

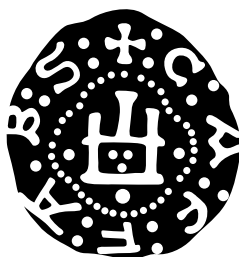
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ВОСТОЧНОЙ ЕВРОПЫ

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OF EASTERN EUROPE

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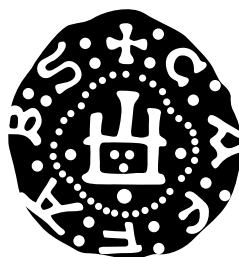
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С. Г. Бочарова, В. Франсуа, А. Г. Ситдикова*

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GLAZED POTTERY OF THE MEDITERRANEAN AND THE BLACK SEA REGION, 10TH–18TH CENTURIES

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Sergei Bocharov, Véronique François, Ayrat Sitdikov

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СОДЕРЖАНИЕ

Введение	15
Introduction	17

ЗАПАДНОЕ СРЕДИЗЕМНОМОРЬЕ

C. La Serra (<i>Vibo Valentia, Italia</i>). Invetriate policrome in circolazione al San Francesco di Cosenza nel Basso Medioevo. Primi dati da nuove scoperte (Calabria, Italia)	21
J. Coll Conesa (<i>Valencia, Spain</i>). Changing Tastes: from Lustreware to Polychrome Tiles. Exported Pottery from Valencia in Mediterranean Area and around (14th to 18th cc.)	31
V. Verrocchio (<i>Pescara, Italia</i>). La maiolica di Castelli (TE) nell'Adriatico Orientale fra XVI e XVIII secolo. Attuali conoscenze e prospettive di ricerca .	51

ВОСТОЧНОЕ СРЕДИЗЕМНОМОРЬЕ

E. F. Athanassopoulos (<i>Lincoln, NE, USA</i>). Medieval Glazed Pottery: Archaeological Evidence from Rural Greece	71
A. Ç. Türker (<i>Çanakkale, Turkey</i>). A Byzantine Settlement on the Kalabaklı Valley in the Hellespont: Yağcılar	91
L. Doğer (<i>İzmir, Turkey</i>), M. E. Armağan (<i>Uşak, Turkey</i>). Byzantine Glazed Pottery Finds from Aigai (Aiolis) Excavations	107
A. G. Yangaki (<i>Athens, Greece</i>). Immured Vessels in the Church of Panagia Eleousa, Kitharida, Crete	135
M. Öztaşkın (<i>Pamukkale, Turkey</i>). Byzantine and Turkish Glazed Pottery Finds from Aphrodisias	165
I. Shaddoud (<i>Aix-en-Provence, France</i>). Vaisselle de santé dans le monde arabe (VIII^e—XV^e siècles) : une restitution possible des usages grâce au croisement des sources	189
V. Bikić (<i>Belgrade, Serbia</i>). Ottoman Glazed Pottery Standardisation: The Belgrade Fortress Evidence for Production Trends	207
V. François (<i>Aix-en-Provence, France</i>). Circulation des potiers ou des modèles ? Production damascène de vaisselle ottomane « à la manière » d'Iznik	217
G. Homsy-Gottwalles (<i>Beyrouth, Liban</i>). Beyrouth post-médiévale. Étude de cas : la céramique	245

ЧЕРНОМОРСКИЙ РЕГИОН

П. Георгиев (<i>Шумен, България</i>). Колекция от византийски белоглинени съдове от средата на X век в манастира при с. Равна (североизточна България)	259
C. Paraschiv-Talmaçhi (<i>Constanța, Romania</i>). Early Medieval Glazed Ceramics Discovered in the Fortifications from Hârșova and Oltina (south-east of Romania)	271
Б. Борисов (<i>Велико-Търново, България</i>). Поливная керамика из средневекового поселения у с. Полски Градец в районе г. Раднево (Южная Болгария)	287
М. Манолова-Войкова (<i>Варна, България</i>). Импортная византийская сграффито керамика из средневековых поселений в Болгарском Причерноморье	317
K. Chakarov (<i>Pavlikeni, Bulgaria</i>), D. Rabovyanov (<i>Veliko Tarnovo, Bulgaria</i>). Stone-Paste Ceramics from Tarnovgrad — the Capital of the Second Bulgarian Kingdom	327
И. А. Козырь (<i>Кропивницкий, Украина</i>), Т. Д. Боровик (<i>Киев, Украина</i>). Поливная керамика Торговицкого археологического комплекса периода Золотой Орды	335
М. В. Ельников, И. Р. Тихомолова (<i>Запорожье, Украина</i>). Тисненая керамика городища Большие Кучугуры	353
М. В. Ельников (<i>Запорожье, Украина</i>). Строительная кашинная керамика городища Конские Воды	363
И. Б. Тесленко (<i>Киев, Украина</i>). Комплекс керамики из раскопок усадьбы золотоордынского периода на территории средневекового городища в Алуште (Крым)	387
С. Г. Бочаров (<i>Казань, Россия</i>). Поселение Посидима в Юго-Восточном Крыму и его керамический комплекс (рубеж XIII—XIV вв.)	409
М. В. Дмитриенко (<i>Азов, Россия</i>). Поливные чаши с изображениями кошачьих хищников из раскопок на территории золотоордынского Азака	447
А. Н. Масловский (<i>Азов, Россия</i>). Восточнокрымский поливной импорт в золотоордынском Азаке. Вопросы хронологии	455
Н. И. Юдин (<i>Азов, Россия</i>). Кашинные чаши из раскопок в центре золотоордынского Азака	491
Е. А. Армарчук (<i>Москва, Россия</i>), А. В. Дмитриев (<i>Краснодар, Россия</i>). Поливная посуда XIII—XIV веков из Северо-Восточного Причерноморья	499
Е. И. Нарожный (<i>Армавир, Россия</i>). О находках поливной керамики XIII—XIV вв. на территории Северного Кавказа	513

С. А. Кравченко (Азов, Россия). Парадная керамика из раскопок Азака	539
С. А. Беляева, Е. Е. Фиалко (Киев, Украина). Керамика Изника конца XV— XVI вв. из раскопок Нижнего двора Аккерманской крепости	561
И. Р. Гусач (Азов, Россия). Малоазийская поливная керамика XV— XVIII вв. из раскопок в турецкой крепости Азак	581

ВОСТОЧНАЯ ЕВРОПА

К. А. Лавыш (Минск, Беларусь). Восточная и византийская поливная керамика в средневековых городах Беларуси	603
С. И. Валиулина (Казань, Россия). Ближневосточная поливная керамика рубежа X—XI и XI вв. в памятниках Среднего Поволжья	625
Т. М. Достиев (Баку, Азербайджан). Поливная керамика средневекового города Шамкир	639
К. А. Руденко (Казань, Россия). Средневековая керамика из фондов Национального музея Татарстана (предварительное сообщение)	675
Л. Ф. Недашковский, М. Б. Шигапов (Казань, Россия). Поливная керамика с золотоордынских селищ округа Укека	701
Е. М. Пигарёв (Казань, Россия). Поливная керамика Красноярского городища	713
В. Л. Егоров (Москва, Россия), Е. М. Пигарёв (Казань, Россия). Производство псевдоселадона в столице Золотой Орды — Сарае	717
В. Ю. Коваль (Москва, Россия). Глазури причерноморских средневековых посудных майолик: химический состав по данным спектрального анализа	725
В. Ю. Коваль (Москва, Россия). Импортная глазурованная керамика Московского Кремля (по раскопкам 2007 г.)	739

СРЕДНЯЯ АЗИЯ И ДАЛЬНИЙ ВОСТОК

G. Guionova, M. Bouquet (Aix-en-Provence, France). Ishkornaïa : de l'usage de la soude végétale dans les revêtements céramiques (Paykend, oasis de Boukhara, IX ^e —XIX ^e siècles)	767
Э. Ф. Гюль (Ташкент, Узбекистан). Поливная керамика Узбекистана: этапы развития	779
О.-Ш. Кдырниязов (Нукус, Узбекистан). Поливная керамика Миздахкана	795
М.-Ш. Кдырниязов (Нукус, Узбекистан). Кашин Хорезма	813
Ф. С. Татауров (Омск, Россия). Китайский фарфор с русских памятников Среднего Прииртышья XVII — первой половины XVIII вв.	835
Список сокращений	843

CONTENTS

Introduction	17
-------------------------------	-----------

WESTERN MEDITERRANEAN REGION

C. La Serra (<i>Vibo Valentia, Italy</i>). Polychrome Glazed Ware from St. Francis in Cosenza during Late Middle Ages. First data from new discoveries (Calabria, Italy)	21
J. Coll Conesa (<i>Valencia, Spain</i>). Changing Tastes: from Lustreware to Polychrome Tiles. Exported Pottery from Valencia in Mediterranean Area and around (14th to 18th cc.)	31
V. Verrocchio (<i>Pescara, Italy</i>). Castelli (Italy) Maiolica in the Eastern Adriatic between 16th and 17th Centuries. Current Knowledge and Research Perspectives	51

EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN REGION

E. F. Athanassopoulos (<i>Lincoln, NE, USA</i>). Medieval Glazed Pottery: Archaeological Evidence from Rural Greece	71
A. Ç. Türker (<i>Çanakkale, Turkey</i>). A Byzantine Settlement on the Kalabaklı Valley in the Hellespont: Yağcılar	91
L. Doğer (<i>İzmir, Turkey</i>), M. E. Armağan (<i>Uşak, Turkey</i>). Byzantine Glazed Pottery Finds from Aigai (Aiolis) Excavations	107
A. G. Yangaki (<i>Athens, Greece</i>). Immured Vessels in the Church of Panagia Eleousa, Kitharida, Crete	135
M. Öztaşkın (<i>Pamukkale, Turkey</i>). Byzantine and Turkish Glazed Pottery Finds from Aphrodisias	165
I. Shaddoud (<i>Aix-en-Provence, France</i>). Pots for Medical Uses in the Arab World (8th—15th centuries): a possible reconstruction of the uses thanks to the cross disciplinary comparison of sources	189
V. Bikić (<i>Belgrade, Serbia</i>). Ottoman Glazed Pottery Standardisation: The Belgrade Fortress Evidence for Production Trends	207
V. François (<i>Aix-en-Provence, France</i>). Circulation of Potters or Models? Damascus Pottery Production in the Style of Iznik Ware	217
G. Homsy-Gottwalles (<i>Beirut, Lebanon</i>). Post-Medieval Beirut. Case Study: the Pottery	245

BLACK SEA REGION

P. Georgiev (<i>Shumen, Bulgaria</i>). A Collection of White Clay Pottery from the Middle of the 10th Century in the Monastery at the Village of Ravna (North-Eastern Bulgaria)	259
C. Paraschiv-Talmaçhi (<i>Constanța, Romania</i>). Early Medieval Glazed Ceramics Discovered in the Fortifications from Hârșova and Oltina (south-east of Romania)	271
B. Borisov (<i>Veliko Tarnovo, Bulgaria</i>). Glazed Wares from the Medieval Settlement near Polski Gradets, Radnevo Region (Southern Bulgaria)	287
M. Manolova-Vojkova (<i>Varna, Bulgaria</i>). Import of Byzantine Sgraffito Pottery in the Medieval Towns of Bulgarian Black Sea Coast	317
K. Chakarov (<i>Pavlikeni, Bulgaria</i>), D. Rabovyanov (<i>Veliko Tarnovo, Bulgaria</i>). Stone-Paste Ceramics from Tarnovgrad — the Capital of the Second Bulgarian Kingdom	327
I.A. Kozyr (<i>Kropivnyts'kyj, Ukraine</i>), T.D. Borovyk (<i>Kiev, Ukraine</i>). Torhovytsia Archaeological Complex Glazed Ceramics of the Golden Horde Period . . .	335
M. V. Elnikov, I. R. Tihomolova (<i>Zaporozhye, Ukraine</i>). Relief Decoration Ceramics from the Bolshie Kuchugury Hillfort	353
M. V. Elnikov (<i>Zaporozhye, Ukraine</i>). Architectural Qashan Ceramics from Konskie Vody Hillfort	363
I. B. Teslenko (<i>Kiev, Ukraine</i>). Pottery Assemblage from the Excavation of a Household of the Golden Horde period on the Territory of the Medieval Settlement in Alushta (Crimea)	387
S. G. Bocharov (<i>Kazan, Russian Federation</i>). Possidima Settlement in South-Eastern Crimea and Its Pottery Complex (edge 13th — 14th centuries)	409
M. V. Dmitrienko (<i>Azov, Russian Federation</i>). Glazed Bowls with Images of Feline Predators from the Digs on the Golden Horde City of Azak	447
A. N. Maslovskiy (<i>Azov, Russian Federation</i>). East Crimean Imported Glazed Ceramics in Azak, a Golden Horde City. Questions of Chronology	455
N. I. Iudin (<i>Azov, Russian Federation</i>). Qashan Bowls from Excavations in the Centre of the Golden Horde City of Azak	491
E. A. Armarchuk (<i>Moscow, Russian Federation</i>), A. V. Dmitriev (<i>Krasnodar, Russian Federation</i>). Glazed Ware of the 13th — 14th Centuries from the North-Eastern Black Sea Region	499
E. I. Narozhny (<i>Armavir, Russian Federation</i>). About the Finds of Glazed Pottery of 13th — 14th Centuries on the Territory of the Northern Caucasus	513
S. A. Kravchenko (<i>Azov, Russian Federation</i>). Ceremonial Ceramics from the Digs in Azak	539
S. A. Belyaeva, E. E. Fialko (<i>Kiev, Ukraine</i>). Iznik Pottery of the End of 15th — 16th Centuries from the Excavation of the Lower Yard of the Akkerman Fortress	561

I.R. Gusach (<i>Azov, Russian Federation</i>). Asia Minor Glazed Ceramics of the 15th—18th Century found on the Excavated Turkish Fortress of Azak	581
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EASTERN EUROPE

K.A. Lavysh (<i>Minsk, Belarus</i>). Oriental and Byzantine Glazed Pottery in Medieval Towns on the Territory of Belarus	603
S.I. Valiulina (<i>Kazan, Russian Federation</i>). Middle Eastern Glazed Ceramics of the Turn of the 10th—11th Centuries and the 11th Century from Middle Volga Region Sites	625
T.M. Dostiyeu (<i>Baku, Azerbaijan</i>). Glazed Ceramics of Medieval Shamkir City .	639
K.A. Rudenko (<i>Kazan, Russian Federation</i>). Medieval Ceramics from the National Museum of Tatarstan (preliminary communication)	675
L.F. Nedashkovsky, M.B. Shigapov (<i>Kazan, Russian Federation</i>). Glazed Pottery from the Golden Horde Settlements of the Ukek Region	701
E.M. Pigarev (<i>Kazan, Russian Federation</i>). Glazed Pottery of the Krasny Yar Hillfort	713
V.L. Egorov (<i>Moscow, Russian Federation</i>), E.M. Pigarev (<i>Kazan, Russian Federation</i>). Production of Pseudo-Celadon in Saray, a Golden Horde Capital	717
V.Yu. Koval (<i>Moscow, Russian Federation</i>). Glazes of Black Sea Region Medieval Tableware Majolica: chemical composition according to spectral analysis	725
V.Yu. Koval (<i>Moscow, Russian Federation</i>). Imported Glazed Ceramics of the Moscow Kremlin (from 2007 year excavations)	739

CENTRAL ASIA AND FAR EAST

G. Guionova, M. Bouquet (<i>Aix-en-Provence, France</i>). Ishkornaya: the use of vegetal soda plant in ceramic coverings (Paykend, Bukhara oasis, 9th—19th centuries)	767
E.F. Gyul (<i>Tashkent, Uzbekistan</i>). Glazed Ceramics of Uzbekistan: Stages of Development	779
O.-Sh. Kdirniazob (<i>Nukus, Uzbekistan</i>). Glazed Ceramics of Mizdakhkan . .	795
M.-Sh. Kdirniazob (<i>Nukus, Uzbekistan</i>). Qashan Ceramics of Khwarezm . . .	813
F.S. Tataurov (<i>Omsk, Russian Federation</i>). Chinese Porcelain from Russian Sites of the Middle Irtysh in 17th — First Half of the 18th Centuries.	835
Abbreviations	843

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Medieval Glazed Pottery: Archaeological Evidence from Rural Greece

Keywords: Southern Greece, Nemea, Medieval Ages, glazed ceramics, archaeological survey

Ключевые слова: Южная Греция, Немея, средневековые, поливная керамика, археологические исследования

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Medieval Glazed Pottery: Archaeological Evidence from Rural Greece

The study of medieval and post-medieval pottery in Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean has attracted significant interest in recent years. The purpose of this paper is to outline the main trends in the medieval countryside based on the evidence of archaeological regional surveys in central and southern Greece. These projects have established that glazed pottery circulated widely in the 12th and 13th centuries CE. The availability of substantial bodies of ceramic material from rural areas allows us to address questions of production and consumption patterns over time. It is well documented that in southern Greece the quantity of glazed wares increased dramatically after the late 11th century. This increase most likely indicates changes in the organization as well as the technology of glazed pottery production.

This paper also includes a case study from the region of Nemea, in southern Greece. The Nemea Valley Archaeological Project (NVAP), an intensive regional survey undertaken in the 1980s, has established that glazed pottery is widely distributed in the Nemea valley and the surrounding area. NVAP also identified a medieval pottery workshop, which, most likely, produced glazed pottery. In addition, the excavations of the Sanctuary of Zeus at Nemea have recovered large amounts of well-preserved medieval pottery, including diagnostic glazed wares.

Э. Ф. Атанасопулос

Средневековая поливная керамика: археологические свидетельства из сельской Греции

В последние годы повышенный интерес вызывают исследования средневековой и пост-средневековой керамики в Греции и в Восточном Средиземноморье. Цель настоящей статьи — очертить основные тенденции развития поступления глазурованной керамики в сельской местности в Средние века, основываясь на материалах археологических исследований в регионе центральной и южной Греции. Так, в ходе исследований было обнаружено, что поливная керамика имела широкое хождение в XII—XIII вв. Керамические материалы из сельской местности, доступные в большом количестве, позволяют нам рассмотреть вопросы, связанные с эволюцией производства и бытования различных поливных изделий. Четко документируется тот факт, что в южной Греции количество поливных сосудов резко возросло в конце XI в. Такое увеличение, скорее всего, указывает на изменения в организации и технологии производства поливной керамики.

Анализируется конкретная ситуация в регионе Немея (в южной Греции). Как было установлено в рамках Археологического Проекта Немеяской Долины — обширного регионального исследования, проведенного в 1980-х годах, — поливная керамика получила широкое распространение в Немеяской Долине и в ее окрестностях. В ходе того же проекта была обнаружена средневековая гончарная мастерская, в которой, вероятно, изготавливались поливные сосуды. Кроме того, во время раскопок храма Зевса в Немее было обнаружено большое количество хорошо сохранившейся средневековой керамики, в том числе исследуемых здесь поливных сосудов.

The study of medieval and post-medieval pottery in Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean has attracted significant interest in recent years. This is a very welcome development, as earlier archaeological excavations of Classical sites were not keen to preserve or publish material that dated to these “late” periods. Increasingly, scholarly attention is being paid to medieval

ceramics¹, and a greater understanding is being gained of their importance both as a dating tool

¹ The terms “Medieval” and “Byzantine” are interchangeable chronologically. However, “Medieval” is a preferred term, because it is broader and allows us to correlate developments in Greece to other parts of the Eastern Mediterranean and Western Europe.

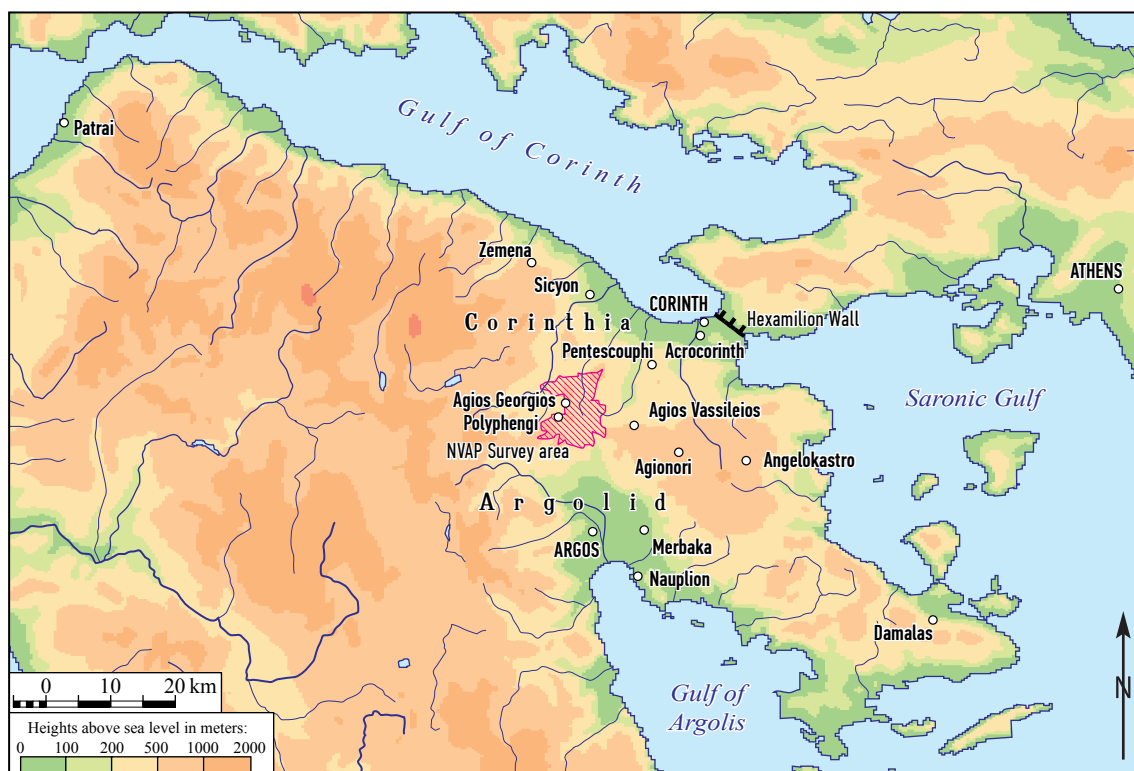


Fig. 1. Map of the North-Eastern Peloponnese with the NVAP survey area.

Рис. 1. Карта северо-восточного Пелопоннеса с областью исследований Археологического проекта Немеи долины.

and a source for understanding the social and economic history of the region. Here a brief history of earlier research is presented, before attention is turned to archaeological sites in southern Greece, and in particular to the region of Nemea.

The first major publication of medieval pottery appeared in 1907 (Wallis 1907). In the following years a number of important publications of museum collections and excavations in Constantinople set the foundations for the study of medieval ceramics (Ebersolt 1910; Stevenson 1947; Talbot Rice 1928; 1930; 1958). These early and influential publications were based on decorated, glazed wares. Coarse, unglazed pottery was not considered, since these scholars had art-historical interests and training (Wallis 1907; Talbot-Rice 1930). Excavations in Constantinople (Istanbul) have continued to produce significant studies of medieval and post-medieval pottery (Hayes 1992; Peschlow 1977). In Cyprus there has been a steady interest in the archaeology of the Medieval period since the 1950s (Catling 1972; Dikigoropoulos and Megaw 1958; Du Plat Taylor, Megaw 1951; Megaw 1951; 1971; 1972; 1984).

In Greece the sites that produced the first substantial collections of medieval pottery are Corinth, Athens and Sparta. Deposits from the Athenian Agora with ceramics of the Middle

Byzantine and later periods were published in the 1930s and 1940s (Frantz 1938; 1942; Waage 1933). Material from the early excavations at Sparta was published in 1910 (Dawkins, Droop 1910). However, it is the excavations at Corinth that have greatly advanced our knowledge of medieval material culture, including ceramics. The classification of Byzantine pottery developed by Morgan (1942) is still widely used and his catalogue has become the standard work of reference, even though the chronology has been revised in recent years (Sanders 2003). Morgan published only fine wares, with a chronological range between the 9th and the early 14th century. He classified the ceramics according to decorative techniques (painted, incised, slip painted) and dated the styles on the basis of coin evidence. Corinth, which had been one of the important centers in the Peloponnese throughout the Middle Ages, declined dramatically in the 14th century and this is reflected in its ceramic record. Morgan's catalogue becomes imprecise from the 13th century onwards, although subsequent publications have improved our knowledge of early 14th century ceramics, as well as of coarse wares (Mackay-Stilwell 1967; 2003; Sanders 1987; 2003). Corinth has continued to produce a wealth of medieval material remains. In the last thirty years strata dating to the Frankish period

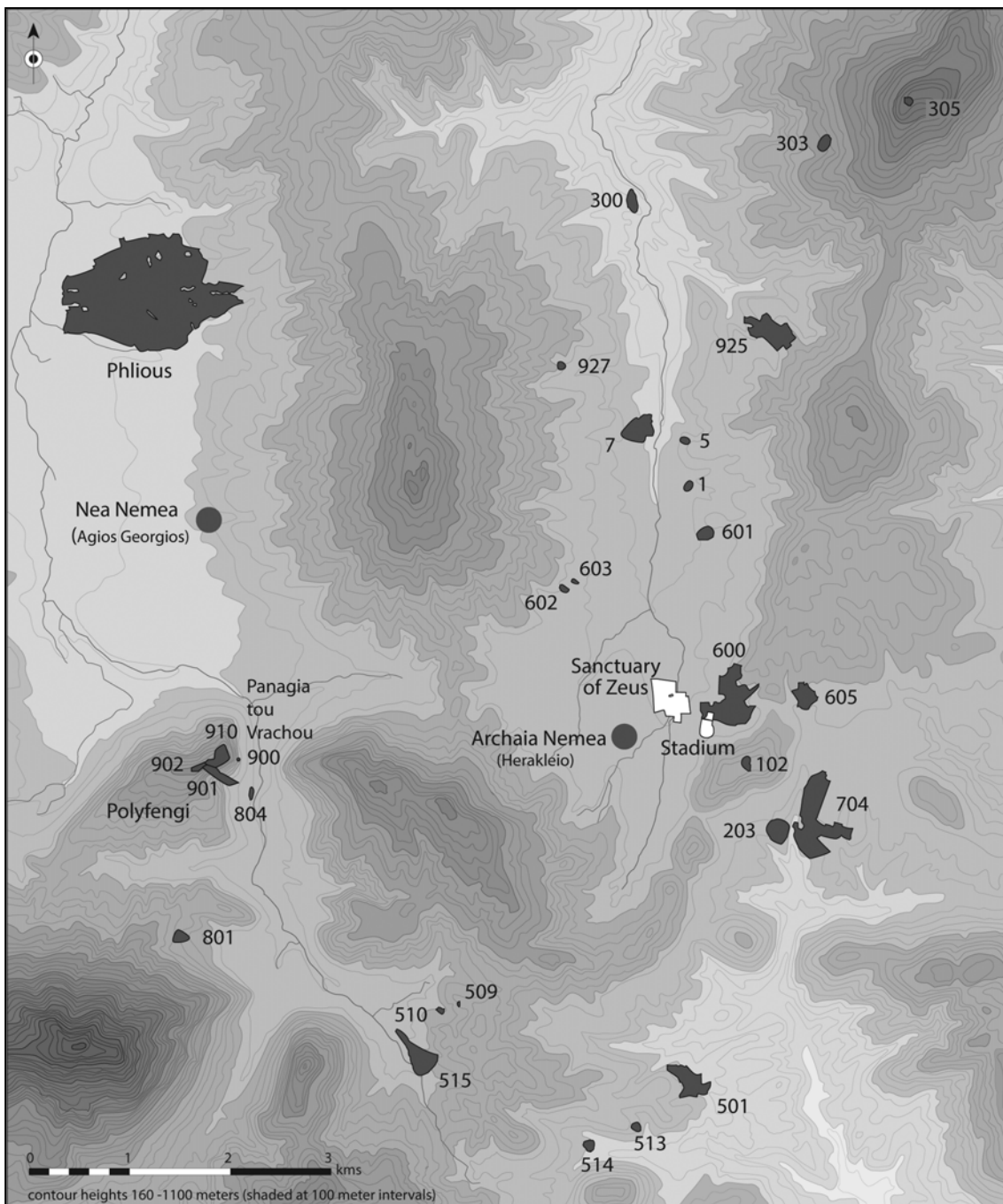


Fig. 2. Map of the NVAP survey area with medieval sites.

Рис. 2. Карта области исследований Археологического проекта Неме́йской долины с обозначением средневековых памятников.

have been meticulously excavated and have enriched our knowledge of medieval urban habitation (Williams 2003).

Furthermore, the 1980s mark the beginnings of a very active period of publications of medieval and post-medieval ceramics from various regions of Greece and Cyprus, often brought together in museum exhibits (E.g., Bakirtzis 1980; 1989; Bakirtzis, Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1981; Gregory 1987; Ioannidaki-Dostoglou 1989; Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1983; 1989; Philotheou, Michailidou

1986; Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1984; 1989). In 1987, the French Archaeological School in Athens organized the first specialized conference on Byzantine pottery (Deroche, Spieser 1989). Since then, the steady stream of publications on this subject has continued. A similar level of interest in the archaeological study of medieval material culture is evident in other areas, especially in Anatolia and the Near East (e.g., Sardis: Crawford 1990; Scott, Kamilli 1981; Pergamon: Spieser 1996; Near East: Boas 1999; Pringle

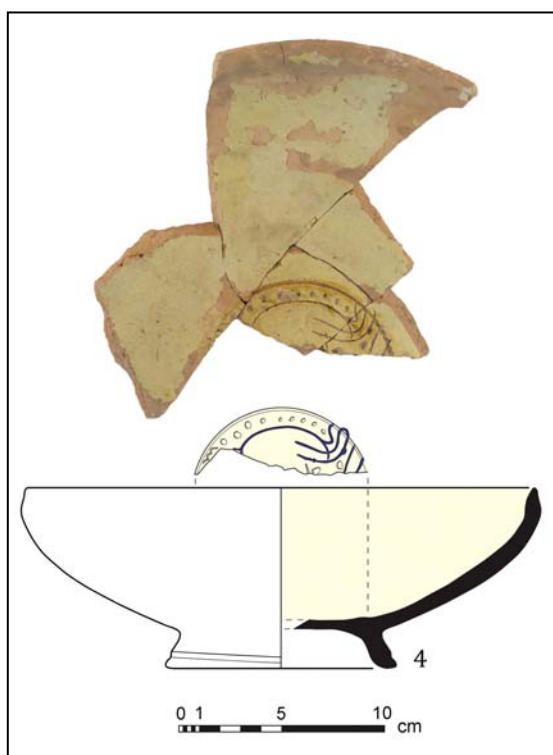


Fig. 3. Site 7 glazed pottery.

Рис. 3. Поливная керамика памятника 7.

1982; 1984; 1985; 1986; Sagalassos: Vionis et al. 2010).

An additional factor contributing to the growth of medieval and post-medieval ceramic studies is the proliferation of archaeological regional surveys in the last 35 years. Landscape or survey archaeology in Greece dates back to the 1950s, starting with the Minnesota Messenia Expedition (MME) (McDonald, Rapp 1972). The early Greek surveys, such as the MME, approached the medieval and post-medieval periods primarily from a historical point of view. For example, the MME offered little archaeological information on the Medieval period but it provided a historical perspective on the economy and settlement of the area in Early Modern times based on Venetian documents (Topping 1972). This was an important milestone; it established the diachronic model which subsequent regional surveys adopted.

The second generation of surveys, undertaken in the 1980s and 1990s, has taken an active interest in the archaeological documentation of the medieval countryside. Large-scale, intensive surveys have been carried out in many regions of Greece, including the Peloponnese, e.g., Southern Argolid (Jameson, Runnels, Van Andel 1994; Sutton 2000), Nemea (Wright et al. 1990; Athanassopoulos 2004; 2010; 2016),

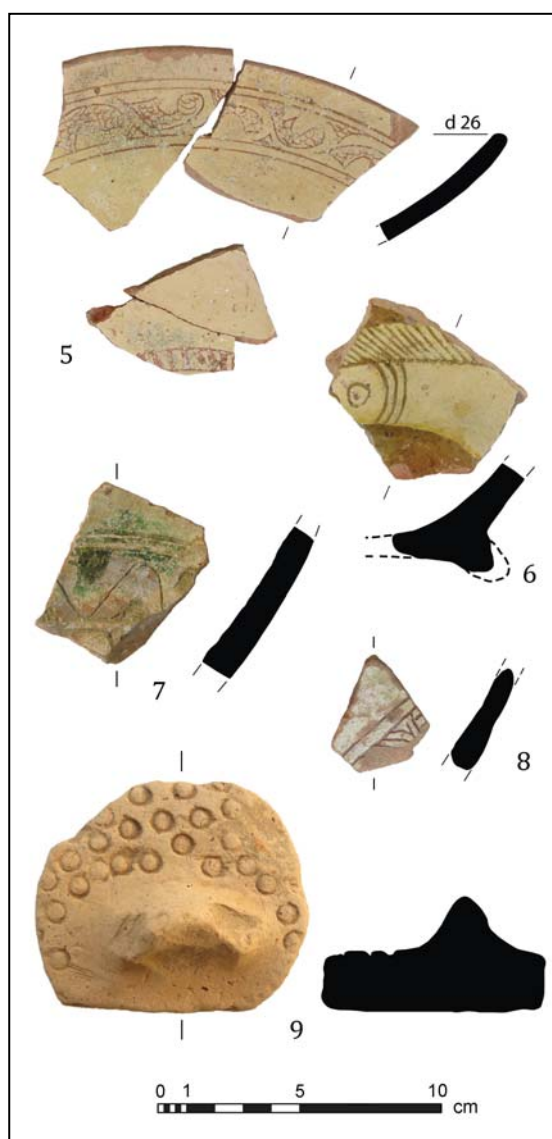


Fig. 4. Site 7 glazed pottery.

Рис. 4. Поливная керамика памятника 7.

Laconia (Cavanagh et al. 1996; 2002), Berbati-Limnes (Wells, Runnels, Zangger 1990; Wells, Runnels 1996), Methana (Mee, Forbes 1997), Pylos (Davies 2004; Davis et al. 1997; Davis 1998), Asea (Forsén and Forsén 2003), Eastern Corinthia (Caraher, Nakassis, and Pettigrew 2006; Pettigrew 2007; Tartaron et al. 2006); central Greece (Boeotia: Bintliff, Snodgrass 1985; Bintliff 1996; Bintliff, Howard, Snodgrass 2007; Vionis 2008; Vroom 2003); Crete (Gkiasta 2008), especially Sphakia (Sphakia Survey n.d.) and Vrokastro (Hayden 2004; 2005); some of the Aegean islands, e.g., Cyclades (Vionis 2012), Melos (Renfrew, Wagstaff 1982; Sanders 1996), Keos (Cherry, Davis, Mantzourani 1991), and Kythera (Ince, Koukoulis, Smyth 1987; Ince et al. 1989).

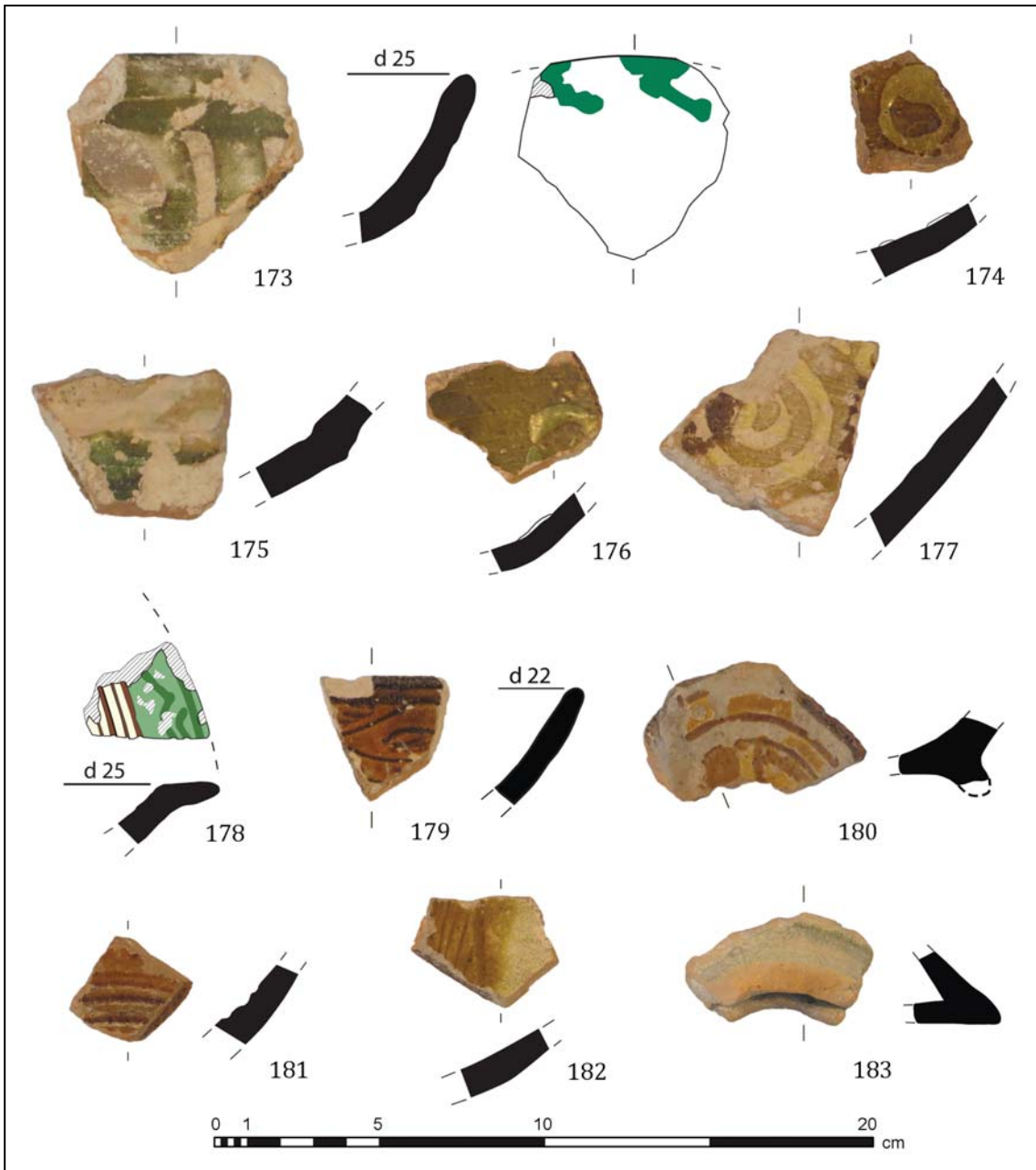


Fig. 5. Site 602 glazed pottery.

Рис. 5. Поливная керамика памятника 602.

The “new wave” of intensive surveys or landscape archaeology projects have made significant contributions to the study of the medieval landscape. They have produced substantial bodies of medieval material remains and provided detailed information on rural habitation and land use. Thus, for the first time we can approach this subject from the perspective of archaeology. Prior to the development of this approach, we were constrained by the lack of textual sources, such as tax registers or monastic archives, which are available only for few areas in Greece (e.g., Mount Athos). The availabil-

ity of survey data has also encouraged the development of methods that integrate archival information with material remains. Thus, these efforts mark a new phase of growth for medieval archaeology in Greece.

The purpose of this paper is to outline the main trends in the medieval countryside based on the evidence of archaeological regional surveys in central and southern Greece. It is well documented that in central and southern Greece the quantity of glazed wares increased dramatically after the late 11th century, a trend that continued in the 12th and 13th centuries CE (Armstrong

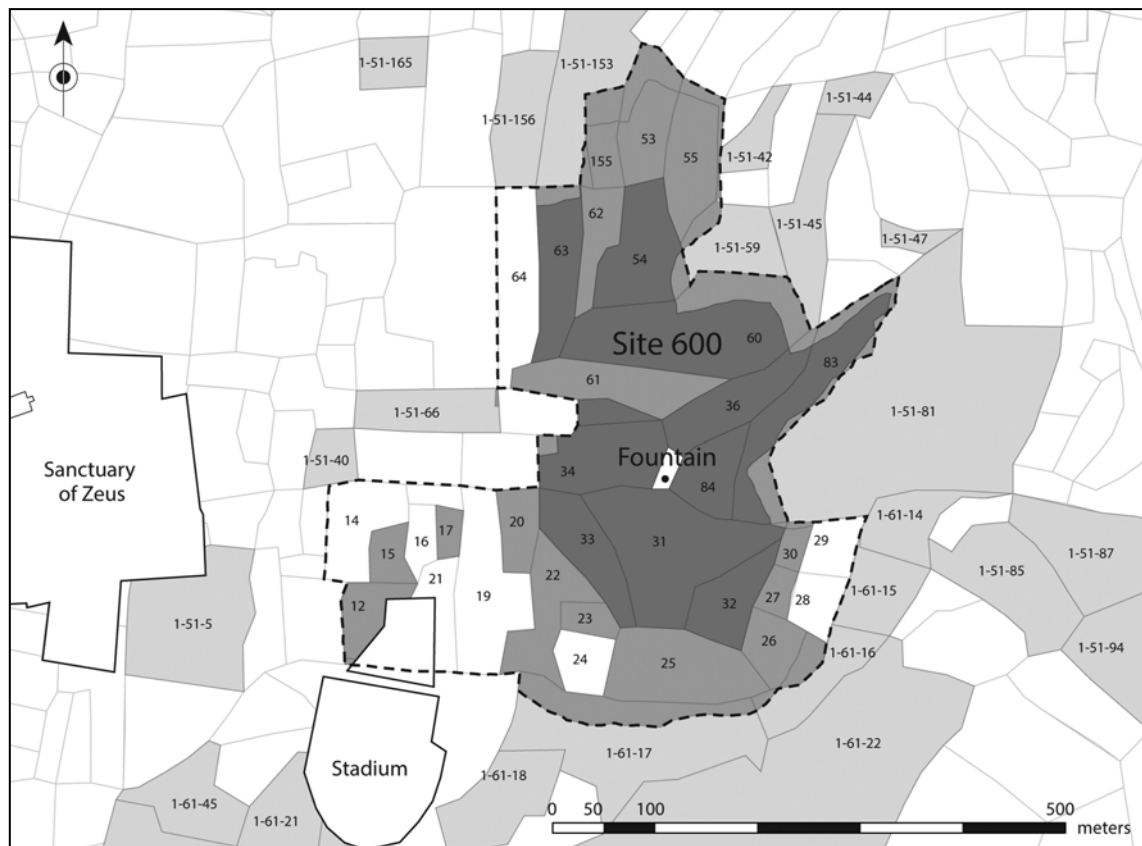


Fig. 6. Map of site 600 and vicinity.

Рис. 6. Карта памятника 602 и его окрестностей.

1996; 2002; Bintliff 2013; Vionis 2013; Vroom 1998; 2000; 2003).

This increase most likely indicates changes in the organization as well as the technology of glazed pottery production. Corinth provides the best documented case of medieval pottery production and consumption in an urban center in Greece. Several medieval workshops with kilns have been excavated in Corinth (Morgan 1942: 14; Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999: 159). The Corinthian industry developed between the 9th and 11th centuries. During this phase the local pottery workshops produced a variety of products including chafing dishes, cups, pitchers, and pilgrims' flasks. It should be noted that the percentage of glazed pottery recovered from the excavated deposits of this period is very small. The earliest glazed wares, the so-called white wares, were probably produced in Constantinople (Hayes 1992: 4). Until the late 11th century, most glazed ceramics were imported from Constantinople, the best known type being Polychrome ware. The quantity of glazed wares increased dramatically after the late 11th century when red biscuit wares became predominant (Sanders 2000; Armstrong and Hatcher 1997: 2—3). The red-biscuit glazed wares include a variety of decorative techniques

(e.g., sgraffito, slip painted, painted) and motifs. They are a common find in archaeological excavations and surveys and are plentiful in urban centers as well as rural areas.

According to Sanders (2000) decorated glazed pottery became common in other urban centers (e.g., Sparta, Thebes, Athens) in the second quarter of the 12th century and tend to appear in rural areas after the mid-12th century. Sanders suggests that “increase in decorated and glazed pottery seems to be a phenomenon experienced initially by a mature urban market economy such as that of Corinth and only later in smaller communities” (Sanders 2000: 171). The evidence for increased production and consumption of glazed wares in rural areas comes mainly from archaeological surveys (e.g., Laconia, Boeotia, Nemea). In turn, the availability of glazed decorated wares in rural areas indicates that ceramic production was widespread.

Well documented ceramic workshops in the Aegean area are known from Corinth (Morgan 1942: 14—21), Didymoteichon (Bakirtzis 1980), Serres (Papanikola-Bakirtzis, Dauterman-Maguire, Maguire 1992), Thessaloniki (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999), and Cyprus (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1996). Additional work-

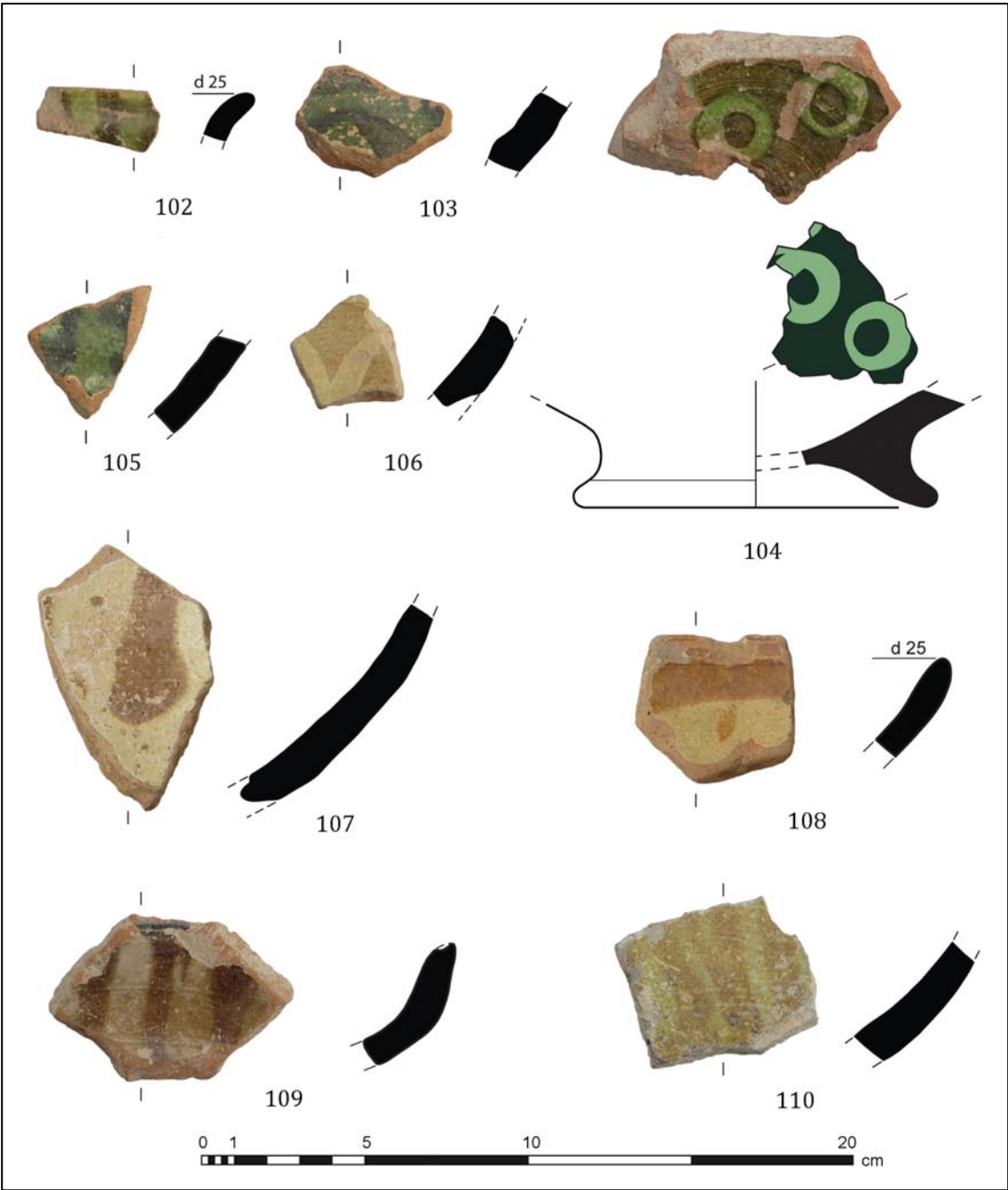


Fig. 7. Site 600 glazed pottery.

Рис. 7. Поливная керамика памятника 600.

shops of medieval and post-medieval pottery have been identified at Sparta, Mikro Pisto, Thrace, and Pydna (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, 2003; see also François, Spieser 2002). Thus, an emerging pattern of decentralized ceramic production correlates well with the wide circulation of glazed wares in the countryside. These issues will be examined more in depth through a case study, focusing on the region of Nemea, located in NE Peloponnese, in southern Greece.

Nemea: The Nemea Valley Archaeological Project

The region of Nemea has been the subject of archaeological research since the 18th century. Interest in the Sanctuary began as early as 1766, when Richard Chandler, sponsored by the Society of the Dilettanti, visited the area and carried out a small excavation at the Temple of Zeus (Chandler 1766: 245). In 1884, and again in 1912, French archaeologists undertook limited exca-



Fig. 8. Site 600 glazed pottery.

Рис. 8. Поливная керамика памятника 600.

ventions (Cousin, Dürrbach 1885; Clemmensen, Vallois 1925). Further excavations were undertaken in 1924—1926, by B.H. Hill and C.W. Blegen (Blegen 1925; 1926; 1927) and in 1964, by C.K. Williams (Williams 1965). Since the early 1970s the University of California-Berkeley

has continued the archaeological investigations at the Sanctuary of Zeus at Nemea and the Stadium. The excavations have produced substantial evidence for occupation during the 12th—13th centuries A.D. Farming activities were extensive; farming plots, an irrigation ditch, agricultural im-

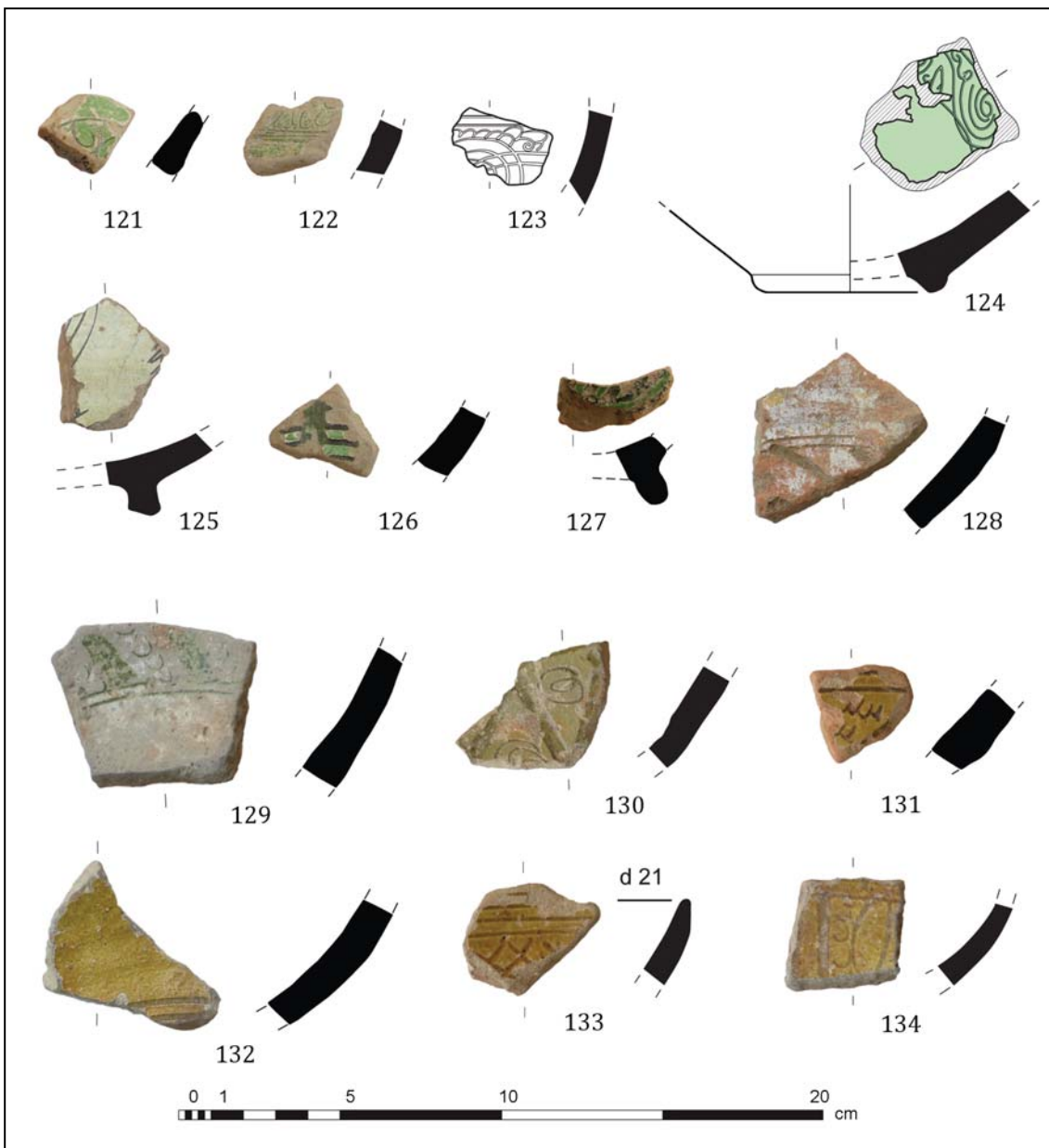


Fig. 9. Site 600 glazed pottery.

Рис. 9. Поливная керамика памятника 600.

plements, ceramics, and coins of this period have been found throughout the area. Large amounts of well-preserved medieval pottery, including diagnostic glazed wares of the 12th and 13th centuries have been recovered. Only a small selection of this material has been published to date. Currently, the excavated deposits dating to the medieval period are under study.

In addition to the excavation, an intensive regional survey, the Nemea Valley Archaeological Project (NVAP), was undertaken in the 1980s in the region of Nemea (Fig. 1). The NVAP has established that medieval pottery, including glazed wares, is widely distributed in the Nemea valley

and the surrounding area. There is a proliferation of habitation sites and agricultural activity during the late 11th/early 12th — early 14th centuries documented through intensive fieldwork.

The NVAP survey recorded two large sites and a substantial number of small sites, located on the lower slopes of the hills surrounding the Nemea valley, and in smaller valleys in the southern part of the area (Fig. 2). The smaller sites vary in size; they usually cover less than a hectare. There are two large sites, sites 600 and 704, which consist of dense scatters of ceramics spread over several fields. Site 600 covers an area of approximately 34 hectares. Site 704 has an estimated size of

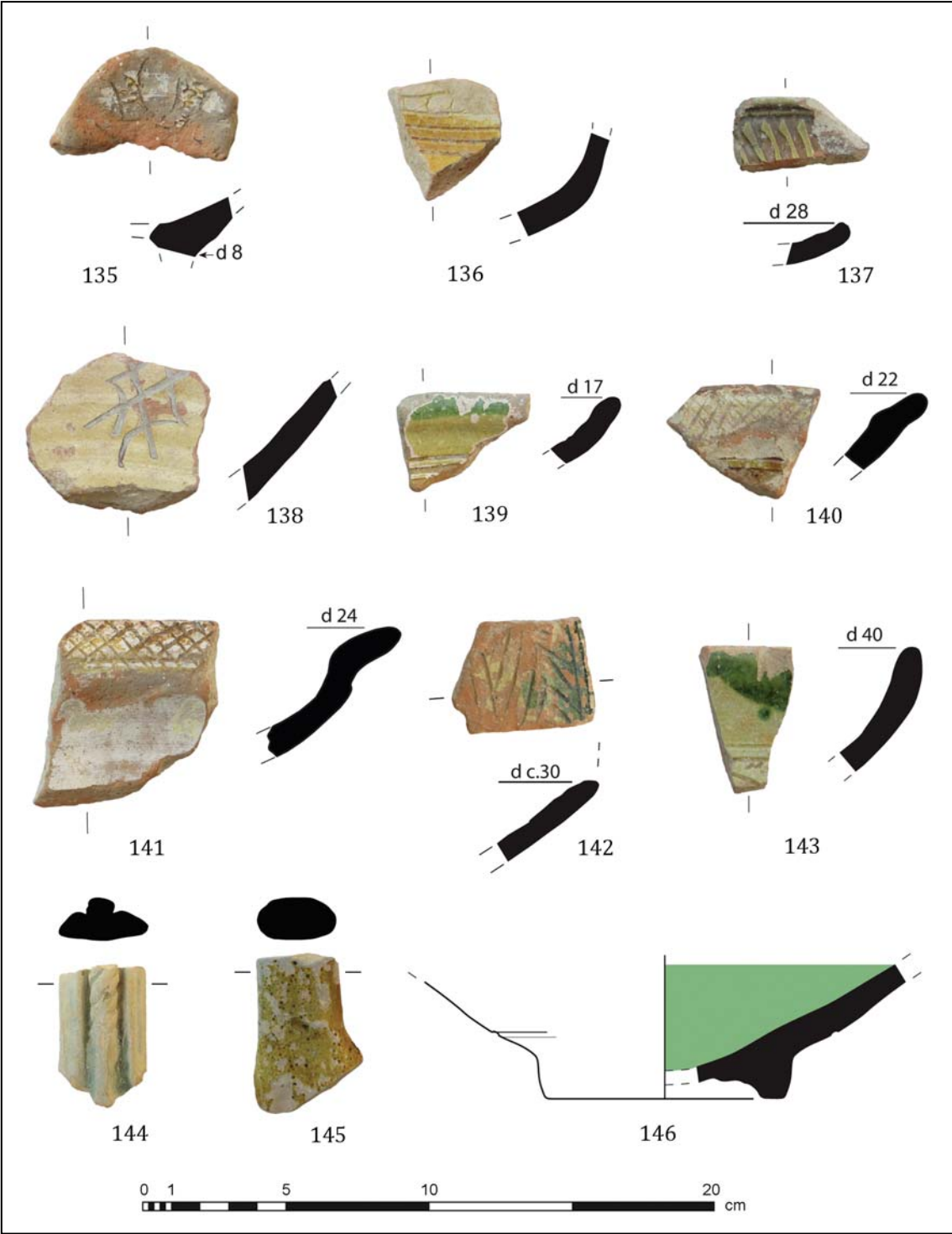


Fig. 10. Site 600 glazed pottery.

Рис. 10. Поливная керамика памятника 600.

47 hectares. Here only a small selection of glazed ceramics from a few NVAP sites will be presented.²

² For a full presentation see Athanassopoulos 2016.

Site 7 is located in the Nemea River bottomlands, spread over a number of fields. Its estimated size is 80×150m or 1.2 hectares. It is a multi-period site with a substantial medieval component. Most of the medieval ceramic material came from one field that had been deep-ploughed. It produced pottery of the mid to second half of the



Fig. 11. Map of Site 704 and vicinity.

Рис. 11. Карта памятника 704 и его окрестностей.

12th century, including a large portion of a well-preserved sgraffito bowl with central medallion (Fig. 3: 4), fragments of medallion style sgraffito with rinceau design (Fig. 4: 5), and a base fragment of incised sgraffito with the head of an animal (Fig. 4: 6). Additional sgraffito fragments (Fig. 4: 7, 8) and a lid decorated with stamped circles (Fig. 4: 9) came also from this site.

Sites 202 and 603 are located next to each other, on the SE slopes of Profitis Elias, in the Nemea Valley (Fig. 2). The estimated size for site 602 is 60×120m, or 0.7 hectare; for 603 is 60×100m, or 0.6 hectares. These sites preserve architectural features such as an underground cistern and worked blocks. The glazed pottery includes a variety of slip-painted styles (Fig. 5: 173—177), dating to the first half of 13th century. Also, incised sgraffito fragments (Fig. 5: 178—182), including a sherd with a radiating cypress pattern dating to the second quarter of the 13th century (Fig. 5: 182), and a green glaze lamp fragment (Fig. 5: 183).

Site 600 is the medieval settlement which generated all the material culture recovered in the excavations. Based on the results of the NVAP survey, the settlement was located east

of the Sanctuary of Zeus, near the “Medieval” or “Turkish” fountain, in a group of fields identified as site 600 (Fig. 2). The highest densities of ceramics cluster around the fountain but finds spread over an area of 640×530m or 34 hectares. In fact, the northern end of the Stadium lies within the limits of the settlement (Fig. 6). Medieval table wares dating to the 12th and 13th centuries include slip painted (Fig. 7: 102—106), green and brown-painted (Figs. 7: 107—110; 8: 111—120), fine sgraffito (Fig. 9: 121—125), a wide variety of incised sgraffito (Figs. 9: 126—134; 10: 135—143), incised ware (Fig. 10: 137) and other glazed wares. The latest well-dated find is a Metallic ware handle (Fig. 10: 144) which dates to the turn of the 14th century.

Site 704 is located on the Tretos Pass, just outside the Nemea valley (Fig. 2). It consists of a large scatter of artifacts extending from the foothills of Evangelistria to the south, towards the Corinth-Tripolis national highway, which passes to the immediate north of the site. Medieval pottery is widely distributed over the whole site and is predominant in the central area (Fig. 11). The glazed wares date to the 12th—13th centuries and include fine, incised sgraffito (Figs. 12; 13), and

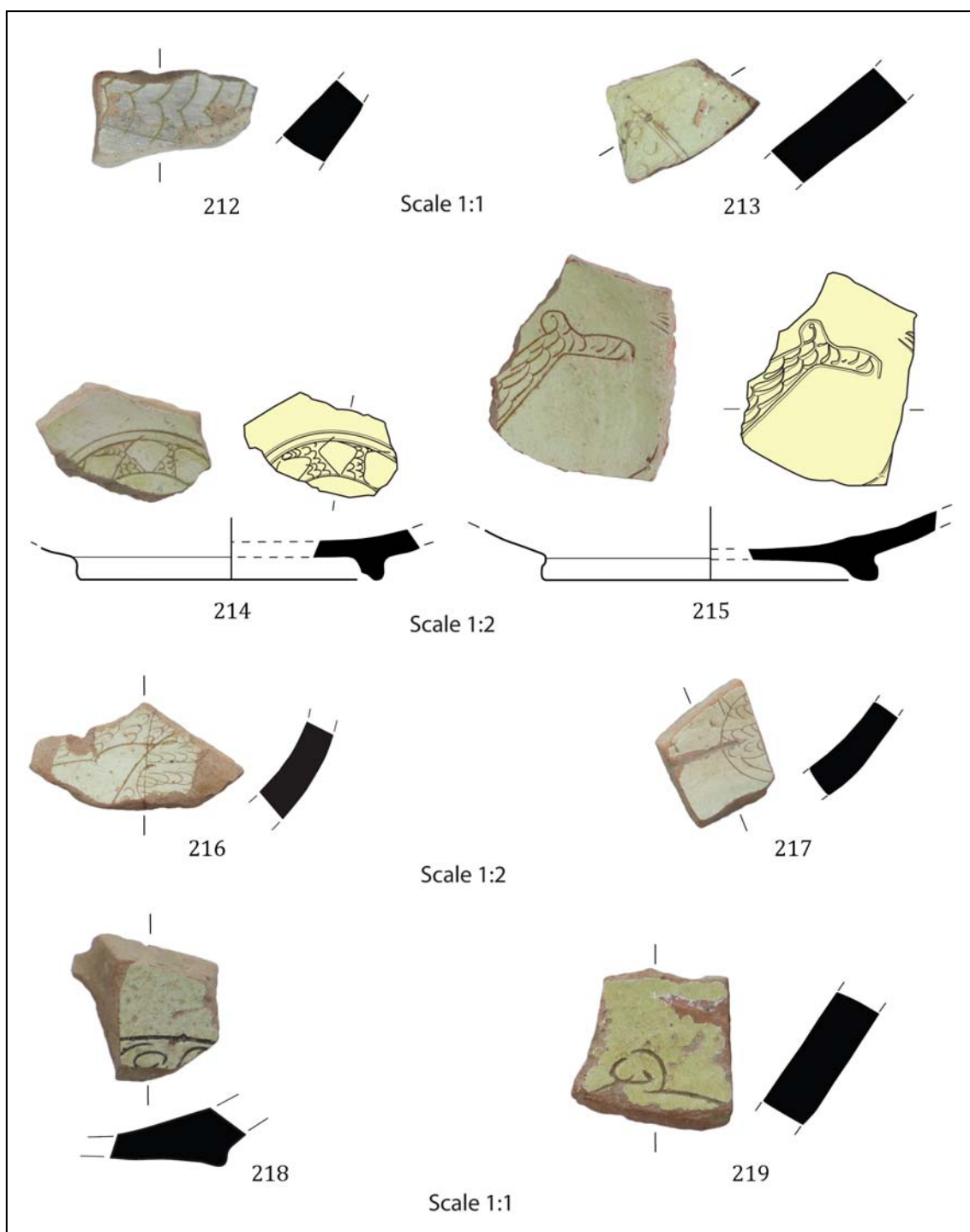


Fig. 12. Site 704 glazed pottery.

Рис. 12. Поливная керамика памятника 704.

green and brown painted styles (Fig. 13). Fine sgraffito fragments are represented by styles of the mid-late 12th century, including developed style sgraffito (Fig. 12: 214), and free style with depictions of a human foot/leg (Fig. 12: 215), and parts of birds or animals (Fig. 12: 216, 217). There are several styles of incised sgraffito of the 13th century with a variety of themes, such as in-

cised leaf pattern (Fig. 13: 220, 221), concentric lines (Fig. 13: 222), incised medallion (Fig. 13: 223), and a fragment of incised ware with palmette and floral spray (Fig. 13: 226). Green and brown painted styles of the second half of the 13th century include vertical green stripes (Fig. 13: 227), pendent triangles (Fig. 13: 228), a green band outlined by a thin brown line (Fig. 13: 230),

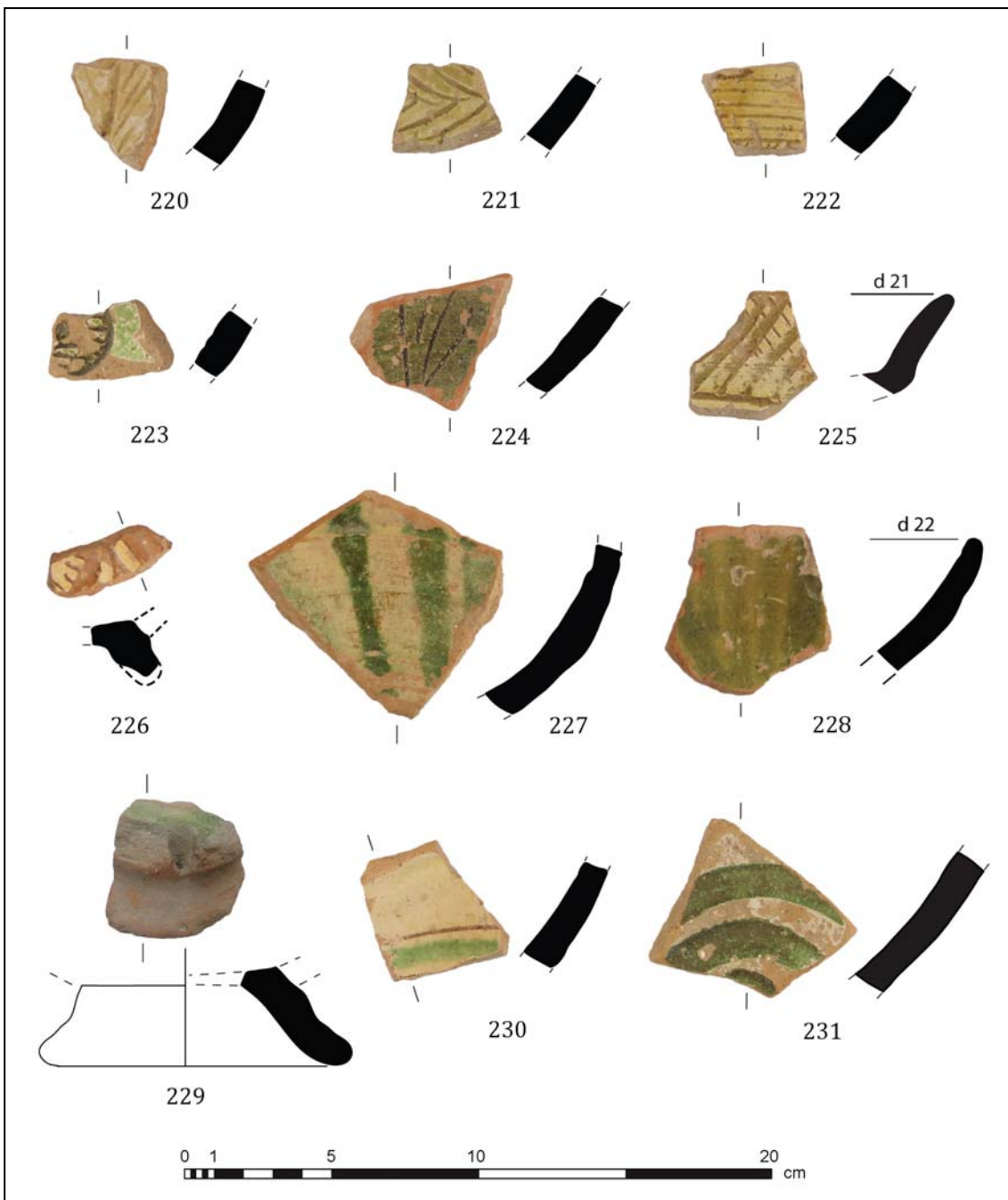


Fig. 13. Site 704 glazed pottery.

Рис. 13. Поливная керамика памятника 704.

and a green glaze spiral on white background (Fig. 13: 231). A fragment of high flaring foot has remnants of green and yellow glaze and a drilled hole, which indicates that the bowl had been mended (Fig. 13: 229). This repair shows that glazed ceramics were valued possessions.

One of the fundamental questions is whether the pottery in the Nemea region was locally produced. The expectation is that large coarse vessels, and cooking wares, which are plentiful in most sites, were probably of local origin. The

same might be the case for some of the glazed wares. For example, the NVAP survey identified a medieval pottery workshop, which, most likely, produced glazed pottery. This is site 510 located below a farm and a small chapel, Agia Kyriaki, in the southern part of the NVAP survey area (Fig. 2). In addition to pottery and tile, artifacts found include a bronze coin of Nikephoros III (1075—1078) and a great number of ceramic rods and cylindrical “hooks” which indicate the presence of one or more pottery kilns at the



Fig. 14. Site 510 pottery kiln debris.

Рис. 14. Остатки печи для обжига керамики на памятнике 510.

site (Figs. 14; 15). These devices are also known from Corinth. Morgan illustrates and discusses similar devices that apparently functioned as separators, their purpose being to keep glazed pieces apart during firing (Morgan 1942: 22, fig. 17, firing yokes j-m). Similar examples have been documented in a 13th century workshop of Islamic pottery, where a large number of ceramic rods were found in situ in one of the excavated kilns (Naumann 1971, especially plates 54 and 56). Ceramic rods were used to create shelves in the kiln for glazed vessels, along with cylindrical “hooks” or “S” shaped devices to keep glazed pots from sticking to each other. Based on published examples from Serres in northern Greece, this kiln technology was common in the 13th century (Papanikola-Bakirtzis, Dauterman Maguire, Maguire 1992: 32–34, fig. 21–22).

The decorated wares from site 510 include slip painted, both dotted (Fig. 16: 61, 62) and linear style (Fig. 16: 63, 64), slip painted II and III (Figs. 16: 65; 17: 66), incised sgraffito with concentric rings (Fig. 17: 70, 71), and brown and green painted wares (Figs. 16: 58–60; 17: 66, 67). The diagnostic material ranges in date from

the late 11th — 13th centuries and suggests a settlement of significant duration.

Even though there is evidence for local production in the Nemea region, currently, we are not in a position to document the distribution of locally produced pottery or the duration of the ceramic workshop at site 510. It is through materials analysis approaches, such as fabric analysis, petrographic examination, and chemical composition that we will be able to establish the origin of different types of wares, reconstruct trade networks and learn more about the distribution of locally produced glazed pottery in rural areas.

Concluding Thoughts

The NVAP along with other archaeological surveys have documented that glazed wares are a common find in rural areas from the late 11th century onwards. The increased availability of glazed pottery in the countryside indicates changes in the organization as well as the technology of glazed pottery production. In turn, it may also reflect changes in the organization of ceramic production, from centralized to dispersed. The avail-

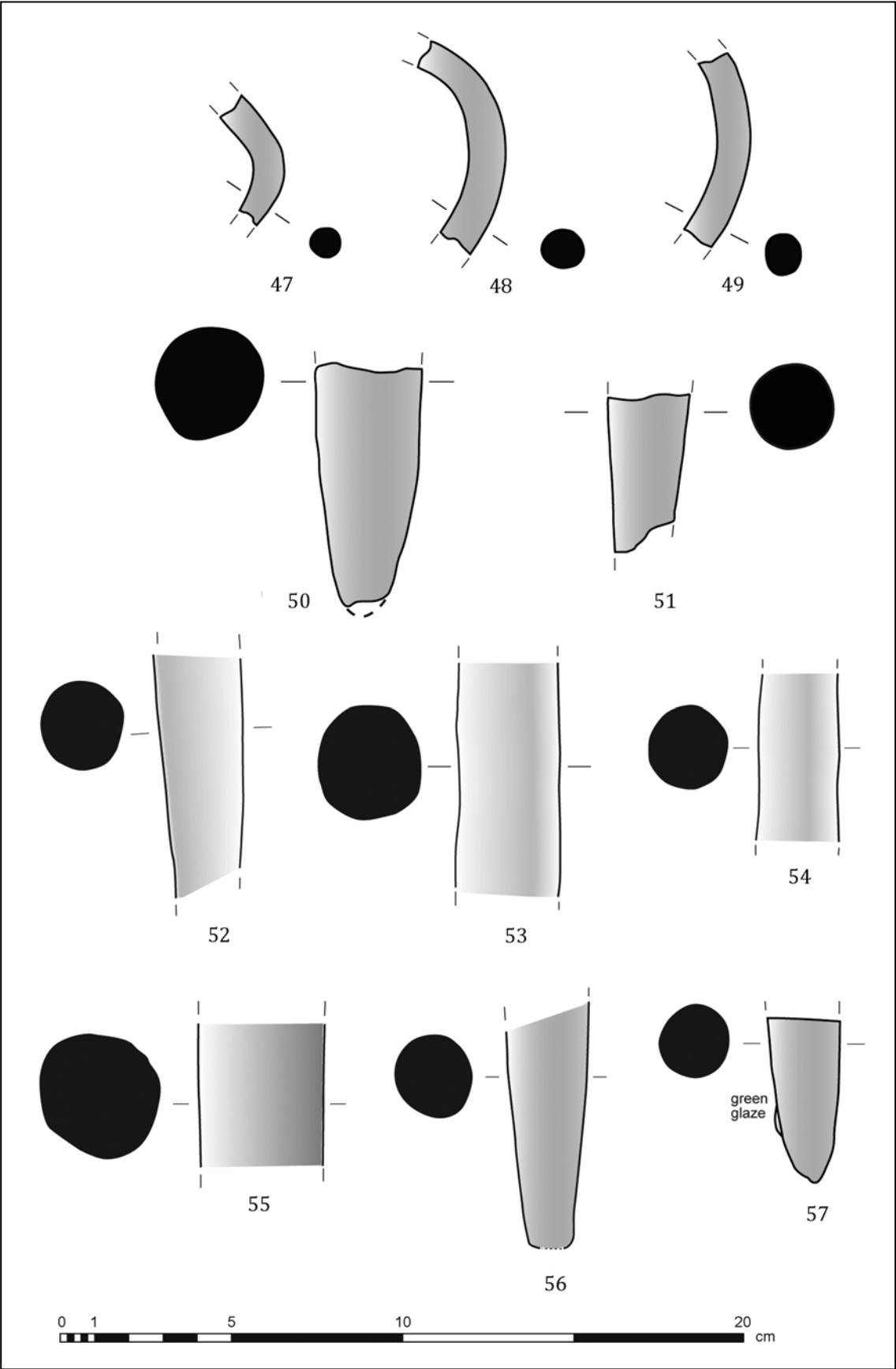


Fig. 15. Site 510 pottery kiln debris.

Рис. 15. Остатки печи для обжига керамики на памятнике 510.

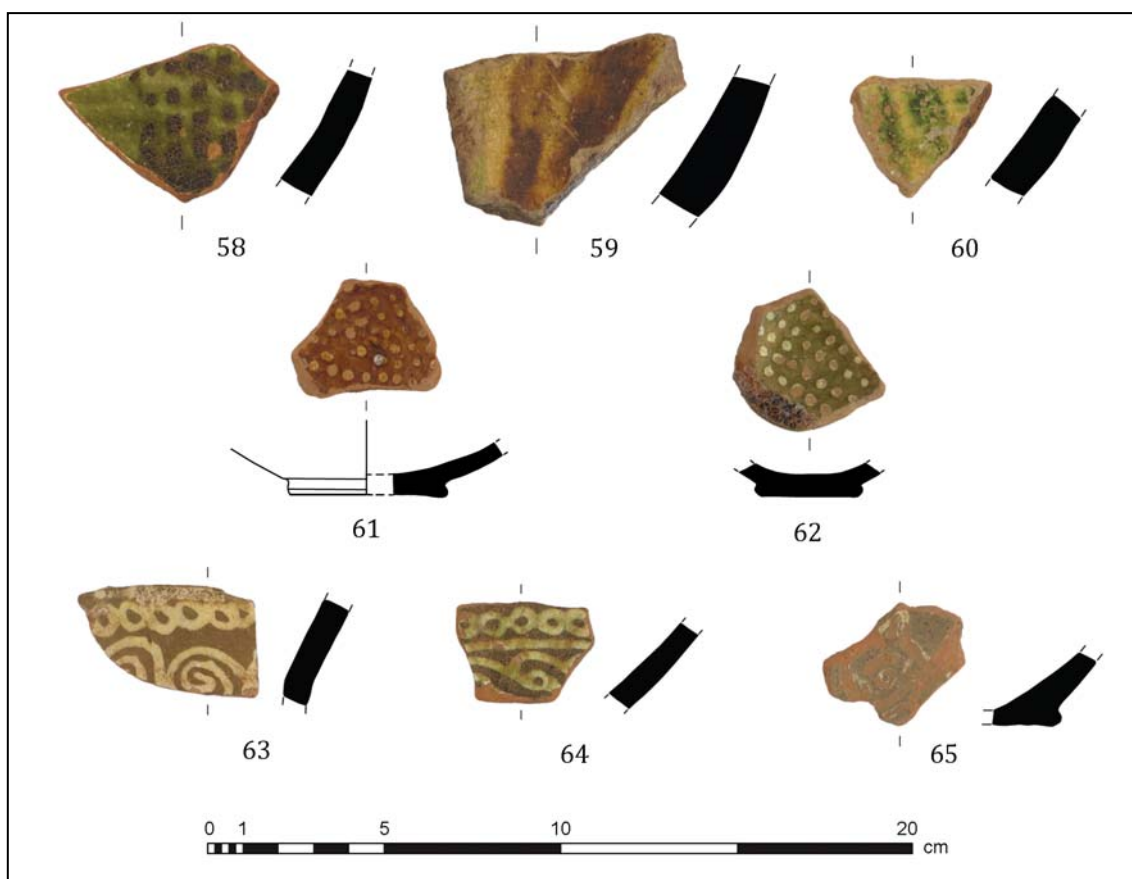


Fig. 16. Site 510 glazed wares.

Рис. 16. Поливные сосуды памятника 510.

able archaeological evidence suggests that glazed pottery in the Middle-Late Byzantine period was produced in regional workshops located in urban as well as rural areas.

Overall, these developments fit well with the wider changes in Medieval Greek social and economic life in the 11th and 12th centuries, such as the centrifugal economic trends, the territorial shrinking of Byzantium and the growth of urban centers and rural settlement. Another significant economic factor was the trade concessions to the Italian cities, during the reign of Alexios Komnenos, which resulted in an overall increase of trade. Archaeological finds and shipwrecks indicate that Byzantine ceramics were widely traded in the Eastern Mediterranean. Shipping of bulk cargoes of glazed wares in the Aegean is well documented (e.g., mid-12th century Pelagonissos/Alonissos shipwreck: Ioannidaki-Dostoglou 1989; early 13th century Kastellorizo shipwreck: Philotheou and Michailidou 1986; Skopelos shipwreck: Armstrong 1991).

Thus, although glazed pottery began as a luxury ware produced initially in Constantinople, over time it became a common form of pot-

tery that was produced in regional workshops, in many different styles, and was widely distributed in urban and rural communities. Much of the evidence in southern Greece derives from excavations of important urban centers such as Corinth. However, the intensive archaeological surveys undertaken in the last 35 years have filled in the picture and documented the circulation of glazed ceramics in the countryside.

Medieval pottery and glazed ceramics in particular are an effective dating tool but also an important source on social, and economic aspects. As more material from excavations and archaeological surveys becomes available, questions of local pottery production can be addressed, and regional trade networks reconstructed. In the region of Nemea, we are working to combine the survey evidence of the Nemea Valley Archaeological Project, with the excavated deposits from the Sanctuary of Zeus, in order to reconstruct land-use and settlement, document local production and consumption patterns, and participation of the medieval rural community into broader regional trade networks.

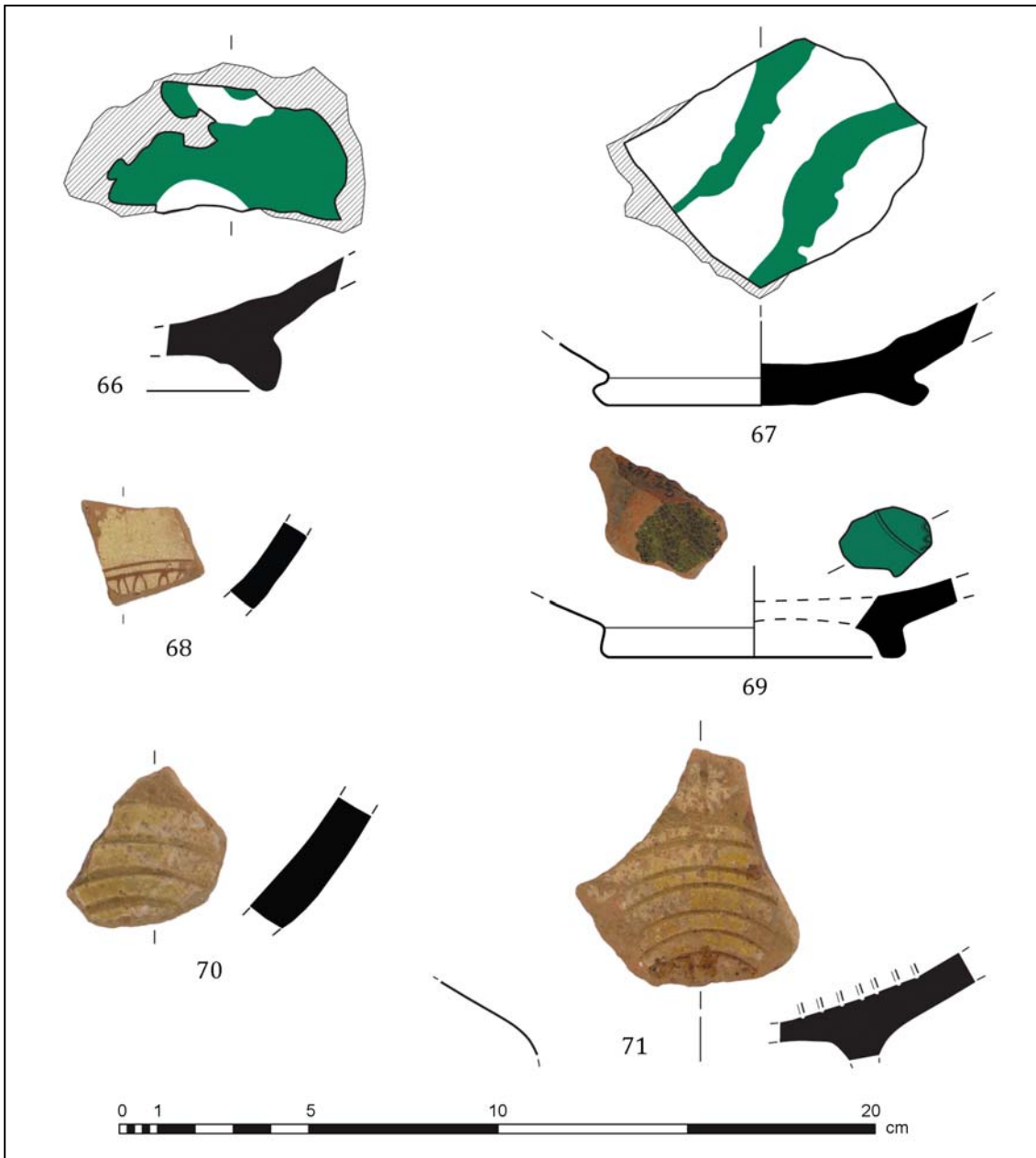


Fig. 17. Site 510 glazed wares.

Рис. 17. Поливные сосуды памятника 510.

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