# Late Byzantine Accessories and Jewellery: New Thoughts on the Small Finds from Mystras

The fortified city of Mystras is situated in the south-western Peloponnese, Greece. Mystras became the capital of the Despotate of the Morea in 1345 and was built right below the 13<sup>th</sup> century Frankish castle of Geoffrey de Villehardouin¹. Even though the buildings' excellent condition presents some general information on the structure of the settlement and the religious life during the Palaiologan Period, more can be deduced from smaller contexts and finds that provide information on the appearance of the city's inhabitants².

For a settlement as large and politically and economically important as Mystras, the actual number of small finds<sup>3</sup> seems to be alarmingly low. Furthermore, most finds are without context, with the exception of a few grave finds. This chapter will search for a hypothetical context for those finds

with the help of comparable objects that – lacking Late Byzantine comparisons – often date to Middle Byzantine times.

It is important to think about any possible context in which the small finds could have been found. It seems very likely that most of them were found in graves. Opened but undocumented graves can be seen in almost every church or chapel. The only recorded set of graves that includes the well-known silken garments of the so-called »Byzantine Princess«<sup>4</sup>, most likely of Western origin, is in the Hagia Sophia<sup>5</sup>. A group of silken and metal embroidered ribbons most likely found in different graves just outside the Hagia Sophia<sup>6</sup>, another silken fabric in poor condition with buttons on it from grave no. 7 of the Hagia Sophia<sup>7</sup>, shoe irons from various graves of the Hagia Anna, Peribleptos and Hagia Sophia<sup>8</sup> and four

- 1 Sinos' publication from 2009 (Sinos, Monuments of Mystras) that preceded an article in the RbK (Sinos, Mistra) examines the city's structures and history after lengthy restoration work. Kalopissi-Verti, Late Byzantine Settlement, summarises the status of the research on Mystra gives a short and incisive insight on the general topic.
- 2 The author worked on this subject during her Master Thesis »Die materielle Kultur von Mistra. Rekonstruktion des Alltagslebens?«, that included all the published finds, organic and non-organic, that were found inside the city. Even though I was able to see the objects in the exhibition, I was not able to review them on my own, so my analysis is only based on the catalogue texts from the 2001 publication Cat. Mystras 2001, 138-169.
- 3 Not included in this article are objects such as glass-products, pottery, tongs, nails and knifes that inform about the craft and trade inside the city. This evidence of material culture still needs publishing and is only represented in the Mystra catalogue with some exemplary pictures (cf. Vlachou, Byzantine Table).
- 4 Cf. choice of title »Parure d'une princesse byzantine: tissue archéologiques de Sainte-Sophie de Mistra / Το ένδυμα μια βυζαντινής πριγκίπισσας« (Martiniani-Reber, Parure).
- 5 Drandakēs, Cheirographo. Martiniani-Reber, Parure. Cat. Mystras 2001, 148-153 nos 1-5; 155-156 no. 7; 159-160 nos 12-14 (P. Kalamara).
- Drandakēs, Cheirographo 2. 10. 12. Flury/Schweizer, Tissus 53-75. Kalamara, Costume à Mistra 108-109. – Kalamara/Valansot, Tissus de Sainte-Sophie 121. Cat. Mystras 2001, 159 no. 12 fig. 159; 160 no. 13 fig. page 159; 160 no. 14 fig. page 160 (P. Kalamara). Since the following finds with secured context will not be analyzed in the this article in detail, I will give a few comments concerning comparisons and the use in each footnote. No analogies to the embroidered silk ribbons are known from Greece, but from the Rus'. Two silk ribbons embroidered with elaborate motives found next to the head also in a female burial site inside the Church of the Dormition of the Theotokos in the Kremlin, Moscow, date to the 12th c. (Sterligova, Byzantine Antiquities 538-539 nos 109-110). The remains of another example dated loosely between the 12th and 14th c., again found next to the head of a buried female, only consisted of the small metal applications that were most likely fastened to a silk ribbon (Orfinskaya/Engavatova, Medieval Textiles 10. 13-15). That the ribbons from Mystra were also used as part of the headgear can be deduced from Drandakes, who describes a set of fabric bands that he characterized as seirition of a prelate and could concur with the silken and metal embroidered ribbons from the museum. But only the first of the three ribbons is ascribed to a child's burial, while the character of the other graves is unknown (Cat. Mystras 2001, 159 no. 12 [P. Kalamara]). Even though the comparisons are far from sufficient, a few similarities can be noted; almost all ribbons can be found in female or children's graves and can be surely identified as part of

- the hair decoration. As to their function, only assumptions can be made. Since all the ribbons were found in a funeral context, the question arises whether this kind of hair decoration was part of the everyday hairstyle or saved for the burial rite and conveyed a special meaning. Who then would be privileged to wear such a ribbon? Looking at the known examples, children and women are the most likely candidates, but whether they can be characterised as young and unmarried, as Dawson proposed, can be neither verified nor denied (Dawson, Women's Dress 48).
- Drandakēs, Cheirographo 13. Flury/Schweizer, Tissus 56-57. 70-73 pl. VII/7.13; VII/8. – Kalamara, Costume à Mistra 107-108. – Kalamara/Valansot, Tissus de Sainte-Sophie 120-121. – Cat. Mystras 2001, 155 no. 7 fig. page 155 (P. Kalamara). This fabric, found on the latest of the four burials of that grave, was made of two layers of which the finely woven upper one is decorated with metal threads in a floral pattern (Cat. Mystras 2001, 155-156 no. 7 [P. Kalamara]). Next to the forged and cast buttons that are documented for Mystra - the latter is known from half of a stone mould (Cat. Mystras 2001, 158-159 no. 11 [P. Kalamara]) - this clothing used a third type of button, that of knotted silkthreads. This type seems to be more delicate on such a fine silken fabric than the metal buttons that were rather roughly made and would have harmed the silk. If the buttons were lined up from the top to the bottom – as can be seen in the burial portrait of the skouterios Kaniotes (second half of the 14th c.) inside the southern annex of the Hodegetria in Mystra - cannot be determined with certainty (Kalamara, Dress 143 fig. 163). Another possible installation on the dress is just over the chest area as it occurs in the West or Bulgaria of the 14th c. (Cat. Mystras 2001, 155 no. 7 (P. Kalamara). – Mitova-Džonova, Archeologičeski 50 fig. 8).
- 8 While the catalogue entry recorded nine irons, a total of ten were exhibited in the museum in October 2014. By their form, they can be divided into two types: the first, with elongated semicircle iron, is represented with four pieces while the horseshoe-shaped irons can be found six times. Their pointed and bent over triangles around the outer brim of the irons prove that they are the longer lasting remains of shoes and were used to protect the soft leather material around the shoe tip and heel (Cat. Mystras 2001, 153-155 no. 6 fig. page 154 [S. Volken / M. Volken]). Since Volken stated that such a technical innovation seems to have started in the 15<sup>th</sup> c. new finds from Greece and the Balkans can retrace such objects back to the 12<sup>th</sup> c. (Cat. Thessaloniki 2002, 113 no. 108 [N. Zikos]). Unpublished comparisons from the Frankish castle of Chlemoutsi, very close to the city of Mystra, are five horseshoe-shaped irons. This observation the complete lack of comparisons, for the shoe irons of the first type which protected the tip of the shoe makes it seem more common and useful in the late Byzantine time to strengthen the heel.

bronze buttons from the fourth grave of the chapel of Hagia Anna<sup>9</sup> complete the finds that have a secured context. If not found inside graves, it is also possible that some finds can be put into a settlement context, being buried *in situ* or stored away in hiding. Yet there is no record that an excavation inside the city's walls has ever been undertaken. The third and altogether very dissatisfying circumstance of discovery is when the objects have been collected at random places due to the steep landscape or the erosion by water and wind.

The following discussion concerning small finds without context will be divided into two parts: first, accessories; and second, objects that can be understood as personal jewellery.

#### Accessories

20 simple gilded, hollow bronze buttons, one of them fragmented, can be addressed as accessories of a dress. Each button is made from two plain hemispheres in between which a thick, looped wire was placed and soldered together. Whether the hemispheres were actually moulded, as Kalamara proposes 10, or were formed over a model 11 cannot be determined without a closer look at the objects. Even though buttons are practically mass products that can be found in every cemetery context, a systematic study has not yet been undertaken<sup>12</sup>. Concerning their contexts, it might be useful to take a closer look at the inventory number of the set in the Museum of Mystras (166)<sup>13</sup>. It precedes the numbers of the already mentioned four bronze buttons (167, 168) from the Hagia Anna 14. Therefore, it is highly likely that the set of 20 buttons was also found in 1952 in the Hagia Anna, given that the inventory numbers were handed down chronologically, which is the usual process. During the Palaiologan period, such buttons were used as fastenings for dresses at various places 15 and prove the change in fashion occurring from the 10<sup>th</sup> century<sup>16</sup> onwards. Before this time, pins and fibulae were used to fasten clothes. This is corroborated by the historian John Zonaras<sup>17</sup>, who wrote in his encyclopedia of the 12<sup>th</sup> century that buttons replaced the pin and fibula entirely<sup>18</sup>. This statement is verified by numerous bronze button finds from all over the country dating to the 10th century and later 19. The buttons are mostly not found in situ, their precise installation can therefore not be reconstructed. Where up to three buttons are found, it is assumed that they are part of the upper part of the dress<sup>20</sup>. For other larger groups, a different use is attested: twelve bronze buttons from a grave of the 10th century in Berroia in Greece were found laid out as a necklace around the neck of the deceased<sup>21</sup>. The same context is also known for the 12th-14th centuries with the seven silver-coated buttons from a grave inside the basilica on Hagios Achilleios in the Small Prespa Lake<sup>22</sup>. Whether the buttons were employed on a necklaces in secondary use after no longer being used as closures cannot be determined. In the case of the buttons from Mystras, it seems also highly probable that they cannot only be interpreted as part of the dress but also as personal ornament. In any case, these buttons were manufactured locally, as is proven by one half of a stone mould found in the city<sup>23</sup>. Another object might have had a different function from that hitherto ascribed to it a bone object without context, 2.5 cm wide and 0.7 cm high and with a central hole<sup>24</sup>. The conical piece has a surface feebly decorated with various deep and wide furrows. The identification as a bone button has already been doubted<sup>25</sup> and it is likely that it was actually a spindle whorl, weighing down the shaft of a drop spindle. These were usually made out of stone<sup>26</sup>, clay<sup>27</sup>, lead<sup>28</sup> or glass<sup>29</sup>, but also bone<sup>30</sup>. We

- 9 These buttons were manufactured with a lot of single pieces. The round body was modeled with the help of two square iron sheets around a looped wire that are held together by a long and thin hairspring wire. This decorative presentation gives the impression of an acorn or raspberry (Cat. Mystras 2001, 156 no. 8 fig. page 156 [P. Kalamara]).
- 10 Cat. Mystras 2001, 157 no. 9 fig. page 157 (P. Kalamara).
- 11 This kind of production is testified by some golden buttons from Moravia, dating to the 9th c. (Szmoniewski, Goldsmiths' Production 170 fig. 17).
- 12 Only regional typologies, such as the excavation in Saraçhane, Istanbul, that divided the buttons into spherical, spherical with a nipple on the bottom and spheroidal, were made (Harrison, Saraçhane 263-164 fig. S).
- 13 Cat. Mystras 2001, 157 no. 9 (P. Kalamara).
- 14 Cf. footnote no. 9.
- 15 Parani mentions due to her observation of the contemporary murals a fitting of such buttons on the sleeves (Parani, Reality of Images 59). In the portraits of Mystra, buttons are additionally attested at the front closing the long garments from top to bottom, as can be seen on Manuel Laskaris Chatzikes in the Pantanassa church or the skouterios Kaniotes in the Hodegetria church (Aspra-Bardabakë/Emmanuël, Pantanassas fig. 97. Kalamara, Dress fig. 162-163 fig. 8)
- 16 The only example, a single fine golden button, dating to the 10<sup>th</sup> c., derives from a hoard made in Thessaloniki (Cat. Thessaloniki 2002, 396 no. 490 fig. page 397 [G. Papazotou]).
- 17 A short overview of his work can be found in Treadgold, Middle Byzantine Historians 388-399.
- 18 Angelkou/Cheimonopoulou, Kosmēmata kai Exartēmata 396.
- 19 Examples from Greece: Angelkou/Cheimonopoulou, Kosmēmata kai Exartēmata 395-396 (10<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> c.). Antonaras, Jewellery from Thessaloniki 121 (Middle Byzantine). 124 (Late Byzantine) fig. 12. Drandakēs/Gkiole, Anaskaphē

- 254 tab. 148, στ' (two gold buttons, undated). Cat. Thessaloniki 2002, 397 no. 491 (M. Païsidou, 12<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> c.). Bulgaria: Mitova-Džonova, Archeologičeski 47-53 fig. 7-9 (14<sup>th</sup> c.). Turkey: Berti, Grave Goods lasos 190 tab. 1-3 (13<sup>th</sup>. 16<sup>th</sup> c.). Denker, Bizans Saraylari 25 (undated). Harrison, Saraçhane 263-264 (12<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> c.). Waldbaum, Metalwork from Sardis 126 no. 761 (Late Antique?), nos 784-796 (1000-13<sup>th</sup> c.), nos 797-798 (14<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> c.), no. 799 (Middle/Late Byzantine) tab. 46.
- 20 Berti, Grave Goods lasos 190. For an installation on the whole garment cf. footnote 15.
- 21 Pektos/Karagianni, Veroias 512-513 fig. 4.
- 22 Païsidou, Agios Achilleios 532 fig. 5. Cat. Thessaloniki 2002, 397 no. 491 (M. Païsidou).
- 23 Cat. Mystras 2001, 158-159 no. 11 fig. page 158 (P. Kalamara). Next to the interpretation from Kalamara that the mould produced a hollow object, it is also possible that it was solid like some small but heavy lead buttons from the Late Byzantine time (Antonaras, Jewellery from Thessaloniki 124).
- 24 Cat. Mystras 2001, 158 no. 10 fig. page 158 (P. Kalamara).
- 25 Cat. Mystras 2001, 158 no. 10 (P. Kalamara).
- 26 Cat. Thessaloniki 2002, 368 no. 439 (S. Doukata-Demertzi). Cat. Munich 2004, 274 no. 417.
- 27 Cat. Thessaloniki 2002, 368 no. 440 (S. Doukata-Demertzi).
- 28 Cat. Thessaloniki 2002, 368 no. 441 (S. Doukata-Demertzi).
- 29 Cat. Munich 2004, 274 no. 416.
- 30 Dell'Era, Zeytinli Bahçe 403-404. Denker, Bizans Saraylari nos 72. 74. 76. 77. Köroğlu, Yumuktepe Excavations 315 fig. 8. Cat. Thessaloniki 2002, 366 no. 535 (A. Nika). Cat. Thessaloniki 2002, 366 nos 437-438 (S. Doukata-Demertzi). Cat. Thessaloniki 2002, 368-369 no. 442 (L. Starida). Cat. Munich 2004, 274 no. 415.

might look back to an early discussion by Davidson in 1952, who tried to differentiate a spindle whorl from a button in her publication on the small finds from Corinth<sup>31</sup>. Both objects share the disc or cylindrical formed cross section with a central perforation. The spindle whorl would have been put on a shaft so that the rotating shaft, with the help of the weight of the spindle whorl, twisted the fibre into thread. Depending on the thickness of the thread, the weight of the spindle whorl could vary<sup>32</sup>. The attachment of the bone object as a button must have been made with a knot whose diameter exceeded the diameter of the perforation. Another possibility is the use of a small pin that, put on the upper side of the buttons, was knotted and attached with thread to the dress<sup>33</sup>. Moreover, Davidson identified the spindle whorl as bigger, heavier, often made from clay and usually undecorated<sup>34</sup>, while buttons were typically smaller and lighter, often made from ivory or bone and decorated lavishly<sup>35</sup>. Recordings of small finds show that these misleading criteria are not proof for the classification of these objects 36. The biggest problem in identifying bone buttons is the complete lack of secured context. Davidson dates most of the buttons in the stratigraphical layer of the 10<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> centuries in which not a single piece was found inside a grave with evidence of having been applied to fabric<sup>37</sup>. The better context for these objects is settlement<sup>38</sup>. A definite use as a spindle is proven in some cases by the preservation of wooden shafts<sup>39</sup>. The only object that was published as a bone button with the same form is a piece from Makryalos, Pieria, Greece, dating to the 12th-13th centuries40. Sadly, this identification is based on the find from Mystras<sup>41</sup> and therefore is of no use as a comparison. Different button types, being perforated more than once like modern buttons with holes, can be found in Late Byzantine times<sup>42</sup>. Thus, it seems more likely that the bone object from Mystras was actually a spindle whorl for textile production and not a dress accessory.

Two objects that have been identified as »belt buckles« <sup>43</sup> (fig. 1), previously, also have to be questioned and should now be labelled as »toggle-closures«. The first example consists of two parts, while of the second, gilded looking one,



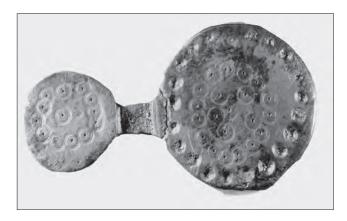
**Fig. 1** Two bronze and gilded (?) toggle closures with traces of a rasp on the surface. - (From Cat. Mystras 2001, 161 no. 15-16).

only one part has survived. What tells them apart from the usual Byzantine belt buckle<sup>44</sup> is that the toggle-closure is fastened with a two-part toggle, in this case with a central circular element that is hooked into a counterpart. It was attached to the dress with a needle on each piece that was connected to the closure through an overlapping bridge<sup>45</sup>. Both almost identically decorated closures comprise three adjoining circles or ovals (although one item is incomplete), which are decorated with interlocking circle-dot motifs that enclose a single central circle. The sharp-edged brim is decorated with wedged emboss strokes. Because of their crude appearance and decoration it has been proposed that they were produced in a local smithy<sup>46</sup>.

The only overview on toggle-closures dating to Merovingian times was written by Mechthild Schulze-Dörrlamm<sup>47</sup>. Given that she locates their origin in Byzantium, her article also contains some Byzantine examples<sup>48</sup>. Detected in Byzantium around 600 AD<sup>49</sup>, most of the toggle-closures

- 31 Davidson, Corinth 296.
- 32 Cat. Munich 2004, 274.
- 33 Davidson, Corinth 296-298.
- 34 Davidson, Corinth 296. That the lack of decoration is no criterion for the identification of a spindle is observed by Davidson herself in footnote 72 on the same page. Additional secured spindle finds, with their elaborate concentrical line-, circle- and scratched decoration, also count against such an assumption (Cat. Thessaloniki 2002, 368-369 no. 442 [L. Starida]).
- 35 Davidson, Corinth 296. The size of the so-called bone buttons is no smaller than the objects that have been called spindles. The »button« from Mystras with a diameter of 2.5 cm is, e.g., bigger than the Middle Byzantine spindle from Maroneia, Palichora, Greece, with a diameter of 2 cm (Cat. Thessaloniki 2002, 366 no. 438 [S. Doukata-Demertzi]).
- 36 Even Harrison doubts his list of »disc-buttons« and adds that some of them were surely used as spindles (Harrison, Saraçhane 262).
- 37 Davidson, Corinth 297.
- 38 Denker, Bizans Saraylari nos 72. 74. 76-77. Kŏroğlu, Yumuktepe Excavations 315
- 39 Dell'Era, Zeytinli Bahçe 403 fig. 11a. The author proposes in contrast the function as bottle cap and identifies the boneshaft not as part of a spindle.

- 40 Cat. Thessaloniki 2002, 397 no. 492 (E. Marki).
- 41 Angelkou/Cheimonopoulou, Kosmēmata kai Exartēmata 384-385.
- 42 Those finds again not made in graves and cannot be identified as buttons certainly even though they look so much like modern buttons (Davidson, Corinth 298 nos 2580-2581. Denker, Bizans Saraylari nos 112-114).
- 43 Cat. Mystras 2001, 161-162 nos 15-16 (P. Kalamara). As to the context, the inventory numbers are again interesting. Like the three digit numbers of the four bronze buttons (see above), the numbers (170-171) are just a little higher than those of the four bronze buttons from the Hagia Sophia (167-168). This could indicate that the toggle closures come from the chapel (cf. nt. 9).
- 44 For an extensive documentation on Byzantine belt buckles from the RGZM in Mainz, see the two publications Schulze-Dörrlamm, Byzantinische Gürtelschnallen 1 and Schulze-Dörrlamm, Byzantinische Gürtelschnallen 2.
- 45 A picture of the rear of the closure that shows the exact mechanism of the needle is not yet published.
- 46 Cat. Mystras 2001, 162 no. 16 (P. Kalamara).
- 47 Schulze-Dörrlamm, Byzantinische Knebelverschlüsse 571-593.
- 48 Schulze-Dörrlamm, Byzantinische Knebelverschlüsse 589.
- 49 Schulze-Dörrlamm, Byzantinische Knebelverschlüsse 591.



**Fig. 2** Bronze toggle of the toggle closure from Boğazköy, Turkey,  $10^{th}$ - $12^{th}$  centuries. – (From Böhlendorf-Arslan, Boğazköy tab. 169 Kn 3).

date to the end of the Early Byzantine to the beginning of the Middle Byzantine time. The two closures from Mystras cannot be classified among those pieces. In between the various types of toggle and counterpart only one example from the Byzantine settlement of Boğasköy (Hattuša)<sup>50</sup>, Turkey dating to the 10<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> centuries, matches the two pieces from Mystras, not only in form, but also in decoration (fig. 2)<sup>51</sup>. Whereas in Middle Byzantine times the toggle-closure is known from other media (fig. 3), the only object dating to Late Byzantine times was located in today's Macedonia<sup>52</sup>. Even though the round toggle bears some resemblance to the finds from Mystras, the counterpart and the way of attachment to the dress are completely different. Because there is no documentation of Byzantine toggle-closures that were found in situ they are often understood as belt buckles<sup>53</sup>. However, the closing mechanism would point to a different use. A belt buckle usually possesses a pin that allows choosing different lengths. A toggle-closure lacks this functionality. The position of such a closure over the collarbone in grave 235 in Unterthürheim in Bavaria, Germany<sup>54</sup>, leads Schulze-Dörrlamm to hypothesise attachment on coats, as it is known in Early Byzantine times in Egypt<sup>55</sup>. An ivory today in Saint Petersburg shows a similar construction, not on a belt, but on coat (fig. 3). Similar closures are not held by a single fastening, but by up to three toggle-closures on the front of the body<sup>56</sup>. This method of attachment with the



Fig. 3 Detail of the St Eustratios on the right side of the Byzantine ivory triptych of the »Forty Martyrs and Saints«, Saint Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, 10<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> centuries. – (From Bank, Byzantine Art fig. 124 [detail]).

help of a pin that the two objects from Mystras offer, makes it, not only possible to pierce through leather, but also fabric; and, therefore, very likely that they have been used – even as a set – as closures for a coat.

### **Jewellery**

The next section will examine the finds without context that can be understood as personal jewellery. While their individual value or their symbolism cannot always be determined definitely, the choice of material and complexity of decoration gives a hint as to the quality and significance of the piece.

### Rings

The four bronze finger rings from Mystras can be counted among the group of »cheap« representatives due to their material, method of production and quality of decoration, which can vary<sup>57</sup>. Rings are »mass products« and have survived in great numbers, but it is mostly the high-quality pieces that are published <sup>58</sup>. Many pieces are not securely dated, thus there is no gapless typology of rings from Byzantine Middle Ages<sup>59</sup>. The first bronze ring from Mystras consists of a straight band and decorated oval bezel<sup>60</sup>. The decoration of the bezel con-

- 50 For a short historical overview with a focus on the church inventory of Boğasköy see Böhlendorf-Arslan, Kleinfunde aus Boğazköy 351-368.
- 51 Luckily, I was pointed to that piece by Prof. Dr Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan, whom I wish to thank for also allowing me to use the drawing made for an unpublished book (Böhlendorf-Arslan, Boğazköy 214 tab. 169 Kn 3).
- 52 Maneva, Srednovekoven nakit 202. 204 tab. 104, 63/24.
- 53 Cat. Mystras 2001, 161-162 no. 15-16 (P. Kalamara). Maneva, Srednovekoven nakit 204. – Lightfoot, Belt Buckles 88.
- 54 Schulze-Dörrlamm, Byzantinische Knebelverschlüsse 587 fig. 12.
- 55 Schulze-Dörrlamm, Byzantinische Knebelverschlüsse 588 fig. 13
- 56 Schulze-Dörrlamm, Byzantinische Knebelverschlüsse 589 fig. 14, 1
- 57 Antonaras assumes that the ring was a piece of jewellery that everybody wore. Besides the archers' rings, no innovation in the production of rings during the Late Byzantine Period is known. What makes the dating of Late Byzantine rings so difficult is that they were patterend on the forms that were used before (Antonaras, Jewellery from Thessaloniki 123-124). The ring typology from Corinth, on the other hand, shows certain innovations from the 10<sup>th</sup> c. onwards (Davidson, Corinth 232).
- 58 Selected literature on Middle and Late Byzantine rings, sorted by countries: Greece: Bosselmann-Ruickbie, Byzantinischer Schmuck 280-341. Davidson, Corinth 227-248 tab. 102-107. Pääsidou, Agios Achilleios 532 fig. 6 (11<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> c.). Pektos/Karagianni, Veroias 514 fig. 12 (10<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> c.). Cat. Thessaloniki 2002, 558 no. 768 (5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> c.). 444-453 nos 584-624 (Middle Byzantine). 453 no. 625 (Late Byzantine). Bulgaria: Grigorov, Metalin Nakit 46-63. 186-212 figs 57-87 (various locations, 7<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> c.). Serbia: Bikić, Nakit 170-174 figs 59-85 tab. 6 (various locations, 11<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> c.). Croatia: Fol et al., Djadovo 278-280 (various locations, 11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> c.). Turkey: Waldbaum, Metalwork from Sardis 128-133 nos 816-823. 827-839. 841-842. 853-875 tab. 47-49 (Late Antique to Late Byzantine).
- 59 A typology of rings dating between the 9<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> c. can be found in Bos-selmann-Ruickbie, Byzantinischer Schmuck 117-124. The monographic publication by Jeffrey Spier deals with datable Late Byzantine rings with figural decoration or inscriptions (Spier, Late Byzantine Rings).
- 60 Cat. Mystras 2001, 164 no. 18 fig. page 164 (P. Kalamara).

sists of eleven deeply impressed circle motifs that still hold the remains of a colourful filling and enhance the visual value of the bronze piece<sup>61</sup>. The simple motif can be found in every material and period, especially on Early and Middle Byzantine rings<sup>62</sup>, some comparable finds present a more precise dating. The earliest comparison from Prilep, Varoš, found inside the so-called Marko's Towers (Markovi Kuli) dates to the 12<sup>th</sup> century<sup>63</sup>. Also dating to that century is a ring of the same form and decoration from Corinth<sup>64</sup>. Much later rings, dating to the Turkish period or rather the 17<sup>th</sup> century, are known from Turkish Sardis<sup>65</sup> and the Bulgarian Zemun<sup>66</sup>. The ring from Mystras could hence be interpreted as link between the pieces from the end of the Middle Byzantine time and those from the post-Byzantine period<sup>67</sup>.

The second ring, which can be classified as type Q of Davidsons typology<sup>68</sup>, has a plain and slightly convex band with open ends and a flat,round bezel<sup>69</sup>. The engraved decoration of the latter shows a central Greek cross framed by two inwardly bent lozenges. The background is filled with lines arranged diagonally. Mexia offers a dating via the rings from Corinth from the 10<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> century<sup>70</sup>. An additional comparison is a type of ring with similar decoration from Bulgaria that dates between the 10th-11th century and is interpreted due to the cross on the bezel as sign of Christianisation<sup>71</sup>. This ring differs, however, in the production, as well as in the existence of decoration of the ring band. The particular decoration of the bezel can also be found in 13th-century Serbia, where it is used for a different type of cast rings with a broad and decorated band<sup>72</sup>. The last two bronze rings are harder to settle. A cast piece that imitates a stone fitting<sup>73</sup> corresponds to type G<sup>74</sup> from Corinth. The suggested dating is vague and ranges from the 3<sup>rd</sup> to the 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, and it is difficult to narrow this down with help of the decoration or form<sup>75</sup>. A single ring from Aerino, Magnesia, in Greece, matches the concept of imitating the fitting and dates to the 11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> century<sup>76</sup>. The last ring, with a plain band and an oval bezel, holds a green stone made from glass<sup>77</sup>. This production out of two pieces correlates with Davidson's type C that can be found from the Early Byzantine to Turkish periods 78. The

other known Byzantine rings holding a stone usually have a different ring band. Most commonly used were bands made of entwined wire 79, or thin, parallel wires 80, rarely filigree wire 81. The plain and massive band of the Mystras rings in combination with a glass fitting has no parallel to my knowledge. That the four pieces are only of minor value and quality is obvious. Since most of the quoted comparable finds are found inside graves, it is more than likely that the rings from Mystras might have been found in graves that were not only restricted to the aristocracy. However, graves for non-aristocrats have not been found yet, neither outside nor inside the city walls. The ring's provenance from a grave must, therefore, remain speculative.

#### **Earrings**

Two types of jewellery can be understood as earrings and represent the most valuable small finds from Mystras. The first type is known through seven similar pieces (fig. 4-6), four of them in good condition, the others corroded.<sup>82</sup> Even though the earrings are usually referred to as crescent-shaped83, these pieces differ from the usual Middle Byzantine earrings of that type in their plasticity, which are three-dimensional but flatter<sup>84</sup>. The garlic-shaped description as found in the 12<sup>th</sup> century trousseau list of the Cairo Geniza seems to describe the shape well, but should be used with caution for Byzantine earring types, since this term in the manuscript derives from Arabic<sup>85</sup>. Here, the term kidney-shaped is preferred. The exact production method has not yet been studied, but the objects were certainly formed from two convex metal sheets and soldered together, and the hoop was connected with hinges on the one and an eye fixed with a peg on the other side86. The decoration of all the pieces is similar: they are gilded and delicately engraved on both sides. The central medallion is flanked by floral ornaments ending in a palmette, while the background is filled with lines; only the medallion is filled differently on each side. One earring (fig. 6) contains a monogram with the Greek capital letters  $\Pi$ ,  $\Lambda$ ,  $\Lambda$ ,  $\Gamma$ , standing for the family name of the Palaiologoi<sup>87</sup>. This monogram

- 61 Cat. Mystras 2001, 164 no. 18 (P. Kalamara).
- 62 Cat. Mystras 2001, 164 no. 18 (P. Kalamara)
- 63 Maneva, Srednovekoven nakit 193 tab. 89, 58/31.
- 64 Davidson, Corinth 247 no. 1978 tab. 106, 1978.
- 65 Waldbaum, Metalwork from Sardis 130 no. 840 tab. 48 no. 840.
- 66 Bajalović-Hadži-Pešić, Collection 127 no. 595 tab. XIII no. 595.
- 67 Dr Kristina N. Rauh kindly informed me of three more rings of that type. They were found inside grave no. 7 of a Medieval cemetery inside the yard of the church of the Theotokos in Priboy, Pernik Province, and can due to the armring be dated to the 16/17<sup>th</sup> c. (Čochadžiev/Čolakov, Nekropol 121-122. 128. 137 fig. 12).
- 68 Davidson, Corinth 231.
- 69 Cat. Mystras 2001, 164 no. 19 fig. page 164 (A. Mexia).
- 70 Cat. Mystras 2001, 164 no. 19 (A. Mexia).
- 71 Grigorov, Metalin Nakit 52-57. 104. 186 tab. 60, type III.2.7.
- 72 Bajalović-Hadži-Pešić, Collection 135 no. 658 tab. LIII/658.
- 73 Cat. Mystras 2001, 165 no. 20 fig. page 164 (A. Mexia).
- 74 Davidson, Corinth 229
- 75 Cat. Mystras 2001, 165 no. 20 (A. Mexia).

- 76 Cat. Thessaloniki 2002, 448 no. 600 fig. page 448 (A. Dina).
- 77 Cat. Mystras 2001, 165 no. 21 fig. page 164 (A. Mexia).
- 78 Davidson, Corinth 228.
- 79 Bosselmann-Ruickbie, Byzantinischer Schmuck 337 nos 246-248.
- 80 Bosselmann-Ruickbie, Byzantinischer Schmuck 328 no. 226. 329-330 nos 228-230.
- 81 Bosselmann-Ruickbie, Byzantinischer Schmuck 329 no. 227.
- 82 Cat. Mystras 2001, 166-167 no. 23 fig. page 166-167 (A. Mexia). Cat. Thessaloniki 2002, 436-437 no. 568 fig. page 437 (A. Mexia). Cat. New York 2004, 47 no. 18 (A. Mexia).
- 83 Cat. Mystras 2001, 166 no. 23 (A. Mexia). Cat. Thessaloniki 2002, 436 no. 568 (A. Mexia).
- 84 Bosselmann-Ruickbie describes the form as gibbous moon-shaped (Bosselmann-Ruickbie, Byzantinischer Schmuck 107-109).
- 85 Cat. New York 1997, 418 no. 275 (M. Jenkins-Madina).
- 86 Cat. New York 2004, 47 no. 18 (A. Mexia). Cat. Mystras 2001, 166 no. 23 (A. Mexia). Cat. Thessaloniki 2002, 436 no. 568 (A. Mexia).
- 87 Cat. Mystras 2001, 166 no. 23 (A. Mexia).



**Fig. 4** Gilded, kidney shaped, silver earring. – (From Cat. Mystras 2001, 166-167 no. 23).



Fig. 5 Gilded, kidney shaped, silver earring. – (From Cat. Mystras 2001, 166-167 no. 23).



**Fig. 6** Gilded, kidney shaped, silver earring with engraved monogram of the Palaiologoi family. – (From Cat. Mystras 2001, 166-167 no. 23).

can be often found in architectural decoration <sup>88</sup>. The other side shows two interlocking lines (**fig. 5**), the meaning of which is unclear. This symbol can, however, also be found in context with the aristocratic family in Mystras <sup>89</sup>, as well as in Istanbul <sup>90</sup>. Another example linking the lines to the Palaiologoi that has been found fairly recently is a ring from the last Byzantine Emperor Constantine XI Palaiologos and his wife Theodora Tocco that has due to the inscribed names been understood as wedding gift <sup>91</sup>. The interlocking lines therefore can also be seen as symbol of a direct connection to the Byzantine aristocracy of the Palaiologoi. The general earring form is one of the few also found in depictions (namely, murals in Kastoria/GR)<sup>92</sup>.

Apart from the earring shape, the fastening is important. The earliest parallel seems to be an earring from Rhodes, dated to the 11th-12th centuries, which is also engraved with partial openwork decoration<sup>93</sup>. In Greece<sup>94</sup> there is only one more piece made of bronze known from Corinth, also dated to the 12<sup>th</sup> century<sup>95</sup>. A small cotton piece that was found inside suggests a function also as a perfume carrier<sup>96</sup>. The six bronze earrings from Sardis, dating to the Late Byzantine period, confirm a spread of that form as far as Turkey<sup>97</sup>. Pieces in different versions dated to the 14th-15th centuries from Macedonia98, Serbia<sup>99</sup> and Bulgaria were also definitely used as earrings<sup>100</sup>. Mexia's conclusion that the seven kidney-shaped earrings from Mystras were not used as such and should be understood as part of the hairdressing 101 conflicts with the in situ found comparisons 102 that can surely be identified as earrings. Because of the number of pieces found in Mystras – their resemblance indicates the work of a local craftsman  $^{103}$  – a context as a group cannot be eliminated. The kidney-shaped decoration, whether found separately or together, is an innovation that can be traced back to the end of the Middle Byzantine period and sets itself apart from the crescent or gibbous moon-shaped earrings. Vesna Bikić suspects the origin of the kidney-shaped form in those flat types 104. Regardless of the genesis of the shape, the examples from Mystras



**Fig. 7** Drawing of the gold earring ascribed to Maria Palaiologina from the grave of the Monastery of Djuriste, Ovče Pole, Macedonia, 14<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries. – (From Angelova, Silistra 596 fig. 5).

were surely dedicated to the Palaiologan family or those in their favour. If they were part of the grave goods, then their location can most likely be assumed to have been inside the graves of the churches or chapels inside the city.

The second type of earring, passed down by only one representative, is made from a simple circular silver wire that is decorated by three spheres, constructed of two hemispheres. At which point of the production the unique dot motives were added is unknown. Thin wire wound in the spaces in between fastens the spheres on the wire. The earring could be closed by a simple hoop and hook system<sup>105</sup>. Earrings of that type made from gold, silver and very often bronze dated to the 11<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> century are widespread in Greece<sup>106</sup>, Macedonia, Serbia<sup>107</sup>, Bulgaria, Croatia<sup>108</sup>, Switzerland, the

- 88 Cat. Thessaloniki 2002, 436 no. 568 (A. Mexia). The author quotes additional media, such as jewellery, coins and textiles, without referring to the literature. One textile, the silken book cover from the Bibliotheka della Badia Greca in Grottaferrata, Italy, holds more than one monogram and the double-headed eagle of the Palaiologoi (Jacoby, Trade and Material Culture 26-27 fig. 26).
- 89 Cat. Mystras 2001, 180-182 no. 28 (E. Bakourou). Millet, Monuments Byzantins de Mistra tab. 52, 9, 7.
- 90 Mango/Hawkins, Fenari Isa Camii 180-181. The authors mention another textile example, the grave cloth of Maria Mangop, also from the Palaiologan family.
   91 Cat. Istanbul 2010, 478 no. 275 fig. on page 240 (C. Scampavias).
- 92 The 12<sup>th</sup> c. portrait of Anna Radēnē in Kastoria, Greece, shows exactly the same pendant form, although the closing using a hook and loop on one side differs from the fastening of the pieces from Mystra.
- 93 Bosselmann-Ruickbie, Byzantinischer Schmuck 109.
- 94 Another pair of bronze earrings, with the same pendant design but differing hoop, was found in a not dated excavation from Thebes (Koilakou, Eforia 105 tab. 59a).
- 95 Davidson, Corinth 254 no. 2047 tab. 108.
- 96 Cat. Mystras 2001, 166 no. 22 (A. Mexia). Bosselmann-Ruickbie, Byzantinischer Schmuck 135.
- 97 Four pieces were found in one, the other in a second grave (Waldbaum, Metalwork from Sardis 125 nos 752-755. 758-759 tab. 46).
- 98 The here quoted open-worked earring was found together with a pendant for a necklace inside a grave of the monastery of Djuriste and, due to the

- engraved monogram and the coherent ascription to Maria Palaiologina, is, besides the objects from Mystra, another example that stresses the representation of the aristocratic family (fig. 5) (Aleksova, Marie Paléologue 121-129. For a regional typology, see tab. XLVI).
- 99 Bikić, Nakit 53 fig. 27-28. 166.
- 100 Angelova, Silistra 593-598 fig. 1. The three grave finds from Silistra were discovered in situ to the left and right of the skull, and can be classified as earring types, with monogram and double-headed eagle (cf. footnote 105). Those pieces are moreover decorated with small movable wires that were fastened to the underside and may once have held pearls.
- 101 Cat. Mystras 2001, 167 no. 23 (A. Mexia). The pictorial sources often show diadems that are decorated with pendilia, but these look a little more like pearls than being made from metal (Kalamara/Katsara, Urban Centre of Mystras 141 fig. 160). For the Russian region a metal hair decoration, the so-called kolty, is attested from the 12<sup>th</sup> c. onwards (Ristovska, Temple Pendants 203-211).
- 102 Cf. footnote 103. Agelarakis, Excavations Polystlos 299 fig. 7.
- 103 Mexia. Mistra 167 no. 23.
- 104 Bikić, Nakit 166
- 105 Cat. Mystras 2001, 168 no. 24 fig. on page 168 (A. Mexia).
- 106 Albani, Elegance 197 fig. 17 (10<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> c.). Kakavas, Agia Paraskevi fig. 62 (12<sup>th</sup> c.). Philippa-Touchais, Fouilles 1381 fig. 80 (10<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> c.).
- 107 Bikić, Nakit 22 tab. 5, 70-72.
- 108 Petrinec, Gräberfelder 256-259. 637 tab. 311.

Ukraine 109, Russia (Kievan Rus') 110 and Turkey 111. Because the size and format of the spheres and their fitting to the wire could be handled in very different ways, I decided to offer just some very close comparisons to the silver earring from Mystras, hence earrings with wire fitting and barely decorated spheres. A pair of bronze earrings from Parapotamos, Thesprotia, Greece, dated to the 11th century, is the the earliest appearance of this type 112. The spheres are, in this case, of an elongated form. From the 11<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> centuries, pieces with spheres were found in graves in Corinth 113, Aerino, Magnesia<sup>114</sup>, Ermitsa close to Agrino<sup>115</sup>, the church of Agia Paraskevi in Eretria 116 and Parapotamos, Thesprotia 117. The only other earrings made from silver were found in the church of Hagios Panteleimon in Niš, Serbia, which are not dated, but show bigger and more elaborately decorated spheres<sup>118</sup>. The piece from Mystras therefore illustrates the continuance of a type of earring from the Middle Byzantine to the Late Byzantine period. All the previously mentioned comparisons were found in a funeral context, some of them were even discovered in situ on both sides of the skull 119. A rather unusual context held an earring without wire fitting from Stylos, Chania in Crete 120. The buried woman wore it, together with another type of earring in secondary use, around the fingers. 121 Such a secondary context is – like the bronze buttons threaded as a necklace - another possibility for the single earring from Mystras.

#### **Glass Bracelets**

Even if glass bracelets belong to the common small finds in Byzantium and must have been very popular, only two bracelets are known from Mystras with orange and blue colours. Katsoungraki described them because of their fragmentary state bracelets with open ends, but their characteristic joint is merely lost <sup>122</sup>. With an innerdiameter of 5.5 cm both belong to the undecorated and unicoloured group of these bracelets with rectangular cross section that is only interrupted by a deep furrow on the outside. Byzantine glass bracelets have played a minor role in research up until now and are published only sparsely, or with a strong regional perspective <sup>123</sup>. There are examples of different fabrication and decoration known dating from the 10<sup>th</sup> to the 13<sup>th</sup> century from Greece <sup>124</sup>, Turkey <sup>125</sup>, Russia <sup>126</sup>, the Ukraine <sup>127</sup>, Serbia <sup>128</sup> and the Republic of Macedonia <sup>129</sup>. Antonaras suspects a rapid decline of production during the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> century that was induced by the instable political situation going along with the reduced spending capacity of the population <sup>130</sup>. There are only a few finds from Late Byzantine times <sup>131</sup>.

Due to the lack of a secure chronology for these glass bracelets, of which many are stray finds, the dating of the two Mystras bracelets is difficult. Katsoungraki dated them to the 11th century without comment 132. The only painted bracelet with the same rectangular cross section and a dividing furrow was found in Amorium, Turkey, dating to the 9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> centuries <sup>133</sup>. The few dated comparanda thus suggest a Middle Byzantine date, and it is important to note that it is not documented where the bracelets were found, either inside the Late Byzantine city 134 or possibly in Sparta, only 8km distant, which was inhabited during the Middle Byzantine 135 period. A Late Byzantine dating on the other hand cannot be rejected either as there is still research going on that might throw light on the production of glass bracelets beyond the Middle Byzantine time. Glass bracelets, in general, can be found inside the settlement, but more often in the funeral context. The objects from Corinth are, along with the glass cakes, an indicator for local glass production in the north-eastern agora 136. Bracelets can

- 109 Rjabceva, Volgi 161-182. Reabteva, Pandantive 111-126. Most of the pieces that are presented in this chapter are characterised by their extraordinary rich decoration, style of production and size and like their Russian neighbours do not have anything in common with the simple three-sphered earring (cf. footnote 119).
- 110 Pekarska, Jewellery of Princely Kiev 47-52. 178-179. 234-235. The production of the so-called blackberry-shaped earrings can be found in Szmoniewski, Goldsmiths' Production 170 fig. 17.
- 111 Böhlendorf-Arslan, Boğazköy 186-187 tab. 96, Or 30 (10<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> c.).
- 112 Preka-Alexandrē, Parapotamou 172-173 tab. 40, 9-10.
- 113 Bosselmann-Ruickbie, Byzantinischer Schmuck 227 no. 24; 229 no. 30. Davidson, Corinth 2019 no. 2014.
- 114 Bosselmann-Ruickbie, Byzantinischer Schmuck 227 no. 26a-b; 229 no. 31a-b. Cat. Thessaloniki 2002, 434 no. 563; 562 no. 779 (A. Dina).
- 115 Bosselmann-Ruickbie, Byzantinischer Schmuck 230 no. 34a-b.
- 116 Kakavas, Agia Paraskevi 66-68 fig. 62
- 117 Preka-Alexandrē, Parapotamou 190-191 tab. 42, 8.
- 118 Albani, Elegance 197-198 fig. 18.
- 119 Preka-Alexandrē, Parapotamou 172-173, grave no. 18; 177-178, grave no. 33; 190-191, grave no. 74.
- 120 Albani, Hoffnung 58. Albani, Elegance 197.
- 121 The author interprets this occurrence as proof of the low status of the deceased (Albani, Hoffnung 58. 60). It is also possible that the two earrings were added as grave goods by relatives. The installation of the earring on the finger is easier than fumbling at the dead person's ear.
- 122 Cat. Mystras 2001, 168 no. 25 fig. on page 168 (Y. Katsoungraki).
- 123 Gill and Lightfoot started their research on arm rings from Amorium for Turkey, while Antonaras started the research for Greece in 2006 (Gill, Glass Finds 1. –

- Gill, Glass Finds 2. Lightfoot, Glass Finds at Amorium. Antōnaras, Mesobyzantina Brachiolia).
- 124 Cat. Thessaloniki 2002, 418 no. 531 (10<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> c.) (A. Antonaras). Chrysē, Zōodochou 758 fig. 9 (12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> c.). Davidson, Corinth 263-265 nos 2142. 2144-2154. 2158-2159 tab. 112-113 (10<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> c.). Cat. Thessaloniki 2002, 418-419 nos 533-534 (10<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> c.) (S. D. Doukata).
- 125 Cat. Istanbul 2007, 264-265 (12<sup>th</sup> c.) (H. Bilgi). Ivison, Byzantinisches Amorium 336-338 figs 31-32 (10<sup>th</sup> c.). Lauwers/Degryse/Waelkens, Glass Bracelets at Sagalassos (10<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> c.). Von Saldern, Glass from Sardis 98-101 nos 738-779 tab. 18 (10<sup>th</sup>-13/14<sup>th</sup> c.). Özgümüş, Iznik 733 (Middle Byzantine).
- 126 Sterligova, Byzantine Antiquities 2013, 541-544 nos 114-120. 122-125 (12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> c.).
- 127 Jaseva, Byzantine Cherson 404. 670-671 nos 489-490 (10<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> c.). 404. 670-671 nos 491-493 (11<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> c.).
- 128 Bikić, Nakit 87-89 fig. 57 (11<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> c.).
- 129 Babić, Prilepa 35 nos 66-67 (12th c.). Maneva, Srednovekoven nakit 111 tab. 64-74 (after the  $10^{th}$  c.).
- 130 Antōnaras, Mesobyzantina Brachiolia 434.
- 131 Cat. Thessaloniki 2002, 420 nos 535-536 (A. Antonaras). Tsourēs, Didymoteicho 57-60 fig. 19.
- 132 Cat. Mystras 2001, 168 no. 25 (Y. Katsoungraki).
- 133 Gill, Glass Finds 2, 379-389 fig. M.
- 134 The oldest structure that can be dated to the end of the Middle Byzantine period is the chapel of St Elias inside the Frankish castle. Another Byzantine use before the castle is not documented (Sinos, Mistra 404).
- 135 Gerousi, Rural Greece 41.
- 136 Davidson, Corinth 263.

be found in women's and children's burials <sup>137</sup>, sometimes even in a greater number. Whether the wearing of bracelets was reserved for women only is unclear. The wearing around the wrist <sup>138</sup> and the upper arm <sup>139</sup> is known. This observation is confirmed by a mural from Nerezi dating back to the 12<sup>th</sup> century <sup>140</sup>. Hence, a context inside the settlement structure or the cemetery sites is possible, even though the answer to the context is even more impeded by the contradictory dating.

#### **Ivory Necklace**

The last piece of jewellery is an ivory necklace that stands out because of the singularity of its material 141 (fig. 8). Bosselmann-Ruickbie realised, not without reason, that the application of ivory - in Middle Byzantine times often used for new or rearranged ivory caskets 142 – was apparently not favoured or is simply not attested in jewellery production 143. The necklace, whose beads were arranged in alternating order by Nikolaos Drandakēs, has an impressive length of 64 cm. The beads can be divided into three groups. Consisting of 47 pieces, the largest group is represented by spherical, lamella-like cut beads that resemble the surface of a melon. Five larger pieces are crafted like an opening rose that holds a simple core. The last bead, much smaller in size, broadens over a bulge into an elongated but broken off piece. Therefore, it could be possible that it once held a pendant 144. Looking at the reconstructed composition of the necklace that may have even held a pendant 145, one always has in mind that it has a lot in common with a rosary 146. Even though the necklace from Mystras is unique, pieces made of other material prove the importance of this type of jewellery, whether worn on the person or as part of the grave goods 147. Among the few comparanda are bone necklaces from Crete, some of which several come from a secured context. Their material is comparable to the ivory but shows a great difference in production, quality and shape. The beads are tubular-shaped. Found together with a pair of earrings, a necklace from glass beads and a bronze bracelet the bone necklace war found inside a woman's grave in Chania that dates to the 12<sup>th</sup> century 148. Another piece dating to the same period from a grave close to Hagios Nikolaos in Bourouni/GR was



Fig. 8 Ivory beads, reconstructed as a necklace. – (From Cat. Mystras 2001, 169).

made from round and uniform beads that are interrupted by three bigger pearls, like the necklace from Mystras <sup>149</sup>. Finally, there are two necklaces from a child's burial in Alikianos, Chania/Crete, dating from the 12<sup>th</sup> to the 14<sup>th</sup> centuries <sup>150</sup>. They were made by threading glass, and bone beads. Thus, the finds from secured contexts come from women's and children's graves. However, a significant conclusion for the ivory necklace from Mystra cannot be arrived at in this study without having more finds of Late Byzantine necklaces.

As it is always important to look beyond the medium of research, the chance of finding representations of jewellery within the preserved murals of the city would seem to be high. But in line with the donor and grave portraits<sup>151</sup> – 18 individuals in number – only a male grave portrait shows two

- 137 Lauwers/Degryse/Waelkens, Glass Bracelets at Sagalassos 150
- 138 Lauwers/Degryse/Waelkens, Glass Bracelets at Sagalassos 150.
- 139 Ivison, Byzantinisches Amorium 338 fig. 32.
- 140 Antōnaras, Mesobyzantina Brachiolia 432 fig. 13.
- 141 Cat. Mystras 2001, 169 no. 26 fig. on page 169 (Y. Katsoungraki).
- 142 The basic works still are the publications by Weitzmann who catalogued all the known ivory caskets (Weitzmann, Kästchen. – Weitzmann, Reliefs).
- 143 Bosselmann-Ruickbie, Byzantinischer Schmuck 15.
- 144 Cat. Mystras 2001, 169 no. 26 (Y. Katsoungraki).
- 145 Cross pendants were very common decorations for pearl necklaces from early Medieval times (Gonosová/Kondoleon, Art 114-115 no. 40. Khairedinova, Crosses from South-Western Crimea 431-438 fig. 7-9. Petrina, Kreuze 260. Cat. Munich 2004, 404 no. 924). Crosses made from bone can rarely be found because of their organic nature (Cat. Magdeburg 2001 vol. 2, 68-69
- no. II.37. Cat. Baltimore 1947, 96 no. 449 tab. LXVIII. Cat. Munich 1998, 199-200 no. 287).
- 146 The composition of the rosary used in the Roman-Catholic Church was defined during the 16<sup>th</sup> c. Nevertheless, in the 13<sup>th</sup> c. the *Marienpsalter* was known as *Rosarium* (Heinz, Rosenkranz 1304). Prayer beads like this were, as far as I know, not used in the Orthodox Church.
- 147 Greece: Bosselmann-Ruickbie, Byzantinischer Schmuck 91-97. 210-216. Davidson, Corinth 287-295. Macedonia: Maneva, Srednovekoven nakit tab. 26, 79/2 tab. 32-35. Serbia: Bicić, Nakit 78-81 fig. 50/2. Bajalović-Hadži-Pešić, Collection 144 tab. XXI, XXXII-XXXIV.
- 148 Albani, Hoffnung 54 tab.I fig. 4.
- 149 Giōrgos, Agios Nikolaos 224.
- 150 Chrysē, Zōodochou 758-759 fig. 10.
- 151 The most thorough article about the portraits of Mystras was written by Etzeoglou (Etzeoglou, Mistra).



**Fig. 9** Detail from the portrait of the Skouterios Kaniotes on the west wall in the southern annex, Brontochion Monastery, Hodegetria (Afentiko), Mystras,  $2^{nd}$  half of the  $14^{th}$  century. – (Photo A. Bosselmann-Ruickbie).



**Fig. 10** Detail from the portrait of the Skouterios Kaniotes on the west wall in the southern annex, Brontochion Monastery, Hodegetria (Afentiko), Mystras, 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. – (Photo A. Bosselmann-Ruickbie).

small golden rings on each side on the little finger (fig. 9-10). In this case, monumental paintings do not add any more evidence to the finds. Only by reflecting all the relevant available sources gives the approximation of a complete understanding of the past population: in this case, details for the dress and jewellery of the inhabitants of Mystras with all the aspects, luxury and plainness, as well as tradition and innovation that makes research so exciting.

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## **Summary / Zusammenfassung**

## Late Byzantine Accessories and Jewellery: New Thoughts on the Small Finds from Mystras

This chapter throws new light on the known accessories and jewellery that are exhibited in the Museum of Mystras. Although traditionally connected with the Byzantine settlement, most of them lack a definite archaeological context. Comparative objects from a wide geographical area, archival data and pictorial sources help to attribute the small finds from Mystras, which were part of burials or found as stray finds in the area of the Byzantine town.

Most important accessories are the group of bronze buttons that prove a change in dress. They were worn either on the front or the sleeves of the male dress and replaced the fibula or pin used until the 12th century. A »bone button« was identified as spindle whorl, two sets of roundly formed toggle closures were used more likely as closures of coats then belts. Four bronze rings, simply engraved or decorated with glass, belong to the group of personal jewellery that find some comparisons from the 10<sup>th</sup> century onwards. They represent common, simple ring types of a comparatively low value. More individual is a set of seven kidney-shaped earrings that can be tied to the local aristocracy and those in their favour due to monograms of the Palaiologoi family. This type of three-dimensional earring first appeared at the end of the Middle Byzantine period and developed into larger and more elaborate forms during the Palaiologan period. Another type of silver earring, with a simple wired ring and three spheres, belongs to a common Medieval group of earrings, mainly made of bronze, that date to the 11th-13th centuries and can be found from Switzerland to Turkey. Comparisons for the two glass bracelets from Mystras were most often dated to the Middle Byzantine time and raise the question whether those objects were actually found inside the Late Byzantine city or perhaps the Middle Byzantine settlement of Sparta and only later found their way into the museum of Mystras. Finally, a large ivory necklace is a unique piece that lacks any comparanda.

## Spätbyzantinische Accessoires und Schmuck: neue Überlegungen zu den Kleinfunden aus Mystras

Dieses Kapitel wirft ein neues Licht auf bereits bekannte Accessoires und Schmuckstücke, die im Museum von Mystras ausgestellt sind. Obwohl diese traditionell mit der byzantinischen Siedlung in Verbindung gebracht werden, fehlt den meisten ein archäologischer Kontext. Vergleichbare Objekte aus weiten geographischen Gebieten, Archivmaterial und Bildquellen helfen bei der Zuordnung der Kleinfunde aus Mystras, bei denen es sich um Grab- oder Streufunde aus byzantinischen Stadt handelt.

Die wichtigsten Accessoires sind die Bronzeknöpfe, die einen Wandel in der Kleidung belegen. Sie wurden entweder auf der Vorderseite oder an den Ärmeln getragen und ersetzten die Fibeln oder Nadeln, die bis zum 12. Jahrhundert üblich waren. Ein »Knochenknopf« konnte als Spinnwirtel bestimmt werden, zwei Knebelverschlüssen sind eher als Mantelschließe denn als Gürtel zu verstehen. Vier Bronzeringe, schlicht graviert oder mit Glaseinlagen versehen, gehören zur Gruppe des persönlichen Schmucks, der vergleichbar ist mit Objekten ab dem 10. Jahrhundert. Sie repräsentieren verbreitete schlichte Ringformen von eher geringem Wert. Individueller ist ein Set aus sieben nierenförmigen Ohrringen, die der lokalen Aristokratie und deren Umfeld zugeschrieben werden können. Dieser Ohrringtyp mit dreidimensionalem Zierelement erschien erst am Ende der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit und entwickelte sich in der Palaiologenzeit hin zu größeren und aufwändigeren Formen. Ein anderer Typus von Silberohrringen mit einem einfachen Drahtring und drei Kugeln gehört zu einer verbreiteten Gruppe mittelalterlichen Schmucks, hauptsächlich aus Bronze gefertigt, welcher vom 11. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert von der Schweiz bis in die Türkei angetroffen werden kann. Vergleichsbeispiele für zwei Glasarmreife aus Mystras werden meist in das 11.-13. Jahrhundert datiert und eröffnen die Frage, ob die Objekte tatsächlich in der spätbyzantinischen Stadt oder vielleicht in der mittelbyzantinischen Siedlung im nahegelegenen Sparta gefunden wurden und erst später in das Museum von Mystras gelangten. Die lange Elfenbeinkette bleibt vor allem aufgrund ihres Materials bisher ein Unikat.