

A Seal of Athanasius, Patriarch of Constantinople from Pereslavl'-Zalesskii

NA Makarov, PG Gaidukov, VIV Sedov, VIV Beilekchi

This article describes the recent find of a unique seal, bearing a representation of the Mother of God and a Greek inscription over several lines, and discovered in one of the oldest lime-stone churches of the Volga-Oka region, in Pereslavl'-Zalesskii. Byzantine lead seals are rare finds at the sites of medieval Rus', especially in its north-eastern regions, which remained aside the main ecclesiastic centres which maintained connections with Byzantium until the second half of the 12th century. In contrast with the greater part of medieval seals and metalwork obtained in Russia in the recent decade through metal detecting, the seal from Pereslavl' was found via a test-pit in the church building and has reliable documentation providing an archaeological context. Personal attribution of the seal is based on the inscription with the name of patriarch Athanasios. The attributes of the seal and the historical context of the find are also explored, and an argument is presented for its connection with the council of the 1309-10 in Pereslavl', a significant event in Russian Church history. The seal find also corroborates written sources, which indicate patriarch Athanasios's representative as a participant at the council.

Finds of seals in north-east Rus' are notably rarer than in other areas of medieval Rus'. While Rus' seals, secular or ecclesiastical, appear much less frequently in excavations in towns of North-Eastern Rus' than in Novgorod or the towns of Southern Rus', finds of Byzantine seals are virtually unique. However, recently a lead pendant seal was discovered with a representation of the Mother of God and a Greek inscription. It was found in 2014 in Pereslavl'-Zalesskii, a medieval town in the centre of the Volga-Oka region, during excavations of the Cathedral of the Saviour's Transfiguration, one of the oldest stone churches of north-east Rus', built in the middle of the 12th century, during the reign of Prince Iurii Dolgorukii (Fig 1).

The Cathedral of the Saviour's Transfiguration in Pereslavl'-Zalesskii is one of a small group of churches built in North-Eastern Rus' in the 1140s–1150s. The group also includes the Church of SS Boris and Gleb in Kideksh, which is preserved to half its original

elevation, and the Church of St George in Vladimir, known only through archaeological excavations.

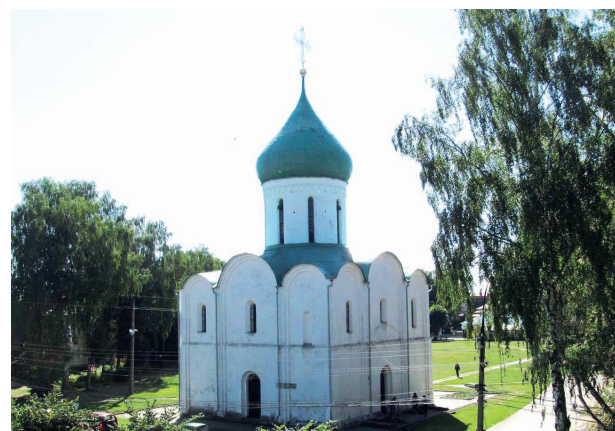


Fig 1
Cathedral of the Saviour's Transfiguration. Pereslavl'-Zalesskij 1140-ies-1150-ies. View from the southwest

Hence, the Cathedral of the Saviour's Transfiguration is the only wholly preserved monument from the early period of the development of architecture of the principdom of Vladimir and Suzdal (Chiniakov 1952, 44–66; Voronin 1961, 77–90).

The church is built from limestone, called “white stone”. The walls, pillars and vaults are faced with large, well-cut cubes, while the filling within the walls is made from small, unworked stones. This is a fairly large cathedral of the Byzantine “cross-in-square” type, with four cross-shaped supporting pillars, supporting the drum of the dome in the central part; a choir gallery is located in the western part of the church on the intervening vaults. In general the church belongs to the Rus', and more broadly, the Byzantine tradition. However, the facades of the cathedral and certain details of the interior (the capitals of the pillars) have a notable western European, Romanesque character: on the facade the cylindrical band with a floral pattern on the apses are notable, as are the double-stepped pilaster-strips and blind arcades on the apses and the stepped ornament details on the drum. It is probable that master stonemasons and carvers from Western Europe worked alongside a Russian stonemason who was responsible for the composition.

In the 13th and early 14th centuries the Saviour's cathedral was a burial place for the princes of the local dynasty. The church did not undergo serious changes between the 13th and 17th centuries, and it was only in the 18th and 19th centuries that a porch was added to the west and the modern dome with its characteristic onion-shape was constructed over the drum. In the late 19th century the monument was restored by the architect VV Suslov, when new floors were added at the medieval level, and the church was given a new, marble iconostasis. The architecture of the church remained virtually unchanged throughout the 20th century, with the exception of the western porch, which was removed mid-century.

In 2014 archaeological investigations of the church were undertaken in connection with planned restoration work. Trenches were dug in order to study the sediment stratigraphy and the state of the foundations of the church. Seven trenches were dug along the walls of the building on the outside, and one was dug inside the church, in the south side isle, in the *diakonikon*. Although the floor and construction layers had been uncovered here before, a stratigraphic column could still be observed in the walls of the trench.

The trench revealed the medieval construction deposits, including lime spillages and layers of white

stone gravel, covering the black humus and wood ash that lay on the bedrock, and that formed the initial construction horizon. In the centre of the trench a hole was cleaned from the scaffolding, and on the east and west were found the buttress foundations, which used a limestone mortar. Along the south wall, in the trench, were found the base and part of the side of a rectangular white stone sarcophagus with an almost entirely preserved headstone, where even part of the lid was intact. A seal was found in the south-west corner of the trench, lying on a turned-over layer of grey sand mixed with lime and gravel at a depth of 44 cm below the current ground level, essentially corresponding with the level of the original floor (Fig 2). The seal was found below the headstone of the broken sarcophagus, and presumably fell here as a result of the earlier digging.

An initial visual investigation showed that the surface of the find was very contaminated. The upper part of the figure of the Mother of God and a third of the inscription on the right hand side were covered in yellowish lime mortar, covering details of the image and the letters. In October 2014 the seal underwent cleaning, restoration and conservation in the Russian Federal Scientific Research Institute of Restoration (the work was carried out by MP Gaidukov), which revealed the high artistic level of its appearance. In

Fig 2
Seal of Athanasios I, Patriarch of Constantinople.
Photo: PY Yaiclukov. Drawing: IV Volkova

general the seal is well preserved, but the protruding parts of the relief of the figure (the faces, the hands, the clothes), as well as the letters in the three bottom lines of the inscription and the border surrounding them were slightly flattened. It is not impossible that the seal was tightly pressed between hard surfaces in the middle ages, as a result of which the soft and pliant lead was damaged in this way.

final letters, which comprise the eighth line, ended up in the line of the border. Even so, they are fully visible and the border breaks off at this point. This indicates that the border was prepared at the final stage of the work on the matrix.

The inscription reads without difficulty:

+αθανα CΙΟCΕΛεΩΘV ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠ ΟΣ ΚΩΝ[?]ΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ ΠΟΛΕΩΣΝΕΑΣΡ Ω [?]ΣΚΑΙΟΙΚ□με νικοςπριαρ χηΣ 	+ Ἀθανάσιος ἑλέω Θ(εο)ῦ ἄρτιἐπίσκοπος Κων(στ)αντινοσπόλεως Νέας Ῥώμης καὶ οἰκ(οσ)μενικὸς π(ατ)ριάρτης
---	---

Translation: ‘Athanasius, by the Mercy of God Archbishop of Constantinople the New Rome and the Universal Patriarch’

This lead seal stands out among others of the period on account of its size. The impression of the matrix of the *boulloterion* was made on a round lead blank with dimensions of 43–47 mm, a thickness of 4–5 mm and a weight of 63.3 g. The blank is significantly larger than the dimensions of the matrix. The diameter of the impression of the outer border on the obverse side is 33 mm, and on the reverse 34–35 mm. The rim of the seal is compressed, and the channel for a cord or ribbon of a width of 9 mm is clearly visible on it. The channel passes vertically through the blank, just slightly off to the left of the head of the Mother of God.

On the obverse of the seal, inside a dotted-line border, is an image of the enthroned Mother of God (a variant of the *Nikopoios* type), holding the Child in front of her. The Infant Jesus is placed on her knees, but he is almost standing, and his legs are concealed by the creases of the *maphorion*. The creases are fairly precisely marked. The Mother of God is seated on a cushion, placed on a wide throne with a high latticed back. On either side of the head of the Mother of God above the back of the throne and below the titles is the inscription MP-ΘV.

On the reverse of the seal is an eight line Greek inscription, surrounded by a dotted-line (?) border. The placing of the letters indicates that initially these letters were placed on the surface of the matrix, while the border was only lightly indicated. The craftsman who engraved the inscription in mirror-image slightly misjudged the space inside the circle so that the three

This type of seal with the image of the Mother of God and an inscription over several lines is well known in both Byzantine and medieval Russian sigillography. This was how boullae of senior churchmen were formed: patriarchs, metropolitans, archbishops and bishops. Thanks to the surviving inscription the personal attribution of the stamp can be established with reasonable confidence. Four Constantinopolitan patriarchs bearing the name Athanasios are known. Two of them occupied the throne during the period of the existence of the Byzantine Empire: at the turn of the 13th and 14th centuries and in the mid-15th century. Two others followed in the period of Ottoman rule over Constantinople, in 1634 and 1679. The discovered seal can be linked with a great degree of certainty with the activity of Athanasios I, since the existence of Athanasios II, the final patriarch of the Byzantine Empire (1450–3) has been called into doubt by historians (Papaioanny 1895, 394–415). There are many reasons why it is impossible to link the seal to the 17th-century patriarchs, the first of which is the short period of their service. Athanasios III only served from the end of February to the beginning of April 1634, while Athanasios served for a total of a single week in 1679. Hence, we are inclined to attribute this seal to the patriarch Athanasios I, who is well known from written sources. He occupied the patriarchal throne twice: in 1289–93 and 1303–9.

More than a hundred Byzantine seals had been registered on the territory of medieval Rus’ by the

beginning of the 21st century (Bulgakova 2004, pp.30–1). Of these only a single seal related to a Constantinopolitan patriarch. The lead seal of Eustratios Garides (1081–4) was found in 1935 during excavations led by MK Karger in the north-west tower of St Sophia cathedral in Kiev (Karger 1945; Samoilovskii 1973; Bulgakova 2004, 81–4).

Until the time of publication of this seal, a further four lead seals of senior churchmen of the Byzantine Empire were known from the territory of medieval Rus', two of which have been published. In 2002 a seal of Matthew I (1397–1410) was found in a medieval settlement near the village of Aleshnia in the Rybnovskii District, Ryazan' Oblast (Yanin and Gaidukov 2003). A seal of the patriarch Sergios II Stoudites (1001–1019), found somewhere in the territory of modern Ukraine, was published in 2013 (Alf'orov 2013, 55). A further two seals of Constantinopolitan patriarchs were registered in 2009 and 2013 and are as yet unpublished. One of them belonged to Nicholas III Grammatikos (1084–1111) and was found in one of the medieval open settlements in the vicinity of the town of Sednev in Chernigov Oblast (the area of the Snovsk known from the chronicles). A second seal belonged to one of the four patriarchs Michael, active between 1043 and 1212. One of these comes from the surroundings of the village of Zholobov Sloboda, Spasskii District, Ryazan' Oblast. Among the finds which related to a Constantinopolitan patriarch are often mentioned the two seals with the Theodore Stratelates on the averse side and the four-line Greek inscription with the name of Neilos on the reverse side, discovered in Kiev in 1976–77. However, both the design and the legend of these seals have nothing in common with the ones on the seals of the Patriarchs, and thus there are no arguments for their attribution to Patriarch Neilos (Ivakin 2015, 201–215).

The seal of the patriarch Athanasios, in the iconography of the Mother of God, represents an earlier stage in the development of the seals of the Constantinopolitan patriarchs: the differences consist in just a few of the features of the figures and in the detailing. One important detail is the wide throne with the latticed back, which is uncharacteristic for seals of middle Byzantine patriarchs. This throne is also found on the seal of the patriarch Germanos II (1222–40), which can be viewed as one of the models for the seal of the patriarch Athanasios, moreover as a model which has been well developed and even finessed in the lead seal published here (Likhachev 1899, 52–3). It is not impossible that the model for

these thirteenth-century patriarchal seals was a famous icon in Constantinople with an image of the Mother of God *Nikopoios*. It is interesting that on the seal of the patriarch Matthew I (1397–1410) the throne is already without a back (Likhachev 1899, 51; Likhachev 1991, 170; Gaidukov 2003, 417); this indicates that such a detail was only found on patriarchal seals for a relatively short period of time.

Seals of the Constantinopolitan patriarchal seals are known from sigillographic collections in many countries. Among the published lead seals we know of two, relating to the patriarch Athanasios. One seal comes from Berlin museums (Laurent, 1963, 30–1), while a second, which was displayed at an exhibition in Vienna in 1997, comes from a private collection (Seibt and Zarnitz 1997, 185–6).¹ Judging by the photographs in the publications, both seals have been pressed on the same matrices as the seal from Pereslavl-Zalesskii published here.

The patriarch Athanasios I, originally Alexios, was born around 1235 in Adrianopolis and died in great old age in 1315 in the Constantinopolitan monastery of Xerolophos. He was one of the most colourful figures in the history of Palaeologan Byzantium. He had spent many years as a monk in the monasteries of Athos and in Thrace, famous as an ascetic and a hermit, before being invited to take the patriarchal throne on the initiative of the Byzantine emperor Adronikos II Palaeologos, after which he exercised very significant influence over the *basileus* and the politics of the empire. It is well known that Athanasios was a convinced opponent of any rapprochement between Byzantium and the Latin West, a supporter of the strengthening of imperial power as a divinely bestowed prerogative, and ideologue of the cleansing of the morals of Byzantine society, often intervening in the affairs of the secular administration. The patriarch was forced to vacate the Constantinopolitan throne on two occasions by his opponents among the episcopate and the aristocracy. Reverence of Athanasios as a saint began soon after his death (Barabanov 1981, 141–56; Barabanov 1983, 52–64; Lobova 1997, 34–48). In his *Khozhdenie* ("Pilgrimage"), the deacon Ignatii Smolianin, who accompanied the metropolitan Pimen in his journey to Tsar'grad (Constantinople) in 1389–93, mentions a visit to the monastery of Xerolophos, where the relics of Athanasios and the patriarchal crosier, bestowed on him by the Mother of God, were preserved (*PSRL* vol. XI 1897, 100).

The patriarch Athanasios played a notable role in the history of the Russian Church. In 1308 he made

Petr, hegumen of the Spaso-Preobrazhenskii monastery on the river Rata, a tributary of the Bug, metropolitan of Kievan Rus'. Petr had arrived in Constantinople on the initiative of the prince of Galicia-Volhynia Iurii L'vovich as a candidate for the metropolitan see of Galicia. By making Petr metropolitan, Athanasios reversed his earlier division of a single Rus' metropolitan see, when he had raised the Galician see to metropolitan status in 1302. By raising Petr to the prelate's throne, the patriarch was rejecting an alternative pretender, hegumen Gerontios of Tver', who had set off to Constantinople with the insignia of the prelate's rank, which he had received following the death of the metropolitan Maxim: the prelate's chasubles, crosier and an icon of the Mother of God, which had been painted for Maxim by the hegumen of the monastery of Rata. The colourful details of these events are relayed in the *Vita of Metropolitan Petr*, the first version of which was compiled shortly after his death, in 1327, by the bishop of Rostov Prokhor, while the second was compiled several decades later by the metropolitan Kiprian (Kuchkin 1962, 59–97; Sedova 1993, 21–47).

However, the participation of Athanasios in the affairs of the Russian church, and in the fate of the metropolitan Petr went further. Having received a complaint against the metropolitan from the bishop of Tver', Andrei, Athanasios sent to Petr, "the only rational, wise and sharp-witted man among his clerics", with instructions to investigate the accusations brought against the prelate at a church council (Sedova 1993, 24). The council was convened in Pereyasavl.

The only record of the Pereyasavl church council is preserved in a single source: the *Vita of the Metropolitan Petr*. The first version of the *Vita* records the following participants: the bishop of Rostov Semion, the archimandrite of Yaroslavl Prokhor, the bishop of Tver Andrei, the "cleric from Constantinople", the sons of prince Mikhail of Tver, Dmitrii and Aleksandr (Mikhail himself was in the Golden Horde at the time), and "many other princes, nobles, commanders and a multitude of venerable hegumens and hierarchs." There was not general agreement among those present about the questions brought to the discussion of the council, but in the end the council overturned the accusations brought by bishop Andrei of Tver and Petr was acquitted (Sedova 1993, 25). A more detailed account of the Pereyasavl council is found in the Kiprian version of the *Vita*. Here, among other things, it is narrated that Athanasios sent Petr his representative "with an epistle", the

contents of which were read out at the council. "Then the cleric sent by the patriarch made the epistle and the words to the venerable prelate Petr public to all." The clash between the two sides was so fraught that Petr was prepared to vacate the metropolitan throne (Sedova 1993, 81–2). Details of the Pereyasavl council not reported elsewhere are included in the *Russian History* of VN Tatishchev, where it is said that metropolitan Petr was supported at the council by the prince Iurii Danilovich, whose "defence" had a decisive significance for the outcome (Tatishchev 1965, 72).

The *Vita* does not give the substance of the accusations made against Petr by Andrei of Tver' and his supporters. According to VN Tatishchev the subject of discussion at the council was the heretical beliefs of an archpriest from Novgorod, who denied the existence of an earthly paradise and spoke out against the institute of monasticism (Tatishchev 1965, 72). However, most researchers believe that the main question brought forward for discussion was the acceptability of monetary payments for appointments to church offices, which the bishop Andrei and his supporter prince Michael of Tver' spoke out against (Sedova 1993, pp.13–15; Kliug, 1994, 102). This position was laid out in a letter of the monk Akindin from Tver' to the prince Mikhail Iaroslavich (*Napisanie Akindina*, 1880). A letter from the Constantinopolitan patriarch Niphontos I (1310–14) to prince Mikhail Iaroslavich discusses the accusation of simony directed at Petr, and orders the metropolitan to come to Constantinople to respond to these accusations (*Dva poslaniia k velikomy kniazuiu Mikhailu Iaroslavichu Tverskomu* 1880).

The *Vita* of metropolitan Petr is ambiguous about the time at which the Pereyasavl' council was held. VN Tatishchev places the notice about it under the year 1313, but RA Sedova has shown this dating to be erroneous. VA Kuchkin dated the council to 1311 (Kuchkin 1962, 68), while Sedova dated it to 1310 (Sedova 1993, p.14), and E Kliug dated it to 1309, pointing out that this was the year in which Athanasios' patriarchate came to an end (Kliug 1994, 102, 135). The authors of the *Orthodox Encyclopedia* place the council in 1309 or early 1310.

The church council of 1309–10 was one of the tensest moments of confrontation between Moscow and Tver', and an equally important turning point in the history of the Russian metropolitan see. The choice of Pereyasavl' as the place of the council corresponded to the interests of the princes of Moscow: this town, which had been at the centre of the struggle between the princes in the 1290s,

went over to the principedom of Moscow in 1302, having been left in the will of the prince of Pereyasavl Ivan Dmitrievich to the prince of Moscow Iurii Danilovich. The decision of the council strengthened the position of Petr as metropolitan of Rus' and strengthened the position of the Moscow princes standing in support of him. However, the opponents of Petr from among the clergy of Tver maintained their high position in the church hierarchy (bishop Andrei held the see of Tver until 1316) and continued in their attempts to dethrone the metropolitan (Kliug 1994, 102–5).

It is logical to suppose that the seal of the patriarch Athanasios found in Pereyasavl was affixed to the letter mentioned in the *Vita*, sent by the patriarch and addressed to Petr and the participants of the council 1309–10. It is entirely probable that the church council was held in the stone cathedral in the city of Pereyasavl, where the “epistle” could have been read out. This document, recited by the Constantinopolitan cleric, representing the patriarch Athanasios, might then have been preserved in the *diakonikon* of the Cathedral of the Saviour in Pereyasavl. Thus, the lead seal of the universal patriarch Athanasios is not only an evocative material reflection of Byzantine-Rus church ties in the early fourteenth century, but also archaeological evidence for one of the most dramatic events in Russian church history and the internecine warfare among its princes, the Pereyasavl council: an event otherwise known to us only through the *Vita of the Metropolitan Petr* and the notices of VN Tatishchev.

Nikolaj Makarov is the Director of the Institute of Archaeology of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Moscow. His research interests include viking age and medieval archaeology. He is author of more than 250 articles and several books dealing with medieval settlement, cultural and social identities in Rus'. He is the head of several current large-scale projects investigating medieval sites and power centres in the Volga-Oka region.

Peter Gaidukov is the Deputy Director of the Institute of Archaeology of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Moscow. His investigations deal with Russian numismatics, sphragistics and archaeology of medieval Novgorod. He is co-author of the corpus of the seals of Medieval Rus' and the editor of the recent finds of

medieval seals from various regions of Russia. Vladimir Sedov is the Head of the Department of the History of Art of the Historical Faculty, Moscow State University and the senior researcher in the Institute of Archaeology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. His research interests focus on the history of medieval architecture and architectural archaeology. His publications deal with the famous church monuments of Novgorod, Pskov, Suzdal and Vladimir, including the earliest ecclesiastic buildings of the 11th and 12th centuries. Valentin Beilekchi is the senior researcher in the Murom Museum of History and Art in Vladimir region, preparing his PHD in the Institute of Archaeology. He specializes in the archaeology of Fenno-Ugrian cultures of the Volga-Oka basin. He is involved in current field investigations on the sites of Volga-Oka region, including excavations in Peresavl'-Zalesskii.

Abbreviations

RIB – *Russkaia istoricheskaia biblioteka, izdavaemaia Arkheograficheskoi komissiei*, St Petersburg.

TODRL – *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoi literatury* (Pushkinskogo Doma)

VV – *Vizantijskij Vremennik*

Notes

- 1 We would like to take the opportunity to express our gratitude to E. V. Stepanova (St Petersburg) and A. A. Alferov (Kiev), for their help in finding analogies for the seal published here.

Bibliography

- Al'orov, O, 2013, 'Vytoky: s frahistychna tradytsiia Kyivs'koi Rusy [Origins: the sigillographic tradition of Kievan Rus']', *Tysiacha rokiv ukrains'koi pechatki. Katalog vystavky*, Kiev, 21–97

- Barabanov, ND, 'Bor'ba vnutri vizantiiskoi Tserkvi na rubezhe XIII–XIV vv' [The struggle within the Byzantine Church on the turn of the 13th and 14th centuries], *Antichnaia drevnost' i srednie veka* 17, 141–56
- Barabanov, ND, 'Otnosheniia tservki i gosudarstva v Vizantii na rubezhe XIII–XIV vv', (patriarkh Afanasii I i imperator Andronik II Paleolog)' [Church-state relations in Byzantine on the turn of the 13th and 14th centuries (Patriarch Athanasios I and Emperor Andronnikos II Palaeologos)], *Antichnaia drevnost' i srednie veka*, 20 (*Razvitie feodalizma v Tsentral'noi i Iugo-Vostochnoi Evrope*), *Sverdlovsk*, 52–63
- Bulgakova, V, 2004, *Byzantinische Bleisiegel in Osteuropa. Die Funde auf dem Territorium Altrusslands*, Wiesbaden
- Chiniakov, AG, 1952, 'Arkhitekturnyi pamiatnik vremeni Iurii Dolgorukogo' [An architectural monument from the time of Iurii Dolgorukii], *Arkhitekturnoe nasledstvo* 2, 43–66
- Dva poslaniia k velikomy kniaziiu Mikhailu Iaroslavichu Tverskomu: konstantinopol'skogo patriarkha Nifonta I I russkogo inoka Akindina o postavlennii po mzde (protive mitropolita Petra)* [Two letters to the Great Prince Mikhail Iaroslavich of Tver': from the Patriarch of Constantinople Niphonotos I and the Russian monk Akindin on appointments for bribes (against the metropolitan Petr)], *RIB* 6, 1880, col. 147–500
- Ivakin H, 2015, 'The Historical Context of Seals of Neilos from Kiev' *Byzantine and Rus' Seals* in H Ivakin, N Khrapunov and W Seibt (eds), *Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Rus'-Byzantine Sigillography, Kyiv, Ukraine, 13–16 September 2013*, Kiev, 201–17
- Karger, MK, 1945, 'K istorii vizantiiskoi sfragistiki' [Contribution to the history of Byzantine sigillography], *Vizantiiskii sbornik*, Moscow/Leningrad, 260–4
- Kliug, E, 1994, *Kniazhestvo Tverskoe (1247–1485)*, Tver'
- Kuchkin, VA, 1962, 'Skazanie o smerti mitropolita Petra' [Account of the death of the metropolitan Petr], *TODRL* 18, 59–79
- Laurent, V, 1963, *Le corpus des scéaux de l'Empire Byzantin*, vol. 5, *L'Eglise*, Paris
- Likhachev, NP 1991, 'Molivdovuly grecheskogo Vostoka' [Lead seals of the Greek East], VS Shandrovskaia (ed), Moscow, 360
- Likhachev, NP, 1899 'Pechati patriarkhov konstantinopol'skikh' [Seals of the Patriarchs of Constantinople], *Trudy Moskovskogo numizmaticheskogo obshchestva* 2 (1), 43–66
- Lobova, L, 1997, 'Sostoianie vizantiiskoi tserkvi kontsa XIII – nachala XIV v. v vospriatii patriarkha Afanasii I' [The standing of the Byzantine church at the end of the 13th and beginning of the 14th centuries as perceived by the Patriarch Athanasios I], *Antichnaia drevnost' i srednie veka* 28, 34–48
- Napisanie Akindina, mnikha lavry sviatoi Bogoroditsy, k velikomu kniaziiu Mikhailu Iaroslavichu o postavlennii mzdy radi* [The Letter of Akindin, monk of the Lavra of the Holy Mother of God, to the Great Prince Mikhail Iaroslavich on appointments for bribes], *RIB* 6, 1880, col 150–8
- Papioanny, H, 1895, *Acty tak nazyvaemogo Sofijskogo sobora (1450 g.) I ich istoricheskoe dostoinstvo* [Charters of the so-called Sofia Council (1450) and their historical value], 394–415
- PSRL (11) 1897, *Letopisnyi sbornik, imenuemyi Patriarsheiu ili Nikonovskoiu letopisiu* [The chronicle collection entitled the Patriarchal or the Nikon Chronicle], St Petersburg
- Samoilovskii, IM, 1973, 'Z arkheolohichnogo litopysu Kyivs'koi Sofii' [From the archaeological chronicle of St Sophia of Kiev], *Seredni viky na Ukraini*, Kiev, 101–04
- Sedova, RA, 1993, *Sviatitel' Petr, metropolit moskovskii* [Petr the Prelate, Metropolitan of Moscow], Moscow
- Seibt, W, and Zarnitz ML, 1997, *Das byzantinische Bleisiegel als Kunstwerk: Katalog zur Ausstellung*, Wien
- Tatishchev, VN, 1965, *Istoriia rossiiskaia* [History of Russia], Moscow/Leningrad
- Voronin, NN, 1961, *Zodchestvo Severo-Vostochnoi Rusi XII–XV vekov* [The architecture of North Eastern Rus' in the 12th to 15th centuries, Volume 1], Moscow
- Yanin, VL, and Gaidukov, PG, 2003 'Novaia pechat' konstantinopol'skogo patriarkha Matfeia I' [A new seal of the Patriarch of Constantinople Matthew I], *Scripta Gregoriana: Sb. v chest' semidesiatiletiiu akademika G.M.Bongard-Levina*, Moscow, 416–8