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FINDS OF CHRISTIAN LITURGICAL AND DEVOTIONAL OBJECTS FROM THE CENTRAL PART OF CHERNIGOV LAND, 11TH-13TH CENTURY

Abstract. *Finds of Christian liturgical and devotional objects from the central part of Chernigov Land, 11th-13th century.* The article contains a review of personal piety items (pectoral crosses, reliquary-crosses, icon-pendants, *etc.*) made of various material (copper alloy, stone, mother-of-pearl, ceramics) and liturgical objects, discovered at rural settlements of Chernigov *Polesie* area. Several of these finds are linked with pilgrimage to the Holy Land. The main portion of stone pectoral crosses had been made locally. The presence of liturgical items and bricks in settlements suggests the existence of churches in the villages of the Chernigov region. The finds of fragments of amphorae also demonstrate the stable forms of local Christian culture. We have reason to believe that the devotional objects were used by different categories of the rural population.

The revival of interest in the rise of Christianity in medieval Rus' is a favourable new development in East European historiography. Research is focusing on the level of Christianization of the early Rus' society during different stages of its development. There has been a considerable increment of artifacts documenting the religious practices of the people of early Rus'. This material includes finds which are a direct reflection of the religious life (remains of churches, church furnishings, items of personal devotion, Christian graves and cemeteries) and objects indirectly related to religious life. The latter include fragments of Byzantine amphorae, used in transporting wine, used during the Eucharist, and olive oil for the icon-lamps, and remains of construction material of the early churches: brick, slabs of pyrophyllitic schist, *etc.*

While the frequency of these artifacts within the urban cultural layers raises no questions their mass appearance in the cultural layers of rural settlements still surprises specialists. This is due mainly to the inadequate investigation of archaeological site in the countryside in most regions of early Rus' despite evident progress observed lately in this respect. However, next to better inspected regions, with multiple settlement sites and cemeteries identified and investigated archaeologically, and, most importantly, with input from this research made available for follow-up studies, many areas are still in need of similar attention (Makarov 2008). For the time being data on objects of personal devotion and other items related to Christian worship deriving from archaeological prospection of rural settlement sites is limited to episodic information. Nevertheless when subjected to closer scrutiny, these finds demonstrate a considerable diversity of items related to Christian worship deriving from settlements and the predominance of items of personal piety in cultural layers of settlements dated to the 11th-13th century, while they are practically absent from synchronous graves (sites on Lake Kubenskoe, Beloozero region; *cf.* Makarov 2004, 260-262) and in central regions of Novgorod Land (Musin 2002, 195). Similar investigations, conducted in the area of Chernigov *Polesie*, confirmed these observations, despite its considerable remoteness from the previous ones.

Objects related to Christian worship deriving from rural settlements of the Chernigov region (cf. Fig. 1) may not be too numerous (for their distribution see Fig. 2) when compared to other categories of finds but are a sufficiently enlightening group. They include objects of personal devotion (reliquary-crosses, pectoral crosses, icon-pendants) and elements of church furnishings (fragments of *horoi*, or sanctuary lamps, hand censers [Greek *katzion*], icon-lamps). Most of these objects were recovered during archaeological surface survey and excavation of rural settlement. Also taken into account are stray finds from settlements, now in the collections of the Chernigov Historical Museum. Let me note that the body of evidence is much larger than is examined here. According to Y. Vinogradskiy a possible cross-encolpion and numerous other medieval Rus' objects were discovered by the local people during early 20th century in the settlement site “Baba” (Chernigov gubernija; cf. Vinogradskiy 1928, 165; Veremeychuk 1990, 48). Personal crosses surfaced near the village L'gov, Chernigov region, Chernigov oblast' (Efimov 1911, 91). A hoard find recovered in 1958 in the suburb of Lyubech, Repki region, Chernigov oblast' known from the medieval chronicles deserves special attention. This deposit consisted of a cylinder padlock, three fragments of an icon-lamp, two fragments of reliquary-crosses and three lumps of melted bronze (Shirinskiy 1997, 156-161).

All in all, seven reliquary-crosses (referred to as encolpia in Russian archaeological literature) were discovered in rural settlements:

1. A complete encolpion, 7.0 x 5.8 cm (with loops – 9.2 x 5.8 cm) was found during inspection of a 11th-13th century settlement at Lanok, on the promontory on the right bank of the Khmil'nytsya river (basin of the Belous river; cf. Shekun 1981, 322; see Fig. 3). Both parts are in cast alloy (Cu+Pb+Zn+Sn)¹, with rectangular, slight expanded ends and images in relief, finished by chiselling. On the obverse,

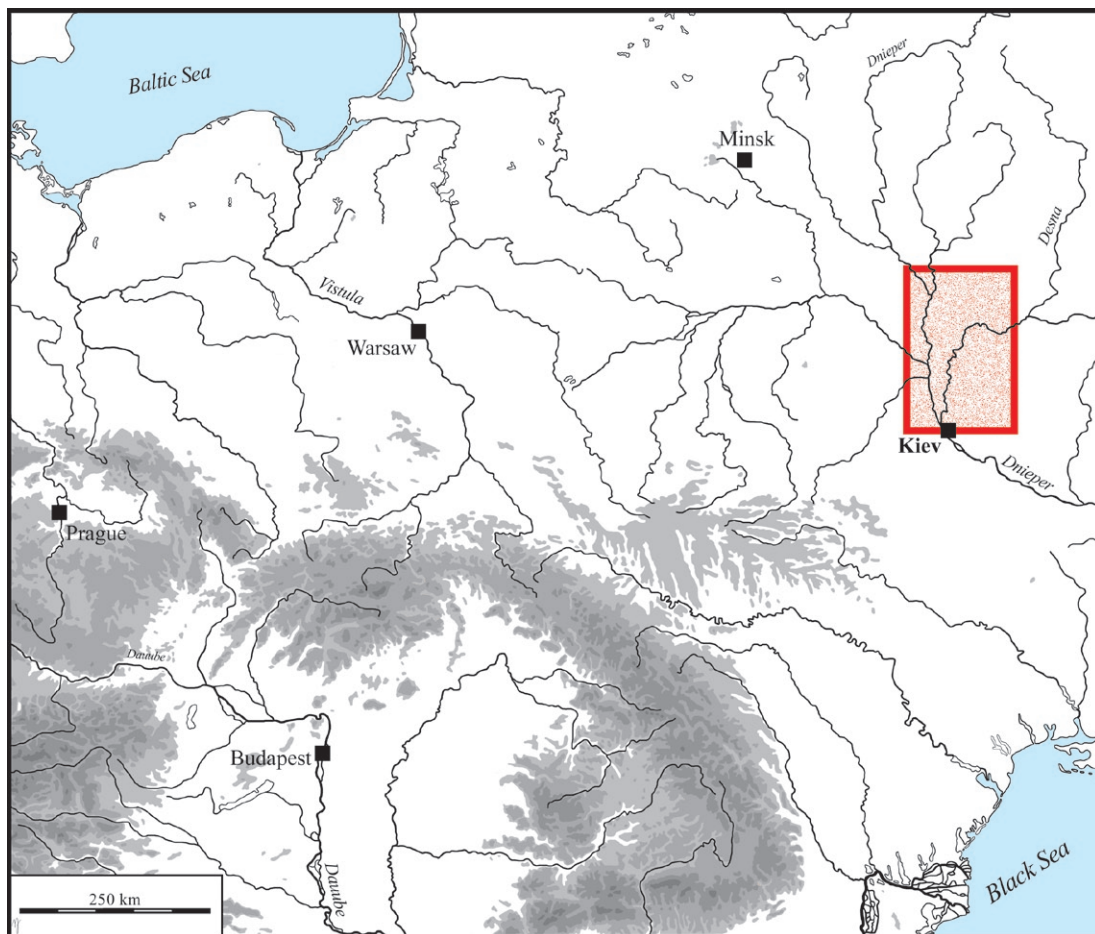


Fig. 1. Location of the research area (Chernigov Land); drawn by I. Jordan.

¹ The chemical analysis of metal was undertaken by Ruslan Orlov, Institute of Archaeology, Kiev, Ukraine.

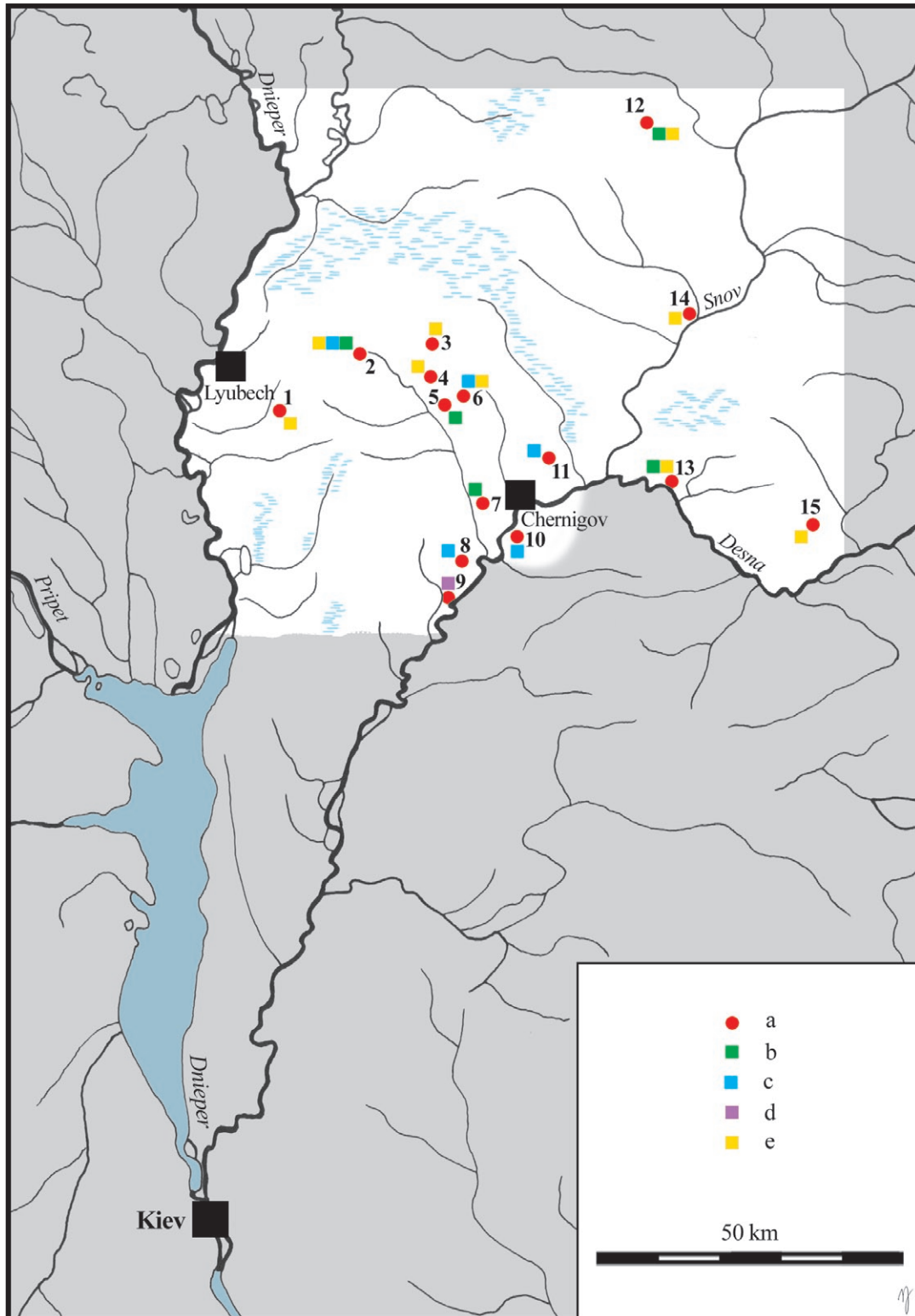


Fig. 2. Finds of Christian liturgical and devotional objects from rural settlements of the Chernigov Land (Ukraine [r. – region; o. – oblast’]); drawn by O. Veremeychuk and I. Jordan.

- 1 – Klonov, Repkin r., Chernigov o.; 2 – Liskove, Repkin r., Chernigov o.; 3 – Ocheretyana Gora, Repkin r., Chernigov o.;
 4 – Syberezh, Repkin r., Chernigov o.; 5 – Lanok, Chernigov r., Chernigov o.; 6 – Shumlay, Chernigov r., Chernigov o.;
 7 – Masany, Chernigov r., Chernigov o.; 8 – Rov-2, Chernigov r., Chernigov o.;

9 – the floodland at Shestovitsa, Chernigov r., Chernigov o.; 10 – Selyshe, Chernigov r., Chernigov o.;

11 – Ovramenkov Krug, Chernigov r., Chernigov o.; 12 – Avtunytchi, Gorodyany r., Chernigov o.;

- 13 – Gorytsya, Mensk r., Chernigov o.; 14 – Rasterep, Gorodyany r., Chernigov o.; 15 – Volynka-1, Sosnitsa r., Chernigov o.
 a – settlement; b – reliquary-crosses; c – liturgical objects; d – icon; e – personal crosses.



Fig. 3. Lanok, Chernigov region, Chernigov oblast', Ukraine. The reliquary-cross; Photo by O. Veremeychuk.

image of crucified Christ wearing the *colobium*; the cross, with the *titulus* and footrest, is flanked by the Mother of God and John the Theologian. Engraved Greek inscription (John 19: 26, 27) is seen under Christ's hands. Symbols of the sun and moon are above the Crucifixion. On the reverse, central depiction of Mother of God Orans, four bust images of the Evangelists in medallions at the ends of each arm of the encolpion, with inscriptions (Korzukhina, Peskova 2003, 46). This specimen belongs in the group of Byzantine reliquary-crosses (type I.1 of G. Korzukhina and A. Peskova [2003]) and dates back to the 11th-12th century.

Other reliquary-crosses which found their way to the rural settlements of the central regions of the Chernigov Land were produced on the territory of early Rus'.

2. The lower half of an encolpion, decorated in high relief (a stray find from private land on the bank of a stream, basin of the Belous river), originates from the settlement Masany² near Chernigov (Fig. 4).

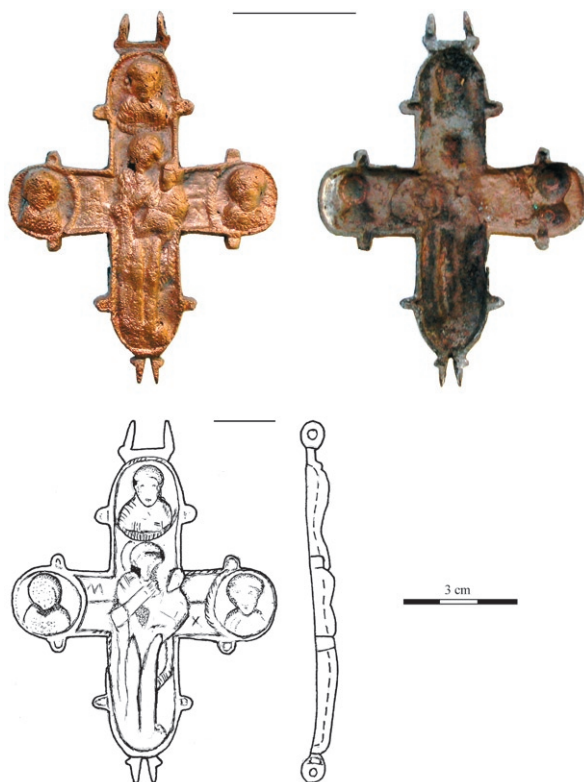


Fig. 4. Masany, Chernigov region, Chernigov oblast', Ukraine. The reliquary-cross; Photo and drawn by O. Veremeychuk.

² Chernigov Historical Museum, Inv. No. arch. 794.

With a full length image of Mother of God Hodegetria and three saints in medallions, poorly cast in copper alloy (evidence of repair on the inner face), 7.8 x 7.0 cm (with loops, 9.5 x 7.0). This encolpion (type II.1 according to G. Korzukhina and A. Peskova [2003]) probably is a rough-out, with a badly preserved relief work and dates to the 12th-13th centuries. With poorly legible letters [M] and X.

3. The lower half of a miniature reliquary-cross with rounded ends recovered from structure No. 145 (12th-first half of 13th century) at Avtunytchi³, on the left bank of the Verpch river (basin of the Snov river). 3.3 x 2.7 cm (upper loops lost; *cf.* Motsya *et al.* 1989, Fig. 269; Motsya, Orlov, Kovalenko 1997, 47; see Fig. 5:3). With a plain cross made by engraved lines and four recessed dots in the middle (type III.3.2; *cf.* Korzukhina, Peskova 2003, 139).

Four other reliquary-crosses belong in the group of encolpia with niello and encrustation.

4. A complete reliquary-cross recovered from structure No. 2, dated to the second half of 12th-first half of 13th century, at Liskove-2⁴, on the upper Belous river (*cf.* Shekun, Veremeychuk 1999, 39; see Fig. 5:1). The cross (3.3 x 2.4 cm, with loops – 4.5 x 2.4 cm) is with an upper suspension loop (1.8 x 0.9 cm) in the form of a cast two-pointed bead with a clear niello pattern, cast Cu+Pb+Sn+Zn alloy (Cu – 74 %, Pb – 12%, Sn – 2.5 %, Zn – 8%, Sb – 2%). According to R. Orlov, this alloy is characteristic both for reliquary-crosses and pectoral crosses as well as for other categories of items made in Kiev (Orlov 2003, 124). A form related to type IV.6.1 (Crucifixion – Mother of God Orans – with straight ends, miniature; *cf.* Korzukhina, Peskova 2003, 168).
5. Another cast copper alloy reliquary-cross related to type IV.6.1 is from the village Gorytsya⁵ (basin of the Desna; *cf.* Fig. 5:2). This encolpion (3.3 x 2.5 cm, with loops – 4.4 x 2.5 cm) differs from the previous one by retaining marks of working with a chisel of both its halves and the presence of an inscription “MP ΘY” over the head of the Virgin, made with thin engraved lines. The niello is partly eroded (Korzukhina, Peskova 2003, 166). It is worth noting that two medieval settlements were identified near the village of Gorytsya in early 20th century – in sites known as “Dvoryshche” and “Provallya” (Uvarova 1906, 92). The Chernigov Historical Museum has in its keeping a group of finds from Gorytsya which include various other small Christian devotional metalwork objects. The archaeological context of these finds cannot be determined at present.
6. A miniature reliquary-cross with expanded ends, with niello images of 4-pointed crosses, type IV.6.3, also from Gorytsya⁶ (2.2 x 1.8 cm, with loops – 3.2 x 1.8 cm; *cf.* Korzukhina, Peskova 2003, 171; see also (Fig. 5:5).
7. The lower half of a reliquary-cross with upper suspension loops, recovered from structure No. 126 (12th century) at Avtunytchi⁷, 2.3 x 1.5 cm, with loops – 2.9 x 1.5 cm (*cf.* Motsya *et al.* 1989, Fig. 164; Motsya, Orlov, Kovalenko 1997, 47, Fig. 13; see Fig. 5:4 [type IV.6.3 – see Korzukhina, Peskova, 2003, 171]).

Much more widespread in rural settlements of the region are assorted pectoral crosses, in copper alloy (10 items), stone (9 items), Kashan lustre ceramics (of porous silicate typical for Central Asian potteries, 1 item) and mother-of-pearl (1 item):

1. The fragment of the upper part of a cross, in white metal, with the image of an Evangelist in a round medallion, recovered during surface survey at Syberezh (surviving length – 2.7 cm; thickness – 0.2 cm; *cf.* Fig. 5:6). With a chunky suspension loop, 1.0 x 0.7 cm, and a hole 0.4 cm in diameter. Apparently, with a relief image of the Crucifixion, the cross is clearly defined. With letters IX [C] on the titulus. On the reverse, an illegible engraved image. Bronze crosses from Novgorod (Sedova 1981, 50) and from the Poltava region (Nechytaylo 2001, 70, Cat. No. 252) are close parallels for the cross from Syberezh.
2. The fragment of a three-lobate cross decorated bifacially with yellow enamel, discovered in dwelling No. 26 at Liskove-2⁸ (second half of 12th -first half of 13th century; *cf.* Sagaydak, Sergeeva, Mikhailov 1997, 31-42; Fig. 5:7).

³ National Museum of History of Ukraine, Kiev, Inv. No. B-5351/410.

⁴ Chernigov Historical Museum, Inv. No. arch. 736.

⁵ Chernigov Historical Museum, Inv. No. 1-40/1/2.

⁶ Chernigov Historical Museum, Inv. No. 1-40/1/1.

⁷ National Museum of History of Ukraine, Kiev, Inv. No. B-5351/409.

⁸ Chernigov Historical Museum, Inv. No. arch. 598.

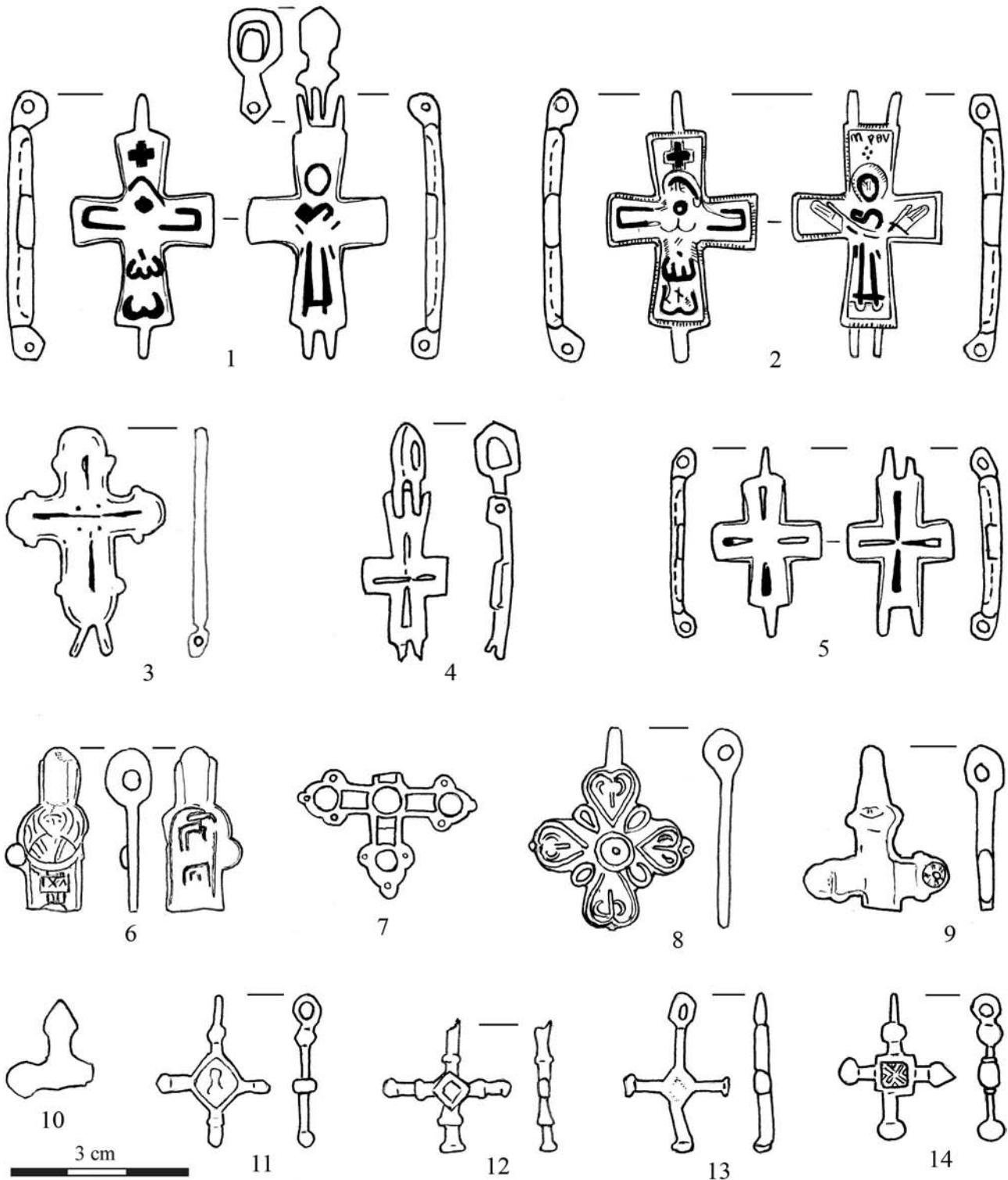


Fig. 5. The copper alloy pectoral and reliquary-crosses from rural settlements of Chernigov Land (Ukraine [r. – region; o. – oblast’]); drawn by O. Veremeychik.

1; 7; 10 – Liskove, Repkin r., Chernigov o.; 2; 5; 8; 9; 14 – Gorytsya, Mensk r., Chernigov o.; 3; 4; 12; 13 – Avtunytchi, Gorodyany r., Chernigov o.; 6 – Syberezh Repkin r., Chernigov o.; 11 – Shumlay, Chernigov r., Chernigov o.

3. An oval-ended double-sided cross without enamel from Gorytsya⁹ (Fig. 5:8). Three-lobate and oval-ended crosses have been traced to a production centre in Podol in Kiev, in the cultural layers from late 12th-early 13th century (with remains of furnaces, whole and fragmented crucibles, and 26 crosses of both types, not yet filled with enamel; cf. Sagaydak, Sergeeva, Mikhailov 1997, 31-42). Similar crosses are dated to late 11th-12th century and gradually go out of use during the 13th century (Mal'm 1966, 116; Nikolaeva, Nedoshivina, 1997, 349).
- 4-5. Two fragments of three-lobate crosses, with no longer legible images, made in copper alloy originate from Gorytsya¹⁰ and Liskove-1¹¹ (Fig. 5:9-10).
- 6-10. The last group are crosses with small knobbed ends: with a diamond-shaped centre and schematic image of a saint, from Shumlay¹² (Fig. 5:11), with a diamond-shaped centre, from Avtunytchi (2 items and 1 fragment made of Cu+Sn+Pb alloy; cf. Motsya, Orlov, Kovalenko 1997, 47; see Fig. 5:12-13), and with a square-shaped centre, from Gorytsya¹³ (Fig. 5:14). The first of these is dated to the 11th-12th centuries, the rest – to 12th-13th centuries (Nikolaeva, Nedoshivina 1997, 349).

The series is completed by eight stone crosses, known as *korsunchiki* (from the Russian/Ukrainian name of Chersonesus) – firmly established in Russian literature since late 19th century (see, e.g., Belyashevskiy 1890, 499-500). Traditionally they were identified as being made of marble and brought to the territory of early Rus' from Chersonesus (Nikolaeva, Nedoshivina 1997, 173). This interpretation was followed by the author of the present study (Veremeychuk 1992, 51; 2004, 400) despite the fact that repeated attempts to identify marble crosses in the collections of museums in Crimea proved unsuccessful. More recently the author was persuaded to revise her opinion by the publication of research results from an archaeological expedition of the Institute of Archaeology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine led by A. Tomashevskiy to the territory of Ovrutsky ridge, Zhitomir oblast', which investigated the remains of production settlements processing pyrophyllite. Rough-outs of pendant crosses and failed pieces, very similar in appearance to marble, were discovered there (Tomashevskiy, Pavlenko, Petrauskas 2003, 136; Tomashevskiy, Pavlenko 2003, 279-281).

Mineralogical determination of six samples of stone of different colour (including a fragment from a fractured piece similar in appearance to the "marble" crosses) confirmed that two dark-green pieces, including a fragment of a cross, and four samples in various shades of red, have an identical composition. All of them are a mixture of clay minerals: montmorillonite, nontronite and pyrophyllite, with some trace content of other minerals. The differences in the colour of the pyrophyllite would be the result of the different proportion of minerals. Consequently, both groups of finds may be regarded as being made of pyrophyllite.

According to some researches of the pyrophyllite workshops, a part of the pieces could have been fired, which gave them a grey colour with white grainy speckles (Tomashevskiy, Pavlenko, Petrauskas 2003, 136; Pavlenko 2005, 204, 209; Pavlenko 2006, 147).

Thus, basing on their morphology determined by analysis, the five crosses from the rural settlements in Chernigov Land may all be said to be of the same material – grey pyrophyllite having a grainy structure: the specimen from Gorytsya¹⁴ – no surviving length, width 1.5 cm, thickness 0.7-0.9 cm; from Liskove¹⁵ – 1.9 x 1.5 x 0.5 cm (Fig. 6:3); from Shumlay¹⁶ – 1.9 x 1.5 x 0.5 cm (Fig. 6:2); from Volynka 1 – length 3 cm, no surviving width, thickness – 0.7 cm, and two other, made of cherry-coloured pyrophyllite in different shades (Liskove¹⁷ – 2.0 x 1.5 x 0.6 cm; Klonov – 1.8 x 1.3 x 0.6 cm). The last of these crosses is with a scratched cross on one of its faces. According to a spoken communication from G. Zharov, one more cross, made of gray pyrophyllite with a grainy structure, was discovered in the settlement site at Rastereb.

⁹ Chernigov Historical Museum, Inv. No. 1-41/1/2.

¹⁰ Chernigov Historical Museum, Inv. No. 1-41/1/3.

¹¹ Chernigov Historical Museum, Inv. No. 43-79/Apx.22.

¹² Chernigov Historical Museum, Inv. No. arch. 368.

¹³ Chernigov Historical Museum, Inv. No. 1-41/1/1.

¹⁴ Chernigov Historical Museum, Inv. No. 1-48/1.

¹⁵ Chernigov Historical Museum, Inv. No. 44-77/Apx.23.

¹⁶ Chernigov Historical Museum, Inv. No. arch. 264.

¹⁷ Chernigov Historical Museum, Inv. No. 47-49/Apx.26.

The crosses are practically the same in size, 1.8-2.4 x 1.3-1.9 cm, except for the cross from site Volynka-1, which has a length of 3 cm. The thickness of all the crosses is 0.5-0.7 cm, except for the one from Gorytsya (0.7-0.9 cm). The cross from Liskove, made of cherry-coloured stone, has octahedral-sectioned ends. Crosses made in “marble-like” pyrophyllite, from the rural settlements of the Chernigov region are of a similar, simple form, with square-sectioned ends and a hole for suspension 2 mm in diameter. All these finds originate from the cultural settlement layer, datable broadly to the period 10th-first half of 13th century. The cross from Klonov, discovered in structure No. 7, which basing on ceramic material and other finds the author antedates to the 12th century, is the only exception (Shekun 1987, 11).

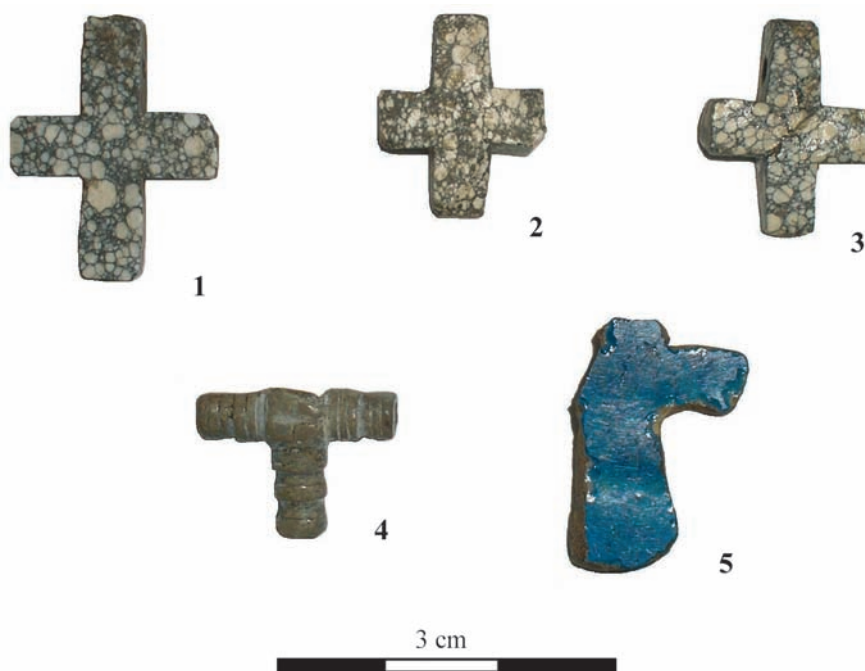


Fig. 6. Pectoral crosses from rural settlements of Chernigov Land (Ukraine [r. – region; o. – oblast’]);

Photo by O. Veremeychuk.

1 – Ocheretyana Gora, Repkin r., Chernigov o.; 2, 4 – Shumlay, Chernigov r., Chernigov o.;

3, 5 – Liskove, Repkin r., Chernigov o.

1-3 – schist; 4 – steatite; 5 – Kashan ceramics.

One more fragment of a cross originates from the cultural layers of the settlement Shumlay¹⁸ (width 1.8 cm; thickness 0.5 cm), its material is gray stone, presumably, steatite (Fig. 6:4), in earlier publications identified as pyrophyllite (Veremeychuk 2010, 348-349). The cross is made of steatite, has round-sectioned ends and a reserved square central area where a cross is engraved and resembles Palestinian steatite crosses (Musin 2006, Fig. 7). Similar forms are known from Bulgaria (Totev 1990, 49, 51). In assemblages from the territory of Bulgaria and Rus’ these crosses are dated to the second half of the 12th-early 13th century (Musin 2006, 178).

A fragment of a unique cross, cut out from a half-faience bowl or dish, with a transparent ultramarine inner and outer glaze, identified as a fragment of Kashan lustre ceramics, was discovered at Liskove¹⁹ (Fig. 6:5). Its edges were broken off unevenly, the thickness of the vessel was 0.6 cm, the paste of gray-white colour. Judging from the surviving fragment of the cross, its horizontal beam was shorter (0.8 cm) than the vertical (1.5 cm). According to an analysis made by V. Koval’ (Institute of Archaeology, Moscow) the vessel was produced in the Near or the Middle East in 12th-13th century. The fact that the cross was made from a vessel suggests the value attached to even a small fragment, especially if the vessel was brought

¹⁸ Chernigov Historical Museum, Inv. No. arch. 265.

¹⁹ Chernigov Historical Museum, Inv. No. arch. 120.

from a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. The possibility that similar ceramics found their way to Rus' not only through trade but also thanks to pilgrims was demonstrated in literature (Koval' 2005, 223). No parallels to this particular cross are known.

Worth special mention is the find of a cross in nacre, with a scratched depiction of crucifix on its surface, from Avtunytchi (2.7 x 2.3-2.4 cm; width of the bars is 1.4-1.6 cm; thickness – 3.5 mm; diameter of the hole for suspension – 2 mm; cf. Motsya, Kovalenko, Gotun *et al.* 1992, 29, Fig. 125; Gotun, Motsya 1993, 69). According to the determination made by Alexei Korniyushin (1962-2004, Institute of Zoology National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Kiev) the cross was made from a fragment of the shell of an oyster (*Ostrea sp*) which takes in its range the Black Sea and the Mediterranean as well as the Arctic region (Motsya, Gotun, Petrauskas 2005, 251-252), although authors of the publication have argued in favour of a southern origin. Finds of mother-of-pearl crosses are well-known from Novgorod, Pskov, Smolensk, Zvenigorod and Chersonesus (Musin 2006, 189). V. Kovalenko mentions two more mother-of-pearl crosses from the Chernigov region – Chernigov and the earthwork at Lyashkovtsi (Kovalenko 2006, 91; 2007). At the same time, the author of the archaeological report noted the material of the pieces from Lyashkovtsi as slate (Shekun 1990, 23, Fig. 51) and this makes the identification as nacre doubtful.

The series closes with a silver circular pendant from Selyshe with the image of the cross (Kuznetsov, Sityi 1992, 35).

A small fretted icon (4.2 x 3.6 x 0.7 cm) made of violet pyrophyllite was discovered by accident in 1970 by the collaborators of Chernigov Historical Museum during a survey of the archaeological sites near the village of Shestovitsa²⁰ (Sita 2002, 28; cf. Fig. 7). In 1984, near its find-spot A. Shekun identified the settlement site “Zaplava”, dated to the second half of 13th-14th century (Shekun 1995, 113). During her work on the catalogue of small medieval Rus' stone icons Tatiana Nikolaeva was unable to inspect the icon in the Chernigov History Museum (Nikolaeva 1983, 62).



Fig. 7. Shestovitsa, Chernigov region, Chernigov oblast' (Ukraine). The icon from the floodland at Shestovitsa. Pyrophyllite schist; Photo by O. Veremeychuk.

This icon is uniface, of rectangular form (its upper part is broken off), with a half-length figure of St. Nicholas in high relief, depicted wearing the *omoforion*, right hand raised in blessing, an open Gospel Book in his left, not covered by clothes. The saint's robes are marked with soft folds. The nimbus is in relief, plain, with a double border. The lower half of the face, with a round forked beard and whiskers, is depicted on the surviving part of the icon. The icon has a border in relief. To the right of the head, are legible some letters from an inscription arranged vertically – NH/KO (Fig. 7). The motif of an opened Gospel Book is rarely encountered in small religious artwork. The image of a lightly opened Gospel appears on a fragment of an icon of St. Nicholas made of steatite originating from Vladimir (Sedova, Mukhina 1999, 160-161, Fig. 1). The fact that this icon was manufactured with special skill suggests it is earlier in its origin than the settlement (which is dated to at least mid-13th century). V. Putsko associates the appearance of artistic stone carving with

²⁰ Chernigov Historical Museum, Inv. No. 38-22/A-217.

the coming to Kiev of master craftsmen from Constantinople at the beginning of the 13th century (Putsko 2007, 122). The extended use of objects such as icons is something met with often enough.

Compared to objects of personal devotion finds of church furnishings from settlements are more rare. Worth special note are finds of hand censers (*katzion*) known from settlements of Chernigov region. One of these, in appearance like a small hemispherical cup (diameter 8.5 cm, height 3 cm), on a circular base with a diameter 3.5 cm (Fig. 8:2), originates from structure No. 19 (second half of 12th-first half of 13th century) at

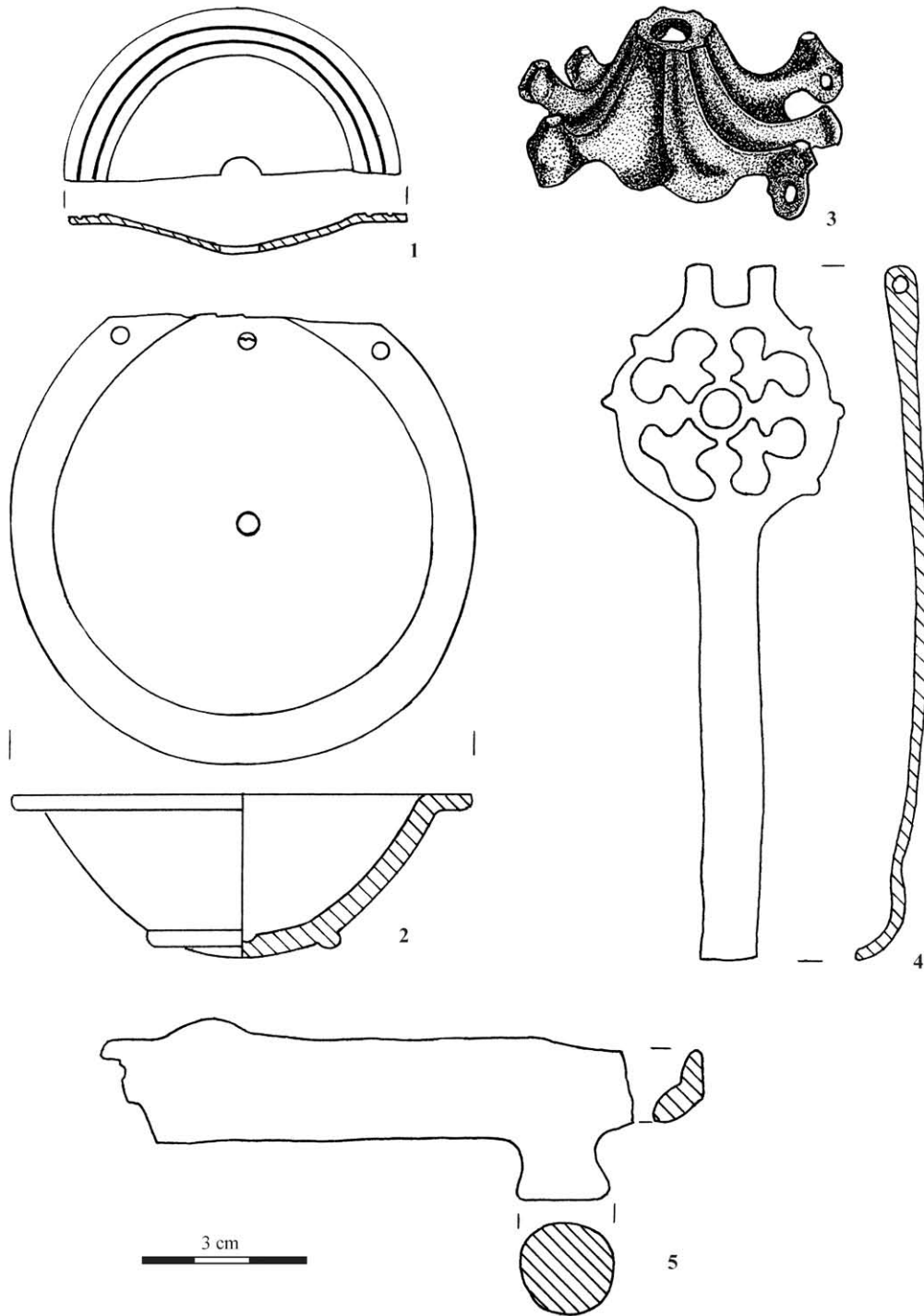


Fig. 8. Fragments of liturgical objects (icon lamps and *horoi*; copper alloy) from settlement finds of Chernigov Land (Ukraine [r. – region; o. – oblast’]); drawn by O. Veremeychuk.

1 – Liskove, Repkin r., Chernigov o.; 2, 5 – Ovramenkov Krug, Chernigov r., Chernigov o.;
3, 4 – Rov-2, Chernigov r., Chernigov o.

Ovramenkov Krug²¹ (Veremeychik 1987, 316). The handle is not preserved, but there are three holes where it was originally attached. This piece is cast Cu+Pb+Sn alloy with a high content of lead – up to 30%. According to R. Orlov, this shows that the mediaeval craftsmen understood very well that their piece was to serve as a fire-pan (Orlov 2003, 125). A fragment of a decorative handle of a hand censer (11 x 9 cm) with a relief image of two birds, probably peacocks, the Tree of Life between them, cast in copper alloy, was discovered in a settlement at Selyshe²² in structure No. 1 (12th-first half of 13th century; *cf.* Kuznetsov, Sityi 1992, 35; see also Fig. 9). Several finds of hand censers and their fragments are known from Chersonesus (Darkevich 1976, 55; Kalashnik 1989, 172, Fig. 3; Bank, Zalesskaya 1995, 81-82; Denisova 2005, 45, Fig. 9). In early Rus' sites hand censers were discovered at Iziaslavl (Gorodishche village, Shepetovka region, Khmel'nitskiy oblast'; *cf.* Myrolyubov 1983, 53-54; Bank, Zalesskaya 1995, 80-81), in the earthwork at Monastyryok, Kanev region, Cherkassy oblast' (Maksimov, Petrashenko 1988, 51), the handle of a hand censer was found in Chernigov (Kovalenko, Putsko 1995, 83). Worth special mention is a fragment of hand censer in the form of a hemispherical cup with a circular base, now with a broken off decorative handle, from the settlement Grygorivka, Bakhmach region, Chernigov oblast' (Petrashenko 2005, 96, Fig. 49). Similar finds are known from settlements in other regions of Southern Rus'.



Fig. 9. Selyshe, Chernigov region, Chernigov oblast', Ukraine. Handle of the hand censer from the settlement; Photo by O. Veremeychik.

Next to hand censers, assorted fragments of icon lamps and *horoi* were recovered from settlement sites near Chernigov. The fragment of an icon lamp cast in Cb+Sn+Pb+Zn alloy was among the materials secured at the settlement at Shumlay²³ (Fig. 10). Its diameter is about 12 cm, diameter of the bottom – 5.7 cm, height – 5.5 cm.

²¹ Chernigov Historical Museum, Inv. No. arch. 574.

²² Chernigov History Museum, Inv. No. arch. 893.

²³ Chernigov Historical Museum, Inv. No. arch. 255.



Fig. 10. Shumlay, Chernigov region, Chernigov oblast', Ukraine. The icon-lamp from the settlement; Photo by O. Veremeychuk.

Two loops for suspension survive on the upper edge. A piece separating the chains of an icon lamp and a fragment of the plate of a *horos*, in openwork, were discovered in dwelling No. 7 (first half of 13th century) at Rov-2 (Fig. 8:3²⁴-4). There is also a bowl-like base of the candlestick of a *horos*²⁵ with a diameter of 6 cm cast of Cu+Zn+Pb+Sn alloy (Fig. 8:1). And finally, a fragment of the bottom part of a candlestick, made of Cu+Pb+Sn alloy from Ovramenkov Krug²⁶ (Fig. 8:5).

The presence of these elements of church furnishings in settlements (Liskove, Ovramenkov Krug, Rov-2, Selyshe and Shumlay) testifies to the existence of church buildings in villages which were not far from Chernigov. Moreover, there is also evidence from the settlement at Liskove which suggests the presence of a wooden church. A cemetery with pit graves from the 12th century (23 burials) was excavated on the left bank of the Belous (Liskove-1), lying around a small (6 x 8 m) area which was without the remains of any structures (Shekun, Veremeychuk 1999, 43-44, Fig. 85). The burials are situated to the north, east and south of it; but to the west, there is a square of around 100 m² without buildings or pits. It is quite likely that there used to be a wooden frame church here, now destroyed by ploughing, with a square-shaped court before it. Fragments of pyrophyllite millstones were discovered in one of the graves (No. 4, burial of a man aged 40-45 years), under the head and at his feet. Similar burials with a stone pillow and, sometimes, a stone at the head and at the foot, have been discovered near churches (Makarov 1981, 111). In Makarov's view the absence of grave goods and ornaments in these burials testifies to an ascetic or monastic life of the buried individual (Makarov 1981, 113).

The discovery of a square-shaped fragment of stained glass with two oblique corners (3 x 3 x 0.4 cm) in structure No. 25 at Liskove-2 is a further proof of the existence of a church. The glass has exfoliated, at centre it is greenish in hue, transparent, 0.1 cm thick, and on both sides it is covered with a dark, thicker glassy matter. Similar finds are rare enough in urban deposits (Lyadova 2005, 149) and this makes this fragment of stained glass from a rural settlement very special indeed.

Another group of finds which document the existence of church buildings are bricks. Their fragments discovered in the study area were all without signs of whitewash. Bricks could be used in the building of stoves, parallel examples are known from the ramparts of Chernigov, where brick was used in building the base of domestic stoves, and from the Yelets-Dormition Monastery, where a stove, built entirely of bricks was investigated (Novyk 2007, 302), and from Kiev and Staraya Ryazan' (Ivakin 1996, 116, 169, 181; Chernetsov, Strikalov 2003, 27). Taking into consideration the quantity of the fragments of burnt brick in raised dwellings from the 14th century at Shestovitsa-Zamglay we may assume that a stove or its part was made from this

²⁴ Chernigov Historical Museum, Inv. No. arch. 468.

²⁵ Chernigov Historical Museum, Inv. No. arch. 740.

²⁶ Chernigov Historical Museum, Inv. No. arch. 120.

building material (Veremeychuk 2007, 369). An accumulation of brick not far from the settlement Ocheretyana Gora near the source of the river Stryzhen', 25 km to the north-west of Chernigov, requires special emphasis. Here, in a waterlogged area 50 m from the settlement, fragments of brick without traces of whitewash were discovered inside the trench, lying in a vertical or a slightly inclined position, between 2.5 cm and 3.2 cm thick. By the author of this excavation this find was interpreted as a shipment of bricks, some 30-40 in all, all of which presumably had sunk, together with the boat carrying them (Shekun 1990, 20-21, Fig. 44-46).

It is hardly possible to suppose that the production of bricks would have been arranged far (sometimes as far 40-50 km) from the place of major construction, in this case, from Chernigov, all the more so as brick kilns were identified in Chernigov (Shekun 1989, 64-69; Rudenok, Novyk 2000, 137-138). More likely, raised structures were built also in some earthworks and settlement sites of the region. In the 1970s the site at Syberezh, 4 km from Ocheretyana Gora, where fragments of bricks are also encountered, the local people ploughed up a burial covered with a slab of pyrophyllite. Similar burials were usually made next to churches. In early 1980s this slab could still be seen lying in the doorway of the local medical outpatients' clinic.

Also notable is the presence in settlements of the study region of fragments of amphorae from the Byzantine environment (484 fragments of 267 amphorae from 47 settlements have been analysed and their number continues to grow as a result of archaeological investigation; cf. Veremeychuk, Koval' 2005, 47-56). Parish churches and monasteries were regular consumers of wine and olive oil. However, as in the case of brick, finds of amphorae may not be connected only to church usage, the lay people living in the villages could also have used these products. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake not to take into account these finds in the context studied above.

It should be noted that objects of personal devotion were encountered only in the cultural layer in the settlements. Not a single cross was discovered in the 12th century cemetery at Liskove, while in the cultural layer of the settlement datable to the same period there were various objects of personal piety. A similar situation is observed in central regions of the Novgorod Land (Musin 2002, 195).

Where they could be dated, objects of personal devotion and fragments of church furnishings were placed in the 12th-first half of 13th century. Only a small number of finds were datable, by analogy, to the 11th century. Some of these objects are imports, presumably brought from pilgrimages made to the Holy Land (the encolpion from Lanok, the steatite crosses, the pieces made of mother-of-pearl and of Kashan lustre ceramics). At the same time, most of these articles appear to be produces of workshops active in the towns of early Rus' and are widespread in the cultural layers dating from the 12th-13th centuries.

Observation of the appearance of these finds from central regions of Chernigov Land shows that objects associated with Christian worship recovered in urban sites are practically no different from those discovered in open settlements in the countryside. The only difference is that the concentration of these items of Christian worship and devotion in urban sites is higher than in rural ones. These finds give us all the reason to assert that the religious ideology of the urban and the rural population in Chernigov Land did not differ, at least, not in the 12th-13th century.

Резюме. Церковная утварь и предметы личного благочестия XI-XIII вв. центральных районов Черниговской земли. В статье рассматриваются предметы личного благочестия (кресты-энколпионы, кресты-тельники, иконки) и детали церковной утвари (ручные кадила-кацеи, фрагменты лампад, лампадофоров и хоросов), обнаруженные на сельских поселениях Черниговского Полесья. Приводятся данные о химическом составе металла, из которого изготовлены анализируемые предметы. Исследование учитывает 7 энколпионов и более 20 нательных крестов, изготовленных из различных материалов.

Обращают на себя внимание кресты из стеатита и перламутра (*ostrea sp*), предположительно связанные с паломничеством в Святую Землю, и крест из полу-фаянсовой кашиной керамики, отражающий ценность оригинального сосуда, возможно также связанного с паломничеством, для изготовившего крест индивидуума. В статье приведены наблюдения за культовыми предметами, изготовленными из пиррофилитового сланца – овручского шифера, которые производились в Древней Руси. Автор опровергает мнение о происхождении большинства каменных нательных крестов, со второй половины XIX в. именуемых «корсунчиками», из Херсонеса. Находка пиррофилитовой иконки с образом свт. Николая на поселении Шестовицы свидетельствует о распространении почитания этого святого в XIII в. Присутствие на поселениях предметов церковной утвари, витражных стекол и плинфы позволяет предположить наличие церквей в селах округа Чернигова, хотя известно, что плинфа применялась и для строительства печей. Предположения о существовании сельских храмов возможно сделать и на основе анализа топографии местных кладбищ, которая в ряде случаев позволяет выявить незанятые погребениями участки. Находки многочисленных фрагментов амфор, которые служили для транспортировки вина и масла, в том числе и для церковных нужд, также свидетельствует о стабильном функционировании местной церковной культуры. В статье отмечается отсутствие предметов личного благочестия в синхронных погребениях некрополей, которые могут быть отнесены к исследованным поселениям. Сделаны выводы о том, что предметы личного благочестия могли использоваться разными категориями сельского населения, а христианская культура селян практически не отличалась от культуры современных им горожан.

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