

Alexander Musin

Russian medieval culture as an "area of preservation" of the Byzantine civilization

Series Byzantina 8, 11-44

2010

Artykuł został opracowany do udostępnienia w internecie przez Muzeum Historii Polski w ramach prac podejmowanych na rzecz zapewnienia otwartego, powszechnego i trwałego dostępu do polskiego dorobku naukowego i kulturalnego. Artykuł jest umieszczony w kolekcji cyfrowej bazhum.muzhp.pl, gromadzącej zawartość polskich czasopism humanistycznych i społecznych.

Tekst jest udostępniony do wykorzystania w ramach dozwolonego użytku.

Russian Medieval Culture as an “Area of Preservation” of the Byzantine Civilization

Alexander Musin

Institute for the History of Material Culture of the Russian
Academy of Sciences, Saint-Petersburg

In the pages of his book on European history, Norman Davies wonders in what way the world would have been changed if Russia had grown under the leadership of the Novgorod Republic rather than under the Muscovite government so different from the former. As a conclusion, he writes: “In any case, medieval archaeology offers no clue”.¹ But what would Byzantine studies have been if we could evaluate its civilization based on information provided by the archaeology of Novgorod and other Russian medieval sites? E. L. Keenan wrote that Novgorod is “the only medieval town in the Eastern Christian world to have been excavated”.² This ran contrary to the opinion of his colleagues Byzantinists who must have been at least baffled by that statement. Certainly, Constantinople is better studied,³ but not better excavated, we must add. Novgorod, indeed, is the only medieval urban centre in the Eastern Christian world that has been excavated intensively and continuously since the 1930s. However, voluminous Byzantine evidence has been obtained also from Staraya Ladoga, Staraya Russa, Pskov, Tver etc.

A new research project is challenging the long-held and widespread opinion also expressed by E. L. Keenan: “Novgorod had a Western orientation (an inescapable oxymoron!), whereas Kyiv and the Middle and Lower Dnepr cities looked to the Black Sea and the Mediterranean”.⁴ The project mentioned is intended for studying medieval Russian towns in the context of the Byzantine civilization and, *vice versa*, the Byzantine civilization in the light of the material remains excavated in Northern Russia. Guided by the first ap-

¹ DAVIES 1996, 327.

² KEENAN 2005, 15.

³ KEENAN 2005, 15.

⁴ KEENAN 2005, 19.

proach until now, the scholars have been focusing their attention predominantly on the relations between Novgorod and European countries. The early period (9th–11th centuries) of Novgorod's history is often considered as part of the history of Vikings while the European connections of the town in the 13th–15th centuries are sometimes regarded exclusively in the light of its participation in the Hanseatic League trade.⁵ However, Russian history from its very beginnings actually took another course orienting it towards Byzantium. Thus in the Primary Russian Chronicle (*Povest' Vremennykh Let*) the "route from the Varangians to the Greeks" is mentioned rather as leading "from the Greeks to the Varangians".⁶ (fig. 1:1) Obviously, such specification reflects the priorities and hierarchy of values of the medieval people challenging the traditional scholarly views on this issue.

It would not be just to assert that Russian-Byzantine connections have not been a subject of scientific researches. In recent years, humanistic studies in various branches have yielded the results attesting that Medieval Rus' preserved in amazing completeness the synchronous section of the Byzantine civilization of the 9th–15th centuries, which for the Russians served as a cultural model. By force of the regularities of development of a cultural periphery, the Old-Russian milieu was preserving unique paragons of the Byzantine material and spiritual culture. This fact allows us to obtain in a number of cases a consistent chronological and stadial picture of diverse aspects of the Byzantine civilization essentially modified afterwards in the Empire proper. The Greek sources themselves offer us no such possibility.

In Old Russia, a number of translated Byzantine writings were widespread, the Greek originals of which have not survived. Many of these contain extremely valuable information on the history and culture of Byzantium, especially on the literary activities of the Studios Monastery in Constantinople from the last quarter of the 9th to the first quarter of the 10th century. The poor state of preservation of this segment of the Byzantine literature is most probably due to a number of factors, including the ousting of the early texts by the menology of Metaphrast in the second half of the 10th century. The pre-Metaphrast version of menology is preserved only in the form of *Chetya Mineya* (hagiographical reading dedicated to the months of particular saints) of the 12th century translated into Old Russian at the scriptorium of St Sophia Cathedral in Novgorod. The absence of books dedicated to July and August in this collection of writings is to be explained by the fact that the respective two volumes were sent from the Studios Monastery to Italy instead of Russia. Today these books are known as the Byzantine codices *Vaticanus gr. 1667* and *Vaticanus gr. 1671* (Grottoferata monastery collection).⁷

Old Russian parchment prayer-books of the 13th–14th centuries with the texts of liturgies of Basil the Great and John Chrysostom contain a significant number of Greek prayers

⁵ RYBINA 1992, 193–205; GAIMSTER 2001, 67–78.

⁶ POVEST Proem. (ed. Sviardlov, p. 8)

⁷ AFINOGENOV 2007, 17–18; AFINOGENOV 2006, 261–83 22–28; CANART 1982, 22–28.

translated from unknown originals. The changes in the Byzantine liturgical practice have resulted in the replacement of these prayers by new ones or their sinking into complete oblivion. Numerous archaic features of old liturgical texts were preserved at the periphery of the Byzantine Empire. Old Russian sources perhaps are the single ones that have retained a special Byzantine form of the *Prothesis* addresses to God the Father. These were composed in Constantinople as a *Prothesis* of John Chrysostom's liturgy replaced later in the Greek liturgical service by the prayer of Basil the Great. In addition, Eastern Slavic prayer-books contain the prayers which presumably had appeared in the liturgy of John Chrysostom not later than 11th–12th centuries. Possibly, these texts are connected with the monastic liturgical practice of one of the Constantinople monasteries. Not only parchment prayer-books have preserved unique prayers of the extinct Greek liturgical practice. Among the birchbark documents recovered in Novgorod we find examples reflecting the peculiarities of the Byzantine Orthodox rituals practised by the Old-Russian Church but forgotten today. Thus birchbark document no. 727 dated to the early 13th century contains unusual prayers of the introduction to the Easter service including quotations from *Psalms* 106 (107) and 117 (118).⁸

We must be reminded that for many years, studies of the Byzantine-Russian cultural interactions have been focused almost exclusively on the elite ecclesiastic culture or on such masterpieces of art as objects of luxury, sacral architecture and icon-painting.⁹ Not much attention was paid to artefacts of daily life found during regular excavations. Due to the lack of new publications on such materials in European languages (very often in Russian, too!), the extraordinary finds from excavations in northern towns of Russia have remained unknown to Byzantinists.¹⁰

At the same time, European scholars note that the general involvement of the Byzantine archaeology into Byzantine Studies is far from being satisfying.¹¹ This is for several reasons. Partly it is the fact that "the everyday life of 'ordinary people' after the seventh century has been almost entirely neglected".¹² Another reason is the poor state of preservation of archaeological layers in the East Mediterranean where the medieval deposits have been at many sites removed almost completely in order to reach the more ancient ones (Classical Antiquity!). Very often these levels are badly disturbed by continuous occupation of the sites. In the process of unfolding the story of everyday Byzantine life,¹³ archaeological evidence has been playing a fairly modest role. Byzantine Studies until now are lacking a reliable regional chronology of pottery and other small-size finds from the Eastern Medi-

⁸ MUSIN 2003, 102–24.

⁹ AINALOV 1932; LASAREV 1967; ONASCH 1969.

¹⁰ For rare exceptions see: THOMPSON 1967; YANIN 1985, 647–67; KOLCHIN 1989.

¹¹ SODINI 1993, 139–84.

¹² *SECULAR BUILDINGS* 2004, 18–20.

¹³ OIKONOMIDES 1990, 205–14; *EVERYDAY LIFE IN BYZANTIUM* 2002; *BYZANTINE HOURS* 2001; RAUTMAN 2006.

terranean centres.¹⁴ In the hope of correcting that imbalance, the scholarly community is in expectation of results of a number of important excavations, e.g. those of the “Amorium research project” (since 1987).¹⁵

The situation in Russia is quite different. Large-scale excavations at the Russian settlements mentioned above allow us to study artefacts from well-dated stratigraphic contexts. Archaeological finds of Byzantine minor objects dated to 750–1450 from these Russian sites constitute an outstanding collection of objects of the daily life of a medieval family in urban estates (fig. 1: 2) This assemblage is of extreme value for studies of the middle and late phases of the Byzantine civilization due to a number of factors: 1) almost perfect preservation of both durable and organic materials; 2) basically undisturbed chronological sequences, 3) precise dendrochronological dates of the recovered artefacts confirmed by finds of seals and coins, and 4) possibility of comparative studies of the finds with the use of written sources, particularly birchbark documents. Of essential importance is the fact that most of the finds, especially those from Novgorod and Staraya Russa, can be dated precisely to within a range of 10 to 40 years (fig. 1: 3).¹⁶ This allows us to use Byzantine objects from Russia as the basis for dating similar items found within the Byzantine territory.

Meanwhile, the social and anthropological mechanisms of the cultural exchange between medieval Russia and Byzantium have been frequently neglected. Analysis of excavated objects of everyday life from northern cities of Russia is promising to change this situation. Discoveries of Byzantine objects in Russia allow us to demonstrate the intensity and evolution of the cultural exchange and shed light onto the material culture of the ordinary people who were representatives of the Byzantine civilization outside the Empire. Thus the presence of Greek-speaking persons in northern towns of Russia is attested by graffiti as well as by the material culture in general (fig. 2: 30; fig. 3).¹⁷ Archaeological investigations in Novgorod have first revealed the remains of an icon-painting workshop of the late 12th century. There, a painter, a priest of Greek origin, was perfecting his professional skills gained still in Byzantium (fig. 4: 1, 2).¹⁸

Moreover, it is exactly the archaeological finds from Russian cities that have brought to light the earliest known examples of certain categories of Byzantine artefacts and masterpieces of art. These include, for instance, replicas of much-venerated Constantinopolitan icons, some types of reliquary crosses, belt buckles and steatite *staurothekai* (icons-reliquaries) discussed below in this article. Russian finds show that the fact of the good preservation of Byzantine imports in peripheral areas of the Empire noted by scholars for

¹⁴ SANDERS 2004, 163–93.

¹⁵ GILL 2002; *AMORIUM REPORTS II* 2003.

¹⁶ TARABARDINA 2001a; TARABARDINA 2001b, 99–108.

¹⁷ MUSIN 2006c, 296–306; FRANKLIN 2002.

¹⁸ KOLCHIN, KHOROSHEV, YANIN 1981.

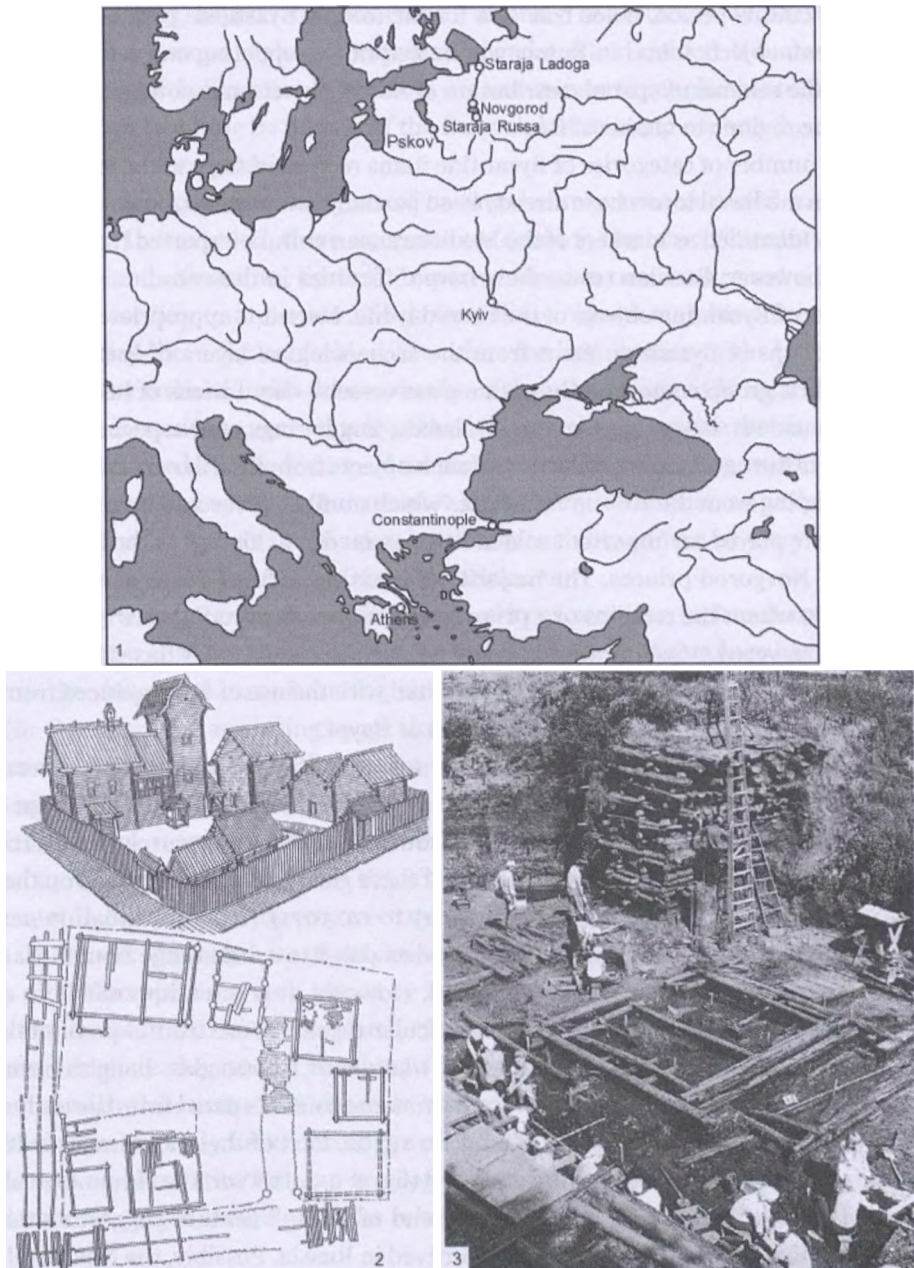


Fig. 1: 1 - Location of towns in Northern Russia in relation to the main centers of Mediterranean area; 2 - Plan of estates from Troitsky site in Novgorod: perimeter layout. Reconstruction drawing by G. Borisevich; 3 - Photograph of the area of excavated yard in Novgorod and cross-section through the surfaces of a street showing levels from 11th to 14th centuries (Photo: S. Orlov)

the Early Byzantine period, holds true also for the Middle Byzantine period.¹⁹ In any case, Mediterranean objects found in Russia will be helpful for updating and refining the chronology and the scheme of spatial distribution of minor objects and pottery imported from the Byzantine regions to Medieval Rus'.

Today, a number of categories of Byzantine items recovered from archaeological deposits of Russian medieval towns have already been partially investigated. Some of the artefacts can be easily identified as markers of the Mediterranean culture imported from the East. In some cases however, Russian researchers have difficulties in their studies, particularly in identification of Byzantine objects of the everyday life. Here it is appropriate to enumerate the major groups of Byzantine items from the archaeological layers of Russian medieval towns. The first group comprises Byzantine glass vessels – both items of luxury and those for ordinary use *viz.* lamps (figs. 2: 10, 11), beads, finger-rings, and especially bracelets.²⁰ Noteworthy is the outstanding collection of such objects from Ryurikovo Gorodishche near Novgorod, dating from the 10th–15th centuries which numbers over 200 fragments of glassware. That site played an important role in Russian medieval history as the administrative residence of Novgorod princes. The majority of finds come from the area excavated here in 1980–1989 where the remains of a princely tower-chamber from the 12th–15th centuries have been uncovered.²¹ Quantitative spectral analysis of the samples has shown that 40% of them are made from the plant-ash glass smelted with the use of ash produced from salt-marsh plants in workshops of Byzantium, Syria or Egypt.

As the Mediterranean antiquities are concerned, very important research has been carried out on glass from Amorium (1987–1997), particularly on bracelets (1307 fragments). Unfortunately, only part of the finds studied come from sealed and securely dated archaeological contexts. The well-elaborated typology of these glass specimens is based on the relative chronology of the city (from mid-9th century to *ca.* 1071). A similar situation pertains for Sardis. Here, several hundreds of glass bracelets dated to a wide range from the late 10th to the 13th or 14th century have been recovered. However, it is often impossible to define more precisely the period of popularity of particular types.²² More fruitful possibilities for archaeological analysis are found in Novgorod where over 17,000 glass bangles have been uncovered. The majority of the bracelets come from the contexts dated from the early 1100s to the 1350s with a distinctive peak around the 1230s. Part of these specimens evidently were manufactured in the Mediterranean World (fig. 2: 25). In Tver, the chronological peak of the distribution of bracelets belongs to the end of the 13th century suggesting that the popularity of that type of glass articles had survived in Russia. Possibly, the Novgorod finds will expand the typology and chronology of Mediterranean bracelets (based now on the

¹⁹ MANGO 2003, 119–40; *IN SEARCH OF A LOST BYZANTIUM* 2007.

²⁰ SHCHAPOVA 1998; THOMPSON 1967, 92–93.

²¹ PLOKHOV 2007, 166–75.

²² GILL 2002, 79–98, 183–219, 259; LIGHTFOOT 2005, 173–81; SALDEM 1980, 98–101.

Amorium chronology) beyond the end of the 11th century. In a similar way, also the chronology of various sub-groups of glass objects may be updated and refined. It is absolutely clear that the advances of the Russian archaeology are not necessarily applicable to the Byzantinistics, at least not to all the territories of the Empire, but in many aspects the comparative studies seem to be very promising.

The second group of finds consists of boxwood combs manufactured in the Eastern Mediterranean. In Novgorod, these examples are dated to the late 10th century (classes 2b according to Ljubov Smirnova; fig. 2:2). Imported wooden combs were not simply objects of prestige. According to a number of scholars, these objects may have been part of the Byzantine metropolitan clerical fashion. Therefore the introduction of the boxwood combs in Novgorod may be linked with the conversion of the urban elite to Christianity. However, more evidence is needed to prove this hypothesis. Later, the decorative motifs of the Byzantine combs influenced the production of simpler bone artifacts in Novgorod in the 11th–13th centuries (class 2a according L. Smirnova).²³ In the cultural respect, as early as its initial period of history, Novgorod already demonstrates its ability of “the primary borrowing”²⁴ not only from Scandinavia but also from Byzantium.²⁵

The third group of Byzantine artefacts yielded by excavations in Russia is composed of amphorae of four different types. Each type has its intrinsic chronology based on differences in the shape and manufacturing technology. For instance, the so-called ‘Trabzon’ type (or Ganos-4 type according to an alternative classification) can be subdivided into six variants corresponding to the phases of its development. This division is based on materials found in Russia and dated respectively to 1060–1110, 1025–1075, 1075–1100, 1110–1150, 1130–1140 AD and the following period (figs. 2: 6, 7, 8, 14, 15, 16).²⁶ The second group of amphorae belongs to the so-called ‘Triglia’ type. It has four phases of development dated respectively to 970–1010, 1000–1100, 1130–1150 and 1150–1200 AD. (fig. 2: 5, 13, 19). The numbers of amphorae of this type seems to have decreased significantly after the capture of Asia Minor by the Seljuks in the end of the 11th century. After 1204, amphorae of that kind completely disappeared in Russia. The other two groups of amphorae include the small ‘Chian’ type that was widespread around 1030–1180 and amphorae with the stamp ‘SSS’ dated to the 12th century. The latter group was possibly imported from the Holy Land during the period of the Latin Kingdom.²⁷

There is an alternative Russian typology of Byzantine amphorae, which divides these vessels into 10 major groups with the relative chronology spanning the period from the

²³ SMIRNOVA 2007, 298–334; SMIRNOVA 2005, 142, 199, 243–47, 314, 315, 317.

²⁴ FRANKLIN, SHEPARD 1996, 315.

²⁵ SMIRNOVA 2005, 318.

²⁶ VOLKOV 2006, 145–59; VOLKOV 2005, 145–63; GUNSENIN 1993, 193–201.

²⁷ VOLKOV 1996, 90–103.



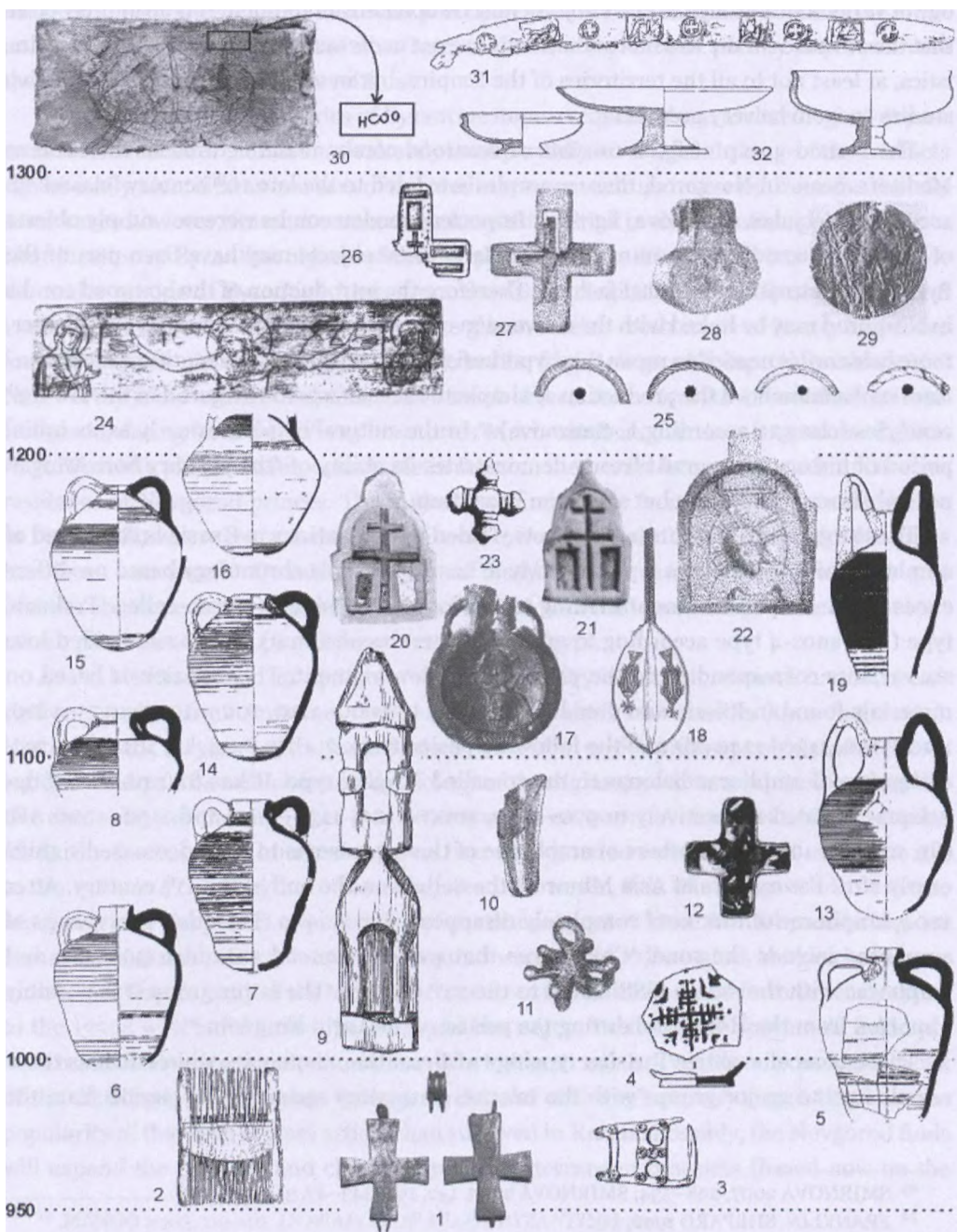


Fig. 2. Common chronology of Byzantine artifacts from Towns in Northern Russia, 10th–15th centuries (drawing by G. Kuznetsova and V. Steganceva):

1 – reliquary cross, bronze, Ladoga, 920s; 2 – simple comb, boxwood, Novgorod, the end of 10th century (class 2b according to L. Smirnova); 3 – belt-buckle, bronze, Ladoga, middle of 10th century; 4 – glazed pottery, Novgorod, since the end of 10th century; 5 – amphora, “Triglia” type, phase 1 (970–1010 AD, according to I. Volkov); 6 – amphora, “Trabzon = Ganos 4” type, phase 1 (1060–1110 AD, according to I. Volkov); 7 – amphora, “Trabzon = Ganos 4” type, phase 2 (1025–1075 AD, according to I. Volkov); 8 – amphora, “Trabzon = Ganos 4” type, phase 3 (1050–1110 AD, according to I. Volkov); 9 – model of Jerusalem Temple, wood, Novgorod, end of 11th century; 10 – lamp, glass, Novgorod, since 11th century; 11 – hook of lamp, bronze, Novgorod, since 11th century; 12 – cross-pendant, krokeit, Novgorod, since 11th century; 13 – amphora, “Triglia” type, phase 2 (second half of the 11th century, according to I. Volkov); 14 – amphora, “Trabzon = Ganos 4” type, phase 4 (1090–1110 AD, according to I. Volkov); 15 – amphora, “Trabzon = Ganos 4” type, phase 5 (1110–1150 AD, according to I. Volkov); 16 – amphora, “Trabzon = Ganos 4” type, phase 6 (second half of 12th century, according to I. Volkov); 17 – pilgrim ampoule from Thessalonica, lead, Novgorod, since 1135 AD; 18 – pilgrim spoon, pewter, Holy Land (?), Novgorod, around 1150 AD; 19 – amphora, “Triglia” type, phase 4 (1150–1200 AD, according to I. Volkov); 20 – pilgrim reliquary (*staurotheke*) with stone inlays from Holy Places, steatite, Novgorod, around 1160 AD; 21 – pilgrim reliquary, steatite, Berlin collection, (?); 22 – icon-pendant, steatite, Novgorod, 1160–1180 AD; 23 – cross-pendant, nacre, Novgorod, Pskov, around 1160–1170 AD; 24 – icon of Crucifixion, wood, Staraja Russa, first half of 13th century; 25 – bracelets, glass, Novgorod, marked peak around 1250s; 26 – cross-pendant with stones and wood from Holy Land, steatite, Novgorod, Pskov, around 1230s AD; 27 – cross-pendant from Holy Land, steatite, Novgorod, around 1230s AD; 28 – container for baptism ceremony, silver, Novgorod, 1260–1280 AD; 29 – pilgrim badge from Thessalonica, lead, Novgorod, 1270s AD; 30 – brick with ex-voto marine graffito and Greek inscription $\eta\omega\alpha[\nu\nu]\eta[\varsigma]$, Novgorod, 1352 AD; 31 – girdles for monks, leather, Novgorod, 12th–15th centuries; 32 – turned wooden vessels, Novgorod, after 1250s



Fig. 3. Brick with ex-voto marine graffito and Greek inscription $\eta\omega\alpha[\nu\nu]\eta[\varsigma]$, Novgorod, Assumption church at Volotovo field, 1352 AD (KP-14; Museum of Art Culture of Novgorod District, Novgorod)

late 10th to the mid-12th century.²⁸ It is recognized that the analysis of amphora materials from Novgorod of this period is so far only in its “infancy”. The development of some amphora groups, including those of the ‘Chian’ type, continued until the 14th century. We have grounds to suppose that the vessels from Chios were imported owing to the wine trade. The change of the system of trade at the end of the 13th century and the leading role of Italian merchants in the factorial trade led to the replacement of amphora containers by wooden stave-built vessels (kegs) well known among medieval archaeological finds.²⁹

It must be noted that besides the amphorae, in Novgorod and Staraya Russa, still other types of Eastern ceramics have been found. They amount to over 200 fragments from at least 80 vessels (fig. 2: 4) dated to the 10th–15th centuries.³⁰ In addition, a rich collection of fragmentary Eastern pottery, so far unpublished, has been collected at Ryurikovo Gorodishche near Novgorod. According to the classification presently proposed, there are four major classes of pottery from the Mediterranean region. These are further subdivided into series, groups and types according to the presence of additional decoration and its relation to the glaze on the vessel (complete absence of additional decoration, decoration above the glaze, under it or within the glaze layer), by the techniques of decorating (painting, engraving, relief etc.) and by the type of the clay (faïences, semi-faïences, majolica and semi-majolica). It is noteworthy that in the 13th–14th centuries, the importation of pottery from Syria and Egypt, which was very popular in the late 12th and early 13th centuries, comes to end while pottery from Byzantium continued to arrive.

The fourth group of Byzantine artefacts includes the so-called objects of private devotion. Generally, these are easily identified as Byzantine imports. Most commonly, it is personal pendants or items pertaining to pilgrimage and bearing Christian signs and images which without doubt may be attributed as markers of the Byzantine culture. The archaeological contexts from which these objects have been recovered allow us to reconstruct the position of their owners in the social hierarchy and to determinate the role of these items in the popular culture of Russian urban centres.³¹ The abundance and diversity of the group under consideration and its wide distribution among different social strata suggest that the Byzantine tradition of the use of devotional objects was flourishing in medieval Russia.³²

Among the items of 1100–1300 AD connected with pilgrimage, the most important finds include cross-pendants made of steatite and nacre (fig. 2: 23, 26, 27; fig.5), pewter spoons (fig. 2: 18), pilgrims’ flasks (fig. 2: 17; fig.6), wooden models of the Jerusalem Temple (fig. 2: 9), and steatite *staurothekai* with inlays of limestone from Holy Places and fine pieces of wood symbolizing parts of the Holy Cross (fig. 2: 20; fig.7) etc. *Staurothekai* are of par-

²⁸ KOVAL 2005, 500–08.

²⁹ COMEY 2007, 165–88.

³⁰ KOVAL 2006, 161–92; KOVAL 2000, 127–39.

³¹ MUSIN 2004, 137–51.

³² MUSIN 2006a, 251–52.

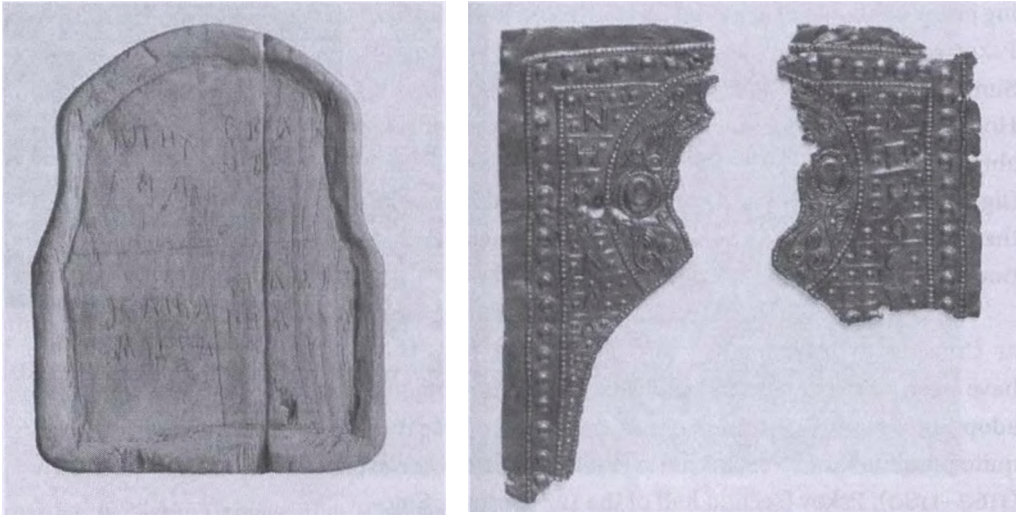


Fig. 4. Archaeological finds from icon painter workshop, Novgorod, end of 12th century. 1 – wooden board for icon painting; 2 – cover for an icon of St. Nicholas, bronze (Novgorod State Museum, Novgorod; photo: S. Toropov)

ticular interest: until now we have no reliable dates for two similar objects from collections kept in Berlin (provenance unknown, fig. 2: 21) and the Hermitage (from excavations of the Imperial Archaeological Commission in Chersonese, 1895).³³ The Novgorod example found in the Posolsky Excavation in 2006 is dated to 1160–1180. It is the only inlay known with a limestone insert in a steatite case suggesting us in what way *staurothekai* were actually used. The limestone from Palestine was regarded by the medieval Christians as milk of the Mother of God and its pieces were very often brought from particular places of Gethsemane near Jerusalem.³⁴ Some cross-shaped objects of similar purpose (fig. 2: 27) have not preserved the limestone inserts although one of the examples contains a very small fragment of wood evidently once regarded as a “piece of the Holy cross”. That object was recovered from the Nutniy Excavation and is dated to the 1230s (fig. 8).³⁵ It is of interest that present-day Russian pilgrims bring from Jerusalem reliquaries in the form of tiny copies of the Holy Cross and stones from visited places conforming to the tradition arisen in the 12th century. They also bring from the Holy Land peculiar cases which contain fragments of limestone from holy places along with little bottles of water from the Jordan River and oil from the Holy Sepulchre. The use of steatite as the primary material for objects of Christian devotion and pilgrims’ souvenirs was not limited to *staurothekai* only. Steatite was used for mak-

³³ KALAVREZOU-MAXEINER 1985, pl. 1; ZALESSKAYA 2005, 29–35, fig. 1.

³⁴ SUMMA, Die XVIII Januarii (ed. Bourassé, col. 707–709), *MARIA NEL CULTO CATTOLICO* 390–93; ARRIGHINI 1954, 316–19

³⁵ GAYDUKOV 1992, p. 106; fig. 77: 2.

ing cross-pendants of a special form attested in Novgorod, Pskov etc. and dated back to the end of the 12th century.³⁶ Similar crosses were found in Bulgaria, Asia Minor, the Holy Land and Greece; their chronology often is not reliably established or covers a fairly wide chronological span (fig. 9).³⁷ Thus, the Russian finds may be helpful in proving their dates and lead to the final rejection of their attribution to the Late Classical period.³⁸

The pilgrims' souvenirs probably were manufactured at Crusaders' settlements where Latin craftsmen may have been working side by side with Greek masters and adopting certain Byzantine artistic traditions. Thus, it is quite possible that crosses from nacre found in Novgorod (1160–1180), Pskov (second half of the 12th century), Smolensk (late 12th century), Ryazan (turn of the 12th and 13th centuries), Kiev (12th–13th centuries) and Chersonese (first half of the 13th century)³⁹ were manufactured in 1150–1175 AD in the Crusaders' castle of Atlit in the Holy Land (near modern Haifa, Israel) among the mixed ethnic milieu (fig. 5).⁴⁰ It is noteworthy that this type of cross-pendants is not found in excavations in Western Europe suggesting that they were produced specially for pilgrims of the Orthodox tradition. Furthermore, pilgrims' badges with the representation of St Demetrios attested in the Novgorod cultural layers of the 1260s were made mostly in Thessalonica around 1204–1224. They demonstrate a joint tradition of European craftsmen and the iconography pertaining to the Byzantine cults of local saints (fig. 2:29; fig. 10). Pilgrimage objects, such as a lead flask with the representation of St Demetrios are widely known,⁴¹ but only the Russian examples from Novgorod are reliably datable: they are found in cultural layers dated after 1135. The latter date is very close to that of the records of the late 11th–early 12th century about the miracle of appearance of Holy Myrrhon on the shrine of St Demetrios (fig. 6).

This is reminiscent of the worship of St Nicolas in Bari, Italy, in 12th–13th centuries. In Italy and outside it, only few pilgrims' badges with the representation of that saint are



Fig. 5. Cross-pendant, nacre, Novgorod, around 1160–1170 AD (Novgorod State Museum, Novgorod; photo: S. Toropov)

³⁶ MUSIN 2006b, 163–222.

³⁷ DIRIMTEKIN 1962, 161–85; TZAFERIS 1975, 5:52, pl. 7, fig. 4; GOUGH 1985, 28–29; HARRISON 1986, nos. 626, 628, fig. 427, 429; TOTEV 1990, 123–38; CRADLE 2000, 141; LASKARIS 2000, 63, 58–59, 137, 195; KORAC 2001/2002, 103–46.

³⁸ CATALOGUE 1965, p. 20, 24, tab. XXIV, No. 52.12.90.

³⁹ GROZDILOV 1962, 72, fig. 58, 7; MUSIN 1999, 92–110; GOLOFAST, RYZHOV 2003, 217, fig. 22;23; YASHAEVA 2005, 201; MUSIN 2006, 189–90.

⁴⁰ JOHNS 1997, 15–17, 119–20, 147, 149, pl. LX, fig. 2.

⁴¹ BAKIRTZIS 1990, 140–49, fig. 48–54.

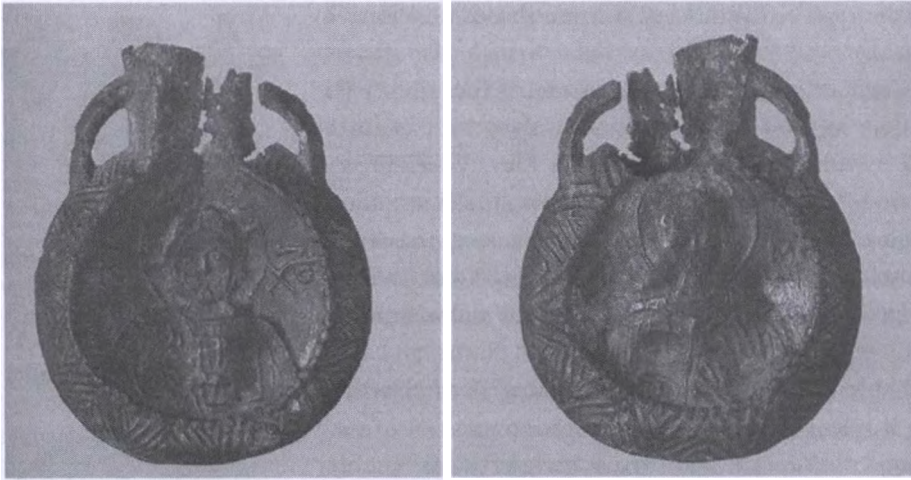


Fig. 6. Pilgrim ampoule from Thessalonica, lead, Novgorod, (Novgorod State Museum, Novgorod; photo: S. Toropov)

found and these are just of uncertain date.⁴² Investigations carried out in Novgorod at the Nikolsky (St Nicholas) Excavation in 2007 have yielded two badges depicting a saint identified as St Nicholas (fig. 11). A further three examples were found in the same town at the Nerevsky Excavation in 1960 and at the Fedorovsky site in 1996.⁴³ The entire assemblage is dated to 1160–1280. Thus, finds from Russia with their certain stratigraphy allow us to draw some general conclusions on the archaeology of pilgrimage whereas the previous studies of the changeable pilgrims' fashion were based almost exclusively on Byzantine and Russian written sources.⁴⁴

Byzantine materials from Russia can help us to update the chronology of worship of miracle-working icons from Constantinople and elucidate the evolution of their iconographical types. They also demonstrate the distribution and particular features of that tradition. For instance, the earliest known Byzantine double-sided icon of the Hodegetria, with Christ the Man of Sorrows on the back, has been found at Kastoria. It is dated to the end of the 12th century, probably reproducing a type that was popular in the centre of the Empire.⁴⁵ Meanwhile the steatite and wooden replicas of icons of the identical type from Novgorod (fig. 2: 22) and Staraya Russa (fig. 2: 24) suggest that the Constantinople miracle-working iconography appeared in the Northern Europe around 1170 AD.

⁴² ANDERSSON 1989, 103–05; WENTKOWSKA VERZI 2000, 423–32.

⁴³ SEDOVA 1981, 62–63, fig. 20: 5–6; 21.

⁴⁴ MAJESKA 1984; MAJESKA 2002, 93–108.

⁴⁵ *MOTHER OF GOD* 2000, 484–85, no. 83.

Furthermore, the evidence from the excavations in Russia allows us to reconstruct the activities of craftsmen from Constantinople after the seizure of the city by the Crusaders in 1204. The excavations show that in 1210–1230 Byzantine artisans worked in Kiev, Vladimir and Novgorod.⁴⁶ Obviously, the Byzantine aesthetic traditions and the craftsmen themselves were transformed within the Russian milieu. Thus, Krokean stone (*krokaetis lithos*, *lapis lacedaemonicus*) — a type of green stone from the Peloponnesus — was used originally in Rome and Constantinople for *opus sectile* in floor mosaics of churches, but in Russia, where the floor decoration was not in such a demand, that species was used as early as the 11th century for manufacturing pectoral crosses (fig. 2: 12).⁴⁷

The excavations in the abovementioned Russian cities help us to establish more precisely the chronology and the distribution of reliquary crosses⁴⁸ (fig. 2: 1) and objects of everyday life, particularly belt buckles. Some of the latter in the ninth and tenth centuries were made in bronze openwork, other examples bear representations of gryphons⁴⁹ (fig. 2: 3) etc. Archaeological materials also illustrate the activities of a Greek icon-painter whose workshop was excavated in Novgorod.⁵⁰ Information on various types of turned wooden vessels from Novgorod possibly may be used in studies of the chronology of Byzantine ceramic pottery of the 11th–14th centuries. Indeed, the evolution of the forms of vessels, both ceremonious ones and those for ordinary use, ran parallel for wooden and ceramic ware (fig. 2: 32).⁵¹

In Novgorod, archaeologists have also found liturgical objects. These include, for example, spoons for communion (11th–12th centuries), a container for baptismal rituals with the Slavic inscription 'Maslo' (Holy Oil) and 'Myro' (Holy



Fig. 7. Pilgrim reliquary (*stau-rotheke*) with stone inlays from Holy Land, steatite, Novgorod, around 1160 AD (Novgorod State Museum, Novgorod; photo: S. Toropov)



Fig. 8. Cross-pendant with stones and wood from Holy Land, steatite, Novgorod, around 1230s AD (Novgorod State Museum, Novgorod; photo: S. Toropov)

⁴⁶ ZHARNOV, ZHARNOVA 1999, 451–61.

⁴⁷ *GROSSMÄCHTIGES NOWGOROD* 2003, 130–1, no. 91–92, 94.

⁴⁸ PITARAKIS 2006; KORZUKHINA, PESKOVA 2003.

⁴⁹ MIKHAYLOV 2005, 209–18; LIGHTFOOT M. 2003, 81–103.

⁵⁰ *GROSSMÄCHTIGES NOWGOROD* 2003, 164–65, no. 124–31.

⁵¹ KOLCHIN 1989, 45, 57, 61; THOMPSON 1967, 97–101.

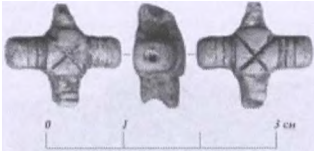


Fig. 9. Cross-pendant from Holy Land, steatite, Novgorod, around 1160–1180 AD (Novgorod State Museum, Novgorod; photo: S. Toropov)



Fig. 10. Pilgrim badge from Thessalonica, lead, Novgorod, 1270s AD (Novgorod State Museum, Novgorod; S. Toropov)

Myrrhon; 1260–1280; see fig. 2: 28; fig. 12). In general, among the objects excavated in Russia there are numerous finds which demonstrate the material culture of the medieval clergy and monkhood and elucidate for us its evolution.

Primarily, noteworthy are leather monks' girdles and *analabos/paramans/paramands* embossed with images of the Twelve Christian feasts (12th–15th centuries): Annunciation, Nativity, Meeting in the Temple, Baptism, Transfiguration, Resurrection of Lazarus, Entry to Jerusalem, Crucifixion, Resurrection as the Descent “ad infernos”, Ascension, Pentecost and Assumption (fig. 2: 31). In the middle of the 19th century, girdles of that type were first discovered during excavations in the Moscow Kremlin and in Smolensk (fig. 13). Afterwards, similar finds were made during the reconstruction of the crypts of the Great Monastery of the Caves (Pechersky Monastery) in Kiev; in the 20th century, a series of examples came from excavations in Novgorod (early 13th century; fig. 14) and Tver (early 14th century).⁵² Today, a number of bronze stamps for embossing girdle icons are known. One of them comes from Grodek, Poland (fig. 15),⁵³ the other are in the Museum collection of the Kiev Orthodox Theological Academy and include both examples of leather girdles and a stamp with a depiction of the Feast of the Ascension for their manufacturing.⁵⁴ Over 100 known girdles and their fragments are included into a catalogue now prepared for publication by me and my colleague from Kiev Timur Bobrovskiy.⁵⁵

The belts of the type under consideration have been always regarded as a purely Russian invention unknown in the Byzantine world. Moreover, this type of girdle has close parallels in Russian medieval theological literature. Strangely enough, until today none of the scholars did pay any attention to this fact although the texts and the arte-

⁵² *GLORY OF BYZANTIUM*, 305–06, no. 208.

⁵³ MH/A/3057, 22 x 25 mm x 4 mm. *Cerkiew* 2001, VI, 106; fig. 24; no 1.58.

⁵⁴ PETROV 1913, tab. s7–8.

⁵⁵ BOBROVSKIY, VORONTSOVA 2003, 88–95.

facts in question are known since the mid-19th century. Indeed, it has proved that the present author was the first to suppose that comparison of the two groups of sources may be helpful in resolving the problem of changing and evolution of the monastic dress of the Eastern tradition.

In one of the homiletic works of Cyril of Turov (second half of the 12th century) describing different attributes of the monkish dress and their symbolic meaning, that author writes about a “girdle of Schema with feasts” symbolizing the co-crucifixion of a monk and his subordination to Christ: “Пояс же - крестыня смерти осужение, ею же Адама обожи, за нь же связан водим быст, по писанию: есть поясан правдою, и истиною обит в ребра своя; - и по сему образу скимный, с праздники, пояс, от Адама и до Арона, и обою закону Христомъ съвършен”.⁵⁶ This passage may baffle those scholars who know nothing about archaeological finds of such girdles, i.e. the examples with embossed images of feasts mentioned above. Gerhard Podskalsky was the first to suggest that Bishop Cyril was telling about special holiday belts worn by Russian medieval monks in days of Great Feasts of the Christian calendar.⁵⁷ Simon Franklin joined this opinion and translated the complicated Slavonic text as “The girdle of the monastic habit for feast days is in this image: and thus it is from Adam to Aaron, and to the fulfilment of both laws in Christ”.⁵⁸ Konstantin Akent’ev also agrees with that opinion and writes in his commentary for a Russian translation of Podskalsky that medieval archaeology knows nothing about such kind of monastic clothes (sic!) and “girdles of the monastic habit for feast days” are to be compared to special leather girdles worn by monks-deacons of the Studios Monastery in Constantinople. The latter girdles became a subject of



Fig. 11. Supposed prototype for pilgrim badge from Bari, Italy, lead, Novgorod, 1180s AD (Novgorod State Museum, Novgorod; photo: M. Petrov)



Fig. 12. Container for baptism ceremony, silver, Novgorod, 1260–1280 AD (Novgorod State Museum, Novgorod; photo: S. Toropov)

⁵⁶ CYRIL OF TUROV II [fol. 610r] (ed. Еремин, р. 359).

⁵⁷ PODSKALSKY 1996, 516–17.

⁵⁸ FRANKLIN 1991, 92.



Fig. 13. Monastic girdle, burial of princess Eudoxia, †1407, Moscow, Kremlin (Museum of Moscow Kremlin)



Fig. 14. Monastic girdles, burial of abbots, 1220–1240, St. George monastery, Novgorod (Archive of the Institute of the History of Material Culture, Saint-Petersburg)

acute discussions in the middle of the 11th century between the monks and the so-called “white” deacons of the Holy Great Church of Saint Sophia.⁵⁹

Thus, it is clear that the modern researchers of the Byzantine and Russian literature know nothing of the remarkable archaeological finds of girdles with icons representing Christian feasts. The unclear passage of Cyril of Turov is therefore interpreted wrongly as mentioning the common tradition of wearing mythic belts in the days of feasts. But then, still another document seems to be inexplicable for us *viz.* that on the Constantinopolitan monastic tradition of wearing special leather girdles with stamped representations of Christian feasts. That source goes back to the early 11th century and it has been published

⁵⁹ AKENT'EV 1996, 516–517; NICETAS STETHIATOS, *Εἰς τὴν ζώνην σπουδαίων διακόνων*, 1-5 (ed. Darrouzes 486–94).



Fig. 15. Matrix stamp for embossing monastic girdles, 12th–13th centuries, Grodek, district Hrubieszów, Poland (Photo: M. Wołoszyn)

at least twice in 1869⁶⁰ and in 2001.⁶¹ It is the famous *Typikon* (Ecclesiastical Statute) of Patriarch Alexis Studitos which he composed specially for a monastery founded by him. The original Greek text has not survived but its Slavonic translation made at the second half of the 12th century in Novgorod is housed today in the Manuscript Department of the State Historical Museum in Moscow (GIM, the so-called Synodal Collection, SIN.330).⁶² In folio 223 v., we find a special article on monastic clothes where among other interesting records it is written: “И пояс же по обычаю усняян буди по подражанию рожденных женами паче всех иже убо мнишеского жития яве древний образ бысть а великих скымник иконы воображены по обычаю да имеют а малоскымным да будет прост” that may be translated as: “And according to the tradition, leather girdles should be used in imitation of John the Baptist who demonstrated the ancient example of monastic life, and monks of the Great Schema should have [a girdle with] icons represented according to the tradition, and for those of the Small Schema [the girdle] should be simple [i.e. without icons]”. Here it is helpful to regard the aforementioned “represented icons” as iconographic representations of Christian feasts on girdles of the type known from archaeological excavations of Old Russian sites. At least, we have so far no other evidence to illustrate the monastic ritual under consideration.

⁶⁰ GORSKIY, NEVOSTRUEV 1869, 263–64.

⁶¹ ТИПИКОН [fol. 223v] (ed. Пентковский, p. 384).

⁶² SVODNYI KATALOG 138 (ed. Шмидт 159–61).

If the hypothesis proposed is correct, we have to explain why these circumstances have eluded *inter alia* the historiographical studies of Evgeniy Golubinskiy — one of the most prominent historians and archaeologists of the Russian Church. In the end of the 19th century, that scholar must have been well acquainted both with the examples of leather girdles with icons of feasts from archaeological excavations and with the passage on the habit of monks of the Great Schema with “represented icons” from the Novgorodian Studios *Typikon* of the 12th century.⁶³ Nevertheless, he interpreted the “icons represented” on girdles of Great Schema monks as “sewn or embroidered images of crosses” on their habits. Why did this gifted historian miss such an important historical discovery? Only one explication of this fact seems possible and this holds true for other scholars who have misunderstood the medieval text on monastic girdles. All of them were under influence of the contemporary customary monastic dress that bore representations of the Golgotha crosses and of Cherubs in the upper part of a special habit of the so-called “*velikoschimniks*” or monks of the Great Schema of the 19th–20th centuries. Studies of ecclesiastical books and of the evolution of monastic dress in the Russian tradition suggest that the ritual of taking monastic vows changed drastically after the important reforms of the 14th–15th centuries and again after those of the 17th century, especially for the monks of the Great Schema.⁶⁴ The latter part of the monkhood was withdrawn from the ordinary canon of monastic life which fact was specially stressed by the new appearance of their habit. Accordingly, the traditional elements of the monk’s dress, such as the leather girdles with representations of the Great Christian Feasts, went out of use in the 15th–16th centuries. Thus the prominent historians and philologists were misled by the unhistorical approach to predominant contemporary notions of monastic life and dress.

It is obvious now that Russian monastic belts with icons of the Twelve Feasts were of Greek origin expressing no Slavonic peculiarities. This fact leads us to reject the hypothesis about the appearance of the monastic tradition of wearing girdles with icons of the Great Feasts only in the end of the 14th century under the impact of the Byzantine Hesychasm.⁶⁵ Indeed, there are no real proofs of the influence of that monastic mystical movement upon the medieval Russian art, ideology and culture and, anyway, the tradition under consideration much earlier origins. On the other hand, contrary to the views of some scholars, the medieval Greek and Russian monastic “girdles with representations of feasts” and “girdles with icons” have nothing to do with the monastic festive habit nor with the liturgical belts of monks-deacons of the Studios Monastery in Constantinople. Our research has succeeded in demonstrating that the Russian monastic literary tradition preserved quite a number of Byzantine ecclesiastic written monuments lost over centuries in the Metropolis itself.

⁶³ GOLUBINSKIY 1997, 676.

⁶⁴ INNOKENTIIY 1899; PALMOV 1914.

⁶⁵ YAKOVLEVA 2005, 74–87.

Russian archaeological evidence can provide us with a series of material attributes of the monastic dress mentioned by Byzantine writers but as yet unknown in the Mediterranean.

The same materials can help us to trace the development of the ecclesiastic clothes of the Eastern tradition. Among archaeological leather items related with the monastic habit, in addition to belts, there are a number of other rectangular objects bearing identical stamped icons. The icons however are peculiarly arranged on these objects not horizontally, as on girdles, but vertically. On the basis of their positions in monks' graves and a characteristic system of ribbons (encircling the chest and shoulders like a shoulder strap or a body chain of the Late Classical period) these objects were identified as "*paramans/paramands*" of Russian monks. This identification does not run contrary to the contemporary tradition which knows the same type of monastic attributes but without depictions of feasts. The modern *paramands* are made of a special textile or leather with four straps fixed with a cross on one side and with a rectangular piece of textile with a representation of the Golgotha Cross on the other. It is of importance that the present-day Greek monastic tradition does not use a similar attribute. At least two finds of that type of monastic items are known at present: one from the Moscow Kremlin (1395) and another from excavations in Novgorod (1410–1430; figs. 16, 17).⁶⁶ These attributes of monastic habit seem to have been in use only for a short period — from the second half of the 14th century to the first half of the 15th century. Numerous other leather articles found during excavations of monastic burials are attributed to the same time span. These items evidently served to a similar purpose as those described above. They include two straps connected by a leathern cross — the *analabos* of the Eastern tradition.

Here it is proposed that the *paramans/paramands* of the 14th–15th centuries with representations of Christian feasts should be regarded as purely Russian innovation of that period reflecting the evolution and changes in the monastic life and rituals. The new type of Russian *paramands* was a traditional *analabos* that combined *in se* the customs of decoration of the monastic girdles by representations of Christian feasts and the ancient *paramans/paramands/scapulars*. The latter were reduced in the course of the evolution from a wide apron covering the chest and the back to a small rectangular piece of textile or leather. Thus the really functional element of the everyday clothes became a rudiment with symbolical meaning, the process having been attested only for the Russian monastic tradition. This hypothesis is confirmed by the evidence of Russian medieval prayer-books concerned with the ritual of taking of monastic vows. These sources include particularly a manuscript of the ancient scriptorium of the Cathedral of St Sophia in Novgorod (*NLR. Soph. 1056. f. 43*) kept now in the National Library of Russia (Saint Petersburg). There, we find a passage explaining the meaning of *analabos* and describing the very items that we know from archaeological excavations — a rectangular piece of leather with a representa-

⁶⁶ II-81-1p-VI-6-466; КИ 33560/A96-531; 65 cm x 31/34 cm; 95 mm x 31/34 mm.

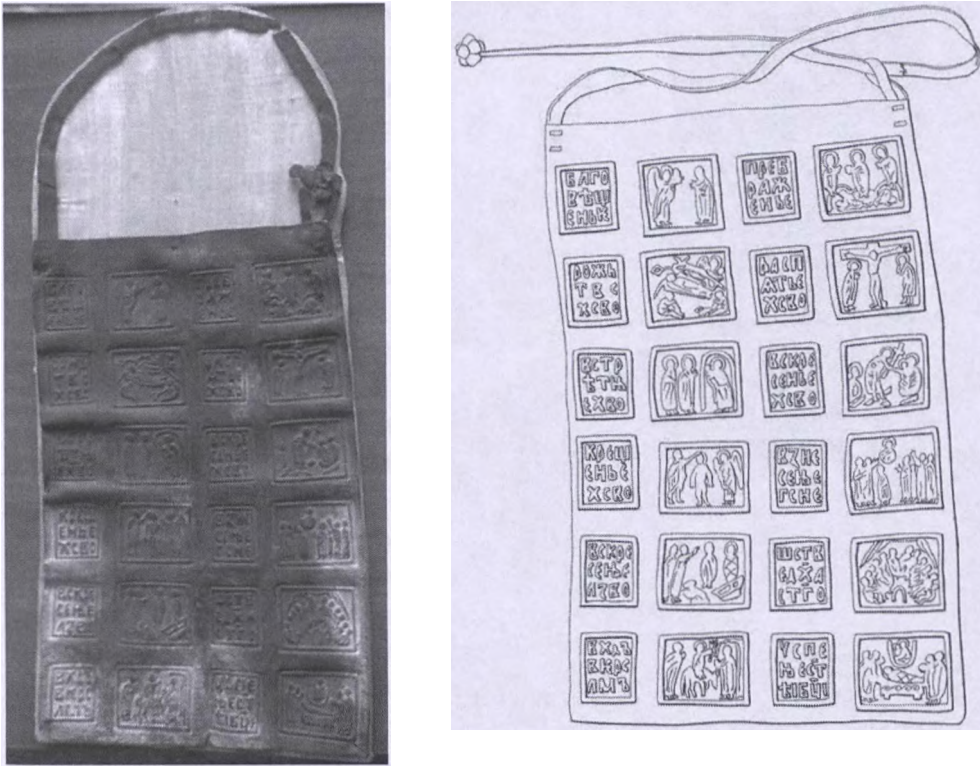


Fig. 16. Analabos, burial of princess Maria, †1395, Moscow, Kremlin; 1 – photo, 2 - drawing (after E. Jakovleva)

tion of the Great Christian feasts. We do not know similar examples in any earlier or later prayer-books. The particular attention paid in our book to the element under consideration and its detailed description are explainable by the fact that it was a novelty in the period when the text was written i.e. in the mid-14th century.

Russian evidence offer us the rare possibility not only to establish the stages of the development of monastic habit in the Eastern tradition but also to propose a more or less precise and reliable chronology of these changes. So far little research has been devoted to this subject and these are sometimes fairly contradictory to each other especially where the modern monastic customs are concerned.⁶⁷ J. Patrich refuses to identify the ἀνάλαβος with the *scapular* of the Latin tradition, suggesting to call the former by a new term “shoulder strap”, while the scapular is called apron by him. As a proof he refers to the miniatures from manuscripts of the 11th century from Constantinople where monks wear shoulder straps

⁶⁷ INNEMÉE 1992, 90–133; PATRICH 1995, 210–20.



Fig.17. Analabos, 1410–1430, Troickij excavation, Novgorod (Novgorod State Museum, Novgorod; photo: S. Toropov)

(*analabos*) with numerous knots and aprons (*scapulars*) beneath their mantles. Today, the monastic practice does not use such aprons but beginning with the 11th–12th centuries, *paramans/paramands* are mentioned implying clothes worn under a mantle. The Russian examples demonstrate the final evolution of *analabos*/shoulder straps and *paramans/paramands*/apron in the non-Greek milieu at the periphery of the Byzantine civilization. The result was the appearance of a single item combining shoulder straps with a derivative of scapular. In the Russian tradition that item received the name of *paramans/paramands* whereas its function and origins are rooted in the primary *analabos* or shoulder straps. In the Russian Orthodox Church, the technical term *analabos* describes today a special attribute of the Great Schema monk's habit suspended both front and back from the shoulders in the form identical to the ancient apron/scapular of the historical Byzantine and

modern Latin traditions but decorated with embroidered Golgotha crosses and images of Cherubs. In any case, the present-day Great Schema should not be confused with that of the 9th–14th centuries arisen before a deep reformation of monastic statutes, rituals, dress and everyday life.

K. C. Innemée paid special attention to the Oriental monastic tradition of the Medieval Near East, especially that of St Pachomius. After analysis of the vocabulary of the everyday monastic life, the scholar compared it with archaeological items found during excavations of Egyptian monasteries. There, no shoulder straps were attested. Indeed, the latter would have been more appropriated to the more Hellenistic tradition of St Anthony. The Pachomian tradition is characterised by an unusual triangular apron which may be confronted with the

term *derma*. It is probable that the apron (*thorakeion/thorakisterion*) of the Anthonian tradition described in written sources by the Latin term *Schema habitus* was referred to by Pachomian monks using the Greek word *analabos*. This fact aroused a historical confusion. The abovementioned author tries to attract, although without much success, the late medieval and Russian evidence for his own explication of the issue. In any case, the custom of wearing monastic aprons/scapulars/*paramans/paramands* has a long history stemming from the Near East and finishing in Eastern Europe. Thus, a retrospective analysis based on the Russian materials appears to be promising to clarify the history of monastic habit of the Eastern tradition.

Another aspect of the studies here presented is concerned with one of the most mysterious icons among the Russian holy representations, *viz.* the Novgorod version of the Holy Wisdom or Saint Sophia. The cult of Saint Sophia was attested in Old Rus' as early as the middle of the 11th century when three remarkable cathedrals dedicated to it were

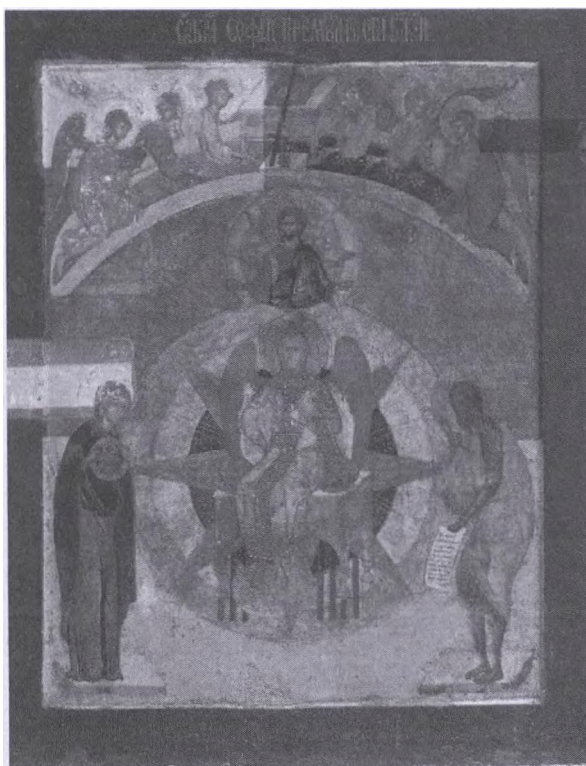


Fig. 18. Saint Sophia icon, Annunciation cathedral, Kremlin, Moscow, 1425–1450 AD (after LIFSHITS 1986)

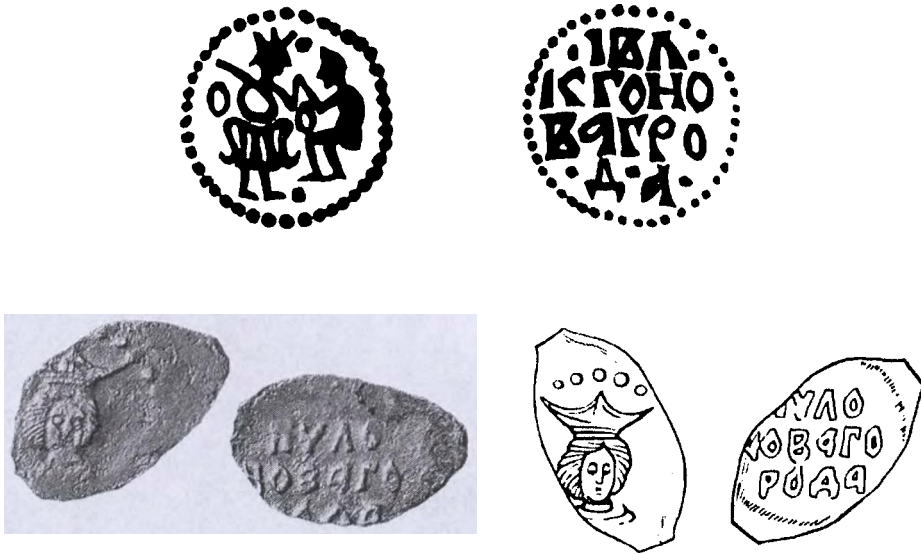


Fig. 19. Coins with the representation of Saint Sophia, 1420-1490, Novgorod; 1 – copper, 2 - silver (after GAYDUKOV 1992)

built in Kiev, Novgorod and Polotsk in imitation of the Church of the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. Today it is not always possible for us to realize adequately the importance of that medieval cult. Its spread was related with certain events of the turn between the 12th and 13th centuries and the person of Archbishop Anthony, – the famous Russian pilgrim to Constantinople of that period according to the Novgorod Chronicle.⁶⁸ The icon of Saint Sophia where the Holy Wisdom is represented as an enthroned Angel flanked by Mother of God and John the Baptist in the group of the Deësis with Christ in a circle above and an image of *Hetimasia* in the upper part of the composition is first attested in the period of 1425–1475 (fig. 18). The first strictly dated image appears on the frescoes of the Archbishop's Palace (Faceted Palace) in the Kremlin of Novgorod. The palace was built in 1433 and the frescoes seem to be synchronous with it. The early date of the extraordinary iconography is furthermore proved by Novgorodian coins with a representation regarded as Saint Sophia (fig. 19).⁶⁹ The beginning of their minting is dated to the 1420s. Thus, the iconography under consideration must have appeared long before the beginning of the 15th century.

Apart from its dating, there is another problem linked with the iconographical sources and origins of that icon. The hypothesis about its western origins proposed by Archpriest

⁶⁸ KHOROSHEV 1998, 5–25; GIPPIUS 2007, 20.

⁶⁹ GAYDUKOV 1993, 76–79; YANIN 2004, 64–69.

George Florovskiy and Metropolitan Anthony (Mel'nikov), as it seems, must be rejected as unhistorical.⁷⁰ Also the supposition that this iconography derives from the Balkan frescoes with an allegorical representation of the biblical scene of the so-called "Banquet of Wisdom" (cf. Proverbs, 9) or from images of Christ as the Angel of the Great Council occasionally influenced even by the Hesychasm,⁷¹ finds no proof in its historical context, painting materials and iconographical subjects. Meanwhile, similar representations of crowned and enthroned Angels in imperial dress with an image of the Holy Trinity above their heads are well known in frescoes of the 11th–14th centuries from Nubian excavation in Old Dongola and Faras carried out by the Polish expedition (fig. 20).⁷² This fact possibly

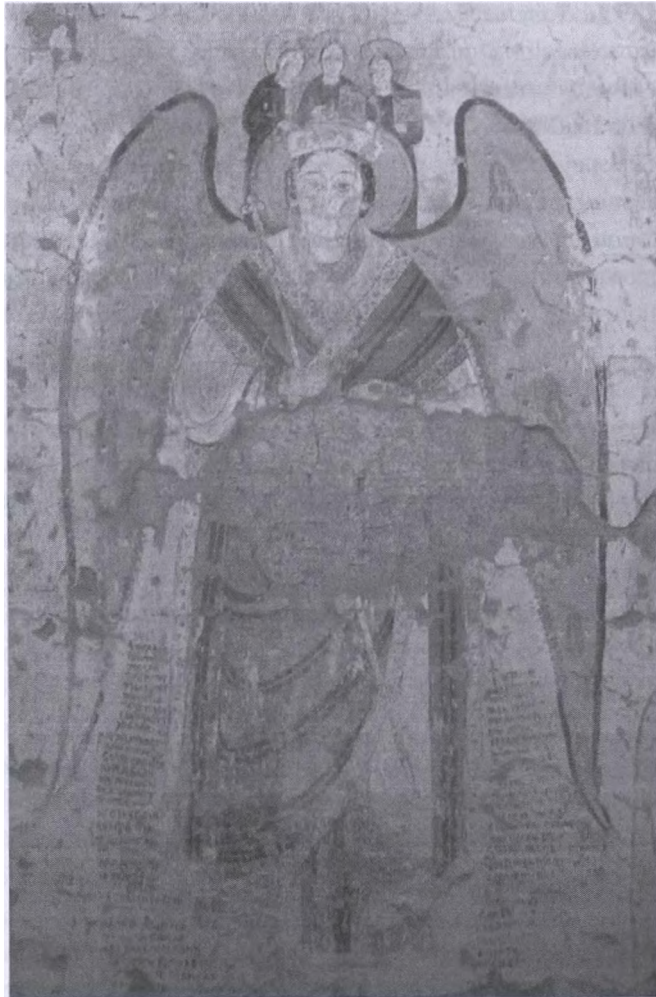


Fig. 20. Fresco with the representation of a crowned Angel in imperial dress, 12th–13th centuries, Old Dongola, Nubian (after MARTENS-CZARNECKA 2001)

suggests that the Novgorod version of the icons of Saint Sophia continues the ancient iconography of the period of the Macedonian and Komnenos dynasties of the 10th–12th centuries. That tradition would then have only been preserved at the periphery of the Byzantine World (Russia and Nubia) although transformed or completely forgotten in the centre of the civilization. The renaissance of ancient iconography in Novgorod of the 14th–15th century is possibly explained in terms of the local ecclesiology and administrative ecclesiastic reforms of that period.

⁷⁰ FLOROVSKIY 1932, 485–500; ANTONIY 1986, 67.

⁷¹ LIFSHTITS 1986, 138–50; GUKOVA 2003, 197–220; BRYUSOVA 2006.

⁷² MARTENS-CZARNECKA 2001, 252–84.

Conclusions

Excavations of Russian northern sites have yielded remarkably rich material evidence of the Byzantine culture of the 9th–15th centuries. Quantitatively, the assemblage of imports found in Russia constitutes only a tiny part of all the objects recovered from urban deposits. The spatial distribution of the imported items is characterized by their distinctive clustering around the estates of local elite and medieval clergy. The artefacts of Byzantine provenance found in Russia are outstanding in terms both of their rarity and their excellent quality, moreover providing us with a reliable chronology. They supplement essentially the information, often unique, preserved in Russian Christian art and literature. Similar examples have not survived in the Mediterranean, these Russian finds will allow us therefore to update and refine the chronology and the scheme of spatial distribution of such objects thus supplementing our wider knowledge about Byzantine civilization. Hence the studies of the Byzantine civilization through the archaeological excavations in Northern Russia, and based on the entire universe of the Medieval Russian culture, seem to be extremely promising. Certainly, the Byzantine archaeological materials from Northern Russia cannot be equally representative as those from the Eastern Mediterranean. Archaeological layers in Russia are able to yield us only some dispersed cultural elements which are unlikely to shed light onto the everyday life of Byzantine society. Nevertheless, these elements are often exceptionally informative providing us with essential and reliable evidence of the Byzantine civilization.

Of primary importance is the preservation in Old-Russian cultural evidence of those elements of the Byzantine civilization which have not survived for us in Mediterranean sources. The major methodological principles of the new studies demand further discussion so as to undertake in the future a systematic description of the “lost Byzantium”. Among the priorities must be an interdisciplinary approach to the issue under consideration based on a comparison of various types of information and categories of sources, particularly archaeological. Today the main task is unification and comparison of information on different kinds of imports, synchronization of their dating and mapping of their distribution in all the territories concerned. So far only some isolated studies of archaeological artefacts from different Byzantine regions have been conducted. Today’s urgent task is to unify the finds within a single comparative research project in order to reveal the entire impact of the Byzantine civilization on peripheral, particularly Russian, cultures.

The research project proposed here merits international recognition on a level with the study of the material culture of ‘proper’ Byzantine sites. The most important tasks include a comparative analysis of the Russian assemblage of Byzantine daily objects and small-size finds, and of those from the Eastern Mediterranean. Organization of an international expert group within the frame of a long-term research project seems to be a good idea for fulfilling that task.

Another important objective for future research would be an investigation of the adaptation, preservation and transformation of Byzantine cultural strata in 9th–15th century Old Rus'. There are firm grounds to believe that the Byzantine studies will become a more advanced science when we review the Byzantine civilization on the basis of information provided by archaeological investigations of the Russian medieval urban centres such as Novgorod, Staraya Russa, Staraya Ladoga and Pskov.⁷³

e-mail: aleksandr_musin@mail.ru

BIBLIOGRAPHY

SOURCES

CYRIL OF TUROV:

„Кюрила епископа Туровьскаго сказание о черноризьчьстѣмъ чину отъ вѣхъ закона и новаго: оно-го образъ носяща, а сего дѣлы съвершающа”, ed. И. П. Еремин (*Литературное наследие Кирилла Туровского*), [in:] *Труды отдела древнерусской литературы*, Ленинград 1956, vol. 12, p. 340–361.

NICETAS STETHATOS:

Nicéas Stéthatos, *Opuscules et lettres*, introd., texte critique, trad. et notes par J. Darrouzes (*Sources chrétiennes* 81), Paris 1961.

ТИПИКОН:

Алексей М. Пентковский, *Типикон патриарха Алексия Студита в Византии и на Руси*, Москва 2001.

POVEST:

Повесть временных лет, ed. М. Б. Свердлов, Санкт-Петербург 1996.

SUMMA:

Summa aurea de laudibus beatissimae virginis Mariae, ed. J. J. Bourassé, vol. 2. Paris 1862.

SVODNYI KATALOG:

Сводный каталог славяно-русских рукописных книг, хранящихся в СССР. XI–XIII вв., ed. С. О. Шмидт et al., Москва 1984.

SECONDARY LITERATURE

AFINOGENOV 2006:

Дмитрий Е. Афиногенов, “Новгородское переводное четье-мишейное собрание: происхождение, состав, греческий оригинал”, [in:] *Abhandlungen zu den Grossen Lesemenäen des Metropolitens Makarij. Kodikologische, miszellenologische und textologische Untersuchungen*. vol. 2 (= *Monumenta Linguae Slavicae dialecti veteris*, XLIX), ed. E. Maier and E. Weiher, Freiburg i. Br., 2006, p. 261–283.

⁷³ I wish to thank *Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, Centre d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance* and *Bibliothèque Byzantine du Collège de France* (Paris, France) for their support of my research project during my periodical stay in Paris in 2004–2007. I also express my gratitude to Prof. Claudia Sode (Köln University, Germany) who invited me to a special session of the 21st International Congress of Byzantine Studies (Plenary III: Infrastructures – New Byzantinists; London, 21–26 August, 2006) with papers taken as the basis of the present article. She also helped me to improve the main part of the current English text.

AFINOGENOV 2007:

Dmitriy E. Afinogenov, "Lost Byzantine Sources in the Old Russian Literature", [in:] *In Search of a Lost Byzantium. The Cultural Heritage of Old Russia as a Source for the synchronusstadial Reconstruction of the Byzantine Civilization*, ed. D. Afinogenov, A. Musin, Saint-Petersburg and Velikij Novgorod 2007, p. 16–18.

AINALOV 1932:

Demetrius Ainalov, *Geschichte des Russischen Monumentalkunst der Vormoskovitischen Zeit*, Berlin, Leipzig 1932.

AKENT'EV 1996:

Константин К. Акентьев, "Комментарии издателей", [in:] Г. Подскальски, *Христианство и богословская литература в Киевской Руси (988–1237) гг.*, Санкт-Петербург 1996, p. 507–522.

AMORIUM REPORTS II 2003: *Amorium Reports II: Research Papers and Technical Studies*, ed. Christopher S. Lightfoot [BAR International Series 1170], Oxford 2003.**ANDERSSON 1989:**

Lars Andersson, *Pilgrismärken och vallfart. Medeltida pilgrimskultur i Skandinavien*, (Lund studies in medieval archaeology, 7) Stockholm 1989.

ANTONIY 1986:

Антоний (Мельников), Митрополит, "Из истории новгородской иконографии" *Богословские труды*, 27 (1986), p. 61–80.

ARRIGHINI 1954:

Angelo Arrighini, *I Doni della Madonna*, Torino 1954.

BAKIRTZIS 1990:

Charalambos Bakirtzis, "Byzantine Ampullae from Thessaloniki", [in:] *The Blessings of Pilgrimage*, ed. R. Ousterhout, Chicago 1990, p. 140–149.

BOBROVSKIY, VORONTSOVA 2003:

Тимур А. Бобровський, Олена А. Воронцова "Середньовічні чернецькі шкіряні вироби з тисненими зображеннями (попереднє повідомлення)", [in:] *Культурна спадщина Кисва: Дослідження та охорона історичного середовища*, ed. Л. В. Прибега, Київ 2003, p. 88–95.

BRYUSOVA 2006:

Вера Г. Брюсова, *София Премудрость Божия в древнерусской литературе и искусстве*, Москва 2006.

BYZANTINE HOURS 2001:

Byzantine Hours: Works and Days in Byzantium: Athens – Thessaloniki – Mystras, ed. A. Dumas, Athens 2001.

CANART 1982:

Paul Canart, "Cinq manuscrits transférés directement du monastère de Stoudios à celui de Grottaferata?" [in:] *Bisanzio e l'Italia. Raccolta di studi in memoria di Agostino Pertusi*, (Scienze Filologiche e Letteratura 22) Milan 1982, p. 19–28.

CATALOGUE 1965:

Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Medieval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection, ed. M. C. Ross, vol. 2, Washington 1965.

CERKIEW 2001:

Cerkiew – Wielka Tajemnica. Sztuka cerkiewna od XI wieku do 1917 roku ze zbirow polskich. Katalog wystawy, ed. D. Stryniak, Gniezno 2001.

COMBY 2007:

Martin G. Comby, "Stave-built Vessels", [in:] *Wood Use in Medieval Novgorod*, ed. M. Brisbane, J. Hather, Oxford 2007.

CRADLE 2000:

Cradle of Christianity, ed. Y. Israeli, D. Mevorah, Jerusalem 2000.

DAVIES 1996:

Norman Davies, *Europe. A History*, Oxford 1996.

DIRIMTEKIN 1962:

Feridun Dirimtekin, "Les fouilles faites en 1946–1947 et en 1958–1960 entre Sainte-Sophie et Sainte-Irène à Istanbul", *Cahiers Archeologiques* 13 (1962), p. 161–185.

EVERYDAY LIFE IN BYZANTIUM 2002:

Everyday life in Byzantium. Byzantine Hours: Works and Days in Byzantium: Thessaloniki, White Tower, October 2001–January 2002, ed. D. Papanikola-Bakirtzi Athens, 2002.

FLOROVSKIY 1932:

Георгий В. Флоровский, "О почитании Софии Премудрости Божией в Византии и на Руси", [in:] *Труды V съезда русских академических организаций за границей*, Vol. 1., София 1932, p.485–500.

FRANKLIN 1991:

Simon Franklin, *Sermons and Rhetoric of Kievan Rus'*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1991.

FRANKLIN 2002:

Simon Franklin, *Writing, Society and Culture in Early Rus, c. 950–1300*, Cambridge, New York 2002.

GAIMSTER 2001:

David R. Gaimster, "Pelts, Pitch and Pottery: the Archeology of Hanseatic Trade in Medieval Novgorod", [in:] *Novgorod: the Archeology of a Russian Medieval City and its Hinterland. The British Museum Occasional Paper 141*, ed. M. Brisbane, D.Gaimster, London 2001, 67–78.

GAYDUKOV 1992:

Петр Г. Гайдуков, *Славенский конец средневекового Новгорода. Путный раскоп*, Москва 1992.

GAYDUKOV 1993:

Петр Г. Гайдуков, *Медные русские монеты конца XIV-XVI веков*, Москва 1993.

GILL 2002:

Margaret Anne V. Gill (with contributions by C.S. Lightfoot, E.A. Ivison, and M.T. Wypyski), *Amorium Reports, Finds I: The Glass (1987-1997)* [BAR International Series 1070], Oxford 2002.

GIPPIUS 2007:

Алексей А. Гиппиус, "Архиепископ Антоний и новгородский культу святой Софии", [in:] *In Search of a Lost Byzantium. The cultural Heritage of Old Russia as a Source for the synchronuss-tadial Reconstruction of the Byzantine Civilization*, ed. D.Afinogenov, A. Musin, Saint-Petersburg and Velikij Novgorod 2007, p. 20.

GLORY OF BYZANTIUM:

The Glory of Byzantium. Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era A.D. 843–1261, ed. H. C. Evans, W. D. Wixom, New York 1997.

GOLOFAST, RYZOV 2003:

Лариса А. Голофаст, Станислав Г. Рыжов, "Раскопки квартала в северной части Херсонеса", [in:] *Материалы по археологии, истории и этнографии Таврики*, vol. 10, Симферополь 2003, p. 182–260 .

GOLUBINSKIY 1997:

Евгений Е. Голубицкий, *История Русской Церкви*, vol. 1, pt. 2, Москва 1997.

GORSKIY, NEVOSTRUEV 1869:

Александр В. Горский, Капитон И. Невоструев, *Описание славянских рукописей Московской Синодальной библиотеки*. vol. 3, "Книги богослужебные", pt. 1. Москва 1869.

GOUGH 1985:

Michael Gough, *Alahan. An Early Christian Monastery in Southern Turkey*, Toronto 1985.

GROSSMÄCHTIGES NOWGOROD 2003:

Großmächtiges Nowgorod. Meisterwerke der Ikonenmalerei. Die Kirche auf dem Wolotowo-Feld, Frankfurt a. M. 2003.

GROZDILOV 1962:

Григорий П. Гроздилов, "Раскопки древнего Пскова (1954—1956 гг.)", *Археологический сборник Государственного Эрмитажа*. 4 (1962), p. 7—76.

GUKOVA 2003:

Сания П. Гукова, "София Премудрость Божия (к новгородскому изводу)", *Новгородский исторический сборник*. Санкт-Петербург 2003, vol. 9, p. 197—220.

GÜNSENIN 1993:

Nergis Günsenin, "Ganos, centre de production d'amphores à l'époque byzantine", *Anatolia antiqua* 2 (1993), p. 193—201.

HARRISON 1986:

Richard M. Harrison, *Excavation at Saraçhane in Istanbul*, vol. 1. "The Excavation, Structures, Architectural Decoration, Small Finds, Coins, Bones, and Molluscs", Princeton 1986.

INNEMÉE 1992:

Karel C. Innemée, *Ecclesiastical Dress in the Medieval Near East*, (Studies in textile and costume history 1) Leiden-New York-Köln 1992.

INNOKENTIY 1899:

Инокентий (Беляев), *Пострижение в монашество. Опыт историко-литургического исследования обрядов и чинопоследований пострижения в монашество в греческих и русских церквах до XVII века включительно*, Вильно 1899.

JOHNS 1997:

Cedric Norman Johns, *Pilgrim's Castle (Atlit), David's Tower (Jerusalem) and Qalat ar-Rabad (Ajlun): Three Middle Eastern Castles from the Time of the Crusades*, Aldershot 1997.

IN SEARCH OF A LOST BYZANTIUM 2007:

In Search of a Lost Byzantium. The cultural Heritage of Old Russia as a Source for the synchronustadial Reconstruction of the Byzantine Civilization, ed. D. Afinogenov, A. Musin, Saint-Petersburg and Velikij Novgorod 2007.

KALAVREZOU-MAXEINER 1985:

Ioli Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, *Byzantine Icons in Steatite*, (Byzantina Vindobonensia, 15/2.) vol. 2, Vienna 1985.

KEENAN 2005:

Edward L. Keenan, "The Trading Town on the Volkhov", [in:] *Sacred Arts and City Life. The Glory of Medieval Novgorod*, ed. Y. Petrova, C. Griffith Mann, Saint-Petersburg 2005, p. 15—23.

KHOROSHEV 1998:

Александр С. Хорошев, "Новгородская святая София и псковская святая Троица по летописным данным: Из истории местных патрональных культов" *Medievalia Ukrainika: Ментальность та історія ідей* 5 (1998), p. 5—15.

KOLCHIN 1989:

Boris A. Kolchin, *Wooden Artefacts from Medieval Novgorod* (BAR International Series, 495), Oxford 1989.

KOLCHIN, KHOROSHEV, YANIN 1981:

Борис А. Колчин, Александр С. Хорошев, Валентин Л. Янин, *Усадьба новгородского художника XII века*, Москва 1981.

KORAĆ 2001/2002:

Војислав Кораћ, *Истраживање остатака храма Св. Пантелејмона у Нишу, Зборник радова Византолошког института* 39 (2001/2002), p. 103—145.

KORZUKHINA, PESKOVA 2003:

Гали Ф Корзухина, Анна А. Пескова, *Древнерусские энколпионы. Нагрудные кресты-реликварии X—XIII вв.*, Санкт-Петербург 2003.

KOVAL 2000:

Владимир Ю. Коваль, "Византийская поливная керамика из раскопок в Новгороде", [in:] *Новгород и Новгородская земля. История и археология 14, Великий Новгород 2000*, p. 127–138.

KOVAL 2005:

Владимир Ю. Коваль, "Восточные связи рязанской земли по материалам импортной керамики", [in:] *Великое княжество Рязанское. Историко-археологические исследования и материалы*, ed. А. В. Чернецов, Москва 2005, p. 480–532.

KOVAL 2006:

Vladimir Y. Koval, "Eastern Pottery from the Excavations at Novgorod", [in:] *The Pottery from Medieval Novgorod and its Region*, ed. C. Orton, New York 2006, p. 161–192.

LASAREV 1967:

Viktor Lasarev, *Die russische Ikone. Von den Anfängen bis zum Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Zurich, Dusseldorf 1967.

LASKARIS 2000:

Nikolaos G. Laskaris, *Monuments funéraires paleochrétiens (et byzantins) de Grèce*, Athènes 2000.

LIFSHITS 1986:

Лев И. Лифшиц, "Премудрость в русской иконописи", *Византийский Временник* 61 (2002), p. 138–150.

LIGHTFOOT 2005:

Christopher C. Lightfoot, "Glass Finds at Amorium", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 59 (2005), p. 173–181.

LIGHTFOOT 2003:

Mücahede Lightfoot, "Belt Buckles from Amorium and in the Afyon Archaeological Museum", [in:] *Amorium Reports II* 2003, p. 81–103.

MAJESKA 1984:

George P. Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the fourteenth and fifteenth Centuries*, Washington D.C. 1984.

MAJESKA 2002:

George P. Majeska, "Russian Pilgrims in Constantinople", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 56 (2002), p. 93–108.

MANGO 2003:

Marlia Mundell Mango, "The Centre in and beyond the Periphery: material Culture in the Early Byzantine Empire", [in:] *Byzantina-Metabyzantina. La périphérie dans le temps et l'espace*, Paris 2003, p. 119–127.

MARIA NEL CULTO CATTOLICO:

Maria nel culto cattolico, ed. P. Gabriele, M. Rochini, Torino 1943, vol. 2. "Il culto di Maria nelle diozioni particolari, nei sodalizi e nei congressi Mariani".

MARTENS-CZARNECKA 2001:

Malgorzata Martens-Czarnecka, "Wall Paintings discovered in Old Dongola", [in:] *Dongola-Studien 35 Jahre polnischer Forschungen im Zentrum des makuritischen Reiches*, ed. S. Jakobielski, P. O. Scholz, Warszawa 2001, p. 25–258.

MOTHER OF GOD 2000:

Mother of God: Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art, ed. M. Vassilaki, Athens 2000.

MIKHAYLOV 2005:

Кирилл А. Михайлов, "Новая находка византийской пряжки на Рюриковом Городище", [in:] *Новгород и Новгородская земля. История и археология 19, Великий Новгород 2005*, p. 209–218.

MUSIN 1999:

Александр Е. Мусин, "Археология древнерусского паломничества в Святую Землю в XII–XV вв.", [in:] *Богословские труды. К 150-летию Русской Духовной миссии в Иерусалиме (1847–1997)*, Москва 1999, p. 92–110.

MUSIN 2003:

Александр Е. Мусин, “Социальные аспекты истории древнерусской Церкви по данным новгородских берестяных грамот”, [in:] *Берестяные грамоты: 50 лет открытия и изучения. Материалы международной конференции. Великий Новгород, 24–27 сентября 2001 г.* ed. В. Л. Янин. Москва 2003, p. 102–124.

MUSIN 2004:

Александр Е. Мусин, “Усадьба «И» Неревского раскопа. Опыт комплексной характеристики христианских древностей”, [in:] *Новгородские археологические чтения – 2. Материалы научной конференции, посвященной 70-летию археологического изучения Новгорода и 100-летию со дня рождения основателя Новгородской археологической экспедиции А. В. Арциховского, г. Великий Новгород, 21–24 сентября 2002 г.*, ed. В. Л. Янин, Великий Новгород 2004, p. 137–151.

MUSIN 2006a:

Alexander E. Musin, “Change in Faith or Shift in Culture? Christianity and Christianization in the Archaeology of Europe”, [in:] *12th Annual Meeting of the European Association of Archaeologists. Cracow, Poland, 19–24 September 2006. Abstracts*, ed. H. Dobrzanska, Cracow 2006, p. 251–252.

MUSIN 2006b:

Александр Е. Мусин, “Археология «личного благочестия» в христианской традиции Востока и Запада”, [in:] *Христианская иконография Востока и Запада в памятниках материальной культуры Древней Руси и Византии. Памяти Татьяны Чуковой*, ed. А. Е. Мусин., Санкт-Петербург 2006, p. 163–222.

MUSIN 2006c:

Александр Е. Мусин, “К интерпретации граффито с изображением корабля на кирпиче из церкви Успения на Волотовом поле 1352 г.”, *Новгород и Новгородская земля. История и археология* 20 (2006), p. 296–306.

OIKONOMODES 1990:

Nicolas Oikonomides, “The Contents of the Byzantine House from the Eleventh to the Fifteenth Century”, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 44 (1990), p. 205–214.

ONASCH 1969:

Konrad Onasch, *Gross Novgorod und das Reich der Heiligen Sophia. Kirchen und Kulturgeschichte einer alten Russischen Stadt und ihres Hinterlandes*, Leipzig, 1969.

PALMOV 1914:

Иван П. Пальмов, *Пострижение в монашество. Чины пострижения в монашество в Греческой Церкви: историко-археологическое исследование*, Киев 1914.

PATRICH 1995:

Joseph Patrich, *Sabas, Leader of Palestinian Monasticism: a comparative Study in Eastern Monasticism, fourth to seventh Centuries*, (Dumbarton Oaks Studies 32) Washington D.C. 1995.

PETROV 1913:

Николай И. Петров, *Альбом достопримечательностей церковно-археологического музея при Императорской киевской духовной академии. Выпуск III. Южнорусские иконы*, Киев 1913.

PITARAKIS 2006:

Brigitte Pitarakis, *Les crois-reliquaires pectorales byzantines en bronze*, (Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologiques 16) Paris 2006.

ПЛОХОВ 2007:

Алексей В. Плохов, “Средневековая стеклянная посуда Новгородского (Рюрикова) городища”, [in:] *У истоков русской государственности. К 30-летию археологического изучения Новгородского Рюрикова Городища и Новгородской областной археологической экспедиции. Историко-археологический сборник. Материалы международной конференции. 4–7 октября 2005 г., Великий Новгород, Россия*, ed. Е. П. Посов, А. Е. Мусин, Санкт-Петербург 2007, p. 166–175.

PODSKALSKY 1996:

Герхард Подскальский, *Христианство и богословская литература в Киевской Руси (988–1237 гг.)*, Санкт-Петербург 1996. (See also the original text and the Polish translation: *Christentum und theologische Literatur in der Kiever Rus' (988–1237)*, München, 1982; *Chrześcijaństwo i literatura teologiczna na Rusi Kijowskiej (988–1237)*, przekład Juliusz Zychowicz. Kraków, 2000).

RAUTMAN 2006:

Marcus Rautman, *Daily Life in the Byzantine Empire*, Westport-London 2006.

RYBINA 1992:

Elena A. Rybina, "Trade Links of Novgorod established through archeological Data", [in:] *The Archaeology of Novgorod, Russia: Recent Results from the Town and its Hinterland*, ed. M. A. Brisbane (The Society for Medieval Archaeology. Monograph series 13), Lincoln 1992.

SALDERN 1980:

Axel von Saldern, *Ancient and Byzantine Glass from Sardis*, Cambridge-London 1980.

SAN NICOLA 2006:

San Nicola. Splendori d'arte d'Oriente e d'Occidente. Bari, Castelo Svevo. 7 dicembre 2006–6 maggio 2007, ed. M. Bacci. Milano 2006.

SANDERS 2004:

Guy D. R. Sanders, "Problems in Interpreting Rural and Urban Settlement in Southern Greece AD 365-700", [in:] *Landscape of Change. Rural Evolutions in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. N. Christie, Aldershot, 2004, p. 163–194.

SEDOVA 1981:

Мария В. Седова, *Ювелирные изделия Древнего Новгорода (X–XV вв.)*, Москва 1981.

SECULAR BUILDINGS 2004:

Secular Buildings and the Archeology of Everyday Life in the Byzantine Empire, ed. Kenneth R. Dark, Oxford 2004.

SHCHAPOVA 1998:

Юлия Л. Шапова, *Византийское стекло. Очерки истории*, Москва 1998.

SMIRNOVA 2005:

Lyubov I. Smirnova, *Comb-making in Medieval Novgorod (950–1450): An Industry in Transition*, Oxford 2005.

SMIRNOVA 2007:

Lyubov I. Smirnova, "Wooden Combs in the Light of the History of Comb-making Novgorod", [in:] *Wood use in Medieval Novgorod*, ed. M. Brisbane, J. Hather. Oxford 2007, p. 298–234.

SODINI 1993:

Jean-Pierre Sodini, "La contribution de l'archéologie à la connaissance du monde byzantin (IV^e–VII^e siècles)", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 47 (1993), p. 139–184.

TARABARDINA 2001a:

Olga A. Tarabardina, "Dendrochronology in Novgorod: its History and current Programme of Research", [in:] *Novgorod: The Archaeology of a Russian Medieval City and its Hinterland*, eds. M. Brisbane and D. Gaimster, (British Museum occasional Paper 141) London 2001. p. 47–50.

TARABARDINA 2001b:

Olga A. Tarabardina, „Geschichtsdaten auf der Straße aufgelesen. Dendrochronologische Forschungen in Novgorod“, [in:], *Novgorod. Das mittelalterliche Zentrum und sein Umland im Norden Rußlands. Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte und Archäologie der Ostseegebiete*, eds. M. Müller-Wille, V. Janin, E. Nosov and E. Rybina, Bd. 1. Neumunster, 2001, p. 99–108.

THOMPSON 1967:

Michael W. Thompson, *Novgorod the Great: Excavations at the Medieval City Directed by A. V. Artikhovskiy and B. A. Kolchin*, New York 1967.

TOTEV 1990:

Konstantin Totev, "Icones et croix de steatite de Tarnovo", *Cahiers archeologiques* 40 (1992) p. 123–138.

TZAFERIS 1975:

Vasilios Tzaferis, "The archaeological Excavation at Shepherd's Field", *Liber annuus* 25 (1975), p. 5–52.

VOLKOV 1996:

Игорь Волков, „Амфоры Новгород Великого и некоторые заметки о византийско-русской торговле вином”, [in:] *Новгород и Новгородская земля. История и археология 10*, Новгород 1996, p. 90–103.

VOLKOV 2005:

Игорь Волков, „Амфоры Новгорода: хронология и распределение в слое”, [in:] *Новгород и Новгородская земля. История и археология 19*, Великий Новгород 2005, p. 145–163.

VOLKOV 2006:

Игорь М. Volkov, "Amphorae from Novgorod the Great and Comments on the Wine Trade between Byzantium and Medieval Russia", [in:] *The Pottery from Medieval Novgorod and its Region*, ed. C. Orton, New York, 2006, p. 145–160.

WENTKOWSKA VERZI 2000:

Anna Wentkowska Verzi, „Alcune insegne di pellegrinagio dall'area grossetana”, [in:] *Archeologia medievale* 27 (2000), p. 423–432.

YANIN 1985:

Valentin Yanin, "Medieval Novgorod: Fifty Years' Experience of Digging up the Past", [in:] *The comparative History of Urban Origins in Non-Roman Europe*, (BAR International Series) Oxford 1985, p. 647–667.

YANIN 2004:

Валентин Л. Янин, „Новгород и Венеция (об изображении на новгородских монетах)”, [in:] *Восточная Европа в Средневековье. К 80-летию Валентина Васильевича Седова*, Москва 2004, p. 64–69.

YASHAEVA 2005:

Татьяна Ю. Яшаева, „Ампула св. Мины и карта Херсонесских пилигримов”, [in:] *Культ святых мест в древних и современных религиях. Сборник научных трудов, Sacrum et Profanum*, ed. П. А. Алексеенко, Севастополь 2005, p. 201–206.

YKOVLEVA 2005:

Анна И. Яковлева, „Византийский Додекаортон и русские праздничные чины Рублевской эпохи”, *Искусство христианского мира* 9 (2005), p. 74–87.

ZALESSKAYA 2005:

Вера Н. Залесская, „Византийские стеатитовые образки и кресты эпохи Крестовых походов в собрании Государственного Эрмитажа”, *Искусство христианского мира* 9 (2005), p. 29–35.

ZHARNOV, ZHARNOVA 1999:

Юрий Э. Жарнов, Валентина И. Жарнова, „Произведения прикладного искусства из раскопок во Владимире”, [in:] *Древнерусское искусство. Византия и Древняя Русь*, Санкт-Петербург 1999, p. 451–462.