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ALEKSANDR MUSIN

THE BYZANTINE MATERIALITY IN/OF EASTERN EUROPE:
ARCHAEOLOGICAL APPROACH

The Byzantine materiality, how it can be defined and did it exist beyond Byzantium? Evidently it can not be regarded as a simple continuity of Byzantine material culture abroad. However, it does not mean that in the modern “search of lost Byzantium” at the periphery of the *Oikouménē* researchers have no chances to find any traces of material elements of Byzantine civilization. In this “peripheral search” they could happen on texts and artifacts of Byzantine origin which did not preserve in the cultural space of the Empire¹. In recent years in various branches of Humanities a spectacular phenomenon was attested: medieval Eastern Europe of the 9th–15th centuries kept the synchronous cultural product of Byzantium under different material forms in amazing completeness².

1. See the volume, *In search of a lost Byzantium. The cultural heritage of old Russia as a source for the synchronous-stadial reconstruction of the Byzantine civilization, Proceedings of the conference, Velikiy Novgorod, 26–28. 07. 2007*, eds. A. MUSIN – D. AFINOGENOV – E. TOROPOVA, Saint Petersburg – Veliky Novgorod 2007. Cf. to the approach in: *Wanted: Byzantium. The Desire for a Lost Empire*, eds. I. NILSON – P. STEPHENSON [SBU 15], Uppsala 2014.

2. A. PENTROVSKY, *Tipikon patriarkha Aleksiya Studita v Vizantii i na Rusi*, Moscow 2001; Cf. D. AFINOGENOV, Novgorodskoe perevodnoe chet'e-mineynoe sobranie: proiskhozhdenie, sostav, grecheckiy original, in: *Abhandlungen zu den Grossen Lesemenäen des Metropoliten Makarij, Kodikologische, miszellenologische und textologische Untersuchungen*, vol. II, eds. E. MAIER – E. WEIHER [Monumenta Linguae Slavicae dialecti veteris 49], Freiburg im Breisgau 2006, 261-283 (cf. P. CANART, Cinq manuscrits transférés directement du monastère de Stoudios à celui de Grottaferrata?, in: *Bisanzio e l'Italia. Raccolta di studi in memoria di Agostino Pertusi*, ed. S. BERNARDINELLO, Milan 1982, 22-28).

In fact, the Byzantine materiality in Eastern Europe can be defined as direct or indirect materialisation of the Mediterranean culture during the process of its reception and rethinking.

At its first stage this materialization proceeded in the framework of the Christianization of Eastern Europe and its contacts to the Mediterranean world. It should be stressed that the most characteristic feature of the Eastern European Christianization consisted of the absent of special Christian missions in the area³. The Christian ideas and Byzantine culture penetrated there through different representatives of local communities (merchants, mercenaries, diplomats, prisoners etc.) during the cultural exchange with Mediterranean areas. Finally, the conscious and unconscious borrowing elements from the Byzantine culture led to a serious cultural and religious shift⁴. In the eyes of local population Byzantium was perceived as a great “values-producing organism” of high sacred status. That poses the center of research from the study of cultural transfers to the analysis of the character of reception.

Several years ago Francis Thompson compared the *corpus* of the Slavonic translations of the Byzantine literature in medieval Rus' to a library of a large Byzantine provincial monastery. He regarded this situation as a result of process headed by low-educated Byzantine clergy send in “business trip” to the most northern metropolis of Constantinople⁵. The criticism of this vision in the Russian academic community reflected mostly hurt national feelings than fact-based analysis⁶. Only Viktor Zhivov

3. For the discussion, see M. SALAMON, Byzantine Missionary Policy. Did It Exist?, in: *Rome, Constantinople and Newly – Converted Europe: Archaeological and Historical Evidence*, eds. M. SALAMON et al., [Frühzeit Ostmitteleuropas 1/1], vols. I-II, Kraków 2012, I, 43-54.

4. A. MUSIN, Byzantine reliquary-crosses in the formation of medieval Christian culture in Europe, in: *Rome, Constantinople*, II, 61-94.

5. F. THOMSON, The Nature of the Reception of Christian Byzantine Culture in Russia in the Tenth to Thirteenth Centuries and its Implications for Russian Culture, *Slavica Gandensia* 5 (1978), 107-139; F. THOMSON, “Made in Russia”: A Survey of Translations Allegedly Made in Kievan Russia, in: *Millennium Russiae Christianae*, ed. G. BIRKFELLNER, Köln – Weimar – Wien 1993, 299-354.

6. See e.g., A. ALEKSEEV, Koe-cto o perevodakh v drevney Rusi, *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoy literatury* 49 (1996), 278-297; A. PICHKHADZE, *Perevodcheskaya deyatel'nost' v domongol'skoy Rusi: lingvisticheskiy aspekt*, Moscow 2011.

tried to explain the reception as a process of choice of different elements of Byzantine culture and their transformation into a new system and compared it to a “quotation”, not “translation” of foreign culture⁷. This productive approach is challenged today by a set of modern “academic superstitions”. First of all, the reception of Byzantine culture in Eastern Europe is regarded in retrospective way as a part of history of Russian Empire or –in the contrary– that of Eastern Europe which was artificially included in “Byzantine Commonwealth”⁸. This approach nearly denies regional features of the reception as well as differences between Byzantium, Byzantinization and reception of Byzantium.

A new challenge concerns the expansion of the “Grand European Viking myth”⁹ in the Mediterranean realm where the multilevel and multiform relationship between Eastern Europe and Empire are reduced to the Viking-Byzantine contacts¹⁰. The important role of the Scandinavians in the transfer of Byzantine values to Eastern Europe as “middle ground” did not exclude special interests of Eastern European societies, *Sclaviniae* and later urban communities. It is also noteworthy that Eastern Europe often received Byzantium through the intermediate of Slavonic cultures (Great Moravia and Bulgaria) and later via Islamic and Crusader worlds. Additionally, for many years, studies focused almost exclusively on objects

7. V. ZHIVOV, Osobennosti retseptsii vizantiyskoy kultury v drevney Rusi, in: V. ZHIVOV, *Razyskaniya v oblasti istorii i predistorii russkoy kultury*, Moscow 2002, 73-115.

8. D. BOLENSKY, *The Byzantine Commonwealth: Eastern Europe, 500–1453*, London 1971. See critical remarks in: S. IVANOV, Byzantium and the Slavs, in: *Byzantine Culture: Papers from the Conference “Byzantine Days of Istanbul”*, ed. D. SAKEL, Ankara 2014, 207-215.

9. On this myth existed in different forms in England, France, Scandinavian countries, Poland, not to speak of German Nazi propaganda and Russian “antinormanism”. See A. MUSIN, «Stoletnyaya voyna» rossiyskoy arkheologii, in: *Ex Ungue Leonem* [Festschrift Leo Klejn], ed. L. VISHNYATSKY, Saint Petersburg 2017, 223-244.

10. F. ANDROSHCHUK, Symbols of Faith or Symbols of Status? Christian Objects in Tenth-Century Rus, in: *Early Christianity on the way from the Varangians to the Greeks*, eds. I. GARIPZANOV – O. TOLOCHKO [Ruthenica, Supplementum 4], Kiev 2011, 70-89; F. ANDROSHCHUK, What does material evidence tell us about contacts between Byzantium and the Viking world c. 800-1000?, in: *Byzantium and the Viking world*, eds. F. ANDROSHCHUK – J. SHEPARD – M. WHITE [SBU 16], Uppsala 2016, 91-116, with serious mistakes on the attribution of Byzantine artifacts.

of luxury, sacral architecture and icon-painting, and the role of trade and commerce in the penetration of Byzantine artifacts to non-Byzantine territory was exaggerated¹¹.

It must be taken into consideration that the Byzantine culture was not homogeneous. It is possible to identify at least two level of culture and respectively two levels of reception: official, mostly reflected in aristocratic life and public worship, and popular, leaved its traces in everyday life of general population and its private devotional practices¹². It has been already noted that studies in Byzantine archaeology is far from being satisfying¹³. The material evidences play a fairly modest role in the historical reconstruction, and the lacking of a reliable regional chronology of pottery and minor objects from the Mediterranean¹⁴ as well as lack of new catalogues of excavation's results from the Byzantine territory and Eastern Europe makes difficult comparative studies. The scholars usually have problems with access to publications of each other. It should be also stressed the regional character of studies in Byzantine materiality in Bohemia, Poland, Belarus, Ukraine and Russia which hardly ever comprise inter-regional comparison and usually present an intermediate contribution of poorly analysed materials¹⁵.

11. Cf. *1000 rokov vizantiyskoy torgivli, 5-14 stolittya*, ed. M. GLADKIKH [Biblioteca Vita Antiqua 1], Kiev 2012.

12. See similar observations in: J. SHEPARD, Rome, Constantinople and Newly-Converted Europe: Archaeological and Historical Evidence. Some Introductory Remarks, in: *Rome, Constantinople*, I, 23-29.

13. Cf. J.-P. SODINI, La contribution de l'archéologie à la connaissance du monde byzantin (IVème-VIIème siècles), *DOP* 47 (1993), 139-184; J. KOSTENEC, The Heart of the Empire: the Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors Reconsidered, in: *Secular Buildings and the Archeology of Everyday Life in the Byzantine Empire*, ed. K. DARK, Oxford 2004, 18-20; M. WOŁOSZYN, Byzantine Archaeology – selected problems, *Analecta Archaeologica Ressovensia* 1 (2006), 259-291.

14. G. 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, 163-193.

15. See for example: M. WOŁOSZYN, Byzantinische Fundstücke aus Polen – ausgewählte Probleme, *Byzantina et Slavica Cracovensia* 3 (2001), 49-59; M. RODINA, *Mezhdunarodnye svyazi Severo-Vostochnoy Rusi v 10–15 vekakh*, Vladimir 2004; V. KOVALENKO, The finds of Byzantine Ceramics in Chernihiv and Environs, in: *Kiev –*

Last, but not least, scholars are often inspired by “geographical determinism” perfectly expressed by Edward Keenan in his usual provocative manner: “Novgorod had a Western orientation (an inescapable oxymoron!), whereas Kiev and the Middle and Lower Dnieper cities looked to the Black Sea and the Mediterranean”¹⁶, while in fact medieval settlements in Northern Russia play today the role of main “Byzantine-producing” archaeological organisms¹⁷. Another one “map in mind” dominated over researchers is the *Rus’ Primary Chronicle* concentrated on the “route from the Varangians to the Greeks”¹⁸. The trade along this way mostly organises modern knowledge on the presence of Byzantine materiality in Eastern Europe.

However, there were other ways and cultural mechanisms of its penetration in this realm. For example, the grave goods of long barrows of the forest zone in the Land of Pskov and the east of the Land of Novgorod, dated to 6th–7th centuries¹⁹, contain ribbed and smooth hollow B-shaped, D-shaped and round bronze belt buckles related to Danubian

Cherson – Constantinople. Ukrainians Papers at the XXth International Congress of Byzantine Studies (Paris, 19–25 August 2001), eds. A. AIBABIN – H. IVAKIN, Kiev 2007, 243–255; K. LAVYSH, *Khudozestennyie traditsii vostocnoy i vizantiyskoy kultury v iskusstve srednevekovykh gorodov Belarusi, 10–14 vek*, Minsk 2008; P. BALCÁREK, *České země a Byzanc. Problematika byzantského uměleckého vlivu*, Olomouc 2009; O. GOLOVKO – YU. NIKOLCHENKO, *Vizantiysky komponent u kulturi naseleण्या Pogorinnya 11–13 stolit za materialami litopisnyckh mist Dorogobuzha i Peresopnitsi*, *Visnik Mariupolskogo universitetu, seriya: filosofiya* 3 (2012), 40–46.

16. E.L. KEENAN, *The Trading Town on the Volkhov*, in: *Sacred arts and City Life: The Glory of medieval Novgorod*, ed. G. VIKAN, Baltimore (Mass.) 2006, 19.

17. A. MUSIN, *The archaeology of northern Russia’s urban sites as a source for the study of Middle and Late Byzantine culture*, *BSI* 67/1-2 (2009), 41–49; IDEM, *Russian Medieval Culture as an “Area of Preservation” of the Byzantine Civilization*, in: *Towards Rewriting? New Approaches to Byzantine Archaeology and Art*, eds. P.L. GROTOWSKI – S. SKRZYNIARZ, Warszawa 2010, 11–46.

18. *The Russian Primary Chronicle*, eds. – trans. S.H. CROSS – O.P. SHERBOWITZ-WETZOR [Medieval Academy of America 60], Cambridge (Mass.) 1953, 53.

19. E.N. NOSOV, *Ein Herrschaftsgebiet entsteht. Die Vorgeschichte der nördlichen Rus’ und Novgorod*, in: *Novgorod. Das mittelalterliche Zentrum und sein Umland im Norden Russlands*, eds. M. MÜLLER-WILLE et al. [Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte und Archäologie der Ostseegebiete 1], Neumünster 2001, 19–22, 26–27.

region²⁰. These dress accessories could come from the West via the region of Estonia where stone-setting cemeteries of *Tarandgräberkultur* present a considerable number of these items²¹. Blue speckled beads may have also penetrated from Danubian realm to the forest zone in the 6th century in the same way²². However there are no evidences that these items imported around 550–700 AD had any influences on local material culture. Later in the 7th–9th centuries belts settings appeared here via Volga trade road²³, reflecting the issue of the Black Sea variant of Byzantine material culture (fig. 1).

Since the mid-9th century due to the formation of ethno-social groups of Rus'/Rhôs as a result of acculturation of the Scandinavians in the Slavonic and Finno-Ugrian ethno-cultural milieu and their raids to the coastline of the Black and Mediterranean Seas, regular contacts of Eastern Europe to the Byzantine cultural realm were established. The first steps of the Byzantine interest towards local communities with their Scandinavian background as a military resource are presented by Byzantine lead seals²⁴

20. A. MUSIN, North-Western Russia in the 1st Millennium AD: New challenges for a traditional archaeological panorama, in: *Quo vadis, Frühgeschichtliche Archäologie? Aktuelle Standpunkte und Perspektiven*, ed. R. PRINE, Leiden 2020, 295-296, 298-300, fig. 4 (2-5) and 5.

21. M.A. YUSHKOVA – V.S. KULEŠOV, Kyorstovo 1: a new burial ground of the period of Roman influences in North-Western Russia, *Archaeologia Lituana* 12 (2011), 99-121.

22. A. MASTYKOVA – A. PLOKHOV, Datirovka i proiskhozhdenie steklyannykh bus iz mogil'nika u ozera Syezzhee, in: *Dialog kul'tur i narodov srednevekovoy Evropy*, eds. A. MUSIN – N. KHVOSHCHINSKAYA, Saint Petersburg 2010, 337-357; E.N. NOSOV – A.V. PLOKHOV, Poselenie i mogil'nik na ozere Syezzhee, in: *Rannesrednevekovye drevnosti lesnoy zony Vostochnoy Evropy (V–VII vv.)*, eds. I. GAVRITUKHIN – N. LOPATIN – A. OBLOMSKY [Rannelslavjanskiy mir 17], Moscow 2016, 349-394; Cf. K. DEEMANT, Das Steingräberfeld von Proosa bei Tallinn, *Izvestiya Akademii Nauk Estonskoy SSR: Obshchestvennyye nauki* 24 (1975), 78-80.

23. K. MIKAYLOV, Nakhodka rannelsaltovskoy poyasnoy garnitury v Novgorodskoy oblasti, *Lybytinskiy arkheologicheskii sbornik* 1 (2002), 67-72; A. DANICH – N. KRYLASOVA, Novy poyas "vizantiyskogo kruga" iz srednevekovogo Bayanovskogo mogil'nika v Permskom krae, *Arkheologiya, etnografiya i antropologiya Evrazii* 3 (59) (2014), 87-94; A. PLOKHOV, Pryazhka vizantiyskogo kruga iz poselka Lyubytino v Srednem Pomostie, *Novgorodskiy istoricheskiy sbornik* 17 (2017), 3-34.

24. In general, Byzantine lead seals which deeply influenced East European sigillography in the 11th–13th centuries are relatively rare finds here. Cf. V. BULGAKOVA,

of *protosphatarios* Theodosios and Leon found in Hedeby, Ribe, Tissø and Ryurikovo Gorodishche near Novgorod, and by circulation of *folles* of the Emperor Theophilos and copper alloy “Chersoneses-Byzantine coins” (fig. 2)²⁵. The main “Byzantine-producing” settlements become Gnezdovo²⁶, Ryurikovo Gorodishche, Ladoga and Novgorod where the Byzantine materiality is presented by bronze openwork belt buckles and buckles with representation of gryphons and lions²⁷ (fig. 3:3; fig. 4), dress accessories, glass beads, finger-rings²⁸, later – clay glazed pottery, clothes and silk and gold embroidery textile²⁹. Several liturgical and private devotional objects came to Eastern Europe as part of the Christianisation process (fig. 3:1;

Byzantinische Bleisiegel in Osteuropa. Die Funde auf dem Territorium Altrusslands, Wiesbaden 2004.

25. A. MUSIN, Nakhodki khersono-vizantiyskikh monet na territorii Drevney Rusi i «put' iz Varyag v Greki», in: *Dialog kul'tur i narodov*, 35-45. See also, J. SHEPARD – J.-CL. CHEYNET, The seals of Theodosios, in: *The world in the Viking Age*, eds. S. SINDBAEK – A. TRAKADAS, Roskilde 2014, 88-89. Cf. V. BULGAKOVA, *Byzantinische Bleisiegel in Osteuropa. Die Funde auf dem Territorium Altrusslands*, Wiesbaden 2004. See also, *Byzantine and Rus' Seals*, eds. H. IVAKIN – N. KHRAPUNOV – W. SEIBT, Kiev 2015.

26. V. MURASHEVA – N. DOVGALYUK – A. FETISOV, Vizantiyskie importy s territorii poymennoy chasti Gnezdovskogo poseleniya, in: *Kraeugolnyy kamen*, eds. S. BELETSKY – E. NOSOV, vol. I, Saint Petersburg – Moscow 2009, 533-554; N. ENISOVA – T. PUSHKINA, Finds of Byzantine Origin from the Early Urban Centre Gnédzovo in the Light of the Contacts between Rus' and Constantinople (10th – early 11th centuries AD), in: *From Goths to Varangians. Communication and cultural exchange between the Baltic and the Black Sea*, eds. L. BJERG – J. LIND – S.M. SINDBAEK, Aarhus 2013, 213-256.

27. K. MIKAYLOV, Vizantiyskie poyasnye pryazhki v severno-russkikh zemliakh, in: *Ladoga i Severnaya Evropa, In memoriam Anna Machinskaya*, ed. D. MACHINSKY, Saint Petersburg 1996, 30-31; K. MIKAYLOV, Novaya nakhodka vizantiyskoy pryazhki na Ryurikovov Gorodishche, *Novgorod i Novgorodskaya zemlya: istoriya i arkheologiya* 19 (2005), 209-218.

28. See the discussion: L. POKROVSKAYA, Metallicheskie predmety skandinavskogo proiskhozhdeniya na Troitskom raskope: topografiya, in: *U istokov russkoy gosudarstvennosti*, eds. A. MUSIN – E. NOSOV, Saint Petersburg 2007, 280-284. Cf. V. GRIGOROV, Metalni nakiti ot srednevekovna Blgariya, 7–11 vek, Sofia 2007, 55, 193, fig. 63.

29. E. ZUBKOVA – E. ORFINSKAYA – K. MIKAYLOV, Studies of the Textiles from the Excavation of Pskov, in: *North European Symposium for Archaeological Textiles*, eds. E. ANDERSSON et al., vol. X, Oxford 2009, 291-298; K. MIKAYLOV, Vizantiyskie vliyaniya na kostyum drevnerusskoy i severoevropeyskoy aristokratii epokhi vikingov, in: *Dialog kul'tur i narodov*, 262-279.

fig. 4)³⁰. However, the considerable part of items could be produced in Byzantine-style Bulgarian workshops.

Furthermore, in the 10th century the craftsmen migrated from Great Moravia, aside by the Hungarian cultural influence, they brought elements of women attires to Eastern Europe especially on the territory of Volhynia, Galicia and Middle Dnieper area (fig. 5). These elements mostly derived from Danubian and Adriatic variants of Byzantine culture; however most of these types had no serious impact and long circulation in Eastern European culture³¹. On the other hand, at the turn of the 10th century the number of Byzantine and Bulgarian artifacts decreased and it could be explained by the change in Byzantine dress fashion³². In fact, the main cause of refusing of elements of Byzantine costume was linked to the fundamental difference between Mediterranean and East European *modus vivendi* and type of dressing.

The circulation of Byzantine coins, started with *miliaresia* and *folles*, did not finish in the 11th–12th centuries as Thomas Noonan supposed³³. The scholar based his observations on very limited number of publications. The penetration of Byzantine coins actively continues under the rule of the Komnenes, and *hyperpyra*, *concave billon trachea*, as well as Latin and “Bulgarian” imitations are largely attested on this territory in 1150–1300, especially in the Dniester river region, Volhynia, Kiev and Novgorod. If the number of Byzantine coins reduced in the 12th century following the absence of demand within the coinless period of Eastern European economic, they increased in the first half–mid of the 13th century due to

30. A. MUSIN, The Christianization of Eastern Europe in the Archaeological Perspective, in: *Christianisierung Europas. Entstehung, Entwicklung und Konsolidierung im archäologischen Befund*, eds. O. HEINRICH-TAMASKA – N. KROHN – S. RISTOW, Regensburg 2012, 497-518.

31. Cf. S. RYABTSEVA, *Drevnerusskiy yuvelirny ubor: osnovnye tendentsii formirovaniya*, Saint Petersburg 2005; W. DUCZKO, Post-wielkomorawski fenomen. Wczesnośredniowieczna sztuka złotnicza w Środkowej i Wschodniej Europie, in: *Inspiracje i funkcje sztuki pradziejowej i wczesnośredniowiecznej*, eds. W. PIOTROWSKI – A. GROSSMAN – B. GEDIGA, Wrocław 2018, 107-119.

32. B. KIILLERICH, Attire and Personal Appearance in Byzantium, in: *Byzantine Culture*, 445-448.

33. T.S. NOONAN, The Circulation of Byzantine Coins in Kievan Rus, *Byzantine Studies* 7/2 (1980), 143-181.

the migration of the Orthodox elites and craftsmen from the Latin Empire, and gold concave coins were in use among Kievan ecclesiastical hierarchy and the Lithuanian princely family till the mid-14th century³⁴. It should be added that a part of coins were used in local culture as private devotional and/or decorative objects³⁵.

After the establishment of a regular church organisation, the presence of material elements of Byzantine culture in Eastern Europe becomes more diverse but not more numerous. The first Christian architecture³⁶ and sacral paintings³⁷ were executed by Byzantine masters and led to the rising of local itinerant architectural workshops under princely courts or bishop's sees. Meanwhile, the architectural technology had never been accepted here in its completeness, and the periodical intervention of the artists from Byzantium was needed for the development of Eastern European building activity³⁸. The codicological studies present similar observations. In Eastern Europe the centralized Byzantine "long cycle" of book copying and bookbinding in large *scriptorium* was not accepted. The process was set in small *scriptorium* by 2-3 scribes without division of labor³⁹.

In the field of the development of aristocratic dress and system of women attires only rare example of separated categories of dress items of Byzantine origin can be attested. In general, the women costume, especially head-dress ornamentation was not a "transplanted" set of attires, but artificially composed on the local ground with several reminiscences of Byzantine prototypes⁴⁰. Nearly all items were presented by local production

34. V. GURULEVA - A. MUSIN - A. OSTAPYUK, Nakhodki latinskikh i "bolgarskikh" imitatsiy vizantiyskikh monet i problemy denezhnogo obrashcheniya v Vostochnoy Evrope, 13-14 veka, *Minule i suchasne Volyni i Polissya* 63 (2017), 281-292.

35. MUSIN, Christianization, 505.

36. A. KOMECH, *Drevnerusskoe zodchestvo kontsa 10-nachala 13 veka. Vizantiyskoe nasledie i stanovlenie samostoyatel'noy traditsii*, Moscow 1987; A. LIPATOV, *Vizantiyskie traditsii v stroitel'nom proizvodstve Drevney Rusi*, PhD thesis (unpublished), Saint Petersburg 2006.

37. O. ETINGOF, *Vizantiyskie ikony 6-pervoy poloviny 13 veka v Rossii*, Moscow 2005.

38. P. RAPPOPORT, *Stroitel'noe proizvodstvo Drevney Rusi, 10-13 veka*, Saint Petersburg 1994.

39. E. UKHANOVA, *Drevnerusskie skriptorii 11-pervoy treti 12 veka*, Saint Petersburg 2017.

40. See N. ZHILINA - T. MAKAROVA, *Drevnerusskiy dragotsenny ubor-splav vliyaniy*

of niello and *cloisonné* enamel techniques received from Byzantium. In the second case the reception of the polishing technology of enamels was unsuccessful; it created problems with the preservation of jewellery colours⁴¹. As for excavated materials, discoveries shifted from stray finds and grave goods to the assemblages of artifacts yielded at urban settlements. These finds often have clearly identified cultural and social background and well-dated archaeological contexts⁴². Some of them can be easily recognized as indicators of the presence of Greek-speaking population in Eastern Europe such as graffiti (fig. 3:30; fig. 6:1)⁴³ or remains of an icon-painting workshop of the late 12th century hold in Novgorod by a priest of Greek origin (fig. 6:2)⁴⁴.

The most spectacular and numerous items imported from the Mediterranean or inspired by Byzantine examples are objects of private devotion. Mostly they are presented by personal cross-pendants or round icon-pendants; the second category very often imitated Byzantine lead seals with different Christian representations⁴⁵. The archaeological discoveries

i traditsiy 9–13 veka: khudozestvennye stili i shkoly, Moscow 2008. Cf. the number and variety of categories in: A. BOSSELMANN-RUICKBIE, *Byzantinischer Schmuck des 9. bis frühen 13. Jahrhunderts: Untersuchungen zum metallenen dekorativen Körperschmuck der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit anhand datierter Funde* [Spätantike – frühes Christentum – Byzanz: Reihe B, Studien und Perspektiven 28], Wiesbaden 2011.

41. Cf. T. MAKAROVA, *Peregrodchatye emali Drevney Rusi*, Moscow 1975; EADEM, *Chernevoe delo Drevney Rusi*, Moscow 1986.

42. MUSIN, *Russian Medieval Culture*, 11-46.

43. A. MUSIN, K interpretatsii graffito s izobrazheniem korablya na kirpiche iz tserkvi Uspeniya na Volotovom pole 1352, *Novgorod i Novgorodskaya zemlya: istoriya i arkheologiya* 20 (2006), 296-306; A. EVDOKIMOVA, Korpus grecheskikh graffiti Sofii Kievskoy na freskakh pervogo etazha, in: *Drevneyshie gosudarstva Vostochnoy Evropy. 2005 god Ryurikovichi i Rossiyskaya gosudarstvennost*, eds. M.V. BIBIKOV – E.A. MEL'NIKOVA – V.D. NAZAROV, Moscow 2008, 465-518; A. VINOGRADOV, Zametki o grecheskikh graffiti v drevnerusskikh khramakh, *Voprosy epigrafiki* 7 (2013), 89-105. See also, S. FRANKLIN, *Writing, society and culture in early Rus, c. 950–1300*, New York 2002.

44. B. KOLCHIN – A. KHOROSHEV – V. YANIN, *Usad'ba novgorodskogo khudozhnika 12 veka*, Moscow 1981.

45. A. MUSIN, Le “second avènement” de saint Nicolas: les origines du culte d’un saint et sa transformation en Europe de l’Est du XIe au XVIe siècle, in: *En Orient et en Occident: le culte de saint Nicolas en Europe (Xe –XXIe siècle)*, eds. V. GAZEAU – C. GUYON – C. VINCENT, Paris 2015, 195-226.

from Eastern Europe helped to update the chronology and distribution of middle Byzantine reliquary-crosses⁴⁶. They also allow to precise the development of Late Antiquity tradition of amulets with representation of Medusa Gorgon or *Hystera amulets* known in Eastern European archaeology as “zmeevik” and used here even in “masculine culture” (fig. 6:3)⁴⁷. The abundance and diversity of private devotional objects in Eastern Europe suggest that the Byzantine tradition had a special promotion among Slavonic population. Obviously, the Byzantine aesthetic traditions were transformed in Eastern European milieu. Thus, Krokean stone (*krokaetis lithos, lapis lacedaemonicus*) – a type of green porphyrite from Peloponnese – was used originally in Rome and Constantinople for *opus sectile* and floor mosaics, but in Eastern Europe it was used as early as the 11th century as raw material for manufacturing individual pectoral crosses (fig. 3:12; fig. 7:1)⁴⁸.

Among items of 1100–1300 connected to pilgrimage⁴⁹, the most important finds concern cross-pendants of steatite (fig. 3:23, 26, 27; fig. 7:2), pewter spoons (fig. 3:18), wooden models of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem (?) (fig. 3:9), and steatite *staurothekai* with inlays of limestone (regarded as milk of the Mother of God from Gethsemane near Jerusalem) and small pieces of wood symbolizing parts of the Holy Cross (fig. 3:20, 27; fig. 7:3, 4)⁵⁰. Similar crosses of steatite were discovered in Balkans, Asia Minor, Holy Land and Greece⁵¹. The souvenirs for Orthodox

46. G. KORZUKHINA – A. PESKOVA, *Drevnerusskie enkolpiony: nagrudnye kresty-relikvarii 11–13 vekov*, Saint Petersburg 2003. Cf. B. PITARAKIS, *Les croix-reliquaires pectorales en bronze byzantines* [Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologiques, 16], Paris 2006.

47. Cf. T. NIKOLAEVA – A. CHERNETSOV, *Drevnerusskie amulety-zmeeviki*, Moscow 1991; J. SPIER, Medieval Byzantine Magical Amulets and Their Tradition, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 56 (1993), 25–62.

48. A. MUSIN, ‘Kamen’ aspiden zelen’. Ob odnoy gruppe drevnerusskikh krestov iz porfirida, *Rossiyskaya arkhеologiya* 3 (2003), 145–155.

49. A. MUSIN, Palomnichestvo v Drevney Rusi: istoricheskie kontseptsii i arkhеologicheskie realii, in: *Archeologica Avraamica: issledovaniya v oblasti arkhеologii i khudozhestvennoy traditsii iudaizma, khristianstva i islama*, ed. L. BELYAEV, Moscow 2009, 231–272.

50. I. KALAVREZOU-MAXEINER, *Byzantine Icons in Steatite*, vol. II, Vienna 1985, Pl.1; MUSIN, Palomnichestvo v Drevney Rusi, 246, fig. 8–9 and tab.19.

51. MUSIN, Palomnichestvo v Drevney Rusi, 241–244, fig. 9 and tab. 19.

pilgrims were often manufactured at Crusaders' settlements where Latin craftsmen adopted Byzantine traditions, for example, crosses of mother-of-pearl, the 12th and 13th centuries (fig. 7:5)⁵², or pilgrims' badges with the figure of Saint Demetrius, 1204–1224 (fig. 3:29; fig. 7:6). However, pilgrimage lead ampoules from the shrine of Saint Demetrius were also known in Eastern Europe since 1135⁵³ (fig. 2:17; fig. 7:7).

Byzantine materials from Eastern Europe contribute for updating the chronology of miracle-working icons veneration. The earliest known Byzantine double-sided icon of the Hodegetria with Christ the Man of Sorrows on the back, from Kastoria, dated to the end of the 12th century⁵⁴, meanwhile its steatite and wooden replicas from Novgorod (fig. 3:22) and Staraya Rusa (fig. 3:24) suggest that the Constantinople miracle-working iconography appeared in the Northern Europe around 1170. Excavated evidences also allow us to follow the activity of Byzantine craftsmen who escaped from the capital of Empire and its hinterland after the capture of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204: in 1210–1230 Byzantine craftsmen worked in Kiev, Vladimir and Novgorod⁵⁵. The important display of Byzantine materiality in Eastern Europe is presented by liturgical items. Among the result of the excavation of Novgorod a container for baptismal rituals of Byzantine tradition is known (1260–1280) (fig. 3:28; fig. 7:7), and also the ritual of putting vessels used during the extreme unction with oil into graves has Byzantine origin⁵⁶.

52. C. 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, 15–17, 119–120, 147, 149, fig. 2 and pl. LX; MUSIN, *Palomnichestvo v Drevney Rusi*, 244–245.

53. C. BAKIRTZIS, Byzantine Ampullae from Thessaloniki, in: *The blessings of pilgrimage*, ed. R. OUSTERHOUT, Chicago 1990, 140–149; MUSIN, *Palomnichestvo v Drevney Rusi*, 236–240, fig. 4 and tab. 19.

54. *Mother of God: Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art*, Exhibition Catalog, 20 October 2000–20 January 2001, Benaki Museum, Athens, ed. M. VASSILAKI, Milan, 2000, 484–485.

55. YU. ZHARNOV – V. ZHARNOVA, Proizvedeniya prikladnogo iskusstva iz raskopok vo Vladimire, in: *Drevnerusskoe iskusstvo: Vizantiya i Drevnyaya Rus'. K 100-letiyu Andreyra Grabara (1896–1990)*, ed. E. SMIRNOVA, Saint Petersburg 1999, 451–461.

56. A. MUSIN, Dépôts céramiques et autres récipients dans la tombe en Europe de l'Est au Moyen Âge: entre usage liturgique, mentalité religieuse et tradition ethnographique, in: *Des pots dans la tombe (IXe – XVIIIe siècle). Regards croisés sur une pratique funéraire en Europe de l'Ouest*, eds. A. BOCQUET-LIENARD et al., Turnhout 2017, 369–394.

However, the most spectacular element of Byzantine ecclesiastical material culture, non-preserved in Byzantine archaeology, are monastic leather girdles and *analabos* with embossed representations of the *Dodecaorton* (12th–15th centuries) (fig. 3:31; fig. 8). Over 100 girdles and their fragments are known from the Monastery of the Caves in Kiev, Novgorod, Moscow, Tver and Smolensk⁵⁷, and circa 20 bronze stamps for embossing are attested in Ukraine, Poland, Belarus and Russia⁵⁸. This type of monastic habits is described in the Slavonic translation of the *Typikon* of Patriarch Alexios Studites (second half of the 12th century in Novgorod, today in State Historical Museum, Moscow, i.e. Synodal Collection, no 330) while its original Greek text is not preserved. At folio 223 v. it is prescribed that monastic girdles of the *Great Schema* (μεγαλόσχημος μοναχός) must be “with represented icons [of Christian feasts]” while the girdles of *Minor Schema* (μικρόσχημος μοναχός) should not incorporate such depictions⁵⁹.

Unfortunately scholars who analysed the *Sermon on the Black Clergy from the Old Testament and the New Testament* by Cyrill of Turov (second half of the 12th century), who also mentioned the “girdle of Schema with feasts”⁶⁰ did not pay any attention to these artifacts and proposed a wrong interpretation of the text⁶¹. Other researchers have also overlooked this fact, because they have approached the medieval period in the light of

57. T. BOBROVSKY – O. VORONTOVA, Sredn’ovichni chernetski shkiryani vyroby z tisenenymi zobrazhennyamy, in: *Kulturna spadshchina Kyeva: doslidzennya ta okhorona istorichnogo seredovishcha*, ed. L. PRIBEHA, Kiev 2003, 88-95; Cf. O.Z. PEVNY, Five Fragments of a Monastic Girdle, in: *The Glory of Byzantium. Art and culture of the Middle Byzantine Era. A.D. 843-1261*, eds. H. EWANS – W. WIXON, New York 1997, 305-306, with chronological mistake.

58. A. MUSIN, A Stamp with a depiction of the “Raising of Lazarus” from Gródek-on-Bug reflecting monastic life in accordance with the Rule of the Stoudios Monastery in the western lands of the Kingdom of Poland in the 14th and 15th centuries, in: *The early medieval settlement complex at Gródek upon the Bug River in the light of results from past research (1952-1955). Material evidence*, ed. M. WOŁOSZYN, Rzeszów 2019 (in print).

59. PENTKOVSKY, *Typikon patriarkha Aleksiya Studita*, 384.

60. I. EREMIN, Literaturnoe nasledie Kirilla Turovskogo, *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoy literatury* 12 (1956), 359.

61. Cf. G. PODSKALSKY, *Christentum und theologische Literatur in der Kiever Rus’ (988-1237)*, München 1982; S. FRANKLIN, *Sermons and rhetoric of Kievan Rus’*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1991, 92.

contemporary Russian Orthodox tradition, assuming that this is a reference to Golgotha Crosses and the Cherubim of today's *Great Schema* monks, which in reality only appeared in the 16th–17th centuries after monastic reforms in the 14th–15th centuries⁶². Reforms led to the abandonment of the tradition of girdles decorated with icons. In the similar way the *analabos* (ἀνάλαβος) of Eastern tradition as a shoulder strap encircling the chest beneath mantles⁶³ was transformed in Eastern Europe into modern type *paraman*. In the 14th–15th centuries it combined *in se* the decoration with *Dodecaorton* and the initial form of *paramans/scapulars* as a wide apron covering the chest and the back⁶⁴. The *paraman* which was previously a functional element of the everyday monastic clothing was finally transformed in a small rectangular piece of textile or leather with purely symbolical meaning.

Thus, at this period of the formation of local Christian culture which replaced the period of the Christianisation the significant part of Byzantine religious materiality was brought in Eastern Europe within “professional activity” of clergymen and pilgrims. As for the everyday non-religious culture its elements are less attested in archaeological materials. In general, excavations offer no examples of Byzantine dress accessories or household from Novgorod of the 12th–15th centuries; for early period only limited Byzantine keys and locks can be attested⁶⁵. However, there were a group of boxwood combs manufactured in Eastern Mediterranean and dated to the late 10th century (classes 2b according to Lyubov Smirnova) that may be regarded as a sign of conversion of the urban elite. Later, decorative motifs

62. See the basic work of N. PALMOV, *Postrizenie v monashestvo. Chiny postrizeniya v monashestvo v Grecheskoy tserkvi: istoriko-arkheologicheskoe issledovanie*, Kiev 1914. See also, M. ARRANZ, *Izbrannye sochineniya po liturgike*, vol. IV: *Vizantiyskiy monasheskiy postrig*, Moscow – Rome 2003.

63. Cf. K.C. INNEMÉE, *Ecclesiastical Dress in the Medieval Near East* [Studies in Textile and Costume History 1], Leiden 1992, 90-133.

64. See J. PATRICH, *Sabas, leader of Palestinian monasticism: a comparative study in Eastern monasticism, fourth to seventh centuries* [DOS 32], Washington (D.C.) 1995, 210-220. The author refused to identify ἀνάλαβος with *scapular* of the Latin tradition, and call the first as “shoulder strap” and the second as “apron”.

65. A. KUDRYAVTSEV, *Zamki i klyuchi vizantiyskogo proiskhozheniya na territorii Drevney Rusi, Novgorod i Novgorodskaya zemlya: istoriya i arkheologiya* 29 (2015), 226-233.

of Byzantine combs influenced the bone production in Novgorod of the 11th–13th centuries (fig. 3:2)⁶⁶.

Since the 11th century glass bracelets of Byzantine tradition inspired local glassmaking production while purely Byzantine bracelets constitute only insignificant part of excavated items (2% in Novgorod, circa 9% in Kiev) (fig. 2:25; fig. 9:1). Locally made bracelets are easy to define by simple technology and undecorated forms. Additionally, Eastern European glassmaking workshops could not gain the level of Byzantine industry, produced only gray glass raw materials, and did not use manganese dioxide for discoloration and cobalt oxide as colorant⁶⁷. Byzantine or Mediterranean glass vessels – both of luxury and ordinary use, dated back to 12th–14th centuries – are also yielded in excavations in Novgorod, Ryurikovo Gorodische, Novogrodok, Vladimir and Yaroslavl⁶⁸ (fig. 2:10; fig. 9:2-4). It is noteworthy that archaeological contexts of several finds of enamelled and gilded glass beakers (Novogrodok, Yaroslavl) usually attributed to Aleppo group⁶⁹ reveal their early chronology of 1200–1230. In several cases it is difficult to distinguish Byzantine and Islamic glasses from Eastern Europe by their chemical composition, stylistic and morphology while presented nearly indistinguishable variation of Eastern school of glassmaking⁷⁰. The local community easily accepted not only “Orthodox” production but also Islamic decorated glass. Evidently

66. L. SMIRNOVA, Wooden combs in the light of the history of comb-making Novgorod, in: *Wood use in medieval Novgorod*, eds. M. BRISBANE – J. HATHER, Oxford 2007, 298-334.

67. YU. SHCHAPOVA, *Vizantiyskoe steklo: ocherki istorii*, Moscow 1998, 129-131.

68. F. GUREVICH, *Drevniy Novogrodok*, Leningrad 1981, 152; A. PLOKHOV, Srednevekovaya steklyannaya posuda Novgorodskogo (Ryurikova) Gorodishcha, in: *U istokov russkoy gosudarstvennosti*, 166-175; I. KUZINA, Steklyannye sosudy iz raskopok vo Vladimire, in: *Trudy II Vserossiyskogo arkheologicheskogo s"ezda*, ed. N. MAKAROV, vol. IV, Moscow 2011, 91-93; E. STOLYAROVA, Glass in Ancient and Medieval eastern Europe as evidence of international contacts, *Archeologia Polski* 61 (2016), 191-212; E.K. STOLYAROVA – A.V. ENGOVATOVA, Middle Eastern painted glass vessels from Yaroslavl', *Archeologia Polona* 55 (2017), 147-160.

69. For the chronology, see G. SCANLON, Lamm's classification and archaeology, in: *Gilded and enamelled glass from the Middle East*, ed. R. WARD, London 1998, 27-29.

70. See the fundamental work in Russian on chemical composition of glass as a source of archaeological information: V. GALIBIN, *Sostav stekla kak arkheologicheskii istochnik*, Saint Petersburg 2001, 82.

enamelled glass beakers could not be objects of mass trade; they reflect high social position of their owners and most probably came here as diplomatic gifts.

The next group of Byzantine artifacts is presented by amphorae. There are two different typologies elaborated by Igor Volkov (4 types) and Vladimir Koval (8 groups) based mostly on finds from Novgorod, Ryazan and Kiev⁷¹. The Volkov's "Trabzon" type (Ganos-4 type; Koval's I group) is subdivided into six phases of the following chronology: 1060–1110, 1025–1075, 1075–1100, 1110–1150, 1130–1140. More than 70% of imported amphorae are represented by this type (fig. 3:6–8, 14–16). The Volkov's "Triglia" type (Koval's II group, 20% of importations) is divided into 4 phases (970–1010, 1000–1100, 1130–1150 and 1150–1200) (fig. 3:5, 13, 19). The numbers of amphorae of this type decreased significantly after the capture of Asia Minor by the Seljuks in the late 11th century, however its main concentration for the 12th century is attested in Galicia region in the southern-western part of Eastern Europe. In general, amphorae are more characteristic of the southern part of Eastern Europe, i.e. the territory of Ukraine including rural settlements⁷².

The other two groups according to Volkov include the small "Chian" type (1030–1180 and later) and amphorae with the stamp 'SSS' possibly imported from the Holy Land (12th century). The circulation of several amphorae groups, including those of the "Chian" type, still had been continuing until the 14th century. The common point is that amphorae were imported within the wine trade⁷³; however, birch bark finds from

71. I. 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, London 2005, 145-159; V. KOVAL, Vizantiyskie amfory (magariki) v Yuznoy Rusi, in: *1000 rokov vizantiyskoy trgovli, 5-14 stolit'ya*, 43-64. Cf. N. GÜNSENIN, Ganos, centre de production d'amphores à l'époque byzantine, *Anatolia antiqua* 2 (1993), 193-201.

72. G. IVAKIN – L. STEPANENKO, Raskopki v severo-zapadnoy chasti Podola, 1980-1982, in: *Arkheologicheskie issledovaniya Kieva, 1978-1983*, ed. P. TOLOCHKO, Kiev 1985, 77-105; E. VEREMEYCHYK – V. KOVAL, Vizantiyskie amfory na selskikh poseleniyakh Chernigovshchiny, *Naukovi zapyski z ukrainskoy istorii* 15 (2005), 47-53.

73. I. VOLKOV, Amfory Novgoroda i nekotorye zametki o vizantiysko-ruskoy trgovle vinom, *Novgorod i Novgorodskaya zemlya: istoriya i arkheologiya* 10 (1996), 90-103. Cf. T. NOONAN – R. KOVALEV, Prayer, Illumination and Good Times: the Export of Byzantine

Novgorod (no 1005, 1012, mid-12th century) allow to suppose that in this period the wine was transported around Eastern Europe in glass vessels (cf. *There is the wine transported by two persons from the town of Luki [in Novgorod Land]; and you have 30 glass vessels [sklyanitsa]*) by a special corporation of merchants who traded with Byzantium (*grechniki*)⁷⁴. The change of the system of trade at the end of the 13th century and the leading role of Italian merchants in the re-selling of wine from the Black Sea and Mediterranean regions led to the replacement of amphora containers by wooden stave-built vessels (kegs) that is also testified by birch barks, for once, from Staraya Rusa (no 39, 1380-1410)⁷⁵. However, the concentration of finds in Kiev let to suppose that the monopoly in wine trade existed in the metropolis of *Rhōsia* as early as the 12th century: here the wine could be transferred from amphorae to local or glass vessels. It is noteworthy that the local production of amphorae-like ceramic called *korchaga*⁷⁶ was only an invention of Soviet archaeology that has no proofs among archaeological materials. Besides amphorae other types of Byzantine and Eastern pottery have been found. In Novgorod and Staraya Rusa they amount to more than 200 fragments from at least 80 vessels (fig. 9:5) dated to the 10th-15th centuries. In the 13th-14th centuries the pottery from Syria and Egypt, which was very popular in the late 12th and early 13th centuries comes to the end while pottery from Byzantium continued to arrive⁷⁷.

To conclude, I propose some remarks on the historical character and chronology of the penetration and presence of Byzantine materiality in Eastern Europe, 550-1450, in connection with anthropological mechanism of its spread. The first two phases of the appearance of Byzantine material evidences in sub-continent are attested in 550-850 and 850-1000 respectively. The traces of materiality can be seen both in the northern and southern part of Eastern European realm and in several

Wine and Olive Oil to the North of Russia in Pre-Mongol Times, *Acta Byzantina Fennica* 8 (1995-1996), 73-96.

74. V. YANIN – A. ZALIZNYAK – A. GIPPIUS, *Novgorodskie gramoty na bereste. Iz raskopok 2001-2014 gg.*, Moscow 2015, 105-106, 111-112.

75. *IBIDEM*, 167-170.

76. Cf. B. RYBAKOV, *Remeslo Drevney Rusi*, Moscow 1948, 367-369.

77. V. KOVAL, Eastern Pottery from the excavations at Novgorod, in: *The pottery from Medieval Novgorod and its region*, ed. C. ORTON, London 2005, 161-192.

cases the Byzantine craftwork influence on the local production can be observed, especially to the South⁷⁸. The Byzantine materiality of the first phase is represented mostly in dress accessories often discovered in the military grave context. The most of items were prestigious objects, reflects the starting point of migration of the Slavs or social and new religious (Christian) status of representatives of Slavonic communities that their members obtained during their stay in Byzantium. This relative abundance of material evidences can be explained by the high mobility dynamic when the role of individual was very important.

Regarding the second phase, material evidences show that newly converted Eastern European communities did not accept several special features of Middle Byzantine Orthodoxy emerged after the end of Iconoclasm. Two-apse churches which should be regarded as new architectural implementation of the *Prothesis* ritual had no development in the area. Similarly, the tradition of individual processional crosses transformed in *ex-voto* offering in churches as special evidence of the new post-iconoclasm Orthodoxy and growing emphasis on personal piety⁷⁹ were strange to Eastern Europe. The practice of Byzantine Monastic *Typika*, for example that of Empress Irene Doukaina Komnene for the Monastery of the Mother of God *Kecharitomene* in Constantinople (1100–1118), which prescribed that each Saturday and Sunday laymen would offer crosses-*stauria* in the sanctuary for the commemoration of the deceased and the living⁸⁰, was still unknown on non-Greek territories⁸¹.

78. Cf. B. SZMONIEWSKI, Byzantium and the Slavs in the Light of Goldsmiths' Production, in: *Intelligible beauty: recent research on Byzantine jewellery*, eds. C. ENTWISTLE – N. ADAMS [The British Museum Research Publication 178], London 2010, 161-172.

79. A. KAZHDAN – A. EPSTEIN, *Change in Byzantine culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Century* [The Transformation of the classical heritage 7], Berkeley – London 1985, 86-87, 97, 233.

80. Cf. P. GAUTIER, Le Typikon de la Théotokos Kécharitoméné, *REB* 43 (1985), 84-85; R. JORDAN, Kecharitomene: Typikon of Empress Irene Doukaina Komnene for the Convent of the Mother of God Kecharitomene in Constantinople, in: *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments*, eds. J. THOMAS – A. CONSTANTINIDES HERO – G. CONSTABLE [DOS 35], Washington (D.C.) 2000, 688.

81. Cf. A. MUSIN, Byzantine reliquarie-crosses, 61-94; *Drevnosti Semidvorya: srednevekovyi dvukhapsidnyy khram v urochishche Yedi-Evler (Alushta, Krym): issledovaniya i materialy*, eds. A. MUSIN – I. TESLENKO, Kiev 2015, 215-218, 271-304, 314-315.

Since the turn of the 10th century within sedentary processes among local population, political consolidation and rise of Christian Church, the character of Eastern European–Byzantine relationship seriously changed. During this new period the important part of religious objects was brought here as a result of “professional” activity of clergymen, monks and pilgrims of Greek and Slavonic or Rus’ origin. The rare examples of Byzantine-style everyday life objects, dress accessories and attires did not provide any serious impact on the local culture. Several Byzantine impulses were transformed in the purely Eastern European phenomena that should be explained by differences in *modus vivendi*. The traces of the imports of mass product can be hardly ever attested except for oil and wine transported in amphorae (that was monopolized and controlled by reduced in number social groups) and glass objects (only before the appearance of local glassmaking). The main categories of objects were prestigious luxury gifts (enameled glass, gold embroidery) or a result of individual stays in Byzantium within the diplomacy, religious, military or commercial expeditions. After the serious change in the social life, the chances of individual travelling to the Mediterranean world was closed.

The late 13th century was a turning point in the relations of Eastern Europe to Byzantium, not only because of the Golden Horde domination but also within new changes in the political organization of sub-continent. The tight control of Moscow rulers over foreign diplomacy came into being since the beginning of 14th century. In this period local contacts to Byzantium become purely elitist and professional. The objects of Byzantine sacred art accumulated only in sacristies of bishoprics and monasteries and as a part of princely and aristocratic private household⁸². It is noteworthy, that items imported from different parts of the former Byzantine Empire prestigious *ex definitione* were perceived by Eastern European community as a display of a huge and non-differenced “Byzantine world” even they came from its Latinized or Islamized areas or passed through the filter of acculturation of Orthodox Slavonic countries. In fact the reception of Byzantium in Eastern Europe had spontaneous and occasional character and the study of Byzantine materiality show this character clearly ...

82. *Byzantine Antiquities. Works of Art from the Fourth to Fifteenth Centuries in the Collection of the Moscow Kremlin Museums, Catalogue*, ed. I. STERLIGOVA, Moscow 2013.

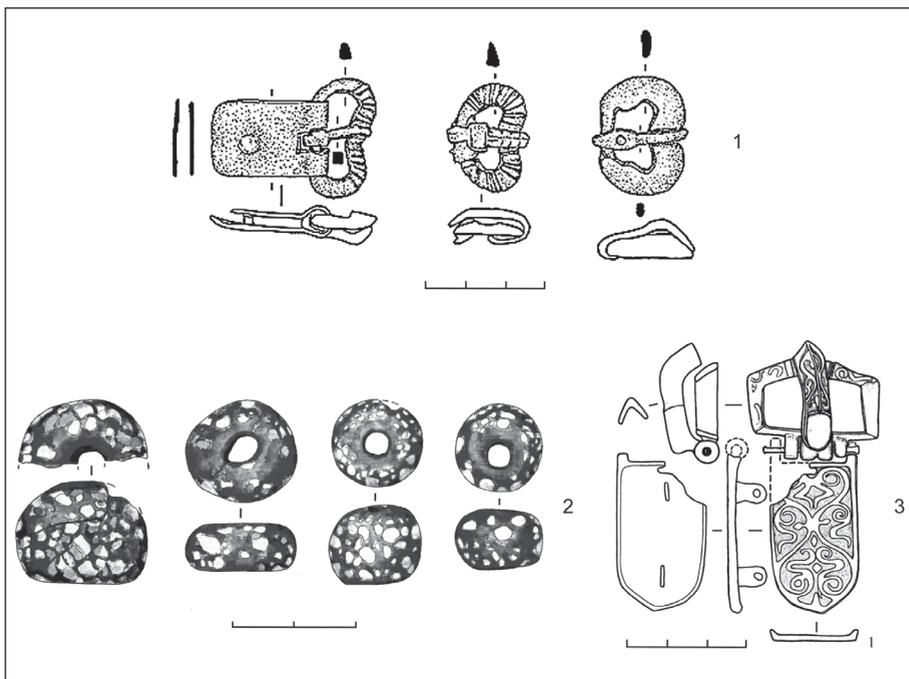


Fig. 1. First evidences of the Byzantine materiality in Eastern Europe, 6th-8th centuries: 1 - ribbed and smooth hollow B-shaped and D-shaped bronze belt buckles (Mali, Saint-Petersburg region, Russia); 2 - blue speckled beads (Syezhee, Novgorod region, Russia); 3 - belts setting (Lyubitino, Novgorod region, Russia) (1 - drawn by M. Yuskova-Razzak, 2-3 - drawn by A. Plokhov).



Fig. 2. Evidences of the first Byzantine penetration in Eastern and Northern Europe, 9th–beginning of the 10th century: 1-4 - lead seals of protospatharios Theodosios (Hedeby, Germany; Ribe, Tissø, Danemark), and Leon (Ryurikovo Gorodishche, Russia), 5 - folles of the Emperor Theophilos (Ryurikovo Gorodishche, Russia), 6 - “Chersoneses-Byzantine” coin of the Emperor Basil I (Ryurikovo Gorodishche, Russia); 7 - green enamel in gold setting with Theotokos monogram (Peredolsky Pogost, Novgorod region, Russia) (1 - after V. Laurent; 2 - after C. Feveile; 3 - photo by L. Jørgenson; 4 - Archives, Institute for the History of Material Culture, Saint-Petersburg; 5-6 - photo by T. Dorofeeva; 7 - photo by N. Platonova).

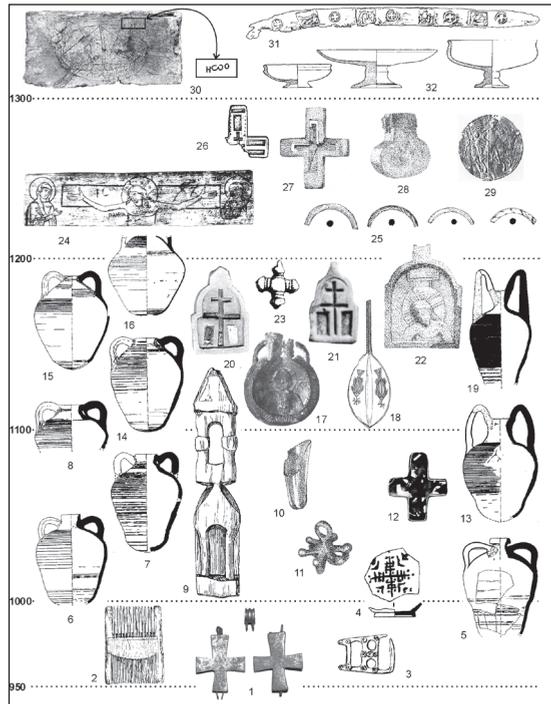


Fig. 3. Common chronology of Byzantine artefacts from the North of Eastern Europe, 10th-15th centuries: 1 - reliquary cross, copper alloy, Staraya Ladoga, 920s AD; 2 - simple comb, boxwood, Novgorod, the end of 10th century (class 2b according to L. Smirnova); 3 - belt-buckle, copper alloy, Staraya Ladoga, 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" type, phase 1 (1060-1110 AD, according to I. Volkov); 7 - amphora, "Trabzon" type, phase 2 (1025-1075 AD, according to I. Volkov); 8 - amphora, "Trabzon" type, phase 3 (1050-1110 AD, according to I. Volkov); 9 - model of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, wood, Novgorod, end of the 11th century; 10 - lamp, glass, Novgorod, since 11th century; 11 - hook of lamp, bronze, Novgorod, since 11th century; 12 - cross-pendant, green porphyrite, Novgorod, since 11th century; 13 - amphora, "Triglia" type, phase 2 (second half of the 11th century, according to I. Volkov); 14 - amphora, "Trabzon" type, phase 4 (1090-1110 AD, according to I. Volkov); 15 - amphora, "Trabzon" type, phase 5 (1110-1150 AD, according to I. Volkov); 16 - amphora, "Trabzon" 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 with stone inlays from Holy Land, steatite, Novgorod, around 1160 AD; 21 - pilgrim reliquary, steatite, Berlin collection; 22 - icon-pendant, steatite, Novgorod, 1160-1180 AD; 23 - cross-pendant, mother-of-pearl, Novgorod, Pskov, around 1160-1170 AD; 24 - icon, wood, Staraya 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 $\text{H}\Omega\text{A}[\text{NN}]\text{H}[\Sigma]$, Novgorod, 1352 AD; 31 - girdles for monks, leather, Novgorod, 12th-15th centuries; 32 - turned wooden vessels imitated prestigious imported bowls, Novgorod, after 1250s AD (drawn by G. Kuznetsova and V. Stegantseva).

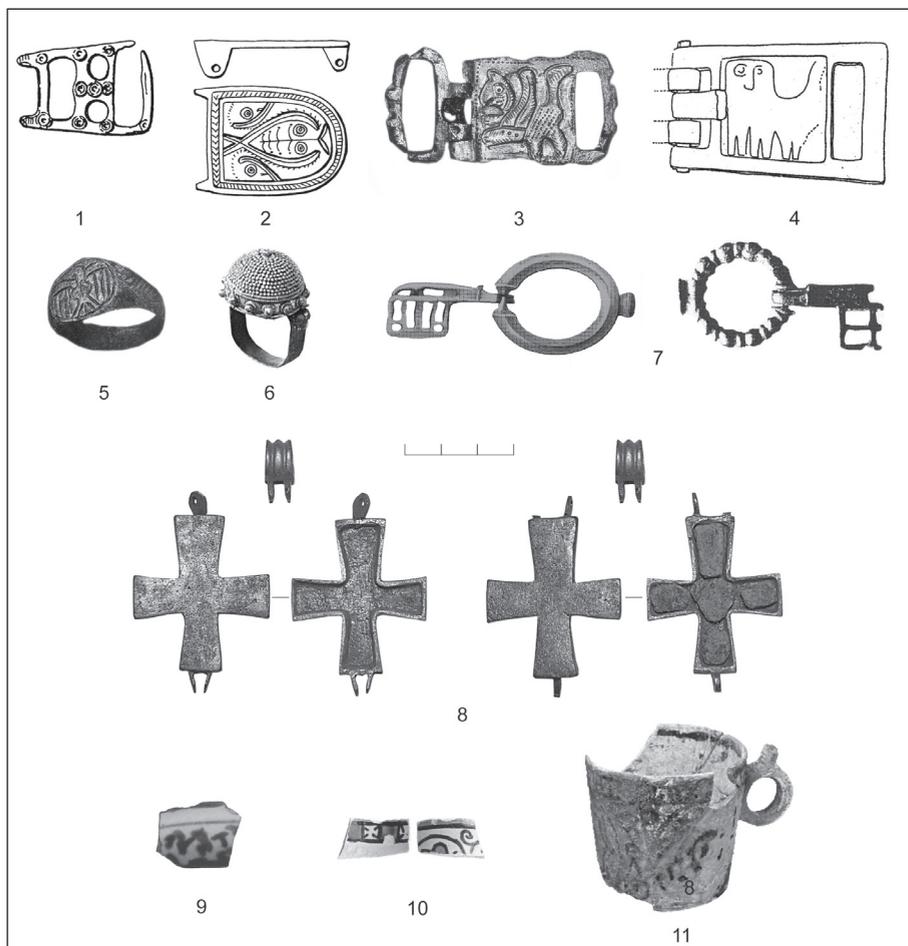


Fig. 4. Elements of the Byzantine materiality in Eastern Europe, 10th-11th centuries: 1 - openwork belt buckle (Ryurikovo Gorodishche, Russia); 2 - belt buckle with geometric design (Gnezdovo, Smolensk region, Russia); 3 - belt buckle with representation of gryphon (Kiev, Ukraine); 4 - belt buckle with representation of lion (Gnezdovo, Smolensk region, Russia); 5 - finger-ring with representation of eagle (Novgorod, Russia); 6 - finger-ring with granulation (Gushchino, Chernihiv region, Ukraine); 7 - keys (Novgorod, Russia); 8 - reliquary-cross (Staraya Ladoga, Russia); 9-11 - Byzantine and Near-Eastern glazed pottery (Staraya Ladoga, Gnezdovo, Russia) (1 - drawn by K. Mikaylov; 2, 10-11 - drawn and photo by T. Pushkina & N. Eniosova; 3 - photo by H. Ivakin; 4 - drawn by A. Spitsin; 5 - photo by Novgorod State Museum; 6 - photo by Chernihiv Historical Museum; 7 - photo by A. Kudryavtsev; 8 - photo by A. Peskova; 9 - photo by A. Kirpichnikov).



Fig. 5. Elements of the Byzantine materiality borrowed from the Central Balkans with Great Moravian influence, 10th century, without scale: 1 - temple ring, granulation (Kharivka, Sumy region, Ukraine); 2 - earring with round hollow bead, granulation (Kharivka, Sumy region, Ukraine); 3 - temple ring, granulation (Iskorosten, Zhitomir region, Ukraine); 4 - temple ring, filigree, granulation (Chernihiv, Ukraine); 5-8 - earrings of so-called Volhynia types: 5 - type 'A' (Gnezdovo, Smolensk region, Russia); 6 - type 'B' (Yurkivtsy, Kiev region, Ukraine); 7 - type 'C' (Echimăuți, Rezina region, Moldova); 8 - type 'D' (Yurkivtsy, Kiev region, Ukraine); 9 - temple ring with ornimorphic motif (Iskorosten, Zhytomyr region, Ukraine); 10 - temple ring, imitation of granulation (Gornal, Kursk region, Russia); 11 - temple ring with ornimorphic motif, imitation of granulation (Supruty, Tula region, Russia); 12 - lunula pendant, granulation (Alcedar, Șoldănești region, Moldova) (1-9, 12 - drawn by S. Ryabtseva, 10 - drawn by A. Kuza, 11 - drawn by A. Grigoriev).



Fig. 6. Evidences of the presence of Greek-speaking population in Eastern Europe and local continuity of the Byzantine tradition, 12th–14th centuries: 1 - brick with ex-voto marine graffiti and Greek inscription ΗΘΑ[ΝΝ]Η[Σ], Novgorod, Assumption church at Volotovo field, 1352 AD; 2 - finds from icon-painter workshop: wooden board for icon painting; copper alloy cover for an icon of Saint Nicolas, crucibles for colors and amber, Novgorod, end of the 12th century; 3-5 - amulets-“zmeevik” with representation of Medusa Gorgon (Novgorod [5] and unknown provenance); 6 - small stone icon with representation of Saint Apostles Peter and Paul (Novgorod) (1 - photo by T. Romashkevich; 2 - photo by E. Gordyushenkov; 3-4 - photo by A. Stanyukovich; 5-6 - photo by S. Toropov).

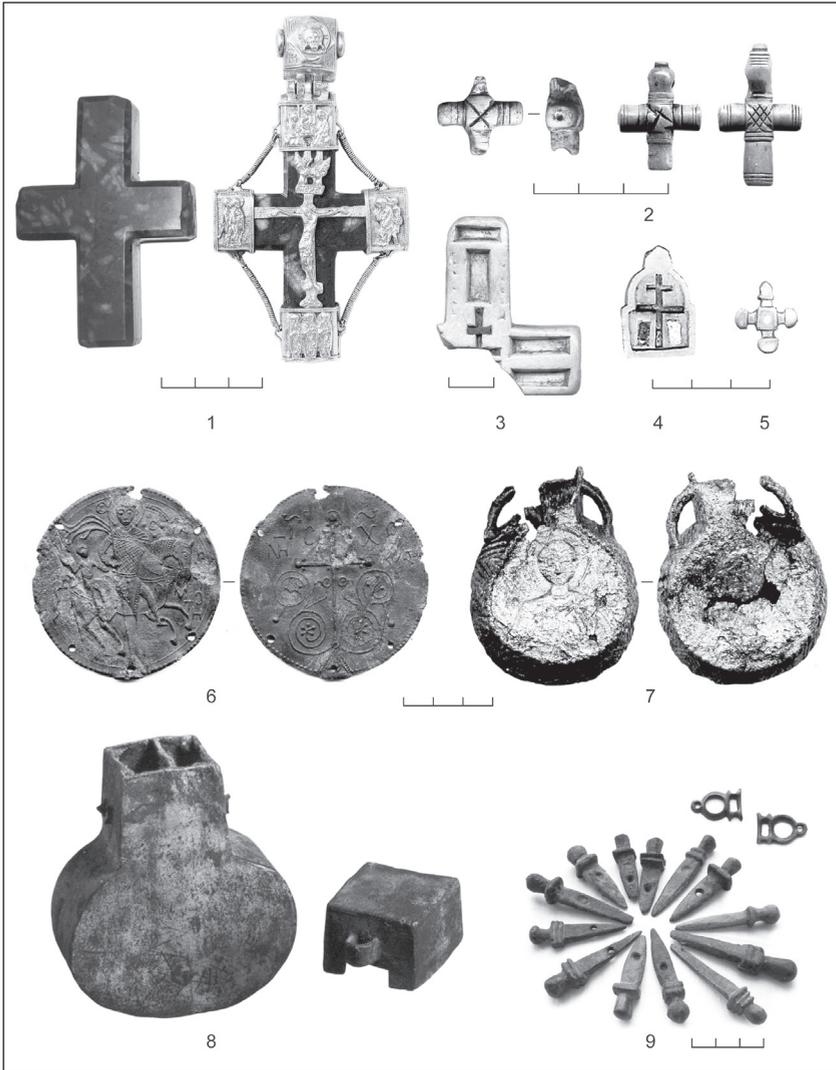


Fig.7. Objects of liturgy, private devotion objects and objects of pilgrimage of the Byzantine tradition: 1 - pectoral crosses, green porphyrite (Novgorod, Moscow); 2 - cross-pendants, steatite, Holy Land, Novgorod, 1160–1180 AD; 3 - cross-pendant with stone and wood pieces, steatite, Holy Land, Novgorod, around 1230s AD; 4 - pilgrim reliquary with stone pieces, steatite, Holy Land, Novgorod, c. 1160 AD; 5 - cross-pendant, mother-of-pearl, Holy Land, Novgorod, 1160–1170 AD; 6 - pilgrim badge with representation of Saint Demetrius, lead, Thessalonica, Novgorod, 1270s AD; 7 - pilgrim ampoule, lead, Thessalonica, Novgorod, c. 1135 AD; 8 - container for baptism ceremony, silver, Novgorod, 1260–1280 AD, without scale; 9 - catch and catch nails of fastening for bookbinding, unknown provenance (1-3, 5-6 - photo by the author, 1 [right] - photo by State Historical Museum, 2 [left], 7 - photo by S. Toropov, 4 - photo by M. Petrov, 8 - photo by E. Gordyushenkov, 9 - private collection).

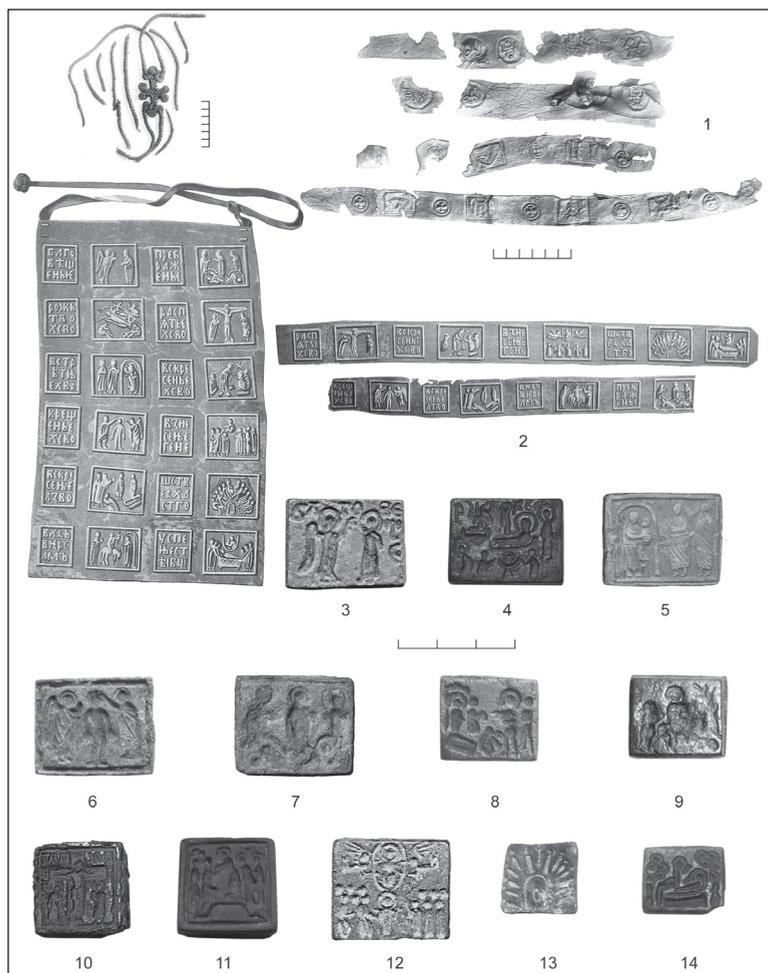


Fig. 8. Monastic leather girdles and analabos with depictions of Twelve Feasts and stamps for impressing icons, Eastern Europe, 13h–15th centuries: 1 - twisted analabos and girdles, Yuriev Monastery, Novgorod, 13th century; 2 - rectangular analabos and girdle, grave of the Princess Maria († 1399), Church of Saviour in the Woods, Moscow Kremlin, Russia; 3-14 - impressing stamps from different sets with depictions of: 3 - Annunciation, 4 - Nativity of Christ, 5 - Presentation of Christ in the Temple, 6 - Baptism of Christ, 7 - Transfiguration of the Lord, 8 - Raising of Lazarus, 9 - Entrance of the Lord into Jerusalem, 10 - Crucifixion of Christ, 11 - Resurrection of Christ - the Descent into Hell, 12 - Ascension of the Lord, 13 - Pentecost-Descent of the Holy Spirit to the Apostles, 14 - Dormition of the Mother of God (3-7, 10-14 - unknown provenance, 8 - Gródek-on-Bug, Lublin voevodship, Poland, 10 - Lyubutsk, Kaluga region, Russia) (1 - Archive, Institute for the History of Material Culture, Saint-Petersburg, 2 - drawn by F. Solntsev, 3-6, 9-10, 11-14 - private collections, 7 - photo by T. Panova, 8 - photo by M. Wołoszyn).

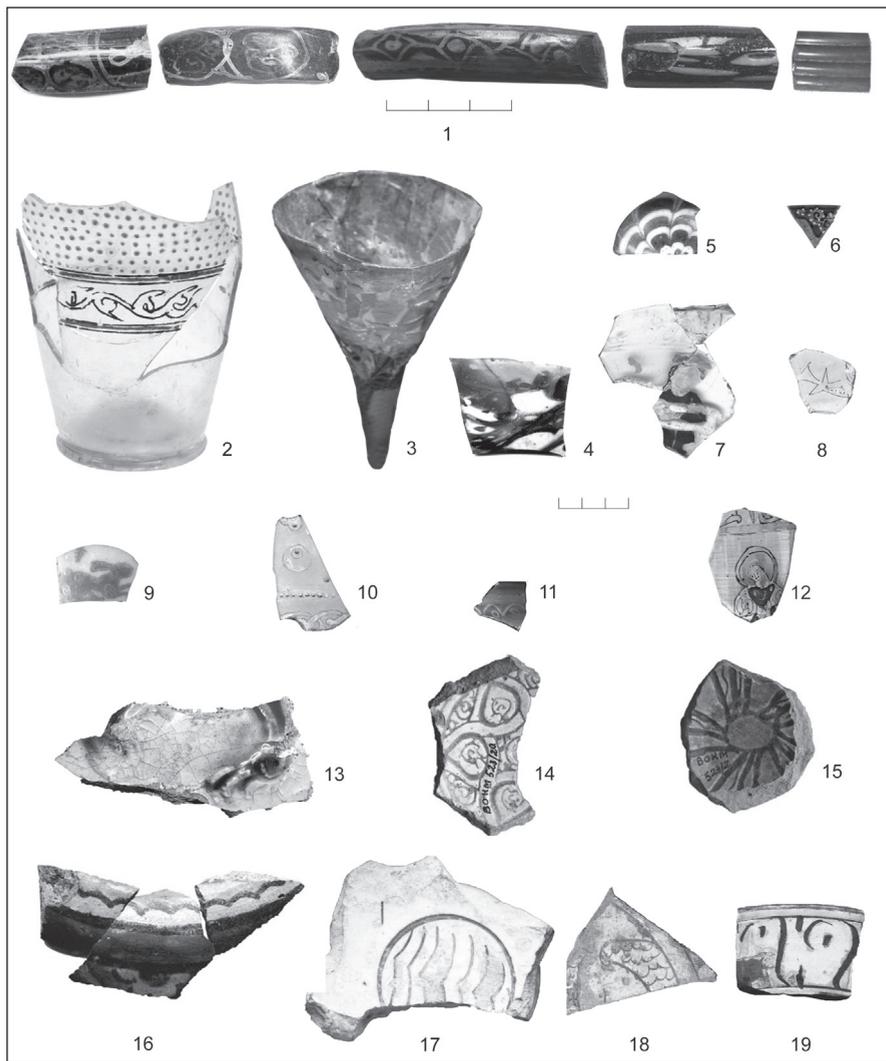


Fig. 9. Glass vessels and glazed pottery from Mediterranean worlds, 12th–13th centuries: 1 - glass bracelets; 2-3 - fragmented glass vessels, without scale; 4-12 - fragments of glass vessels; 13-19 - fragments of glazed pottery (13 - “lakabi” pottery, Syria, 14-15 - red clay sgraffito pottery, 16 - white clay glazed pottery, 17-19 - Zeuxippus Ware pottery) (1 - Novgorod, Russia; Novogrudok, Belarus, 2 - Kiev, Ukraine, 3 - Zvenihorod, Ukraine, 4 - Novgorod, Russia, 5-11 - Ryurikovo Gorodishche, Russia, 12 - Novogrudok, Belarus, 13 - Novogrudok, Belarus, 14-15 - Vitebsk, Belarus, 16 - Polotsk, Belarus, 17 - unknown provenance, Belarus, 18 - Minsk, Belarus, 19 - Tourov, Belarus) (1 - photo by the author, S. Toropov and K. Lavych, 2 - photo by L. Pekarska, 3 - photo by M. Ivanyk, 4 - photo by the author, 5-11 - photo by A. Plokhov, 12-16, 18-19 - photo by K. Lavych, 17 - photo by V. Koval).

Η ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΗ ΥΛΙΚΟΤΗΤΑ ΣΤΗΝ/ΤΗΣ ΑΝΑΤΟΛΙΚΗ(Σ) ΕΥΡΩΠΗ(Σ):
ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΗ ΠΡΟΣΕΓΓΙΣΗ

Στη μελέτη τίθεται υπό εξέταση η έννοια της «βυζαντινής υλικότητας» πέραν του Βυζαντίου ως άμεση ή έμμεση έκφραση του μεσογειακού υλικού πολιτισμού κατά τη φάση της αποδοχής και προσαρμογής του. Η διαδικασία αυτή παρατηρείται στο πλαίσιο του εκχριστιανισμού της Ανατολικής Ευρώπης της οποίας η πολυεπίπεδη και πολύμορφη σχέση της με τον μεσογειακό κόσμο διαμορφώθηκε δίχως να υπάρξει οργανωμένη ιεραποστολική δραστηριότητα. Η νέα αυτή προσέγγιση στηρίζεται κυρίως στις αρχαιολογικές μαρτυρίες και γίνονται παρατηρήσεις σχετικά με τον χαρακτήρα και τη χρονολόγηση της παρουσίας του βυζαντινού υλικού πολιτισμού στην Ανατολική Ευρώπη μεταξύ 550 και 1450. Η κύρια κατηγορία αντικειμένων ήταν τα πολύτιμα δώρα και τα θρησκευτικά αντικείμενα που έφθασαν στον βορρά ως αποτέλεσμα πολιτικών και πολιτισμικών επαφών, ενώ οι εμπορικές επαφές δεν είχαν ιδιαίτερη συμβολή σε αυτό. Τα εισηγμένα από την ανατολική Μεσόγειο αντικείμενα έγιναν αποδεκτά στην Ανατολική Ευρώπη ως έκφραση ενός μη διαφοροποιημένου «βυζαντινού κόσμου» ακόμη και όταν προέρχονταν από λατινικές ή μουσουλμανικές περιοχές ή εισέρχονταν διαμέσου των σλαβικών χωρών που είχαν αφομοιώσει τον βυζαντινό πολιτισμό. Το συμπέρασμα που διατυπώνεται είναι ότι η υποδοχή του Βυζαντίου στην Ανατολική Ευρώπη είχε αυθόρμητο και πρόσκαιρο χαρακτήρα.

