



Interior of the main nave.  
Інтер'єр головної нави катедрі.

Ivan Zavadoys'ky after a copper model prepared by another goldsmith of the city, Semen Taran. During the tsarist regime, a double-headed eagle was attached to the crown of the gate. Many visitors found this addition in rather dubious taste. The same opinion prevailed concerning the eagles added on the first story wall of the St. Sophia bell tower.

The *namisni* icons of the main iconostasis were covered with beautiful silver sheathings by Metropolitan Arsenius Mohylyans'ky. In technique, these sheathings surpass even the royal gate. Silver lamps, cast in relief, hung before the *namisni* icons. They had the form of flattened spheres and were richly adorned with the perforated design and winged *putti* characteristic of the Ukrainian art of the first half of the 18th century.

Prior to the period of confiscations undertaken by Soviet authorities, a bronze chandelier, dating from the time of Metropolitan Zaborovs'ky, hung in the central nave, over which the scene of the Resurrection was depicted. Its branches and candleholders were executed in local baroque

forms by a skilled master. Another interesting chandelier (time of Metropolitan Timothy Shcherbats'ky) hung in front of the ambo.

There still remains in the western entrance a gilded copper door of local workmanship of the 17th century, which replaced that of the Princely period. The relief plant ornament on the door in stylized Baroque displays the hand of a skillful master.

Along with the *namisni* icons of the iconostasis, characteristic of the church paintings of the 17th and 18th centuries (excluding later alterations), the painting of Holy *Sophia*, God's Wisdom, is outstanding. The picture represents the doctrine of the Incarnation of the Son of Man. The Mother of God is seen with her Child in her arms standing on a seven-step estrade, under a rotunda supported by seven columns. God the Father hovers over the rotunda attended by seven angels. The Prophets (Moses, Aaron, David and Isaiah) are standing on the steps. Each of the seven columns is adorned with emblems (a book with seven seals, a seven-armed candelabrum, seven trumpets). This icon of *Sophia* dates from the middle of the 17th century at the earliest, inasmuch as the preceding, much older icon was removed from the church by the Poles in 1651, when Kiev was taken by Hetman Janusz Radziwill.

Not less interesting is the painting installed to the left of the royal gate and the icon of the Mother of God. It may have been executed by the master of the *Sophia* painting. As interesting as the latter, it is a composite work, representing the Church Fathers and the Holy Ghost with a chalice above them, a column of fire, a heart with Christ's name, the Holy Trinity, and the icon of the Holy Virgin with her monogram outlined by pastoral staffs. All of the icons are local work of the 17th and 18th centuries and display the characteristics of the Baroque with their dynamic figures, rich draperies, gay colors and exquisite ornamentation. Among the wall paintings of the 17th and 18th centuries, several portraits of the Oecumenical Councils and the 18th century representation of the Dormition in the chapel of that name deserve special mention. The latter was whitewashed during the remodeling of this chapel for the offices of the St. Sophia Architectural and Historical Museum.

In the Grand Princely period the church had three altars, a *prothesis*, and a *diakonikon* which corresponded to its five naves. In the first half of the 17th century, under Metropolitan Mohyla, the number of altars had already risen to ten; by the end of the 17th century, there were fifteen. The plan of the ground floor and of the two stories of the cathedral made by Ivanov towards the beginning of the 19th century indicate the arrangement of these altars in different naves and chapels. None of these altars stands in the cathedral today. Most ornate was the altar of the main sanctuary, built in the first half of the 17th century to replace the destroyed altar of the Grand Princely period. Its dimensions corresponded to those of the cave of Christ's entombment in Jerusalem. On all four sides the altar was faced with cypress, and the slab into which a silver reliquary was set was of marble. On this slab there were gilded copper plates

with silver relief fittings on its corners, representing the Last Supper, the Crucifixion, the Entombment and the Resurrection. Silver strips ran along the edge of the four corners of the altar.

Baroque additions to the interior decoration of St. Sophia, although later in date and different in style, do not disturb the artistic unity of the cathedral's interior as much as do the additions of the 19th century, executed in Russian pseudo-Byzantine style (cast-iron floors, restored frescoes, etc.). But the interior of the cathedral, even with its Baroque additions, strikes the visitor by the harmony of its architectural forms and the variety of perspective effects opening from any place on the ground floor and galleries. The picturesque combination of two-story triple arcades, vaults, arches, stern rows of piers, deeply recessed altar apses, bands of galleries with carved parapets, broad slate imposts, crowned from every viewpoint by the gamut of fresco colors and the glitter of mosaic — all that in its logical unity represents the synthesis of early Ukrainian art.



Columns of the triple arch structure in the northern part of the transept (ground floor level). Here, the floor was lowered to its 11th century level in 1939.

Колони нижнього ярусу триаркової конструкції північної частини архітектурного хреста плану. В 1939 р. в цьому місці понижено підлогу до її первісного рівня 11 ст.



Marble sarcophagus of Yaroslav the Wise. Lateral view.  
Мармуровий саркофаг Ярослава Мудрого. Вид збоку.



## THE SARCOPHAGUS OF YAROSLAV AND OTHER TOMBS

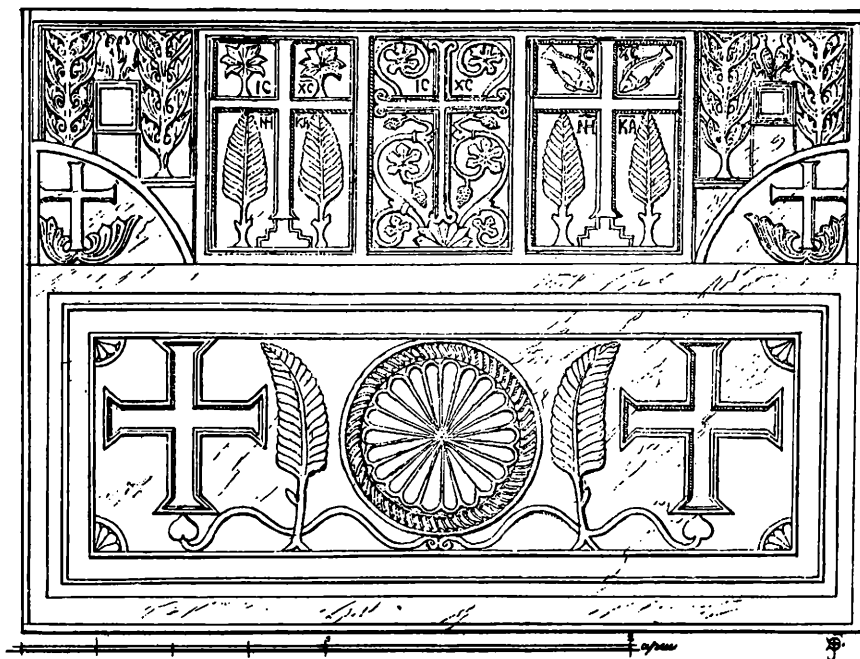
The richly carved marble sarcophagus of the founder of St. Sophia now stands in the St. Volodymyr Sanctuary. Until recently this sarcophagus was partly recessed into the southern wall of that sanctuary in a doorway formerly leading into the St. George Sanctuary. Because the sarcophagus, which had been installed in the doorway sometime between 1685 and 1690 under the rule of Metropolitan G. Chetvertyns'ky, blocked the passage, the doorway was walled up. Before that it had stood in the western part of the St. George aisle according to Strykowski, other descriptions, and Innocent Gizel in his *Synopsis*. Zachary Kopystyns'ky in the *Palinody* of 1621 says that Prince Yaroslav "is buried above the doorway of the Great Church" (in other words near the western portal and not in the sanctuary), since, according to ancient custom, the Greek Church allowed the burial of the dead, including prominent personages and founders of a given church, in chapels or galleries but not in the central nave.

In the fifties of the last century a new floor of cast-iron relief panels was laid in the cathedral, more than thirty centimeters above the 17th century tile floor, but the sarcophagus was not raised to the level of the new floor. In 1936, during a partial restoration of the church and investigation of its floors, the floor around the sarcophagus was lowered to its original level and the sarcophagus itself moved from its niche to the middle of the sanctuary to make it more accessible to investigators.

The fairly spacious sarcophagus measures 1.22 meters in width, 2.36 meters in length and 0.91 meters in height without the cover (with cover the height is 1.61 meters); and the sides are 0.15 meters thick. It is made of white marble with gray veins now broad and straight and now turning almost imperceptibly into a bluish shade.

Of the same kind of marble are the architectural details now on exhibit in the narthex of the cathedral. They include the shafts of the columns and the bases of the portico of the main entrance, the jambs of the same entrance, the capitals of the columns of the former chancel barrier as well as other architectural fragments. The marble threshold, recently disclosed in the western part of the church, is also made of the same material.

The form of the sarcophagus of Grand Prince Yaroslav reflects Hellenistic traditions. Its lower part is a massive rectangular chest cut out of a block of marble, while its upper part (the cover) is shaped like a pitched roof. The latter, as is the case in Constantinopolitan sarcophagi, is adorned with acroteria on all four corners. The outer surfaces of the sarcophagus carry symbolic relief ornamentation characteristic of early Christian art. The skillful technique of this relief, the general composition of the ornamental motifs and the bold outlines of the design reflect the hand of an outstanding sculptor. On all the carved surfaces, the representations are mostly of crosses with plant, geometric and animal ornamental motifs, such as palm and olive leaves, vines, trees, branches,



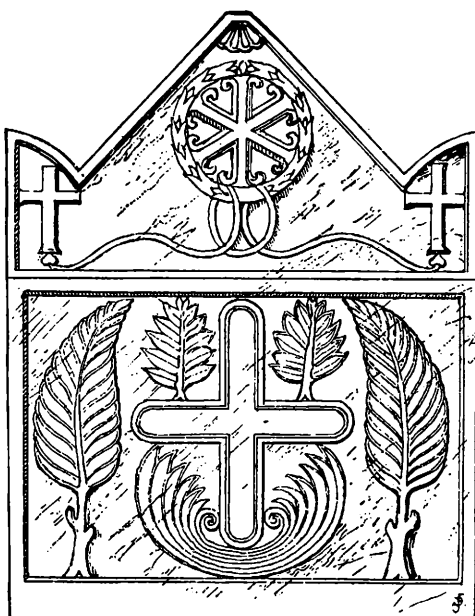
Marble sarcophagus of Yaroslav the Wise. Front elevation.  
Мрамуровий саркофаг Ярослава Мудрого. Вид з фронту.

rosettes, birds and fish. All these are early Christian symbols whose meaning has often been lost, although scholars (Aynalov, Redin, Tolstoi, Sherotski) explain them in various ways.

The Greek word for fish is composed of the initial letters of the phrase "Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour." The birds with their young about their nests, drinking water from basins (rimmed square recesses) placed among the trees, symbolize Christian souls who are drinking the Water of Salvation.<sup>88</sup> Vines symbolize for the Greeks the Afterlife; the representations of cypresses and wreathes are peculiar to *stelae* and tombs of Syria, Palestine, Khersonesus and other places. The same origin has to be postulated for crosses resting upon acanthus, palm and ivy leaves, from which spring curved branches which touch a rosette with their tips and entwine themselves into a monogram cross (of the early Christian Chrismon type) as is the case on the fronton of the sarcophagus cover.

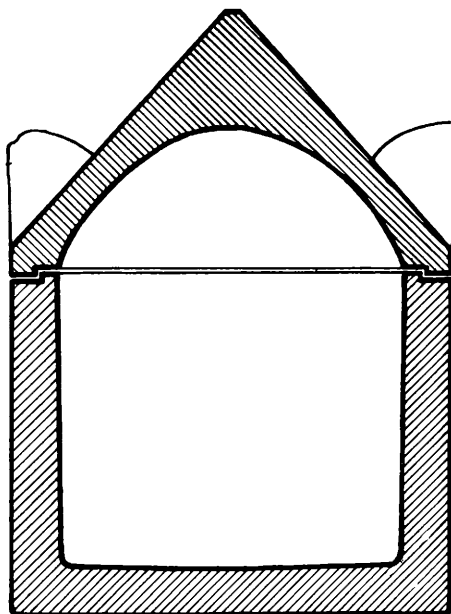
In addition to pictorial representations, the cover bears the letters ΙΣΧΣΝΙ.ΚΑ Φ.Χ.Φ.Π. (Φῶς Χριστοῦ φωτίζει πάντας): "Jesus Christ is Victorious" and "Christ's light shineth unto all." The back of the sarcophagus was destined for a sculptured ornament as it shows outlines of planned but unfinished design.

<sup>88</sup> K. Sherotski, *Kiev, Putevoditel'*, (Kiev, 1917), p. 61.



Marble sarcophagus of Yaroslav the Wise. Side elevation.

Мармуровий саркофaг  
Ярослава Мудрого. Вид збоку.



Cross section.  
Перекрій.

For a long time Yaroslav's sarcophagus presented a number of problems. Some scholars even doubted whether Prince Yaroslav the Wise had ever been buried there, although the chronicle information under the year 1054 is unambiguous: "Grand Prince Yaroslav passed on and they laid him in a marble tomb in the Church of St. Sophia."<sup>89</sup> Shortly before World War II, the Yaroslav sarcophagus was opened twice, in 1936 and again in 1939. The results of the detailed investigations of 1939 are to be found in a volume of articles published by the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R.<sup>90</sup> According to the report in this publication, the sarcophagus contained skeletons of a man sixty to seventy years of age, a woman, fifty to fifty-five, and a number of smaller bones belonging to the skeleton of a child of approximately three years. All of the bones were mixed together, but it could be established that the heads of the skeletons had been turned to the west. No other objects were found, nor

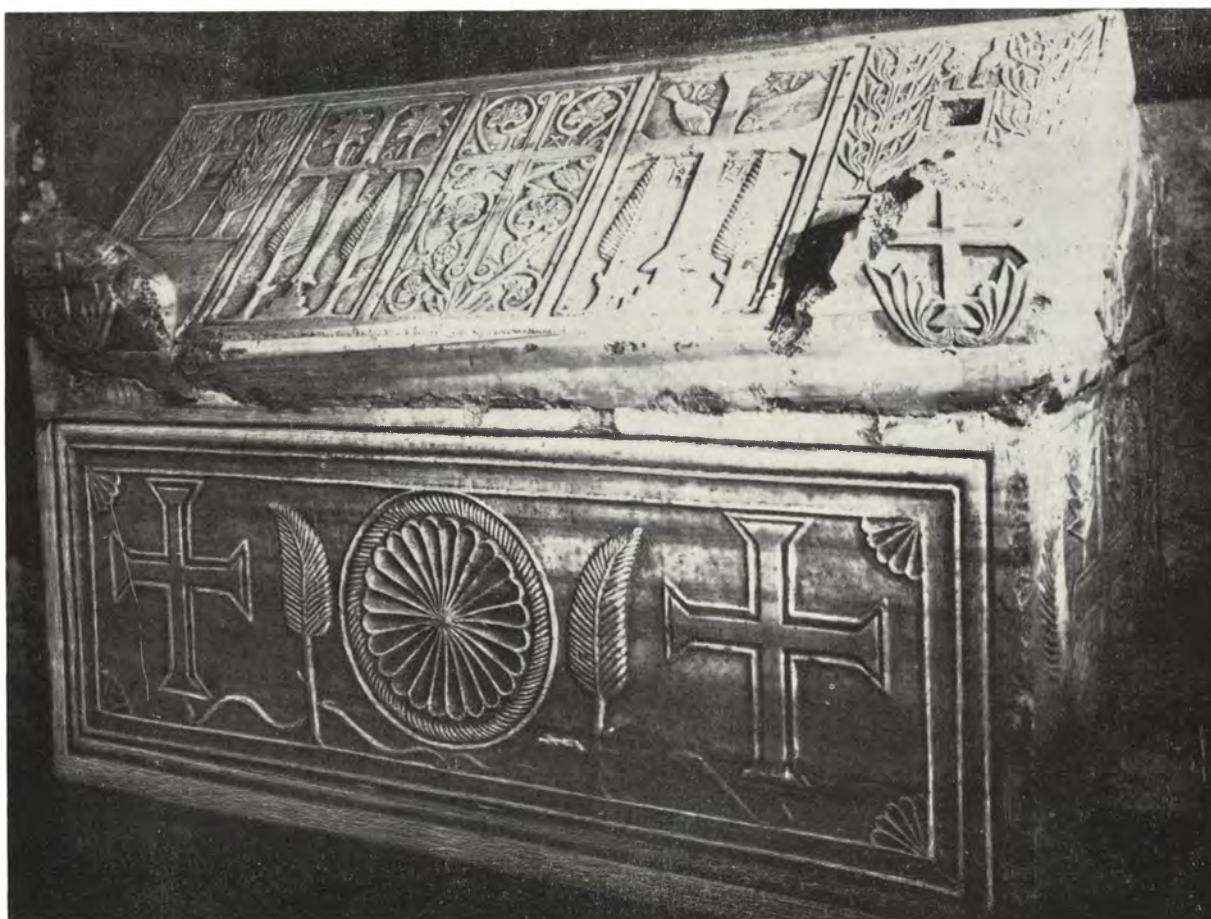
<sup>89</sup> P. ex *Hypatian Chronicle*, sub anno 1054, ed. of the Archeographical Commission (St. Petersburg, 1871), p. 113f.

<sup>90</sup> D. Rokhlin, "Itogi anatomicheskogo i rentgenologicheskogo izucheniya skeleta Yaroslava Mudrogo," *Kratkie soobshcheniya i doklady o polevykh issledovaniyakh instituta istorii material'noi kul'tury* VII (1940). V. Gingsburg, "Ob antropologicheskome izuchenii skeletov Yaroslava Mudrogo, Anny i Ingigerd," *ibid.*, pp. 57-66; M. Gerasimov, "Opyt rekonstruktsii fizicheskogo oblika Yaroslava Mudrogo," *ibid.*, pp. 72-76.

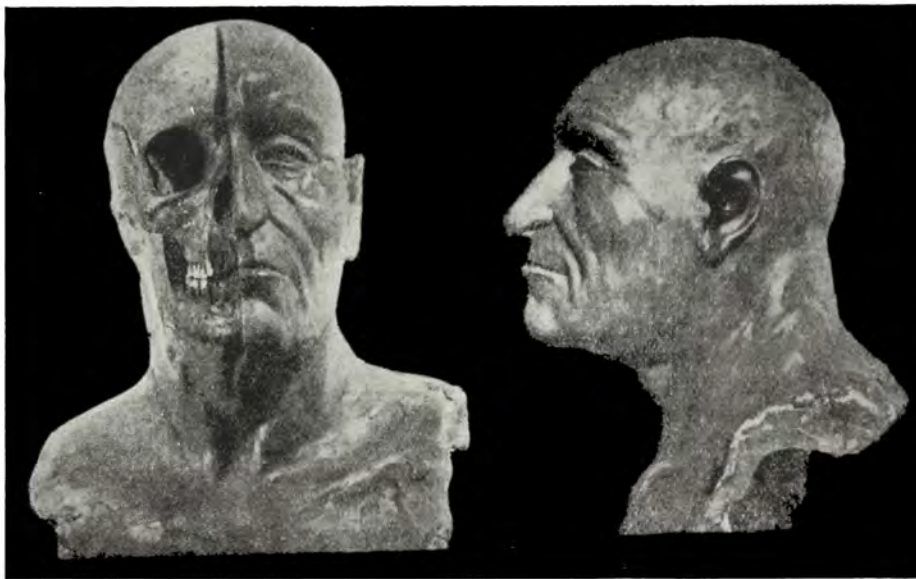


Sarcophagus of Yaroslav the Wise. Detail of the lid and general view.  
 Саркофаг Ярослава Мудрого. Деталь віка і загальний вид.





Sarcophagus of Yaroslav the Wise. Detail of the lid and general view.  
Саркофаг Ярослава Мудрого. Загальний вид.



An attempt at reconstruction of the head of Grand Prince Yaroslav the Wise.  
The work of the sculptor-anatomist M. Gerasimov.

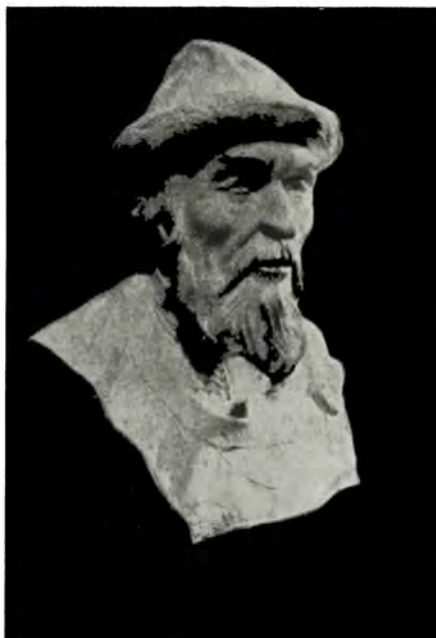
Спроба реставрації голови вел. кн. Ярослава Мудрого. Робота скульптора-антрополога М. Герасімова.

were there any remains of clothing except for a small piece of faded, possibly silk, fabric. It is to be supposed that someone (probably before 1594<sup>91</sup>) had carefully put these skeletons back into the sarcophagus from which they had been cast during one of many sackings of Kiev. As it was reasonable to assume that the skeletons were of Yaroslav and his wife, Princess Ingigerd-Irene, they were sent to the Institute of Anthropology and Ethnology of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. (in Lenin-grad) for study. The investigations, led by such scholars as Ginzburg, Rokhlin and Gerasimov, revealed that the bones were those of a man of over sixty years (this tallies with the age of Prince Yaroslav at the time of his death) and, moreover, that it was the skeleton of a cripple. We know from chronicle sources that during the war with Svyatopolk the Accursed, Yaroslav, then forty years of age, was already limping. The investigation disclosed, in addition to a dislocation in the hip joint, which had caused the limp, a deformation of the right knee which was the result of a bone fracture. This fracture occurred at a mature age. On the basis of this data, the measurements of the skull, and anatomic and X-ray research, the anatomist M. Gerasimov, at the request of the Academy of Sciences, made a porcelain bust of Prince Yaroslav, later exhibited

<sup>91</sup> Erich Lassota, who saw St. Sophia in 1594, reports that Yaroslav and his wife were lying in a well-preserved *schönen weissen Alabaster Bergräbnis*. Cf. E. Lassota von Steblau, *Tagebuch*, (Halle, 1866), p. 203.



Reconstruction of the head of Yaroslav the Wise by the sculptor-anatomist M. Gerasimov. For a discussion of the reliability of this reconstruction, see below; also compare with the pictures of the original fresco of the 11th century showing Yaroslav's family made by Westervelt in 1651 on pages 138, 139.



Реконструкція голови Яросл. Мудрого роботи скульптора-антрополога М. Герасімова. Для порівняння див. рис. А. Вестерфельда 1651 р. з фрески 11 ст. „родина вел. кн. Ярослава (ст. ст. 138, 139).

in the St. Sophia Museum. The question of the reliability of Gerasimov's reconstruction is still open to discussion. In the opinion of the present writer this reconstruction, based on the so-called portrait of Yaroslav Vsevolodovych on one of the frescoes of the Church of the Redeemer at Nereditsa (1197), is far from being a definitive solution, nor is the assertion of M. Karger (supporting Gerasimov) convincing. Karger maintains that the fresco represents Yaroslav Volodymyrovych and not Yaroslav Vsevolodovych, the father of Alexander Nevsky, as is generally assumed.<sup>92</sup>

On the other hand, earlier reconstructions of Yaroslav's face made by Gerasimov (without long hair, beard, pointed cap, and the vestments peculiar to later Muscovite princes) are reminiscent of the portrait of Yaroslav on a copy of one of Westervelt's drawings, made in 1651, of the now destroyed fresco on the western wall of the main nave in St. Sophia. It may also be remarked that this latter portrait resembles the picture of the ruler (represented with his wife and one other person in the loggia of the so-called Constantinopolitan Hippodrome) on a fresco of the southwestern tower of St. Sophia.

It has long been maintained that Yaroslav's sarcophagus was already finished when brought to Kiev from elsewhere. Scholars date it variously from the sixth to the ninth century. Recently (1943), Professor Kybal'chych attempted to identify the Yaroslav sarcophagus and a similar marble sarcophagus, fragments of which had been found in 1939 during the excavations of the Tithe Church, with two *kapishchi*, which, accord-

<sup>92</sup> N. Voronin and M. Karger, eds., *Istoriya kult'ury drevnei Rusi. Domongol'ski period*, (Moscow-Leningrad, 1951), p. 375 (chapter entitled "Zhivopis'," by M. Karger).



Sarcophagus of Grand Princess St. Olga (?).  
Саркофаг великої княгині св. Ольги (?).



Lower part of the sarcophagus of Grand Prince Volodymyr Monomakh (?).  
Нижня частина саркофагу вел. кн. Володимира Мономаха (?).



ing to the chronicle, Prince Volodymyr brought from Korsun'. In Kybal'chych's opinion, Grand Prince Volodymyr brought the relics of St. Clement and his disciple Phoebus in these *kapishchi* (interpreted as sarcophagi). The word *kapishchi* may be taken to mean sculpture or statues in general but not necessarily those of pagan gods. In addition to these *kapishchi* Volodymyr also brought a (probably) antique bronze quadriga ("four bronze horses" in the words of the chronicle) to Kiev. *The Primary Chronicle*<sup>93</sup> states that all the objects were of bronze: "Going back, he took two copper (*medyany*) statues (*kapishchi*) and four copper (*medyany*) horses," and adds, "only ignorant people think they are of marble."<sup>94</sup> Therefore Kybal'chych's comparison of *kapishchi* with sarcophagi seems implausible.

It may be assumed with greater probability that the sarcophagi were executed in Kiev from marble brought there for the decoration of the city's churches, possibly from the very Proconnesus quarries which furnished marble to the Greek cities of the northern Black Sea shore.<sup>95</sup> In F. Shmit's opinion early Ukrainian artisans did not know how to work with marble, a skill with which only overseas craftsmen could have been familiar.<sup>96</sup> This is an unconvincing assumption. It may be asked who decorated so skillfully the St. Olga sarcophagus (made out of Volynian slate long before the construction of the St. Sophia Cathedral — assuming that the date of this sarcophagus has been correctly established). The same observation applies to the later carved slate parapets of the St. Sophia galleries. Even an average craftsman can easily adapt himself to different types of material. No one denies the possibility of the participation of foreign craftsmen, possibly as instructors, in the extensive building works of Princely Kiev. It can be plausibly asserted, however, that the majority of decorative work in St. Sophia was done from the same type of marble as that used for Yaroslav's sarcophagus by local masters, who also employed their own ornamental motives in the carvings (cf. those on the fragments of the marble jambs). The assumption that the sarcophagus of Yaroslav was made in Kiev in the 11th century, to be more precise, just before his death in 1054, is corroborated by the fact that the back surface of the sarcophagus was prepared for carving which never was completed, probably because the sarcophagus was needed for the prince's burial. It is quite possible that the sarcophagi were executed during the lifetime of the persons for whom they were destined. Such

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<sup>93</sup> The theses of Kybal'chych's lecture were published in 'L'vivs'ki Visti,' Nos. 273 (693) and 288 (708) of 1943 by L[inchevs'ky] under the title "Tayna sarkofahu Yaroslava Mudroho."

<sup>94</sup> P. ex., *Laurentius Chronicle, sub anno 988*, PSRL I (2d ed., Leningrad, 1926), p. 116.

<sup>95</sup> B. Grekov, *Kievskaya Rus'*, (Moscow, 1949), p. 367. Cf., also, the information of Paul of Aleppo, transl. by F. C. Belfour, *The Travels of Macarius, Patriarch of Antioch*, I (1836), p. 231.

<sup>96</sup> F. Shmit, *Mystetstvo staroyi Ukrayiny-Rusi*, (Kharkov, 1919), pp. 65-68.

cases are known in the Princely period (cf. chronicle data on the burials of Grand Prince Volodymyr and the Princes Boris and Gleb).

Under the pedestal of the tomb of the martyr Macarius (situated parallel to the right choir, near the southern wall of St. Michael's nave) another sarcophagus was found made of the same marble as that of Yaroslav and with the same architectural details as the cathedral. This sarcophagus is empty and without a cover. Its carvings, in the forms of rosettes, plants, and crosses, are identical with those on one of the slate parapets of the gallery. P. Lebedintsev thinks that this was the sarcophagus of Prince Volodymyr Monomakh.<sup>97</sup> A traveler named E. Lassota, who visited Kiev in 1594, i.e. before the church had been taken over by the Uniates, writes in his diary that he had seen four tombs, in addition to Yaroslav's, in St. Sophia.<sup>98</sup> They have disappeared from the church. After the tearing down of the new Tithe Church in 1935, two tombs were moved to the St. Sophia Architectural and Historical Museum along with various fragments of architectural details of the old Tithe Church. One of the tombs is a slate sarcophagus said to be that of the Princess Saint Olga, the second, of slate with a flat cover, is traditionally held to be the tomb of the Prince Saint Volodymyr. These tombs were found during the earlier excavations of the old (St. Volodymyr's) Tithe Church and up to 1935 remained in the new Tithe Church built in the thirties of the last century.

In 1939, during the excavations of the Tithe Church, a secret caved-in subterranean vault was discovered and among the ruins there were found fragments of a corner of the cover of another sarcophagus along with other marble architectural fragments. Its carvings are closely related to those of the Yaroslav Sarcophagus. All of these fragments, as well as other sarcophagi and architectural detail, are now in the narthex of St. Sophia. M. Karger suggests that these fragments belong to the sarcophagus in which Grand Prince Volodymyr was buried.<sup>99</sup>

The *Chronicle* describes the burial of the prince in some detail:

But at night his companions took up the flooring between two rooms and after wrapping the body in a rug, they let it down to the earth with ropes. After they had placed it upon a sledge, they took it away and buried it in the Church of the Virgin that Volodymyr himself had built... They laid him in a marble coffin, and buried the body of the blessed Prince amid their mourning.<sup>100</sup>

Thus it is possible that the Cathedral of St. Sophia now shelters fragments of the marble sarcophagus of St. Volodymyr.

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<sup>97</sup> P. Lebedintsev, "O Sofii Kievskoi," *Trudy 3-go Archeol. S'ezda*, (Kiev, 1875).

<sup>98</sup> Erich Lassota von Steblau, *Tagebuch*, (Halle, 1866), p. 203.

<sup>99</sup> M. Karger, "K voprosu o sarkofagakh kn. Vladimira i Anny," *Kratkie sobshcheniya i doklady o polevykh issledovaniyakh instituta istorii material'noi kul'tury*, VII (1940), p. 76-80.

<sup>100</sup> P. ex., *Laurentius Chronicle*, sub anno 1015. PSRL, I (2d ed., Leningrad, 1926), p. 130. Cf. S. H. Cross, *Russian Primary Chronicle*... , p. 212f.

## THE MOSAICS AND FRESCOES

The most magnificent adornment of the interior of St. Sophia is the 11th and 12th century mosaics and frescoes. Parts of mosaic compositions remain in the concave of the main dome, on the walls between the window apertures of its drum, on the pendentives, on the soffits of the drum bows, on the triumphal arch in front of the sanctuary, and in the main altar apse. All of them are executed by passing small cubes of smalt into wet gypsum plaster, following a sketch of the mosaic design prepared in advance.

Only the most sumptuous churches and palaces of Byzantium (and places where Byzantine influence was paramount, such as Sicily, Rome, Venice, Ravenna, Khersonesus, Kiev) received mosaic decoration. The only place in north and central Eastern Europe to possess monuments of mosaic art is Kiev. The mosaic of St. Sophia and of the Michael (Demetrius) Monastery are the first specimens of 11th century mosaic art to exhibit local characteristics. Besides these two churches, the no longer extant 10th century Tithe Church and the 11th century Dormition Church of the Kievan Lavra are also known to have been adorned with mosaics.

The portrait of Christ, cleared of plaster by A. Prakhov in 1885, is set into a medallion in the concave of the main cupola. This composition hovers above the central part of the church at a height of approximately thirty meters. In order to produce the appropriate optical effect, the mosaicists took into account the sphericity of the surface of the cupola. Christ appears as the Apocalyptic Pantocrator holding the Gospel in His left hand while His right is lifted in blessing. The letters IC and XP are arranged on either side of the nimbus. The grandeur of the Christ is equalled by the monumental dimensions of this image, inscribed in a medallion measuring nearly five meters in diameter, as well as by the vast spherical surface of the dome itself. The majestic impression is completed by a number of concentric circles in rainbow colors which border the medallion. The color scheme used in the portrait of the Pantocrator is restrained: He wears a blue *himation* and a blue-violet *chiton* with light red *claves*. These colors are in perfect harmony with the stern divinity and distinctly traced features of Christ, with the color of His face and hands and the light brown of His hair. The background of the medallion is in gold.

The composition is similar in treatment to contemporary mosaics in Daphni and Monreale, where the Pantocrator is equally monumental and displays similar features and vestments. The Pantocrator of Monreale differs slightly from that of St. Sophia in that this representation is adapted to the concave surface of the apsidal conch instead of the cupola. The location of the St. Sophia Pantocrator follows the model of the *Nea* of Constantinople where the type first made its appearance.

The central medallion of the main cupola was once surrounded by four mosaic representations of archangels, but of these only a part of

one has been preserved (the lower half of the body and part of the wings are missing). Identifiable by his light colored variegated wings, the Archangel is wearing the Byzantine imperial robe: a blue *chiton* with a gold border, set with precious stones of green, red and other colors, with *claves* on the shoulders and a *loros*, also adorned with gems. In his hands, he carries a *labarum* with the words ΑΓΙΟΣ, ΑΓΙΟΣ, ΑΓΙΟΣ (Holy, Holy, Holy) and an orb. The other three archangels were similar in appearance; they were painted over with oils in the middle of the 19th century. The parts of the mosaic figure of the fourth archangel which had fallen off have also been restored in oil paints.

Below the figures of the archangels, there once ran a band of a tri-colored crimped ornament, remnants of which remain on the northern side of the drum. The twelve wall surfaces between the windows of the drum were covered with full-size figures of the Twelve Apostles. Half of one of them, that of the Apostle Paul, can still be seen. Its lower part has been replaced with oil paints, as have the complete figures of the other eleven Apostles. Although in the mosaic of Saint Paul, as in that of the Archangel, the artist strove to express a solemn poise, this figure is not among the best specimens of the St. Sophia mosaic work. Paul is clad in a bluish white *chiton* adorned with blue violet *claves* and a white *himation*, this time of a brownish cast.

From the four mosaic pictures of the Evangelists on the pendentives, only one, that of the Apostle Mark (p. 121), has been partially preserved. The other Apostles, except for small fragments still in place, are 19th century oil restorations. Saint Mark is represented sitting on a stool, clad in a light brown *chiton* with a pale green *khlamyd* thrown over it. He holds a style and a papyrus scroll. His feet rest on a pedestal with a checkered design running along its edge. A low table stands before the Evangelist and behind it a lectern with the open Gospel upon it.

The soffits of the four arches supporting the main cupola were covered with portraits of the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia in medallions; only fifteen of these pictures (ten in the southern arch and five in the northern) exist today. Their arrangement is as follows: Counting from the crown of the southern arch, the eastern part of the soffit contains the medallions of Acacius ΑΚΑΚΙΟC, Nicolaus ΝΙΚΑΛΟC, John ΙΩΑΝΝΗC, Khudion ΧΟΥΔΙΟΝ, and Lysimachus ΛΥCΗΜΑΧΟC; the western, those of Alexander ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟC, Valerius ΟΥΑΛΕΡΙΟC, Vivianus ΒΗΒΗΑΝΟC, Crispin ΚΡΗCΠΟΝ, and Gaius ΓΑΙΟC. On the soffit of the northern arch counting from the center are arranged the medallions of Leontius ΛΕΟΝΤΙΟC, Severianus CΕΥΗΡΙΑΝΟC, Angias ΑΓΓΙΑC, Ekdicius ΕΚΑΙΚΗΟC, and Aetius ΑΕΤΙΟC. The martyrs are clad in *chitons* of various colors with *tablia* (broad purple stripes) and *claves* (signs of patrician dignity) and have *khlamydes* thrown over their shoulders and buttoned on their right shoulder. The compositions, bold and perfect in design, display deep colors. Each martyr is holding a cross in his right hand and a martyr's wreath in his left.



The representations of the martyrs on the eastern, western and part of the northern arch have been repainted in oils after the model of the preserved mosaics.

In the lunette over the triumphal (main) arch is the mosaic of the *Dæsis* (Supplication). It is composed of three medalions with portraits of the Saviour (in the center), the Virgin Mary (to the left) and John the Baptist (to the right). Christ faces the onlooker while the two other figures are represented in profile turned towards Him with their hands stretched in supplication. All three compositions crown the triumphal arch in an impressive manner, standing out distinctly against a golden background. A cross in bluish white color forms the background for the portrait of the Saviour. The colors of the composition are soft and pleasant. The Saviour is wearing a white *himation* with gold ornaments and a pink *chiton*, His right hand is raised in blessing and His left holds a Gospel. The Mother of God is clad in a light pink *omaphorion* and John the Baptist in a green *himation*. The inscriptions ΙΣ. ΧΣ., ΜΡ. ΘΥ. and Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΠΡΟΔΡΟΜΟΣ are laid in dark smalto over the heads of the three figures.

Fragments of mosaics of Christ-Emmanuel and the Virgin Mary have been preserved over the eastern and western arches. On both the piers of the triumphal arch, above the level of the present iconostasis, appear the mosaics of the Annunciation, with the Archangel Gabriel on the left (northern pier) and the Virgin Mary on the right (southern pier). The figure of the Archangel Gabriel is full of expression and movement. He is clad in a white *chiton* with *claves*, red bands on the upper sleeves and a white *himation* thrown over the left arm. The Archangel's wristbands are gold with red trim, matching the sleeve bands, and adorned with precious stones. The movement of the Archangel towards the Virgin is rendered very skillfully. He blesses Her with his right hand and in his left holds a red measuring rod crowned with a cross. On both sides of the nimbus runs the (restored) inscription: ΧΑΙΡΕ ΚΕΧΑΠΟΙΤΩΜΕΝΗ Ο ΚΥΡΙΟC ΜΕΤΑ CΟΥ (Hail, Thou that art highly favored, the Lord is with thee; Blessed art Thou among women). The Virgin Mary is represented life size as is the Archangel. The mosaicist illustrates the apocryphal tradition that the Virgin Mary was spinning the thread for the curtain of the Temple of Jerusalem when the Archangel appeared to Her. On the mosaic, the Virgin holds a spindle in Her left hand; She is richly clad in a blue violet *maphorion* bordered and fringed in gold and a *stole* of the same color belted with a narrow red sash. The cuffs of Her sleeves are adorned with golden bands and crosses. On the hood and shoulders, the *maphorion* is worked with crosses (*segmenta*). Her slippers are red and set with gems. The inscriptions ΜΡ and ΙΔΟΥ Η ΔΟΥΛΗ ΚΥ[ΡΙΟΥ] ΓΕΝΟΙΤΟ ΜΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟ ΠΗΜΑ CΟΥ (Behold the handmaiden of the Lord; be it unto me according to Thy Word) run along either side of the nimbus. The noble traits of the Virgin's face and the imposing figure revealed by the folds of Her free-falling garment may reflect the local ideal of feminine beauty. Both figures of the Annunciation impress the onlooker with the mastery of their design and the sensitive feeling for



The Pantocrator. 11th century mosaic in the main cupola.  
Пантократор. Мозаїка головної бані 11 ст.

form and proportion. In contrast to the ascetic dryness of late Byzantine painting this composition gives an impression of softness and deep emotion. In truth, the figure of the Archangel yields in finesse to that of the Virgin.

The main sanctuary of the cathedral is covered completely with mosaic representations arranged in three bands separated by ornamental borders. The conch of the main sanctuary is occupied by an imposing figure (five meters in height) of the Virgin Mary in prayer (*Virgin Orante*). A sumptuous purple *maphorion* falls from Her shoulders, Her blue-violet stole is held by a narrow belt into which a gold embroidered handkerchief has been tucked. The *maphorion* is richly decorated with golden bands. Three white crosses adorn the hood and shoulders of the

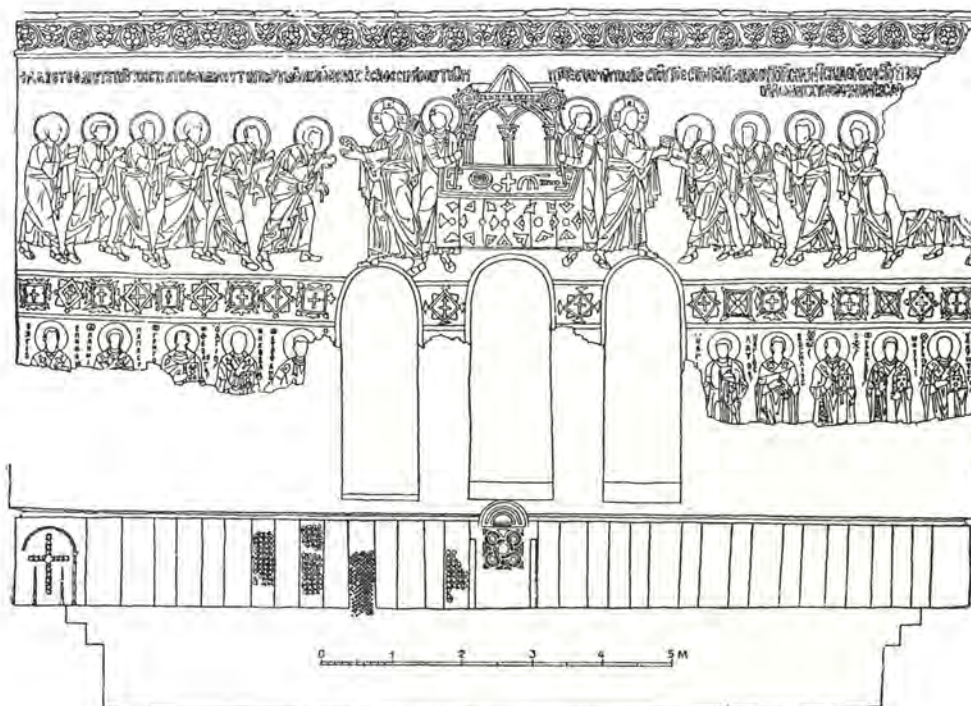


Christ as a Priest (mosaic of the 11th century).

Христос у вигляді священика. Мозаїка 11 ст.

*maphorion* and each of the wristbands displays a golden cross. The Virgin's slippers are red and She is standing on a rug with an ornamental border. The majestic appearance of the Virgin *Orante* is underlined by a golden background made of small cubes with gold leaf placed upon them and covered with glass. A gold nimbus slightly different in shade from the color of the background surrounds the head of the Virgin. It is separated from the background by two narrow concentric bands, the outer white, the inner red. On either side of the nimb the letters  $\text{MP } \Theta \Upsilon$  are laid in black smalto. A wide ornate polychrome border in the form of a chain of oval links with flower and cross designs in the center of each runs around the golden background. Above the border runs a golden band encompassing the whole conch and bearing the inscription:  $\text{O } \Theta \text{EOS EN MEΣΩ AYTHΣ KAI OY ΣAΛEYΘHΣETAI BOHΘHΣE IAYTH O } \Theta \text{EOS HMEPA KAI HMEPA}$  (God is in the midst of Her; She shall not be moved: God will help Her day after day. Ps. 46,51).





Eucharist (mosaic). Measurement based on panoramic photograph by the Ukr. Academy of Architecture in Kiev. (Designed by Archt. V. Levyts'ka).

Мозаїчна композиція Євхаристії. Виміри за фоторозгорткою Української Академії Архітектури в Києві. (Викон. архіт. В. Левицька).

For almost nine centuries, the figure of the Virgin *Orante* remained in all its grandeur, in its gleaming gold, its freshness, and harmony of color, although the cathedral had been repeatedly plundered and ruined. This circumstance (and the words of the inscription) may have been the wellspring of the tradition which calls the figure of the *Orante* "The Indestructible Wall" (*Nerushyma Stina*).

In the manner of the execution of the *Orante*, in the stylized elegance of the drapery of Her garments, and in the choice of color, a refined Byzantine style integrated with local taste in color is evident. The *Orante* of St. Sophia, although imbued with stern Byzantinism, differs, nevertheless, from similar contemporary works in its bold manner. A certain elongation of the proportions of the Virgin's body is brought about by the concave surface of the conch. As was the case with the bust of the Pantocrator on the spherical surface of the dome, the figure of the *Orante*, towering high above, was executed with a view toward creating the impression of natural proportion for the onlooker. In order to achieve this effect, the surface of the conch was slightly flattened, probably during the construction of the church.



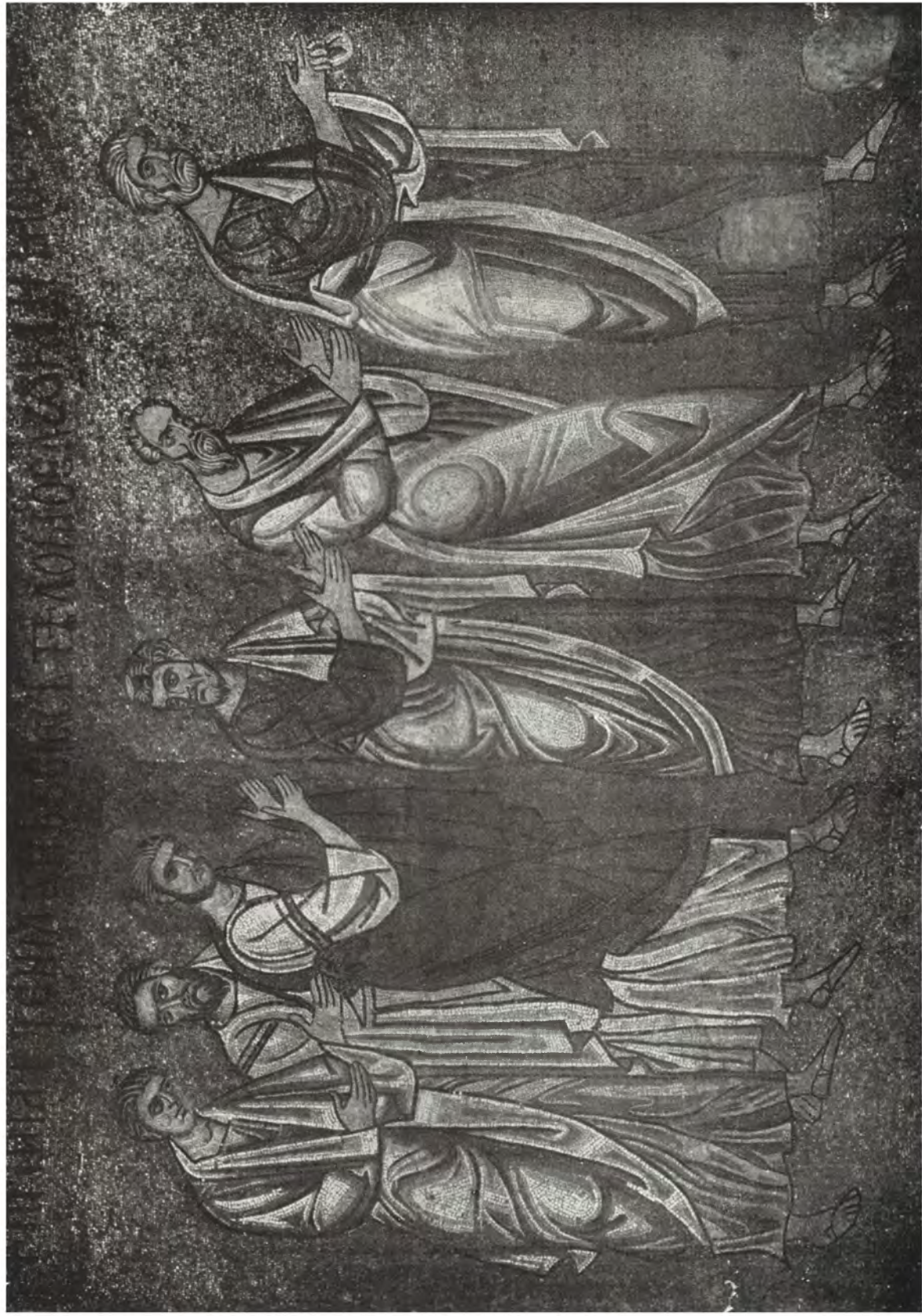
Two mosaic bands, one of them consisting of silvery circles enclosing a stylized plant design on a black background, the other, a polychrome Byzantine ornament, separate the figure of the *Orante* from the monumental composition of the Eucharist below. Christ, represented on both sides of the altar with a *ciborium*, distributes the Eucharist to the Apostles arranged in groups of six on either side. The Apostles approach Christ in pious attitude, almost symmetrically from either side of the picture. Such was the means by which Byzantine art attempted to express the spiritual and religious content of the sacrament of Communion. The altar, occupying the center of the composition, is covered by a cherry-colored cloth with broad blue and gold stripes. A golden *diskos* with pieces of holy bread, a silver star cover and a knife are lying on the altar,



Eucharist. 11th century mosaic in the main altar apse.  
(Left section of composition).

Ліва частина мозаїчної композиції Євхаристії 11 ст., у головному вівтарі.





Left section of 11th c. mosaic Eucharist from destroyed (1934) St. Michael Monastery on exhibit in St. Sophia Cathedral (see p. 25).  
Ліва частина мозаїки композиції Євхаристії 11 ст. із зруйнованого в 1934 р. Михайлівського монастиря. (Знаходиться в св. Софії).









Eucharist. 11th century mosaic. (Middle section).

Центральна частина Євхаристії. Мозаїка 11 ст.

behind which stand two angels in white *sticharia* and blue *chitons*. In their hands the angels bear *flabella* symmetrically inclined over the communion table. Christ is garbed in a blue *himation* and a gold trimmed *chiton* of brownish purple. The garments of the Apostles are light in tone, with distinct, symmetrically modeled draperies. In order to achieve a certain variety in the movement of the Apostles, the mosaicist has made them stand with right or left foot alternately forward. Over the left group of the Apostles, the words of the Eucharist are laid in black smalto: ΛΑΒΕΤΕ, ΦΑΓΕΤΕ, ΤΟΥΤΟ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΤΟ ΣΩΜΑ ΜΟΥ, ΤΟ ΥΠΕΡΥΜΩΝ ΚΛΩΜΕΝΟΝ ΕΙΣ ΑΦΕΣΙΝ ΑΜΑΡΤΙΩΝ (Take, eat, this is my body, broken for you for the remission of sins). Over the right group is the inscription: ΠΙΕΤΕ ΕΞ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΤΕΣ, ΤΟΥΤΟ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΤΟ ΑΙΜΑ ΜΟΥ, ΤΟ ΤΗΣ ΚΑΙΝΗΣ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗΣ ΤΟ ΥΠΕΡ ΥΜΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΥΠΕΡ ΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΕΚΧΥΝΟΜΕΝΟΝ ΕΙΣ ΑΦΕΣΙΝ ΑΜΑΡΤΙΩΝ (Drink ye all of it; this is my blood of the new testament which is shed for ye and many for the remission of sins).

Under the Eucharist is located a mosaic band representing the Fathers of the Church and separated from the Eucharist by a wide polychrome mosaic border consisting of alternate Greek crosses and swastikas. Unfortunately, the lower parts of the figures in the mosaic of the Church Fathers no longer exist; they have been reconstructed in oils. In the two spaces between the windows in the main sanctuary, on the same level



with the Fathers of the Church, once appeared the Apostles Peter and Paul, but a nimbus with the inscription  $\delta \text{ ἅγιος Πέτρος}$ , is all that remains. In their place oil portraits of Peter and Alexius, Metropolitans of Kiev, were painted in the middle of the 17th century. The partly extant mosaics of the Fathers of the Church are arranged in one row in the following order (from left to right) : Saints Epiphanius, Clement (the Pope), Gregory the Theologian, St. Nicholas the Thaumaturge, the Archdeacons Stephen and Laurentius, Basil the Great, John Chrysostom, Gregory of Nyssa, and Gregory the Thaumaturge. The names of the Fathers are set vertically in Greek letters. On one side of the nimbus runs the word  $\delta \text{ ἅγιος}$  (Saint) and, on the other, the name of the Father. The name of John Chrysostom is accompanied by the monogram of the word  $\text{Χρυσόστομος}$ . All the Fathers are represented without mitres, *panagiae* or pectoral crosses. They are clad in light colored bishop's vestments with white *omophoria* adorned with crosses. To avoid monotony the mosaicist varied the form of the crosses on the *omophoria* of the Fathers by alternately making the ends rounded on one robe, squared on the next.

All three of the mosaic compositions of the main altar — the *Orante*, in her static attitude, the Eucharist, with its restrained dynamism, and the severely static figures of the Fathers — complement each other so as to form a majestic unity. The composition of the middle band, that of the Fathers, stands out from the ensemble of the main altar mosaics by its perfection; it reflects most clearly the Hellenistic tradition of portrait painting. Below the Fathers runs the decorative panel, the marble facings of which alternate with a checkered pattern of mosaic. Although only fragments remain, the mosaic figure of Aaron standing level with the

St. Mark the Evangelist. 11th century mosaic composition in the south-western pendentive.



Св. Марк-Євангеліст. Мозаїчна композиція 11 ст. на півд. - зах. межилучникові.



An Archangel. 11th century mosaic in the main cupola. The mosaic which had pulled away was reinforced in the 19th century by simply driving large nails into the wall.

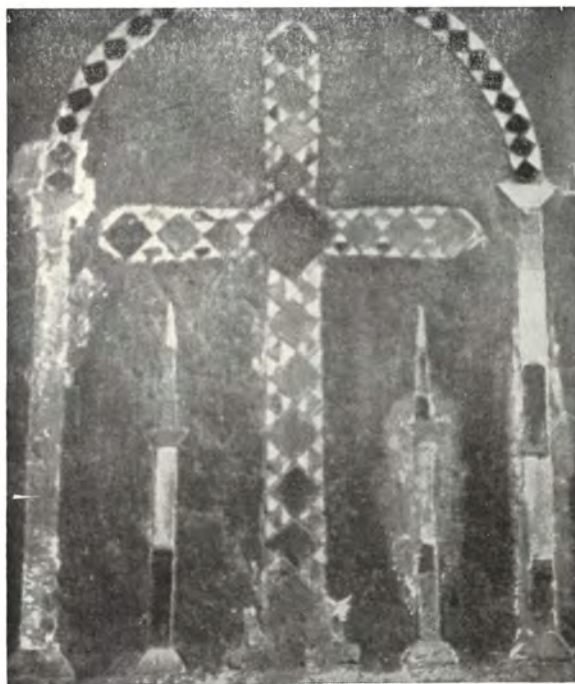
Архангел. Мозаїка 11 ст. в головній бані, укріплена в 19 ст. залізними бретнями.

Eucharist scene on the inner surface of the triumphal arch (northern pier) deserves particular attention. Aaron has on the vestments of an archpriest; in his right hand he holds an incensory and, in his left, the Ark of the Covenant. This mosaic supplements that of the Eucharist. On the opposite pier of the triumphal arch Melchizedek, Archpriest and King, must have been represented as a pendant to Aaron. Probably, nothing remains of this figure over which now is painted in oils Moses with his Tablets.



The most important parts of the St. Sophia Cathedral, the triumphal arch, the main altar apse, and the main cupola were decorated with mosaic compositions; the remaining walls of the church, adorned with frescoes. This same principle of decoration had been followed in the Tithe Church and in other Kievan shrines, such as the Michael (Demetrius) Monastery and the Dormition Church of the Kievan Lavra.

In their broad and monumental technique and execution, the frescoes of St. Sophia Cathedral differ from the usual, strictly two-dimensional mosaic composition. The frescoes were executed on a wet plaster surface following the method widely applied in antique painting. As was the case with the mosaic work, the execution of frescoes was preceded by a sketch of the composition made with a metal stylus, or by a monochrome ground, followed by the painting. The colors in fresco paintings differ basically from those in mosaics by their clear, light, airy tones. The execution of frescoes on wet plaster required great skill and rapidity of execution on the part of the worker since hardened plaster, even if only a day old, absorbed the paint badly and was not suitable for working. On the other hand, fresco paint, penetrating the wet plaster to a depth of about a centimeter, is very durable, and it is to this circumstance that today we owe the possibility of restoring the frescoes even though they were covered by oils in the 19th century .



11th century mosaic cross in the main altar.

Мозаїчна композиція хреста в головному вівтарі.

Among the least harmed frescoes of the cathedral, the most interesting are those of the Saints Joachim and Anna sanctuary (*diaconicon*) situated to the right of the main sanctuary. In the sequence of the subjects, these frescoes follow the Apocrypha relating to the life of Saints Joachim and Anna and the Virgin Mary and often transmitted in contemporary collections of ecclesiastical writings illuminated with miniatures illustrating the text. In the frescoes of this sanctuary, Byzantine motives are clearly intertwined with the representations of local life. The first scene (in the order of the Apocryphal narration) depicts St. Joachim as a shepherd in the wilderness with his flocks. Then we see St. Anna praying in a garden in front of a bird's nest, asking for an end to her barrenness. The very interesting following scene shows the happy encounter between Joachim and Anna near the Golden Gate, where Anna tells her husband that God has blessed her. There follows the scene of the Virgin's birth after the model of the Nativity. Anna is half-reclining on a sumptuously decorated couch with a high headboard. Three young women present her with gifts; behind them we see an entrance way with a curtain; in the foreground a midwife and female attendant prepare a bath for the newborn child. The Presentation of the Virgin in the temple combines two scenes. To the right Joachim and Anna lead the Virgin child toward the priest, who is standing between the ciborium and the altar barrier. To the left, within the sanctuary, the Virgin is shown with an angel who is bringing her food. There follow the scenes of the Virgin's betrothal; the handing of the purple and wool to the Virgin from which she was to weave the curtain for the temple, two scenes of the Annunciation, first before the well when she was on her way to draw water and



St. Nestor. 11-th century fresco  
in the center of the Cathedral.

Св. Нестор. Фреска 11-го століття  
в центральній частині катедрі.

then at her home when she is spinning. Finally, the Visitation is shown as the last event in the Virgin's life before the birth of Christ.

In this series of frescoes, the striking element is the fullness of the content and the directness and immediacy in the treatment of subject. In many of the compositions one may discover reflections of the local environment. For instance, in the fresco of the Annunciation, the Virgin is shown against a background of what might be the Dnieper hills. She is coming to a well with a bucket on a rope and not to a basin or a spring with an amphora as she is usually represented in Eastern and Western pictures of the Annunciation. All the scenes which take place in a temple or in the interior of a house display a rich background ornamentation of ciboria, altar barriers, portals, balustrades and panels adorned with Byzantine braided ornamental motives.

The Archangel Michael sanctuary contains a number of frescoes, recently cleaned and in a relatively good state. They represent the Fathers of the Church, whose features often resemble local types, and some interesting scenes: Michael casting out Satan (later treated in a similar manner in 17th and 18th century Ukrainian churches) and the struggle of the Archangel with Jacob. The whole breadth of the apsidal conch is filled with a monumental fresco of the Archangel with widespread wings. The artist has succeeded in providing the young, regular, heroic features of the Archangel with an expression of magnificent calm and assurance in his victory over Evil. On the ceiling of the sanctuary are representations of the appearance of the Archangel Michael to Joshua, son of Nun, and to Zachariah and Barlaam. These pictures have been partly covered by oil painting. The frescoes of the St. Peter sanctuary (*prothesis*) have

The martyr Troadios. 11th century  
fresco in the center of the  
Cathedral

Мученик Троадіос. Фреска 11-го  
століття в центральній частині  
катедри.







St. Adrian. Fresco of 11th-12th centuries in the northern (Presentation) nave.

Св. Адріян. Фреска 11-12 стол. в північній (Стрітенській) наві.

also been subjected to extensive restoration and partly painted over in oils. They represent scenes of the life of the saint, such as the baptism ceremony in the house of the Centurion Cornelius and the departure of the Apostle Peter from prison. The altar of the great martyr St. George was richly adorned with frescoes illustrating the traditions pertaining to the ascetic life of this Christian martyr, whose name was adopted by the founder of St. Sophia. Unfortunately, little remains of the fresco. After the oil paint had been removed it appeared very damaged and scarcely visible. Similar to the arrangement of the Michael sanctuary, the conch of the St. George altar contained a large bust of the martyr, only a few traces of which now remain.

In the St. Volodymyr sanctuary, a polished fresco representing St. Panteleymon was cleared of later oil coats in the nineteen-thirties. Up to the present, it is the only known specimen of polished fresco in St. Sophia. In the northern lateral (Presentation) nave, in the eastern bay of the former arcade, frescoes of St. Adrian and St. Natalia have been cleared. The portrait of St. Adrian is a marvelous example of a type of fresco more related to icon painting than to monumental wall technique. These frescoes were discovered by Professor A. Prakhov in 1882. They are usually dated in the second half of the 11th century (1055-1062), i.e.

St. Natalia.  
Fresco of 11th-12th  
centuries in the northern  
(Presentation) nave.



Св. Наталія.  
Фреска 11-12 століть  
в північній (Стрітенській)  
наві.

after the building of the exterior galleries.<sup>101</sup> The two frescoes of the southern exterior gallery (later the chapel of the Twelve Apostles) belong to the same period. They are busts of saints and in a much worse state of preservation than those of St. Adrian and St. Natalia. Nevertheless, A. Grabar, who made a detailed investigation, identified them as St. Domnus (western wall) and St. Philippolus (?) (eastern wall), both local saints of Thessalonica.<sup>102</sup> The interesting frescoes of the central part and the main transverse arm of the cathedral have been partially restored or painted over in oils. They represent the scenes of the Passion Cycle and the ensuing events: Christ before Caiaphas, the Apostasy of Peter, the Crucifixion, the descent into Limbo, Christ appearing before the Three Women and before doubting Thomas, the Mission of the Apostles, and the Pentecost.

The galleries contain frescoes with representations of the Old Testament cycle completing the symbolic treatments of liturgical subjects from

<sup>101</sup> V. Myasoedov, "Freski severnago pritvora kievo-sofiiskago sobora," *Zapiski otd. russkoi i slav. arkheol. imp. russkago arkheol. obshchestva* XII (1918), 1-6.

<sup>103</sup> A. N. Grabar, "Freski Apostol'skago pridela kievo-sofiiskago sobora," *Zapiski otd. russkoi i slav. arkheol. imp. russkago arkheol. obshchestva* XII (1918), 98-106.



St. Kyrillus.  
Св. Кірик.



St. Elevarios.  
Св. Елевариан.

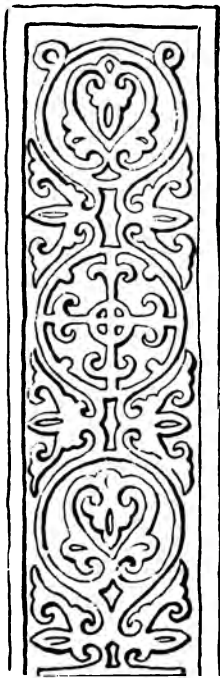
the New Testament. As it was thus necessary to place these frescoes near the altars, they adorned the walls in the eastern part of the northern and southern galleries. The southern gallery displays frescoes illustrating Christ taking food with two of His disciples after His Resurrection, under which appears the representation of the Miracle in Cana. In the northern gallery we see the Last Supper above the scene of Judas' Treason, repainted over an old rendition of the same scene. To the right and left respectively of these frescoes, in the direction of the western part of the gallery, are represented Old Testament scenes: The Sacrifice of Isaac, the Encounter of Abraham and the Three Travelers, Abraham's Hospitality, and the Three Children in the Furnace.

On parts of the ceilings are pieces of frescoes of Cherubim, Seraphim and the four Evangelists, placed around a medallion enclosing an eight-armed cross, and other figures. All over the church, on the walls, on the piers supporting the galleries and cupolas, and on the pilasters, frescoes, in full figure or medallion bust, represent apostles, prophets, fathers of the church, martyrs and holy women. The compositions representing the holy men are placed nearer the altars while those of the holy women occupy the western part of the church, an arrangement long employed. It is followed for instance in the Capella Palatina and St. Mark's Cathedral in Venice and corresponded to the habit of assigning different parts of the church to the men and women of the congregation (observed even today in Ukrainian churches). For, according to the canons of the Church, women cannot enter the altar area and must worship at a distance. There-



fore representations of saintly women must also be placed in the *gynaeceum*. It is probable that a half of the galleries of the cathedral served as a *gynaeceum*, where the princess, her daughters and their suite worshipped. The male members of the princely family and the prince's entourage, boyars and military commanders may have worshipped in the opposite half of the galleries. This hypothesis seems to be corroborated by the arrangement of the frescoes representing the men and women of Prince Yaroslav's family. The simple faithful, assembled on the ground floor, probably followed the order observed in Ukrainian churches, the women worshipping apart.<sup>103</sup>

Frescoes of the walls, piers and vaults of both towers form a group apart. They have a value not only from the great skill displayed in their execution but for their lay subject matter which tells the story of princely life. We see here colorful hunting scenes, games, musicians and entertainers, wrestling, processions, pictures of princes, princesses and their



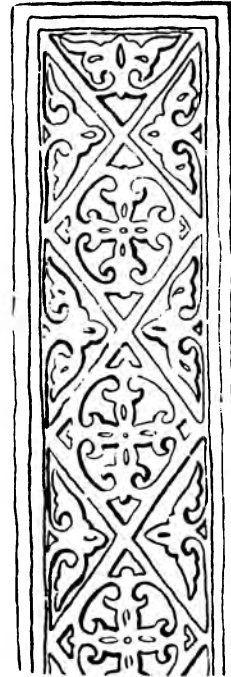
Ornamental motif,  
11th century.

Орнамент 11 ст.



Unknown Martyr.  
Fresco of 11th century.

Невідомий Мученик.  
Фреска 11 ст.



Ornamental motif,  
11th century.

Орнамент 11 ст.

<sup>103</sup> In St. Sophia of Constantinople, the entire triforium (gallery) was reserved for women in the time of Justinian. By the time of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, they were restricted to the middle and western part of the northern nave (aisle). Cf. E. H. Swift, *Hagia Sophia* (1940), pp. 103, 113, 122f., with source references.





The Handing of Purple  
and Wool to the Virgin.

Вручення пурпуру  
і вовни св. Діві Марії.

suites or bodyguards, single riders (among these, an imposing representation of a young princess on a white thoroughbred out for a ride), horse races, and a hippodrome (or a court of law). Moreover, monograms, decorative flabella, griffins, a pigeon and an eagle (or perhaps a falcon) are represented in separate medallions. An exquisite braided Byzantine ornament (in friezes and borders which accentuate the architectural line and completely fill parts of the wall) combined with oriental and local motives, provides a worthy framework for these genre scenes. This ornamental design is uniform in the towers, as well as other parts of the cathedral, where it covers the shafts bordering the pilasters, piers, bows, door and window jambs and all other surfaces where there is no portraiture.

Attempts at explaining the contents of the frescoes of the tower staircases are numerous. The theory expounded, mostly by late 19th century scholars (D. Aynalov, E. Redin, I. Tolstoi, N. Kondakov), according to which these frescoes reflect the life of the Byzantine emperors<sup>104</sup> is

<sup>104</sup> D. Aynalov and E. Redin, "Kievski sofiski sobor. Izsledovanie drevnei zhivopisi, mozaik i fresok sobora," *Zapiski imp. russkago arheol. obshchestva* IV, 3-4 (St. Petersburg, 1890); and, *Drevnie pamyatniki iskusstva Kiev. Sofiski sobor, Zlatovercho-Mikhailovski i Kirillovski monastyri* (Kharkov, 1899). D. Aynalov "Kiev-Tsar'grad-Khersones," *Izvestiya tavrcheskoi uch., arkhivnoi komisii* no. 57, (Simpferopol, 1920); N. Brunov and M. Alpatov, "Die Altrussische Kunst in der wissenschaftlichen Forschung seit 1914," *Zeitschrift fuer Slavische Philologie* II (1925), 474-505; III (1926), 387-408; M. Alpatov, *Geschichte der russischen Monumentalkunst der vormoskowitzischen Zeit*, (Berlin-Leipzig, 1932); I. Tolstoi and N. Kondakov, *Russkiya drevnosti v pamyatnikakh iskusstva*, IV (St. Petersburg, 1891); P. Polevoi, *Ocherki russkoi istorii v pamyatnikakh byta* II (St. Petersburg, 1880); among modern scholars, A. N. Grabar establishes a connection between the Byzantine imperial imagery and the tower frescoes of St. Sophia, cf. "Les fresques des escaliers à Sainte Sophie de Kiev et l'iconographie impériale byzantine," *Seminarius Kondakovianum* VII (1935), 103-117.



The Virgin's Betrothal.

Заручини св. Діви Марії.

no longer tenable. Nor is the view of the contemporary Ukrainian archaeologist P. Kurinny any more convincing. Professor Kurinny finds in the tower frescoes a reflection of princely life in the time of Grand Prince Volodymyr Monomakh and considers them as illustrations for the Prince's "Autobiography" (*Zapovit ditjam*) and for his *Didactic Testament*.<sup>105</sup> However appealing this interpretation may be, we can follow the writer only with respect to the frescoes of the southwestern tower built (after 1055, together with the exterior gallery) during the rule of Izyaslav Yaroslavych; it could have been covered with frescoes, as Professor Kurinny suggests, some time later, in the time of Volodymyr Monomakh (1113-1125). But, the northwestern tower was built simultaneously with (or very shortly after) the main body of the church to provide a special princely entrance to the galleries. It is therefore difficult to believe that it would have been devoid of frescoes until the time of Volodymyr Monomakh.

In any case, the frescoes of the towers were executed on the order of the Grand Prince of Kiev, who was not necessarily interested in copying scenes of Byzantine life and portraying Byzantine emperors, but might have preferred more familiar scenes. Only future investigation can decide to which of the two princes, Yaroslav the Wise or Izyaslav Yaroslavych, we have to credit the decoration of the towers of St. Sophia. But even today, it is a matter of general knowledge that one of the towers was built later.

As stated before, all the interior of St. Sophia not covered by mosaics was adorned with fresco representations and compositions. Only a few of them still remain intact, part having been destroyed in wars; most of the rest, so clumsily repainted that, in many cases, the contents of the frescoes

<sup>105</sup> P. Kurinny, "Fresky katedry sv. Sofii," *Materiyaly do referatu na konferentsiyi Ukr. vil'noyi akad. nauk* (Augsburg, 1948).



Presentation of the  
Virgin in the Temple.

Введення в храм  
св. Діви Марії.

and the identity of the saints represented were changed. From 1935 to 1938 about five hundred square meters of frescoes were uncovered. It is believed that the total frescoed surface of the church's interior amounts to five thousand square meters. This presupposes a large number of painters who had worked at them in Prince Yaroslav's time. No team of Byzantine artists could have succeeded in completing such an extensive task within a relatively short period without assistance from local painters. The hand and the tastes of local artisans is recognizable in some frescoes recently uncovered in the church. The local painter, while following Hellenistic and Byzantine traditions, has also introduced features of his own devising whether consciously or not. He expressed familiar features in the faces and garments of the saints, painting them with long mustaches, short beards and hair styles typical to the region; he depicted the so-called *skomorokhy* (entertainers) with local musical instruments (reminiscent of the long and short pipes, and the lutes of the region) and depicted scenes which could have occurred in early Ukraine-Rus' (wrestling, a camel driver who might have come to Kiev bringing wares from the east and south, princes at the hunt, and horse races).

In the western part of the central nave appear fresco portraits of Prince Yaroslav's family. In the best preserved fresco on the southern wall of the nave stand (so it is generally believed) the Princess Irene with her daughters Anna, Anastasia and Elizabeth. (It can also be argued that the figures are those of the Princesses Anna, Anastasia and Elizabeth and one of the sons of Prince Yaroslav.) During the restorations of 1858, this fresco was painted over and its name changed; the princesses became Wisdom, Faith, Hope and Charity (*Sophia, Vera, Nadezhda* and *Lyubov*).

On the opposite side stood the men of Prince Yaroslav's family. Only two figures, of young men representing Yaroslav's younger sons, remain of the 11th century fresco. The remaining part of the fresco must have fallen. It is believed that new plaster was laid in its place in the 14th and 15th centuries and covered with new figures (probably of Lithuanian princes). This composition also was painted over in the 19th century.

Christ before  
Caiaphas.

Христос перед  
Каяфою.



The fresco of the western wall (running perpendicularly to the two mentioned above) is the central composition in which are depicted members of the princely family, Princess Irene and the Prince himself presenting to Prince Volodymyr the model of a church (probably the Tithe Church rebuilt by him after the fire of 1017). This invaluable fresco was destroyed completely together with the western wall. We know it only from a drawing Westervelt made of it in 1651.

The uncovered fresco representing the Apostle Paul is a noble specimen of the art. Both this and the St. Nicholas fresco follow the tradition of early Byzantine painting. They display the hand of a very skilled master to whom the "Ukrainicized" frescoes of the Saints Photinia, Pollaktia and Nadiya also probably belong. These figures bear the features of the great aristocratic beauty of Kievan women and particularly Nadiya, whose head and shoulders are swathed in the dignified manner traditional to the ladies of the city of Kiev. These frescoes show many traits in common with the representations of the princess and her entourage on the walls of the northwestern tower. Recent cleanings have uncovered frescoes of Saints Kyrkus, Troado, Basiliscus, Agathia, Nestor, Michael, Lucia, Dorothea, Marinus and others, in the central nave. The frescoes of St. Laurentius, Zachary and another unidentifiable saint may serve as proof of the excellent state of the preservation of still uncovered frescoes.

The technique of the frescoes which have come to light is excellent. Some of them have been executed without preliminary sketches; the brush strokes are bold and show a great deal of virtuosity. The frescoes are interrelated by the warmth of their tones. Those of the Sanctuaries of Saints Joachim and Anna, Michael, and Gregory the Theologian (al-





Meal in Emmaus.

Вечеря в Еммаусі.

ready familiar from the preceding descriptions) show many traits in common with those recently uncovered. It may be surmised that original frescoes, which in the future may be uncovered, will make it possible to formulate a general conception which governed the adornment of the whole church with frescoes and mosaics. Such an assumption seems warranted by the treatment of known compositions and the character of their color scheme. The frescoes of a secular character arranged on the walls of the towers are also closely related to the style of the frescoes of other parts of the church.

In the southwestern tower there appears the so-called Constantinople Hippodrome with the Emperor and the Empress in the main *loggia* and the imperial entourage occupying the galleries. It may be urged that this fresco represents Grand Prince Yaroslav with Princess Irene holding court in the Hippodrome at Kiev. Of course, for the time being this is only an hypothesis.

Even now it is quite possible to assume that the frescoes and mosaics of St. Sophia, of the so-called St. Michael Monastery with the Golden Roof, the Dormition Church of the Kievan Lavra and the frescoes of the St. Cyril Monastery have been produced by teams of local artisans. At the beginning they probably worked under the leadership of Byzantine teachers but quite soon the disciples (such as Olympius of the Kiev-Pechersky Monastery) became outstanding masters themselves.

An important supplementary part in the mosaic and fresco compositions is played by the ornamentation filling the free space on the piers, arches, vaults, spandrels, the staircases of the towers and the window jambs. These ornamental motives may be divided into plant (mostly braided ornaments of arnica flowers), geometrical, mixed and animal designs. The mixed compositions of stylized plant and geometric motives are in the majority. Stylized leaves or braiding are inscribed into a rec-



The Crucifixion.

Розп'яття.

tangle, square, rhombus, circle or oval. There exist many individual compositions in the form of medallions, decorated crosses and tridents. Many of these compositions reappear in modern Ukrainian embroideries. The bands of geometrical ornaments in these compositions also have their parallels in modern Ukraine. Professor H. Pavluts'ky classes the ornamental motives of St. Sophia among Byzantine types, but at the same time he acknowledges their early Ukrainian peculiarities.<sup>106</sup> The color scheme of the mosaic ornaments is either tricolored — where white or yellow borders on black and are framed in red — or polychrome, where blue, green, red, pink and white are set against a gold background. Polychrome compositions run under the *Orante* (second band) and under the Eucharist and adorn the triumphal arch. Yu. S. Aseev is of the opinion that the compositional motif on the ornamental frieze below the *Orante* and of the composition of the triumphal arch (stylized arnica flowers) may be derived from the technique, polychrome character and motives of the well-known early Ukrainian enamels.<sup>107</sup>

The artist who filled the walls, the surfaces of the piers, arches and the horizontal bands with ornamentation did not insist upon absolute symmetry in his design, not even in places where it might seem necessary. Nevertheless, the firmness of a master's stroke and the creative character of his imagination shine through the compositional perfection of the design and this approximate symmetry. His work may be paralleled to that of today's folk artists (e.g. in Easter egg painting, the interior decorations in houses, embossing, rug weaving). Of course stylistically these works are far different from the ornaments of St. Sophia but they remain related by the character of their composition. The ornamentalist was aware of the necessity of subordinating his compositions to the architectural lines of the interior. But these lines, too, do not always display regular geometric forms. Thus, for instance, arches and vaults show soft, not always circular, curvatures and the conches of the apses and the

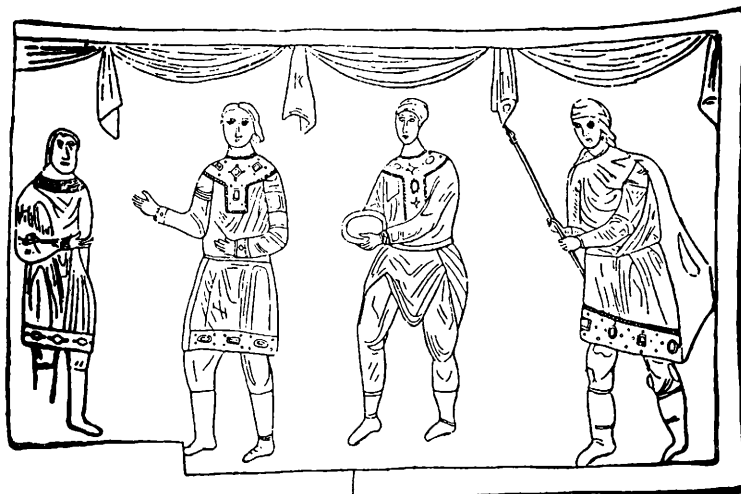
<sup>106</sup> H. Pavluts'ky, *Istoriya ukrayins'koho ornamentu* (ed. Vseukr. akad. nauk), Kiev, 1927.

<sup>107</sup> Yu. Aseev, *Ornamenty Sofiyi kyivskoyi* (S. Hrabovs'ky, ed. for the Akad. arkhitektury URSS), (Kiev 1949), p. 9.



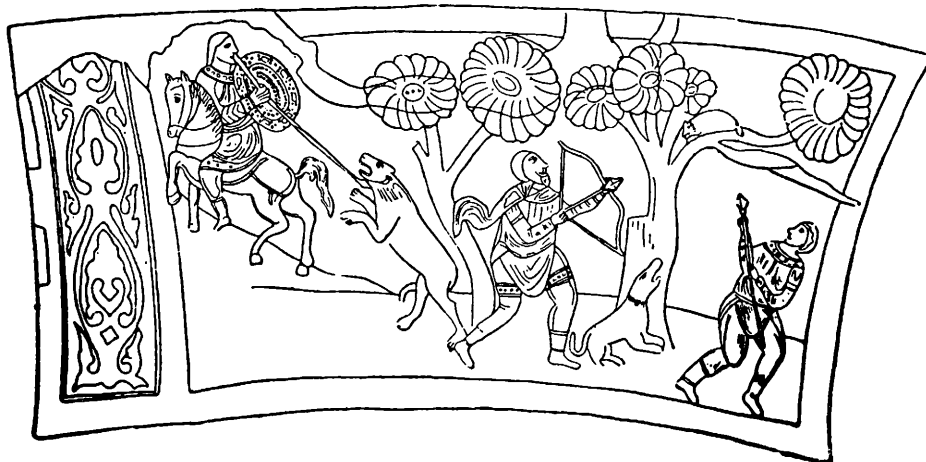
Exit of Princess  
from palace, fresco of  
northwestern tower.

Вихід княгині з па-  
лацу. Фреска північ-  
но-західної вежі.



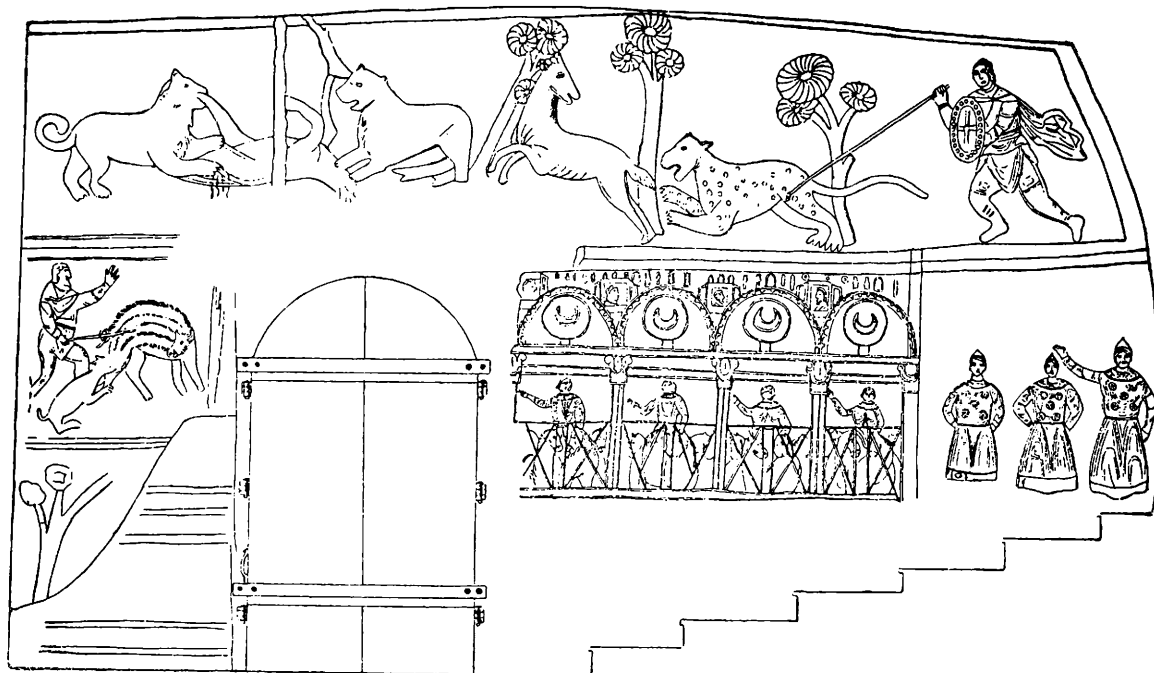
Frescoes on  
tower walls:  
The so-called  
carollers.

Фрески  
на стінах вежі.  
Колядники. (?)

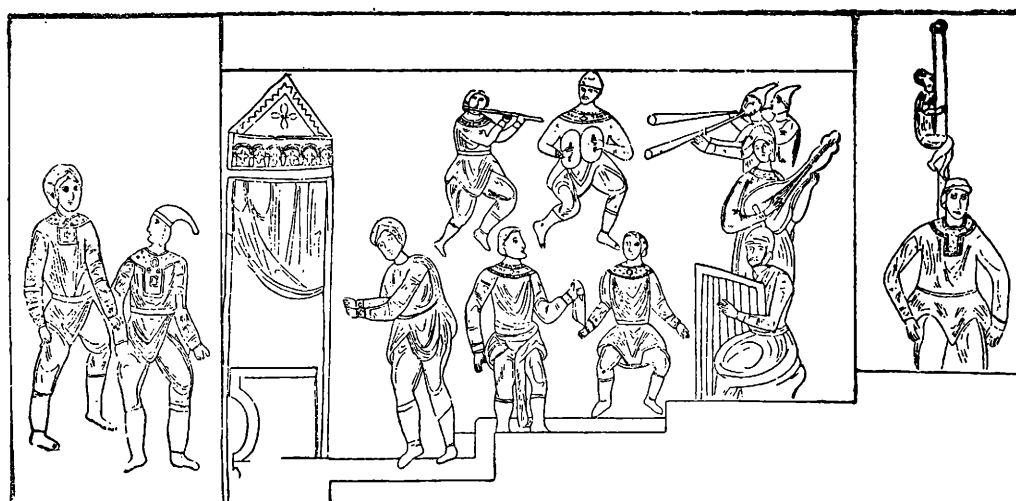


Frescoes on tower walls: Hunting scenes.  
Фрески на стінах веж: сцени полювання.





Frescoes of the southwestern tower.  
Фрески південнозахідньої вежі.



Frescoes on the tower walls: Wrestlers, "skomorokhy," and athletes.  
Фрески на стінах веж: Борці, скоморохи, змагуни.



Family of Grand Prince Yaroslav. By A. v. Westervelt (1651) from a fresco of the 11th c.  
Родина вел. кн. Ярослава. Малюнок А. Вестерфельда 1651 р. З фрески 11 ст.

cupolas also depart from a precisely spherical form. Nevertheless, the combination of the rhythm, scale and form of the architectural lines with the fresco ornaments and the figures of the saints creates an impressive artistic whole.

The ornamentalist worked in close collaboration with the iconographer. It is even possible that both used the same palette. In this case the ornamentalist would be the iconographer's assistant. They would decide together about the general composition of the fresco. In some cases the ornamentalist would even help the iconographer finish the figure of the saint, a procedure which may be observed on the frescoes of St. Sophia. The fresco's most important parts (the general outline, the head and the hands) have been made by a more skilled master than the one who executed the garments and the background. On the other hand, an opposite phenomenon may be observed on numerous frescoes in St. Sophia where a large number of artisans must have been employed. In such cases, both the figure of the saint and the ornament were executed by the same person.

The opinions of scholars concerning the painters and mosaicists of St. Sophia are no less divergent than those concerning its builders. It was Academician Kondakov who expressed the opinion that the Cathedral of St. Sophia had been built and decorated by Greek artists. Although no chronicle mentions any invitation to "Greek masters" from Prince Yaroslav, this view has since been repeatedly given with varying hypotheses suggested as to the origins of these foreign artists (Constantinople, Bulgaria, Asia Minor, Khersonesus and the Caucasus). Towards the end of the last, and the beginning of this, century doubts began to arise concerning the exclusive role of Byzantine artists in the creation of the cathedral. N. Pokrovski declared that local masters worked in Kiev side by side



Family of Grand Prince Yaroslav. By A. v. Westervelt (1651) from a fresco of the 11th c.  
Родина вел. кн. Ярослава. Малюнок А. Вестерфельда 1651 р. з фрески 11 ст.

with Greeks. It is true, however, that he refers to the period of Olympius' (of the Kiev-Pechersky Monastery) activity.<sup>108</sup> A. Prakhov, who believes in the artistic superiority of the mosaics of the Michael and St. Cyril Monasteries over those of St. Sophia, (which he thinks were executed by Greeks) notes that the 11th century was for Rus' a time of apprenticeship, while the next century witnessed the beginnings of the independent artistic creativity. Then the local disciples of Byzantine artists began to note the things about them and introduce these observations into their works.<sup>109</sup> It must be remarked, however, that the Michael (Demetrius) Monastery is now dated not in the 12th but in the 11th century.

These scholars were vigorously opposed by the representatives of Kondakov's school, such as D. Aynalov. F. Schweinfurth belongs to the same group; but he even rejects the possibility of Kievan participation in the decoration of the Michael Monastery.<sup>110</sup>

In his analysis of the paintings of St. Sophia, Professor A. Nekrasov admits that the iconography of the mosaics in the main apse is related to Constantinopolitan tradition but is based on eastern Byzantine artistic sources. He finds a similarity between the treatment of the frescoes and that of the mosaics (especially the Eucharist); in speaking of the frescoes of the towers, he notes that they give us a picture of princely life and of the decoration in the princely palaces, although they also reflect

<sup>108</sup> N. Pokrovski, *Stennyya rospisi v drevnikh khramakh grecheskikh i russkikh* (Moscow, 1890), pp. 36, 45-49.

<sup>109</sup> A. Prakhov, "Kievskie pamyatniki vizantiisko-russkago iskusstva," *Trudy moskovskago arkheol. obshchestva* IX, 3, (Moscow, 1887), 24f.

<sup>110</sup> Ph. Schweinfurth, *Geschichte der russischen Malerei im Mittelalter* (Haag, 1930), pp. 38-59.



the scenes of social and official life in Constantinople. Nekrasov thinks that it is not necessary to assume that the authors of these paintings were of Constantinopolitan origin, since the subjects and themes of the capital were widespread on the periphery of the Byzantine cultural sphere, though absorbing particular local influences in the West or the East. These peculiarities are distinctly expressed in the style of Kievan paintings.<sup>111</sup>

The chief exponent of the so-called Caucasian hypothesis concerning the origin of the first Christian buildings of Kiev, F. Shmit, does not believe that local masters played any part in the decoration of St. Sophia. Nevertheless, he concedes that the architectural complex of the cathedral, as well as its paintings, show extraordinary originality. St. Sophia's paintings are an enigmatic phenomenon from whatever angle we approach them. Mosaics and frescoes stand side by side, an arrangement far from usual. Mosaics are set below the cornice which runs around the church flush with the imposts of the vaults, also a plan unusual for the 11th century. Shmit provides the adjective "Byzantine," referring to the art of St. Sophia with quotation marks and stresses that the church, executed on the order of the Kievans of the 11th century, is a reflection of their history and concepts and contending that if the foreign artisans did work on the cathedral, they were the "hands" and not the "heads." The Kievans ordered and directed the construction of the building and into the framework and decoration worked the pictures of their life and concepts so that the church is a reflection of the life and concepts of the people of Kiev.<sup>112</sup> Unfortunately, Shmit did not live long enough to see the recently uncovered frescoes on which he might have distinguished the hand of Kievan artists.

It is worthwhile to mention in this list of opinions the view of the contemporary Russian scholar V. N. Lazarev, expressed in his excellent *History of Byzantine Painting*. Lazarev is not very consistent in his surmises as to the nationality of the mosaicists and fresco painters of St. Sophia. He sees the hand of Constantinopolitan and provincial Byzantine craftsmen in the mosaics (in the Church Fathers and the Eucharist, respectively). For the frescoes, he postulates the activity of local masters (whom he calls "Russian") as assistants to the Byzantine artists.<sup>113</sup> A modern Ukrainian artist, S. Hordyns'ky, following the earlier interpretations, speaks of Greek artists at St. Sophia, applying "chronicle data" which, however, does not refer to this church.<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> A. Nekrasov, *Drevnerusskoe izobrazitel'noe iskusstvo*, (Moscow, 1937), pp. 35-38.

<sup>112</sup> F. Shmit, "Pro vydannya sv. Sofiyi," *Zbirnyk sektsiyi mystetstv ukr. naukovo-hovoh tovarystva*, (Kiev, 1921), p. 109; cf., also, by the same author, *Mystetstvo staroy Rusy-Ukrainy* (Kharkov, 1919); "Zametki o pozne-vizantiiskikh khramovykh rospisyakh," *Vizantiiski Vremennik*, XXII (1915-1916); *Iskusstvo, ego psikhologiya, ego stilistika, ego evolutsiya* (Kharkov, 1919).

<sup>113</sup> V. Lazarev, *Istoriya vizantiiskoi zhivopisi, I-II* (Moscow, 1947), p. 92f.

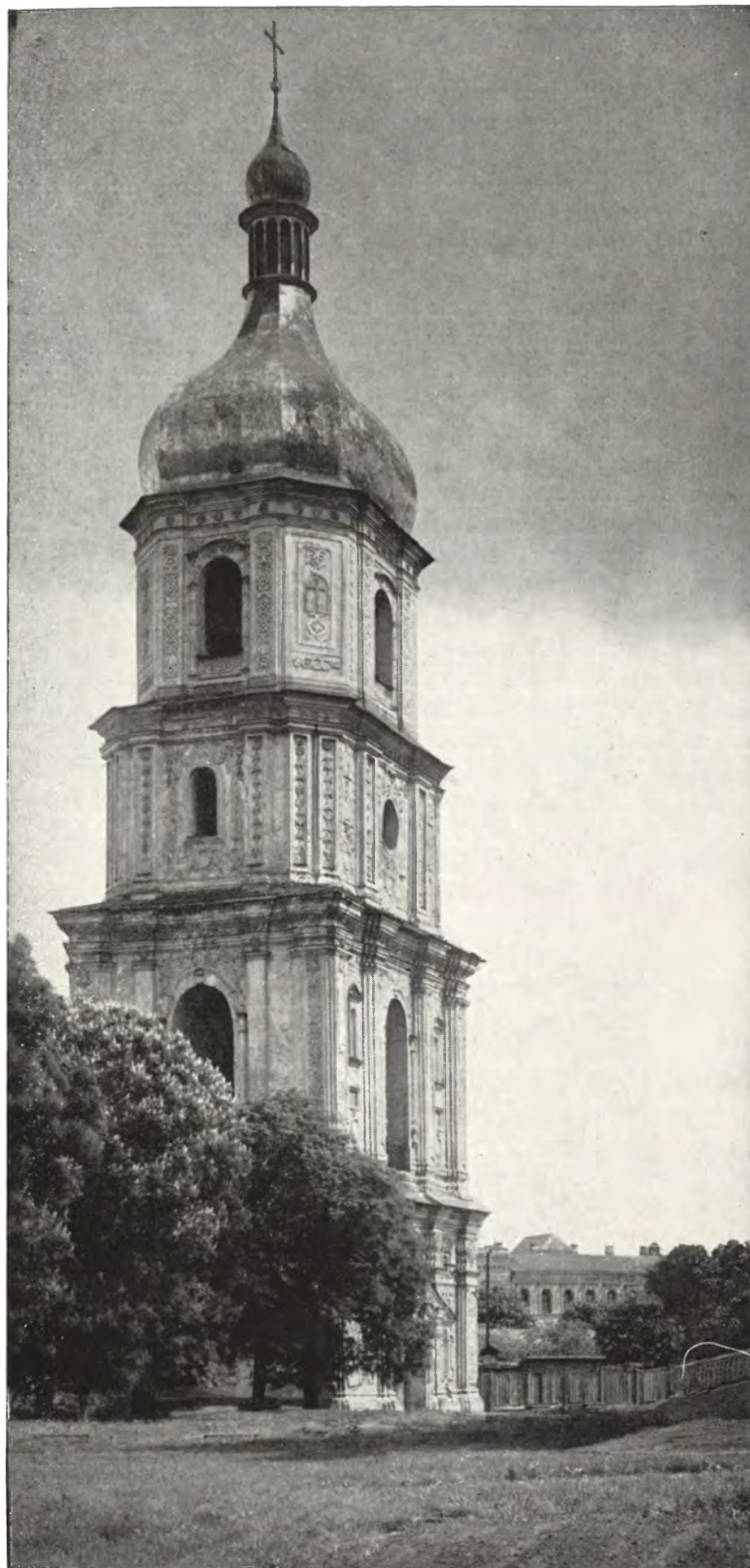
<sup>114</sup> S. Hordyns'ky, "Mystets'ki skarby kyyivs'koyi Sofiyi," *Kovcheh*, III, 1952.

The fact that some Kievan princes invited "masters from Greece" is undeniable, but the chronicles are mute as to whether Prince Yaroslav did so. This was only an hypothesis of Professor N. Kondakov and the followers of his school. The present writer must correct his own previous similar view for which he depended upon the same sources. He is now of the opinion that there exists sufficient data in support of the thesis that the Cathedral of St. Sophia was built and decorated by local artisans. They worked with their Byzantine teachers or supervisors, but these latter may have come to Kiev from not farther than the Khersonesus, as the administrator of the Tithe Church, Nastas Korsunyanyn, whose pupils (from both Kiev and Khersonesus) may have acted as builders and decorators of St. Sophia. Nastas, that accomplice of Volodymyr during the siege of the Khersonesus (if we follow the version of the *Primary Chronicle*), who later became the prince's trusted aide and administered a tenth of the prince's revenue for the upkeep of the Tithe Church, may have been a Byzantinized Slav. The same can also be said for other immigrants from Tauris who may have come to help their new Kievan "brethren in Christ" by building and decorating temples of the faith which they had already held for a long time. In Kiev, they would encounter no language barrier. During Yaroslav's reign, they still had active intercourse with Ukraine-Rus'; therefore the prince did not have to invite "masters from Greece" for he could draw artists from this nearby Byzantine outpost.



Grand Prince Yaroslav the Wise.  
By Professor V. H. Krychevsky.  
From A. Westervelt's drawing  
of 1651.

Вел. князь Ярослав Мудрий.  
Рис. проф. В. Г. Кричевського.  
За мал. А. Вестерфельда 1651.



St. Sophia Bell Tower.  
Софійська дзвіниця.



## THE BUILDINGS OF THE ST. SOPHIA MONASTERY

The building activity of Hetman Ivan Mazeppa, a patron of Ukrainian arts, contributed vitally to the development of local Ukrainian, or, as it is sometimes called, Cossack Baroque — a style which continued in vigor for a considerable time after the battle of Poltava (1709). As a result of the thorough repair and enlargement of St. Sophia undertaken in the 17th and 18th centuries, the church's external appearance acquired Ukrainian Baroque characteristics. Moreover, within a relatively short span of time, new brick structures in the same Baroque style replaced the wooden monastery buildings of the St. Sophia courtyard. The building and restoration of Kievan churches started by Mazeppa, especially the repairs of St. Sophia and the erection of the new buildings in its precinct, was continued by Metropolitans V. Vanatovych, R. Zaborovs'ky and T. Shcherbats'ky.

Among the architectural ensembles of this period, the buildings of the former St. Sophia Monastery are justly renowned. The new St. Sophia bell tower, called by Kievans the Triumphal Tower, also belongs to the Mazeppa period. It replaced a wooden structure which had burned down and had dated probably from Mohyla's time. Initially, the new brick tower had three stories and a tower gate leading into the St. Sophia courtyard (precinct). As fissures were found in the tower's two upper stories in 1744-1748, they had to be dismantled and rebuilt. It is probable that the project was done by Johann Gottfried Schädel, who executed many architectural works in Kiev, on the order of Metropolitan R. Zaborovs'ky. The new stories are on the whole successfully integrated with the architectural style of the lower part belonging to the Mazeppa period. It is even possible that the original structure was faithfully reproduced.

In 1807 the bell tower was struck by lightning which destroyed its cupola. The latter was replaced by a new one with a high spire corresponding to the classical taste of the time. In 1851-1852 the tower was raised a story and covered with a gilded cupola. Academician F. Solntsev, the designer for the projects, gave to it a baroque character to harmonize with the other cupolas of the St. Sophia ensemble. Nevertheless, the fretwork of this story, although corresponding to the decorations of the lower stories, is slightly inferior to them as well as to the picturesque decorations of the first story facade. All of the surfaces of the tower are clearly articulated owing to the wide, overhanging cornices covered with metal sheeting. Still, the well thought out proportions of these surfaces, subordinated to the general vertical composition, endow the edifice with impressive unity and completeness.

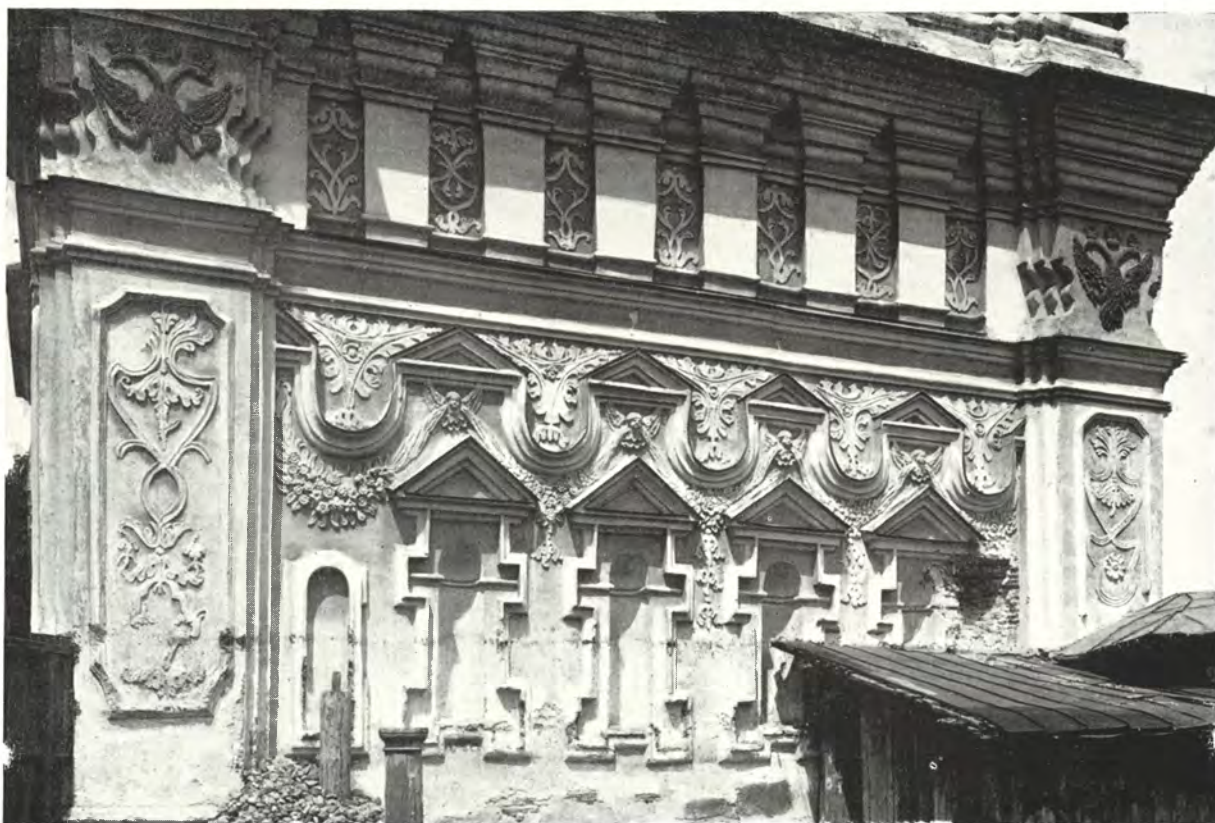
Between the stucco moldings of the third story facades, figures of Prince St. Volodymyr, the Archangel Raphael, the Apostle Andrew and St. Timothy have been installed in relief. Along the axis of symmetry and above the tower gate, the aperture of the belfry, an ellipsoidal opening for the clock, richly decorated in stucco, and openings for the uppermost story are arranged in architectural order. The ground story, which



St. Sophia Bell Tower. First and second floors from the courtyard.

Софійська дзвіниця. 1-ий і 2-ий поверх з двору.





St. Sophia Bell Tower. Details of first floor. Above, eastern façade; below, southern façade.  
 Софійська дзвіниця. Перший поверх. Вгорі: східня фасада; внизу — південна фасада.





St. Sophia Bell Tower. Second and third floors from St. Sophia courtyard.  
Софійська дзвіниця. 2-ий і 3-ій поверхи, вид з двору.