and better-preserved monuments of this type become object of systematic archaeological research in combination with the use of the historic sources, after their reexamination and reevaluation.

C. The definition of the "Athonite" type refers to the determination of the elements that are peculiar to this church type and differentiate it from others, with which it shares certain common traits. In his study on the katholikon of the Great Lavra in 1905, G. Millet,³² following H. Brockhaus,³³ who first seems to have introduced the notion of the "Athonite type", when referring to the katholika of Mount Athos monasteries he notes that they are cross-in-square churches with two main characteristics. The first is the existence, aside of very few exceptions, of apses or "choroi" at the edges of the transversal cross arms. The second is the arrangement of the western part, which is made in chiefly two ways, that yet appear in many variations. The first arrangement includes a double narthex in front of which there is an exonarthex in the form of an open portico. A chapel is on each side and above lies a second storey, the "katehoumena". It is the oldest arrangement encountered among the katholika of the Great Lavra, Vatopedi and Iveron monasteries, but, according to Millet, it can also be found in katholika of a later date. The second arrangement includes the combination of the spacious column-supported lite with an exonarthex.

This arrangement is considered to have been introduced on Mount Athos for the first time by the Serbs. Millet's definition of the "Athonite" type constituted the basis for the following definitions given by various scholars. F. W. Hasluck in 1924 describes the athonite katholika as cross-in-square churches with lateral apses and one or more narthexes.³⁴ A. Orlandos in 1930³⁵ believes that the "Athonite" type churches are discerned from the existence of four columns that carry the dome, of "choroi", of litae and of chapels.³⁶ G. Sotiriou in 1942 states that characteristics of the "Athonite" type are "the triconchon" (i.e. the existence of three apses), "the double narthexes or the litae" and the "chapels added on the lateral sides".³⁷ P. Mylonas in 1963 writes that "the "Athonite" type goes basically back to the composite four-column cross-in-square type of the Constantinopolitan School with three extensions that are its fundamental characteristics : the triconchon, the litae and the laterally added chapels".³⁸ R. Krautheimer in 1965 considers that on Mount Athos there is a "local church type", its characteristics being the "triconch plan", the "parekklesia" and the "deep narthex (lite)".³⁹ C. Mango's definition in 1976 lists the triconch ("trefoil") and the lite as characteristics of the "Athonite" type.⁴⁰ N. Nikonanos in 1979 describes as "Athonite" type the cross-in-square domed churches with semicircular apses, called "choroi" or "chorostasia", at the edges of the transversal cross arms, that normally have lite and lateral chapels.⁴¹ N. Gioles in 1987 notes that the "Athonite triconch" is considered "a variation of the cross-in-square churches".⁴² Dj. Bošković in 1992 mentions that the "Athonite" type church is a cross-in square church combined with three apses.⁴³ H. Bouras in 1994 states that "the "Athonite" type . . . is composed by lateral choroi at the two edges of the transversal cross arms of a cross-in-square church".⁴⁴ Th. Steppan in 1995 describes the katholikon of the Great Lavra (thus the "Athonite" type churches) as triconchos.⁴⁵ Th. Papazotos in 1997 defines as "Athonite" type the four column cross-in-square with choroi.⁴⁶ P. Vocotopoulos in 1998 reaffirming Th. Steppan's position, describes the katholikon of the Great Lavra as a variation of the cross-in-square church.⁴⁷ Finally, V. Korać in 1998 believes that the "Athonite triconch" is a composite cross-in-square church with a dome supported by four free standing supports and with lateral apses.⁴⁸

As far as the definition of the "Athonite" type is concerned, the following can be observed: The examples of the "Athonite" type churches in or outside Mount Athos consist a large group of edifices that have been built under especially different conditions and in different eras. Furthermore, most of them are not individual buildings but entire building complexes with frequently very perplexed building history.

³² Millet, *Recherches*, 73–74.

³³ Brockhaus, *Athos-Klöster*, 15–32.

³⁴ Hasluck, *Athos*, 98–99.

³⁵ Orlandos, *Αγτινίτσα*, 378–379.

³⁶ As it becomes evident from the context, it is about chapels directly added to the church such as the "typikaria" (Orlandos, *Αγτινίτσα*, 378).

³⁷ Sotiriou, *Αρχαιολογία*, 458.

³⁸ Mylonas, *Αρχιτεκτονική*, 199.

³⁹ Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 398.

⁴⁰ Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, 216.

⁴¹ Nikonanos, *Βυζαντινοί ναοί*, 151–152.

⁴² Gkioles, *Βυζαντινή ναοδομία*, 101–105.

⁴³ Bošković, *Hilandar*, 26.

⁴⁴ Bouras, *Ιστορία Αρχιτεκτονικής*, 211–212.

⁴⁵ Steppan, *Die Athos-Lavra*, passim.

⁴⁶ Papazotos, *Μονή Ακαπτινίου*, 53.

⁴⁷ Vocotopoulos, *Steppan, Die Athos-Lavra*, 401.

⁴⁸ Korać, *Crkva kralja Milutina*, 145.

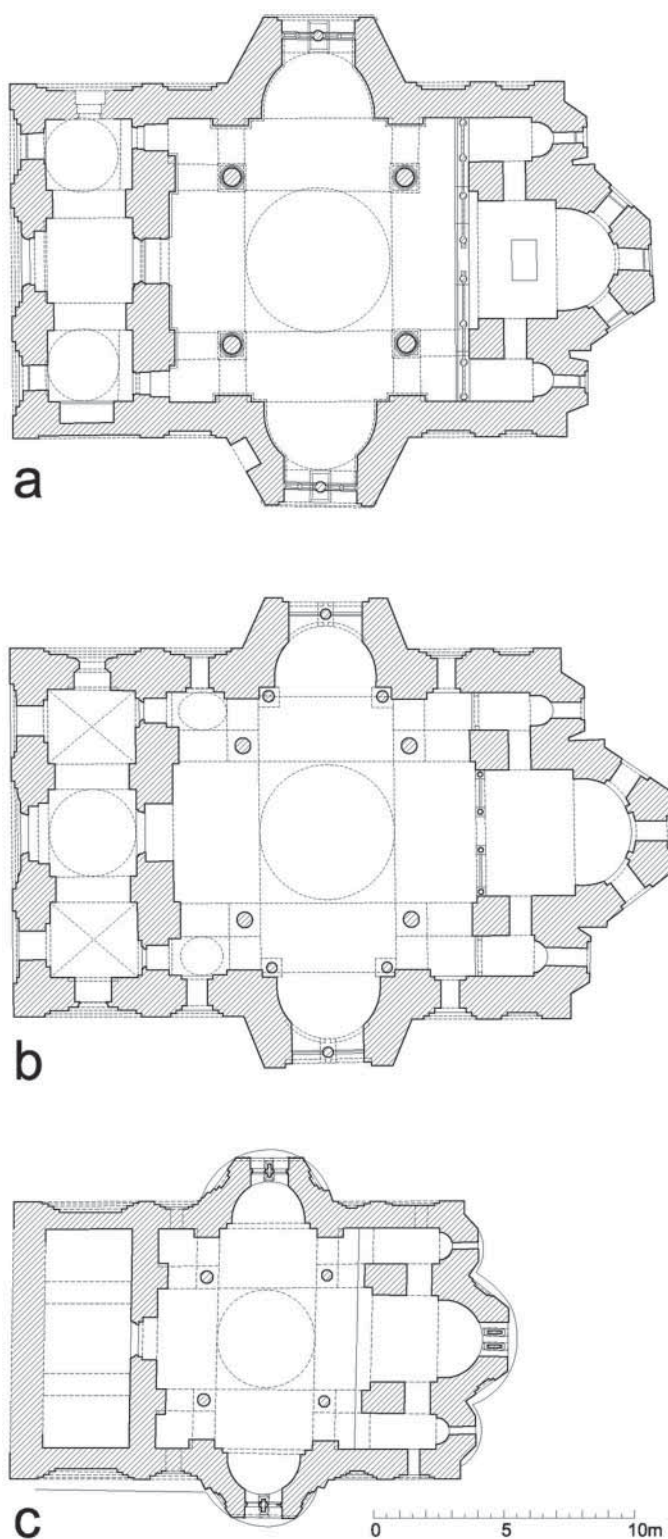


Fig. 3. a. Vatopedi Monastery. Katholikon. Reconstruction. Plan (S. Mamaloukos), b. Iveron Monastery. Katholikon. Reconstruction. Plan (based on drawings of P. Mylonas), c. Church of St. Demetrios – Kyriakon of the Skete of Vatopedi. Reconstruction. Plan (S. Mamaloukos)

Thus defining the general characteristics of the type can only satisfy the need of a very rough description of the whole, inevitably neglecting the particularities that arise from the various elaborations in producing all of these works of architecture. Based on the above, within the limits of a further study of the “Athonite” type, it seems purposeful to continue an analytic and multifaceted examination of at least the most important “Athonite” type examples in relation with their building history. The classification of these monuments in groups, whose characteristics can be determined and subse-

quently methodically studied, can serve research in drawing conclusions on the type’s appearance and evolution.

Due to the variety and multiformity of the various elements of the “Athonite” type, as it is described above, no general definition can possibly cover sufficiently the whole.⁴⁹ The differentiations among monuments that have similarities in one element’s arrangement but great differences in the arrangement of another, renders their general grouping difficult. Thus, if it can be accepted that characteristics of the “Athonite” type are the triconch plan, the chapels and the wide narthex (*lite*),⁵⁰ then the existence of the “Athonite” type in the Middle Byzantine period is simply unthinkable: the oldest monument with these three characteristics is the church of Prophet Elias in Thessaloniki that dates probably after the mid-fourteenth century.⁵¹ Besides, the view of certain important examples as various evolution stages of an ideal type, when generally defining the “Athonite” type, involves the danger of hurried interpretations and maybe generalizations, that cannot sufficiently be supported by the archaeological and historical evidence available. Mylonas’s method of the distinction and, up to a degree, independent study of each element considered up to now as a characteristic of the “Athonite” type, i.e. the church’s arrangement, the narrow two storey narthex, the *lite*, the exonarthexes, the annexed chapels and the *typikaria*, seems to be especially useful and it can be assured that it will continue to have effect towards researching the problems concerning the elements assigned to this type. New elements that continuously emerge from systematic studies on the monuments, along with assistance from archaeological research and reexamination of historical sources, can be put to use within context of the work hypotheses that have been set, confirming or reevaluating the existing views. As for the correlation of the monuments and the drawing of conclusions on the evolution of the type in the Middle and Late Byzantine periods, the effort initiated by previous scholars has to be continued, as far as is permitted by secure data, available to us through the study of examples on Mount Athos, in relation with the, unfortunately, lesser evidence of the architecture of the greater region of Macedonia and Constantinople.

General definitions inherited from the older to the newer research, create serious problems to the study of the “Athonite” type. The consideration of the various characteristics of the type in one common context, misleads research from the thesis and subsequent resolution of crucial issues that evade. Such issues are: if and how much the two storey narthex and the *lite* really do connect in a particular way with the type, or even more so, if the “Athonite” type churches are triconch or cross-in-square churches where, for functional reasons, lateral apses have been added,⁵² and if only four column cross-in-square churches with *choroi* can be classified as “Athonite”, as some scholars mention, or other variations of cross-in-square churches as well, as mentioned by others.⁵³ Due to indecisions on the clarification of such issues,

⁴⁹ The differences concern mainly the arrangement of the western part of the churches, but also that of the main church sometimes.

⁵⁰ Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 398.

⁵¹ Papazotos, *Μονή Ακαπνίου*, 59.

⁵² For an analysis of the problem and a systematic survey of the bibliography v. Mylonas, *Catholicon de la Grande-Lavra*, 90.

⁵³ About the first view v. Orlandos, *Αντινίτσα*, 378–379; Mylonas, *Αρχιτεκτονική*, 199, and the second in: Millet, *op. cit.*, 73–74. A consequence of the disagreement are questions created about the relationship the “Athonite” type has with various monuments even with some that are considered “key monuments”. Among these, the katholikon of the Great Lavra itself.

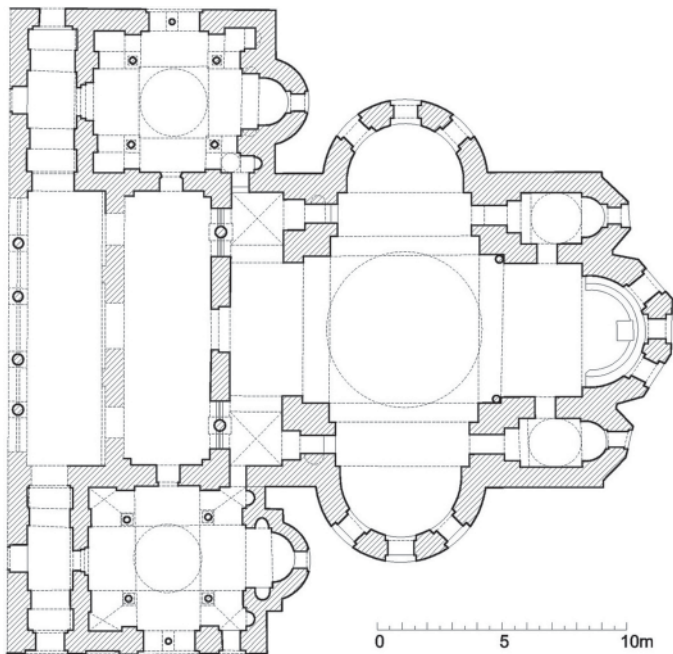


Fig. 4. Great Lavra. Katholikon. Reconstruction. Plan (based on drawings of P. Mylonas)

the relationship between elements encountered in Byzantine architecture in general and this specific church type still remains unclear. Even worse, great vagueness remains in defining the type itself. It seems thus purposeful to examine the "Athonite" type" based on its main characteristic, which is the existence of "choroi" at the edges of the transversal cross arms, rather than on the rest of the variable characteristics ascribed to the type. This will effectively contribute to limiting as much as possible problems that emerge in the study of the "Athonite" type, when faced with its various characteristics that are set by general definitions. Finally, based on the above, the definition as "athonite" only of the churches of the composite four column cross-in-square type, with lateral apses – "choroi" – at the edges of the transversal cross arms, regardless of the arrangement of their western part and the existence or not of other additions, seems to be the more secure base for any further studies of the type.

D. The issue of the origins of the "Athonite" type is one that research has been especially concerned with for a long time.⁵⁴ A. Choisy, in 1883, seems to have attempted to define indirectly the origin of the type, by relating the katholikon of the Great Lavra with the church of Hagios Andreas in Crisis in Constantinople.⁵⁵ N. P. Kondakov in 1902 believes that the model of the athonite churches was found in Thessaloniki.⁵⁶ G. Millet in 1905, having referred to Georgian equivalents of the *choroi* with an implication on the descent of St. Athanasios, the founder of the Great Lavra, from Trebizond, finally seeks the model of the *choroi* in Constantinople, specifically referring to the church of Hagios Andreas in Crisis and the *cellae trichorae* and the typological forms that originate from them.⁵⁷ He also writes that the model for the athonite *katholika*, the *katholikon* of the Great Lavra, is a link of an evolution chain from the basilica to the cross-in-square church.⁵⁸ J. Strzygowski in 1918 advocates that the type originates from Armenia and Georgia.⁵⁹ The idea that the origin of the type is in the Caucasus area, is also supported by F. W. Hasluck in 1924⁶⁰ and is based on the descent of St. Athanasios from Trebizond. A. Orlandos, in 1926, in his study on the church of Hagios Titos, accepts not only the Armenian origin of the element of the lateral apses but also Strzygowski's theory for the Armenian origin of the cruci-

form church based on the existence of lateral apses in Hagios Titos.⁶¹ He repeats these views in 1930 in his study for the katholikon of the Antinitsa monastery.⁶² More specifically, he states that the models for the "Athonite" type churches in respect to the morphology, are found in Constantinople, though in respect to the plan he suspects possible influences "from the Armenian and the Georgian (churches), that frequently not only have lateral apses but also chapels on all four sides". Referring to the descent of St. Athanasios from Trebizond, he supposes that the apses originate directly from the East and not via Constantinople where the element is not found, since in the example of Hagios Andreas in Crisis, pointed out by Millet, it was proven that the lateral apses are an ottoman addition. He also states, in 1935, that the single-naved triconch type was spread to Greece from the *katholika* of Mount Athos during the second millennium,⁶³ and in 1939, he writes that the "Athonite" type was created on Mount Athos during the tenth and eleventh centuries and was later diffused from there.⁶⁴ G. Sotiriou in 1942 believes that the "triconch shape (of the Mount Athos churches) originated from monastic centers older than Mount Athos that were actually in Asia Minor" being based on the descent of St. Athanasios from Trebizond, while "the architectural formation is influenced mostly from the School of Constantinople".⁶⁵ The eastern origin of the type based again on St. Athanasios' descent, is also alluded by R. Krautheimer in 1965.⁶⁶ Renouncing older views about athonite influences on Southern Italy, G. Dimitrokallis believes that the "Athonite" type is the creation of general architectural movements and ideas of the end of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth century.⁶⁷ C. Mango in 1976 relates the *katholika* of the Vatopedi and the Iveron monasteries with the church of Hagios Andreas at Peristerai.⁶⁸ Th. Papazotos claims that the origins of the type go back to early Christian models, as the now lost church of Hagia Sophia in Adrianoupolis.⁶⁹ Finally, the relationship between the "Athonite" type and the architecture in the Caucasus region is recalled by A. Ghazarian.⁷⁰

P. Mylonas, in consecutive publications from 1971 to 1994,⁷¹ presented a complete hypothesis on the creation and the evolution of the "Athonite" type. As far as the appearance of the type on Mount Athos is concerned, Mylonas's hypothesis briefly is as follows: in 963 the *katholikon*

⁵⁴ Systematic collection and survey of the related research made until the 70's is done by Mylonas (idem, *Catholicon de la Grande-Lavra*, 90).

⁵⁵ Choisy, *L'art de bâtir*, 130–131, fig. 154, 155.

⁵⁶ Kondakov, *Pamiatniki*, 28–39.

⁵⁷ Millet, *Recherches*, 84–85.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 98.

⁵⁹ Strzygowski, *Baukunst*, 770.

⁶⁰ Hasluck, *Athos*, 98 n. 1.

⁶¹ A. Orlandos, *Νεώτεραί έρευναι εν Αγίω Τίτω της Γορτόνης*, Επετηρίς της Εταιρείας Βυζαντινών Σπουδών 3 (1926) 328.

⁶² Orlandos, *Αντινίτσα*, 379 n. 1.

⁶³ Orlandos, *Βαράσοβα*, 109–117, 110. This view is rightly rejected by Vokotopoulos (idem, *Ο τρίκογχος ναός του Αγίου Νικολάου στο Πλατάκι της Αχαΐας*, in: *Αρμός. Τιμητικός τόμος στον καθηγητή Ν. Κ. Μουτσόπουλο για τα 25 χρόνια πνευματικής του προσφοράς στο Πανεπιστήμιο*, 1, Thessaloniki 1990, 384, n. 9).

⁶⁴ Orlandos, *Μονή Κορώνης*, 407.

⁶⁵ Sotiriou, *Αρχαιολογία*, 458.

⁶⁶ Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 398–399.

⁶⁷ Dimitrokallis, *Σταυροειδείς Σικελίας και Κάτω Ιταλίας*, 101–103.

⁶⁸ Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, 216.

⁶⁹ Papazotos, *Αγία Σοφία Αδριανουπόλεως*, 35.

⁷⁰ Kazarian, *Caucasian Precedents of the «Athos Type»*, 337.

⁷¹ V. n. 31 supra.

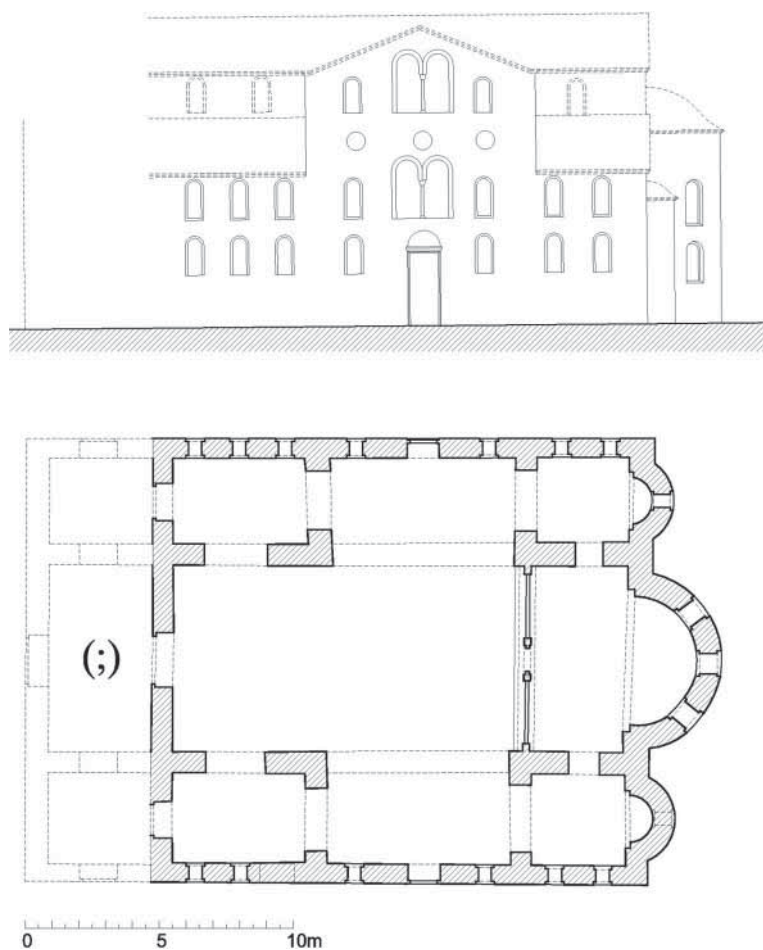


Fig. 5. Karyes. Church of Protaton. Reconstruction.
a. Plan, b. South elevation (based on drawings of P. Phountas)

of the Great Lavra was built by St. Athanasios the Athonite without *choroi*; in 965 the existing basilica of the *Protaton* was remodeled with the initiative of St. Athanasios himself, so as to acquire a sort of internal *choroi*; around 980 the *katholikon* of the Iveron was built without *choroi*; around the year 985 the *katholikon* of the Vatopedi was built with *choroi* or *choroi* were added to it sometime around the year 1000; around 1002 the *katholikon* of the Great Lavra was remodeled so as to acquire *choroi*, from St. Athanasios himself, who was killed during the works; around 985 or around 1015 the first *katholikon* of the Hilandar monastery was built without *choroi* and in 1029 – 1030 *choroi* were added to the *katholikon* of the Iveron.

Mylonas' views on the creation of the "Athonite" type on Mount Athos, as far as the basilica of the *Protaton* and the *katholikon* of the Great Lavra are concerned, were accepted by many scholars, yet some have expressed different views on particular points and even objections. P. Vocotopoulos in 1985⁷² and, mainly, in 1995,⁷³ accepts Mylonas's views about the creation of the "Athonite" type at the *katholikon* of the Great Lavra, which he relates with the Constantinopolitan cross-in-square churches. He believes that prototypes for the addition of *choroi*, that have not survived in Constantinople, should have been the numerous early Christian triapses that were still standing at the time, and probably the numerous single nave triconch churches of Macedonia. He also rejects the correlation between the *katholikon* of Iveron and Georgian prototypes. Ch. Bouras, in 1994, agrees with Mylonas's views as far as the origin of the type is concerned.⁷⁴ G. Velenis in 1997 claims, though with no analytic survey, that the "Athonite church type (is) a creation of the School of Macedonia par excellence".⁷⁵ Th. Papazotos observes that

"an intelligible base of the new (athonite) type" is the *katholikon* of the Great Lavra and accepts Mylonas's views about the creation and the evolution of the type.⁷⁶ In another publication of his he seems to advocate that the origin of the "Athonite" type goes back to early Christian times and he relates the *katholikon* of Vatopedi with the church of Hagia Sophia of Adrianoupolis, the homeland of the three founders of the athonite monastery.⁷⁷ R. Ousterhout in 1999 also shares Mylonas's views.⁷⁸ N. Gioles, in 1987, agrees with Mylonas in that the prototype for the churches of Mount Athos is the *katholikon* of the Great Lavra remodeled by St. Athanasios. He believes, however, that given the descent of St. Athanasios, the idea of the *choroi* originated in the East, where there are plenty of similar examples, and observes that an evolved form of the "Athonite triconch" are the *katholika* in the monasteries of Iveron and Vatopedi which are imitated by later churches of the type.⁷⁹ Th. Steppan in 1995 believes that the addition of *choroi* at the *katholikon* of the Great Lavra was done either by imitation of Georgian prototypes or by influence from the church of Hagios Andreas at Peristerai or from the inscribed apses of the *parabemata* of the *katholikon* at the Myrelaion monastery. He accepts Mylonas' views regarding the basilica of the *Protaton* and relates the *katholikon* of the Iveron monastery with Georgian architecture.⁸⁰ Serious objections to Mylonas's views were expressed in 1985 by I. Papaggelos, who believes that alterations to the church of *Protaton* were not made by St. Athanasios and that the *choroi* in the *katholikon* of the Great Lavra cannot be part of the remodeling works undergone by St. Athanasios. Simultaneously, he points out the existence of the triconch *katholikon* of the Melissourgeiou monastery, which he dates to be in the eleventh century, probably in 1030, and relates it with the idea of the *choroi* on Mount Athos.⁸¹ Finally, the entire hypothesis of the alterations on the *Protaton* in order to accommodate *choroi*, is rejected with incisive observations, based on later research on the building, by P. Phountas, in publications between 1985 and 2008 where he claims that the church was built with the initiative of St. Athanasios in the Greek cross form from the beginning.⁸²

⁷² Vocotopoulos, *Church Architecture in Thessaloniki*, 111–112.

⁷³ Vocotopoulos, Steppan, *Die Athos-Lavra*, 403.

⁷⁴ Bouras, *Ιστορία Αρχιτεκτονικής*, 211.

⁷⁵ Velenis, *Σχολή της Μακεδονίας*, 57.

⁷⁶ Papazotos, *Μονή Ακαπνίου*, 53.

⁷⁷ idem, *Αγία Σοφία Αδριανουπόλεως*, 35.

⁷⁸ Ousterhout, *Master Builders*, 29.

⁷⁹ Gkiolos, *Βυζαντινή ναοδομία*, 103–105.

⁸⁰ Steppan, *Die Athos-Lavra*, 118–119, 122–125.

⁸¹ Papaggelos, «Χορός», 73–74.

⁸² P. Phountas, *Η τυπολογία της πρώτης φάσης του Προτάτου*, 5^ο Συμπόσιο Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής Αρχαιολογίας και Τέχνης, Athens 1985, 98; idem, *Σκάριφος και δομική χάραξη της κάτοψης στο ναό του Προτάτου*, 17^ο Συμπόσιο Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής Αρχαιολογίας και Τέχνης, Athens 1997, 79–80; idem, *Το Προτάτο του Αγίου Αθανασίου: Αναπαράσταση Ν. όψης*, *Makedonika* 31 (1998) 417–419; idem, *Προτάτο του Αγίου Αθανασίου: Τα επί μέρους άγνωστα στοιχεία της διάρθρωσης των πλευρικών όψεων. Τεκμηρίωση*, 19^ο Συμπόσιο Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής Αρχαιολογίας και Τέχνης, Athens 1999, 111–112; idem, *Η δεύτερη οικοδομική φάση της εκκλησίας του Προτάτου*, 21^ο Συμπόσιο Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής Αρχαιολογίας και Τέχνης, Athens 2001, 98–99; idem, *Παλιμψήστου τοιχοδομικού επανάνγνωση. Το πρόβλημα του πλίνθινου διακόσμου στο ναό του Προτάτου*, 22^ο Συμπόσιο Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής Αρχαιολογίας και Τέχνης, Athens 2002, 116–117; idem, *Ξυλόπηκτες θολωτές οροφές σε ναούς της βυζαντινής περιόδου. Ενδείξεις για το Προτάτο*, 24^ο Συμπόσιο Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής Αρχαιολογίας και Τέχνης, Athens 2004, 98–99; idem, *Ο ναός του Προτάτου. Ιστορία και αρχιτεκτονικές μεταμορφώσεις*, Athens 2008 (unpublished doctoral thesis, National Technical University of Athens). V. also Mamaloukos, *Καθολικό Βατοπεδίου*, 279–280.

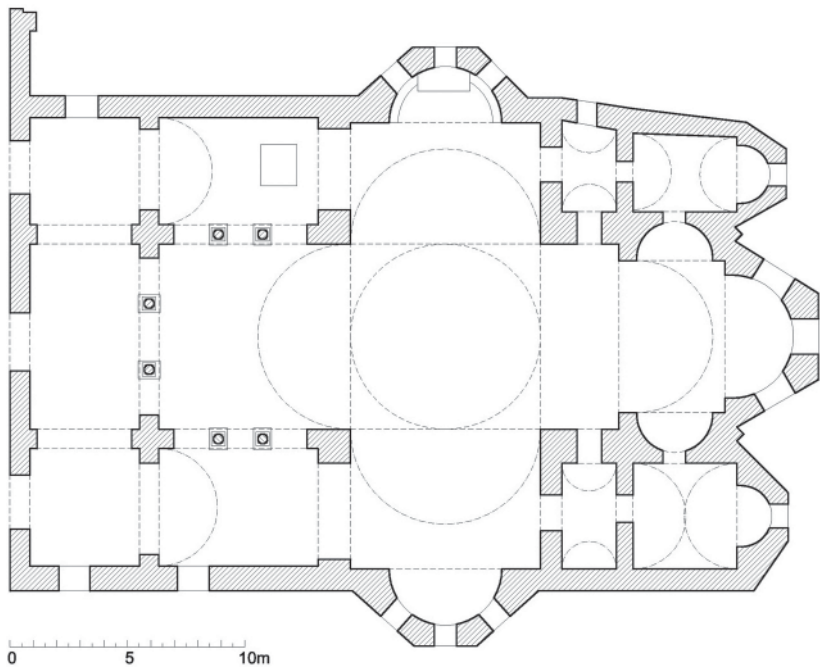


Fig. 6. Church of Hagios Titos in Gortys (redrawn from A. Orlandos)

After the attempted overview of the hitherto research, and along with the new elements that emerge from the study of the *katholikon* of Vatopedi, as well as of other Athonite monuments, the following views can be articulated concerning the origin and evolution of the “Athonite” type during the Middle Byzantine period.

Despite the wide spread of the “Athonite” type in the Late Byzantine and mainly in the post-Byzantine period, it is only on Mount Athos where a few middle-byzantine composite four column cross-in-square churches with lateral apses – “*choroi*” are known.⁸³ These are the *katholika* of the monasteries of Vatopedi⁸⁴ and Iveron⁸⁵ and the church of Hagios Demetrius, *kyriakon* of the *Skete* of Vatopedi, which Papazotos identifies with the *katholikon* of the Kynopous monastery (fig. 3).⁸⁶ It is worthy to note from the start, that the *katholika* of Vatopedi and Iveron have an astonishing similarity,⁸⁷ and that the church of Hagios Demetrius follows in many instances the articulation of the two first big *katholika* which seem to have functioned as its prototypes.⁸⁸

G. Millet, in his study on the *katholikon* of the Great Lavra, that was published in 1905, takes for granted that this church (fig. 4) was the prototype for the *katholika* of Mount Athos, just as the Great Lavra was itself a prototype for the monasteries on Mount Athos.⁸⁹ This stand by Millet was never doubted,⁹⁰ even though it does not rely on credible sources nor does it result from obvious and irrefutable comparisons. On the contrary, when Mylonas argued that the small-scale archaeological investigation he carried out proved that in this supposed prototype of the “Athonite” type the *choroi* are not contemporary with the rest of the building, systematic efforts were made to interpret the creation of the type in relation with the building history of the *katholikon*.⁹¹ Yet it should be noted that despite the successful observations of Mylonas, who in fact set the basis for an archaeological examination of this complex and important monument, there still remain serious problems in its interpretation that only serious archaeological research will eventually resolve.⁹² Thus, it isn’t possible at present to use with absolute safety evidence from the *katholikon*’s building history when attempting to study the appearance of the “Athonite” type on Mount Athos.

As far as the rest of the monuments on Mount Athos that were related at times with the creation process of the “Athonite” type are concerned, things seem to be as follows : the view that the remodeling of the basilica of the *Protaton* by St. Athanasios⁹³ is connected with the birth of the type on Mount Athos is most probably false, since Phountas’s research has shown that the existing church was built from foundation as a timber roofed cross-shaped basilica (fig. 5).⁹⁴ Furthermore the hypothesis that the present day *katholikon* of Hilandar is built on the foundations of a grandiose eleventh century *katholikon* without *choroi*, whose floor has been preserved,⁹⁵ is not generally accepted and cannot in any case be proven without archaeological research.⁹⁶ Besides, the hypothesis based again on Mylonas’s observations, that the *choroi* were a later addition also to the *katholikon* of Iveron,⁹⁷ falls apart due to its similarity with the *katholikon* of Vatopedi, where (as mentioned before) the *choroi* are integral with the rest of the building.⁹⁸

On the other hand, as opposed to the unique *katholikon* of the Great Lavra (its design being of experimental character,⁹⁹ that is partly justified also from its supposedly – on the grounds of written sources – complex building history), the quite similar to each other *katholika* of Vatopedi and Iveron give the impression that they are integral in design even at the level of detail. Thus, after all that is mentioned above, and despite the absence of specific historic data, the justifiable work hypothesis can be derived, that the application of the “Athonite” type on Mount Athos is related to the mechanism that produced the *katholika* of Vatopedi and

⁸³ Cf. related subject: Mylonas, *Two Churches*, 557–558, 574; idem, *Catholicon de la Grande-Lavra*, 103.

⁸⁴ Mamaloukos, *Καθολικό Βατοπεδίου*, 120.

⁸⁵ Mamaloukos, *op. cit.*, 286–287.

⁸⁶ Mamaloukos, *op. cit.*, 284–285.

⁸⁷ S. Mamaloukos, *Ζητήματα σχεδιασμού στη βυζαντινή αρχιτεκτονική*, Δελτίον ΧΑΕ 24 (2003) 119–120.

⁸⁸ Mamaloukos, *Καθολικό Βατοπεδίου*, 284–285.

⁸⁹ Millet, *Recherches*, 73.

⁹⁰ Characteristically v. Mylonas, *Catholicon de la Grande-Lavra*, 89.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² Mamaloukos, *Καθολικό Βατοπεδίου*, 281–282, where it is noted: «The *katholikon* (of Lavra) is a peculiar cruciform church with *choroi*, which in no way may be said to represent a typical example of the “Athonite” type. This is a massive building of low proportions and with unarticulated facades, much changed by later interventions to the exterior. Professor Mylonas, based on new drawings, on-the-spot observations and a small-scale archaeological investigation, attempted attempted for the first time to study systematically and interpret the structural history of the monument. He considers that the church began to be built in 963 without the side apses, which were added in ca. 1000 by St. Athanasios himself. Nevertheless, the question is made complex by information from the sources regarding an extension made to the church to the east, and the existence of a dog-tooth cornice around the windows of the side apses and the sanctuary. A final answer may perhaps be given only following systematic archaeological investigation. In the meantime, we may hypothesise with reservations that the ca. 1000 building programme was more extensive than the addition of the side apses».

⁹³ Mylonas, *Protaton*, 160.

⁹⁴ Mamaloukos, *Καθολικό Βατοπεδίου*, 279–280.

⁹⁵ Mylonas, *Καθολικό Χελανδαρίου και ρυθμολογικά συμπεράσματα*, 41–43; idem, *Παρατηρήσεις στο καθολικό Χελανδαρίου*, 64–83; idem, *Catholicon de Chilandar*, 7–38.

⁹⁶ Objections to Mylonas’ view v. in: Đ. Bošković, *De nouveau sur la construction du catholicon de Chilandar*, *Hilandarski zbornik* 7 (1989) 91–99; idem, *Hilandar*, 25, 40, n. 4; Korać, *Crkva kralja Milutina*, 145.

⁹⁷ Mylonas, *Καθολικό Ιβήρων*, 66–68, Mylonas, *Katholikon d’Iveron*, 66–67.

⁹⁸ Mamaloukos, *Καθολικό Βατοπεδίου*, 286–287.

⁹⁹ Professor G. Velenis recently correlated the *katholikon* of the Great Lavra with the type of the church of Hagia Sophia in Thessaloniki (idem, *Μεσοβυζαντινή ναοδομία στη Θεσσαλονίκη*, Athens 2003, 70).

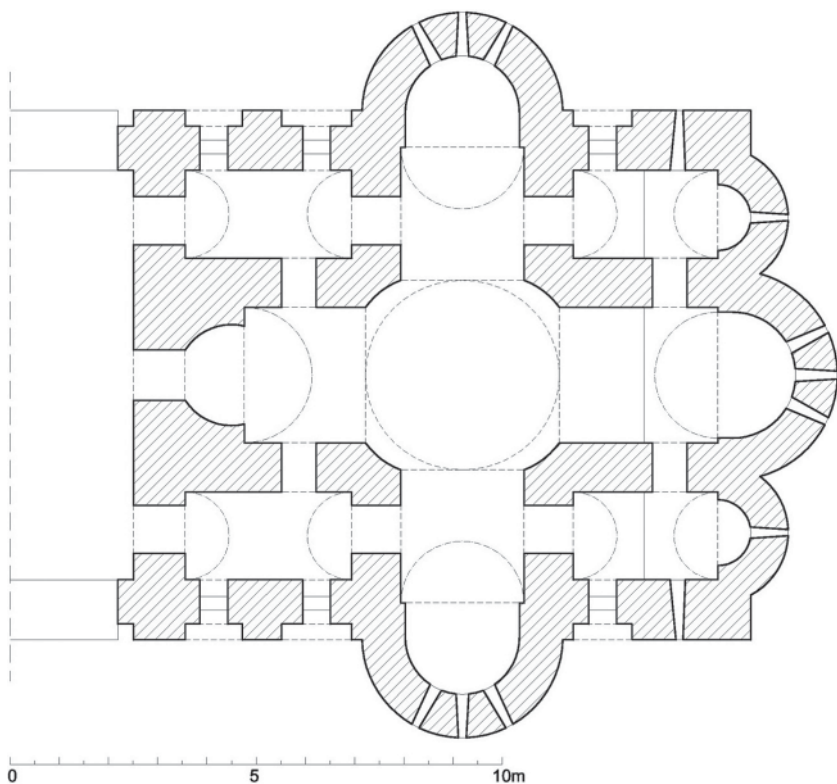


Fig. 7. Church of Karaač-Teke
(redrawn from N. Chaneva-Dechevska)

Iveron. This mechanism still remains unknown to us due to the complete lack of relative historic data. Yet when taking into consideration the similarity and the total design assembly of the two churches, it seems more possible that they had a common prototype rather than that they are a product of an original creation,¹⁰⁰ something suggested by Papazotos.¹⁰¹

As for the *katholikon* at the Great Lavra, it can not for the moment be excluded that the *katholika* of Vatopedi and Iveron were the prototypes for the remodeling made by St. Athanasios around the year 1000. This – still unclear to us, as well as uncertain – remodeling could have been materialized in order to attain the functional advantages of the “Athonite” type.¹⁰² Regarding diffusion of the type on Mount Athos during this early period, it is worthy to note that parallel with the “Athonite” type churches mentioned, in the Holy Mountain there are also two middle byzantine triconch churches,¹⁰³ that belong to a variation of the type that could be called “Compact Athonite Type”.¹⁰⁴ According to views that have already been stated, the diffusion of the “Athonite” type is probably not irrelevant to the idea of the “*choroi*”¹⁰⁵ that seems to have been known on Mount Athos as in the greater area of Macedonia at this period.¹⁰⁶

It seems that for the clarification of the “Athonite” type’s origin more significant research has to be done, without being any certainty that final conclusions will be drawn. Regarding the relationship between the “Athonite” type churches and the so called “Macedonian School”,¹⁰⁷ the following can be observed: the existence of numerous triconch churches during the early- and middle-Byzantine periods in the area, could be considered to have contributed to the preference and consequently to the diffusion of the “Athonite” type. Yet it is difficult to accept that buildings such as the two big *katholika* of Mount Athos are in any way related to the known humble churches of rural Macedonia such as the churches in the areas of Kastoria and Ohrid.¹⁰⁸ The possibility that there were early “Athonite” type examples in Thessaloniki itself that do not survive today cannot be eliminated but cannot be reliably supported either.¹⁰⁹

The origin of the type from Constantinople or the area under its direct influence seems more likely,¹¹⁰ given not only the undeniable role of the capital as a center,¹¹¹ but also its testified special rapport with the rapidly developing monastic center of Mount Athos at the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh centuries. Aside from the general confirmation that the *katholika* of Vatopedi and Iveron are products of fine architecture, this view is reinforced by the detection in both buildings of morphological elements that are typical of the capital’s architecture. The fact that no “Athonite” type churches are found in Constantinople itself or regions of its periphery (i.e. Bithynia with its important monastic centers) could be perfectly attributed to the extensive devastation that the monuments of these regions underwent.¹¹²

As for the design of the “Athonite” type, it seems that it derived from the combination of the typical Constantinopolitan, composite, four column, cross-in-square, domed church,¹¹³ with the familiar practice in the Roman and early Christian periods up to the middle-Byzantine era but also later on, of adding apses to the edges of the transversal axis of the building. Examples of this practice are the early Christian basilicas with a transept that ends into apses on either side,¹¹⁴ the cross-in-square church of Hagios Titos in Gortys (fig. 6),¹¹⁵ the seventh century¹¹⁶ or even later, and the middle-Byzantine church of Karaač-Teke near Varna in Bulgaria (fig. 7), which has been dated to the end of the ninth century or to the beginning of the tenth century,¹¹⁷ but also that of Hagios Nikolaos in Vathy of Boeotia (fig. 8), dated to the

¹⁰⁰ Mamaloukos, *Ζητήματα σχεδιασμού*, 119–120.

¹⁰¹ Papazotos, *Αγία Σοφία Αδριανουπόλεως*, 35.

¹⁰² Korač, *Crkva kralja Milutina*, 145.

¹⁰³ It concerns the ruined church of St. Nikolaos at Paliomelissa of Ouranoupolis right outside the Mount Athos border (Mamaloukos, *Καθολικό Βατοπεδίου*, 293) that I. Papagelos identified it with the *katholikon* of the Melissourgiou Monastery [I. Papagelos, *Ειδήσεις για τα Ιβηρικά μετόχια της Ιερισσού*, *Byzantina* 13/2 (1985) 1569–1618; idem, *Χορός*, 73–74] and the Chapel of St. Nikolaos of the *katholikon* in Vatopedi (Mamaloukos, *Καθολικό Βατοπεδίου*, 92–102, 127–128, 162–168, 196–200).

¹⁰⁴ On this variation of the triconch v. *op. cit.*, 164–165.

¹⁰⁵ V. relating subject: Papagelos, *Χορός*, 73–74.

¹⁰⁶ Vocotopoulos, *Steppan, Die Athos-Lavra*, 403; Korač, *Crkva kralja Milutina*, 148.

¹⁰⁷ Velenis, *Σχολή της Μακεδονίας*, 57.

¹⁰⁸ About the triconch churches of Kastoria and Ohrid v. N. Moutsopoulos, *Εκκλησίες της Καστοριάς 9ος–11ος αιώνας*, Thessaloniki 1992, *passim*.

¹⁰⁹ Kondakov, *Pamiatniki*, 28–29.

¹¹⁰ P. Vocotopoulos seems to relate the churches of Mount Athos with Constantinople according to type and morphology, although as he mentions, they are not known churches in Constantinople with lateral apses (Vocotopoulos, *Steppan, Die Athos-Lavra*, 403) and V. Korač (idem, *Crkva kralja Milutina*, 148).

¹¹¹ For related subject v. P. Vocotopoulos, *The Role of Constantinopolitan Architecture during the Middle and Late Byzantine Period*, *JÖB* 31/2 (1981) 551–573.

¹¹² Ibidem, 551.

¹¹³ Vocotopoulos, *Steppan, Die Athos-Lavra*, 403.

¹¹⁴ Megaw relates this arrangement with the “Athonite” type (A. H. S. Megaw, *Η βασιλική της Ερμουπόλεως*, Πεπραγμένα του Θ’ Διεθνούς Βυζαντινολογικού Συνεδρίου (Θεσσαλονίκη, 12–19 Απριλίου 1953), τ. Α, Athens 1955, 295. As about the distinction between the arrangement of apses to the edges of the transept and that of the triconch holy bema v. Y. Varalis, *Deux églises à choeur triconque de l’Illyricum oriental. Observations sur leur type architectural*, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 123 (1999) 197.

¹¹⁵ Orlandos, *Άγιος Τίτος*, 301–328.

¹¹⁶ P. L. Vocotopoulos, *Παρατηρήσεις στην λεγόμενη βασιλική του Αγίου Νίκωνος*, Πρακτικά του Α’ Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακών Σπουδών, II, Athens 1977, 273–285.

¹¹⁷ N. Chaneva-Dechevska, *Srednovekovniat manastir v mestnostta «Karaachteke» kraj Varna*, *Izvestiia na Sektisiinata po teoriia i istoriia na gradoustroistvoto i arkhitekturata pri BAN* 25 (Sofia 1973) 195–212.

eleventh century.¹¹⁸ Besides, the idea of emphasizing the axis of a space by adding apses to its two ends is also known from *vestibula* of the early Christian architecture, but also from equivalent works of the middle-Byzantine architecture, such as the northern church of the Lips monastery, the katholikon of the Myrelaion Monastery, the Vefa Kilise camii, the church of Christ Pantepoptes in Constantinople, the katholikon of Hosios Loukas monastery, the katholikon of the Monastery of Hagios Chrysostomos at Koutsovendis and the churches of Panagia Apsinthiotissa and Panagia Phorbiotissa, Asinou, in Cyprus etc., where there are shallow apses at the ends of the narthexes.¹¹⁹ Finally, as far as the diffusion of the «Athonite» type is concerned, as Korać observes, an important role was probably played by functional purposes.¹²⁰

Additional Note

In the long time which has elapsed – despite the author's will – between the completion, on January 2009, of the present paper and its submission for publication, the literature on the "Athonite" type has been enriched by two significant publications, i.e. the doctoral thesis of Vasilis Messis¹²¹ and a paper by Anastasios Tantsis.¹²² Subject of the doctoral thesis of V. Messis is a global and extensive study of the "Athonite" type, which addresses the questions of the creation and the evolution of the type, its spatial and temporal diffusion, its specific typological and morphological features and the variations of other church types resulting from the addition of lateral apses to them. The study is accompanied by a precious systematic register of the hitherto known Byzantine and post-Byzantine "athonite" churches. As far as it concerns the issue of the origins of the "Athonite" type, V. Messis argues that it was created on Mount Athos, at the end of the tenth century.¹²³ A. Tantsis's paper contains a series of very interesting, as well as convincing observations on the methodology that should be followed when approaching the issue of typology in Byzantine architecture, which lead to the conclusion that "it might be easier and more fruitful if we start searching for a prototype as a cultural reference and not as a source of geometric analogies".¹²⁴ As for the creation of the "Athonite" type, A. Tantsis argues that it was created on Mount Athos under the inspiration of the Constantinopolitan churches-shrines of the Holy Virgin at *Blachernae* and at the *Chalkoprataia*, to which, according to written sources, lateral apses had been added. The present paper sustains that the available data are not sufficient to justify the notion supported by the two aforementioned studies, i.e. the creation of the "Athonite" type on Mount Athos. On the grounds of

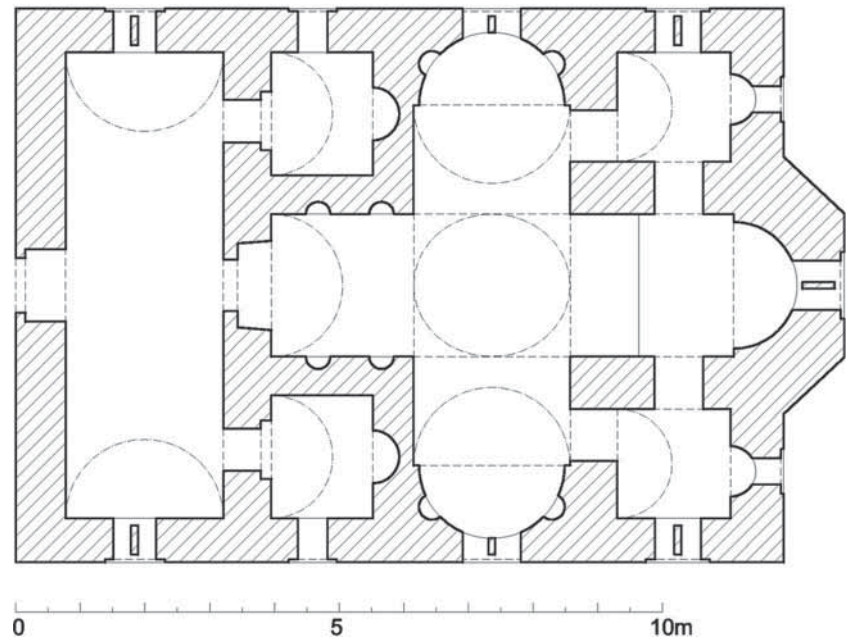


Fig. 8. Church of Hagios Nikolaos in Vathy, Boeotia \ (redrawn from Ch. Bouras)

what I've noted above, I continue to assume that it is more likely that the "Athonite" type had already been completely formed in Constantinople or in the area under its influence before its architectural plan was applied on Athos. One more argument towards this notion is offered by the description in *Theophanes Continuatus* (registered by V. D. Messis) of a "triconch" church, build in Constantinople, in 839, during the reign of Theophilos.¹²⁵ Despite its haziness, it is quite possible that it is the description of an "athonite" church.

¹¹⁸ Ch. Bouras, *Συμπληρωματικά στοιχεία για ένα κατεστραμμένο ναό της Βοιωτίας*, Δελτίον ΧΑΕ 4 (1964–1965) 237–240.

¹¹⁹ Relating to this element that is also considered Constantinopolitan v. Vocotopoulos, *The Role of Constantinopolitan Architecture*, 559, 560, 567. V. also G. Dimitrokallis, *Οι δικογκοι χριστιανικοί ναοί*, Athens 1976, 8–9, where the narthexes with apses at their north and south sides are called "amphiconchoi".

¹²⁰ Korać, *Crkva kralja Milutina*, 148.

¹²¹ V. D. Messis, *Ναοί αθωνικού τύπου*, Thessaloniki 2010 (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki).

¹²² A. Tantsis, *The so-called "Athonite" type of church and two shrines of the Theotokos in Constantinople*, *Zograf* 34 (2010) 3–11.

¹²³ Messis, *op. cit.*, 373.

¹²⁴ Tantsis, *op. cit.*, 6.

¹²⁵ Messis, *op. cit.*, 100, n. 324 (after: *Theophanes continuatus, Ioannes Cameniata, Symeon Magister, Georgius monachus*, ed. I. Bekker, Bonn 1838, 140–141).

ЛИСТА РЕФЕРЕНЦИ – REFERENCE LIST

- Bošković Đ., *De nouveau sur la construction du Catholicon de Chilandar*, Hilendarski zbornik 7 (1989) 91–99.
- Bošković Đ., *Manastir Hilandar. Saborna Crkva, arhitektura*, Beograd 1992.
- Bouras Ch., *Ιστορία της Αρχιτεκτονικής, 2. Αρχιτεκτονική στο Βυζάντιο, το Ισλάμ και την Δυτική Ευρώπη κατά τον Μεσαίωνα*, Athens 1994 (Bouras Ch., *Istoria tēs Architektonikēs, 2. Architektonikē sto Vyzantio, to Islam kai tēn Dutikē Eurōpē kata ton Mesaiōna*, Athens 1994).
- Bouras Ch., *Συμπληρωματικά στοιχεία για ένα κατεστραμμένο ναό της Βοιωτίας*, Δελτίον ΧΑΕ 4 (1964–1965) 237–240 [Bouras Ch., *Supplērōmatika stoicheia gia ena katestrammeno nao tēs Boiōtias*, Deltion ChAE 4 (1964–1965) 237–240].
- Brockhaus H., *Die Kunst in den Athos-Klöstern*, Leipzig 1891.
- Chaneva-Dechevska, *Srednovekovniāt manastir v mestnostta «Karaachteke» kraī Varna*, Izvestiia na Sektsiia ta po teoriia i istoriia na gradoustroistvoto i arkhitekturata pri BAN 25 (Sofia 1973) 195–212
- Choisy A., *L'art de bâtir chez les Byzantins*, Paris 1883, 130.
- Dimitrokallis G., *Οι δίκωγοι χριστιανικοί ναοί*, Athens 1976 [Dēmētrokallēs G., *Hoi dikonchoi christianikoi naoi*, Athens 1976].
- Dimitrokallis G., *Οι σταυροειδείς εγγεγραμμένοι ναοί της Σικελίας και Κάτω Ιταλίας*, in: idem, *Contribution à l'étude des monuments byzantins et médiévaux d'Italie*, Athènes 1971, 101–103 [Demetrokallis G., *Oi stauroidēis eggegrammenoi naoi tēs Sikelias kai Katō Italias*, in: idem, *Contribution à l'étude des monuments byzantins et médiévaux d'Italie*, Athènes 1971, 101–103].
- Dölger F., Wiegand E., Deindl A., *Mönchland Athos*, München 1943, 110.
- Gkioles N., *Βυζαντινή ναοδομία (600–1204)*, Athens 1987 (Gkioles N., *Vyzantinē naodomia (600–1204)*, Athens 1987).
- Hasluck W. F., *Athos and its Monasteries*, London 1924.
- Kazarian A., *A New View about the Caucasian Precedents of the «Athos Type» of Triconch Churches*, in: *Pré-Actes. XXe Congrès international des Etudes Byzantines*, III, Paris 2001, 337.
- Kazarian A., *Trikonkhovye krestovo-kupol'nye i serkvi v zodchestve Zakavkaz'ia i Vizantii*, in: *Vizantiiskii mir: iskusstvo Konstantinopolia i natsional'nye traditsii. K 2000-letiiu khristianstva*, Moskva 2005, 13–30.
- Kondakov N. P., *Pamiatniki khristianskago iskusstva na Afone*, Sankt-Peterburg 1902.
- Korać V., *Crkva kralja Milutina*, in: *Manastir Hilandar*, ed. G. Subotić, Beograd 1998, 145, 148.
- Krauthheimer R., *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, Harmondsworth 1981.
- Mamaloukos S., *Το Καθολικό της Μονής Βατοπεδίου. Ιστορία και Αρχιτεκτονική*, Athens 2001 (Mamaloukos S., *To Katholiko tēs Monēs Vatopeidiou. Historia kai Architektonikē*, Athens 2001).
- Mamaloukos S., *Ζητήματα σχεδιασμού στη βυζαντινή αρχιτεκτονική*, Δελτίον ΧΑΕ 24 (2003) 119–120 [Mamaloukos S., *Zētēmata schediasmou stē vyzantinē architektonikē*, Deltion ChAE 24 (2003) 119–120].
- Mango C., *Byzantine Architecture*, New York 1976.
- Megaw A. H. S., *Η βασιλική της Ερμουπόλεως*, Πεπραγμένα του 9^{ου} Διεθνούς Βυζαντινολογικού Συνεδρίου (Θεσσαλονίκη, 12–19 Απριλίου 1953), τ. Α, Athens 1955, 295 [Megaw A. H. S., *He basilike tes Ermourpoleos*, Pepragmena tou 9. Diethnous byzantinologikou Synedriou (Thessalonikē, 12–19 Apriliou 1953), t. I, Athens 1955, 295].
- Messis V. D., *Ναοί αθωνικού τύπου*, Thessaloniki 2010 (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki) [Messis V. D., *Naoi athōnikou tyrou*, Thessaloniki 2010 (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)].
- Millet G., *Recherches au Mont-Athos*, Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique 29 (1905) 55–141.
- Moutsopoulos N., *Εκκλησίες της Καστοριάς 9ος–11ος αιώνας*, Thessaloniki 1992 [Moutsopoulos N., *Ekklesiēs tēs Kastorias 9os–11os aiōnas*, Thessaloniki 1992].
- Mylonas P., *Βυζαντινές Λιτές και αρμενικά Γκαβίτ*, 6^ο Συμπόσιο Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής Αρχαιολογίας και Τέχνης, Athens 1986, 47–48 [Mylonas P., *Vyzantines Lites kai armenika Gkavit*, 6th Symposio Vyzantinēs kai Metavyzantinēs Archaialogias kai Technēs, Athens 1986, 47–48].
- Mylonas P., *Η αρχική μορφή του καθολικού της Μεγίστης Λαύρας*, Αρχαιολογία 1 (1981) 52–63 [Mylonas P., *Hē archikē morphē tou katholikou tēs Megistēs Lauras*, Archaologia 1 (1981) 52–63].
- Mylonas P., *Η Αρχιτεκτονική του Αγίου Όρους*, Nea Hestia 74 (1963) 189–207 [Mylonas P., *Hē Architektonikē tou Agiou Orous*, Nea Hestia 74 (1963) 189–207].
- Mylonas P., *L'Architecture du Mont Athos*, Thesaurismata 2 (1963), *Παράρτημα. Ο εορτασμός της χιλιετηρίδας του Αγίου Όρους στη Βενετία*, 28–31 [Mylonas P., *L' Architecture du Mont Athos*, Thesaurismata 2 (1963), *Parartema. O heortasmos tēs chiliētidās tou Hagiou Orous stē Benetia*, 28–31].
- Mylonas P., *Le Catholicon de Kutlumus (Athos)*, CA 42 (1994) 75–86.
- Mylonas P., *Le plan initial du catholicon de la Grande-Lavra au Mont Athos et la genèse de type du catholicon athonite*, CA 32 (1984) 102.
- Mylonas P., *Les étapes successives de construction du Protaton au Mont Athos*, CA 28 (1979) 143–160.
- Mylonas P., *Notice sur le catholicon d'Iviron*, in: *Actes d'Iviron*, ed. J. Lefort, N. Oikonomidēs, D. Papachryssanthou, H. Métrévéli, I, Paris 1985, 64–68.
- Mylonas P., *Ο αρχιτεκτονικός όρος «χορός»*, πριν και μετά τον Όσιο Αθανάσιο τον Αθωνίτη, 4^ο Συμπόσιο Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής Αρχαιολογίας και Τέχνης, Athens 1984, 39–40 [Mylonas P., *O architektonikos oros «choros»*, prin kai meta ton Hosio Athanasio ton Athōnitē, 4th Symposio Vyzantinēs kai Metavyzantinēs Archaialogias kai Technēs, Athens 1984, 39–40].
- Mylonas P., *Παρατηρήσεις στο καθολικό Χελανδαρίου και ρυθμολογικά συμπεράσματα*, 4^ο Συμπόσιο Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής Αρχαιολογίας και Τέχνης, Athens 1984, 41–43 [Mylonas P., *Paratērēseis sto katholiko Chelandariou kai rythmologika sumperasmata*, 4th Symposio Vyzantinēs kai Metavyzantinēs Archaialogias kai Technēs, Athens 1984, 41–43].
- Mylonas P., *Παρατηρήσεις στο καθολικό Χελανδαρίου. Η διαμόρφωση του ναού Αθωνικού τύπου με χορούς και λιτή στον Άγιον Όρος*, Αρχαιολογία 14 (1985) 64–83 [Mylonas P., *Paratērēseis sto katholiko Chelandariou. H diamorphōsē tou naou Athōnikou tyrou me chorous kai litē ston Agiou Oros*, Archaologia 14 (1985) 64–83].
- Mylonas P., *Παρατηρήσεις στο Καθολικό Ιβήρων*, 5^ο Συμπόσιο Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής Αρχαιολογίας και Τέχνης, Athens 1985, 66–68 [Mylonas P., *Paratērēseis sto Katholiko Ivērōn*, 5th Symposio Vyzantinēs kai Metavyzantinēs Archaialogias kai Technēs, Athens 1985, 66–68].
- Mylonas P., *Παρατηρήσεις στο ναό του Πρωτάτου*, Nea Hestia 89 (1971) 238–254 [Mylonas P., *Paratērēseis sto nao tou Prōtatau*, Nea Hestia 89 (1971) 238–254].
- Mylonas P., *Remarques architecturales sur le Catholicon de Chilandar. La formation graduelle du catholicon à absides latérales ou chœurs et à liti au Mont Athos*, Hilendarski zbornik 6 (1986) 7–38.
- Mylonas P., *Τα Καθολικά Προφήτη Ηλίου Θεσσαλονίκης και Κουτλουμουσίου Αγίου Όρους. Η τελευταία φάση στην εξέλιξη του αγιορείτικου καθολικού*, 9^ο Συμπόσιο Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής Αρχαιολογίας και Τέχνης, Athens 1989, 58–61 [Mylonas P., *Ta Katholika Prophētē Hēliou Thessalonikēs kai Koutloumousiou Agiou Orous. Hē teleutaia phasē stēn ekseliksē tou agioretikou katholikou*, 9th Symposio Vyzantinēs kai Metavyzantinēs Archaialogias kai Technēs, Athens 1989, 58–61].
- Mylonas P., *Two Middle Byzantine Churches on Athos*, Actes du XV^e Congrès international d' Études byzantines, II, Athens 1976, 545–574.
- Nenadović S., *Architektura Hilandara. Crkve i paraklisi*, Hilendarski zbornik 3 (1974) 199, 201.
- Nikonanos N., *Βυζαντινοί ναοί της Θεσσαλίας από το 10^ο αιώνα ως την κατάκτηση της περιοχής από τους Τούρκους το 1393*, Athens 1979 (Nikonanos N., *Vyzantinoi naoi tēs Thessalias apo to 10^o aiōna os tēs kataktēsē tēs periochēs apo tous Tourkous to 1393*, Athens 1979).
- Orlandos A., *Η επί της Όθρυος Μονή της Αντινίτης*, Επετηρίς της Εταιρείας Βυζαντινών Σπουδών 7 (1930) 378–379 [Orlandos A., *Hē epī tēs Othruos Monē tēs Antinitsēs*, Epetēris tēs Etaireias Vyzantinōn Spoudōn 7 (1930) 378–379].
- Orlandos A., *Η επί της Πίνδου ιερά μονή Κορώνης*, Επετηρίς της Εταιρείας Βυζαντινών Σπουδών 15 (1939) 407–408 [Orlandos A., *Hē epī tēs Pindou iera monē Korōnēs*, Epetēris tēs Etaireias Vyzantinōn Spoudōn 15 (1939) 407–408].
- 48 Mylonas P., *Gavits arméniens et Litae byzantines*, CA 38 (1990) 99–122.

- Orlandos A., *Νεότεραι έρευναι εν Αγίω Τίτω της Γορτύνης*, Επετηρίς της Εταιρείας Βυζαντινών Σπουδών 3 (1926) 328 [Orlandos A., *Neōterai ereunai en Agiō Titō tēs Gortynēs*, Epētēris tēs Etaireias Vyzantinōn Spoudōn 3 (1926) 328].
- Orlandos A., *Ο Άγιος Δημήτριος της Βαράσοβας*, Αρχείον Βυζαντινών Μνημείων Ελλάδος 1 (1935) 110 [Orlandos A., *O Agios Dēmētrios tēs Varasovas*, Archeion Vyzantinōn Mnēmeiōn Ellados 1 (1935) 110].
- Ousterhout R., *Master Builders of Byzantium*, Princeton 1999.
- Papagelos I., *Ειδήσεις για τα Ιβηρικά μετόχια της Ιερισσού*, Byzantina 13/2 (1985) 1569–1618 [Papagelos I., *Eidēseis gia ta Iveritika metochia tēs Ierissou*, Byzantina 13/2 (1985) 1569–1618].
- Papagelos I., *Ο αρχιτεκτονικός όρος «χορός» και ο Όσιος Αθανάσιος ο Αθωνίτης*, 5^ο Συμπόσιο Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής Αρχαιολογίας και Τέχνης, Αθήνα 1985, 73–74 [Papagelos I., *O Architektonikos oros «choros» kai o Hosios Athanasios o Athōnitēs*, 5th Symposio Vyzantinēs kai Metavyzantinēs Archaialogias kai Technēs, Athēna 1985, 73–74].
- Papazotos Th., *Η Μονή Ακαπνίου – Ο ναός του Προφήτη Ηλία*, Θεσσαλονικέων Πόλις 2 (1997) 53–58 [Papazotos Th., *Hē Monē Akarniou – O naos tou Prophētē Hēlia*, Thessalonikeōn Polis 2 (1997) 53–58].
- Papazotos Th., *Σχόλιο πάνω σε μια φωτογραφία της Αγίας Σοφίας Αδριανουπόλεως*, Θρακική επετηρίδα 9 (Komotini 1992–1994) 35 [Papazotos Th., *Scholio panō se mia rhōtographia tēs Agias Sophias Adrianoupoleōs*, Thrakike epētērida 9 (Komotēnē 1992–1994) 35].
- Phountas P., *Η δεύτερη οικοδομική φάση της εκκλησίας του Πρωτάτου*, 21^ο Συμπόσιο Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής Αρχαιολογίας και Τέχνης, Athens 2001, 98–99 [Phountas P., *Hē deuterē oikodomikē phasē tēs ekklēsiās tou Prōtatau*, 21th Symposio Vyzantinēs kai Metavyzantinēs Archaialogias kai Technēs, Athens 2001, 98–99].
- Phountas P., *Η τυπολογία της πρώτης φάσης του Πρωτάτου*, 5^ο Συμπόσιο Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής Αρχαιολογίας και Τέχνης, Athens 1985, 98 [Phountas P., *Hē typologia tēs prōtēs phasēs tou Prōtatau*, 5th Symposio Vyzantinēs kai Metavyzantinēs Archaialogias kai Technēs, Athens 1985, 98].
- Phountas P., *Ο ναός του Πρωτάτου. Ιστορία και αρχιτεκτονικές μεταμορφώσεις*, Athens 2008 (unpublished doctoral thesis, National Technical University of Athens) [Phountas P., *O naos tou Prōtatau. Istoría kai architektonikēs metamorphōseis*, Athēna 2008 (unpublished doctoral thesis, National Technical University of Athens)].
- Phountas P., *Πάλιμψηστου τοιχοδομικού επανανάγνωση. Το πρόβλημα του πλίνθινου διακόσμου στο ναό του Πρωτάτου*, 22^ο Συμπόσιο Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής Αρχαιολογίας και Τέχνης, Athens 2002, 116–117 [Phountas P., *Palimpsēstou toichodomikou epananagnōsē. To problēma tou plinthinou diakosmou sto nao tou Prōtatau*, 22th Symposio Vyzantinēs kai Metavyzantinēs Archaialogias kai Technēs, Athens 2002, 116–117].
- Phountas P., *Πρωτάτο του Αγίου Αθανασίου: Τα επί μέρους άγνωστα στοιχεία της διάρθρωσης των πλευρικών όψεων. Τεκμηρίωση*, 19^ο Συμπόσιο Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής Αρχαιολογίας και Τέχνης, Athens 1999, 111–112 [Phountas P., *Prōtato tou Agiou Athanasiou: Ta epi merous agnōsta stoicheia tēs diarthrōsēs tōn pleurikōn opseōn. Tekmērīōsē*, 19th Symposio Vyzantinēs kai Metavyzantinēs Archaialogias kai Technēs, Athens 1999, 111–112].
- Phountas P., *Σκάριφος και δομική χάραξη της κάτοψης στο ναό του Πρωτάτου*, 17^ο Συμπόσιο Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής Αρχαιολογίας και Τέχνης, Athens 1997, 79–80 [Phountas P., *Skariphos kao domikē charaksē tēs katopsēs sto nao tou Prōtatau*, 17th Symposio Vyzantinēs kai Metavyzantinēs Archaialogias kai Technēs, Athens 1997, 79–80].
- Phountas P., *Το Πρωτάτο του Αγίου Αθανασίου: Αναπαράσταση Ν. όψης*, Makedonika 31 (1998) 417–419 [Phountas P., *To Prōtato tou Agiou Athanasiou: Anaparastasē N. opsēs*, Makedonika 31 (1998) 417–419].
- Phountas P., *Ξυλόπηκτες θολωτές οροφές σε ναούς της βυζαντινής περιόδου. Ενδείξεις για το Πρωτάτο*, 24^ο Συμπόσιο Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής Αρχαιολογίας και Τέχνης, Athens 2004, 98–99 [Phountas P., *Χυλοπέκτες tholōtēs orophēs se naous tēs Vyzantinēs periodou. En-deikseis gia to Prōtato*, 24th Symposio Vyzantinēs kai Metavyzantinēs Archaialogias kai Technēs, Athens 2004, 98–99].
- deikseis gia to Prōtato, 24th Symposio Vyzantinēs kai Metavyzantinēs Archaialogias kai Technēs, Athens 2004, 98–99].
- Sotiriou G., *Το Άγιον Όρος*, Athens 1916 [Sotiriou G., *To Agion Oros*, Athens 1916].
- Sotiriou G., *Χριστιανική και Βυζαντινή Αρχαιολογία, 1: Χριστιανικά κοιμητήρια – Εκκλησιαστική αρχιτεκτονική*, Athens 1942 (Sotiriou G., *Christianikē kai Vyzantinē Archaialogia, 1: Christianika koimētēria – Ekklesiastikē architektonikē*, Athens 1942).
- Steppan Th., *Die Athos-Lavra und der trikonchale Kuppelnaos in der byzantinischen Architektur*, München 1995.
- Strzygowski J., *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa*, Wien 1918.
- Strzygowski J., *Kleinasion, ein Neuland der Kunstgeschichte*, Leipzig 1903.
- Tantsis A., *The so-called "Athonite" type of church and two shrines of the Theotokos in Constantinople*, Zograf 34 (2010) 3–11.
- Theocharidis Pl., *Η αρχιτεκτονική στο Άγιον Όρος την εποχή των Παλαιολόγων*, in: Β' Συμπόσιο. «Η Μακεδονία κατά την εποχή των Παλαιολόγων» (Θεσσαλονίκη 14–20 Δεκεμβρίου 1992), Thessaloniki 2002, 375 [Theocharidis Pl., *Hē architektonikē sto Agiou Oros tēn epochē tōn Palaiologōn*, in: Β' Symposio. «Hē Makedonia kata tēn epochē tōn Palaiologōn» (Thessalonikē 14–20 Dekemvriou 1992), Thessaloniki 2002, 375].
- Theophanes continuatus, *Ioannes Cameniata, Symeon Magister, Georgius monachus*, ed. I. Bekker, Bonn 1838.
- Varalis Y., *Deux églises à choeur triconque de l' Illyricum oriental. Observations sur leur type architectural*, Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique 123 (1999) 197.
- Velenis G., *Η αρχιτεκτονική Σχολή της Μακεδονίας, κατά την μέση και ύστερη βυζαντινή περίοδο*, Σύναξη 63 (Athens 1997) 57 [Velenis G., *Hē architektonikē Scholē tēs Makedonias, kata tēn mesē kai usterē Vyzantinē periodō*, Synaxē 63 (1997) 57].
- Velenis G., *Μεσοβυζαντινή ναοδομία στη Θεσσαλονίκη*, Athens 2003 [Velenis G., *Mesovyzantinē naodomia stē Thessalonikē*, Athens 2003].
- Vocotopoulos P., *Church Architecture in Thessaloniki in the 14th century. Remarks on the Typology*, in: *L'art de Thessalonique et des pays balkaniques et les courants spirituels au XIV^e siècle*, ed. R. Samardžić, Belgrade 1987, 111–112.
- Vocotopoulos P., *Οι μεσαιωνικοί ναοί της Θεσσαλονίκης και η θέση τους στα πλαίσια της βυζαντινής ναοδομίας*, in: *Η Θεσσαλονίκη μεταξύ Ανατολής και Δύσεως*, Thessaloniki 1982, 102–103 [Vocotopoulos P., *Oi mesaiōnikoi naoi tēs Thessalonikēs kai ē thesē tous sta plaisia tēs vyzantinēs naodomias*, in: *Hē Thessalonikē metaksu Anatolēs kai Duseōs*, Thessaloniki 1982, 102–103].
- Vocotopoulos P., *Ο τρίκογχος ναός του Αγίου Νικολάου στο Πλατάνι της Αχαιάς*, in: *Αρμός. Τιμητικός τόμος στον καθηγητή Ν. Κ. Μουτσόπουλο για τα 25 χρόνια πνευματικής του προσφοράς στο Πανεπιστήμιο*, 1, Thessaloniki 1990, 384, n. 9 [Vocotopoulos P., *Ho trikonchos naos tou Hagiou Nikolaou sto Platani tēs Achaias*, in: *Armos. Timētikos tomos ston kathēgētē N. K. Moutsopoulo gia ta 25 chronia pneumatikēs tou prosphoras sto Panepistēmio*, 1, Thessaloniki 1990, 384, n. 9].
- Vocotopoulos P., *Παρατηρήσεις στην λεγόμενη βασιλική του Αγίου Νικωνος*, Πρακτικά του Α' Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακών Σπουδών, II, Athens 1977, 273–285 (Vocotopoulos P., *Paratērēseis stēn legomenē vasilikē tou Agiou Nikōnos*, Praktika tou I. Sunedriou Peloponnēsiakōn Spoudōn, II, Athēns 1977, 273–285).
- Vocotopoulos P., *The Role of Constantinopolitan Architecture during the Middle and Late Byzantine Period*, JÖB 31/2 (1981) 551–573.
- Vocotopoulos P., *Th. Steppan, Die Athos-Lavra und der trikonchale Kuppelnaos in der byzantinischen Architektur*, München 1995, JÖB 48 (1998) 401, 403.
- Wulff O., *Altchristliche und byzantinische Kunst*, Leipzig 1914.
- Xyngopoulos A., *Τα βυζαντινά και τουρκικά μνημεία των Αθηνών*, in: *Ευρετήριο των Μεσαιωνικών Μνημείων της Ελλάδος* 2 (Athens 1929) 77 [Xyngopoulos A., *Ta vyzantina kai tourkika mnēmeia tōn Athēnōn*, in: *Evretērion tōn Mesaiōnikōn Mnēmeiōn tēs Ellados 2* (Athens 1929) 77].

Прилог проучавању „светогорског“ типа цркве у византијској архитектури

Ставрос Мамалукос

Током недовољно истраживања историје и архитектуре католикона манастира Ватопеда установљено је да је реч о *par excellence* примеру цркве уписаног крста с куполом, бочним конхама (*choroi*) и двоспратном припратом. С обзиром на то да је дуго сматран једним од најбоље очуваних примера таквог типа грађевине, католикон Ватопеда може послужити као поуздана основа за проучавање такозваног светогорског типа цркве.

Испитивање „светогорског“ типа цркве има дугу историју. Пре око једног столећа начињени су први покушаји одређивања и описивања одлика тог типа византијског храма, као и покушаји утврђивања његовог порекла и развоја. Поменуте одлике, међутим, углавном су препознване према непоузданим цртежима основа, у време када често сложене манастирске грађевине нису биле истражене у довољној мери, а испитивања о етапама њихове изградње нису била спроведена, нити је постојао одговарајући компаративни материјал. Природа података стога је често водила истраживања у погрешним правцима. Озбиљни истраживачки проблеми у вези са „светогорским“ типом грађевине проистичу из примењиване методологије историје архитектуре.

Многи истраживачи указивали су у студијама о византијској архитектури, као и у њеним прегледима, на „светогорски“ тип грађевине. Професор Пол Милонас аутор је до данас најсистематичнијег прегледа посвећеног „светогорском“ типу грађевине у византијској архитектури. Питање „светогорског“ типа грађевине може се посматрати у неколико ракурса: примери „светогорског“ типа цркве на Светој гори и ван ње чине велику групу грађевина подигнутих у различитим друштвено-историјским контекстима. Углавном није реч о појединачним грађевинама,

већ о целокупном манастирском комплексу, где је препознавање различитих градитељских етапа неретко отежано. Одређивање општих одлика „светогорског“ типа углавном задовољава потребу оквирног описивања целине, чиме се неизбежно занемарују особености које проистичу из различитих утицаја на градитељско стварање. Напоследку, назив *светогорски тип*, који подразумева цркву уписаног крста са четири слободна подупирача и бочним конхама, без обзира на структуру западног постројења, чини се и више но сигурном основом за будућа испитивања.

Питање порекла „светогорског“ типа јесте једно од питања која су током дужег времена у фокусу испитивања. Изгледа вероватно да је реч о цркви чије се порекло може приписати Цариграду или подручју под непосредним утицајем престонице. То би могло говорити у прилог претпоставци о посебном односу Свете горе и Цариграда крајем X и почетком XI века. Уз опште архитектонске особености католикона Ватопеда и Ивилона, може се одредити више елемената који се морфолошки везују с престоничким градитељством. Чињеница да се „светогорски“ тип грађевине није сачувао у Цариграду и околини могла би се објаснити тиме што су многи споменици у том региону уништени.

Замисао „светогорског“ типа вероватно произлази из комбинације типичног цариградског решења цркве – развијеног уписаног крста с куполом – са градитељском праксом познатом из римског, ранохришћанског и средњовизантијског периода, уз конхе у попречној оси грађевине. Коначно, као што је својевремено приметно Војислав Кораћ, функционалност јесте једна од битних особености „светогорског“ типа цркве у византијској архитектури.