Σχετικά με την παράδοση των Βλαχερνών στη Ρωσία

Olga ETINHOF

Olga Etinhof

ONCE MORE ON THE BLACHERNAE TRADITION IN OLD RUSSIA

Η ιδέα της προστασίας της Θεοτόκου και του μαφορίου της είχε μεγάλη σημασία στη μεσαιωνική Ρωσία. Σύμφωνα με το Πατερικόν της Μονής των Σπηλαίων, η Παναγία έστειλε αρχιτέκτονες στο Κίεβο για να κτίσουν την εκκλησία της μονής. Κατά την περίοδο του Ανδρέα Bogoliubsky, η λατρεία της Μεσιτείας της Θεοτόκου άρχισε να διαδίδεται. Η τοπογραφία των κτηριακών συγκροτημάτων, τόσο στο Βλαδιμήρ όσο και στο Κρεμλίνο της Μόσχας, τα οποία αποτελούνταν από τον Καθεδρικό της Κοίμησης και από τον ναό της Κατάθεσης της Τιμίας Εσθήτος της Θεοτόκου, απηχούσε την ιερή τοπογραφία των Βλαχερνών.

The idea of the protection by the Virgin and her Robe was very important in Old Russia. According to the Paterikon of the Monastery of the Caves, the Virgin sent architects to Kiev to construct the monastery's church. Under Andrew Bogoliubsky the veneration of the Intercession of the Virgin began to spread. The layout of the building complexes in Vladimir and in the Moscow Kremlin, both of which comprised a Dormition Cathedral and a church of the Deposition of the Robe, reflected the sacred topography in Blachernae.

When referring to the Blachernae tradition in Old Russia, it is necessary to consider the known information about the famous shrine in Constantinople which was the main center for the veneration of the Virgin[1]. The churches of the Blachernae complex have not been preserved; the basilica was burned down in 1434[2], but descriptions of the shrine have come down to us in medieval texts. Constantinople was perceived as "the city of the Theotokos"[3]. According to C. Mango, the original dedication of the city to the Virgin took place under Constantine the Great[4]. Not later than in the 6th century, the Virgin came to be considered the protectress of the capital[5].

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* *Institute of the Theory and History of Fine Arts – Russian Academy of Arts, Russian State University of Humanities, etinhof@mail.ru*

[1] A. Cameron, "The Theotokos in Sixth-Century Constantinople", *Journal of Theological Studies*, N.S., 29 (1978), 87.

[2] R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin.* Première partie: *Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique. 3: Les églises et les monastères*, Paris 1969, 168.

[3] C. Mango, "Constantinople as Theotokoupolis", *Mother of God: Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art* (exhibition catalogue), ed. M. Vassilaki, Athens – Milan 2000, 16-25.

[4] A. Frolow, "La dédicace de Constantinople dans la tradition byzantine", *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 127 (1944), 61-127. F. Halkin, "Une nouvelle Vie de Constantin dans le legendier de Patmos", *Analecta Bollandiana* 77 (1959), 79, 83-84. V. Limberis, *Divine Heiress: The Virgin Mary and the Creation of Christian Constantinople*, London – New York 1994, 53-61,121-130.

[5] C. Mango, "The Origins of the Blachernae Shrine at Constantinople", *Acta XIII Congressus Internationalis Archaeologiae Christianae (Split – Poreč, 25.9-1.10.1994)*, II, eds N. Cambi – E. Marin, Vatican City – Split 1998, 61-76.

The main relic of Constantinople, the Robe of the Virgin, venerated as the palladium, was preserved in the chapel of the Hagia Soros in Blachernae. The Blachernae churches were founded near the Golden Horn, where the city was open to attacks of enemy fleets. After the siege by the Avars in 626, the church was surrounded by a wall[6]. In 626, the Robe was transferred to the Church of the Theotokos in Chalkoprateia, but the patriarch Sergius returned it to Blachernae. In commemoration of this event, the feast of the Deposition of the Robe was established on July 2[7].

The Blachernae shrine included three buildings: a large church and two chapels[8]. According to Theodore Lector and authors of later chronicles, the basilica in Blachernae was built under Pulcheria in 451[9]. In A. Wenger's opinion, the legend that the relics of the Virgin were brought to Constantinople under Leo the Great and placed in the church built for them about 473, is more plausible[10].

According to Nikephoros Callistus, the chapel of the Hagia Soros was a centrally planned church with a dome. C. Mango believes that it could have been either round or octagonal; in his reconstruction he proposes an octagon[11] (Fig. 1). N. P. Kondakov had noted the affinities between the chapel of the Hagia Soros and memorial buildings of the Holy Land[12]. The Blachernae shrine served as a reminder of an image of Holy Zion in the sacred topography and in processions of medieval Constantinople. According to a legend, the Dormition of the Virgin took place in Zion and the Robe was associated with the cult of the Dormition, after which the relic was rescued; thus, the Dormition became the feast of the Blachernae shrine[13]. However, at the end of the 4th century, the basilica was built on Mount Zion, but not as a centrally planned church[14]. Nevertheless, two Marian churches with an octagonal plan are attested in the vicinity of Jerusalem during the 5th-6th century, one in Gethsemane and the other in the church in Kathisma[15].

Procopius ascribes the foundation of the basilica in Blachernae to Justinian I during the reign of Justin I (518-527)[16]. Justin II enlarged the basilica and attached

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[6] R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine: Développement urbain et répertoire topographique*, Paris 1964, 285-286. C. Foss – D. Winfield, *Byzantine Fortifications: An Introduction*, Pretoria 1986, 47, 50. P. Magdalino, "Medieval Constantinople", P. Magdalino, *Studies on the history and topography of Byzantine Constantinople*, Ashgate Variorum, Aldershot 2007, Study I, 27 ff. *The Greek Anthology* with an English translation by W. R. Paton, London – New York ³1927, vol. I, no 120 p. 52-53. https://archive.org/stream/greekanthology01pato#page/52/mode/2up.

[7] A. Cameron, "The Virgin's Robe: an episode in the history of early seventh-century Constantinople", *Byzantion* 49 (1979), 42-56. P. Magdalino, "Constantine V and the middle age of Constantinople", Magdalino, *Studies on the history*, op.cit. (n. 6), Study IV, 1-24.

[8] N. P. Kondakov, *Иконография Богоматери* (*The Iconography of the Virgin*), 2, Petersburg 1915, 56.

[9] Janin, *La géographie*, op.cit. (n. 2), 161-171. A. Berger, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinupoleos* (Poikila Byzantina 8), Bonn 1988, 534. Ch. Delvoye, "L'architecture paléobyzantine à Constantinople aux IVe et Ve siècles", *XXIII CorsiRav*, Ravenna 1976, 165-166. A. M. Vysotskiy, "Церковь Богоматери Влахернской в Константинополе. Ее отражения на Руси и византийско-русские архитектурные связи в домонгольскую эпоху" ("The Church of the Virgin of Blachernae in Constantinople. Its reflections in Old Russia and Byzantine-russian relations in the premongolian period"), *Vizantijskiy vremennik* 64 (89) (2005), 211-224.

[10] A. Wenger, *L'Assomption de la T.S. Vierge dans la tradition byzantine du VIe au Xe siècle. Études et documents*, Paris 1955. Idem, "Notes inédites sur les empereurs Théodose I, Arcadius,

Théodose I, Théodose II, Léon I", *REB* 10 (1952), 54-59.

[11] Mango, "The Origins", op.cit. (n. 5), 61-76.

[12] Kondakov, *The Iconography of the Virgin*, op.cit. (n. 8), 56. Ibidem, *Византийские церкви и памятники Константинополя* (*Byzantine churches and monuments of Constantinople*), Odessa 1886, 17-31.

[13] M. Van Esbroeck, "Le culte de la Vierge de Jérusalem à Constantinople aux 6e-7e siècles", *REB* 46 (1988) 188.

[14] A. Ovadiah, *Corpus of the Byzantine Churches in the Holy Land*, Bonn 1970, 89-90.

[15] L. H. Vincent – F.-M. Abel, *Jérusalem: recherches de topographie, d'archéologie et d'histoire*, Tome second: *Jérusalem nouvelle*, Fascicule IV, livre cinquième: *Les sanctuaires de second ordre à l'extérieur de la ville*, Paris 1912-1926, 808-810, 825-831, figs 349-350. Ovadiah, *Corpus*, op.cit. (n. 14), 6-97, cat. no 88, pl. 42. J. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims. Before Crusaders*, Warminster 1977, 163. R. Avner-Levy, "The Mosaics of the 'Kathisma' and the Dome of the Rock", *Scripture and picture: the Bible in Jewish, christian and islamic art. Sixth International Seminar on Jewish Art, Abstracts*, Jerusalem 1999.

[16] Procopius, *De aedificiis*, I, 3, J. Haury (ed.), *Procopii Caesariensis opera*, III/2, Leipzig 1913, 20. Kondakov, *The Iconography of the Virgin*, op.cit. (n. 8), 59. I. B. Papadopoulos, *Les palais et les églises des Blachernes*, Thessalonique 1928, 91-95. G. Mercati, "Due nuove memorie della basilica di S. Maria delle Blacherne", *Memorie*, vol. 1, parte 1: *Miscellanea Giovanni Battista de Rossi*, parte
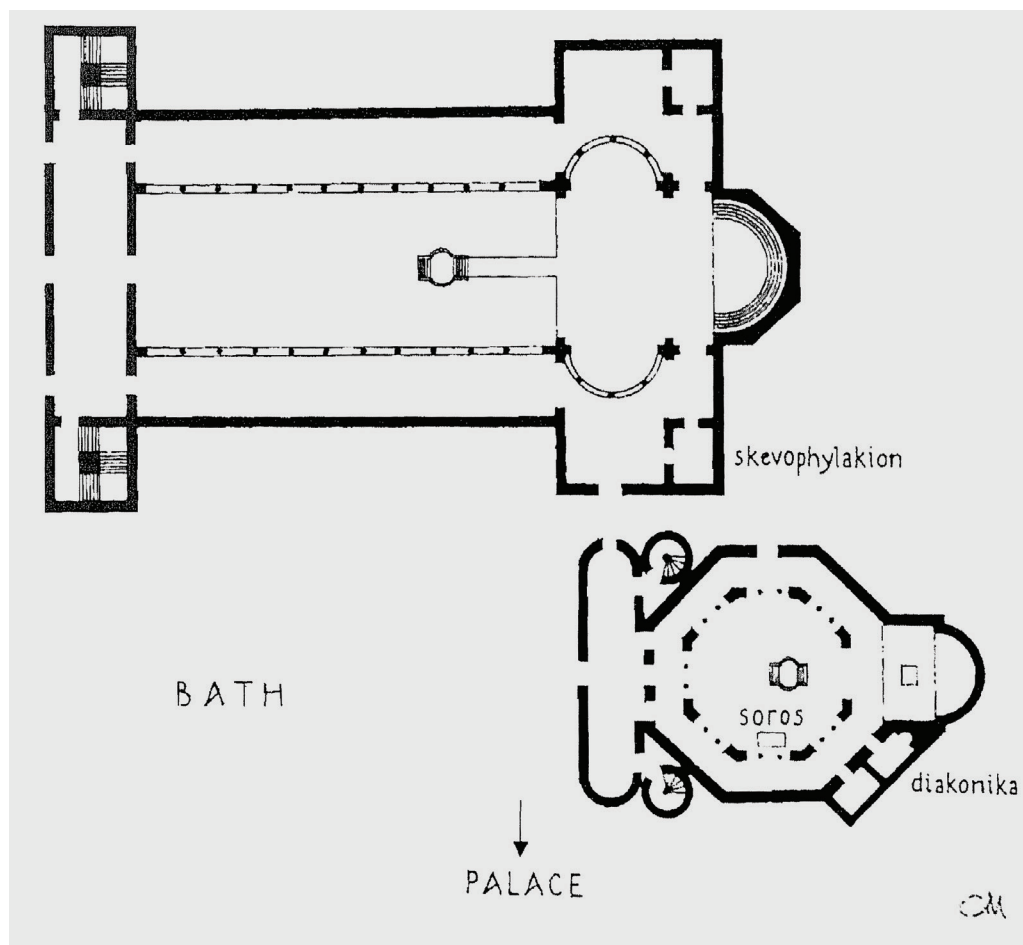
Fig. 1. Constantinople. The Blachernae shrine, plan (after C. Mango).

to it two apses (exedras) to the north and south[17]. I. Papadopoulos believes that it was a three-aisled basilica without a dome[18]. The colonnades would have curved in the center of the church, freeing the space for the Ambo and creating a cruciform space for the central nave. The cruciform plan was developed when the rebuilding took place. S. Miranda proposes a reconstruction of a three-aisled cross-shaped basilica, similar to the plan of the

Qal'at Sim'ān shrine[19]. C. Mango reconstructed it as a basilica with a rectangular transept adjacent to the apse, following N. P. Kondakov[20]. In the churches of the 6th century, exedras with colonnades and galleries over the side aisles were in use[21].

Neither the texts of Chronicles nor Procopius mention the existence of a dome in the basilica. R. Janin,

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prima, Rome 1923, 26-27. C. Mango, *The Art of Byzantine Empire 312-1453. Sources and Documents*, New Jersey 1972, 125 note 14.

[17] Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, I, Leipzig 1883, 244. Papadopoulos, *Les palais*, op.cit., 109. Mango, *The Art*, op.cit., 124-125. *The Greek Anthology*, op.cit. (n. 6), nos 2, 3 p. 2-3.n A. Cameron, "The artistic patronage of Justin II", *Byzantion* 50 (1980), 78.

[18] Papadopoulos, *Les palais*, op.cit. (n. 16), 107-110.

[19] S. Miranda, *Les palais des empereurs byzantins*, Mexico 1965, plan.

[20] Kondakov, *The Iconography of the Virgin*, op.cit. (n. 8), 56. Kondakov, *Byzantine churches and monuments of Constantinople*, 19. Mango, "The Origins", op.cit. (n. 5), 61-76.

[21] R. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, New Haven – London 1986, 205-236. M. Harrison, *A Temple for Byzantium. The Discovery and Excavation of Anicia Juliana's Palace-Church in Istanbul*, Austin 1989.

Ch. Delvoye, and A. Cameron assume that Procopius may have meant the erection of a domed building by Justinian I[22]. The dominant type for Constantinopolitan architecture of the 6th century was the domed basilica. However, later sources do not indicate a dome[23]. C. Mango believes that initially the basilica may have had a fragile central architectural element (dome, vault or tower), which was subsequently abolished[24].

According to Pseudo-Kodinos, the chapel of the spring was built by Leo the Great[25]. Theophanes, Kedrenos and the Book of the Eparch give information about the foundation of the bathhouse in the Blachernae district in 581 by Tiberius and its completion under Mauricius[26]. A. Berger and P. Magdalino believed that the reference in Kedrenos was also related to the chapel of the spring[27].

Thanks to the Book of Ceremonies of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, it is possible to recreate the general topography of the Blachernae shrine[28]. According to I. Papadopoulos, S. Miranda and F. Dirimtekin, the chapel of the Hagia Soros was situated at the south-east side of the basilica[29]. C. Mango placed the chapel of the Hagia Soros east of the basilica. In his plan, he placed the chapel of the spring at the south side of the complex, west of the chapel of the Hagia Soros[30] (Fig. 1). The disposition of the cruciform basilica with the octagonal chapel of the Hagia Soros is reconstructed in the project "Byzantium1200"[31].

Pseudo-Kodinos reports that Basil II restored the chapel of the spring and adorned it with gold and silver[32]. According to Kedrenos, the walls in the basilica were previously covered with silver plating and Romanos III covered the capitals with silver and gold[33]. The complex was damaged by fire in 1069-1070 and was restored, under Romanos IV Diogenes and Michael VII Doukas[34]. According to Michael Attaliates, the church was functioning by 1077[35]. The Tarragon anonymous admires the abundance of gold and silver[36]. The floor and walls were covered with marble; there was silver plating on the walls, as Kedrenos and the Tarragon anonymous reported. In the Komnenian period, the Blachernae shrine became even more significant, as Alexios I and Manuel rebuilt the Blachernae Palace as an imperial residence[37].

Ruy González de Clavijo (before 1404 or after 1406) and Isidore of Kiev (after 1434) confirm that the basilica did not have a dome, but was a timber-roofed building[38]. Clavijo and the Armenian pilgrim (before 1434) reported about the galleries above the lateral naves in the basilica, as well as about the colonnade.

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[22] Janin, *La géographie*, op.cit. (n. 2), 161-171. Delvoye, *L'architecture*, op.cit. (n. 9), 165-166. Cameron, "The artistic", op.cit. (n. 17), 78. Miranda, *Les palais*, op.cit. (n. 19), plan.

[23] Papadopoulos, *Les palais*, op.cit. (n. 16), 107-110. A. M. Schneider, "Die Blachernen", *Oriens* 4 (1951), 102-104.

[24] Mango, "The Origins", op.cit. (n. 5), 61-76.

[25] Berger, *Untersuchungen*, op.cit. (n. 9), 541.

[26] Theophanes, *Chronographia*, op.cit. (n. 17), 244. Georgius Cedrenus, ed. I. Bekker, I, Bonn 1838, 684.

[27] Georgius Cedrenus, op.cit., 690, 694. Papadopoulos, *Les palais*, op.cit. (n. 16), 91-95. Janin, *La géographie*, op.cit. (n. 2), 162. A. Berger, *Das Bad in der byzantinischen Zeit* (*Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia* 27), München 1982, 81-84. Miranda, *Les palais*, op.cit. (n. 19), plan.

[28] Constantin VII Porphyrogénète, *Le Livre des cérémonies*, A. Vogt (ed.), 1, Paris 1935, 139-142.

[29] Papadopoulos, *Les palais*, op.cit. (n. 16), plan. Schneider, "Die Blachernen", op.cit. (n. 23), plan. Miranda, *Les palais*, op.cit. (n. 19), 130-132, plan. F. Dirimtekin, "Les fouilles dans la région des Blachernes pour retrouver les substructions des palais des Comnènes", *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi* 9/2 (1959), 27.

[30] Mango, "The Origins", op.cit. (n. 5), 61-76.

[31] http://www.byzantium1200.com/blachernae.html.

[32] Th. Preger (ed.), *Patria Constantinopoleos. Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, 2 vols, Leipzig 1901-1907, II, 283. Janin, *La géographie*, op.cit. (n. 2), 162. Berger, *Untersuchungen*, op.cit. (n. 9), 542.

[33] Mango, *The Art*, op.cit (n. 16), 154-155.

[34] Janin, *La géographie*, op.cit (n. 2), 161-171.

[35] Michaelis Attaliotae, *Historia* (CSHB 3), Bonn 1853, 253. Kondakov, *The Iconography of the Virgin*, op.cit (n. 8), 56. Papadopoulos, *Les palais*, op.cit. (n. 16), 112. Berger, *Das Bad*, op.cit. (n. 27), 81-84. Berger, *Untersuchungen*, op.cit. (n. 9), 541-542.

[36] K. N. Ciggaar, "Une description de Constantinople dans le Tarragonensis 55", *REB* 53 (1995), 121-122, 130.

[37] Janin, *Constantinople*, op.cit. (n. 6), 123-124. W. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls*, Tübingen 1977, 223-224.

[38] *Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo to the Court of Timour at Samarcand, A.D. 1403-6*, Hakluyt Society 1859; English translation by Guy de Stranza, London 1928, Foreword by I. Dujčev, Variorum Reprints, London 1971, p. 41. Mercati, "Due nuove memorie", op.cit. (n. 16), 27-30. Papadopoulos, *Les palais*, op.cit. (n. 16), 114-115. S. Brock, "A Medieval armenian Pilgrim's description of Constantinople", *Revue des Études Arméniennes*, n.s., IV (1967), 88, 100.

Fig. 2. Moscow, State Tretyakov Gallery. The Suzdal icon of "The Intercession of the Theotokos", second half of the 14th century.

It is fruitful to turn to the 14th-century Suzdal icon (Moscow, State Tretiakov Gallery) "The Intercession of the Theotokos"[39] (Fig. 2). Its iconography is based on the vision of the Virgin by Andrew the Fool in the Chapel of the Hagia Soros. It shows three buildings: a basilica with a saddleback roof ending in a gable, the centrally-planned chapel with a dome and the tower-shaped chapel with a cone-shaped covering. It can be assumed that the chapels were located south of the basilica. This iconography means that the Blachernae shrine was very well known in Old Russia[40].

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[39] *Государственная Третьяковская галерея. Каталог собрания* (*State Tretiakov gallery. The Catalogue of the collection.* vol. 1: *Old Russian art of the 10th – beginning of the 15th centuries*), Moscow 1995, no 48 p. 121.

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[40] O. E. Etinhof, "Влахернское святилище в Константинополе и его значение для Древней Руси", *Храм земной и небесный* ("The Blachernae shrine in Constantinople and its meaning for Old

The Virgin was venerated as the protectress of the city in Kiev, as she was the patron saint of Constantinople. The Metropolitan Hilarion in the Sermon on Law and Grace wrote about the dedication of Kiev to the Virgin[41]. The cult of the Theotokos in Russian principalities was mainly associated with the Blachernae shrine and relics[42]. The references in the Chronicles of Georgios Monachos (George *Hamartolos*) and John Zonaras about the campaign of Askold and Dir to Constantinople and the sinking of a part of their fleet thanks to the Virgin's Robe in the Blachernae, which defended Constantinople, were included in the Primary Chronicle[43]. Prince Rostislav Mstislavich (his baptismal name was Michael) in his prayer to the Virgin, cited by the Ipatiev Chronicle under 1168, spoke about the Robe of the Virgin[44].

The relics of the Blachernae Schrine were well known in Old Russia; they were glorified in the Synaxarium and were mentioned by Russian pilgrims. Information about the Robe and the Girdle of the Theotokos as preserved in Blachernae were included in the Legend of the Icon of the Virgin of Vladimir[45].

The first cathedral in Kiev, the church of the Tithes, built by architects from Constantinople, was dedicated to the Virgin. Its complex included a princely palace with the adjacent church of the Theotokos. A. Poppe remarked that it was a kind of *Cappella palatina*[46].

The imperial palace and the shrine in Blachernae may have been used as a model in Kiev. According to D. V. Ainalov, the dedication of the church of the Tithes referred to the cruciform church of the Virgin of Blachernae in Korsun (Cherson), and through it to the Blachernae basilica in Constantinople[47]. Such a relationship refers to the sacred topography and the continuity of the dedication of the churches, since the plan of the church of the Tithes belongs to the cross-in-square type with narthex separated by a pair of additional western pillars (according to the terminology used in Russia, it is called a church with "six-pillars"). At the same time, the length from west to east and the crossing make it similar to the cruciform prototypes in Cherson and Constantinople.

According to chapter 2 of the *Paterikon* of the Monastery of the Caves (dated between 1222-1226), the construction of the Dormition church in 1073-1077 was related to the direct intervention of the Virgin-queen, who had summoned architects to Blachernae and had sent them to Kiev to build a church[48]. The architects came to Kiev and told Anthony and Theodosius about this. Anthony explained to them that the queen in question was the Virgin. The ambiguity of the queen's identity needed an explanation; the reference to Blachernae may have been an allusion to the imperial palace, in which case the invitation of the builders there could have been understood as a call to the Empress.

The builders of the Dormition church took into account the already existing tradition of a church type with narthex in Kiev (called a church with "six-pillars") (Fig. 3) and built it in accordance with the typology of the inscribed cross church of the Tithes. The Blachernae church could not have been dedicated to the feast of the Dormition of the Virgin: the feast was established after

Russia", *The temple on earth and on heaven*), vol. 2, Moscow 2009, 83-162.

[41] N. N. Voronin, "Из истории русско-византийской церковной борьбы XII в" ("From the history of Russian-byzantine church fight"), *Vizantijskij vremennik 26* (1965), 192 ff. Ya. N. Schapov, *Государство и церковь в Древней Руси X - XIII вв* (*The State and the church in Old Russia 10th-13th centuries*), Moscow 1989, 161-165.

[42] G. P. Majeska, *Russian travellers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (*DOS* 19), Washington, D.C. 1984, 45, 93, 151, 163, 187, 191.

[43] *Повесть временных лет* (*Primary Chronicle*), publication, translation and commentaries by D. S. Likhachev, Saint-Petersburg ²1996, 13, 149, 405-406, 598.

[44] Ипатьевская летопись (Полное собрание русских летописей) (*Hypatian Chronicle – Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles*), 2, Moscow 1998, 529-531.

[45] V. A. Kuchkin – T. A. Sumnikova, "Древнейшая редакция сказания об иконе Владимирской Богоматери", *Чудотворная икона в Византии и Древней Руси* ("The oldest version of the legend about the icon of the Virgin of Vladimir", *Miracle-working icons in Byzantium and old Russia*, Moscow 1996, 509.

[46] A. Poppe, "The Building of the Church of St. Sophia in Kiev", A. Poppe, *The Rise of Christian Russia*, London 1982, Study IV, 15-66.

[47] D. V. Ajnalov, *Мемории св. Климента и св. Мартина в Херсонесе* (*The Memorials of Saint Clement and Saint Martin in Chersonese*), Moscow 1915, 17-24.

[48] D. Abramovich, *Киево-Печерский патерик* (*The Paterikon of the Cave monastery in Kiev*), Kiev 1931, 5-6.
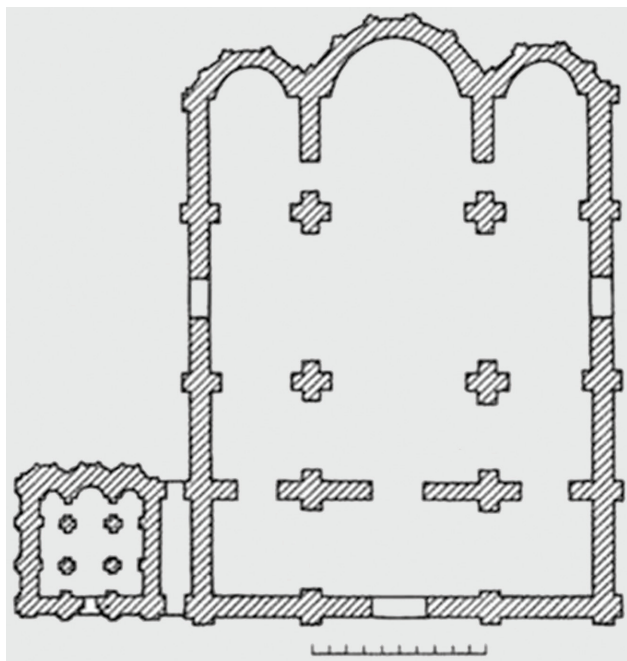
Fig. 3. Kiev. Monastery of the Caves, the church of the Dormition of the Virgin, plan (after P. A. Rappoport).

the church's construction[49]. However, the chapel of the Hagia Soros was likened to a martyrium, and the relic was associated with the cult of the Dormition[50]. The church in the monastery of the Caves also followed the Constantinopolitan model in terms of sacred ties, but not of the repetition of a certain architectural structure.

The archaeological investigations in the Caves church in Kiev proved the involvement of Constantinopolitan architects in its building[51]. Michael VII Doukas (1071-1078) sent two letters to the Russian princes asking for help against the Bulgarians and Chersonians; this means that during this period there were direct contacts between the Byzantine court and Russia[52]. Besides

the Greeks, the *Paterikon* also mentions the "Obezi" (Caucasians), who came to Kiev from Constantinople[53]. Maria-Martha Bagrationi, the daughter of the Georgian king Bagrat IV and the princess of Alania-Ossetia, married Michael VII Doukas and later became the wife of Nikephoros Botaneiates (1078-1081); she was the mother of Constantine Porphyrogenitus Doukas[54]. This means that some Caucasians could have taken part in the team of builders from Conastantinople. The events, described in the *Paterikon*, occurred in 1073-1077. At the same time, between 1069 and 1077, the Blachernae shrine was restored after the fire. The builders could have been invited to Kiev from the team which had worked in Blachernae. Thus, the legend of the *Paterikon* bears some traces of historicity.

According to chapter 4 of the *Paterikon*, in 1083-1084 icon painters came to Kiev from Constantinople to decorate the church of the Dormition[55]. Their arrival falls within the period of prince Vsevolod Yaroslavich's reign (1081-1093), who was married to the daughter of Constantine Monomachos. The consecration of the church occurred in 1089, according to the chronicle[56]. It was in the same year that the daughter of prince Vsevolod, the nun Yanka, visited her relatives in Constantinople and brought back to Kiev the new Metropolitan John Skopets [57]. Emperor Alexios I Komnenos was directly involved in the construction works in Blachernae in the 1080s: he rebuilt the Blachernae palace as the main imperial residence[58]. The team of the icon painters,

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[49] Th. Maertens, "Le développement liturgique et biblique du culte de Vierge", *Paroisse et liturgie* 36/44 (1954), 237. P. A. Rappoport, "Зодчество Древей Руси" ("Architecture of the Old Russia"), Leningrad 1986, 36.

[50] Van Esbroeck, "Le culte", op.cit (n. 13), 188.

[51] Р. А. Rappoport, "О роли византийского влияния в развитии древнерусской архитектуры" ("On the role of Byzantine influence in the development of Old Russian architecture"), *Vizantiyskiy Vremennik* 45 (1984), 186-191.

[52] *Труды В.Г. Васильевского* (*Collected works by V.G. Vasilievskiy*),

vol. 2, issue 1, Saint-Petersburg 1912, 37-38. F. I. Uspensky, *История Византийской империи XI-XV вв. Восточный вопрос* (*The History of Byzantine Empire 11th-15th century. The Eastern question*), Moscow 1997, 127.

[53] Abramovich, *The Paterikon of the Cave monastery in Kiev*, op.cit. (n. 48), 9.

[54] Mikaberidze A. "Die byzantinische Kaiserin Maria-Martha im Lichte neurer archaologischer Ausgrabungen", G. Koch (ed.), *Byzantinische Malerei. Bildprogramme – Ikonographie – Stil. Symposion in Marburg (25.-29.6.1997)*, Wiesbaden 2000, 183-210.

[55] Abramovich, *The Paterikon of the Cave monastery in Kiev*, op.cit. (n. 48), 9.

[56] *Primary Chronicle*, op.cit. (n. 43), 1089.

[57] Лаврентьевская летопись (*Полное собрание русских летописей*) (*Laurentian Chronicle– Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles*), 1, Moscow 1997, 208-209.

[58] *Iohannis Cantacuzeni eximperatoris Historiarum libri IV.*V., 1-3 (CSHB 20), Bonn 1828-1832, II, p. 611; III., p. 290. S. Runciman,

who came to Kiev in the 1080s, could possibly be linked with this stage of the works in Blachernae.

The relationship between the Caves Monastery in Kiev and the Blachernae complex is also highlighted by the story from the *Paterikon* about the abbot Stephen, expelled from the monastery, who founded the church of the Blachernae Virgin at Klov near Kiev in 1078-1083[59]. He established the feast of the Deposition of the Robe on July 2 in Russia[60]. In 1108 the construction of the church was completed; but it could have been built even before 1096[61]. The remains of the church were discovered by the excavations of P. P. Tolochko (1963) and of I. I. Movchan with V. A. Kharlamov (1974-1975)[62]. The foundation ditches and remains of the substructure had been preserved; only the north-western half of the building was uncovered.

The stone church in Klov was probably built by the same team, led by the architects from Constantinople, as in the church of the Caves monastery. We do not have reliable information about the typology of the church in Klov; the archaeological studies have led to various and contradictory reconstructions. Y. S. Aseev, V. A. Kharlamov and I. I. Movchan interpreted it as a three-aisled inscribed cross church with a very small crossing (3.4 m.), with two rows of galleries and an enlarged western part. They called this building an "eight-pillar church", which means that it had four pairs of pillars from east to west, but they did not reconstruct an octagon in the crossing![63] (Fig. 4).
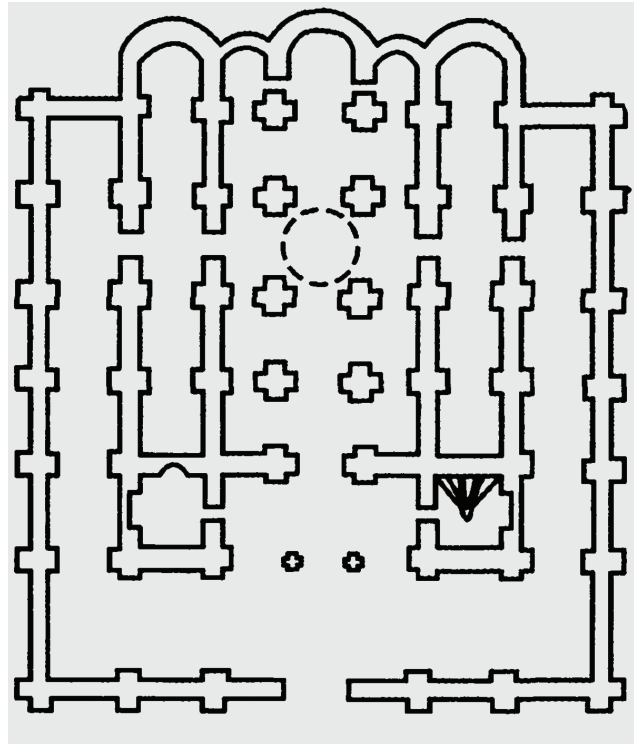

Fig. 4. Klov. The church of the Blachernae Virgin, plan-reconstruction (after Y. S. Aseev).

According to the reconstruction of G. N. Logvin, it was a large church with one row of galleries; in the center there was a huge dome (9.6 m. in dia.) on eight pillars, just like an octagon[64]. Two more reconstructions, based on G. N. Logvin's plan, were suggested by A. Y. Kazaryan and A. M. Vysotsky. A. M. Vysotsky called the structure he proposed a reduced cross-in-square building with a detour around the crossing and added that this crossing had included a domed octagon[65] (Fig. 5). The church of Saint George in the Mangana monastery (1042-1055) and the north church of Theotokos Pammakaristos in Constantinople (middle of the 11th century)

"Blachernae palace and its decoration", G. Robertson – G. Henderson (eds), *Studies in Memory of David Talbot Rice*, Edinburgh 1975, 277-283.

[59] Abramovich, *The Paterikon of the Cave monastery in Kiev*, op.cit. (n. 48), 11. P. A. Rappoport, *Русская архитектура X-XIII вв. Каталог памятников* (*Russian architecture 10th-13th centuries. Catalogue of monuments*), Leningrad 1982, no 31 p. 21.

[60] *Успенский сборник X11-X111 вв.*, под ред. С.И. Коткова (*Uspenskiy sbornik 12-13 centuries*, Under the editorship of S. I. Kotkov), Moscow 1971, 134.

[61] *Hypatian Chronicle*, op.cit. (n. 44), 6604, 6616.

[62] P. P. Tolochko, *Історична топографія стародавнього Києва* (*The Historian topography of the Old Kiev*), Kiev 1972, 152-157. I. Movchan – V. A. Kharlamov, *Стародавній Клов. Археологія Києва. Дослідження і матеріали* (*Old Klov. The Archeology of Kiev. Research and materials*), Kiev 1979, 70-84.

[63] Y. S. Aseev – V.A. Kharlamov – I. I. Movchan, "Дослідження архітектури Кловського собору в Києві" ("Research of the architecture of Clovsky Cathedral in Kiev"), *Archaeology* 30

(1979), 37-46: Y. S. Aseev, "*Архитектура древнего Киева*" ("*Architecture of the Old Kiev*"), Kiev 1982, 108-110.

[64] G. N. Logvin, "Архитектура храма на Клове", *Исследование и охрана архитектурного наследия Украины* ("Architecture of the church on Klov", *Research and protection of architectural heritage of Ukraine*), Kiev 1980, 72-76.

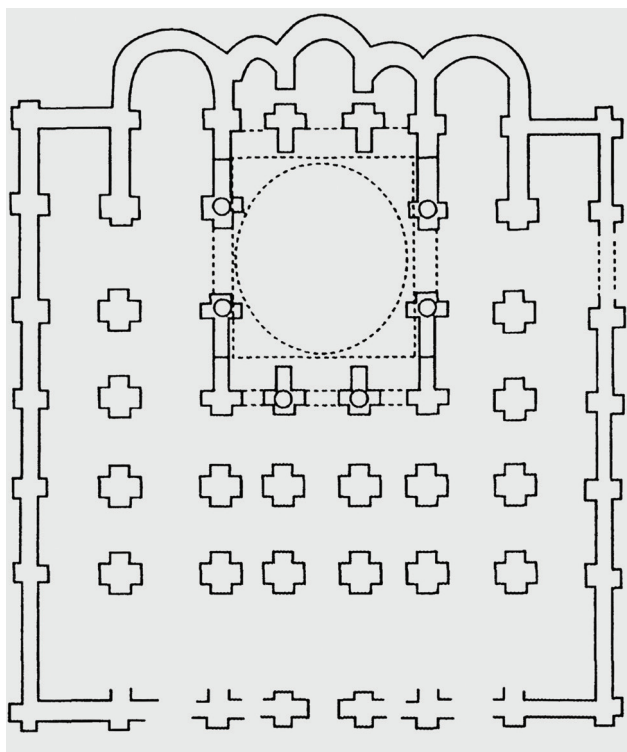[65] Vysotsky, "Church of Our Lady of Vlaherna in Constantinople", op.cit. (n. 9), 211-224.

Fig. 5. Klov. The church of the Blachernae Virgin, plan-reconstruction (after A. M. Vysotsky).

were proposed as analogous cases by the author. A. M. Vysotsky emphasized that the composition with a simple domed octagon in the center (which was rare in Russia) could mean that the model used was not only the Blachernae basilica, but also the chapel of the Hagia Soros. In any case, the sacred pattern was adhered to, but there was no exact repetition of any structure of the Blachernae shrine.

The main source of Byzantine influence on Russian churches dedicated to the Virgin was not the church in the Klov monastery, but the Dormition church of the Caves Monastery, created in accordance with the tradition of the architecture of Old Russia already formed in the 11th century. This was the monument that became a model of architectural iconography for subsequent Russian building. The prestige of the Caves Monastery and the legend of the *Paterikon* created a lasting tradition. Cathedrals and churches, both typologically and in terms of dedication, repeated the Caves church. However, considering the continuity between the plan of the church of the Tithes and the Caves church, one can see

the common tradition of the Marian churches through the ages. A significant number of Dormition churches followed the cross-in-square type with narthex, known as the "six-pillar structure". As for the imitation of the Blachernae basilica, from the very beginning it was based mainly on the sacred topography.

The Blachernae cult of the Virgin was developed in Vladimir under Andrew Bogoliubsky. Vladimir, like Kiev, received the protection of the Robe of the Virgin[66]. The location of the Dormition Cathedral (1158-1161) and of the church of the Deposition of the Robe above the Golden Gates (1164) reflected the sacred topography of the basilica and the Hagia Soros chapel in Blachernae, although in Vladimir they were separated in space[67]. The placement of the church of the Deposition of the Robe over the Gates could reflect the location of the Blachernae shrine near the walls in Constantinople (Fig. 6). From the point of view of its structure, we do not have data to speak about direct continuity from the Constantinopolitan pattern: the Dormition Cathedral once again followed the plan of the cross-in-square type with narthex known as the "six-pillar" type. The church of the Deposition of the Robe has not been preserved in its original form. However, it is known that it was covered by a hip roof[68]. It cannot be ruled out that its typology was descended from centrally-planned buildings like the chapel of the Hagia Soros.

The Laurentian Chronicle mentions the luxurious decoration of the Dormition Cathedral in Vladimir with gold and silver[69]. This abundance of precious metals must have followed the decoration of the churches in Constantinople and might be related to the restoration of the Blachernae shrine in the 11th century.

The princely palace with the church of the Nativity of the Virgin was erected in Bogolyubovo between 1158-1165. The princely residence with a Marian church reflected the topography of the Blachernae palace and

[66] N. N. Voronin, *Зодчество Северо-Восточной Руси XII-XV веков*, т. 1: *XII столетие (Architecture of North-Eastern Russia of the 12th-15th centuries*, vol. 1: *12th century)*, Moscow 1961, 121.
[67] Voronin, "From the history of Russian-byzantine church fight", op.cit. (n. 41), 193.
[68] *История русского искусства (History of Russian Art)*, vol. 2, Moscow 1953, 352.
[69] *Laurentian Chronicle*, op.cit. (n. 57), 1160-1161, 1175, 1177.

Fig. 6. Vladimir. The church of the Deposition of the Robe above the Golden Gates.

the shrine. It is important to note that Andrew Bogolyubsky's project was undertaken shortly after the building of the palace in Blachernae by Manuel Komnenos, where the Emperor moved, partly using it as a country residence. According to the reconstruction of N. N. Voronin, the galleries, supported by the stone pillars, communicated with the palace in Bogolyubovo through the church choirs[70] (Fig. 7). C. Mango compared this complex with the Great Palace in Constantinople[71]. However, the description of the Blachernae Palace of Constantine Porphyrogenitus indicates that there must have been similar transitions, connecting the triclinium with the choirs of the basilica and with the Hagia Soros.

In the Story of the Murder of Andrew Bogolyubsky, which was included in the Ipatiev Chronicle under the entry for the year 1175, there is a description of the Nativity Church: it is said that it had been decorated from top to bottom with gold[72]. The data of excavations by N. N. Voronin confirmed that the capitals had been covered in gold[73]. As in the case of the Dormition Cathedral in Vladimir, its decoration could have been inspired by the interior of the Blachernae basilica. But the most important thing is that, in addition to the palace and the Nativity Church, the Bogolyubovo complex included the octagonal ciborium, towering above the stone bowl for the holy water (1165)[74]. Thus it resembled a chapel

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[70] Voronin, *Architecture of North-Eastern Russia*, op.cit. (n. 66), 201-258.

[71] C. Mango, *The Brazen Hause: A study of the Vestibule of the Imperial Palace of Constantinople*, Kopenhagen 1959, 87-88.

[72] *Hypatian Chronicle*, op.cit. (n. 44), 6683.

[73] Voronin, *Architecture of North-Eastern Russia*, op.cit. (n. 66), 223-228.
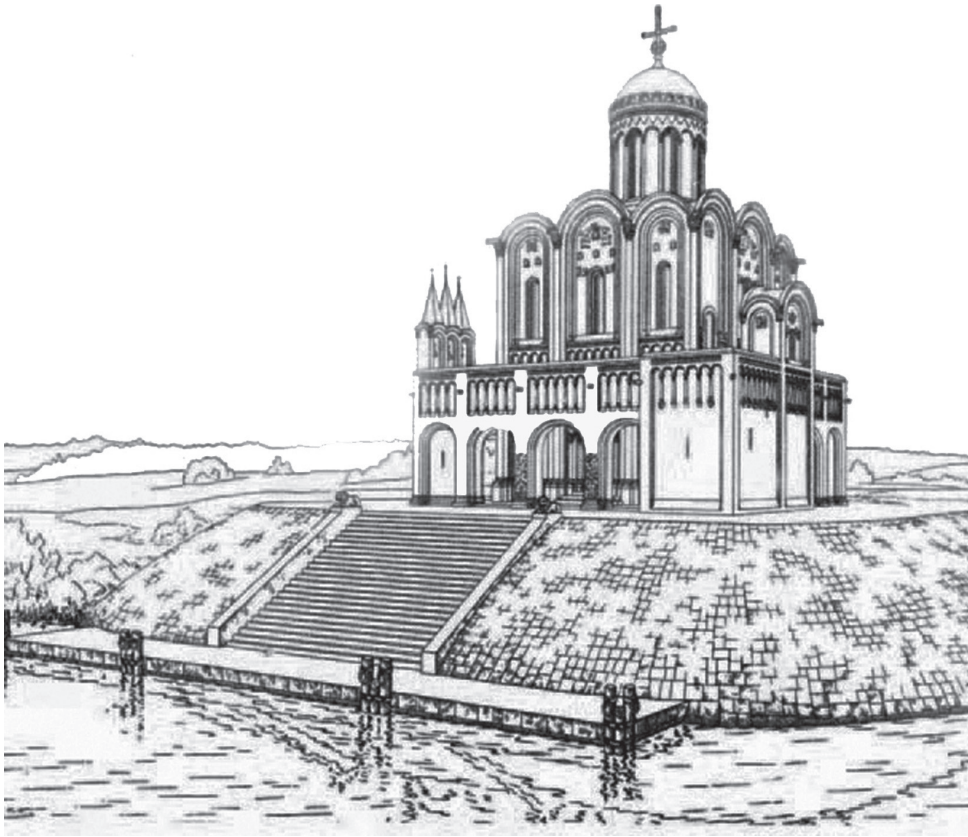
[74] Ibid., 258.

Fig. 8. Nerl. The church of the Intercession of the Virgin, reconstruction (after N. N. Voronin).

Fig. 7. Bogolyubovo. The palace with the church of the Nativity of the Virgin, reconstruction (after N. N. Voronin).

Fig. 9. Moscow Kremlin. The Dormition Cathedral with the adjacent church of the Deposition of the Robe.

of a spring. It was located in front of the south-west corner of the church[75]. Such a location corresponds to the reconstructions of the Blachernae shrine and may have followed its layout.

The veneration of the Pokrov of the Virgin (*Hagia Skepe*), based on the cult of the Robe in Blachernae and the vision of Andrew the Fool at the Hagia Soros chapel (Fig. 2), began to spread under Andrew Bogoliubsky[76]. Prince Andrew built the church of the Intercession of the Virgin on Nerl (1165) in the Pokrovsky monastery located near the Klyazma River one kilometer from

Bogoliubovo[77] (Fig. 8). Such a location close to water may have echoed the topography of the Blachernae shrine near the Golden Horn. Most likely, the entire complex comprising the Nativity church with the ciborium over the bowl in Bogolyubovo and the church of the Intercession of the Virgin on Nerl were a variation of the sacred topography in Blachernae.

The tradition of the worship of the Virgin in Blachernae and her Robe was not lost in Moscow. The Dormition cathedral with an adjacent church of the Deposition of the Robe to the west was built in the Moscow Kremlin in the late 15th century, when the Blachernae shrine had already been destroyed (Fig. 9). This composition

[75] Ibid., 251-258.

[76] A. Grabar, "Une source de l'iconographie byzantine: Les cérémonies du culte de la Vierge", *CahArch* 25 (1976) 153-154. L. Ryden, "The Vision of the Virgin at Blachernae and the Feast of Pokrov", *Analecta Bollandiana* 94 (1976), 63-82.

[77] Voronin, *Architecture of North-Eastern Russia*, op.cit. (n. 66), 258.

also reproduced the planning of the Blachernae basilica with the adjacent chapel of the Hagia Soros, the model already used in Vladimir[78]. The explanation for this configuration in the Moscow Kremlin should be sought in the tradition of the sacred topography and the actual location of the churches in Vladimir, Kiev and Constantinople and, through these centers, in Jerusalem.

Many aspects of the Blachernae shrine had an impact on the medieval culture in Russia both on the level of the ideas, the dedications, the toponymy, and on the level of concrete realities of the sacred topography, as well as some details of architectural structures.

[78] A. L. Batalov, "Строительство московского Успенского собора и самоидентификация Руси: к истории замысла митрополита Филиппа I", *Древнерусское искусство: Византия, Южные славяне, Древняя Русь, Западная Европа. К столетию со дня рождения В.Н. Лазарева* ("The construction of the Moscow Dormition Cathedral and the self-identification of Old Russsia: to the history of the conception of Metropolitan Philip I", *Old Russian art: Byzantium, Southern Slavs, Old Russsia, Western Europe. On the centenary of the birth of V. N. Lazarev*), Saint-Petersburg 2002, 353-361.

Olga Etinhof

ΣΧΕΤΙΚΑ ΜΕ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΡΑΔΟΣΗ ΤΩΝ ΒΛΑΧΕΡΝΩΝ ΣΤΗ ΡΩΣΙΑ

Το κτηριακό συγκρότημα των Βλαχερνών υπήρξε το κύριο κέντρο της λατρείας της Θεοτόκου στην Κωνσταντινούπολη (Εικ. 1). Η ιδέα της προστασίας που παρείχαν στην πόλη η Θεοτόκος και το μαφόριό της, είχε απήχηση και εκτός της αυτοκρατορίας. Αυτή η ιδέα, να αφιερώνονται ναοί στην Παναγία, και η αποτύπωση της ιερής τοπογραφίας της περιοχής των Βλαχερνών είχαν πολύ μεγάλη σημασία στη μεσαιωνική Ρωσία.

Στο Κίεβο η Θεοτόκος λατρευόταν ως προστάτιδα της πόλης. Η τιμή που αποδιδόταν στη Θεοτόκο των Βλαχερνών, μαρτυρείται στον θρύλο που παραδίδει το *Πατερικόν* της Μονής των Σπηλαίων (1222-1226), ο οποίος ανάγει την ανοικοδόμηση του ναού της Κοίμησης (1073-1077) στην άμεση παρέμβαση της Παναγίας, η οποία κάλεσε αρχιτέκτονες για την ανοικοδόμηση των Βλαχερνών και στη συνέχεια τους έστειλε στο Κίεβο. Την ίδια εποχή (1069-1077), το συγκρότημα των Βλαχερνών επισκευάστηκε μετά από πυρκαγιά. Οι αρχαιολογικές έρευνες στον ναό της μονής των Σπηλαίων στο Κίεβο απέδειξαν τη συμμετοχή Κωνσταντινουπολιτών αρχιτεκτόνων στην ανέγερσή του (Εικ. 3). Είναι πιθανό να πρόκειται για μέλη της ομάδας που εργάστηκε στις Βλαχέρνες, τα οποία κλήθηκαν στο Κίεβο. Η σχέση της μονής των Σπηλαίων με τις Βλαχέρνες τονίζεται και στη διήγηση για τον ηγούμενο Στέφανο, ο οποίος ίδρυσε τον ναό της Θεοτόκου των Βλαχερνών στο Κλοβ (Εικ. 4, 5).

Η λατρεία της Θεοτόκου των Βλαχερνών αναπτύχθηκε στο Βλαδιμήρ την εποχή του Ανδρέα Bogoliubsky. Η θέση των ναών της Κοίμησης (1158-1161) και

της Κατάθεσης της Εσθήτος της Παναγίας πάνω από τις Χρυσές Πύλες (1164) απηχούσε την ιερή τοπογραφία της βασιλικής και του παρεκκλησίου της Αγίας Σορού στις Βλαχέρνες, αν και στην περίπτωση του Βλαδιμήρ τα δύο μνημεία ήταν χωριστά (Εικ. 6). Η θέση του ναού της Κατάθεσης της Εσθήτος πάνω από τις Χρυσές Πύλες θα μπορούσε να απηχεί την τοποθεσία του συγκροτήματος των Βλαχερνών κοντά στα τείχη της Κωνσταντινούπολης.

Την εποχή του Ανδρέα Bogoliubsky άρχισε να διαδίδεται η τιμή της αγίας Σκέπης, βασισμένη στη λατρεία της Εσθήτος στις Βλαχέρνες και στο όραμα του Ανδρέα Σαλού στο παρεκκλήσι της Αγίας Σορού (Εικ. 2). Ο πρίγκιπας Ανδρέας έκτισε την Αγία Σκέπη (Pokrov) στο Νερλ, στο μοναστήρι που βρισκόταν κοντά στον ποταμό Klyazma (Εικ. 8). Αυτή η θέση, κοντά στο νερό, ενδεχομένως αναπαρήγε την τοπογραφία του συγκροτήματος των Βλαχερνών κοντά στον Κεράτιο κόλπο. Το ηγεμονικό ανάκτορο με τον ναό του Γενεσίου της Θεοτόκου κτίστηκε στο Bogolyubovo, σε απόσταση ενός χιλιομέτρου από τη μονή της Αγίας Σκέπης (1158-1165) (Εικ. 7). Το ανάκτορο με τον αφιερωμένο στη Θεοτόκο ναό αντανακλούσε την τοπογραφία του ανακτόρου των Βλαχερνών. Σύμφωνα

με την αποκατάσταση του Nikolay Voronin, υπερώα που στηρίζονταν σε λίθινους πεσσούς συνέδεαν το ανάκτορο με τους χορούς της εκκλησίας. Σύμφωνα με την περιγραφή του ανακτόρου των Βλαχερνών από τον Κωνσταντίνο Πορφυρογέννητο, παρόμοιοι χώροι συνέδεαν το Τρίκλινο με τους χορούς της βασιλικής και με το παρεκκλήσι της Αγίας Σορού. Το συγκρότημα στο Bogolyubovo περιλάμβανε και οκταγωνικό κιβώριο πάνω από τη φιάλη αγιασμού, αντιγράφοντας το παρεκκλήσιο του αγιάσματος των Βλαχερνών.

Ο καθεδρικός ναός της Κοίμησης και ο παραπλήσιος ναός της Κατάθεσης της Εσθήτος ανεγέρθηκαν στο Κρεμλίνο της Μόσχας στα τέλη του 15ου αιώνα (Εικ. 9). Αυτή η διάταξη αποτελούσε αναπαραγωγή της ιερής τοπογραφίας της βασιλικής των Βλαχερνών με το παρεκκλήσι της Αγίας Σορού, σύμφωνα και με το πρότυπο που είχε ήδη εφαρμοστεί στο Βλαδιμήρ.

Μετάφραση από τα αγγλικά: Νικόλαος Μελβάνι

*Ινστιτούτο για τη Θεωρία και την Ιστορία
των Καλών Τεχνών – Ρωσική Ακαδημία Τεχνών
Russian State University of Humanities
etinhof@mail.ru*