Απεικονίσεις αγίων στις τοιχογραφίες της Αγίας Σοφίας στο Κίεβο

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IMAGES OF SAINTS IN THE WALL PAINTINGS
OF SAINT SOPHIA IN KIEV

Στη μελέτη παρουσιάζονται τα πρώτα αποτελέσματα της έρευνας που διεξάγεται για την αποκατάσταση του τοιχογραφικού διακόσμου της Αγίας Σοφίας Κιέβου, και επιχειρείται η ταύτιση των πολυάριθμων αγίων μέσω της εικονογραφίας τους και σε συνδυασμό με τα χαράγματα που εντοπίζονται στον χώρο. Συνεπώς, είναι σημαντικό να κατανοηθούν οι αρχές που υπαγόρευσαν την επιλογή και την κατανομή των αγίων στον χώρο. Διαπιστώνεται ότι, ενώ κάποιες από αυτές τις αρχές ακολουθούν την τρέχουσα βυζαντινή παράδοση, άλλες απηχούν ιδιάζουσες ιδέες για τους νεοφώτιστους Ρως.

The paper presents some preliminary results of a research on the wall paintings of Saint Sophia in Kiev aiming to identify the images of the saints through the analysis of iconography and medieval graffiti. Numerous images of saints constitute a significant part of St. Sophia's iconographic program. Therefore, it is important to understand the principles for their choice and distribution. While some of these principles were in keeping with the current Byzantine tradition, others reflected ideas peculiar to the newly baptized Rus.

The Church of St. Sophia in Kiev, together with a number of other 11th-century ensembles, marks an important point in the history of Byzantine art when the classical system of church decoration reached its maturity[1]. St. Sophia also marks a key monument for Old Russian art, and its influence on its subsequent development was immense[2]. It is therefore important to arrive at a better understanding of St. Sophia's iconographic program. Identification of the images of the saints is part of this process. This is the aim of a research project that we began a few years ago together with Nadezhda Gerasimenko and the late Vladimir Sarab'ianov. The results of this research have so far been published in Russian in a series of articles describing the images of saints identified in different parts of the Kiev cathedral[3]. We are currently preparing

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[1] O. Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration. Aspects of Monumental Art in Byzantium*, London 1947, 59-60. C. Walter. *Art and Ritual of the Byzantine Church*, London 1982, 193-198.

[2] The most important works on the mosaics and frescoes of St. Sophia are the following: V. N. Lazarev, *Mozaiki Sofii Kievskoi*

(Mosaics of St. Sophia of Kiev), Moscow 1960. Idem, "Freski Sofii Kievskoi" (Frescoes of St. Sophia of Kiev), *Vizantiiskoe i drevnerusskoe iskusstvo. Stat'i i materialy* (*Byzantine and Old Russian Art. Articles and Materials*), Moscow 1978, 94-111. G. N. Logvin, *Sofiia Kievskaia* (*St. Sophia of Kiev*), Kiev 1971. S. A. Vysotskii, *Svetskie freski Sofiiskogo sobora v Kieve* (*Secular Wall Paintings in St. Sophia of Kiev*), Kiev 1989. O. S. Popova – V. D. Sarab'ianov, "Zhivopis' kontsa X – serediny XI veka" (Painting of the Late 10th – Mid 11th Century), A. I. Komech (ed.), *Istoriia Russkogo iskusstva. 1. Iskusstvo Kievskoi Rusi. IX – pervaia*

a general catalog presenting the results of our systematic analysis of all the surviving images and fragments, which are more than 800. Here we would like to share the preliminary results and the principles of our work.

St. Sophia has preserved the greater part of its mosaics and at least half of its wall paintings created in the 1030's-1040's (Fig. 1)[4]. Yet the attribution of the images

of the saints is difficult due to the almost complete loss of accompanying inscriptions. These were washed off during the 17th- and 18th-century renovations and also during the first mid-19th-century restoration[5]. Wherever fragments or traces of an accompanying inscription survive, they provide the most secure basis for the identification of the images. Unfortunately such cases are very few: St. Lauros, St. Timon, St. Papylas, St. Floros, St. Sabbatios, St. Dorotheos, St. Anthony, St. Ephraim, St. Eustathios, St. Tarachos, St. John the Theologian, St. Kerykos, St. Chariton (two images in different places), St. Philemon, St. Adrian (two images in different places), St. Aniketos, St. Romanos, St. Elpis, St. Philippolos, St. Domnus, St. Ignatios the Godbearer, St. John the Merciful, St. Ermylos, St. Sozon, St. Menas, St. Victor, St. Eudokia, St. Gerontios, St. Natalia, St. Theopistos, St. Agapios, St. Pankratios, St. Andronikos, St. John Kalybites, St. Therapon and a few others (Fig. 2 nos 7, 8, 12, 14, 20, 24-26, 49, 55, 62, 72, 79, 80, 86, 90, 94, 99, 107, 111, 112, 120, 121, 123-126, 129, 136-138. Fig. 3 nos 141, 142, 149, 152, 160, 161).

Other indications are provided by medieval graffiti. This is the main tool for identifying the images of saints used by our Kievan colleagues, Nadezhda Nikitenko and Vyacheslav Kornienko[6]. Although we do not agree with their general interpretation of St. Sophia's iconographic program as aiming to glorify prince Vladimir and with the dating of the mosaics and frescoes to 1011-1018, as well as with several of their identifications of the images of saints[7], on many occasions we have benefited from

chetvert' XII veka (*History of Russian Art. 1. Art of Kievan Rus. From the 9th to the First Quarter of the 12th c.*) (in Russian with extensive bibliography and summaries in English), Moscow 2007, 178-323 (available online: http://hra.sias.ru/en/1/, accessed on 25 November 2017). O. S. Popova – V. D. Sarab'ianov, *Mozaiki i freski Sviatoi Sofii Kievskoi* (*Mosaics and Frescoes of St. Sophia of Kiev*) (in Russian, abstract in English), Moscow 2017.

[3] N. V. Gerasimenko – A. V. Zakharova – V. D. Sarab'ianov, "Izobrazheniia sviatykh vo freskakh Sofii Kievskoi. Chast' I: Vnutrennie galerei" (Images of Saints in the Wall Paintings of St. Sophia of Kiev. Part I: Inner Ambulatory), *Vizantijskij vremennik* 66 (2007), 24-59. N. V. Gerasimenko – A. V. Zakharova – V. D. Sarab'ianov, "Izobrazheniia sviatykh vo freskakh Sofii Kievskoi. Zapadnoe prostranstvo osnovnogo ob"ema pod khorami" (Images of Saints in the Wall Paintings of St. Sophia of Kiev. Western Compartments of the Naos under the Galleries), *Iskusstvo khristianskogo mira* XI (2009), 208-256. N. V. Gerasimenko – A. V. Zakharova – V. D. Sarab'ianov, "Izobrazheniia sviatykh na khorakh sobora Sv. Sofii v Kieve. Novye atribustii" (Images of Saints in the Galleries of Saint Sophia Cathedral in Kiev. New Attributions) (in Russian, abstracts in English), *Vizantijskij vremennik* 73 (2014), 219-236. V. D. Sarab'ianov, "Obraz sviashchenstva v rospisiakh Sofii Kievskoi. Chast' I: Programma Sofiiskogo sobora i vizantiiskaia traditsiia posleikonoborcheskogo perioda" (The Image of Priesthood in the Wall Paintings of St. Sophia of Kiev. Part I: The Program of St. Sophia Cathedral and the Byzantine Posticonoclastic Tradition), *Iskusstvoznanie* 3-4/11 (2011), 15-52. Idem, "Patronal'nye izobrazheniia Yaroslava Mudrogo i ego sem'i v rospisiakh Sofii Kievskoi i problema datirovki pamiatnika" (The Patronal Images of Prince Yaroslav and His Family in the Paintings of St. Sophia Church in Kiev and the Problem of the Church Dating), *Trudy Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha*, vol. 65: *Pervye kamennye khramy Drevnei Rusi. Materialy arkhitekturno-arkheologicheskogo seminara 22–24 noiabria 2010 goda* (*Transactions of the State Hermitage Museum*, vol. 65: *First Stone Churches of Old Rus. Materials of the Seminar on Architecture and Archaeology, 22-24 November 2010*), ed. D. D. Yolshin, Saint-Petersburg 2012, 232-258. N. V. Gerasimenko – A. V. Zakharova – V. D. Sarab'ianov, "Izobrazheniia sviatykh vo freskakh Sofii Kievskoi. Podkupol'noe prostranstvo" (The Images of Saints in the Frescoes of St. Sophia of Kiev. The Central Nave) (in Russian, abstracts in English), *Iskusstvo khristianskogo mira* XIII (2016), 115-130.

[4] On the questions of dating see: A. Poppe, "The building of the

Church of St. Sophia in Kiev", *Journal of Medieval History* 7/1 (1981), 15-66.

[5] Lazarev, "Freski Sofii Kievskoi", op.cit. (n. 2), 65-71. G. I. Vzdornov, *Istoriia otkrytiia i izucheniia russkoi srednevekovoi zhivopisi. XIX vek* (*The History of Discovery and Study of Russian Mediaeval Painting. The 19th Century*), Moscow 1986, 31-35.

[6] N. N. Nikitenko, *Rus' i Vizantiya v monumental'nom komplekse Sofii Kievskoi* (*Rus' and Byzantium in the Monumental Ensemble of St. Sofia of Kiev*), Kiev 1999. N. N. Nikitenko – V. V. Kornienko, *Drevneishie graffiti Sofii Kievskoi i vremia ee sozdaniia* (*The Oldest Graffiti of St. Sophia of Kiev and The Date of Cathedral's Construction*), Kiev 2012. N. N. Nikitenko – V. V. Kornienko, *Sobor sviatykh Sofii Kievskoi* (*The Synaxis of Saints in St. Sophia of Kiev*), Kiev 2014. N. Nikitenko, *Sofiia Kievskaia i ee sozdateli* (*St. Sophia of Kiev and its Ktetors*), Kamenets-Podol'skii 2014, and other.

[7] For the critics of this view see: *Trudy Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha,*

Fig. 1. Kiev, St. Sophia. View towards the Sanctuary.

their work on the corpus of medieval graffiti of the Kiev cathedral[8]. We also found some graffiti ourselves. The most helpful are the pre-Mongol graffiti containing a short prayer to the saint represented on a fresco or just reproducing his or her name. In many cases the saint's name is reproduced in its Greek form, sometimes even

imitating the vertical layout of letters of the accompanying inscription, now lost.

Another important tool is iconographic analysis based on parallels in the art of the Middle Byzantine period. In some cases there are clear distinctive features or attributes that help to identify the saints. For example, in the south-western compartment on the ground floor an image of a female martyr was identified as St. Thecla thanks to a rare attribute –the Gospel book in her left hand (Fig. 2 no 60), and a saintly bishop was identified as St. John Chrysostom thanks to his characteristic appearance and a cross in his hand (Fig. 2 no 77)[9]. In another case, we could identify the elderly medical saint

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vol. 65: *Pervye kamennye khramy Drevnei Rusi. Materialy arkhitekturno-arkheologicheskogo seminara 22–24 noiabria 2010 goda* (*Transactions of the State Hermitage Museum*, vol. 65: *First Stone Churches of Old Rus. Materials of the Seminar on Architecture and Archaeology, 22-24 November 2010*), ed. D. D. Yolshin, Saint-Petersburg 2012. See also: E. N. Boeck, "Believing is Seeing: Princess Spotting in St. Sophia of Kiev", B. J. Boeck – R. E. Martin – D. Rowland (eds), *Dubitando: Studies in History and Culture in Honor of Donald Ostrowski*, Bloomington 2012, 167-179.

8 V. V. Kornienko, *Korpus grafiti Sofii Kyivs'koi (XI – pochatok XVIII st.) (The Corpus of Graffiti of St. Sophia of Kiev, 11th- early 18th c.)*, vols I-VII, Kiev 2009-2017.

9 Popova – Sarab'ianov, "Zhivopis' kontsa X – serediny XI veka", op.cit. (n. 2), pls 200, 275. Gerasimenko – Zakharova – Sarab'ianov, "Zapadnoe prostranstvo osnovnogo ob 'ema pod khorami'", op.cit. (n. 3), 214, 236.
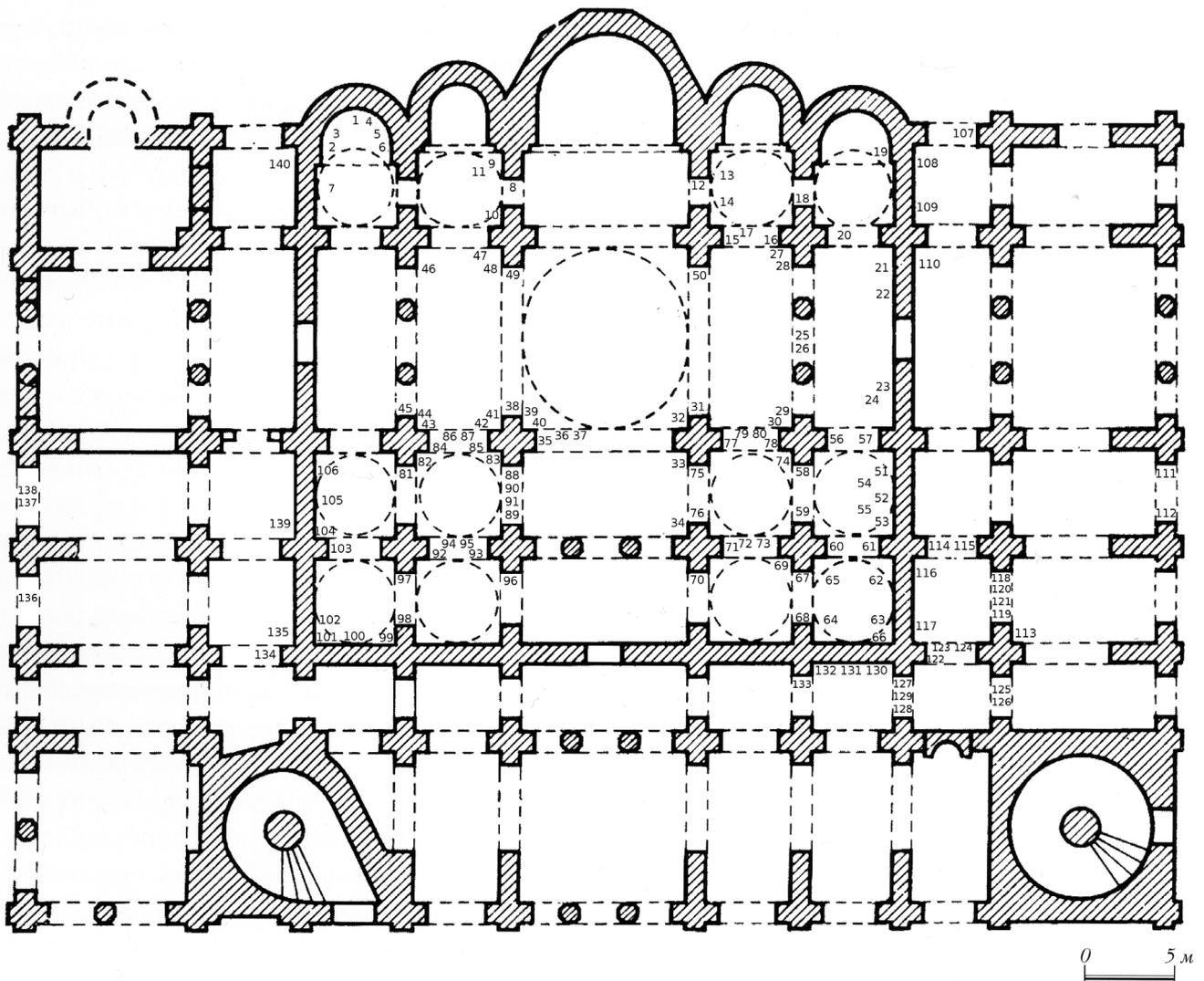
Fig. 2. Kiev, St. Sophia. Plan of the ground floor (reconstruction).

Cyrus wearing a monastic cloak and holding a little bottle in his hand, represented next to his younger companion who was identified as St. John (Fig. 2 nos 108, 109)[10].

More often, however, it is the combination of the iconographic analysis with graffiti that bears fruit. Thus, many other images have been identified including St. Epiphanios, St. Paul the Confessor, St. Proclus of Constantinople, St. Martin, three images of St. Blasios, St. Leo, St. Meletios, St. Nikephoros, St. Anthimos of

Nikomedia, two images of St. Andrew Stratelates, St. Jacob the Persian, St. Theodore Stoudites, St. Ananias, St. Anastasios the Persian, St. Constantine with St. George and Irene, St. Marina, St. Anastasia Pharmakolytria, St. Polychronia, St. Sabas, St. Sampson, St. Panteleimon, St. Hierotheos, St. Lazarus, St. Maria Magdalene, the prophet Sophonias, St. Stephen, St. Onuphrios, St. Gregory the Wonderworker, St. Kapiton, St. Phokas, Sts Cyprian and Justine, St. Theopiste, St. Artemios, St. Theodore Stratelates, St. Menas, St. Christine, King Hezekiah, St. Akepsimas and others (Fig. 2 nos 2-6, 15-19, 21, 22, 27, 35, 46, 58, 59, 61, 68, 69, 71, 74, 76, 78, 82, 98, 103, 110, 113, 114, 118, 119, 127, 128, 132, 134, 135, 139.

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[10] Popova – Sarab'ianov, "Zhivopis' kontsa X – serediny XI veka", op.cit. (n. 2), pl. 190. Gerasimenko – Zakharova – Sarab'ianov "Vnutrennie galerei", op.cit. (n. 3), 31-34, figs 2, 3.

LEGEND FOR Fig. 2

Sanctuary
1. St. George.
2. St. Epiphanios.
3. St. Paul the Confessor.
4. St. Proclus of Constantinople.
5. St. Martin of Rome.
6. St. Blasios of Sebaste.
7. St. Lauros.
8. St. Timon.
9. St. Mark.
10. St. Andrew.
11. St. Luke.
12. St. Papylas.
13. St. Lauros (?)
14. St. Floros.
15. St. Leo of Rome.
16. St. Blasios of Sebaste.
17. St. Meletios.
18. St. Nikephoros.
19. St. Anthimos of Nikomedia.
20. St. Sabbatios.

Central nave and cross arms
21. St. Andrew Stratelates.
22. St. Jacob the Persian (?)
23. Sts Constantine and Helen.
24. St. Dorotheos.
25. St. Anthony.
26. St. Ephraim the Syrian.
27. St. Theodore the Stoudites.
28. St. Nicholas Stoudites (?)
29, 30. Sts Cosmas and Damian.
31. St. Demetrios.
32. Prophet Elijah.
33. St. Theodore Stratelates (?)
34. St. Clement (?)
35. St. Ananias.
36. St. Azarias.
37. St. Misael.
38, 39. Sts Sergius and Bacchus.
40-43. The Holy Five of Sebaste (?)
44. St. Mardarius (?)
45. St. Onuphrios.
46. St. Anastasios the Persian.
47, 48. Sts Agapios and Theopistos.
49. St. Eustathios.
50. St. George (?)

South-West corner
51. St. Gurias (?)
52. St. Samonas (?)
53. St. Abibos (?)
54. St. Probus (?)
55. St. Tarachos.
56. St. Damian (?)
57. St. Cosmas (?)
58. St. Constantine with St. George and St. Eirene.
59. St. Andrew Stratelates.
60. St. Thekla.
61. St. Marina.
62. St. John the Theologian.
63. St. Mark.
64. St. Luke.
65. St. Matthew.
66. St. Nina (?)
67. St. Helen.
68. St. Anastasia.
69. St. Polychronia.
70. St. Paraskeve.
71. St. Sabas.
72. St. Kerykos.
73. St. Julitte.
74. St. Sampson.
75. St. Nicholas.
76. St. Panteleimon.
77. St. John Chrysostom.
78. St. Hierotheos.
79. St. Chariton.
80. St. Philemon.

North-West corner
81. St. Aaron.
82. St. Lazarus.
83. St. Germanos of Constantinople.
84. St. Paul.
85. St. Peter.
86. St. Adrian.
87. St. Natalia.
88. Prophet Moses.
89. St. Ignatios of Constantinople.
90. St. Aniketos.
91. St. Photios.
92. Prophet Elijah.
93. Prophet Elisha.

94. St. Romanos.
95. St. Barula.
96. St. Barbara.
97. St. Eirene (?)
98. St. Maria Magdalene.
99. St. Elpis.
100, 101. Sts Pistis and Agape.
102. St. Sophia.
103. Prophet Sophonias.
104-106. Sts Ananias, Azarias and Misael.

Inner and outer ambulatory
107. St. Chariton.
108. St. Cyrus.
109. St. John.
110. St. Stephen.
111. St. Philippolos.
112. St. Domnos.
113. St. Onuphrios.
114. St. Gregory the Wonderworker.
115. St. Gregory of Nyssa.
116. St. Nicholas.
117. St. Gregory the Theologian.
118. St. Kapiton.
119. St. Phokas.
120. St. Ignatios the God bearer.
121. St. John the Merciful.
122. St. Stratonikos.
123. St. Ermylos.
124. St. Sozon.
125. St. Menas.
126. St. Victor.
127. St. Cyprian.
128. St. Justine.
129. St. Eudokia.
130. St. Eustathios.
131, 133. Sts Agapios and Theopistos (?)
132. St. Theopiste.
134. St. Artemios.
135. St. Theodore Stratelates.
136. St. Gerontios.
137. St. Natalia.
138. St. Adrian.
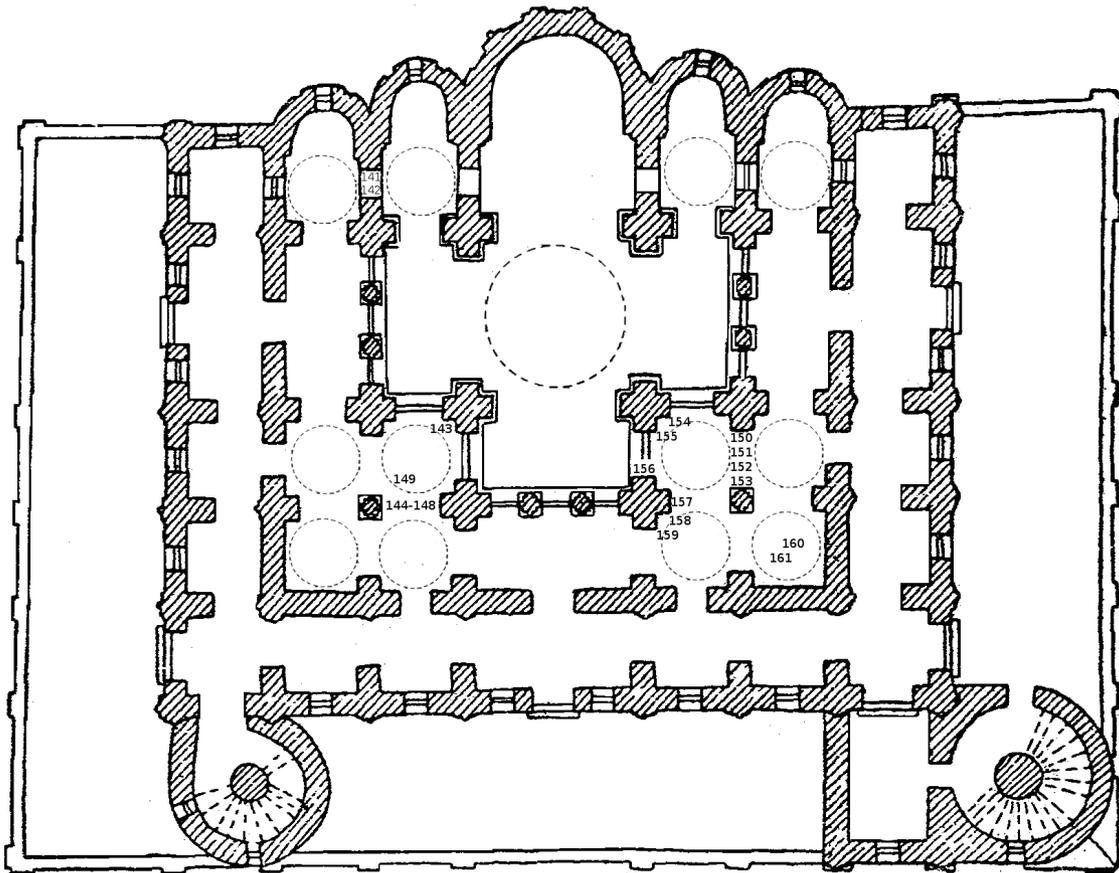139. St. Menas.
140. St. Panteleimon.

Fig. 3. Kiev, St. Sophia. Plan of the upper gallery (reconstruction).

LEGEND FOR Fig. 3

Upper gallery: 141. St. Theopistos. 142. St. Agapios. 143. St. Christine. 144. St. Mardarius. 145-148. The Holy Five of Sebaste. 149. St. Pankratios. 150. King Hezekiah. 151. St. Probus (?). 152. St. Andronikos. 153. St. Tarachos (?). 154. 155. Sts Sergius and Bacchus. 156. St. Blasios of Sebaste (?). 157. St. Akepsimas. 158. St. Aeithalas. 159. St. Joseph. 160. St. John Kalybites. 161. St. Therapon.

Fig. 3 nos 143, 150, 156, 157). In some other cases the graffiti are obscure or not well preserved, leaving the identification of the images in doubt.

It is important to try to understand the general principles that guided the painters of St. Sophia in the choice of individual saints[11]. Distributing the images of saints according to their rank was already the common practice in Byzantine church decoration by the 11th century. Thus prophets or apostles were usually placed in the dome, saintly bishops in the sanctuary, martyrs in the naos, holy monks and holy women in the western part of the church. Very often the saints were further divided into smaller groups according to their profession or their

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[11] Whereas the general principles of arranging the images of saints in Middle Byzantine church decoration were described long ago [see Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration*, op.cit. (n. 1), 26-29], the need to study them in more detail has been underlined in the papers of the Round Table "Pour une nouvelle approche des effigies hagiographiques dans le décor des églises byzantines" organized

by C. Jolivet-Lévy, S. Brodbeck and N. Chatzidakis at the 2016 Congress in Belgrade. See: *Proceedings of the 23rd International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Belgrade, 22- 27 August 2016. Round Tables*, eds B. Krsmanović – L. Milanović, Belgrade 2016, 118-149. See also: A. V. Zakharova, "Principy gruppirovki izo-brazhenij svjatyh v vizantijskoj monumental'noj zhivopisi do

commemoration day. The patron saints of the donors or some local saints were often given a prominent position.

As our research revealed, the painters of St. Sophia followed these general rules. Thus, the images of holy bishops, presbyters and deacons (more than 70) prevail in the eastern part, not only in the main apse, but also in the side chapels as well as in the prothesis and diakonikon on the walls and on the sides of an opening. In the western part of the cathedral there are about 60 images of holy women. Yet the majority of saints represented in St. Sophia are male martyrs. Very often they form smaller groups according to their occupation. Thus, many holy warriors are placed on the piers in the central zone and elsewhere. There are also groups of medical saints, presbyters, holy monks, stylites. The commissioners and painters obviously tried to make the hagiographical program diversified and representative of all types of holiness.

Another important principle was the placing together of the images of saints sharing the same vita and/or commemoration date[12]. Such smaller groups of two, three, four or five saints were often painted next to each other on the wall, or opposite one another on the sides of an opening or in the soffit of an arch. The identification of a single image may often help to identify the whole group.

Thus, in the inner ambulatory, St. Stratonikos was identified as he is painted below the image of St. Ermylos, the latter with a surviving inscription (Fig. 2 nos 122, 123)[13]. The graffiti with names on the images of an elderly bishop and a female martyr painted on the sides of an opening helped us to identify them as Sts Cyprian and Justine; another graffito with the name of Theopiste on the figure of a female martyr encouraged us to identify the neighboring images of a bearded martyr, a young boy and another damaged figure as her husband St. Eustathios and their children Agapios and Theopistos (Fig. 2 nos 127, 128, 130-133)[14]. In the upper gallery on the sides of a pier three images are painted next to each other: a holy bishop, a presbyter and a deacon. There is a graffito with the name Akepsimas on the painting of the holy bishop. Therefore we identified all three as the Persian martyrs bishop Akepsimas, presbyter Joseph and deacon Aeithalas, who were martyred on the same day (November 3) and were usually represented together (Fig. 3 nos 157-159, Figs 4, 5)[15].

Sometimes this principle of grouping helps to attribute even the worst preserved images. Thus, in another place on the upper gallery, we have identified the Holy Five Martyrs of Sebaste commemorated on December 13 (Fig. 3 nos 144-148)[16]. In this case we could discern the rare attribute of St. Mardarius, who always wears a red cap. The second clue was provided by the number of surfaces available in this compartment where four arches rest on four piers at the sides and a single column in the center which is inconvenient for painting due to its rounded shape. Four busts of saints including St. Mardarius were placed in the soffit of one of these arches, and the fifth surface was provided by the side of the only adjoining pier. Therefore this was a perfect location for the popular group of the Holy Five, whose image appears frequently in Byzantine art[17].

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i posle ikonoborchestva" (Principles of Grouping the Images of Saints in Byzantine Monumental Painting before and after Iconoclasm), A. V. Zakharova – S. V. Maltseva (eds), *Actual Problems of Theory and History of Art: Collection of Articles* (in Russian, abstract in English), vol. 4, Saint-Petersburg 2014, 109-122. Ead., "Izobrazhenija svjatyh v monumental'noj dekoracii rannehristianskih i vizantijskih hramov do XI v." (Images of Saints in Monumental Decoration of Early Christian and Byzantine Churches Before the 11th Century (in Russian, abstract in English), *Istoricheskie issledovanija* 2 (2015), 31-62: http://www.historystudies.msu.ru/ojs2/index.php/ISIS/article/view/18, accessed on 10 October 2015. Ead., "The choir of saints in the Middle Byzantine monumental decoration: the evidence of the 9th-11th century wall paintings in Cappadocia", V. Katsaros – A. Tourta (eds), *Αφιέρωμα στον ακαδημαϊκό Παναγιώτη Λ. Βοκοτόπουλο*, Athens 2015, 341-346.

[12] See more on the formation of this principle in: A. V. Zakharova, "Izobrazhenija muchenikov v vizantijskoj monumental'noj zhivopisi X–XI vv." (Images of Martyrs in Byzantine Monumental Painting of the 10th-11th c.), *Trudy Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha*, vol. 74: *Vizantija v kontekste mirovoj kul'tury. Materialy konferencii, posvjashhennoj pamjati A. V. Bank (1906-1984)* [*Transactions of the State Hermitage Museum*, vol. 74: *Byzantium in the Context of World Culture. Materials of the Conference in Memory of A. V. Bank (1906-1984)*], Saint-Petersburg 2015, 63-80.

[13] Gerasimenko – Zakharova – Sarab'ianov "Vnutrennie galerei", op.cit. (n. 3), 46-47, figs 20, 22.

[14] Ibid., 51-53, figs 28-31.

[15] Gerasimenko – Zakharova – Sarab'ianov, "Novye atributsii", op.cit. (n. 3), 229, fig. 12.

[16] Ibid., 225-226, fig. 7.

[17] On their iconography see: K. Weitzmann, "Illustrations to the

Fig. 4. Kiev, St. Sophia. South-West corner in the upper gallery. Graffito with the name of St. Akepsimas on the wall-painting (see Fig. 3 no 157).

Yet in another similar case we encountered difficulties. A bearded martyr wearing a cap is also represented on the ground floor in the northern arm of the cross (Fig. 2 no 44). However, we could not identify him with the same certainty as St. Mardarius, since other martyrs next to him differ in their appearance from the usual iconography of his companions and two have torques (μανιάκια) on their necks characteristic of Sts Sergius and Bacchus (Fig. 2 nos 38-43)[18].

Some images in St. Sophia definitely have a patronal character[19]. The most conspicuous case is the painting of St. Constantine with two small-scale figures of St. George and St. Eirene identified long ago[20] (Fig. 2 no

Fig. 5. Kiev, St. Sophia. South-West corner in the upper gallery. Sts Akepsimas, Aeithalas and Joseph (see Fig. 3 nos 157-159).

58. Fig. 6). The latter two are the patron saints of the great prince Yaroslav and his wife Ingigerd, the donors of Saint Sophia.

On the next pier there are some other images that may relate to Yaroslav's family. The frescoes in the lower zone of the pier facing the central nave mainly represent holy warriors and martyrs. In the north-eastern corner, however, there is a single image of a prophet, who can be identified as Elijah based on his characteristic appearance and clothes, the melote (Fig. 2 no 32). Elijah was the

Lives of the Five Martyrs of Sebaste", *DOP* 33 (1979), 97-112. Ch. Walter, *The Warrior Saints in Byzantine Art and Tradition*, Aldershot 2003, 219-222.

[18] Gerasimenko – Zakharova – Sarab'ianov, "Podkupol'noe prostranstvo", op.cit. (n. 3), 117-120, figs 3-5.

[19] Sarab'ianov, "Patronal'nye izobrazheniia Yaroslava Mudrogo", op.cit. (n. 3). Gerasimenko – Zakharova – Sarab'ianov, "Podkupol'noe prostranstvo", op.cit. (n. 3), 121-127.

[20] N. P. Kondakov, *Izobrazhenie russkoi knyazheskoi semii v miniatyurakh 11 veka* (*Image of the Russian Princely Family in the 11th c. Miniatures*), Saint-Petersburg 1906, 39. Logvin, *Sofiia Kievskaia*, op.cit. (n. 2), pl. 172. Nikitenko, *Rus' i Vizantiya*, op.cit.

(n. 6), 163-165. On this and another image of St. Constantine see also: S. C. Simmons, "Rus' Dynastic Ideology in the Frescoes of the South Chapels in St. Sophia, Kiev", N. S. M. Matheou – T. Kampianaki – L. M. Bondioli (eds), *From Constantinople to the Frontier: The City and the Cities*, Leiden – Boston 2016, 207-225.

name of the eldest son of Yaroslav who died young, long before the construction of St. Sophia. The second son and heir of Yaroslav was Izyaslav baptized as Demetrios. The image of St. Demetrios is placed next to that of Elijah on the eastern side of the pier facing the altar (Fig. 2 no 31)[21]. The accompanying inscription does not survive, but the appearance and the military attire of the saint makes this identification more than plausible.

It is also possible that another image of the holy warrior and great martyr George, the patron saint of Yaroslav himself, was painted opposite St. Demetrios, on the western side of the corresponding altar pier. In 1893 the iconostasis was removed for renovation, and an image of a martyr was discovered there, but he was not identified at that time (Fig. 2 no 50)[22].

Another image connected with the great prince was painted in the upper gallery, directly above the images of saints Constantine, George and Eirene. This is a rare image of the Old Testament king Hezekiah, who is identified by the iconography, two graffiti and the Greek inscription on his roll (Fig. 3 no 150)[23]. The southern part of the gallery was the usual place for the prince and his family to attend the liturgy. Therefore this image of king Hezekiah may be interpreted as Yaroslav's private model of the pious ruler.

Images of locally venerated saints are also present in St. Sophia. Although at the time of its construction and decoration the first Russian saints had not yet been canonized, there were already some saints who were particularly venerated. After embracing Christianity, prince Vladimir brought the relics of St. Clement of Rome from Cherson and he left them in his church of the Tithes in Kiev. The church was consecrated in 996 on May 12, which is the day of commemoration of St. Epiphanios of Cyprus. Therefore the cult of these two saints became

Fig. 6. Kiev, St. Sophia. South-West corner on the ground floor. St. Constantine with St. George and St. Eirene(see Fig. 2 no 58).

widespread in Rus, and their images are often found in monumental painting[24]. The mosaic images of both of them hold places of honor in the row of saintly bishops in St. Sophia's main apse. Another fresco image with similar iconographic traits has been tentatively identified as St. Clement in the south-western corner of the central nave (Fig. 2 no 34)[25].

The role of Cherson as the baptismal font of Rus was probably one of the reasons why some other saints of

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[21] Popova – Sarab'ianov, "Zhivopis' kontsa X – serediny XI veka", op.cit. (n. 2), 240, pls 191, 193. Gerasimenko – Zakharova – Sarab'ianov, "Podkupol'noe prostranstvo", op.cit. (n. 3), 122-123, figs 11, 12

[22] Gerasimenko – Zakharova – Sarab'ianov, "Podkupol'noe prostranstvo", op.cit. (n. 3), 123.

[23] S. A. Vysotskii, *Srednevekovye nadpisi Sofii Kievskoj. Po materialam graffiti XI–XVII veka* (*Medieval Inscriptions in St. Sophia of Kiev. On the Graffiti of the 11th-17th c.*), Kiev 1976, 37. Popova – Sarab'ianov, "Zhivopis' kontsa X – serediny XI veka", op.cit. (n. 2), 256-258, pl. 217. Gerasimenko – Zakharova – Sarab'ianov, "Novye atributsii", op.cit. (n. 3), 227-228.

[24] V. D. Sarab'ianov, "Chtimye svjatye domongol'skoj Rusi v rospisjah Sofii Kievskoj. K voprosu o formirovanii lokal'noj tradicii. Chast' I" (The Venerated Saints of Premongol Rus in the Wall Paintings of St. Sophia of Kiev. On the Problem of Shaping of the Local Tradition. Part I), *Iskusstvoznanie 3-4/2014*, Moscow 2014, 49-62.

[25] Gerasimenko – Zakharova – Sarab'ianov, "Podkupol'noe prostranstvo", op.cit. (n. 3), 125, fig. 15.

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the Pontic area were also depicted in Saint Sophia. In the inner gallery there is a curious depiction of St. Kapiton of Cherson and St. Phokas of Sinope, the latter holding an oar in his hand (Fig. 2 nos 118, 119)[26]. However, this geographical principle of grouping the images of saints remains rare in St. Sophia.

One more factor that played an important role in the choice of individual saints was the presence of their relics in the church. The placing of the saints' relics into the foundations and walls of a church under construction was an ancient practice. Among other medieval sources, this is attested in the Paterikon of the Kiev monastery of the Caves. This tells that relics of different martyrs were laid under the walls of the cathedral of the Dormition and that the images of these saints were painted upon the walls[27]. It is highly probable that the same practice was used in building and decorating the Kiev metropolis half a century earlier. In St. Sophia there are many crosses painted next to the images of saints (Fig. 7), possibly indicating the places where pieces of relics had been put[28].

On another side of the pier with the images of St. Demetrios and the prophet Elijah there is an image of St. Nicholas facing westwards (Fig. 2 no 75). Opposite this is St. Panteleimon (Fig. 2 no 76). Both were identified
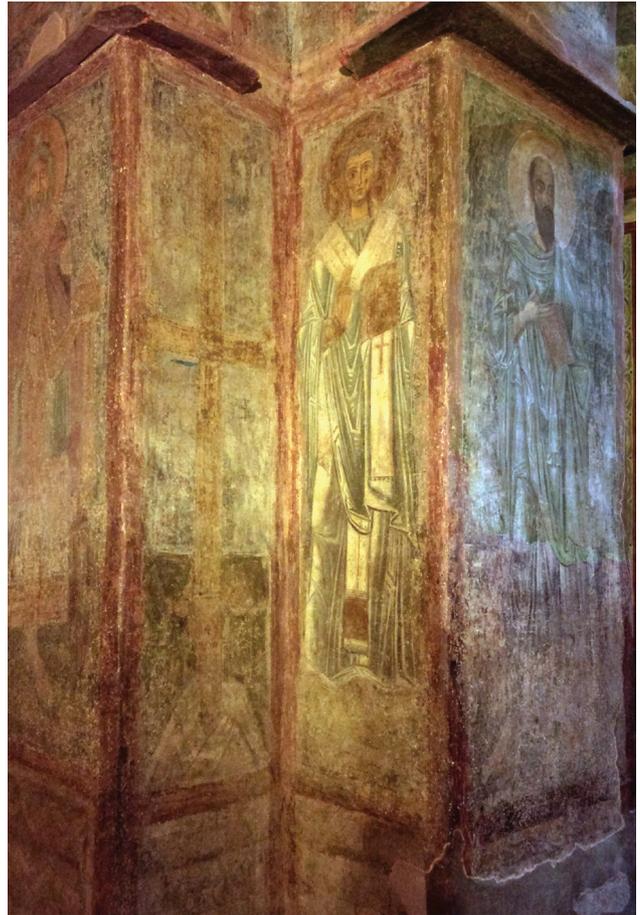

Fig. 7. Kiev, St. Sophia. North-West corner on the ground floor. St. Aaron, St. Lazarus and St. Paul (see Fig. 2 nos 81, 82, 84).

long ago thanks to their characteristic appearance and graffiti. St. Nicholas is considered the patron saint of Yaroslav's third son Svyatoslav. As for St. Panteleimon, it is known for sure that his relics were present in St. Sophia. During the excavations of 1940 an 11th-century silver reliquary with this saint's name was found there[29].

So far we have discussed some of the main principles in the choice and grouping of the images of saints, principles which were general in 11th-century Byzantine art. However, there are also some particularities specific to St. Sophia.

One conspicuous trait of St. Sophia is that this is a

[26] Logvin, *Sofiia Kievskaia*, op.cit. (n. 2), pls. 211, 212. Vysotskii, *Srednevekovye nadpisi Sofii Kievskoj*, op.cit. (n. 23), 34. Gerasimenko – Zakharova – Sarab'ianov "Vnutrennie galerei", op.cit. (n. 3), 43-44, figs 15, 16. V. D. Sarab'ianov, "Izobrazhenija dvuh Pontijskih svjatitelej v rospisjah Sofii Kievskoj" (Images of Two Pontic Saints in the Wall Paintings of St. Sophia of Kiev), *Ocherki po istorii hristianskogo Hersonesa* (*Essays on the History of Christian Chersonnessus*), vol. I/1, Saint-Petersburg 2009, 109-117. T. Starodubcev, "Holy gardener and holy bishop: the images and cult of holy martyrs named Phokas", *Zograf* 37 (2013), 37-53.
[27] L. A. Ol'shevskaja – S. N. Travnikov (eds), *Drevnerusskie pateriki. Kievo-Pecherskij Paterik. Volokolamskij Paterik* (*Old Russian Paterika. The Paterikon of the Kiev Cave Monastery. The Paterikon of Volokolamsk*), Moscow 1999, 12-14, 115-116. *The Paterik of the Kievan Caves Monastery* (transl. M. Heppel), Cambridge, MA 1989, xlvii, 7-9.
[28] Gerasimenko – Zakharova – Sarab'ianov, "Vnutrennie galerei", op.cit. (n. 3), 27-29. V. D. Sarab'ianov, "Relikvii i obrazy svjatyh v sakral'nom prostranstve Sofii Kievskoj" (Relics and Images of Saints in the Sacred Space of St. Sophia Cathedral in Kiev), *Spatial icons. Performativity in Byzantium and Medieval Russia* (in Russian, abstract in English), ed. A. Lidov, Moscow 2011, 364-392.
[29] Sarab'ianov, "Patronal'nye izobrazheniia Yaroslava Mudrogo", op.cit. (n. 3). 242.

very large and complex building. The other particularity is ideological. Being the first cathedral of the newly baptized Rus, St. Sophia emphasizes the importance of the Church and its apostolic mission. These two particularities also affected the choice and grouping of the images of saints.

The structure of the building is very complicated (Figs 2, 3). There are numerous cross-shaped piers providing narrow vertical surfaces unsuitable for painting any subject other than individual figures in several registers. The central five-nave core is enveloped by an inner and outer ambulatory and spacious galleries in the upper storey. The painters had to fill all these numerous compartments. These were probably perceived as separate spaces, as images of some saints and groups of saints are repeated several times in different parts of the cathedral. Thus, there are at least two different images of St. Nicholas (Fig. 2 nos 75, 116), St. Panteleimon (Fig. 2 nos 76, 140), St. Menas (Fig. 2 nos 125, 139), St. Andrew Stratelates (Fig. 2 nos 21, 59), prophet Elijah (Fig. 2 nos 32, 92), Sts Sergius and Bacchus (Fig. 2 nos 38, 39. Fig. 3, nos 154, 155), Sts Adrian and Natalia (Fig. 2 nos 86, 87, 137, 138), Sts Cosmas and Damian (Fig. 2 nos 29, 30, 56, 57, probably representing two different pairs of homonymous saints), etc.

The inner and outer ambulatory on the ground floor were initially open. Most probably they did not function as proper liturgical spaces, but were used for litanies. This could also account for some peculiarities in their decoration[30]. Thus in the western corners of the inner ambulatory there are two groups of images that clearly have some special meaning. In the north-western compartment there are nine images of holy warriors, mostly represented in military attire (Fig. 2 nos 134, 135, 139 and others not identified). In the south-western compartment of the inner ambulatory there are numerous images of holy bishops (Fig. 2 nos 114-121 and others not identified). Among them, St. Nicholas was singled out: there are traces of some decoration now lost which had been set around his head (Fig. 2 no 116)[31].
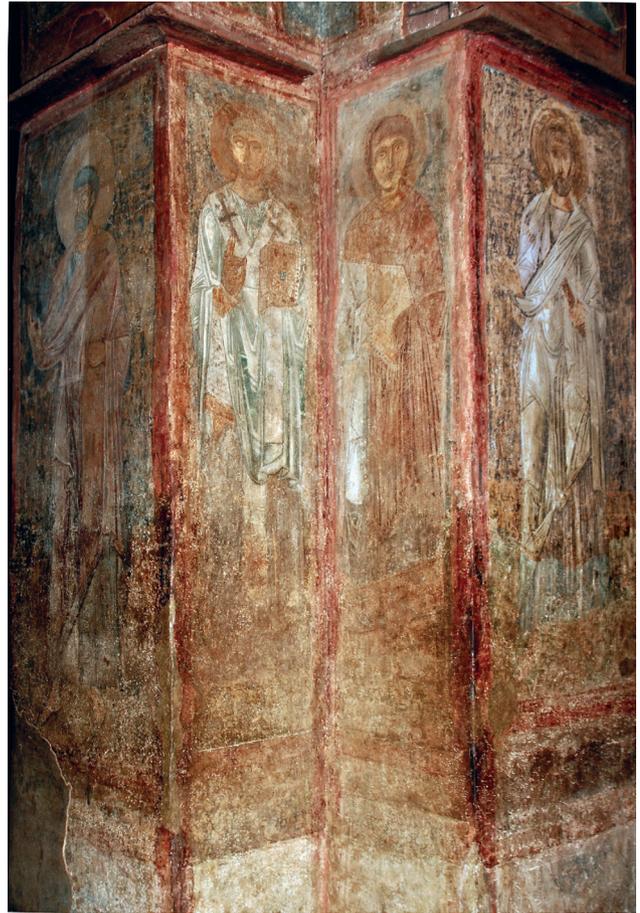

Fig. 8. Kiev, St. Sophia. North-West corner on the ground floor. St. Peter, St. Germanos, unknown martyr and Prophet Moses (see Fig. 2 nos 85, 83, 88).

Another interesting combination of images of saints is found in the north-west corner of the naos[32]. This compartment stands in the same line as the prothesis which also functioned as a chapel dedicated to the apostles Peter and Paul. In the prothesis, next to the cycles of Sts Peter and Paul, there are numerous single images of other apostles, including those from the Seventy Apostles. The north-western compartment of the naos continues the theme of the apostolic mission of the Church. It opens

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[30] Gerasimenko – Zakharova – Sarab'ianov, "Vnutrennie galerei", op.cit. (n. 3), 30.

[31] V. D. Sarab'ianov, "Obraz svjatitelja Nikolaja Chudotvorca v rospisjah Sofii Kievskoj" (The Image of St. Nicholas the Wonderworker in the Wall Paintings of St. Sophia of Kiev), *Dobryj kormchij. Pochitanie svjatitelja Nikolaja v hristianskom mire. Materialy*

Mezhdunarodnoj konferencii v Bari, 2007 g. (The Good Guide. Veneration of St. Nicholas in the Christian World. Materials of the International Conference in Bari, 2007), Moscow 2011, 446-463.

[32] Gerasimenko – Zakharova – Sarab'ianov "Zapadnoe prostranstvo osnovnogo ob 'ema pod khorami'", op.cit. (n. 3), 226-233.

again with the images of St. Peter and Paul facing each other (Fig. 2 nos 84, 85. Figs 7, 8). Other images painted in this compartment include figures representing the Old Testament servants of God: prophets and high priests. Based on the iconography, we identified the images of Aaron, Moses, Elijah and Elisha (Fig. 2 nos 81, 88, 92, 93).

Next to them, there are a number of holy bishops representing the New Testament church. Yet the choice of individual saints is specific. We identified one of them as Lazarus, who was resurrected by Jesus and later became the bishop of Cyprus (Fig. 2 no 82). His traits are very peculiar: he has short grey hair, but no beard, his cheeks are hollow, his eyes are wide open. His appearance really conveys the horrifying experience of returning to life from death. Outside Cyprus, images of St. Lazarus as bishop are not encountered very often. Yet there are some examples in pre-Mongol Russian wall paintings, the image in St. Sophia being probably the model for the other ones as they all share the same iconography[33]. Next to the image of St. Lazarus there is a large cross that could mark the presence of his relics in this place.

Two more saintly bishops are painted on two other piers of this compartment, both having the same unusual appearance: short grey hair and no beard. Based on this rare iconography, we hypothesize that these may be St. Germanos and St. Ignatios, patriarchs of Constantinople known for their struggle against iconoclasm (Fig. 2 nos 83, 89). They were eunuchs and therefore had no beard. As their canonization was a relatively recent event at the time of St. Sophia's decoration, they may have been depicted here as heroes of the contemporary Church. The images of these saints are among the first mosaics of St. Sophia of Constantinople created following the victory over iconoclasm, and their iconography persists in later tradition, although they were not frequently depicted[34].

The meaning of the combination of saints in this compartment may then be interpreted as an exaltation of the salvific mission of the Church. Starting with the ministry of prophets and high-priests, when the Law was given to Moses and the Divine grace passed from the prophet Elijah to the prophet Elisha, the Lord then gives His new Law to the Apostles and lays the foundations of the New Testament Church. The same ministry and grace is taken over by the leaders of the Church, starting from the times of Jesus and up until the present day.

It is not always possible to understand and interpret the meaning of such minor hagiographic programs in different parts of the cathedral, especially when only some of the images are preserved and can be identified. It is clear, however, that the meaning of the iconographic program of St. Sophia as a whole was conceived as a sum of these several groups, and the individual images of saints played their important part in this ensemble.

The conclusions that we draw from our analysis of the St. Sophia hagiographical program may be summarized as follows.

It is evident that all the images of saints in St. Sophia fit within the general idea of its decoration. These images are arranged according to the main principles of hierarchy already established in Byzantine monumental painting. Yet, this system was not very rigid, it allowed for exceptions, special accentuations and a number of seemingly random factors for which we can give no account. It is evident that within this universal program smaller units may be identified, and the principles guiding the choice of saints for them may vary. It is only the complex analysis summing up all these elements and factors that can provide an adequate reading of St. Sophia's program.

The unprecedented multitude of images of saints is a very important peculiarity of St. Sophia's appearance compared to other coeval ensembles. One reason for this was the great size and particular structure of the building. Yet the other more important reason was ideological: the newly baptized Rus had just become a member of the Universal Church, and it is the multitude of saints that represented this idea in the most effective way.

[33] Sarab'ianov, "Chtimye svjatye domongol'skoj Rusi v rospisjah Sofii Kievskoj", op.cit. (n. 24), 72-75.

[34] C. Mango, *Materials for the Study of the Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul*, Washington, D.C. 1962, 44, 51-57. C. Mango – E. J. W. Hawkins, "The Mosaics of Saint Sophia at Istanbul. The Church Fathers in the North Tympanum", *DOP* 26 (1972), 9-11, 28-30. R. Cormack – E. J. W. Hawkins, "The Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul: the Rooms above the Southwest Vestibule and Ramp", *DOP* 31 (1977), 223-224.

Illustration credits

Figs 1, 4-8: photos by Anna Zakharova. Figs 2, 3: schemes by Anna Zakharova basing on reconstructed plans by Yu. Aseev and others, in *Vseobshchaia istoriia arkhitektury* (*Universal History of Architecture*), 3, Moscow 1966, 540.

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ΑΠΕΙΚΟΝΙΣΕΙΣ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΣΤΙΣ ΤΟΙΧΟΓΡΑΦΙΕΣ
ΤΗΣ ΑΓΙΑΣ ΣΟΦΙΑΣ ΣΤΟ ΚΙΕΒΟ

Η Αγία Σοφία στο Κίεβο, μαζί με άλλα σύνολα του 11ου αιώνα, σηματοδοτεί μια σημαντική στιγμή στην ιστορία της βυζαντινής τέχνης, όταν το κλασικό σύστημα διακόσμησης ναών έφτασε στην ακμή του. Η Αγία Σοφία είναι επίσης το μνημείο-κλειδί για την παλαιά ρωσική τέχνη· η επιρροή του μνημείου στη μετέπειτα ανάπτυξή της ήταν τεράστια. Αυτά τα στοιχεία καθιστούν πολύ σημαντική την ανάγκη μιας καλύτερης κατανόησης του περίπλοκου εικονογραφικού προγράμματος της Αγίας Σοφίας (Εικ. 1). Η ταύτιση των μορφών των αγίων αποτελεί μέρος αυτής της διαδικασίας.

Η καλύτερη ένδειξη για την ταύτιση μιας μορφής είναι η ανάγνωση της συνοδευτικής επιγραφής, δηλαδή του αγιωνυμίου της, όταν διατηρούνται αποσπάσματα ή ίχνη τέτοιων επιγραφών. Δυστυχώς, τέτοιες περιπτώσεις είναι πολύ λίγες, εξαιτίας της κακής διατήρησης πολλών από τις τοιχογραφίες, οι οποίες καθαρίστηκαν εκτεταμένα κατά τη διάρκεια συντήρησης τον 19ο αιώνα. Επίσης, η ανάγνωση κάποιων μεσαιωνικών χαραγμάτων αποδεικνύεται πολύ χρήσιμη (Εικ. 4). Σε πολλές περιπτώσεις το όνομα του αγίου αναπαράγεται στην ελληνική μορφή του, μερικές φορές, μάλιστα, παρατηρείται μίμηση της κιονηδόν διάταξης των γραμμάτων του χαμένου αγιωνυμίου. Ωστόσο, το κύριο εργαλείο είναι η εικονογραφική ανάλυση και η σύγκριση με άλλες μορφές αγίων της τέχνης της μεσοβυζαντινής περιόδου.

Θεωρούμε σημαντικό να προσπαθήσουμε να κατανοήσουμε τις γενικές αρχές που υπαγόρευσαν στους ζωγράφους της Αγίας Σοφίας την επιλογή των μεμονωμένων αγίων. Η κατανομή των μορφών των αγίων ανάλογα με την ιεραρχική τους θέση ήταν ήδη κοινή πρακτική από τον 11ο αιώνα στη βυζαντινή διακόσμηση των ναών. Έτσι, προφήτες και απόστολοι τοποθετούνται συνήθως στον τρούλο, ιεράρχες στο ιερό, μάρτυρες στον κυρίως ναό και μοναστικοί άγιοι και αγίες στο δυτικό τμήμα του ναού (Εικ. 2, 3). Πολύ συχνά οι άγιοι χωρίζονται περαιτέρω σε μικρότερες κατηγορίες, ανάλογα με την ιδιότητά τους ή την ημέρα της εορτής τους. Οι επώνυμοι άγιοι των δωρητών ή κάποιοι τοπικοί άγιοι τοποθετούνται συχνά σε περίοπτες θέσεις.

Όπως έδειξε η έρευνά μας, οι ζωγράφοι της Αγίας Σοφίας ακολούθησαν αυτές τις γενικές αρχές. Έτσι, οι μορφές ιεραρχών, πρεσβυτέρων και διακόνων (πάνω από 70) κυριαρχούν στη ζώνη του ιερού, όχι μόνο στην κεντρική αψίδα αλλά και στα πλευρικά παρεκκλήσια, καθώς και στην πρόθεση και στο διακονικό, στους τοίχους και στα πλάγια των ανοιγμάτων. Στη δυτική πλευρά υπάρχουν περίπου 60 μορφές αγίων γυναικών. Ωστόσο, η πλειονότητα των αγίων που απεικονίζονται στην Αγία Σοφία, είναι άνδρες μάρτυρες, κυρίως χωρισμένοι σε μικρότερες ομάδες. Συνεπώς, η ταύτιση μιας συγκεκριμένης μορφής μπορεί μερικές φορές να βοηθήσει στην ταύτιση ολόκληρης της ομάδας, ειδικά στις περιπτώσεις μερικών δημοφιλών ομάδων δύο, τριών, τεσσάρων ή πέντε αγίων, όπως π.χ. οι άγιοι Κυπριανός και Ιουστίνη, οι άγιοι Ακεψιμάς, Ιωσήφ και Αειθαλάς (Εικ. 5), ο άγιος Ευστάθιος με τη σύζυγό του και τους δύο γιους του, οι άγιοι Πέντε Μάρτυρες της Σεβάστειας κ.ά.

Μερικές απεικονίσεις στην Αγία Σοφία έχουν σίγουρα κτητορικό χαρακτήρα. Η πλέον εμφανής περίπτωση είναι ο άγιος Κωνσταντίνος με τις δύο μικρής κλίμακας μορφές του αγίου Γεωργίου και της αγίας Ειρήνης, των προστατών αγίων των κτητόρων της Αγίας Σοφίας, του πρίγκιπα Yaroslav και της συζύγου του Ingigerd (Εικ. 6). Άλλες παρόμοιες περιπτώσεις αποτελούν οι μορφές στον νοτιοδυτικό πεσσό, όπου κυρίαρχη θέση καταλαμβάνει ο άγιος Δημήτριος, ο προστάτης άγιος του διαδόχου του Yaroslav, Izyaslav. Δίπλα σε αυτόν απεικονίζεται ο προφήτης Ηλίας, ο προστάτης άγιος του μεγαλύτερου γιου του Yaroslav, ο οποίος είχε πεθάνει πολύ πριν από την ανέγερση της Αγίας Σοφίας. Άλλη μία μορφή που απηχεί κάποια

προσωπική σχέση με τον μεγάλο πρίγκιπα, είναι η σπάνια μορφή του παλαιοδιαθηκικού βασιλιά Εζεκία στο υπερώο, από όπου ο ηγεμόνας συνήθως παρακολουθούσε τη λειτουργία.

Το κτήριο της Αγίας Σοφίας είναι πολύ μεγάλο και περίπλοκο (Εικ. 2, 3). Υπάρχουν πολυάριθμοι σταυρόσχημοι πεσσοί που παρέχουν κατακόρυφες επιφάνειες, ακατάλληλες για άλλα θέματα εκτός από μεμονωμένες μορφές σε πολλαπλές ζώνες (Εικ. 7, 8). Ο κεντρικός πεντάκλιτος πυρήνας περικλείεται από ένα εσωτερικό και ένα εξωτερικό περίστωο (Εικ. 2) και από ευρύχωρα υπερώα στον όροφο (Εικ. 3) και οι ζωγράφοι έπρεπε να γεμίσουν με τα έργα τους όλους αυτούς τους χώρους. Πιθανότατα, οι χώροι αυτοί θεωρούνται ανεξάρτητοι μεταξύ τους, καθώς οι παραστάσεις κάποιων αγίων και ομάδων αγίων επαναλαμβάνονται αρκετές φορές σε διαφορετικά σημεία του καθεδρικού. Σε μερικούς χώρους εντοπίζονται ειδικά νοήματα στην επιλογή αγίων και σχηματίζονται μικρής έκτασης εικονογραφικά προγράμματα. Συνεπώς, το γενικό νόημα του εικονογραφικού προγράμματος της Αγίας Σοφίας

απαρτίζεται από το σύνολο αυτών των ανεξάρτητων χώρων.

Η πρωτοφανής πληθώρα αγίων αποτελεί πολύ σημαντική ιδιαιτερότητα της Αγίας Σοφίας. Ένας λόγος που εξηγεί αυτό το φαινόμενο, είναι το μεγάλο μέγεθος και η ιδιαίτερη δομή του κτηρίου. Ένας ακόμη σημαντικός λόγος ήταν ο ιδεολογικός παράγοντας: οι νεοφώτιστοι Ρως είχαν μόλις ενταχθεί στην Οικουμενική Εκκλησία και η πληθώρα των εικονιζόμενων αγίων εκφράζει αυτήν την ιδέα με τον καλύτερο τρόπο. Ελπίζουμε ότι οι προσπάθειές μας να ταυτίσουμε τις μορφές των αγίων συμβάλουν στη σωστή κατανόηση του περίπλοκου νοήματος του εικονογραφικού προγράμματος αυτού του εκτενέστατου συνόλου του 11ου αιώνα.

Μετάφραση από τα αγγλικά: Νικόλαος Μελβάνι

Λέκτωρ – Τμήμα Ιστορίας
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