

Abstract: The paper deals with the issue of the newly discovered mosaics found in the presbytery, as well as in the north-east annex of the Tetraconchal church at the site of Plaošnik in Ohrid. In that regard, their iconographic and stylistic features, as well as their existent analogies in the mosaics at Byllis (Albania) are treated as an argument to the debate of their creation as a product of the same artistic workshop. The new data on the recently discovered mosaics given by this paper do not only complement the existing knowledge, rather confirm the earlier assumptions that after having concluded their job at Plaošnik, the mosaic workshop from Lychnidos also executed the mosaics in the basilicas of Byllis. Hence, we were able to give some arguments on the more reliable dating of the mosaics decorating the Tetraconchal church in the second or third decade in the 6th century.

About half a century ago, a grandiose Tetraconchal church, with floors lavishly decorated with mosaics, has been discovered at the site of Imaret in Ohrid (today known as Plaošnik)¹. The archaeological excavations were conducted between 1959 and 1964², and in Mishko TUTKOVSKI

NEWLY DISCOVERED MOSAICS IN THE TETRACONCHAL CHURCH AT PLAOŠNIK

Key Words: Mosaic, Tetraconchal church, Plaošnik, Lychnidos, Byllis

1975, V. Bitrakova – Grozdanova presented the findings in the work *Cmapoxpucmujaнcκu cnomenuju eo Oxpudcκo*³. In the meantime, between 1969 and 1971, further archaeological researches were carried out, after which this structure has been presented and preserved⁴. In 1978, archaeological excavations have resumed and while researching the area north-east of the church, another annex with a mosaic floor was discovered⁵. The northeast annex has a rectangular shape with an apse in the east. It is 9 meters long and 5 meters wide. The annex is structurally connected with a complex of rooms discovered west of it, and with the church communicates through the entrance which is located on the eastern side of the southern conch (drw.1, fig.1)⁶. The mosaic decoration of the

¹ The toponym Plaošnik denotes a flattened plateau; it is the Old Slavic name for this space, which was used in the 19th century. Its regular use was resumed in 1999. cf. П. КУЗМАН, Плаошник, Охрид, Македонија, in: Ц. ГРОЗДАНОВ, П. КУЗМАН, Т. ПАСКАЛИ – БУНТАШЕСКА, *Плаошник – Возобновената црква на Св. Климент и Пантелејмон*, Охрид 2003, 34. In the text that follows, it will be used only the name "Plaošnik", regardless of its source reference in the older literature.

² V. LAHTOV, Imaret – Ohrid, in: *Arheološki pregled* (*AP*) 4, Beograd 1962, 212; V. BITRAKOVA, Imaret, Ohrid, in: *AP* 6, Beograd 1964, 108 – 109; Д. КОЦО, Археолошки проучувања во Охрид од 1959 до 1965 год., in: *Годишен Зборник на Филозофскиот Факултет* (*ГЗФФ*) 20, Скопје 1967, 257 – 266.

³В.БИТРАКОВА–ГРОЗДАНОВА, Старохристијански споменици во Охридско, Охрид 1975, 22 – 67.

⁴ В. МАЛЕНКО, Ранохристијански објекти во Охрид и Охридско, in: *Лихнид* 7, Охрид 1989, 4 – 5. The final presentation of the building including the construction of the roof structure and access ramps for visitors is carried out in 2000 - 2001 years.

⁵ The researches in 1978 were conducted by V. Malenko. The newly discovered mosaic has not been published until 2007, when it was reopened and conserved. Basic information and an illustration of the mosaic are given in the preliminary report on the archaeological excavations at Plaošnik in 2007 R.F.6 (research field 6), conducted by V. Malenko and B. Taneski. Today the mosaic is being deposited in the Atelier for Conservation and Restoration of Antique Mosaics (ACRAM). The conservation and detachment of the mosaic was carried out by conservators Nikola Upevče and Efto Dimoski. I express my sincere gratitude to Mr. Pasko Kuzman, Head of archaeological excavations at Plaošnik, who has provided me with the necessary materials.

⁶ The walls of the annex are preserved in fragmentary or negative, below the level of the mosaic floor. cf. B. MA-ЛЕНКО, Б. ТАНЕСКИ, Извештај за извршените археолошки ископувања на локалитетот Плаошник во 2007 год. (И. П. 6), 8 - 9.





Цртеж 1. Основа на тетраконхалната црква. Цртеж: Арх. Петар Мисовски Drawing 1. Ground plan of the Tetraconchal church. Drawing: Arch. Petar Misovski

north-east annex is by conception quite similar to the decoration of the north-west annex⁷. The mosaic which covered the entire surface of the chamber has been completely destroyed on the south side and around the apse; the rest is relatively well preserved and therefore it is possible to make a partial reconstruction of the mosaic arrangement, with the exception of the apsidal part for which we do not know whether ever had a mosaic floor (fig. 2). The decoration is divided into three rectangular fields, comprised by a common border, which consists of lotus flowers with wavy strip between them, executed identically

сл.1. Остатоци од североисточниот анекс (изглед од југо – запад). Фотографија – Авторот fig.1 Remains of the north-east annex (view from south west). Photo by the author

as the boards on the north-west annex. In the western sphere, the decoration consists of grapevine covering the entire surface to form circular panels, which are filled with grape clusters, vine leaves and several species of birds. The vine tendrils are executed in black tesserae, the leaves in black and yellow, and the grape clusters in several combinations of colours: red - black, black - red and black - yellow. The birds' execution is polychromatic, with different patterns and coloration and some of them have the characteristic red ribbons around the neck. This decoration is almost identical to that of the western apse of the nave where the grapevine is stemming from a kantharos⁸. In the northeastern annex, the lower part of the composition is not preserved, but we can assume that there was also a kantharos from which vine tendrils stem. In the middle panel once there a composition was depicted, the southern half of which is completely destroyed. In the central part, there is a partially preserved symbolic illustration of the four rivers that flow from Heaven. The rivers originate from circular nimbuses and flow into a wide bowl from which water flows on both sides. On the left side one can see a deer approaching the rivers, and above it a stylized

⁷ Detailed descriptions, a drawing and a photograph from the north-west annex, in: В. БИТРАКОВА – ГРОЗДАНОВА, *Старохристијански споменици во Охридско*, 26 – 28, 50 – 54, Т. VIII, fig. 21.

⁸ Ibid., 44, Т. III, сл. 13.



Сл.: 2 Мозаичниот под од североисточниот анекс. Фотографии – Авторот; спојување на фотографиите – Н. Упевче Fig.2 The mosaic floor of the north-east annex. Photos by the author, merging of images by N. Upevche

floral ornament (fig. 3). The nimbi from which the water runs are made of ocher - yellowish tesserae, and the river water is depicted with thin parallel lines of dark blue and green tesserae, made of glass paste.

The vessel in which the rivers flow is simply decorated with semi-circular bands of different coloration, which correspond to its form. The bands are placed alternately - pinkish, black, yellow, black, pink and white on the upper part. The deer is executed in an almost identical manner as the deer from the north-west annex. Configured with a black contour, the body is made of ocher - yellowish tesserae, its back is accentuated with a row of purple, and the abdomen and the anterior chest with white tesserae. The lightest areas of the deer's body and legs are highlighted with pinkish tesserae which defines its three-dimensional quality. The horns are rendered also in pinkish tesserae with its tips highlighted with black. Above this composition there is an inscription in its own rectangular field, bordered with a simple frame of two rows of black tesserae. The inscription consists of three verses separated by red lines. The letters are rendered in white tesserae, set in a background made of dark blue glass paste tesserae. Although the inscription is largely destroyed, preserved sections point to a mosaic dedication inscription; in the second row 'bishop' is clearly readable, the name of whom is unknown; a formula has been used that indicates the bishop's role in the construction of the object in order to emphasize his sanctity. Deciphering this inscription could advance the studies of both the Tetraconchal church and the Christian mosaic inscriptions.

The decoration in the north annex is undoubtedly the work of the same workshop that executed the other mosaics in the church. The contours of the lotus blossoms and the scene with the deer and the four rivers of Paradise are found also in the north-west annex (fig.3, 4); the decoration of the west panel with vine tendrils is identical to that of the western conch of the nave (fig.2, 6). However, despite nearly identical patterns and use of colour in this mosaic arrangement, one can notice a lesser quality in execution of the displayed figures. The technique and materials used are identical, but the stylistic differences are evident, especially in the rendition of the deer. The deer has a three-dimensional body, but the disproportionate drawing and especially the deer's elongated head are a clear indication that although this is a work of the same workshop, the artist had obviously weaker abilities than those who made the same scene in the north-west annex.

Besides *the newly discovered mosaic in the northeast annex*, further conservation and restoration activities based on previous studies lead to a discov-



Сл.. 3 Мозаик од североисточниот анекс, детаљ. Фотографија – Авторот Fig.3 Mosaic in the north-east annex, detail. Photo by the author



Сл.. 4 Мозаик во апсидата на северозападниот анекс. Фотографија – Авторот. Fig.4 Mosaic in the apse of the north-west annex. Photo by the author.



Сл.. 5 Мозаик во северниот анекс на базилика Д, Билис. Според S. MUÇAJ, M. P. RAYNAUD, op. cit., fig. 4a. Fig.5 Mosaic in the northern annex of the basilica D Bilis. According to S. MUÇAJ, M. P. RAYNAUD, op. cit., fig. 4a.

ery of few more mosaics in the Tetraconchal church. With a careful combination of 11 mosaic fragments, a new human figure has been discovered that adorned the floor of the Tetraconchal church (Fig. 7)⁹.

The figure is only partially preserved but most probably it was depicted in its full length. There are fragmentarily preserved parts of the torso and the face. The torso is bordered with red outline, and there are also visible remnants of the cloak which is rendered in pinkish ochervellowish and white tesserae. The face has been treated threedimensionally, with a light reddish contour and use of white, vellow and pinkish tesserae. The eyes, nose and mouth are highlighted with smaller tesserae made of dark green and black glass paste. The hair is outlined with a blue contour, and the locks themselves are presented with parallel lines of ocheryellowish and black glass paste tesserae (Fig. 8). Identically executed human faces can be seen in the mosaics of the presbytery of the basilica C and in the exonarthex of the basilica B at Byllis, Albania (Fig. 8, 9)¹⁰. The way in which the figures are depicted - their hair, big eyes, extended nose and small lips, testify to the signature of the same artist who worked in both Ohrid and Byllis.

The similarities between the mosaics in the Tetraconchal church and those in the basilica D in Byllis, for the first time were identified by V. Bitrakova - Grozdanova who points out that the scene with the deer and the four rivers of Paradise is almost identically executed in the north-west annex of the Tetraconchal church and in the north annex of the basilica D (Fig. 4,

5), and she also points out to certain geometric patterns that are found in identical forms in both church-

⁹ The reconstruction of the mosaic fragments was performed by the conservator Nikola Upevče in 2001. The conservation - restoration treatment of these fragments was first presented at the symposium RAVENNA MU-SIVA, *Conservazione e Restauro del Mosaico Antico e*

Contemporaneo, Ravenna 2009, (N. UPEVCE, Conservation, restoration and presentation of mosaic pavements at multilayered site Plaoshnik, Ohrid, Republic of Macedonia). Today the mosaic is exhibited at ACRAM.

¹⁰ S. MUÇAJ, M. P. RAYNAUD, Les mosaïques des églises protobyzantines de Byllis (Albanie), Un atelier, in: *La mosaïque Greco – romaine* IX, Roma 2005, 390, fig. 5d, 11.



Сл.. 6 Мозаикот од западната конха на тетраконхалната црква. Фотографија – Авторот. Fig.6 Mosaic of the west conch of the Tetraconchal church. Photo by the author.

es¹¹. Later on, after several mosaic pavements have been discovered in few basilicas in Byllis (A, B, C and D), a number of visual motifs, bordures and compositional matrixes have been recorded as identical to the mosaics in the Ohrid Tetraconchal church. Scholars S. Muchaj and M. Raynaud point to the stylistic features that relate the mosaics from Ohrid and Byllis and based on all findings and analogies thay assume that the workshop that operated in Ohrid, later created most of the mosaics in the Byllis churches¹². The discovery of the human figure and particularly of the mosaic from the northeast annex, confirm the earlier assumptions and allows us to claim with certainty that the mosaics at both Ohrid and Byllis were carried out by the same workshop¹³.

However a question remains: Where exactly were found the mosaic fragments from which the human figure was reconstructed? If we refer to older studies of the Tetraconchal church, we can conclude that at the time of the initial archaeological excavations (1959 -1964), the presbytery of the church has not been fully explored. V. Bitrakova - Grozdanova points to the discovery of a surface of water-proof mortar, which presumably was a base of a mosaic pavement, but no mosaic has been found¹⁴. In later excavations carried at the presbytery, in the period 1969 – 1971, new fragmentarily preserved items were discovered that give a clear picture of the structural appearance, arrangement and function of this space¹⁵. We assume that these investigations lead to discovery of the mosaic of the human figure, as well as the small apse east of the crypt, which was not known to previous

¹¹ В. БИТРАКОВА – ГРОЗДАНОВА, За мозаиците од Lychnidos, Епир и Македонија, in: *Пелагонитиса* 3 – 4, Битола 1997, 75 – 77.

¹² S. MUÇAJ, M. P. RAYNAUD, op. cit., 384 – 397.

¹³ The representation of the human figure is not the only element that connects the mosaics from Ohrid and Bylis. Above all, we ought to bring the attention to the iconographic similarities, the identical visual motives and bordures and especially to the stylistic features of this workshop. The masterly rendition of animals as opposed to a naive rendition of human figures is a special characteristic of the workshop, and this is obvious in both the Ohrid Tetraconchal church and the Bylis basilicas. More about the Bylis basilicas and its mosaics (descriptions, drawings

and photographs), see in: S. MUÇAJ, Bazilika A e Bylisit, in: *Iliria* XVII/1, Tirane 1987, 167 – 202; IDEM, Les basiliques paléochrétiennes de Bylis et leur architecture, in: *Corso di cultura sull'arte Ravennate e Bizantina (CARB)* XV, Ravenna 1993, 569 – 583; IDEM, Les mosaiques de Bylis et leur place en Epir, in: *CARB* XV, 585 – 605; S. MUÇAJ, M. P. RAYNAUD, op. cit., 383 – 398.

¹⁴ В. БИТРАКОВА–ГРОЗДАНОВА, Старохристијански споменици во Охридско, 34.

¹⁵ В. МАЛЕНКО, Ранохристијански објекти во Охрид и Охридско, 5. The author does not specify precisely what kind of elements were found.



Сл.. 7 Споени мозаични фрагменти со претстава на човечка фигура. Фотографија – Авторот. Fig.7 Joined mosaic fragments with a representation of a human figure. Photo by the author.

researchers (fig. 10)¹⁶. Our thesis is supported by the comparative analysis of the identical representation at the basilica C in Byllis, where the human figure, incorporated in a larger scene is found in its presbytery (fig.11)¹⁷. The working surface that was made available to the mosaic artist in the presbyteries in both churches is almost identical in dimensions and layout, which makes us believe that one and the same composition was applied. The attribution of the mosaics from Ohrid and Byllis to the same workshop, brings new insights into the chronology of the mosaics in the Tetraconchal church. Previous dating offered by the older researchers encompasses a wide period, from mid-fifth to the middle of the 6th century. After initial explorations, D. Koco concluded that the mosaics in the church were executed at the turn of the 6th century¹⁸; V Bitrakova – Grozdanova states that the mosaics were created in several stages during the second half of the 5th century19, while G. Cvetkovič -Tomaševič dates the church's interior mosaics in the early 6th century²⁰, while the mosaics of the baptistery in the middle of the 6th century. In contrast to the opinion of G. Cvetkovič, R. Kolarik considers that the mosaic of the baptistery precedes the other mosaics and dates it in the second half of the 5th century, while all other mosaics to the second quarter of the 6th century²¹. I. Mikulčić believes that the building was erected in the beginning of the 6th century and dates

the mosaics in the time of Justinian

16 В. БИТРАКОВА –	ГРОЗДАНО	BA,
Старохристијански	споменици	60
Охридско, 34.		

¹⁷ S. MUÇAJ, M. P. RAYNAUD, op. cit., 389, fig. 5a.

¹⁸ Д. КОЦО, Археолошки проучувања во Охрид од 1959 до 1965, 261.

¹⁹ В. БИТРАКОВА – ГРОЗДАНОВА, Старохристијански споменици во Охридско, 66; ЕАДЕМ, Мозаиците во Охридскиот регион и врските со Медитеранот, in: Историја на културата на Македонија, книга 2 – Цивилизации на почвата на Македонија, Скопје 1995, 76; ЕАДЕМ, Лихнид во ранохристијанскиот период и неговото урбано јадро, in: Јубилеен зборник – 25 години митрополит Тимотеј, Охрид 2006, 263.

²⁰ Г. ЦВЕТКОВИЂ – ТОМАШЕВИЂ, Рановизантијски подни мозаици – Дарданија, Македонија, Нови Епир, Београд 1978, 81 – 82, 84.

²¹ R. KOLARIK, The floor mosaics of Eastern Illyricum – the northern regions, in: *Actes du X congres International D'Archeologie Chretienne (ACIAC X)*, Thessalonique 1980, 460, 469.



Сл.. 8 Споени мозаични фрагменти со претстава на човечка фигура – детаљ. Фотографија – Авторот. Fig.8 Joined mosaic fragments with a representation of a human figure – detail. Photo by the author.



Сл. 9 Мозаик со претстава на човечка фигура од презвитериумот на базиликата Ц во Билис. Фотографија - М. Р. RAYNAUD. Fig.9 Mosaic with a representation of a human figure in the presbytery of the basilica C in Byllis. Courtesy of M. P. RAYNAUD.

 $(527-565)^{22}$. The proposed dating by the above mentioned authors is made on the basis of the stylistic and iconographic features of the mosaics in the Tetraconchal church, and through analogies with similar mosaics of Studenčišta, Radolišta, Heraclea, Stobi and Lin (Albania)²³. On the other hand, the mosaics of the basilica C in Byllis, which, as shown, were the work of the same artists that created the mosaics in the Tetraconchal church at Plaošnik, are supposed to have been executed in the first half of the 6th century, at the time of the emperors Justin I or Justinian, when the city became an Episcopal seat and grew into a powerful administrative center of the Region. In addition, it should be noted that Byllis was a relatively new city erected in the 5th century and its architectural expansion did not start before the first decades of the 6th century²⁴. Thus, the suggested dating of the mosaics from Byllis is far more reliable than the dating of the Ohrid mosaics that should be placed chronologically just before those of Byllis.

The Tetraconchal church in Ohrid belongs to the 'double shell' type of structures, with a nave defined with columns, surrounded by ambulatorium. This type of construction has been known since the fourth century, but in church architecture on the Balkans has become especially popular in the late fifth and the early 6th century²⁵. During this period, many churches of this type were built in capitals of the Eastern provinces²⁶. The Tetraconchal church in Ohrid has almost identical ground plan as those of the Red Church in the village of Peruštica, the church in Adrianopolis, and the church - martyrium at Resafah, all erected in the early 6th century²⁷. Based on the mentioned analogies, we believe that the erection of the Tetraconchal church at Plaošnik could be dated in the early 6th century. Later, after completion of the baptistery on the south side, the church floors were covered with lavishly executed mosaics created by the best workshop that operated in those regions in the mentioned period²⁸. Hence, our assumption is that the mosaics in the Tetraconchal church were probably created in the second or third decade of the

²⁴ S. MUÇAJ, Les basiliques paléochrétiennes de Bylis et leur architecture, 603; S. MUÇAJ, M. P. RAYNAUD, op. cit., 383, 397.

²⁶ M. MUNDELL MANGO, Building and architecture, in: *The Cambridge ancient history*, vol. XIV, *Late Antiquity: Empire and Successors, A.D. 425 – 600,* (ed. A. CAM-ERON, B. WARD – PERKINS, M. WHITBY), Cambridge 2000, 958 – 961.

²⁷ R. KRAUTHEIMER, op. cit., 98, 105 – 106; В. БИТРА-КОВА – ГРОЗДАНОВА, *Старохристијански спомениии во Охридско*, 38, сл. 11b, 11c, 11d.

²⁸ Most researchers believe that the mosaics inside the church differ fromthose in the baptistery and attribute their execution to different workshops that were active in various periods. However, here it is clear that there is no question about different workshops - the stylistic characteristics, the technique and materials used to make the mosaics are identical throughout the whole church. The only difference is the signature and artistic qualities of individual artists from the same workshop.

²² И. МИКУЛЧИЌ, Антички градови во Македонија, Скопје 1999, 320, 361 – 362.

 $^{^{23}}$ See foot. 18 – 22.

²⁵ R. KRAUTHEIMER, *Early Christian and Byzantine architecture*, Great Britain 1965, 98.



Сл. 10 Изглед на презвитериумот од Тетраконхалната црква на Плаошник. Фотографија – Авторот. Fig.10 The presbytery of the Tetraconchal church at Plaošnik. Photo by the author.

sixth century, a period marked with peace and prosperity throughout the Empire under the reigns of Anastasius I (491-518) and Justin I (518-527). Upon completion of their commitment in Ohrid, the mosaic workshop transferred its operations to Byllis where its masters executed the mosaic decoration in the basilicas A, B, C and D.

The newly discovered mosaics in the Tetraconchal church in Ohrid, provide new information's and open up new perspectives about the period in which the best mosaic workshop of Lychnidos was operating, but there still remain many open questions regarding the Tetraconchal church at Plaošnik: Who built the church? Who was the saint, the remains of whom were laid in the crypt under the presbytery? Who was 'the holiest bishop', as stated in the inscription in the north-east annex? Was it Bishop Laurentius or Theodoretus²⁹, or perhaps some other bishop whose name remains unknown to us?

In the past fifteen centuries, time has erased a lot of the history of this ancient city. We can do no more but hope that archaeological explorations will help us to solve just a little part of the mysteries of the magnificent Lychnidos.

²⁹ More about the bishops Laurentius and Theodoretus who were in charge of the Lychnidos Bishopric around the late 5th and the early 6th centuries, see: R. BRATOŽ, The Early Christian Church in Macedonia and its relation to Rome, in: *Macedonian Heritage* 13, Skopje 2000, 43 – 62.



Сл. 11 Цртеж од мозаичната декорација во презвитериумот на базиликата Ц во Билис. Според S. MUÇAJ, M. P. RAYNAUD, op. cit., fig. 5a. Fig.11 Drawing from the mosaic decoration in the presbytery of the basilica C in Byllis. According to S. MUÇAJ, M. P. RAYNAUD, op. cit., fig. 5a.

Мишко ТУТКОВСКИ

НОВООТКРИЕНИТЕ МОЗАИЦИ ОД ТЕТРАКОНХАЛНАТА ЦРКВА НА ПЛАОШНИК

Резиме

Со последните археолошки истражувања на Плаошник и со конзерваторско – реставраторските зафати на сите мозаични површини од овој локалитет, откриени се два нови мозаици, кои припаѓаат на севкупниот мозаичен репертоар од Тетраконхалната црква.

На североисточната страна од црквата, откриен е уште еден анекс со мозаичен под. Поаѓајќи од иконографските и стилските особености на овој мозаик, може да заклучиме дека тој е креација на истото мозаичарско ателје кое ги изработило и останатите мозаици во Тетраконхалната црква. Од особено значење за нашите истражувања е претставата на симболичната сцена со елени кои се напојуваат од четирите Рајски реки. Оваа исклучително ретка сцена, во речиси идентична форма е прикажана и во северозападниот анекс на Тетраконхалната црква и во северниот анекс од базиликата Д во Билис. Со компаративна анализа на иконографските и стилските одлики на овие мозаици, доаѓаме до заклучок дека се изработени од едно мозаичарско ателје.

Со реконструкција на повеќе мозаични фрагменти пронајдени со постарите археолошки ископувања на Тетраконхосот, откриен е уште еден човечки лик кој го красел подот на презвитериумот од црквата. Тоа е четвртиот портрет откриен на мозаиците од Тетраконхалната црква на Плаошник, а со тоа и четврт портрет во севкупната ранохристијанска мозаична продукција откриена на територијата на Р. Македонија. Овој лик е речиси идентично изведен со човечките ликови од Билис, откриени во презвитериумот на базиликата Ц и во ексонартексот на базиликата Б. Начинот на кој се оформени ликовите, изработката на нивната коса, крупните очи, издолжениот нос и малите усни, сведочат за *ракописот* на ист мозаичар кој работел и во Охрид и во Билис.

Новооткриените мозаици од Тетраконхалната црква на Плаошник, само ги надополнуваат претходните сознанија и ги потврдуваат претпоставките на истражувачите дека мозаичарското ателје од Охрид, подоцна работело и на мозаиците од базиликите во Билис, а тоа ни овозможува поаргументирано да ги датираме мозаиците од Тетраконхалната црква во втората или третата деценија од 6. век.