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Kyivan Rus Kolts with Enamels and Niello: Genesis, Sources of Inspiration, Iconography, Attribution Issues

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Abstract---Kolts of the Kyivan Rus era is a Ukrainian goldsmiths' brand, personification of the highest achievements of artistic thought of the then jewelers, behind which you can feel the huge inner spiritual culture of the masters and their professional impeccable knowledge of materials and techniques. At the same time, the ability of Kyivan Rus authors to crystallize their own domestic style is striking. Its special refinement indicates the deep knowledge the local people had of the best creative achievements of the artistic ecumene, awareness of many of the then fashionable trends of jewelry art in Europe and the East. Currently a significant part of the available artifacts from the heritage of jewelers of the Kyivan Rus era requires verification. After all, using a low level of provenance, individual collections announce fake or "modified" or reconstructed kolts to be the real pre-Ukrainian ones. In this regard, the factors of professional art history attribution are extremely important, though they are not widely used in the circles of archeologists, historians, and local history museum specialists.

Keywords---alkonost, attribution issues, Byzantium, Gamayun, genesis, iconography, inspiration, pendants, Persia.

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Introduction

In the modern art space, there is a need to understand the sources of inspiration of the Ancient Rus kolts. It is connected, first of all, with the understanding of the origin of certain traditions of wearing crescent-shaped jewelry in our area and the likely ways of such borrowings. Today, there are several assumptions of well-known experts concerning this subject. But no version has been fully confirmed. But, for the lack of reliable information, fakes regularly appear in museum collections and on the black market, being presented as real historical and cultural masterpieces, and sometimes they are even exhibited under the guise of originals (Castilla, 2019).

Regarding the term kolts in particular (according to the old Rus spelling “koltky” from the verb “koltykhatysia”, that is, to swing, hang out), it can be first found in the description of the appearance of Prince Svyatoslav (ca. 982–1015), the son of Saint Volodymyr the Baptizer. Thus, describing the latter during his meeting with the Byzantine Emperor Tzimiskes, the eyewitness Lev Dyacon testified that he, the named above, “in one ear had a golden kolt decorated with two pearls with a red garnet in the middle” (Onatskiy, 1959). These notes record the fact of wearing such jewelry by men, but the description of the kolt (koltok, kovt) suggests that any crescent-shaped (moon-like) or disk-shaped (solar) jewelry was called that way in the X century. At the same time, the description of the item makes it clear that it did not look like those kolts that became common no later than the XI (starry, niello, gems) – XII (enamel) centuries, when their varieties began to fit into four main typological groups (Joseph & Easow, 2019). Namely:

- Kolts in the form of star ornaments on earwire;
- Kolts with niello, gems and zoomorphic-ornithomorphic or zoomorphic motifs;
- Kolts with beads, often performed in the technique of filigree;
- Kolts with enamel inserts of anthropomorphic-ornithomorphic-zoomorphic and skevomorphic or fitomorphic (polymorphic), ornithomorphic-zoomorphic, ornithomorphic, anthropomorphic appearance.

Thus, the decoration of Prince Svyatoslav most likely belonged to the first three groups, and most likely was close in style to things fashionable from the era of Justinian (VI century) with the Byzantine nobility, where large pearls edged the central red stones (rubies, garnets, spinel), forming similar “blossom clusters” (Ballestrazzi, 2020). Different scientists associate the majority of famous kolts with enamels and niello dated to the end of the XI – first half of the XIII centuries, a period that is considered the pinnacle of the achievements of the national jewelry business, with various sources of origin. Thus Rybakov (1971), in a special survey devoted to this problem, noted that most researchers, starting with Kondakov (1896); Makarova (1975), wrote about the genesis of the kolts, which sprang from the Byzantine temporal pendants, or from similar types of jewelry that the local masters had been making for the nomadic nobility starting from VI century (Ryabtseva, 2005; Zhilina et al., 2012). However, another group of researchers led by O. Aibabin connects the appearance of kolts in the Kyivan Rus environment with the Khazar (Polovtsian) nobles, who together with the Jewish population made up a significant part of the population of Kyiv and Rus as a

whole for the specified period (Aibabin 2013). Nevertheless, all the above-outlined versions need to be verified through art criticism, not just historical analysis of memorials and research methods, which will include elements of art criticism attribution and expert evaluation (Holyk, 2020). Purpose of the research is to examine the genesis and sources of inspiration of Kyivan Rus kolts with enamels and niello, analyze iconography, and outline the issues of attribution and expert evaluation of the items of this group from museum collections (Yang et al., 2015; Li et al., 2018).

Features of the fashion of the Byzantine period

It is known that the Renaissance period initiated by Justinian continued in Byzantium throughout the VI-VI centuries, and influenced the formation of the style of products of the entire Greek-Latin ecumene up to the beginning – the first half of the VIII century. That is, it was the beginning of the iconoclastic period, which lasted right up to the beginning of the IX century, when, as in Islam, the veneration of icons became identified with idolatry according to the Old Testament lines “Do not make an idol for yourself – no form whatsoever – of anything in the sky <...> You shall not worship them or serve them”.

Byzantine fashion, known for the classic portrait of Justinian in the mosaics of Ravenna, captured the image of a valiant zealous advocate of Christianity, who tamed pagans, and eventually supporters of Christian heresies (in particular, Manichaeism-Zoroastrians with Persian ancestry, Arians of Africa, Monophysites-Armenians, whose outposts were spread from Syria and Egypt to the Caucasus) (Figure 1). The designated Byzantine Emperor captured the Bosporan Kingdom and laid the foundation for the formation of the so-called Crimean Gothia – the province of Byzantium in the territory of that peninsula. He also settled these territories with the suzerains of the Goths and Huns, who brought an animal style to the area (Freze, 2019).

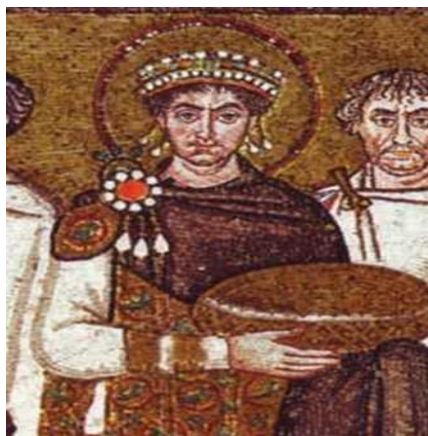


Figure 1. Image of the Emperor Justinian the Great: a fragment of a mosaic in the Basilica of San Vitale in Ravenna (modern territory of Italy), dated 548

It was under Justinian that the strategic defensive fortresses in Aluston (modern Alushta), Gorzuit (now Gurzuf), Simbolon (present-day Balaklava) were

established, and the walls of Bosphorus (within the modern city of Kerch) and Sugdeya (now Sudak area) were strengthened. Here the nomads of the new wave mingled with the representatives of the old one. First of all, those were the descendants of people from the Iranian world – Scythians and Scytho-Taurians, who had constant communication with the Persians from the time of the Achaemenids and Sassanids (the latter had a special tradition of creating silver and gold items). Later, after the Romans, Byzantines, Turkic-Khazars and Pechenegs, the Rus population led by Volodymyr fought for the lands of the Crimea. The latter, due to many months of besiegement, captured the Tauric Chersonesos and forced the Byzantine Emperor Basil II to give him the Byzantine Princess Anna ([Eckert & Stacey, 2000](#); [Røpke, 2009](#)). This happened in 988, the year when the Grand Duchess Olga and Volodymyr himself were baptized, and later the entire Kyiv-Rus family of Grand Dukes of the Rurik dynasty ([Yang et al., 2020](#)).

Relations with the Byzantines, begun by a dynastic marriage at the end of the X century (which continued with Anna until 1011), were further significantly strengthened from the middle of the XI century. Then, after the Ruthenians' March on Constantinople in 1043, Vsevolod Yaroslavovych married the daughter (according to another version – a niece) of the Byzantine Emperor Constantine IX and Olena Skliryna in 1046. This woman – Mariya Monomakh, over time in Rus received a second (probably a monacal) name – Anastasia (died in 1067). Most likely, it was she who became the fashion queen for jewelry of a certain style in the Kyivan Rus aristocratic society (she lived at that time in Pereyaslav near Kyiv, where her husband reigned). It is a common fact that in Pereyaslav (the city is laid at a distance of 85 km from Kyiv) there was a large settlement of klobuks (otherwise known as the Kara-Kalpaks). This was a Turkic community that was in close relations with all Polovtsian-Alanian unions, because most of the Kyivan Rus princes were born from Polovtsian princesses and raised in Polovtsian camps. In particular, starting from Volodymyr Svyatoslavovych's wife, Rognida Rohvolodivna (Goryslava, monacal name – Anastasia, ca. 960 – ca. 1000) ([Sternberg, 1997](#); [Sellés, 1996](#)).

Given the spread of kolts in the Kyivan Rus environment from the XI century (star-shaped, with niello-gems, enamel), it is interesting to trace the connection between the form and content of the decoration of these ornaments on our lands with analogues known from various museum and private collections of the world. Thus, analogies of crescent-shaped forms resembling Kyivan Rus kolts are found, first of all, in the Eastern peoples who inhabited the Byzantine provinces, namely in Persia and Syria, as well as in lunulas ([Teichmüller, 1989](#); [Baker & Xuan, 2016](#)). The latter spread and were adopted by many countries in Asia and Eastern Europe. Such decorations in the territory of Kyivan Rus were perceived as part of the cult of fertility and were gradually identified with the celebration of the Mother of God, when the local people began to “transfer” the Pantheon of pagan deities “into notes” of Orthodoxy (Crescent-shaped) ([Hallot & Gil, 2019](#)).

But since the latter process was long, complex and very difficult, the kolts, which began to be produced exactly in the above period – from the second half-rather the end of the XI – the first third of the XIII centuries – representatives of the pagan Pantheon of the pagan period (approximately to the middle – second half of

the XII century) were reflected as well, and later – already those of the Christianized world. And if the first still had strong echoes of the interpretation of the system of things endowed with apotropaic-amulet (magic, derived from beliefs about the protective properties of frightening deities, mythical creatures, chimeras and beasts – Medusa, the Egyptian dwarf Bes, lion, shedu, Sphinx, the Griffin, Senmurv) functions, later on they were acquiring the signs of protection from the evil forces, performed in line with Christian symbols. In fact, during the period of getting used to wearing kolts, Rus was living through the very stage of transition from pagan polytheism to Christian monotheism, which was previously passed by Byzantium, when it rejected the pagan gods of Olympus and defined a new Pantheon for honoring ([Fernández et al., 2018](#); [Melin, 2003](#)).

De facto in Kyiv under Volodymyr, the seven main deities were replaced by three – God the Father, the Holy Spirit and Jesus Christ, although not without the Mother of God, John the Baptist, archangels, Evangelist apostles, and guardian angels. Changes in the macrocosm and microcosm of the Ruthenians occurred synchronously with transformations in the figurative system of kolts, which the local people were just getting used to wearing. This was reflected in their first pagan, then mixed pagan-Christian iconography, and in the subsequent transition to an exclusively Orthodox interpretation of the content of amulets. After all, the last were worn, like with the ancient Aryans, in places associated with the upper chakras, in the area of the solar plexus, third-eye, and on top, in the middle of the head (in this case it is necessary to remember the decorations of the middle parting of the head which are common for the Hindus). In addition, they covered the vulnerable crown, temples, ears, “clearing” the information for the senses, energy, saturating it correctly with the sacred symbols necessary for the internal content of a person ([Franco, 2020](#)).

When you carefully examine the first prototypes of the forms of Kyiv-Rus kolts, you can see the similarity with the ancient antefixes of the classical era of Greek art, in particular with the image of the Gorgon Medusa. They looked like a semicircular manikin with an anthropomorphic face, surrounded by symbolic rays-waves, decoratively organized in thin petals. In the Christian period, it was believed that the Gorgon Medusa guarded the entrance to the otherworld (Figure 2).



Figure 2. Antefix in the form of the head of the Gorgon Medusa (Campania, VI century BC)

Given the ancient heritage of Byzantium, which was dominated by the Greek culture, we can assume that such decorative elements of the roof tops of buildings that were endowed with security functions, iconographically influenced the development of other branches of art, including jewelry. In particular, in the territories of the Holy lands of Byzantium with the then Iran and Syria. The latter for the specified period of time (X – the first third of the XIII century) were the remains of the former lands of one of the first two cradles of the European civilization – Assyria in the expanses of Mesopotamia (Matveev, 2019).

This country then was composed by the historical territories of the modern Syria, Lebanon and Palestine, that is, the Holy Lands where Christianity was born, with which the Ruthenians continued active relations from the XI century. Thus, as early as in 1030 the Kyiv-Rus men together with others protected the Byzantine Emperor Roman III from the Arab captivity near Aleppo. Already in the next year, according to the historian V. Pashuto “Foreign Policy of the Ancient Rus” their presence was recorded in the army that took over Edessa on the Euphrates (Pashuto, 1968). But, returning to the issue of early Christian heresies, it is worth noting that on the lands of the Byzantine Empire itself, there was an endless struggle of the old forces of light and darkness with the new ones. And that is why some views on the adoption of Christianity for a certain time were polemical, the rhetoric about the probable “imperfections” of the Orthodox religion remained, as well as about the need to find ways to understand the essence of the content of individual Christian postulates in accordance with the codes of morality and the mental axes of traditions of individual regions (Uleman et al., 1996; Brüne et al., 2007).

Thus, Arianism, which was forbidden even at the Council of Nicaea in 325, in Nicaea, insisted on the animal nature of Jesus Christ. At the same time, the creed was finally adopted, based on the one indivisible Trinity of God the Father, the Holy Spirit and the Son. However, the followers of Arius' teaching for several more centuries were supporting and spreading the idea that there was a time when Jesus did not exist at all, and they were making public the fact that He was not created out of things existent. Later, the dispute about the nature of the Latter reached the wording “essence” and “hypostasis” in 359, which do not exist in the Scriptures. The debate over subordination in the Trinity and the search for the way the Holy Spirit went out of God the Son, and the comparison of the existing state of things with Hellenic polytheism, technically, made the reason for the split of the Church in the XI century into the Eastern (Orthodox) and Western (Catholic).

At the same time, the Manichaeans also supported the pantheistic microcosm of personal beliefs in Christianity. This heresy consisted of a mixture of Kabbalistic, Zoroastrian and early Christian teachings, put together by Mani, Persian by origin, and written down in Syriac Aramaic language (concurrently, it is worth recalling that the ancient Aramaic was also the native language of Jesus Christ). This dualistic doctrine of the struggle of good and evil for the sake of wider dissemination was translated into Pahlavi, Greek, Latin, Coptic, Sogdian, Uyghur, and even Chinese, because the postulates of this direction were found both in the East and in Europe (Borris & Zecho, 2018; Sukadi et al., 2021).

Mani, who in the third century opposed the Magi-fire-worshippers of the old religion of Persia, called himself the last of the prophets of the same level with Abraham, Moses, Zarathustra, Jesus, and Buddha. And he argued for strict balance in everything from nutrition to sex and work. The outlined dichotomy and asceticism formed the basis for understanding the universe and world order in many peoples of the East and Europe that were going through a transition period. After all, it was believed that the forces of light and darkness eventually mixed, began to disperse and a struggle broke out between them (Onyshchenko, 1982). These images were especially close to the cosmogony of the ancient Slavs, in which subordination was manifested in relation to the World Tree. Like Mani, they believed that the World Tree was a Tree of Good. However, given the duality of the world, there was also a second tree in manichaeum – the Tree of Death, whose genesis was linked to the South. At the same time, the ruler of the Tree of Life was the God-Father or the Great Father of Light, whose four faces were Divinity, Light, Power and Wisdom (four-part composition, which will later find its embodiment in the “universe” of kolts and quadrifolium segments of Ryasnas).

These virtues were correlated with intelligence, knowledge, wisdom, thought, and prudence, which had under control the 12 grace qualities (which will later be the measure of the segments of kolt ensembles and Ryasna pendants for them): by supreme power, wisdom, victory, reconciliation, purity, truth, faith, long-suffering, uprightness, benevolence, justice, and light, which overcome myriads of evil spirits and demons led by the King of Darkness. According to the interpretation of Manichaeism followers, Father of Greatness was embodied in the Mother of Life and First Man, messengers of the latter is the Living Spirit, the Friend of Light and the Great Constructor. From the lobes of light (light streams), which were not touched by the personification of Darkness, the Living Spirit created the Sun and Moon. At the same time, Jesus Radiance profited from the Tree of Life to pave a path where other souls could separate themselves from the darkness (Pashuto, 1968; Pekars' Ka, 1997).

Characteristic of the early Christian works of Kyivan Rus

The outlined Gnostic cosmogony is very clearly reflected in the early Christian works of Kyivan Rus. In particular, in the kolts, which became those visions of the iconic Sophia Wisdom, that allowed us to realize the way to approach and assimilate with the bifurcated Creator. At the same time, the bearers of other transitions of early Christianity, Monophysites, mainly representatives of the Eastern provinces of the Byzantine Empire, from the V-VI centuries AD did not share the single divine nature of Jesus Christ. But the Syrian Nestorians recognized the one God-human will of Christ, which was embodied in him from the moment of conception. Their Church of the East, then located within the Persian Empire, actively spread its Christological ideas through missionary work. At that time, most of the inhabitants of Syria, as well as Iran and Khorasan (the historical territory, part of modern Eastern Iran and Turkmenistan) professed Nestorianism, which brought together the spiritual culture of these peoples.

Given that before Latin, Akkadian was the language of correspondence in the East from ancient times (Akkad was located in the lands of modern Iraq), and the bridge between Egypt and Mesopotamia ran through the tangent to Syria land of

Phoenicia, it was from there that the writing spread to all European languages. Accordingly, travelers-educators were travelling from the lands that are now located in modern Lebanon to the Kyivan Rus territories and carrying not only the basics of science, but also a certain culture of clothing and its decoration. In particular, in the field of wearing crescent-shaped and disc-shaped earrings, samples of which have touches of the Arab-Muslim art of the Fatimid Caliphate (909–1171), which covered simultaneously the lands of Syria, Egypt, Palestine, the Hijaz (the territory of modern Saudi Arabia) and the Maghreb countries – Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia (Figures 3-4).



Figures 3. 1. Pendant with the image of the Bes God (Achaemenid Iran, VI-IV centuries; BC collection of Louvre, Paris, France); 2-3. Syrian earrings of the XI century (collection of Metropolitan museum); 4. Arab gold jewelry of the Fatimid era (X-XII century, kolt with an insert with cloisonne enamel from the Collection of the Museum of Historical Treasures of Ukraine)



Figures 4. 1. Kyivan Rus gold kolt with cloisonne enamel and typical “rays” around the dis (X-XII centuries, collection of the Museum of Historical Treasures of Ukraine); 2. Gold kolt with cloisonne enamel with solar rays at the ends united in a continuous circle by a strip on the outer edge (middle of the XII century; collection of the Museum of Historical Treasures of Ukraine); 3. Silver colt with a Semargla motif with niello and gilt from a treasure found on a hillfort in Old Ryazan (Kyivan Rus, the second half of the XII – beginning of the XIII century; collection of Ryazan Historical and Architectural Reserve)

The oldest prototypes of Kyivan Rus kolts are Iranian items of the Achaemenid period – pendants and earrings (dating from the time around the VI-V centuries BC – a period which is synchronous with the high classics in ancient Greek art). These Zoroastrians worshipped the God of fire Ahuramazdi, mentally and stylistically were close to the Assyrians, whose descendants, the Syrians, further

carried into the world the aesthetic canons of their ancestors. The Fatimids were influenced by them as well, as because of the high language of communication of the Assyrians, the former perceived the high etiquette of the latter in relation to wearing fine clothes and jewelry. The slotted elements of the earrings in this area were eventually replaced by more convex shell-type leaves and had a place inside for storing incense-soaked particles of cloths or relics with incense. Thus, due to Assyro-Egyptian relations, such a fashion spread to other lands of the African and Eurasian continents, the Middle East, inhabited primarily by Arab-Semitic tribes. Confirmation of this thesis is the Iranian, Arab, Afghan jewelry with leaves going around, which were designed to ward off evil spirits in shamanic practices, and later was considered to be a part of the protective things, as well as Syrian jewelry.

Gem finishing was also performed in the Iranian-Syrian items around the main element, which gave the whole monthly Crescent shape a greater spherical appearance, turning it from a Muslim symbol to a solar disk with conventional rays, revered in the cults of Achaemenid Iran and Assyria (where the main core of religion is fire, and the sun God Shamash is significant), Ancient Egypt (remember the cult of Amon – RA and its symbol – the scarab). Given that Syrian territory during the V–VII centuries belonged to the Byzantine Empire (in 528 Justinian I turned Calisir and Antiochia here into a separate province of Theodoridou), and gradually as a result of repeated Iranian-Byzantine wars passed to the Sassanid, who followed the Achaemenid dynasty, creative achievements of designated areas influenced the fashion in the middle Byzantine Empire.

But already in the 630s, these lands were conquered by the Arabs, who held them until 963, when Syria re-entered the Byzantine Empire only for a few years. The next victory in this area over the Arabs was won by the Emperor Basil II the Bulgar Slayer only at the beginning of the XI century. At the beginning of the XII century the Byzantines during the campaign to Asia Minor (Anatolia), once again captured Antiochia, which caused a new wave of interest in the Syrian-Iranian varieties of jewelry. However, in Byzantium, the Ryasnas, which were also part of the costume of the establishment of both sexes, since the time of Justinian, did not end with Crescent-shaped elements. This form in Byzantium was used in earrings with a high earwire, the bend of which formed together with the lower rotondal part the silhouette which resembled number eight – the sign of infinity. These rings also date back to the XI–XII centuries – the time when the technique of the art of cloisonne enamel was improved and widely spread in the Second Rome and in Rus ([Kazhdan, 1991](#)).

Then, having passed the post-iconoclast period, from the middle of the XI century, Byzantine art got more austere sound, which was reflected in fashion by wearing earrings with images of saints and ensemble headdress with diadem-crowns and temporal pendants attached to ochillya (a ribbon going around the head), and had the same elements with the ornamental pendants (Ryasnas) and pectorals with large plaque-type shoulder pieces (the ceremonial coronation pectoral ornaments of the Byzantine emperors) and varieties of cervical hryvnia – crescent collars (which often were used as pendants on icon for the face of the Virgin and other

saints in the icons). Odorous herbs and incense could be placed in the middle of Persian kolts and Byzantine earrings (Figure 5).



Figure 5. A crescent-shaped Byzantine scented earring with a pin for filling odorous herbs and pieces of cloth moistened with scented oils in the middle of it, gold, enamel (ca. 1080-1150 years, Constantinople; collection of Metropolitan Museum, USA)

These first examples that in the crescent-shaped part were decorated with either portrait images or ornamental motifs of hearts, became the prototypes of the two separate varieties of Kyivan Rus kolts. However, first of all, they did not have pearls around the main body of the product, leaves, or other additional decorations in the form of elements protruding above the main crescent-shaped disk, as in the case of Islamic countries, Persian-Assyrian and Arab samples, which were later reflected in the formation of items in Kyivan Rus. Secondly, birds and chimeras, which were borrowed from Assyrian art, and in general were very common in the vastness of Byzantium, did not acquire manifestations in the Byzantine crescent-shaped earrings.

Kyivan Rus kolts, marked by the influence of Byzantine art, were mistakenly attributed over time. Thus, the item from the Ryazan treasure of 2005, which is the legacy of the Kyivan Rus state, in some sources of the world wide web space is named as follows: "Pair of Kolti with Sirens, Middle Byzantine Period, ca. 843-1204 AD. Late 11th-12th Centu". This is an erroneous statement, but it creates a confusion in attribution, providing unverified data from primary sources that other users of this content can rely on, and also demonstrates low information content regarding the origin of Kyivan Rus kolts in the international space (Pekarska, 1997). In its turn, it should be noted that the iconography of images of bird maidens and saints of Kyivan Rus kolts with enamels is based on primary sources from the Byzantine jewelry monuments, where we find echoes of the Persian and Scythian fashion regarding wearing of headdresses. The earliest of them are the images of the Georgian king David IV of the Bagrationi dynasty (reigned in 1089-1125) and the Emperor Constantine IX Monomakh (reigned 1118-1143) in a crown with a triangular top, as well as in Byzantine medallions of that time and segments of the crown of St. Stephen XI century. In general, it was the XI century that became the heyday of the technique of cloisonne enamel in Byzantium, although its invention and spread inside the Empire is usually associated with the VI century.

According to N. Zhilina, the works with elements of scrolls that testify to the spread of Byzantine filigree, appeared in Kyivan Rus art not earlier than in the

70s of the XI century (Zhilina et al., 2012). But the presence in the hoards with kolts of the coins of Manuel I Komnenos (ruled during 1144–1180), the son of John II Komnenos (ruled during 1018–1143), and the grandson of the founder of the dynasty Alexios I Komnenos (ruled during 1081–1118), indicate that these items were buried in the ground in the period, not earlier than the beginning of coinage in Byzantium, that is, before the middle – second half of the XII century. But the iconography of the headdresses of those rulers on the frescoes of Sophia Temple in Constantinople, as well as the King of Georgia David IV the Constructor (ruled during 1089–1125) in the Gelati monastery near Kutaisi, suggests certain reflections. In particular, regarding the dress of the above-mentioned rulers and the appearance of caps of bird maidens in kolts in Kyivan Rus art. After all, their cut was partly similar to the Khazar silk hats, which were based on the Scytho-Alan tradition of papakho-like headdresses, which had long rows of gems coming on the sides. Given that the Khazars come from the territory of Dagestan in the North Caucasus, their ethnogenesis of the early middle Ages involved the ancient Bolgar and Alani (Iranian in origin) ethnic groups.

Accordingly, representatives of the Khazar Khaganate, who were close to the Semites-Medes (self-designation – arias), who inhabited the region of modern Iran and Turkey, and had compact groups residing in Kyiv itself and the surrounding area, brought a stream of Persian-Semitic and Greek-Balkan fashion to the local territories. Despite the fact that reliable images of the way of wearing kolts in the Kyivan Rus environment of the late XI – early XIII centuries have not been preserved, in this regard, it is possible to trace the synchronous iconography of the Balkan female representatives of the establishment who are the image of it.

Given that a significant part of the Khazars and Khwarezmian Jews lived in Kyiv during the princely era of X – the first third of the XIII century, and were recorded under the second then name of the city “Samvatas”, indicated by the Byzantine Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus yet in the X century (translated from Khazar language it could mean “upper fortifications”, that is, Dytynets), their relations with relatives could contribute to the borrowing of fashion for the use of certain items of clothing and the formation of style (Melin, 2003). In particular, in the image of the wife of the Bulgarian sebastokrator Desislav from the fresco of the XIII century of the Boyana Church, in addition to the temporal pending kolts, we can see pearls put together in one line as well – the so-called prependicularias (katasisti), which descended to the shoulders (in the Kyivan Rus names – Ryasnas) that were attached to the forehead ribbon – crown system. In Byzantium, the crown of the Emperor had such name referring to the Laurel wreath, and it was common until the end of the XI – beginning of the XII century, when it was replaced by a headdress in the form of a bell with upper edges going outwards and called kamilavkiy. The tiara of Constance of Aragon (1179-1222 years of life), the Empress of the Holy Roman Empire in the form of a soft cap in the shape of a head with a cross patch in center, resembling in its cut the cap of the Georgian king David IV the Constructor, is also quite known.

In its turn, the latter contains three gems that will later be embodied on the headdresses of Kyivan Rus bird maidens and saints, but the shape of their caps is the most similar to the headdress of the 34th Doge of Venice Ordelafo Faliero. He ruled Venice in the first twenty years of the twelfth century, and could act as a

donator as a Doge only from the beginning of his election to this position. In particular, he was depicted in the himatiya with hearts, which will later become a leitmotif in the iconography of Kyivan Rus kolts of the XII – early XIII centuries, as well as with a stick-insignia, which was continued in the iconography of St. Demetrius and George, and an ornament with cross-like circles going along (will be present in separate images of saints on the kolts on their sides as a symbol of the house). Ordelafo Faliero became famous for equipping the Venetian fleet at the beginning of his reign and sending 100 ships to Palestine and Syria to help the crusaders. Apparently, his contemporaries considered him a supporter of the idea of Christian Jerusalem, which earned him the halo of Holiness (depicted in a halo) (Figure 6).



1.



2.



3.

Figure 6. 1. portraits of Oleksiy I Komnenos, John II Komnenos, Manuel I Komnenos, David IV the Constructor, Desislav in headdresses with kolts; 2. a fragment of the high altar barrier in the Cathedral of St. Mark in Venice in the Church of Pala d'Oro (X–XII centuries) with the image of the Doge-donator Ordelafo Faliero (1070–1117 years of life), the years of rule – 1102–1117, Italy; 3. the portrait of Ordelafo Faliero is located on the right hand of the image of the Virgin and could be perceived by contemporaries as an equivalent image

But the cap in the form of a Bishop's mitre resembling a truncated diamond, which later became exclusively Catholic, had its own history. Before the rise of Constantinople, the main Christian center in the East was Alexandria in Egypt, where the Patriarch as the high priest was allowed to wear a high tiara, which was previously considered an attribute of the Persian king. Therefore, the image in it was also perceived as a sign of greatness.

In Europe, the miter, the shape of which appealed to the Assyrian headdress in the shape of a fish called "Dagon" (the name of the eponymous god), as a sign for a person of spiritual rank was first depicted in two miniatures of the XI century – in the Register of Epiphany and in the Exulet-Roll of the Cathedral in Bari, Italy (Mitre). Since it became the distinction of the Pope, to whom all Christians of the world formally submit, the presence of such attributes may indicate a connection with Jerusalem. A specific sign of such a headdress in the form of a fish head with an open mouth is the image of the "third" eye in the middle, which indicates a connection with the Babylonian cosmogony. In turn, the features of Venetian art indicated a connection with the Orthodox metropolis, which was not interrupted even after the IX century, when formally Byzantium no longer owned this Italian territory.

The Genoese and Venetians in the period of Manuel Komnenos from 1169 received permission to pass through the Bosphorus to visit the Black Sea coast, where they founded a number of colonies led by Sugdea (now the city of Sudak), which the Venetians officially owned during 1206-1239. This closeness in the second half of the XII century explains the even closer relations of Kyivan Rus with Italian masters and monuments, as constant communication and commodity and cultural exchanges continued. Other famous ports of the Black Sea, in addition to the Crimean Cembalo (now Balaklava), Cherkio (now Kerch), Partenit (retained historical name), Yalita (now Yalta), Lusta (now Alushta), Sarconi (further on Chersonese – now within the city of Sevastopol), included a Georgian, in particular, a Greek colony of Bati (now Batumi) in Colchis (the Caucasus), which also started to have stable connections around that period. Thus, there was a double assimilation – with the traditional Italian and Georgian lands of Byzantium.

The clothing of the Ruthenians of the XI century is reflected in the portrait of Yaropolk Izyaslavovich (?-1086) from the illustrations of the Trier Psalter. Here the Prince and his wife are depicted in gold crowns with pearls in the style of the crown of Justinian the Great from Ravenna mosaics, and the crown with rasons with kolts is represented on the Mother of God (Figures 7-9).



Figure 7. Miniature of a Byzantine letter from the Trier Psalter with a scene of the coronation of Jaropolk and Kunigunda by Jesus Christ. XI century



1. 2. 3. 4.

Figure 8. 1. kolt from the Ryazan treasure of 2005 (Kyivan Rus, the end of the XI–XII centuries, Gold, cloisonné enamel; collection of the Center for American Byzantine studies in Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, DC, USA, probably performed under the guidance of a Greek master); 2. gold kolt (obverse/reverse) with the image of Sirin and Alkonost (a bird of Paradise with a female head and a soothsayer of death), as well as birds on the World Tree), cloisonné enamel (end of the XI–XII centuries; collection of Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York); 3. the same and pearls, kolt of two paired items from the treasure of 1887 from the fence of the Mikhailovsky Golden-domed monastery (Kyivan Rus, perhaps they were included in the wedding headdress; collection of State Russian Museum, Saint Petersburg; 6.8x6.3, 7.0x6.6 cm); 4. bird maidens are depicted with halos, all the headdresses of the bird maidens have three gems



Figure 9. Gold and silver (gilded) plates from the icon of the Mother of God of Chelm (collection of the Lutsk Museum of the Volyn icons)

Connection between jewelry and fine art of the Kyivan Rus Era

The beginning of the connection between jewelry and fine art of the Kyivan Rus era can be traced to the work of the famous artist Alipius (ca. 1050 or 1065-1114, Kyiv). According to the "Patericon of Rechersk", from 1084 he studied with the Byzantine masters who made the decoration of the Dormition Cathedral of the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra, and together with them he worked on the mosaics. In the future, the artist was engaged in performing an ensemble of mosaics and frescoes of the St. Michael's Golden-domed Cathedral, icons made to order for house churches of private individuals (presumably painted them in the Lavra icon-painting workshop), in which he also made jewelry work, and later became known as the Kyiv goldsmith.

A contemporary of Ordelafo Faliero, the monk Alipius gained fame as a famous artist during his lifetime. He became a monk after a vision during the work of the Greeks (Byzantines) on the mosaics of the altarpiece of the Pechersk Church in Kyiv, when he saw "an icon of the Mother of God lit with light, with a light dove flying from her mouth into the mouth of Jesus depicted in a mosaic" (Uspensky & Uspensky, 1901). All his life he laid on the altar of service to God as an artist and was buried in the Near Caves or the Caves of Saint Anthony of the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra. Perhaps he was the author of the Miracle-working icon of the Virgin of Chelm, because nothing is known about other Kyiv masters of this era of such level. Given the combination of two professions in one person, this fact seems quite likely. And the jewelry fixed on the surface of cypress boards is the "autograph" of a famous master.

From the life of the monk, it is known that one pious Christian man was asking two monks to beg Alipius to volunteer to write images for his house church. To do this, the customer passed through them boards for icons and a lot of silver with an excess of twice the amount. Finally, seven icons were made, among which the images of the Saviour, the Mother of God and the saints stood out (a five-figure Deisis and two main icons). At the same time, it is worth noting that the Deisis rank was established in Kyivan Rus iconography only in the XII century, so most of the monuments with it are dated accordingly. We know about the last icon made by the monk, dedicated to the Dormition of the Mother of God. To date, the legacy of the Saint, who is commemorated annually on August 30, no true works of his authorship have been established. Although some scholars suggest that "Mother of God of Pechersk with Antony and Theodosius" and "Mother of God Great Panagia (All-Holy)", which are kept in the State Tretyakov Gallery in Moscow, hypothetically may belong to his brush. It is also known that Alipius, who as a teenager, during the reign of Vsevolod Yaroslavovych, was sent to the Lavra by his parents to study, spent a third of his profits on materials and paints, which were obviously of high quality.

The totality of facts about his life, deeds and themes of the masterpieces he made, among which was the image of the Mother of God, as well as data from the life of the monk concerning his work with precious metals, supported by chronicle mentions where silver appeared, indicate that it was he who could fix precious jewelry on the icon, made of metal intended for clothing (Alipi Petcherski..., 2020). Considering that the studies of the icon carried out by modern specialists-

restorers confirmed a significant number of nails that covered the icon, it was possible to establish that a significant part of them were not of “pure gold”, but of silver and even copper. In addition, according to the description of the guardian of the monument, Oleksander Budylovykh, it is known that the icon of the Mother of God of Chelm was decorated with shoulder pads (collar) of a triangular shape with “ray-like painting”. It was close to the same decoration on the Infant Christ, which has been preserved ([Remenyaka, 2018](#)).

And since Alipius was “very cunning” (very skillful) in artistic sphere, as his contemporaries wrote about him, and a person who spent all his time working on icons and fasting and praying, then concentration on details, skill in the presence of an innate artistic flair, which amazed others, could be manifested in different areas of artistic activity. At the same time, close contact with the court artists of the Basileus, who were invited to Kyiv, where the native grandsons of the Basileus lived (Volodymyr Monomakh – 1053-1125), in order to best “dress” the architecture of our churches and train local masters, may be the reason for the appearance of a masterpiece made in the Byzantine “illusionistic style”, which was used in Rus during the late XI – early XIII centuries.

Based on the fact that the author attached to the icon a part of the typical pattern (motif of the reverse decoration) of gold kolts with bird maidens, of which only two examples remain (one from the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, where Sirin and Alkonost are presented in round berets with three gems on it; the second from a treasure found in the area of the Church of the Tithes – within the city of Volodymyr, from the collection of Museum of Historical Treasures of Ukraine in Kyiv), certain generalized conclusions suggest themselves. Both samples were cast by the first rank local master(s) of high qualification, who had just started to master the technology (since the gold kolts from the American collection instead of soldering still had the membranes made by stamping a thin gold sheet on the matrix, through which the enamel from the shallow tray was partially lost) ([Makarova, 1975](#)).

That is, we can assume that the third of the famous things of the pattern that is preserved is the decoration in the form of reverse kolt of the late XI – beginning of XII century, which was part of the silver-plated decor of the whole icon, confiscated by the memories of the historian Nataliia Polonska-Vasylenko in the family of historian Mykhailo Korniylovykh in 1924 ([Remenyaka, 2016](#)). It may represent a part of the works of the same group with the golden kolts of the Kyiv workshop, hypothetically made by the goldsmith and iconographer Alipius in the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra. After all, it was in the designated monastery that all the conditions for such work were created: Greek (Byzantine) masters were working nearby who were able to perform iconography in the Byzantine tradition, for example, with the imposition of greenish skin tones around the eyes and eyelids; gilded domes of churches and halos of saints were shining in the sun, as well as workshops for the manufacture of glass, which were later excavated by archaeologists, were active in the territory. Given the fashion for all types of Byzantine things in this period of time, when Tsargrad with the court of the Basileus was perceived as the artistic court of Louis XIV in Paris of the XVII century, the demand for refined icons of the post-iconoclastic period in many

countries of Europe and Asia was high, which contributed to ordering the designated product segment in Kyivan Rus (Figure 10).



Figure 10. 3 gold (6.0x2.3; 6.7x2.4; 5.9x2.3 cm) and 1 silver (diameter 5.5 cm) plates from the icon of the Mother of God of Chelm (Miracle-Working icon of the Mother of God); tempera paints on cypress boards (end of XI – the first half of the XII century; collection of the Museum of the Volyn Icons)

Thus, the silver plate from this time has a pattern with paired birds (let us remember the dove that flew out of the mouth of the Mother of God in the vision of Alipius and flew into the mouth of Jesus Christ) around the World Tree, similar to the compositions of the reverses of Golden Kyivan Rus kolts with bird maidens, which also date from the end of the XI–XII centuries. It is the only thing from this period made on silver, where it was necessary to lay a layer of gold to fix the enamel, so as not to use other technologies, fluxes and solders. This indicates a high level of technological skill of the Kyivan Rus jeweler of the late XI and XII centuries and mastering the secrets of creativity in the process of experimental production of the first things by trial and error. Taking into account the reverse pattern of items typical for kolts with Sirins and Alkonosts, and having another iconographic source for attribution with the same pattern – inserts of colored hot enamel on gold and silver from the miraculous image of the Mother of God of Chelm, you can try to clarify the chronological framework for dating this group of jewelry. So, in the Galician-Volyn chronicle it is recorded that the Icon of the Most Holy Mother of God, decorated with gold with precious stones and pearls, was sent by Danylo Galytsky from the Kyiv Fedorivsky monastery, where he received a gift from his sister Theodora, to the Holm Church of John Chrysostom (Tsynkalovskiy, 1975).

Given the fact that the Church was founded in 1129 by Mstyslav, the son of Volodymyr Monomakh (1125–1132 years of ruling) in honor of the Saint whose baptismal name he received, the existence of this sacred item is a proven fact. But it is known for certain that the monastery according to the Chronicles of the specified Church still existed in 1146 (it may have been founded and erected earlier, but information from the previous period of time has not been preserved or has not yet been found). Thus, based on the above, it becomes clear that it was not possible to make the icon with enamels in the Fedorivsky monastery in Kyiv before the second quarter of the XII century. Therefore, there is a possibility that the item of interest was made a little earlier (for example, during the life of

Alipius, who died in 1117), and later kept in this monastery. Another version may look like this: if the work was made in Byzantium itself or by Greek masters in Kyivan Rus, and was supplemented in Kyiv by one of the jewelers, then the most likely person of the late XI – early XII century may be the Reverend goldsmith-enamel maker and master of icons clothing Alipius and apprentices from his workshop, or students of his workshop during the 1120–1130, and from the later period (from 1130 to at least 1170) if we talk about famous masters – Lazar Bogsha (Putsko, 2008).

It is known that N. Kondakov considered that the works of L. Bogsha also included medallions (*drobnytsi*) of coronation shoulder-mantle found in the Kyiv treasure of 1824, along with several kolts with septate enamels, which soon disappeared. Many researchers associated these and other works that were considered the best examples of the art of enamel in Kyivan Rus, made in a combination of stylized plant and geometric ornaments, with the work of this master jeweler, and later high-quality items close to the style of his work, were considered to belong to the works of his students (Putsko, 2008). The second option can be considered if, despite the fact that the icon was likely to exist for a certain period of time, before someone from the faithful would have “given” it a donation in the form of enamel plates, which together with the historical item were transported by order of Danylo, Prince of Galicia (1205 – with interruptions until 1264), Volyn (during 1215 – with interruptions until 1238), Kyiv (1240), from Kyiv during 1223–1237. If the kolts were attached to the icon, which was one of the largest shrines and available for contemplation, this fact could later cause the appearance of analogies in the work of the master Maksym, who worked in Kyiv at the beginning of the XIII century (till 1240).

But still, according to the results of the examination conducted during 2002–2003 in Kyiv by Volodymyr Tsytyvych, the icon painted on three cypress boards, in the tradition of the Constantinople school, dates from the second half of the XI century, although stylistically it is more likely to be a work of the first half of the XII century. In turn, this means that the corresponding fragments with enamels, which are the remains of the ensemble with precious golden robes, could not appear earlier (Tsytyvych, 2016) than during the specified period. Concerning three gold plates with trees and one gold plate with birds, which were restored by the head of the Department of Restoration of Sculptures and Works of Decorative and Applied Art of the National Research Restoration Center of Ukraine Viktor Holub (2008), in Kyiv, he dates them to XI–XII.

Birds maidens in the culture of the kolts of Kyivan Rus

The master, who mastered a new technique of enamel, apparently tried not to solder the lintels to the base, but simply put them on the edge and fix them through baking together with vitreous enamel. As a result, the membranes were loosened and fell out and the enamel crumbled, which indicates that it was in kolts that technological experiments were made in relation to this iconography, and, accordingly, they can be considered the earliest among the enamel ones. In addition, the presence of Slavic pagan ornaments (aurochs’ horns) in the reverse of the second kolt of the presented ones shows the connection with the local tradition. And the “moon-faced” plump faces in the obverse of the last item hint at

the master's Asian roots rather than the Greek-Byzantine ones. Birds maidens are depicted with halos. They have several tiers of plumage, which corresponds to the three-tiered structure of the Universe (Figure 11).



Figure 11. Kolt of the late XI–XII centuries (obverse/reverse) (Kyivan Rus, gold, cloisonné enamel; collection of the National Museum of History of Ukraine)

Birds maiden depicted with a halo had a different variety of hats (Figure 12): round caps on the head in the form resembling a hat or cap of the Little Red Riding Hood with laps (Figure 12.1); berets stem (Figure 12. 2, 3, 5), these are several well-known items in which Sirin and Alkonost turn their tails away from each other, or differ in color (which emphasizes their ambivalence), the size and shape of the kolts vary a bit, from the smaller, similar to a perfect circle with a notch on the top, to apple-shaped ones; gold kolts with cloisonné hot enamel of the late XI–XII centuries (Figure 12.1-6) (Museum of Historical Treasures of Ukraine dates them from the end of the XII–beginning of the XIII century, Kyivan Rus). Figure 12.1. – found in Kyiv, 5.0x3.6 cm; Figure 12.1-7 collection of the Museum of Historical Treasures of Ukraine. Figure 12.2. – (obverse) found in Kyiv near the Church of the Tithes in 1936, 5.2x4.5 cm, collection of the Museum of Historical Treasures of Ukraine. Figure 12.3-4 – found in 1900 on the settlement of Divochya Hora, near the village of Sakhnovka, Kanevsky district of Kyiv hubernia, 6.2x5.2 cm. Figure 12.5-6. obverse/reverse – from the Kyiv treasure of 1842 near the Church of the Tithes. One of a few examples of large kolts, the width reaches 6 cm, 6.0x4.2 cm. Presumably the work of master Maksym, beginning of the XIII century. By the nature of the plumage on the Sirin and Alkonost it can be associated with Figure 12.7. kolt of the end of the XII – beginning of the XIII century, Kyivan Rus, gold, cloisonné enamel. The author is a Kyiv jeweler of the beginning of the XIII century (Maksym (?)). The presence of cobalt in Nos. Figure 12.1-6. may indicate that the master worked with Byzantine technologies in the field of enamel. And sizes Nos. Figure 12.3-4. and Figure 12.5-6. indicate one segment of orders of large kolts.



1.

2.

3.

4.



Figure 12. Birds maiden depicted with a halo with a different variety of hats

Comparing the image of the reverse of the kolt to the plate on the icon of the Chelm Mother of God (Figure 13.2) with the reverses of kolts from the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figure 13.1) and the collection of the Museum of Historical Treasures of Ukraine (Figure 13.3), we can note that the recension of all three pieces is similar, the similarity of composition is more noticeable in Figure 13.1. and Figure 13.3. pictures. But picture Figure 13.2. stands out for some proximity of the image of birds under a tree to individual birds on the obverse of the Kyivan Rus kolts. At the same time, it is worth noting that the turquoise enamel on Figure 13.1. and Figure 13.2. indicates the proximity of the color scheme in these works.

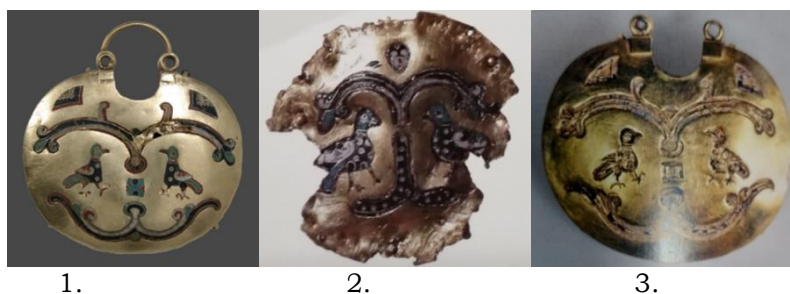


Figure 13. Image of the reverse of the kolt

The next one is the shape of hats similar to Tartar skullcap and kokoshnik, which is noticeable on several kolts with bird maidens (Figure 14.1-2) (obverse/reverse). Kyivan Rus gold kolt with cloisonne enamel, found in 1880 in Kyiv in V. Zhytomyrska Str. They were kept in Leningrad, but were transferred in 1932 to the Collection of Kharkiv State Historical Museum named after H. Skovoroda, and were lost in 1941 during the WW II. Reproduction from the book of Kondakov dated 1887. Figure 14.3. Kyivan Rus gold kolt with cloisonne enamel from the Myropil of Zhytomyr region, pictured above, it almost completely lost enamel now. From the treasure of 1938 (collection of the Museum of Historical Treasures of Ukraine). The nature of the plumage on it may indicate in favor of the hand of master Maksym. Figure 14.4. Kyivan Rus kolt silver with niello or black enamel with the image of the prophetic Gamayun in a crown like a kokoshnik with three symbolic gems or solar signs, found in 1842 in the treasure of the village of Zalistsi, Kamenets povit of Poltava hyberniiia. The string with gems is lost, the location is unknown. More realistically interpreted than paired bird maidens.



Figure 14. Kolts with the shape of hats similar to Tartar skullcap and kokoshnik
Trace drawing of iconographic excerpts by B. Rybakov of mermaids (ancient pagan equivalent to the Greek pagan Phoenix and Kalkandere) on the kolts (Figure 15). Birds maidens are depicted with halos. The characters are presented in caps, chip hats, crowns of the Bishop's mitre form, and berets. All of them in the center had a separate segment of the cut or a gem with a reference to the “third eye”.



Figure 15. Iconographic excerpts of mermaids on the kolts by B. Rybakov

However, in general, it is worth noting that the iconography of images on Kyivan Rus kolts, the form of which was crystallized under the influence of not only the pro-Greek, but also the Syrian-Iranian culture, nevertheless met the spiritual needs of the local population, and correlated, first of all, with the Byzantine cultural tradition. But, in its turn, the latter was fueled by Assyrian and Persian mythopoeitics. Thus, the main God Ashur was associated with an ancient totem – a dove. Therefore, he was depicted covered with feathers. His wife, the goddess of fertility, Ishtar, had two guises. And the sacred animal of the Babylonian goddess of healing Gula was a dog. But the “benefactors of the soul” of the king, his guards had the appearance of bulls with human faces or vice versa with a human built and the head of an eagle.

These echoes of the transitional era of the Orthodox religion of Byzantium were perceived in the same stage of transformations of the pagan cult of Kyivan Rus. After all, of all the Byzantine Pantheon of mythical creatures and deities, the most understandable were the anthropo-zoomorphic (ornithomorphic) forms of Sirin and Alkonost (with their dichotomy of dividing the world into a dual system of the worldly and the divine, which counteracted each other like light and darkness). At the first stage, they were depicted with elements of teratological mermaid's tails. At the second stage, the anthropomorphic elements were replaced by avian ornithomorphic ones, but the reptilian-fish tails, forked at the end like a fin, were preserved for some time in the iconography of these creatures as a sign of belonging to the chthonian world.

Moreover, the indicated birds in Kyivan Rus kolts resembled a dove, which was beginning to act as a symbol of the Holy Spirit, and before that in an anthropomorphic-ornithomorphic form it acquired a halo (Figure 16). Replacement of obverse anthropomorphic heads of Sirins and Alkonost on kolts with ornithomorphic ones. Transformation of birds of prey into parrot-like ones without tails. Appearance of reverse anthropomorphic images in rondo surrounded by aurochs' horns. Figure 16.1-2. Kolts with cloisonne enamel, XII – the first half of the XIII century, Kyivan Rus. On the back – a face in a halo (collection of Metropolitan Museum, USA). Figure 16.3. Kolts with cloisonne enamel from the treasure found in 2008 near the Church of the Tithes, Kyiv, first half of the XII century (collection of the Museum of Historical Treasures of Ukraine).



Figure 16. Birds in Kyivan Rus kolts resembled a dove, which was beginning to act as a symbol of the Holy Spirit

Mentality was changing, gradually adding the World Tree to the ornithomorphic symbols, which began to resemble a cross in shape, as in items from the collection of the Museum of Historical Treasures of Ukraine. But in Kyivan Rus items, these birds became more sedate, balanced in relation to the center of the composition, unafraid, like the personification of venerable princes on the throne. Never among the known items of the XI – first half of the XIII centuries, the authenticity of which is not in doubt, did these birds begin to become “Gothic” elongated, compressed to the center, as if they do not have enough space, crowded so that there were chaotic gaps between them.

The iconography itself, which appealed to the samples of Asia Minor, where the image of a dove, pelican, eagle, peacock, Phoenix, Halkendri, Sirin, Alkonost, and Gryphon were common in the Byzantine period, was associated with certain qualities of the designated birds. Thus, the dove represented the Holy Spirit, part of the Triune Trinity, and was associated with the Herald of the Good News, and was also revered as an emblem of loyalty and love. The Pelican, who fed his descendants with his own blood, was related to the Saviour. The Eagle, and, accordingly, the Griffin with the body of a lion and the head of an eagle, in Byzantium was associated with the older members of the family. The Royal peacock bird was a symbol of incorruption and immortality of the soul.

The Kyiv-Russian birds appealed to the well-established Orthodox iconography. So, the prideful peacock with a good temper in Byzantium, as well as in India, adorned the throne and regalia – symbols of power. It was believed that as a

snake eater, a peacock could resist all “devilish”, malign forces and spirits. Over time, identified with the immortal Phoenix (with the head of an eagle – the personification of the Sun), which obtains new life by arising from the ashes of its predecessor, since the peacock was associated with the World Tree. The latter, together with Khalkendri in the Kyiv-Russian tradition, were perceived as accompanying the solar chariot, sweet-singers of songs of praise for the day that comes.

At the same time, Sirin and Alkonost, very popular in the Slavic mythological tradition, have already personified two birds of paradise with the heads of the women. These creatures originated from the ancient Greek sirens – demonic living things, the upper part of the body of which was female, and the lower part of the body was a bird (initially sometimes with a fishtail), they sang sweetly and divinely, like their mother-muse, but inherited from their father, the sea god Porkius, wild spontaneity. According to legends, these insidious beauties fascinated travellers with their voices, and later tore them apart and ate them. Over time, it was believed that the Siren finally turned into birds. Sometimes they were identified with the awful harpies and keres, sometimes they were brought closer to the undine mermaids (Gothic Meerweiber, Meerfrauen). But, despite the dual nature of the Slavic Sirin and Alkonost (in which there has already been a division into the personification of the light world and the chthonic one based on Christian heresies and understanding of the duality of the world), crowns were often painted on the heads of these semi-mythical characters. In the future, these birds of joy and sadness, which were “moved” from the lands of the Euphrates to Iria (Eden), were depicted with fruits and flowers from the Garden of Eden and halos.

Indeed, in the Orthodox tradition, it was believed that these birds with live dew from their wings turn the fruits of apple trees during the Savior into healing ones and those that fill you with strength. They were also honoured as foretellers of rain, water elements, caused rain and helped the earth in germinating seeds. In the future, the function of the amulets of Sirin and Alkonost was taken into account when decorating the kolts of the Kyiv-Russian princes (which Byzantine folklore traditions knew from their mother and grandmother), because it was believed that these creatures were capable of protecting their owner. Later, the paradise pair of birds, diffusing, as in the Byzantine heresies, acquired the features of a single Iranian mythical bird Huma, Humayun and received the name Gamayun – a prophetic bird that replaced Sirin, predicted happiness and envisaged the course of events, having the properties of feeling danger. Its iconography is associated with birds of paradise in the folklore of India and the Maldives (where it received the names apus, eme, imonotsodiata, mankoria, manucodiata, mantskodis, paradisea) (Vorotnikov, 2008).

Among the Slavs of Kyivan Rus, Gamayun acquired special significance as a bird in the service of Veles (the supreme god-diviner, the patron saint of the Magi and the wheel of time, on which the arts, beauty, state, welfare, development of crafts depended); Dazhdbog (the sun itself), Kolyada (light-bearing star-bearer who announces about the beginning of the new year); and Krishna (the spiritual hypostasis of the supreme god, an analogue of the Vedic Krishna), who “sang” the “Starry (that is, astrological) Book of the Vedas” (Calendar).

The songs of this mythical creature were associated with the initial stage of the events of Slavic mythology – the time of the creation of the world and the birth of pagan gods, who, before the adoption of Christianity, were on the territory of Kyivan Rus. They were associated with particular manifestations of natural forces. Such chimaeras as, for example, the head of a duck or a horse on the Kyi-Russian boats, helped to understand the connection between the elements and living beings. Accordingly, close to the Kyiv pantheon of the pagan gods of Prince Vladimir (Perun, Khors, Dazhdbog, Strybog, Semargl, Mokosh), the Gamayun bird was of particular importance for the Ruthenians during their transition from the Slavic Vedic-Zoroastrian religion to the new Christian.

Often, under the name of the ordinary bird Gamayun, which can foresee a secret, provide for happiness, in the Slavic pantheon, Mother Glory was understood (Mother Earth, whose creation is a person), which was identified with the wise Berehynia-Lada. She could convey to the Ruthenians the command of the militant Svarog (its symbol is the swastika, the cross-shaped circle is a symbol of home; the patron of blacksmiths, who forged the first ring with the help of heavenly fire, due to which earthly love appeared). Lada and Svarog were spouses; they had two sons – Dazhdbog (god of sunlight) and Perun (Thunderer, the correspondence of Zeus, the heir of Svarog, who overcame the forces of evil with a swarga). Lada-Beregynia brought order and harmony of the forces of the month and the sun which were her symbols. At the same time, the Firebird was considered the sister of Svarog, which was reflected in the love of the Ruthenians with images of bird-maidens.

However, neither original kolts had such images of a bird and a horse as on the exhibits of the Platar Museum in Kyiv. In particular, the question is not only about the understanding of space by the ancient Russian masters. Asceticism is also significant, which is worth remembering when analyzing Arianism, Manichaeism, Monophysitism. Never Byzantine or Kyiv-Russian masters would have depicted horses with a sexually curved torso and sexual characteristics in the foreground in the compositional centre. Some modern masters made their own “replica”, and the museum staff of the designated institution decided that the external resemblance and approximation to the originals-persistent in form is enough. Therefore, we believe that the authenticity of these things under numbers 2930 and 2932 require additional technical and technological expertise and verification (Figures 17-20).



Figure 17. 1-2. the Kyiv-Russian kolts with the image of paired birds (the 12th – first half of the 13th century, gold, cloisonné enamel; 1 – collection of the Museum of Historical Treasures of Ukraine? 2 – collection of the Metropolitan

Museum); 3-4. Kolts, counterfeits (?) under the Gothic trend in jewellery (Kyivan Rus of the 12th – first half of the 13th century, gold, embossing, cloisonné enamel, the diameter of 4.6 cm; Platar Museum)



Figure 18. 1-2. (obverse / reverse) the Kyiv-Russian kolts with paired birds and tur's horns (the 12th – the first half of the 13th century Kyiv, artefact 1876, gold, casting, cloisonné enamel; collection of the Museum of Historical Treasures of Ukraine); 3-4. (obverse/reverse) gold kolts with cloisonné enamel (the 12th – the first half of the 13th century, Kyivan Rus; collection of the Metropolitan Museum)



Figure 19. The Kyiv-Russian kolts with the image of paired birds (the 12th – the first half of the 13th century): 1. (obverse) found in the Khmelnytsky region in 1970, 4.7x5.2 cm (collection of the Regional Ethnographic Museum, the city of Khmelnytskyi, Ukraine); 2. (obverse), 3. (obverse) the painting dates from the end of the 11th – the beginning of the 12th century (found in Kyiv near the Tithe Church in 1842; collection of the British Museum); 4. (obverse) gold kolts with cloisonné hot enamel (the 12th – the first half of the 13th century, Kievan Rus, found near the Church of the Tithes in Kyiv in 1876; collection of the Museum of Historical Treasures of Ukraine)



Figure 20. Gold kolts with cloisonné hot enamel (the 12th – the first half of the 13th century, Kievan Rus; collection of the Metropolitan Museum)

Most likely, such items were made in the princely workshop of the city of Kyiv, the existence of which is confirmed by the presence of dated gold Kyiv-Russian kolts with 11th-century enamel. (It is known about at least three glass workshops of that time – two on the territory of the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra, one within the boundaries of St. Sophia of Kyiv). Probably, a Greek master was invited to create it, he taught the local craftsmen goldsmithery. Most likely, production was established specifically for the needs of the princely family. But it is unlikely that gold at that time was imported to Kievan Rus only from Central Asia or Byzantium because it is known about the presence of its production on the lands of Transcarpathia from the 12th century. (Territories of the modern city. Beregove) in the so-called “Turkish adits”, which could have existed earlier. However, of course, the masters, if available, also used imported enamel compositions (Figure 21-22).



Figure 21. 1-2. the kolt-aroma (obverse/reverse) with gryphon and peacock (Kievan Rus; collection of the Museum of Historical Treasures of Ukraine, the 12th century; collection of the Walters Art Museum, near Baltimore, USA); 3. (obverse) found in the Khmelnytskyi region 1970, 4.7x5.2 cm (collection of the Regional Ethnographic Museum of the city of Khmelnytskyi, Ukraine) 4. the Kyiv-Russian kolt, found in the city of Volodymyr, with a half-length image of the saint with a cross in his hand and symbolic trees in rotunda hallmarks around (end of the 11th-12th centuries, gold, cloisonné enamel; collection of the State Historical Museum in Moscow)

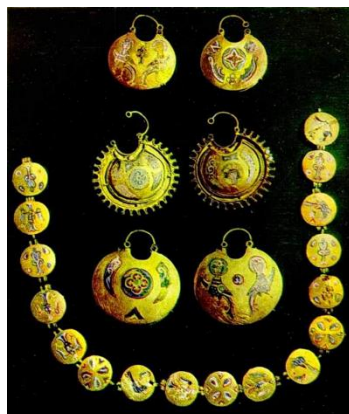


Figure 22. The kolts of different sizes and a necklace of the 12th – first third of the 13th century (treasure 1938, found in Kyiv on Pechersk in the area of modern Constitution Square; collection of the Museum of Historical Treasures of Ukraine)

Among the famous names of the masters, history has left us the name of Lazar Bogsh, a Kyiv jeweller-enamel, who made the cross of St. Euphrosyne of Polotsk in 1161 (Putsko, 2008).



1.

2.

Figure 23. 1. the Kyiv-Russian golden ryanas with motifs of an eagle and a dove and kolts with cloisonné enamel with a motive of a dove from the artefacts (11th-12th centuries, found in 1938 in Kyiv on Pechersk in the area of modern Constitution Square; Museum of Historical Treasures of Ukraine); 2. the Kyiv-Russian golden kolt and ryanas with a dove motif (the first half of the 12th century, from the Kudriavskiy treasure, found in Kyiv, at 10 Kudriavska Street on August 6th, 1986, at a depth of 2.65 m, some pearls were attached around the kolts; collection of the National Museum of History of Ukraine (Kolt))



1.

2.

Figure 24. 1. the Kyiv-Russian paired kolts (obverse-reverse) with St. George and Dymytrii in halos with a cross in hand (the tree of life on the reverse); on the back – there are tur's horns along the tree of life (from the treasure from the city of Chernihiv 1887, the 12th – the first half of the 13th century, 3.6x4.4 cm, gold, cloisonné enamel; collection of the State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, Russia); 2. (obverse / reverse) Kyiv-Russian golden kolt with cloisonné enamel depicting an unknown saint in a halo with a cross (the 11th-12th centuries Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, USA)

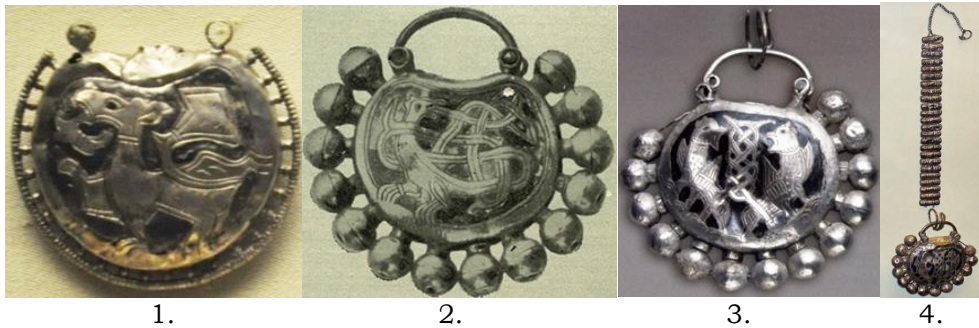


Figure 24. 1. the silver kolts with niello with the image of Semargl (Pesogolovets) and two Semargl (Senmurvs, Winged Dogs) (the 11th-12th centuries; collection of the Museum of Historical Treasures of Ukraine); 2. the kolt with the image of Semargl, silver, niello, granulation (Kievan Rus, the 11th – the first half of the 13th century; collection of the State Historical Museum); 3. kolt with the image of two Semargls and a braided ornament between them with granulation around the disk, silver, mobile, grain (collection of the State Historical Museum, Moscow); 4. the kolt with the image of two Semargls and wattle ornament (animal style) on the ryasna from Sviate Ozero hollow, the village of Nizovka of Chernihiv region, silver, niello, granulation (found in 1908. Kievan Ru; collection of the State Historical Museum)



Figure 25. Reconstruction of ancient Russian jewellery headgear with rymasnas and kolts, reconstruction by N. Zhilina, artist O. Fedorov

The treasure found in 2008 near the Tithe Church in Kyiv, the first half of the 12th century (Figure 26). Chain – rymasnas with plaques for fastening kolts, gold, embossing, section.



Figure 26. The kolts are headdress decorations (collection of the Museum of Historical Treasures of Ukraine)

Along the way, it is worth noting that in the Tithe Church, as in the stronghold of Orthodoxy, the great Baptists of Russia – Princess Olga and Volodymyr, as well as his Byzantine wife Anna, brothers Yaropolk and Oleg – were buried. The treasures found in the area of this temple may be associated with the burials of representatives of the princely family and their donation to the church where tithes should go – a tenth of all revenues of the state treasury.



Figure 27. Decorations for the kolts ensemble are golden headgears and ryanas with images of birds and trees, cloisonné enamel (Kievan Rus, the 12th – the early 13th century; collection of the Metropolitan Museum)



Figure 28. The molds for casting kolts with a winged Semargl (Pesogolovets) motif (Kievan Rus, the end of the 12th – the first half of the 13th century; the artefact from under the foundations of the Tithe Church, found by M. Karger, 1939; collection of the National Museum of History of Ukraine)



Figure 29. Reconstruction, according to B. Rybakov, of Gamayun's drawing with a pesogolovets on the side (ambivalence of the image) of a quadrifolium plaque with enamels with a number of the object of the day after the Mongol-Tatar invasion the sakkos of Metropolitan Oleksii (collection of the State Armory Chamber, the Moscow Kremlin Museums)

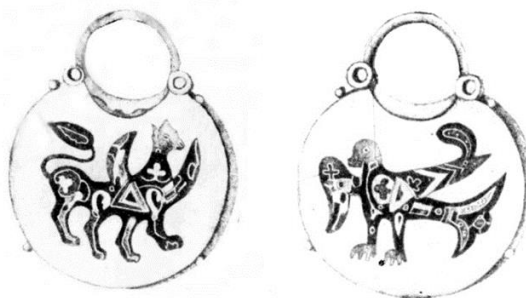


Figure 30. One of two paired gold Kyiv-Russian kolt with cloisonné enamel depicting Semargl and a bird on the reverse, which, according to pagan cosmogony, was the bird of Gamayun; the works were found in 1824 in Kyiv near Mikhailovsky Monastery, but in 1825 5.6x4 cm disappeared; according to the description, they contained dark blue, purple, red and blue paints (perhaps they were made by the Georgian master)

Often, birds were depicted on quadrifolium cruciform plates alternating with plaques depicting a symbolic world tree, in the hands of Kiev-Russian masters they acquired the appearance of a sprouted cross of St. Nino – with the edges of the crossbar lowered down. Given the popularity of such a motif, both a number of beads and for temporal pendants for kolts-ryasen – were often made, this form was also chosen by the less wealthy segments of the population.

Conclusion

So, in general, it is worth noting that the Kiev Russian Kolti now date back to the period of the end of the Chi – the first half of the XIII century. They were carried out in accordance with the Byzantine ideological ideas of the Middle Ages about the struggle between light and darkness, good with evil, chthonic forces and heavenly ones associated with early Christian heresies. These artefacts (in the segment of bird-women, birds and saints) inherited elements of oriental cultures (the formative features of Achaemenid Iran, Assyria, Khazar Kaganate, the

technology of the Georgian enamel) Vedic-Zoroastrian symbolism of the day of paganism of the Russians; are indicated by a touch of Greco-Byzantine traditions (the so-called ascetic style, expressive Comnenian Manier, illusionistic style) and Latin European (strict Romanesque exaggerated animal style, some Gothic and Proto-Renaissance influences).

A circle of master jewellers who performed these works in Kyiv of the pre-Mongol period was identified. At the end of the 11th – the beginning of the 12th century it was the reverend icon painter, mosaicists and jeweller, Hesyachast Alipy (he studied in the Byzantine Greeks who worked in the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra), and in the second quarter – at the end of the 12th century – local jeweller Lazar Bogsha, later the latter's students. Later Maximos, probably a Byzantine Greek, whose authorship of kolts with enamels is known from the foundry moulds and finished products of the prince's workshop in the artisans' quarter near the Tithe Church of the early 13th century. The jewellery items of this group can be considered as the reference in the context of the "pure" refined stylistics of Kievan Rus when one of the most powerful and culturally developed countries on the map of Europe.

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