CERAMIC AND OTHER VESSELS IN FUNERARY PRACTICES IN LATE MEDIEVAL CRIMEA[1]

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In memory of Olena Parshyna (26.01.1932 – 14.01.2022),
the researcher of medieval archaeological sites in Crimea

ABSTRACT

This article considers Christian funerary practices in late medieval Crimea. Special attention is paid to ceramic and glass vessels as important elements of grave goods. The functions they held in burial practices continue to give rise to discussion and conflicting interpretations. The authors comprehensively analyze late medieval graves in Crimea that contain ceramic wares in light of their larger cultural and geographic background. A typology for the vessels used in burials is proposed here. Based on written sources, liturgical and canon law in particular, and archaeological evidence, the authors critically analyze different interpretations of the functions of ceramic and glass vessels in Crimean burial customs and connect these functions to a wider context of funeral practices in Eastern and Western Christendom. The placement of vessels in graves is here interpreted as a reflection of the Eastern Christian rite of pouring oil over the deceased, which had roots in Antiquity. The end of this custom in Crimea is associated with phased changes in local Christian society in the 15th c.

Keywords: Crimea, Byzantium, Eastern and Western Europe, 13th – 15th c., Christian burial practices, grave goods, ceramic and glass vessels, cultural shifts, historical liturgy

Funerary practices in late medieval Crimea are still poorly studied. After the publication of a short article in 1968 (Махнева 1968а, 155 – 168) and of some results of fieldwork in the 1950s – 1960s (Когонашвили, Махнева 1974, 119 – 120; Тиханова 1953, 334 – 389), this issue has been ignored for a long time. Material accumulated over the past four decades, however, together with a wealth of data from recent excavations (including the work of one of the authors in southern Crimea) have renewed interest in this area (Айбабина 1991; Тесленко и др. 2002, 169 – 171;

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Лысенко, Тесленко 2002; Лысенко, Тесленко 2003; Тесленко, Лысенко 2004; Тесленко, Лысенко 2006; Гинькут 2011; Гинькут 2022; Кирилко 2018; Герцен и др. 2017; Мастыкова 2020; Айбабин, Хайрединова 2021; Хайрединова 2021а; Хайрединова 2022; Науменко 2020; Турова 2021; Турова 2023; Kozelsky 2008; etc.). Nevertheless, there is still no general study on the funerary practices of late medieval Crimea. Given the large volume of such work, we would like to focus now on some most remarkable features of these practices. The most debated among these features is the placement of ceramic and glass vessels in graves.

Background

Due to its geographical position and the specifics of its landscape, Crimea has always been the border between the nomadic and sedentary civilizations of the Mediterranean and the southern Black Sea. This situation has had a major impact on its history. In the medieval period from the time of Justinian the Great (527 – 565) until the Mongol conquest in the second half of the 13th c., southern Crimea was under the control of Byzantium or its successor, the Empire of Trebizond (fig. 1).[2] The local population consisted mainly of descendants of the so-called Crimean Goths (Айбабин, Хайрединова 2017); the Greeks, who moved there mostly from Asia Minor in different periods of the Middle Ages (Тесленко, Мусин 2015, 309 – 311; Араджиони 2004; Араджиони 2007); Armenians from the Caucasus and Anatolia; and Circassians from the North Caucasus, who also came there during the medieval period and the 13th and 14th c. in particular (Микаелян 2004, 7 – 25, 85 – 134; Саргсян 2015, 84 – 118; Мыц 2009, 226 – 227, 232; etc.).

In the course of the 6th to 9th c., the region was almost completely Christianized (Айбабин 1993, 121 – 133; Фомин 2011, 38 – 202; Айбабин, Хайрединова 2017, 47, 117; Айбабин, Хайрединова 2018а, 33 – 53; Науменко и др. 2021, 262 – 264; etc.).[3] Local Christian communities were led by bishops subordinate to the Patriarchate of Constantinople,[4] so they followed canons and customs that came from the metropolis. Close cultural and religious relationships between the population of Crimea and central Byzantine lands are archaeologically recorded in church architecture and liturgical practices, both in large urban centers and rural areas, as well as in objects of everyday life and personal piety (e.g., Якобсон 1950; Якобсон 1959; Сорочан и др. 2000; Сорочан 2005; Бернацки и др. 2004; Хайрединова 2007; Хайрединова 2017; Фомин 2011; Яшаева и др. 2011; Тесленко, Мусин 2015; etc.).

These relationships were also well-fixed in Crimea's funerary rites. In the Early Byzantine period (at least from the 6th – 7th c.), Christian burials in pits dug into the soil or carved into the rock as well as stone tombs covered with stone slabs[5] became more common in addition to subterranean rock-cut or dug-in burial chambers with entrance corridors and niches that had been characteristic of the former epoch (Айбабин 1993, 128 – 130; Фомин 2011, 174 – 177; Айбабин, Хайрединова 2018а, 33 – 53).[6] Christian burials gradually began to dominate urban and rural

[2] For a discussion concerning the Byzantine domains in Crimea after 1204, see, e.g., Balard 1995, 25 – 32; Степаненко 2021, 464 – 469.

[3] The first Christian burials in the Bosporus and at Cherson appeared in the late 3rd and 4th c. (Лысенко, Юрочкин 2004; Зинько 2007; Фомин 2011, 203 – 204; Фомин, Шевцова 2013). The process of Christianization in southern Crimea, however, becomes extensive about the 9th c. (see, e.g., Khairedinova 2012). In any case, the numerous churches in the mountainous part of southern Crimea appeared at that time (Тесленко, Мусин 2015; Лысенко, Тесленко 2018).

[4] For more details on the administrative structure of the Christian church in medieval Crimea, see Бертье-Делагард 1920; Darrouzès 1981; Hussey 1990; and Науменко 2003.

[5] Sometimes in southwestern Crimea, for instance, funerary structures were covered by a massive tombstone with a gable top or simply by earth (Хайрединова 2021а, 40).

[6] In Crimean archaeological terminology, such burial constructions are usually called *sklep* (i.e. vault or crypt).

Fig. 1. Crimea, main Byzantine cities and forts in the 6th – 13th c.: 1. Cherson; 2. Soldaia; 3. Panticape; 4. Aluston; 5. Khorzuvita; 6. Calamita; 7. Eski-Kermen; 8. Mangup/Doros; 9. Qirq-Yer; 10. Tepe-Kermen; 11. Bakla (Author: I. Teslenko)

Обр. 1. Крим, основни византийски градове и укрепления от VI – XIII в.: 1. Херсон; 2. Сугдея; 3. Пантикапей; 4. Алушта; 5. Хорзувита; 6. Каламита; 7. Ески Кермен; 8. Мангуп/Дорос; 9. Кърк Йер; 10. Тепе Кермен; 11. Бакла (Автор: И. Тесленко)

necropoleis in southern Crimea during the next century of Byzantine rule. The graves were usually rectangular, boat-shaped, or trapezoidal in plan, and sometimes their western wall was semicircular.[7] The position of the deceased in the grave is fairly standard. They generally lie extended on their backs with their heads to the west, and their arms are folded over the chest or abdominal area (less often along the body) with slight variations (Тиханова 1953, 359 – 363; Махнева 1968а, 158 – 167; Айбабин 1993, 128; Майко 2007; Тесленко, Мусин 2015, 305 – 312; Айбабин, Хайрединова 2018а, 40 – 46).

During the Middle Byzantine period (9th/10th – 12th c.), urban cemeteries were partly transferred inside the city walls. Since then, quarter chapels with crypts and tombs for multiple (re)burials became an integral aspect of urban architecture both in Byzantine territory and the Crimea, such as in the Bosporus and at Cherson, Eski-Kermen, and Mangup (Голофаст 2009, 283 – 289, рис. 4 – 34; Фомин 2011, 140 – 171; Poulou-Papadimitriou et al. 2012, 388; Айбабин, Хайрединова 2020; Хайрединова 2021а, 40; Науменко 2020, 99 – 107).

Grave goods and accompanying accessories are normally not numerous. Elements of traditional clothing, jewelry (earrings, usually with a simple shape; beads; ball-shaped pendant buttons; rings and bracelets, including glass ones from the 10th – 13th c.), objects of personal devotion (pectoral crosses of different types), rare personal belongings like amulets (cowrie shells, deer teeth, jet beads with Greek letters, etc.) or small objects related to everyday activities (spindles, fishing hooks,

[7] Occasionally there are semicircular recesses that follow the outline of the head that are carved into the western wall of the tomb (Майко 2007, рис. 5: 5, 6, рис. 19). For more details on the types of funerary structures, see, for example, Махнева 1968а; Тиханова 1953; Айбабин 1993; and Майко 2007.

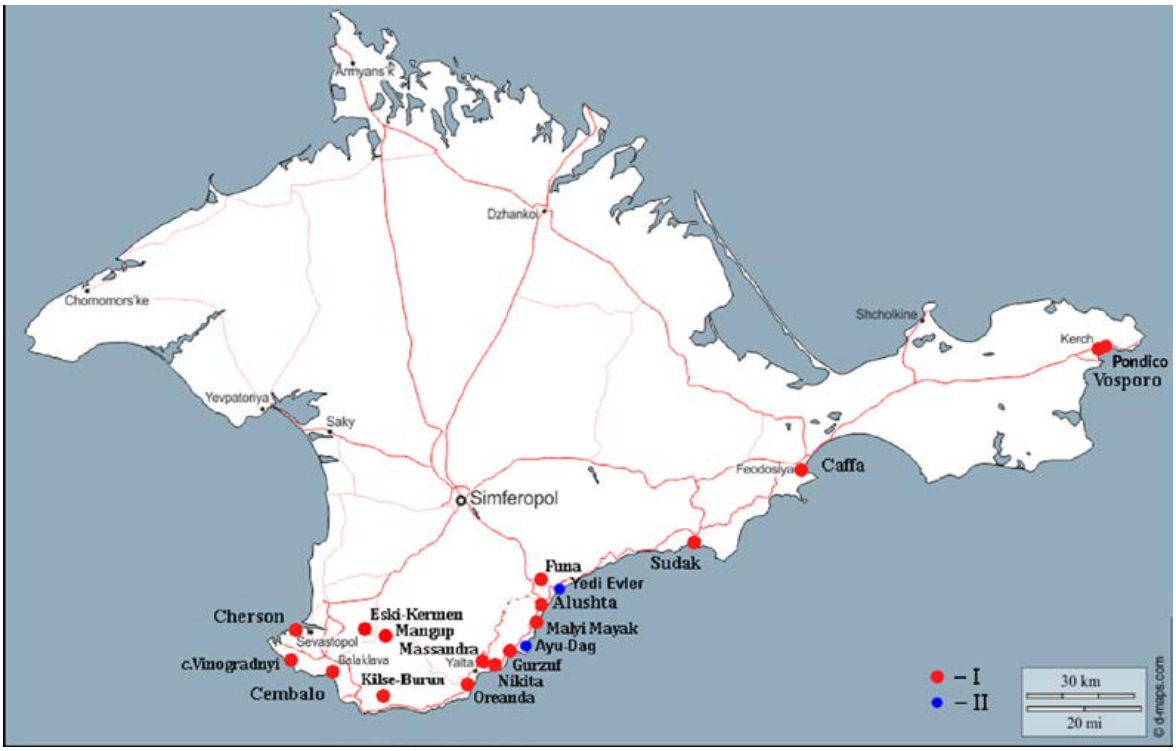


Fig. 2. Crimea, location of late 13th – 14th and 15th c. cemeteries mentioned in the paper: I. Cemeteries with burials accompanied by ceramic vessels; II. Other burial grounds (Authors: I. Teslenko, A. Musin)

Обр. 2. Крим, местоположение на споменатите в студията некрополи от края на XIII – XIV и XV в.: I. Некрополи с гробове, съдържащи керамични съдове; II. Други некрополи (Автори: И. Тесленко, А. Мусин)

etc.), and hygiene items like wooden combs are most common among funerary artifacts (Макарова 1997, 365 – 383; Майко 2007, 111 – 144; Лысенко, Тесленко 2010, 329 – 335; Фомин 2011, 178 – 180; Айбабин, Хайрединова 2011, 423 – 426; Айбабин, Хайрединова 2018б, 19 – 22; Хайрединова 2020, 295 – 312; Голофаст, Мастыкова 2020, 245 – 248; Турова 2021, 124 – 132).

Concerning different kinds of vessels from graves of the Early Byzantine period, it is worth mentioning small glass containers of a closed form (*balsamarium*). They accompanied about 12 % of the burials in the suburban necropoleis of Cherson into the 7th c. As commonly believed by modern researchers, and discussed further below, they perhaps contained consecrated oil left over from the unction of the dying. After the 7th c., however, they almost disappear (Фомин 2011, 115, 180 – 181, 192 – 193; Супрун 2013). Only one small, two-handled *balsamarium* (possibly a pendant in a necklace) is mentioned in the context of 10th – 12th c. burials from a large Christian burial ground at Sudak (Sudak-II; Майко 2007, 133, рис. 48: 5). This period is generally characterized by a reduction of grave goods in tombs, however, which sometimes makes it difficult to clarify their chronology (Poulou-Papadimitriou et al. 2012, 407, 413).

Different ceramic wares were also known in early medieval tombs. They probably served as containers for food offerings to the deceased during the rite of commemoration (Фомин 2011, 117, 178 – 180, 195, 204). Moreover, jugs are a fairly common find in the slab-covered graves and crypts of the 7th – 9th c. that belong to the non-Christian or newly converted population (Айбабин 1993; Веймарн, Айбабин 1993, 124 – 127, рис. 9 – 12, рис. 15; Майко 2004, 164 – 176; Майко 2007, 152 – 182; Айбабин, Хайрединова 2008, 45 – 70, рис. 27, рис. 30, рис. 32 – 34; Хайрединова

2021a, 41). Jug offerings probably mostly echo pre-Christian customs. Nevertheless, in some cases the vessel also could have had a special purpose that reflected Christian identity and burial practices associated with it. In this regard it would be interesting to mention the find of a light-clay jug with the face of a saint and a Greek inscription εφω in one of the early 7th c. slab graves on the northeastern slope of mount Mithridates at Kerch (Айбабин 1999, 140 – 141, рис. 56: 1). V. D. Blavatsky suggested reading the inscription as "that I should appear" (from the Greek verb έφίημι) and interpreted it as evidence of the deceased's desire to "transfer his soul to Christ" (Хайрединова 2021a, 41, who referred to Блавацкий 1985, 27 – 28, рис. 2).

Later, in the 10th – first half of the 13th c., pottery was quite rare in Christian graves. For example, no vessels were detected in the funeral context of synchronous urban cemeteries at medieval Sudak despite the large size of the excavated area (Майко 2007). Only two Christian burials or tombs with ceramic wares from the 10th and 13th c. are mentioned for the Eski-Kermen site among the several dozen that have been studied (fig. 2). One burial with a cooking pot is associated with the small quarter chapel, which according to the director of the excavations was built in the 10th and destroyed at the end of the 13th c. together with the settlement (fig. 3: I; Айбабин 2018, 278 – 279, рис. 14 – 15). The grave was located under the northeastern corner of the chapel and was set up in a pit carved into the rock that had previously been used to produce wine as a construction element of a grape press. A woman and her child were buried there; the woman was in a supine position with her head to the west and her arms folded over here abdomen, and the child was at her feet. A coarse kitchen pot was located to the left between the hands and in the pelvic area (Айбабин 2018, рис. 14 – 15). The function of this kitchen pot in the grave is difficult to interpret.

Another burial with a ceramic vessel was in the narthex of a church in the neighboring quarter that also ceased to exist at the end of the 13th c. The stone tomb with stone covering slabs contained 14 layers with the remains of at least 28 deceased separated by thin layers of soil (up to 0.1 m thick). A red-clay, one-handled jug was placed near the left shoulder of a 30 – 40-year-old man (Хайрединова 2020, 297 – 298, рис. 3: 2). The jug has a narrow high neck widened towards the rim and an oval-shaped body (fig. 3: II). Such jugs are usually attributed to Cherson's workshops. They are well-known in 13th c. contexts at Cherson (Голофаст, Рыжов 2003, 197, 240, рис. 6: 3). According to grave goods and other accompanying material, the tomb was attributed to the 13th c. (Хайрединова 2020, 297 – 298, рис. 3),[8] but a more precise date is difficult.

Nevertheless, ceramic vessels in graves become a prominent component of funerary goods again from the end of the 13th and during the 14th c. The phenomenon is also attested in the Peloponnese and on the Greek islands. In that period, open-form wares, sometimes richly decorated, began to appear in graves in large numbers; this is in contrast with previous periods when closed vessels (jugs or pitchers) predominated (Poulou-Papadimitriou et al. 2012, 413).

Historical context and specific of location

As we have already mentioned, in the second half of the 13th c. the Mongols destroyed Crimea's major urban centers, that were a former Byzantine domain (Айбабин 2014б, 215 – 227; Мыц 2016, 70 – 81, 99 – 101; etc.).[9] A new era of Crimean history then began that is associated both with the protectorate of the Golden Horde and Italian commercial colonization of the coast, as

[8] A fragment of tile with an incised cross comes from the same tomb (Хайрединова 2020, 298).

[9] Researchers have not yet come to a consensus on the date and causes of these events; the earliest of the proposed dates is the 1220s during the Seljuk attack (Рабиновиц и др. 2009), and the latest is 1299 during Nogai's second campaign (for more details, see Мыц 2016, 70 – 101; Тесленко 2018б, 34; and Цымбал 2024, 283 – 286). In any case, the youngest numismatic material from sites destroyed by the fire dates back to the end of 1250s – 1260s (Алексеенко 1996; Айбабин 2014a, 250). This means that the catastrophe could hardly have happened earlier.

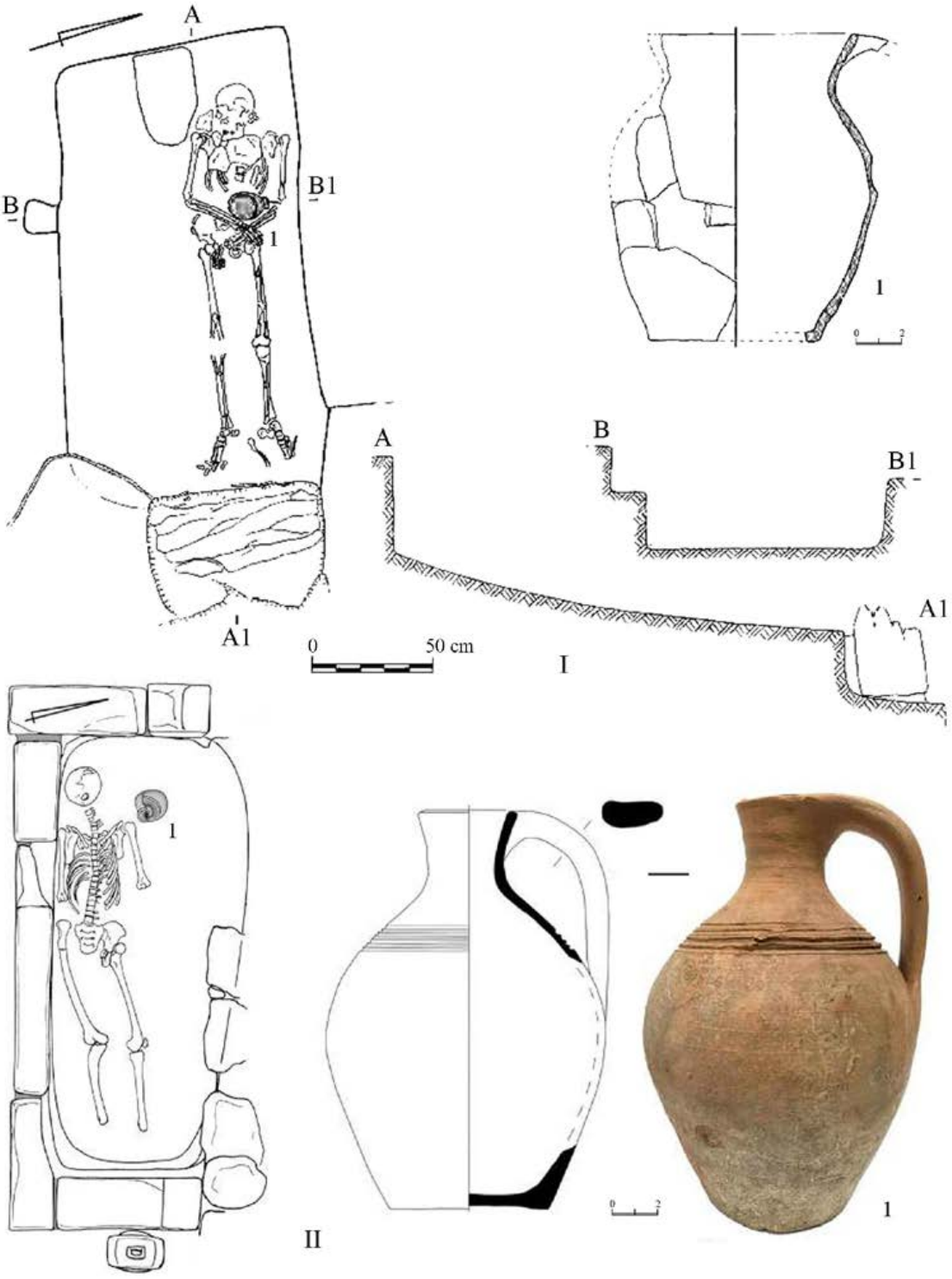


Fig. 3. Southwestern Crimea, Eski-Kermen, burials of the 10th (I) and the 13th c. (II) with ceramic vessels: I. Small chapel in quarter I, burial of a woman with an infant set into a grape press, 10th c., excavations in 2007 – 2008; II. Single-nave church in quarter II, tomb No. 6/2019 in the narthex, lower layer, burial No. 21, 13th c., excavations in 2019 (after Айбабин 2018, рис. 15; Хайрединова 2020, рис. 3: 2)

Обр. 3. Югозападен Крим, Ески Кермен, гробове от X в. (I) и от XIII в. (II), съдържащи керамични съдове: I. Малък параклис в квартал I, гроб на жена с дете, вкопан в пресата за грозде, X в., разкопки през 2007 – 2008 г.; II. Еднокорабна църква в квартал II, гроб № 6/2019 в нартекса, долен пласт, гроб № 21, XIII в., разкопки през 2019 г. (по Айбабин 2018, рис. 15; Хайрединова 2020, рис. 3: 2)

well as the growth of urban centers with developed crafts and trade. Archaeology has identified significant changes in the material culture of local populations because of these new realities. These changes are noticeable in the architecture of fortresses and other monumental construction (Кирилко 2005; Кирилко 2016; Кирилко 2019; Кирилко 2020; Мыц 2009; etc.) as well as in elements of everyday life, such as ceramic assemblages (Тесленко 2018a; Тесленко 2020a), and were largely due to new vectors of intercultural and economical interactions.

Have these changes affected the burial practices and how?

According to archaeological evidence, after the Mongols' military campaigns in the second half of the 13th c., only a small portion of the Crimea's local inhabitants returned to destroyed Byzantine cities. For instance, Cherson the largest Byzantine center in Crimea saw its size decrease considerably; life resumed only in its port area (Ушаков, Байбуртский 2022, 264 – 770). At Eski-Kermen, residential areas were never rebuilt (Айбабин 2014a, 245 – 251). Only a small chapel was constructed on the ruins of a large basilica dated back to the 6th – 13th c., and a new necropolis (fig. 4) grew around it (Паршина 1988; Айбабин, Хайрединова 2019; Хайрединова 2021a; Хайрединова 2022).

At the same time, a population influx to safer mountain areas at the turn of the 13th – 14th c. and in the first half of the latter century is well-recorded archaeologically. Researchers of Mangup,[10] for example, have noted an increase in the number of necropoleis near pre-existing and new churches (Науменко 2020, 99 – 107; Науменко и др. 2021, 265 – 267). About three dozen synchronous rural churches with burial grounds were recorded in the region of Sudak in southeastern Crimea. More than two dozen of them have been studied archaeologically and are partly published (Майко 2007; Майко, Джанов 2015, 96 – 305).

Many settlements, churches, and cemeteries were installed on the mountainous southern coast of the peninsula during the end of the 13th to 14th c. as well (Тесленко, Лысенко 2004; Тесленко и др. 2017; Лысенко, Тесленко 2002; Лысенко, Тесленко 2003; Лысенко, Тесленко 2018; Бочаров, Кирилко 2017; Кирилко 2020).[11] More than a hundred parish churches and chapels have now been mapped in this area (Бочаров, Кирилко 2017; Кирилко 2020, 129 – 146, рис. 1; Турова 2023). These are mainly small stone constructions with a rectangular plan and a semicircular apse at their eastern end (fig. 5; Кирилко 2020, рис. 2 – 9). Some of them were established on the ruins of earlier and larger churches, and cemeteries were located around and inside them. About 28 – 30 % of these sites were excavated, but results of these excavations have been poorly published. We have therefore turned to excavation reports stored in the archives of the Institute of Archaeology and the Crimean branch of the Institute of Archaeology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine as well to museum collections across the Crimea (the Historical and Literary Museum in Yalta, the Museum of Local History in Alushta, and the Central Museum of Taurida in Simferopol, Crimea). We already have data on funerary practices at more than two dozen late medieval burial grounds (fig. 2). Each of these necropoleis has its own features and deserves detailed analysis. We now turn to focus on some of the most remarkable ones.

[10] Mangup is a large medieval city located on the plateau Baba-Dag of the second ridge of the mountains in southwestern Crimea with an area of 90 hectares and at an elevation of 583 m above sea level. It became the center of a local principality in the early 15th c.

[11] Interestingly, this fact was mentioned in historical records relating to the dispute between the bishops of the dioceses of Cherson, Gothia, and Sugdea over the church fee without the parishioners who resettled to the south coast from the area of Cherson and Sudak (for more details see, e.g., Лысенко, Тесленко 2018, 316 – 319 and Кирилко 2020, 145 – 146).

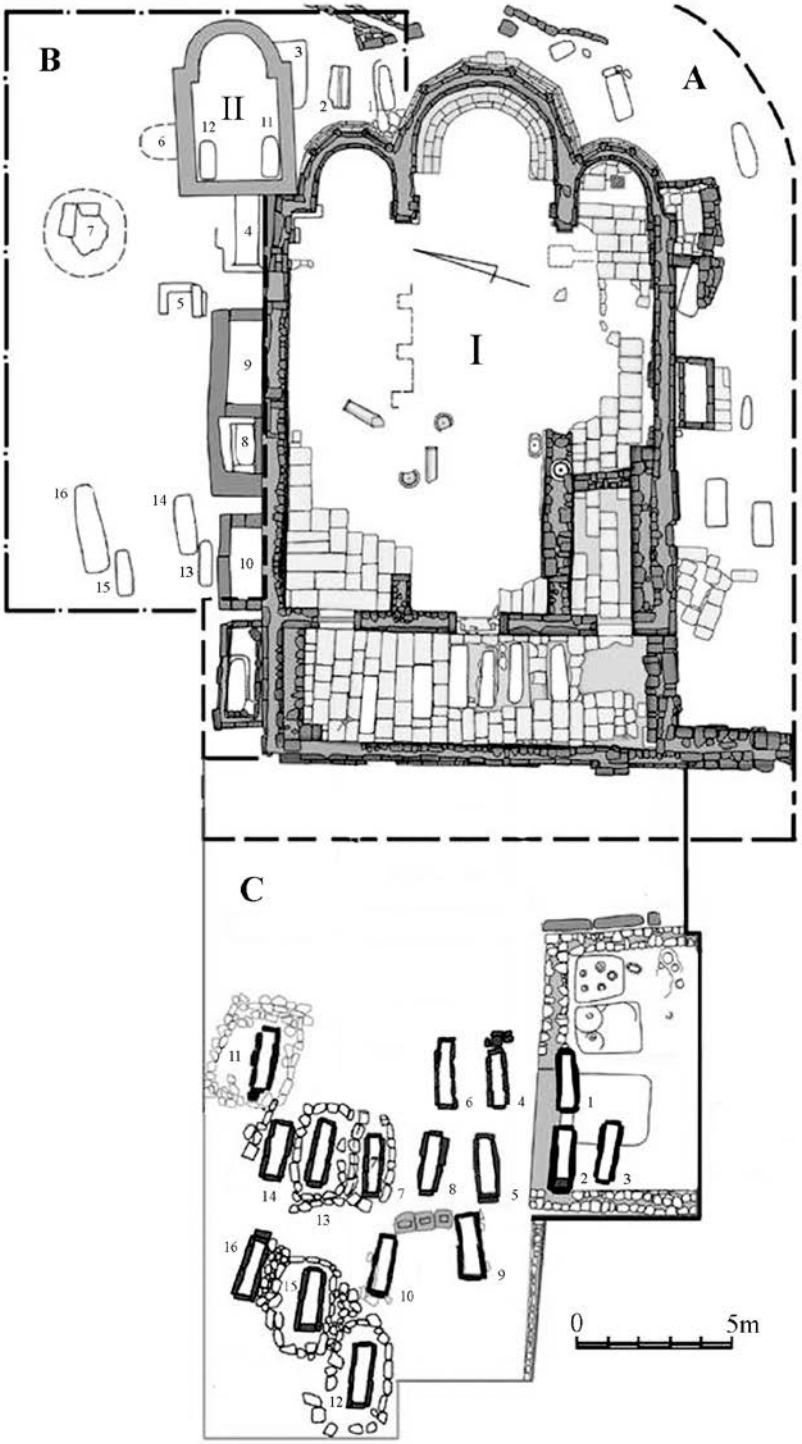


Fig. 4. Southwestern Crimea, Eski-Kermen, small chapel and necropolis of the 14th c. in the ruins of the large central basilica of the 6th – 13th c.: A. Excavations in 1930; B. Excavations in 1979 – 1981: 1 – 16. Funeral structures of the 13th and 14th c.; C. Excavations in 2018 – 2022: 1 – 16. Burial ground of the 14th c. I – basilica of the 6th – 13th c.; II – chapel of the 14th c. (after Хайрединова 2022, 26, рис. 3)

Обр. 4. Югозападен Крим, Ески Кермен, малък параклис и некропол от XIV в. върху останките от голяма базилика от VI – XIII в.: A. Разкопки през 1930 г.; B. Разкопки през 1979 – 1981 г.: 1 – 16. Погребални съоръжения от XIII – XIV в.; C. Разкопки през 2018 – 2022 г.: 1 – 16. Некропол от XIV в. I – Базилика от VI – XIII в.; II – Параклис от XIV в. (по Хайрединова 2022, 26, рис. 3)

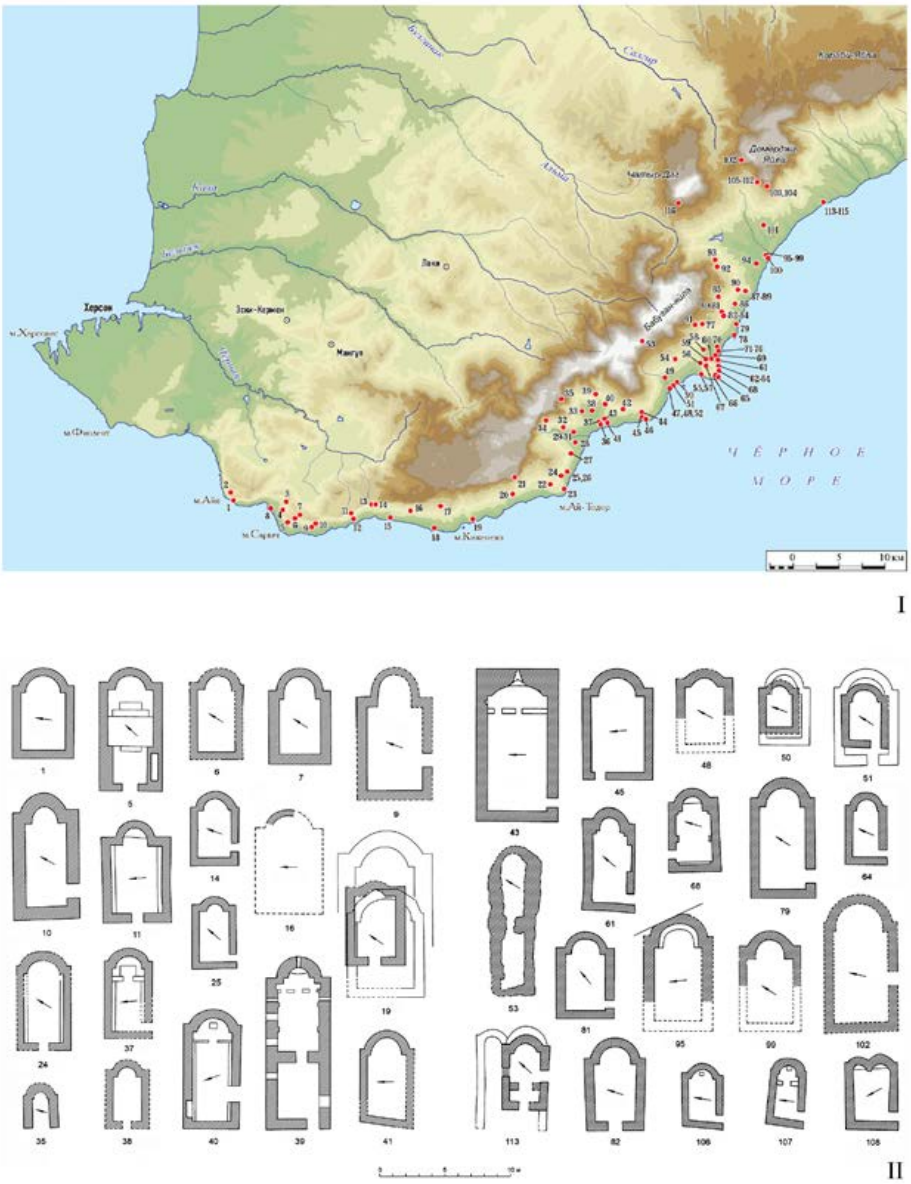


Fig. 5. Crimea, medieval churches and chapels on the southern coast: I. Locations; II. Layouts of single-nave churches. 1, 2. Kokiya natural landmark; 3 – 8. Laspi; 9, 10. Foros; 11. Kilse-Burun peak; 12. Melas; 13. Shaitan-Merdven; 14. Isar-Kaya; 15. Kastropol; 16. Beketovo; 17, 18. Opolznevoe (Kikineiz); 19. Simeiz; 20. Alupka; 21. Ai-Petri mount; 22, 23. Gaspra; 24 – 26. Verkhnyaya Oreanda; 27. Livadiya; 28, 32 – 38. Yalta and it's neighborhood; 29 – 31. Autka; 39. Vasilievka; 40 – 43. Massandra; 44, 45. Nikita; 46. Ruskofil-Kale; 47 – 52. Gurzuf; 53. Gurzufskoe Sedlo passage; 54. Krasnokamenka (Kiziltash); 55. Artek; 56, 57, 59 – 68. Ayu-Dag mount; 58. Lavrovoe (Kurkulet); 69 – 76. Partenit; 77. Zaprudnoe (Degermenkoi); 78. Kuchuk-Lambat; 79. Karabakh; 80 – 85. Malyi Mayak (Biyuk-Lambat); 86. Poliklisi elevation; 87 – 90. Kastel mountain; 91. Ayan-Dere gorge; 92. Seraus; 93. Ai-Yori; 94 – 100. Alushta; 101. Nizhnyaya Kutuzovka; 102. Pakhkal-Kaya; 103 – 112. Neighborhood of Luchistoe; 113 – 115. Semidvorie; 116. Eklizi-Burun peak (after Кирилко 2020, рис. 1 – 3)

Обр. 5. Средновековни църкви и параклиси по южния бряг на Крим: I. Местонахождения; II. Планове на еднокорабни църкви. 1, 2. Природна забележителност Кокия; 3 – 8. Ласпи; 9, 10. Форос; 11. Връх Килсе Бурун; 12. Мелас; 13. Шайтан Мердвен; 14. Исар Кая; 15. Кастропол; 16. Бекетово; 17, 18. Оползневое (Кикинеиз); 19. Симеиз; 20. Алупка; 21. Планина Ай Петри; 22, 23. Гаспра; 24 – 26. Верхняя Ореанда; 27. Ливадия; 28, 32 – 38. Ялта и околността; 29 – 31. Аутка; 39. Василиевка; 40 – 43. Масандра; 44, 45. Никита; 46. Рускофил кале; 47 – 52. Гурзуф; 53. Гурзуфски проход; 54. Краснокаменка (Кизилташ); 55. Артек; 56, 57, 59 – 68. Планина Аю Даг; 58. Лавровое (Куркулет); 69 – 76. Партенит; 77. Запрудное (Дегерменкой); 78. Кучук Ламбат; 79. Карабах; 80 – 85. Малий Маяк (Биюк Ламбат); 86. Възвишение Поликлиси; 87 – 90. Планина Кастел; 91. Клисура Аян Дере; 92. Сераус; 93. Ай Йори; 94 – 100. Алушта; 101. Нижняя Кутузовка; 102. Пахкал Кая; 103 – 112. Околностите на Лучистое; 113 – 115. Семидворие; 116. Връх Еклизи Бурун (по Кирилко 2020, рис. 1 – 3)

Funeral structures

Simple ground pits, stone-lined graves, and stone tombs or cist graves covered with stone slabs remained the predominant form of burial (fig. 6: 1 – 5). They are mainly rectangular in plan and sometimes slightly widened on the west side; much less often they are boat-shaped (Gurzuf; fig. 20: 3). At Sudak and Oreanda, tombs' western walls were occasionally semicircular as in earlier times (fig. 6: 2, fig. 29: 4; Майко 2007, 219 – 223, 231 – 246, рис. 137, рис. 139, рис. 144; Фирсов 1990, 247, рис. 81).

Grave construction was largely determined by available building material and the type of surface into which they were placed. The burial pits may have been dug into the ground or carved into the rock. The tomb could be built using different types of stone that were available in the vicinity. At Eski-Kermen, for example, tombs were often made of local soft limestone that was probably reused from the ruins of an earlier basilica. The blocks' material made them easy to process and adjust in shape and size for construction of the tomb walls and cover slabs. In contrast, on the southern coast of Crimea, local hard limestone, mudstones, and siltstones, which had not been pre-treated, were more often used for these purposes. In some cases, such as at the Funa or Eski-Kermen burial grounds, mounds of rubble over tomb slabs and special placement within stone fences are also known (fig. 6: 5, fig. 32; Когонашвили, Махнева 1974, 73 – 74; Хайрединова 2021a, 40; Хайрединова 2022, 13, рис. 43 – 49). Iron nails in some burials suggest the use of coffins (e.g., Майко 2007, 231 – 246; Науменко, Душенко 2019, 225; Гинькут 2022, 84 – 85). At big urban centers, particularly at Mangup, crypts for multiple burials and an ossuary for reburial were also traditionally used (fig. 6: 7, fig. 36; Герцен и др. 2017, 10 – 139; Науменко и др. 2021, 265 – 167; Науменко 2020, 99 – 107).[12] Finally, stone-built crypts with a large rectangular burial chamber and a rounded vaulted ceiling are also known from the Funa and Kilse-Burun burial grounds (fig. 44).

Quite often graves were accompanied by tombstones in the form of vertically set, worked stone steles, like at Eski-Kermen (Хайрединова 2021a, 40), or specially selected rough rocks as on the southern coast (Когонашвили, Махнева 1974, 73 – 74; Тесленко и др. 2002, 170; Тесленко, Лысенко 2004, 264). Some graves were marked with carved crosses. Massive tombstones in the form of a stone slab along the entire length of the grave with a gable top or blocks of a more complex configuration, in the form of a church building with carved decoration and inscriptions for example (as at Mangup and Eski-Kermen) are rarer and still poorly published (Бармина 2020; Айбабин, Хайрединова 2011, рис. 23).

Overall, then, the main forms of funeral structures remained almost the same as before. Innovations include stone fences, stone mounds over slabs, and the frequent use of rough tombstones. The position of the buried also remained largely unchanged. The body was usually laid out on the back with feet together and arms folded over the abdomen or sternum area or extended along the body with slight variations. Multiple burials in the same grave or vault and the reburial of skulls and bones were ordinary for this time as well.

Special care occasionally was taken to fix the position of the head. This was done in two ways. In the first, the cranium was placed between two stones to orient the face strictly to the east. This practice has been recorded in three male burials at the Gurzuf, Ayu-Dag, and Alushta-2 necropoleis and in two children's burials Nos. 7 and 12 at Nikita (fig. 7; Тесленко, Лысенко 2006, 135; Паршина 1989, 16 – 17; Голофаст, Мастыкова 2018, 367, 372). The second method was to place a stone or ceramic tile under the head (Хайрединова 2021a, 40, рис. 31: 2, рис. 43: 9). Both approaches were known in the Crimea before. The second one was more common, however, and was

[12] Subterranean rock-cut burial chambers with *dromoi* and niches were also occasionally reused in the Late Byzantine period (see, e.g., Яшаева 1994, 78 – 79).

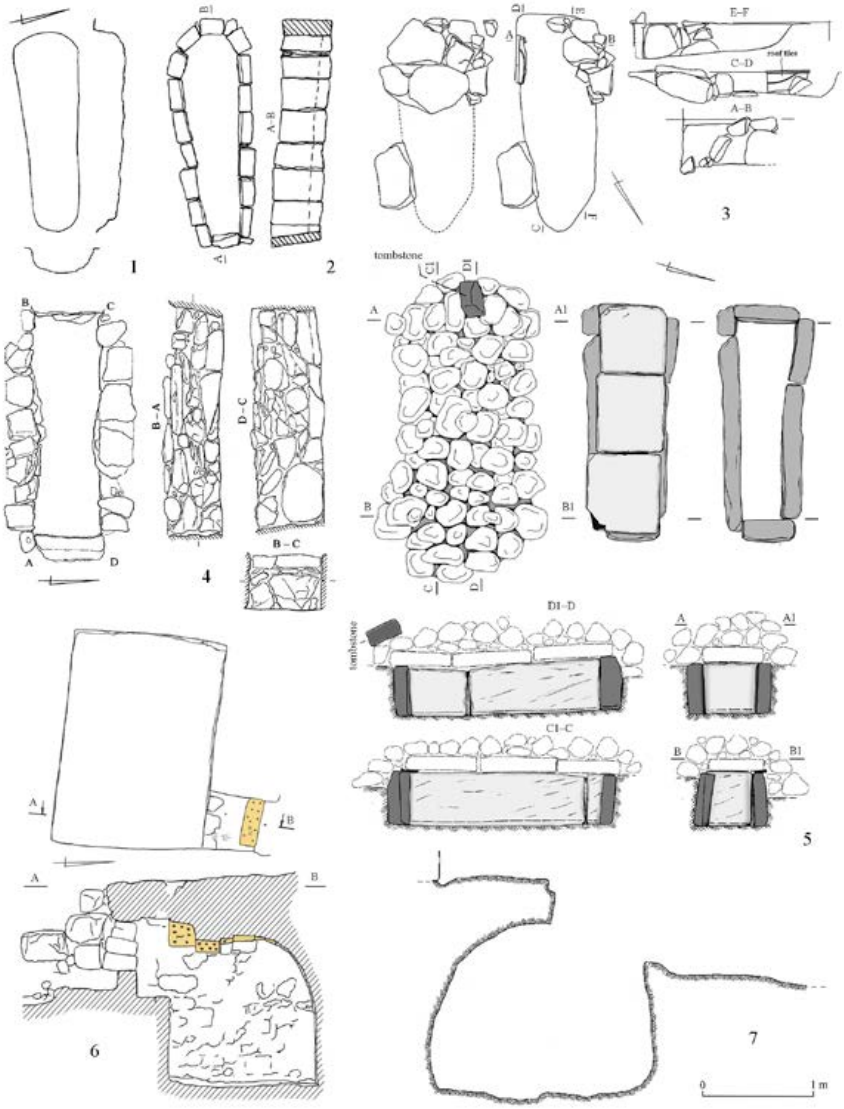


Fig. 6. Crimea, some types of late medieval funerary structures: 1. Simple ground pits – southwestern Crimea, Cembalo, double-apse church on the top of Kastron mount (No. 2), grave with two burials Nos. 11 and 12 under the floor of the church, plan and sections (after Адаксина, Мыц 2008, рис. 64 – 65); 2. Stone-lined graves with semicircular western wall – Sudak, church and burial ground in the area of the central part of the northeastern fortress wall (after Майко 2007, рис. 148); 3. Partly stone-lined graves, Ayu-Dag mount, northeastern slope, church with burial ground, the grave is inside the building (Author: I. Teslenko); 4. Rectangular stone tomb, Alushta burial ground on the eastern slope of the Fortress hill, tomb excavated in 1992 (Author: S. Tatartsev); 5. Trapezoidal tomb with stone mounds over the slabs and the tombstone, Eski-Kermen, slab graveyard to the west of the basilica, tomb No. 1 (after Айбабин, Хайрединова 2019, рис. 3 – 4); 6. Vault, Kilse-Burun, church and burial ground (after Турова 2021, рис. 6); 7. Crypt, Mangup, St. George's Church and burial ground, crypt No. 5 under the apse (after Герцен и др. 2017, рис. 2: 17)

Обр. 6. Крим, няколко типа късносредновековни погребални съоръжения: 1. Обикновени ями – Югозападен Крим, Чембало, двуапсидна църква на върха на планината Кастрон (№ 2), гроб под пода на църквата с две погребения № 11 и № 12, план и разрез (по Адаксина, Мыц 2008, рис. 64 – 65); 2. Оградени с камъни гробни ями със заобляне от запад – Судак, църква и некропол в централната част на североизточната крепостна стена (по Майко 2007, рис. 148); 3. Гробни ями, частично оградени с камъни, планината Аю Даг, североизточен склон, църква и некропол, гроб в църквата (Автор: И. Тесленко); 4. Правоъгълни каменни гробници, Алушта, некропол по източния склон на укрепения хълм, гроб, разкопан през 1992 г. (Автор: С. Татарцев); 5. Трапецовидни гробове с каменни могили над покривните плочи и надгробния камък, Ески Кермен, плочест некропол западно от базиликата, гроб № 1 (по Айбабин, Хайрединова 2019, рис. 3 – 4); 6. Подземна гробница, Килсе Бурун, църква и некропол (по Турова 2021, рис. 6); 7. Крипта, Мангуп, църква „Св. Георги" и некропол, крипта № 5 под апсидата (по Герцен и др. 2017, рис. 2: 17)

Fig. 7. Crimea, skulls supported by stones in burials of the late 13th – 14th c.: 1. Alushta burial ground (Alushta-2), grave No. 23, 1950, view from the east and south (Author: Е. В. Веймарн, НА КФ ІА НАН України. 1957. Шифр А. № 6/7, рис. 11 – 12); 2. Gurzuf, medieval cemetery on the Lysyi hill, tomb in the center of the chapel, view from the northeast (after Голофаст, Мастыкова 2018, рис. 13); 3. Ayu-Dag mount, northeastern slope, church with burial ground, grave of a priest inside the building, view from the northeast (Photo: I. Teslenko); 4. Nikita, burial ground with chapel on the territory of the modern Nikitsky Botanical Garden, grave No. 12, view from the northeast (after Паршина 1989, рис. 70)

Обр. 7. Крим, черепи, подпрени с камъни в гробове от края на XIII – XIV в.: 1. Алушта, некропол (Алушта-2), гроб № 23, 1950 г., поглед от изток и юг (Автор: Е. В. Веймарн, НА КФ ІА НАН України. 1957. Шифр А. № 6/7, рис. 11 – 12); 2. Гурзуф, средновековен некропол на хълма Лисий, гроб в центъра на параклиса, поглед от североизток (по Голофаст, Мастыкова 2018, рис. 13); 3. Планината Аю Даг, североизточен склон, църква с некропол, гроб на свещеник в църквата, поглед от североизток (Снимка: И. Тесленко); 4. Никита, некропол с параклис на територията на съвременната Никитска ботаническа градина, гроб № 12, поглед от североизток (по Паршина 1989, рис. 70)

known at burial grounds from the 9th – 10th to the 13th c. at both rural and urban sites (Якобсон 1970, 135, 140 – 141; Бармина 1995, 80; Майко 2007, 32, рис. 57: 4; Хайрединова 2021a, 40). The first method still has only been encountered once in a double male grave near the church dated back to the 9th – early 10th c. in the Yedi-Evler valley (the south coast of Crimea). The site is largely associated with the Anatolian Greeks, who had moved to Crimea in the late 8th – 9th c. (Тесленко, Мусин 2015, 309 – 310). Quite possibly, then the tradition comes from there. In any case, it has appropriate analogies in the Middle Byzantine period at the cemetery of the monastery church on Giresun Island, for instance, and at the burial ground with two churches at Komana, in the north-eastern and mid-Black Sea regions of Anatolia, respectively. They date back to the 10th – 12th and 11th – 12th c. accordingly (Doksanalti at al. 2014, 83, fig. 5; Erciyas 2019, 14, fig. 30). In addition, a grave with a semicircular niche for the head, which served the same purpose, are also known there (Erciyas 2019, 14, fig. 24).

As for Crimea, there is still no relevant data to talk about the continuity of such a practice over the 10th – early 13th c. So, it seems to come to Crimea from Anatolia or mainland Greece again in the late 13th – early 14th c. It was common in Greek urban centers like Thessaloniki and Corinth as well as on Crete, Cyprus, and at provincial communal cemeteries such as the one near the parish church in Vasilitsi earlier than in Crimea (du Plat Taylor 1938; Bourbou 2010 – 2011; Poulou-Papadimitriou 2012, 321; Poulou-Papadimitrou et al. 2012, 407; Kontogiannis 2008). It looks like these practices, which probably originated in monastic circles according to the Stoudite Typikon,[13] had been widely adopted by ordinary Eastern Christian laymen at least by the 13th c.

Nevertheless, the placement of the head in a strict position was not an exclusively Eastern Christian and especially monastic invention. Two stones, pads, or a special niche for the head in a burial structure were known in Western Europe since at least the 11th c. as well. For instance, special niches for the head with pads in the western part of the tomb are known in some burials at the Cluny Abbey Church in France and other sites (Colardelle et al. 1996, 288 – 290; Baud, Sapin 2019, 67 – 68). According to the authors of these excavations, such construction dates from the 10th – 13th c. and were more common for the 11th – 12th c. (Baud, Sapin 2019, 67 – 68, 70, fig. 5a, h, fig. 8b). Propping up the head with two stones is also known from two burials in the necropolis of the church of Saint-André-le-Haut in Vienne, France dated back to the 10th – 12th c. One of these burials is of a female (Baud et al. 2014; Baud et al. 2015, 271 – 272, fig. A70, 90, etc.). E. A. Ivison believes that this element of the funeral rite was brought to the East by Crusaders alongside Latin cultural influence (Ivison 1993, 86). According to the data above, however, it is evident that this practice was known among Eastern and Western Christians before the Crusades, and its spread in the Eastern Christian world can hardly be associated with them. It is also very unlikely that the idea of cephalic burials came to Crimea from the Latin world. Moreover, none of the cemeteries on the peninsula associated with Catholic churches in the Genoese factories of Cembalo/Balaklava (so-called St. Nicholas Consular Church) or Soldaya/Sudak (Church of the Virgin Mary) have so far noted such a habit (Дьячков 2004, 246 – 255; Гинькут 2022, 83 – 92; Тур 2008, 256 – 257).[14]

Grave goods and accompanying accessories are normally not numerous and usually relate to clothing and adornment. Despite this, social hierarchy becomes clearer in some case through the assemblage accompanying the deceased. In the cemetery near the ruins of the basilica on Eski-Kermen, for instance, a fairly large number of various funerary artifacts including gold and silver items were found (fig. 34: 8 – 10; Айбабин, Хайрединова 2021, 32; Хайрединова 2021a, 41 – 44; Хайрединова 2022, 8 – 108). The burial from the 1330s – 1340s near the Great Three Nave Basil-

[13] See for details and written sources Мусин 2015, 298 and below.

[14] The Latin churches in Genoese Caffa have not yet been subjected to archaeological research.

ica of Mangup, in which the remains of the buried man's clothes included a silver gilded belt decorated in the Seljuk style, is worth mentioning as one such case (Науменко и др. 2021, 265 – 266). Another example of a rich funerary complex, presumably the tomb of a local community leader, is known at the Alushta burial ground. The deceased was dressed in brocade clothes adorned with plenty of gold and silver jewelry (137 items, including 85 gold ones) that belonged to the "high fashion" of the Golden Horde. A small chapel built over the tomb emphasized the deceased's special status (Махнева 1968a, 160 – 162, рис. 8; Кирилко 2018, 168 – 187).

Distinctive equipment was still provided for priests. There could be liturgical asterisks, small, folding metal coverings that keep the veil above the paten (fig. 45: 4); liturgical book clasps; and different kinds of crosses, including reliquary-crosses (fig. 10: I.10, fig. 42: 3, fig. 44: 2, fig. 46: 2) and processional crosses (fig. 45: 3) like those at Malyi Mayak, Mangup, Kilse-Burun (Тесленко, Лысенко 2004, 262 – 263, 266, рис. 11: 1 – 3, 5; Тесленко, Лысенко 2006, 138 – 139; Турова 2021, 131 – 132). Nevertheless, there are clergy graves with a minimal number of funerary finds, such as those on Ayu-Dag mount (Тесленко, Лысенко 2006, 132 – 143).

Children may have had specific grave goods as well. They often included amulets like cowrie shells (fig. 38: 2, fig. 45: 9) that were used for protection from Antiquity to modern times over a vast territory (see, e.g., Rohn et al. 2009, 525 – 526, fig. 30b, fig. 32) and a red coral pendant, which is so far unique for the Crimea, from a child's burial in one of the Cembalo churches (Гинькут 2022, 83 – 94). Overall, most of the funeral artifacts were quite ordinary. Bronze ring-shaped wire earrings and rings, simple glass or soft-paste beads, spherical bone, silver or bronze buttons of two types (solid and hollow inside and consisting of two hemispheres with a wire loop) still accompanied the deceased for at least two or three centuries (fig 9: 5, fig. 34: 1, 2, 4, fig. 35: 1, 4 – 8, fig. 36: 5, fig. 38, fig. 40: 2 – 8, fig. 42: 6, fig. 45: 10; Махнева 1968a, рис. 7, рис. 9; Тесленко, Лысенко 2004, 266, рис. 12; Майко 2007, рис. 147: 151, рис. 154; Столяренко 2010; Науменко, Душенко 2019, 226, рис. 6: 7; Хайрединова 2021a, 43 – 44; Хайрединова 2022, рис. 17: 5, рис. 27: 1, 2; Турова 2021, рис. 4, рис. 11, рис. 15; etc.).

Certain types of items changed in line with new cultural influences. For instance, glass bracelets disappeared. Instead, question mark-shaped earrings became known over a wide area (fig. 34: 9, fig. 35: II.3, fig. 36: 5.22; Тесленко, Лысенко 2004, 266, рис. 12: 37; Владимиров 2019; Хайрединова 2021a, 44; Хайрединова 2022, рис. 65: 1, рис. 72: 2; etc.) as well as disc-shaped soft-paste buttons with blue glaze (Тесленко, Лысенко 2004, 265, рис. 12: 39). All these goods are normally used as chronological markers for the 14th c. The latter ones were not as widespread as earrings but are also known outside Crimea, e.g., in the burial ground of the second half of the 13th – 14th c. in the Lower Dnipro region (Ельников 2001, 89, 135, рис. 29: 10, рис. 46: 12), and were apparently one of the fashion trends that came from the East.

The funerary goods, though not very common, still included items of personal devotion, astragals (fig. 11: II.2, fig. 34: 6), and coins (fig. 11: II.4, fig. 34: 5). Personal devotion objects were represented predominantly by metal, stone, bone,[15] or mother-of-pearl[16] pendant crosses of various types (fig. 9: 5, 6, fig. 36: 5.15, fig. 38: 1, 3, 4; Тесленко, Лысенко 2004, 265, рис. 11: I.5; Душенко 2013; Науменко, Душенко 2019, 226, рис. 6: 8; Майко 2007, 151, 235, рис. 97, рис. 140, рис.

[15] There is one bone cross with a carved inscription (IC NI KA on the branches of the front side and Φ[X]ΦΠ Φῶς Χριστοῦ Φωτίζει Πάντας/The Light of Christ illuminates all on the branches of the reverse) from an excavation of a 14th – 15th c. crypt at the great basilica of Mangup (Душенко 2013). Another cross with a recess for a decorative insertion and a hole for hanging was found in a grave in the Sudak-V necropolis. Interestingly, a glazed cup was associated with the same grave (Майко 2007, 151 – 152).

[16] One such cross is mentioned among the funerary goods from the church with arcosolia at Cherson (Колесникова 1978, 164 – 165).

Fig. 8. Crimea, fragments of tiles and vessels with an incised cross, sometimes accompanied by an inscription IC XC NI KA from grave contexts of the Late Byzantine (1 – 6) and Modern (18th c.) times: 1, 3. Eski-Kermen, cemetery at the "Three Horsemen" Church, grave No. 396 (1), and church with burial ground in quarter No. 2, tomb No. 1/2018 (3; after Хайрединова 2021б, ил. 5 – 6); 2. Ayu-Dag mount, northeastern slope, church with burial ground, grave inside the building (Author: I. Teslenko); 4 – 6. Burial ground of the 13th – 18th c. near the Luchistoe village, crosses on fragments from late medieval vessels (14th – 15th c.; after Хайрединова 2021б, ил. 3); 7. Massandra, burials dated back to the 18th c. near the Orthodox church (after Турова, Якимовская 2021, рис. 7)

Обр. 8. Крим, фрагменти от керемиди и съдове с врязани кръстове, понякога съпроводени с надписа IC XC NI KA от гробни контексти от късновизантийския период (1 – 6) и по-ново (XVIII в.) време: 1, 3. Ески Кермен, некропол при църквата „Тримата конници", гроб № 396 (1) и църква с некропол в квартал № 2, гроб № 1/2018 (3; по Хайрединова 2021б, ил. 5 – 6); 2. Планината Аю Даг, североизточен склон, църква с некропол, гроб в църквата (Автор: И. Тесленко); 4 – 6. Некропол от XIII – XVIII в. до с. Лучистое, кръстове върху фрагменти от късносредновековни съдове (XIV – XV в.; по Хайрединова 2021б, ил. 3); 7. Масандра, гробове от XVIII в. близо до православната църква (по Турова, Якимовская 2021, рис. 7)

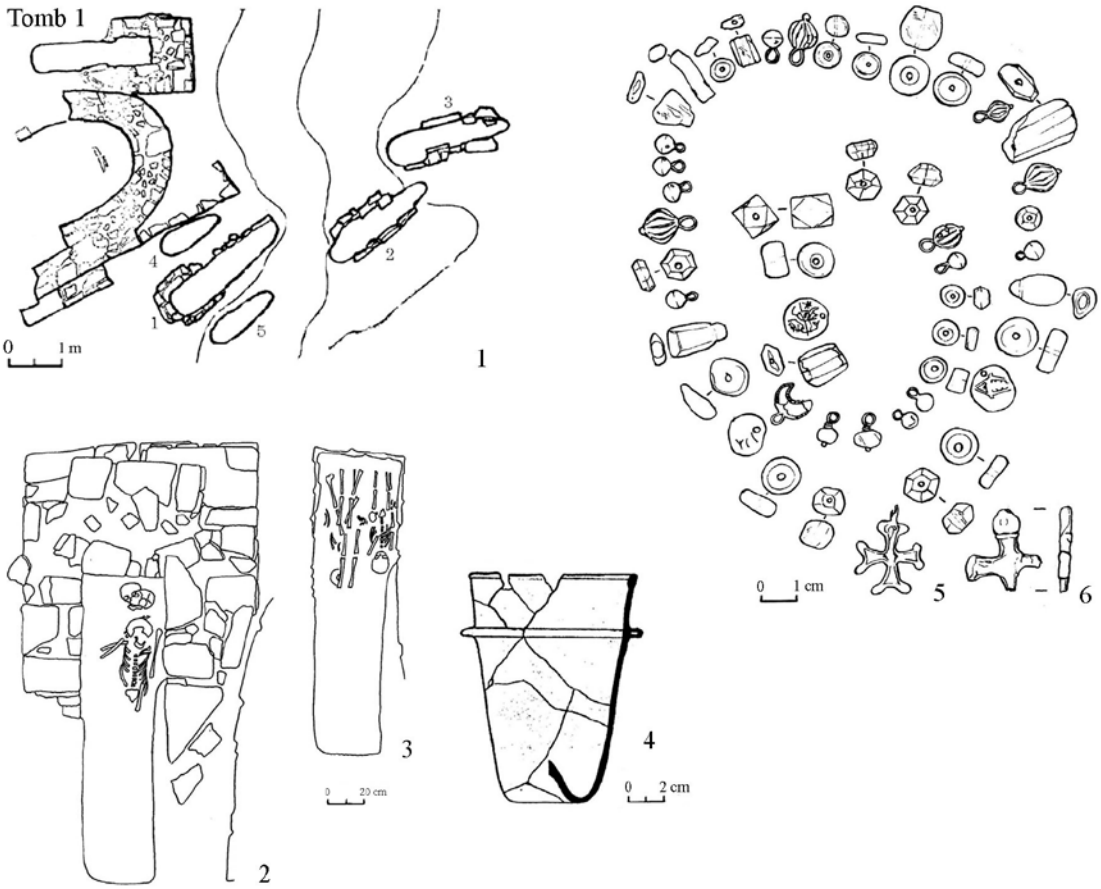


Fig. 9. Southeastern Crimea, Sudak. "Church 1993" with burial ground in the harbor area of the medieval city: 1. Plan of the excavated area; 2, 3. Tomb No. 1, first and second levels of burials, plans; 4. Glass vessel from tomb No. 1; 5. Grave goods from grave No. 4; 6. Cross found inside the church (after Майко 2007, рис. 139 – 141)

Обр. 9. Югоизточен Крим, Судак. „Църква 1993" с некропол в района на пристанището на средновековния град: 1. План на разкопаната площ; 2, 3. Гроб № 1, първи и втори пласт погребения, планове; 4. Стъклен съд от гроб № 1; 5. Гробен инвентар от гроб № 4; 6. Кръст, намерен в църквата (по Майко 2007, рис. 139 – 141)

148: 4, рис. 151, рис. 153; etc.). It is noteworthy that crosses (especially reliquary-crosses) belong mostly to the previous period the 11th – 12th c., which implies a long tradition of their family use through inheritance. A bone icon of St. John the Evangelist from a crypt near a single-apse church at Mangup (fig. 38: 4) is one of the rare items in the synchronous funeral context (Науменко, Душенко 2019, 226 – 232, рис. 6: 9).

Astragals were often found individually and can be identified as amulets. At least in this function they have been widely used for a long time (fig. 34: 6; Айбабин, Хайрединова 2019, 253, рис. 7: III, рис. 10: 6; Хайрединова 2021a, 42 – 43; Хайрединова 2022, рис. 53: 2, 3). It is interesting to mention a tomb from one of the church cemeteries in Sudak, however, where 20 and 15 astragals were found in two burials along with stone and ceramic balls and bone chips (fig. 11: II). Some astragals were specially treated and had holes filled with lead (Майко 2007, 131 – 146, рис. 145 – 146, рис. 148). Thus, both sets are more like game pieces than talismans.

The tradition of placing coins in burials existed among the Christian population of Crimea and the central Byzantine lands throughout the medieval period and persisted into modern times (Когонашвили, Махнева 1974, 119 – 120; Тесленко, Лысенко 2004, 265; Науменко,

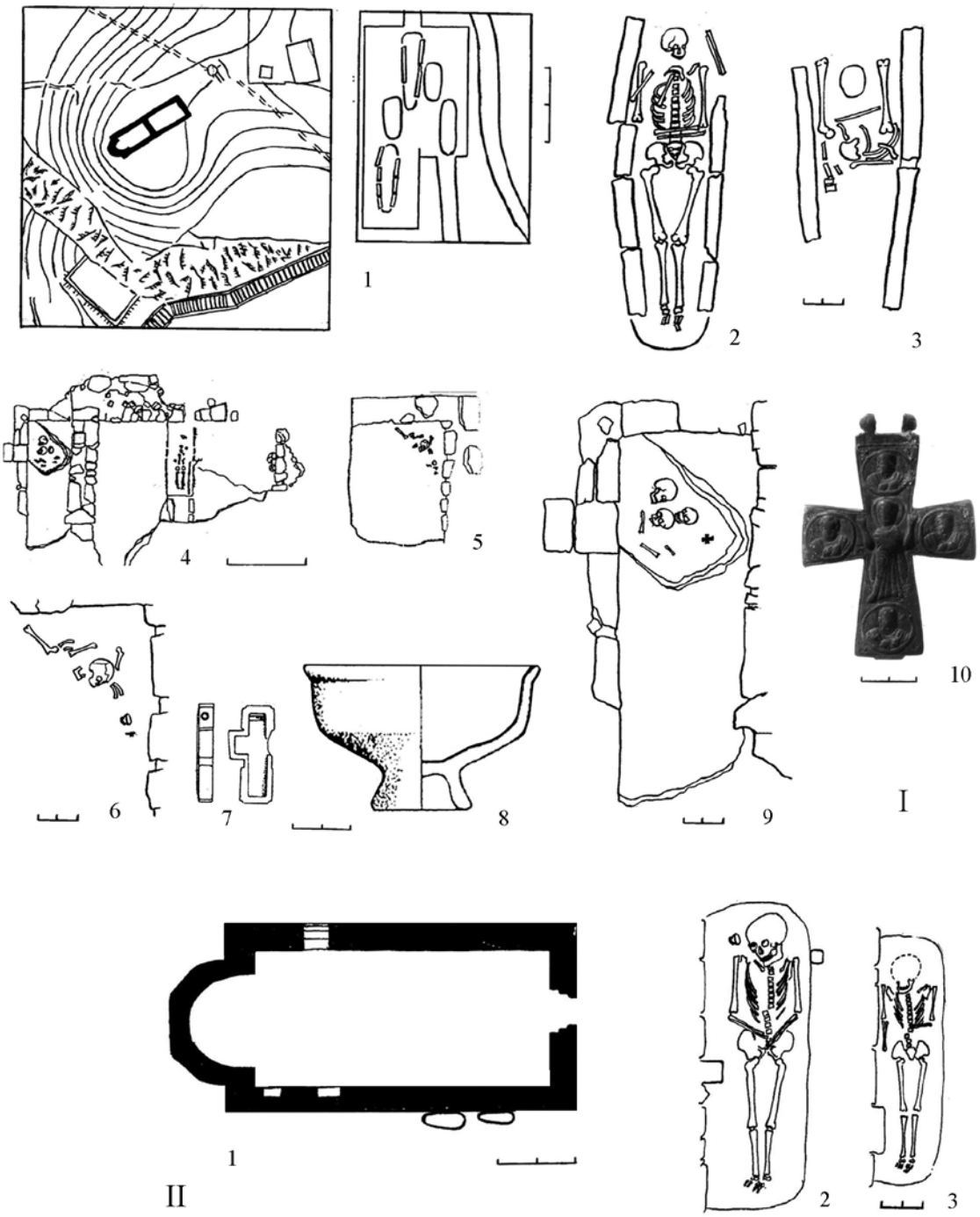


Fig. 10. Southeastern Crimea, Sudak: I. Church and necropolis Sudak-V – 1, 4, 5. General location of the church and the burials; 6 – 8. Grave No. 6; 9, 10. Tomb with multiple burials (after Майко 2007, рис. 96 – 97); II. Church of the 12 Apostles with cemetery – 1. Plan of the building; 2, 3. Graves Nos. 2 and 1, the location of the bowl is presumably indicated (after Майко 2007, рис. 135: 1)

Обр. 10. Югоизточен Крим, Судак: I. Църква и некропол Судак-V – 1, 4, 5. Общо местоположение на църквата и гробовете; 6 – 8. Гроб № 6; 9, 10. Гроб с многобройни погребения (по Майко 2007, рис. 96 – 97); II. Църква на Дванадесетте апостола с некропол – 1. План на църквата; 2, 3. Гробове № 2 и № 1, предполагаемото местоположение на купата е отбелязано (по Майко 2007, рис. 135: 1)

Душенко 2019, 225, рис. 4: 7 – 11; Хайрединова 2021a, 41 – 42; Makropoulou, 2006, 10; Rohn et al. 2009, 501 – 615; Doksanalt ı et al. 2014, 83, 86; etc.). In late 13th – 14th c. graves, these were predominantly Golden Horde coins. A single burial might be accompanied by one or more examples (Когонашвили, Махнева 1974, 120 – 121; Тесленко, Лысенко 2004, 265; Айбабин, Хайрединова 2019, 253, рис. 7: III.9, рис. 11: 2; Науменко, Душенко 2019, рис. 4: 7 – 11; Хайрединова 2021a, 42; Гинькут 2022, 91). The grave goods of one of the aforementioned burials with numerous astragals from Sudak include 16 silver dirhams, minted in Crimea in the 1290s, that supposedly comprised the contents of the buried man's purse (Майко 2007, 235, рис. 146, рис. 150). The coins, as generally believed, could be used to pay for passage to the underworld. The specimens with holes may also have been part of a necklace.

Arrowheads, which are sometimes found in burial contexts, may have been another funeral good placed with a special purpose. They are found in the graves of both adults and children (fig. 34: 3, 12, 13, fig. 36: 5.23, 5.24, fig. 38: 2, 3; Тесленко, Лысенко 2004, 266, рис. 11: II.7; Науменко, Душенко 2019, рис. 84: 3, 6; Хайрединова 2021a, 42; Хайрединова 2022, рис. 65: 2). It is thought that they could have been used for the neutralization of the deceased in case they "return" to life (Хайрединова 2021a, 42).

Few items are related to personal belongings and everyday activities. These are the wooden combs that still occasionally accompanied the deceased (fig. 34: 14; Хайрединова 2020, 295 – 312; Хайрединова 2022, 15 – 16, рис. 52 – 54) as well as thimbles, a bone box with needles, jointed scissors, bone styli (sticks for writing on wax tablets), iron knives, fire strickers, and pieces of flints for them (fig. 34: 7, fig. 36: 5, fig. 38: 3, fig. 46: 3), etc. (Айбабин, Хайрединова 2019, 255 – 256, рис. 6: 5, рис. 10: 4; Хайрединова 2021a, 45, рис. 25: III, рис. 30: 2, рис. 37: 3; Хайрединова 2022, рис. 41: 1, 2, рис. 67: 1).

Glass vessels and fragments of lamps are rare. One reconstructed glass beaker comes from the 14th – 15th c. burial site near the so-called "Church 1993" in the harbor area of medieval Sudak (fig. 9: 4; Майко 2007, 227 – 231, рис. 141). Five fragmented glass wares were mentioned among the funeral goods in three graves at one of the burial grounds in the Cembalo fortress (fig. 40: 4 – 6; Адаксина, Мыц 2008, 18, 20, рис. 166: 2, рис. 169: 1), and one more bottle with a narrow neck and spherical grooved body came from the ossuary grave of the church in the agora of Cherson excavated in 2022 – 2023 (fig. 42: 7; Лесная и др. 2024, 22, 26 – 30, рис. 3: 1). Separate sherds of such vessels were also found in another grave at Sudak as well as in tombs at Malyi Mayak, Gurzuf, Mangup, and Cherson (see below). It is not clear, however, whether the vessels were placed in graves as elements of funerary goods or because their fragments got there accidentally.

A bronze plate painted in red and yellow has also been found in a single instance so far (fig. 32: II.8, fig. 34: 11). It accompanied one of the three children's burials in tomb No. 7/2020 at the Eski-Kermen burial ground. The plate was placed with its front surface upwards in the abdomen area of one of the children. Ceramic jugs accompanied two other child burials (Хайрединова 2022, 15, рис. 44: 1, рис. 55 – 57).

Ceramics objects among the grave goods are represented mainly by two different groups of items. The first group consists of sherds of tiles or different types of vessels with an incised cross often accompanied by the Greek inscription IC XC NI KA or "Jesus Christ conquers" (fig. 8, fig. 14: 4; fig. 15: 7, 8, fig. 42: 8, fig. 46: 5). This inscription was known in Byzantine lands from the early 8th c., as on the coins of Leo III and his son Constantine IV (720; Walter 1997, 194 – 198). Later, it was widely used in the Christian world as apotropaic. In Crimea the formula IC XC NI KA has been found on architectural elements, tombstones, and objects of worship that date since the end of the 8th c. Ceramic sherds with this inscription were incorporated into local funeral rites in the 13th c.

During the next hundred years they became numerous and were found in almost all excavated necropoleis of the late 13th – 14th c. (Тесленко, Лысенко 2004, 266; Тесленко, Лысенко 2006, 132 – 137, рис. 4; Тесленко, Александрова 2020, 143, рис. 1: 4; Турова 2021, 129, рис. 19 – 20; Хайрединова 2020). In cases when fragments were discovered *in situ*, they covered the mouth or neck of the deceased or were placed under their head or right elbow (fig. 8: 1 – 3). Ceramic fragments with the cross and Christian formula are not normally present in dwelling assemblages, meaning that such inscriptions were most likely made specifically for burial and were apotropaic. It is worth remembering that the death of a Christian was considered as birth into eternal life and victory over metaphysical death (Heil, Ritter 1990, 129).

One of the earliest finds of fragments with a cross and an inscription are known from the 10th – 11th c. cemetery over the ruins of the Early Byzantine basilica at Ierissos in central Macedonia, Greece (Poulou-Papadimitrou et al. 2012, 407). This type of Christian burial offering became more common in the Late Byzantine period since at least the late 13th and continued to be used until the 17th c. (Poulou-Papadimitriou et al. 2012, 377, 407, 413, fig. 20: 3; Diamanti et al. 2021, 605). Pottery sherds in second use with incised symbols of a pentagram and a cross, usually accompanied by the acronym IC XC NI KA and other protective anagrams such as the initials of psalms or paraliturgical texts, are known in the 17th c. graves of the Evagelistria vaulted chapel of St. Constantin church in the Castle of Paroikia on Paros Island and from other Cycladic islands (Diamanti et al. 2021). It is most likely that this rite came to Crimea in the 13th c. from central mainland Greece and then spread to the surrounding territories, namely the Lower Dnipro region inhabited by a settled Christian population (Ельников 2001, рис. 12, рис. 19, рис. 21 – 22, рис. 27, рис. 30 – 32, рис. 35 – 36, рис. 38 – 42, рис. 44 – 45, рис. 47).

In Crimea, the custom of placing ceramic fragments bearing a cross and an inscription has continued until modern times, although it was not so common after the 14th c. One of the burials with such an offering that dates back to the 18th c. was recently excavated near the church at Massandra (fig. 8: 7; Турова 2021, 131; Турова, Якимовская 2021, 242 – 253, рис. 7 – 8). The tomb had a boat-shaped configuration that was cut out of the rock and covered with a stone slab that has not survived (it would have been about 2.68 m long, 1.32 m wide, and 0.6 – 0.7 m thick). The burial structure was partially filled with debris from the 19th and 20th c. The grave contained scattered remains of 19 skeletons of adults and children in a poor state of preservation.

Among the finds from the grave are a "white metal", probably bass silver *lampadophore*, a thick-walled pale green glass beaker that may have been inserted in the *lampadophore*, an Ottoman coin minted in 1768/9[17] with a hole for hanging, a glass bead, iron nails, a fragment of a horseshoe, and a piece of a limestone tombstone. The fragment of 18th c. tile with IC XC NI KA graffiti inscribed between the branches of the cross comes from the western part of the grave. It is difficult to associate it with a certain buried person. N. Turova, the researcher of the site, suggests that this fragment together with the *lampadophore* could have accompanied the burial of a priest (Турова, Якимовская 2021, 252 – 253). Such funeral offerings were not known in Crimea after the 18th c., so most likely this burial custom was interrupted when the Russian Empire expelled Christians from Crimea in 1778.

The second group of ceramic objects includes ceramic vessels. They are less common than sherds with crosses but were also used rather regularly in burial practices. Here the authors intend to offer the reader an archaeological *catalogue raisonné* of ceramic vessels from late medieval burials in Crimea. Ceramic vessels were documented in graves at 32 necropoleis associated with urban and

[17] Para of Mustafa III (1757 – 1774).

rural sites in the southern (30) and eastern (2) parts of Crimea, mostly in the coastal area (fig. 2). One other location in Caffa/Theodosia needs more reliable information (see here, No. 18).

1. Sudak, late medieval Sougdaia – a large medieval fortified urban site along the southeastern coast of Crimea (fig. 2). From 1365 to 1475, it belonged to the Genoese (see, e.g., Balard 1978, 161). Burials with ceramic vessels were recorded in 3 out of the 13 burial grounds of the second half of the 13th – 14th c. that are mentioned in publications.

1.1. Church and necropolis Sudak-V outside the fortress in the western part of the Sudak valley, dated to the 13th – 15th c. (fig. 10: I). Excavations were conducted in 1929, 1965, and 1999. The church is rectangular in plan with a semicircular apse on its east side and a rectangular narthex on the west.[18] One tomb with multiple burials attached to the northern wall of the church and six graves inside the building were studied there (Майко 2007, 148 – 152, рис. 96 – 98; Майко, Джанов 2015, 183, № 84, 97, рис. 83: 1 – 3). One red-clay yellow-glazed bowl came from the western part of grave No. 6, which contained three scattered skeletons, in the northwestern corner of the narthex (fig. 10: I.6 – 8). The bowl is presumably local (fig. 10: I.8). A bone cross pendant from this grave and half of a reliquary-cross from the tomb (fig. 10: I.9, I.10) are mentioned among other funerary goods (Майко 2007, 151 – 152, рис. 97).

1.2. Church of the 12 Apostles with a cemetery in the harbor area on a rock at the southeastern foot of the tower of Frederico Astaguerra (fig. 10: II), dated to the second half of the 13th – 14th (Майко 2007, 227) or 13th – 15th c. (Майко, Джанов 2015, 240). Excavations were conducted in 1990. The building is rectangular in plan with the apse protruding from the east, which is pentagonal on the outside and semicircular on the inside. The length of the building is 8.52 m, its width is 4.60 m, and its height is 4.85 m (Майко, Джанов 2015, 240 – 241, № 124, рис. 131 – 132; Майко 2007, 227, рис. 135: 1).

Two graves with single burials were investigated near the church's northern wall. The bottom of a glazed bowl was placed *in situ* at the head of one of the buried individuals.[19] There is no image of the vessel in the publication. According to its author, the vessel is a local Crimean product and dates to the 14th c. (Майко 2007, 227).

1.3. The church and burial ground in the area of the central part of the northeastern fortress wall of Sudak fortress (fig. 11). Excavations were conducted in 1985 – 1991. In publications, this site appears as "Necropolis in the area of the curtain wall XV" 1991 (Майко 2007, 231 – 246) or "Church and necropolis at the western section of Curtain XI at the Semicircular Tower" (Майко, Джанов 2015, 302, рис. 137, рис. 165, рис. 173). There were excavated 43 funerary structures: ground pits, stone-lined graves, including structures with the aforementioned semicircular western side, and cist tombs lined with several layers of stone and covered with stone slabs (fig. 11: I). The necropolis was used from the late 13th to 17th c. A church was built in the 14th c. and then was rebuilt several times. Ceramic vessels, a pot and a jug with tubular spout, were found in two funeral structures: tombs Nos. 1 and 43.[20]

Tomb No. 1 contained three burials arranged in three levels. The pot accompanied the top one[21] and was placed at the feet of the deceased (fig. 11: II.1, II.5). Other grave goods included a game set consisting of 20 astragals (three of them had holes filled with lead), fifteen stone and one ceramic ball (diameters of 1.2 to 2.5 cm), and five bone chips (fig. 11: II.3, II.4, II.6, II.7). Two iron

[18] The dimensions of the building are not specified in the publication.

[19] The gender of the deceased was not identified.

[20] This funerary structure was mentioned by the author of the publication as vault I (Майко 2007, 238, рис. 152), but its construction does not correspond to a vault. We classify it as a tomb instead, assigning the number 43 in accordance with the publication's general numbering.

[21] The gender is not specified.

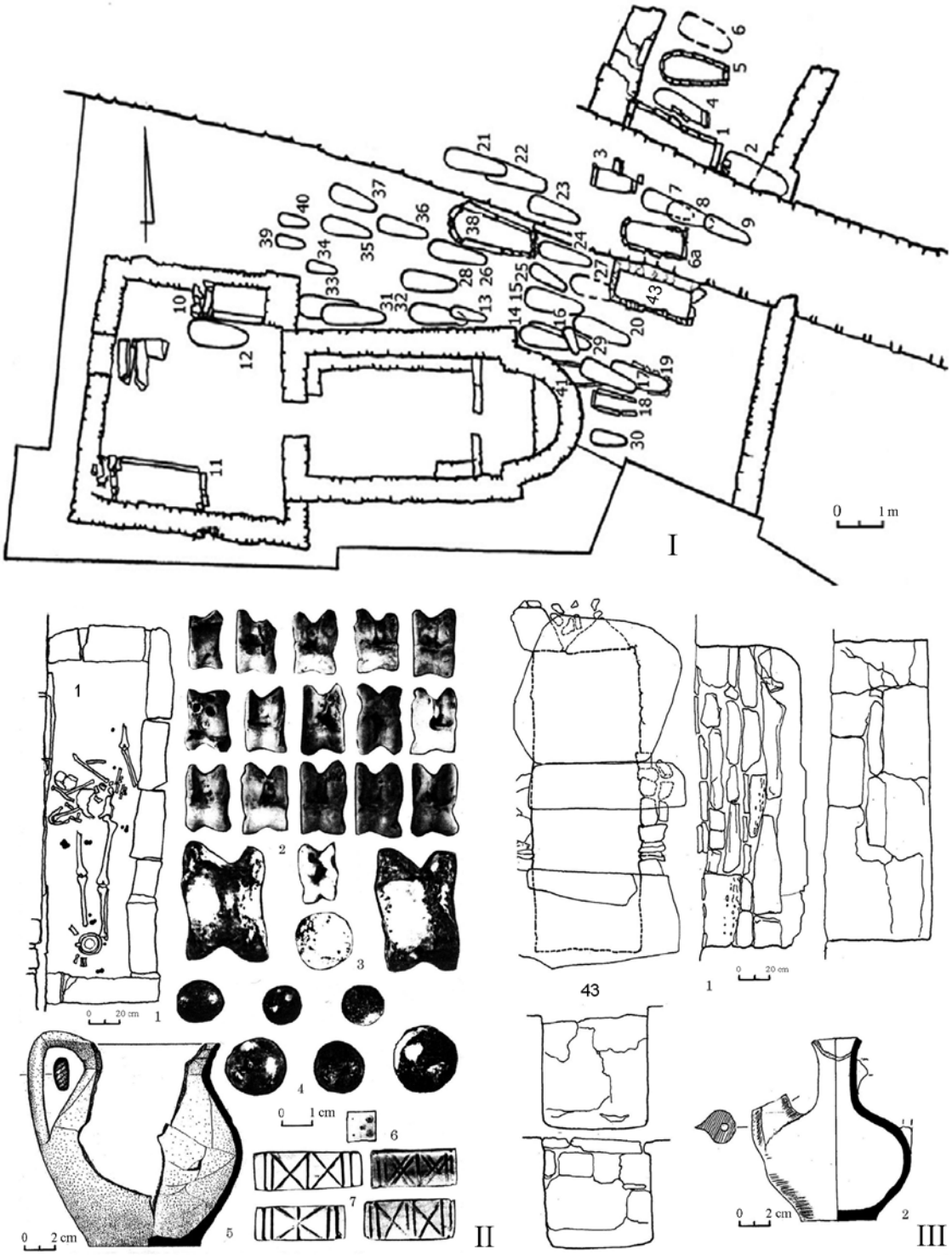


Fig. 11. Southeastern Crimea, Sudak. Church and burial ground in the area of the central part of the northeastern fortress wall of Sudak Fortress: I. Plan of the church and the burials; II. Tomb No. 1, plan and grave goods; III. Tomb No. 43, plan, front and sections, burial jug (after Майко 2007, рис. 143, рис. 145, рис. 152)

Обр. 11. Югоизточен Крим, Судак. Църква и некропол в района на централната част на североизточната крепостна стена на Судакската крепост: I. План на църквата и гробовете; II. Гроб № 1, план и гробен инвентар; III. Гроб № 43, план, надлъжен и напречен разрез, погребална кана (по Майко 2007, рис. 143, рис. 145, рис. 152)

nails and a bronze Dzhuchid coin of the late 13th c. were also found there. In the second and third level were uncovered elements of the same game set, which could have been secondary deposited there from above. It is interesting to note a fragment from the bottom of a glass vessel at the head of the second deceased as well as a compact cluster of sixteen coins minted in the Crimea in the 1290s that were wrapped in cloth. Iron nails and a lead weight were also found (Майко 2007, 234 – 235, рис. 146 – 148). It is obvious that the persons buried in tomb No. 1 were not ordinary.

Tomb No. 43 was distinguished from others by the thoroughness of its construction; it was plastered inside with lime mortar and the bottom was filled with sand. The grave contained the badly decayed skeleton of a single burial with a jug to the left of the head (fig. 11: III; Майко 2007, 238, рис. 152).

Both funerary structures date back to the late 13th c. at the earliest. The origin of the pot and the jug is not clear.

2. Alushta, whose medieval names were Alouston and Lusta, is a small urban center with a fortress in the southern Crimea (fig. 2, fig. 12: 1). From the 1380s it was controlled by the Genoese as part of the so-called *Capitaneatus Gothiae* (Vasiliev 1936, 182). Burials with ceramic vessels were found in two out of the four late medieval cemeteries associated with the church and chapel.

2.1. One of the burial grounds is located in the southeastern sector of the fortress in the fortress walls and is associated with a small single-apse church (fig. 12; Бочаров, Кирилко 2017, 300, № 99). In this area in 1993 were investigated 28 burial structures (stone-lined graves and tombs covered with slabs) that held more than 120 buried individuals (Адаксина и др. 1994, 13 – 14). The ceramic wares came from one of them – tomb No. 41 (fig. 12: 4, 5). This tomb contained the remains of 16 buried individuals, adults and children. Most of the skeletons were disturbed (fig. 12: 4; Мыц и др. 1993, 46). A glazed white-clay jug and a bowl of Byzantine origin were found among the scattered bones on the medium level of the grave, near the eastern wall (fig. 15: 1, 2; Сёмин 1998). One more bottom of a presumably local red-clay glazed bowl was found also on the lower level in the southeastern corner of the tomb (fig. 12: 4.IV;[22] Мыц и др. 1993, 46). All these vessels could have originally been placed at the feet of buried individuals, but it is impossible to say for sure as the burials have been disturbed and the vessels may have been moved from their original position. Other funerary goods include a tile fragment, silver globular buttons, a ring, and ring-shaped wire earrings.

The stratigraphic position of the tomb, as well as the presence of a fragment of the local red-clay bowl on the lower level, allow us to date it no earlier than the end of the 13th – beginning of the 14th c.

2.2. Another site known from publications as the "Alushta burial ground" (Alushta-2) is located on the eastern slope of the fortress hill. More than 150 graves and the remains of a chapel have been excavated there, mainly in 1950 – 1951 (fig. 13: 1),[23] 1992 (fig. 13: 2), and 2009 – 2010 (Махнева 1968a; Кирилко 2018; Тесленко, Александрова 2020). In two infant burials (Nos. 7 and 12) the cranium was placed between two stones (fig. 7: 1).

Six ceramic vessels were found in four tombs (fig. 14: 1 – 3, fig. 15: 3 – 5). Three vessels (a white-clay glazed bowl and a jug from Byzantium, and a local unglazed jug) together with one sherd with a cross and an inscription come from the 1950s excavations (fig. 14). The white-clay jug accompanied the earliest burial of a woman in a grave with remains of at least five adults and one

[22] We did not find a drawing or picture of the vessel; a current location is unknown as well. According to the description in the inventory, however, this bowl can most likely be associated with products of Crimean workshops.

[23] We managed to find only the plan of the 1950 excavations from the archive of the Crimean branch of the Institute of Archaeology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, which have been recently published (fig. 13: 1; Кирилко 2018, рис. 1). The plan of the 1951 excavations is stored in the archives of the Institute of Archaeology of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Moscow and is not available now.

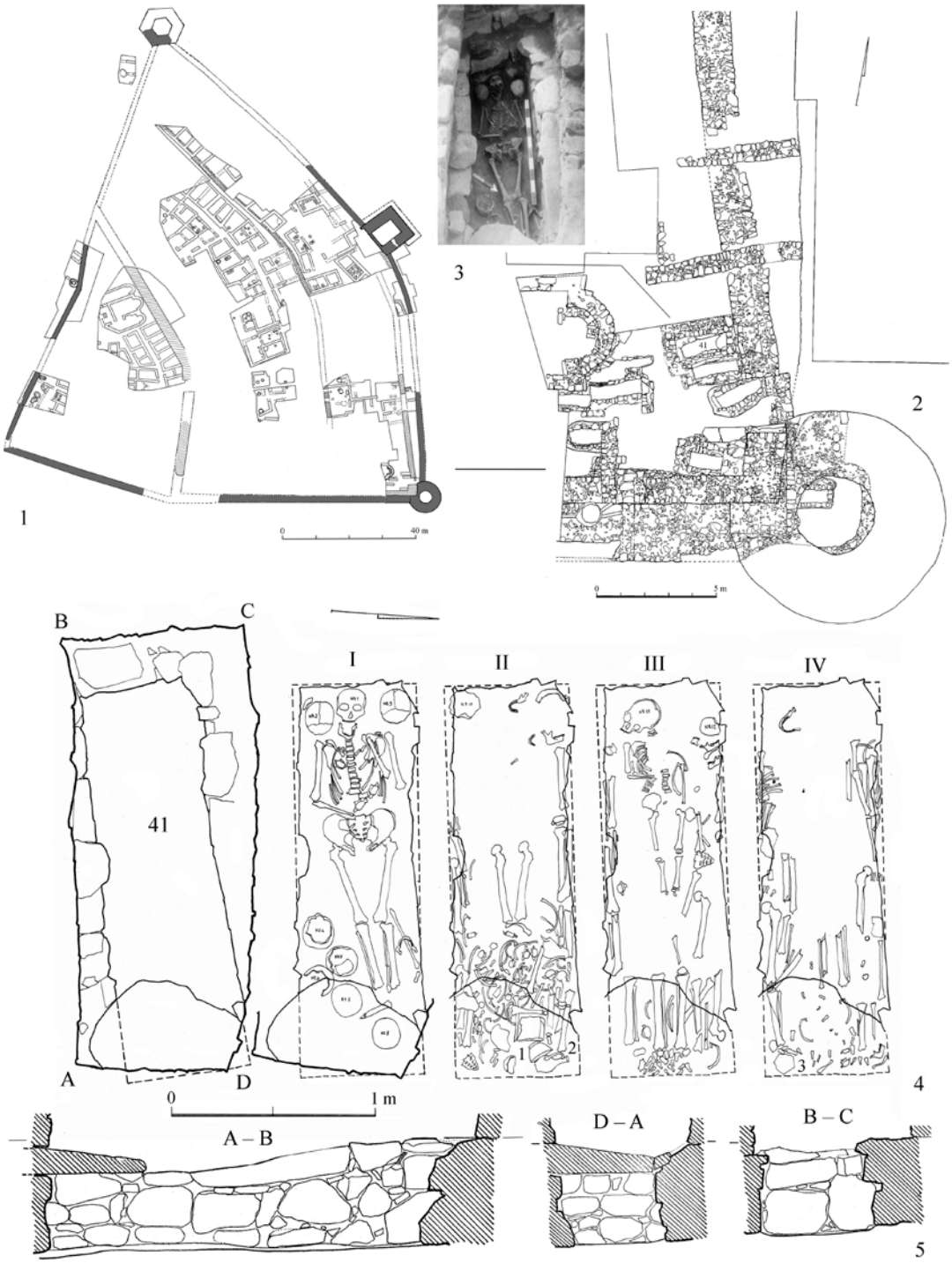


Fig. 12. Southern Crimea, Alushta. Medieval burial ground with church in the southeastern sector of the fortress: 1, 2. Plan of the fortress and the site with the church and the cemetery; 3. Photo of the burials in tomb No. 41, level I; 4. Tomb No. 41, plan: I – IV. Levels of the burials, 1 – 3. Ceramic vessels; 5. Tomb No. 41, sections (Authors: A. Lysenko, S. Syomin, I. Teslenko)

Обр. 12. Южен Крим, Алушта. Средновековен некропол с църква в югоизточния сектор на крепостта: 1, 2. План на крепостта и обекта с църквата и некропола; 3. Снимка на погребаните в гроб № 41, пласт I; 4. Гроб № 41, план: I – IV. Нива на погребванията, 1 – 3. Керамични съдове; 5. Гроб № 41, сечения (Автори: А. Лисенко, С. Сьомин, И. Тесленко)

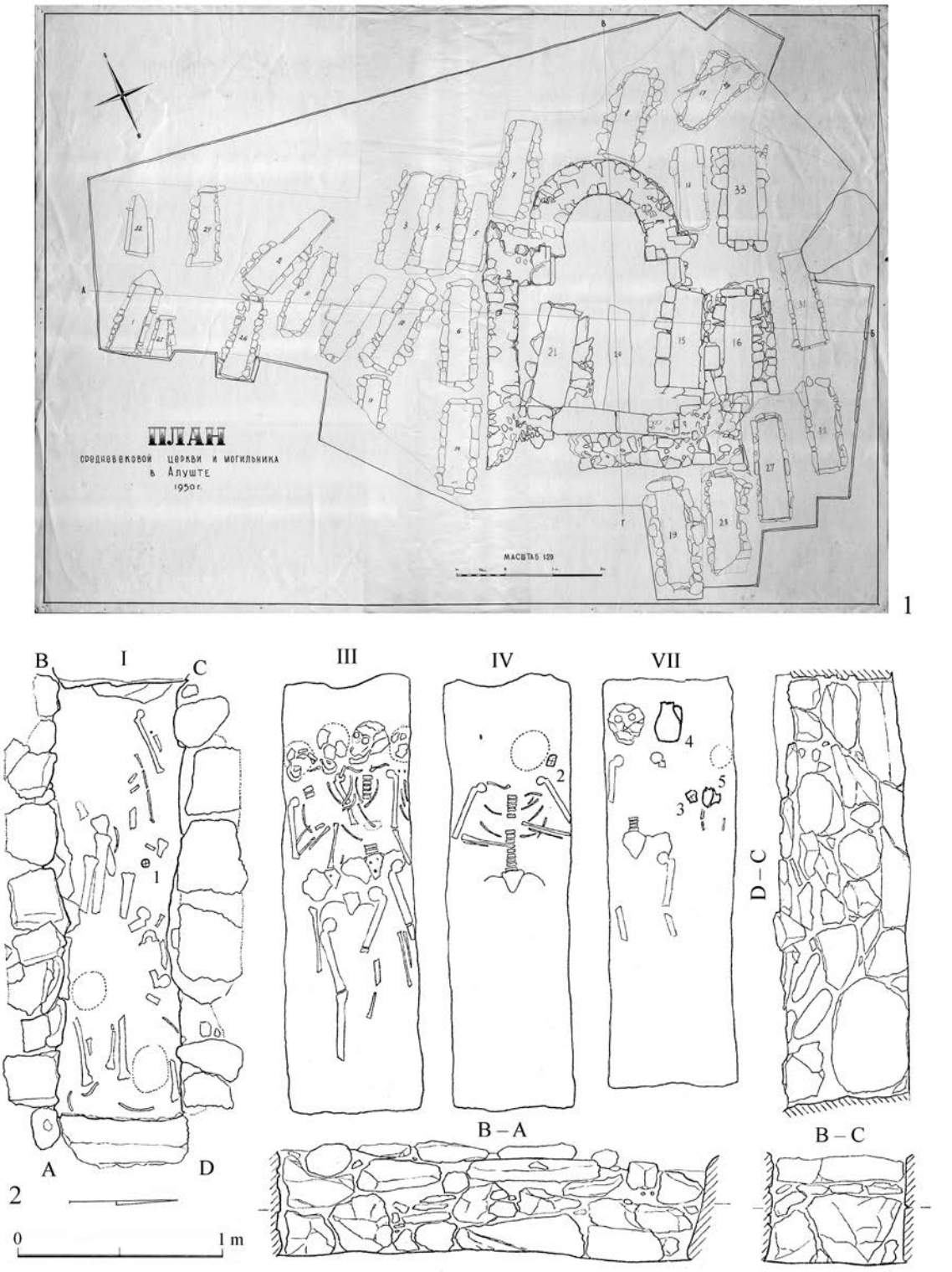


Fig. 13. Southern Crimea, Alushta. Alushta burial ground on the eastern slope of the Fortress hill: 1. Chapel and burial ground, excavations in 1950, plan (after Кирилко 2018, рис. 1); 2. Tomb excavated in 1992, plan and sections: I, III, IV, VII – levels of the burials; 4, 5. Ceramic vessels; 1, 2, 3. Fragments of glazed bowl and tiles with crosses (Author: S. Syomin)

Обр. 13. Южен Крим, Алушта. Некропол по източния склон на крепостта: 1. Параклис и некропол, разкопки през 1950 г., план (по Кирилко 2018, рис. 1); 2. Гроб, разкопан през 1992 г., план и разрези: I, III, IV, VII – нива на погребване; 4, 5. Керамични съдове; 1, 2, 3. Фрагменти от глазирана купа и керемиди с кръстове (Автор: С. Сёмин)

Fig. 14. Southern Crimea, Alushta. Alushta burial ground on the eastern slope of the Fortress hill. Ceramics from the excavations in the 1950s: 1. Grave No. 4 (1950); 2. Grave No. 28 (1950); 3. Grave No. 41 (1951); 4. Grave No. 21 (Author: I. Teslenko)

Обр. 14. Южен Крим, Алушта. Некропол по източния склон на крепостта. Керамика от разкопките през 50-те г. на XX в.: 1. Гроб № 4 (1950 г.); 2. Гроб № 28 (1950 г.); 3. Гроб № 41 (1951 г.); 4. Гроб № 21 (Автор: И. Тесленко)

infant (grave No. 4). The vessel was located at the head of the deceased on their left side.[24] The bowl was situated at the western wall of the other tomb with multiple displaced skeletons (grave No. 28). The positioning of the other items is unclear (Тесленко, Александрова 2020).

Three more wares come from one of the tombs that contained 15 buried individuals (Татарцев 1992, 177 – 190). These are one unglazed jug and two bowls, one of which is covered with glaze and the other only with slip (fig. 15: 3 – 5).[25] They were placed near the head (the jug) and to the right of the hip (both bowls) of the buried persons. All of the vessels have a local origin and can be dated accordingly no later than the turn of the 13th – 14th (the jug) and 14th c. (the bowls). In addition, three tile fragments with engraved crosses and a small sherd of a glazed bowl with remains of a sgraffito decoration in the form of a cross came from this tomb (fig. 15: 6 – 9).[26] One silver globular button was mentioned among the other finds as well.

3. Funa is an archaeological site located at the southwestern foot of mount Demerdzhi, about 27 km north of the Alushta town and 2 km north of the Luchistoe (former Dimerdzhi) village in southern Crimea (fig. 2). It includes a 15th c. fortress, a rural settlement, and a large burial ground of the 13th – 18th c. with six churches and chapels that date back to late medieval times. Three of them and a part of the necropolis were excavated in the 1960s – 1980s (Бочаров, Кирилко 2017, 301 – 303, № 106 – 111). The vessels come from the graves at one of the chapels and the double-apse church (Бочаров, Кирилко 2017, 301 – 302, № 106, 108) as well as from the vault-like tomb and the stone-lined grave of another part of the burial ground (Когонашвили, Махнева 1974, 119 – 121; Айбабина 1991; Мыц 1980).

3.1. The church is located in the eastern part of the necropolis (fig. 16: 1; Когонашвили, Махнева 1971, 72 – 75; Когонашвили, Махнева 1974, 119 – 120, рис. 8 – 9; Кирилко 2010; Бочаров, Кирилко 2017, 301, № 106). Excavations were conducted in 1966 and 1983. In this area were recorded 15 graves (13 stone-lined graves covered with slabs and 2 set into the ground). Out of these graves, seven have been excavated. There were between one and six individuals buried in each (Когонашвили, Махнева 1974, 119 – 121). One small pot and two jugs accompanied the deceased in grave No. 7 outside the north wall of the church (fig. 17: 1 – 3).[27] One of the jugs was found in the southwest corner of the grave. The location of the other two vessels is unknown.[28] A copper coin from 1360 – 1361 with a hole for hanging was also uncovered in the same funeral context (Когонашвили, Махнева 1974, 119 – 121, рис. 9).

3.2. A double-apse church in the western part of the necropolis (fig. 16: 2). Excavations were conducted in 1985 (Айбабина 1991). It was built around the end of the 14th – 15th or early 15th c. The burial ground was used until the 16th c. (Айбабина 1991; Бочаров, Кирилко 2017, 302 – 303).[29] Inside and outside the church seven funeral structures (six stone-lined and one set into the ground and covered with slabs) were investigated. Ceramic vessels came from two of the burials.

[24] The information about the position of the vessel in the grave is provided by V. Kirilko from the field diary of N. V. Pyatysheva, 1950. The document was found in the archive of the Institute of Archaeology in Crimea. Its archive number: НАО ГМЗ ХТ. Ф.1. Дело № 2541. Л. 72 – 73.

[25] This is probably a biscuit, i.e., an unfinished ware covered only with slip without glaze.

[26] It is interesting that the chipped perimeter of the sherd is specially treated.

[27] One skeleton was arranged anatomicaly while the others (1 or 2?) were scattered. The completely preserved skeleton was 1.45 m in length, most likely belonging to an adolescent or a female (Когонашвили, Махнева 1974, 119).

[28] The grave had been partially destroyed by the beginning of the research. Archaeologists recorded only one jug *in situ*. Two more vessels were brought by schoolchildren who claimed to have found them earlier in the same grave, but this information cannot be considered completely reliable (Когонашвили, Махнева 1974, 119).

[29] The *terminus post quem* of the church is determined by a Tarkhan (Astrakhan) coin of 1381 that was found in the backfill of the northwestern wall. According to the results of chemical-technological and petrographic studies of lime mortar, the time of its construction can be attributed to the second or third quarters of the 15th c. (Бочаров, Кирилко 2017, 302 – 303).

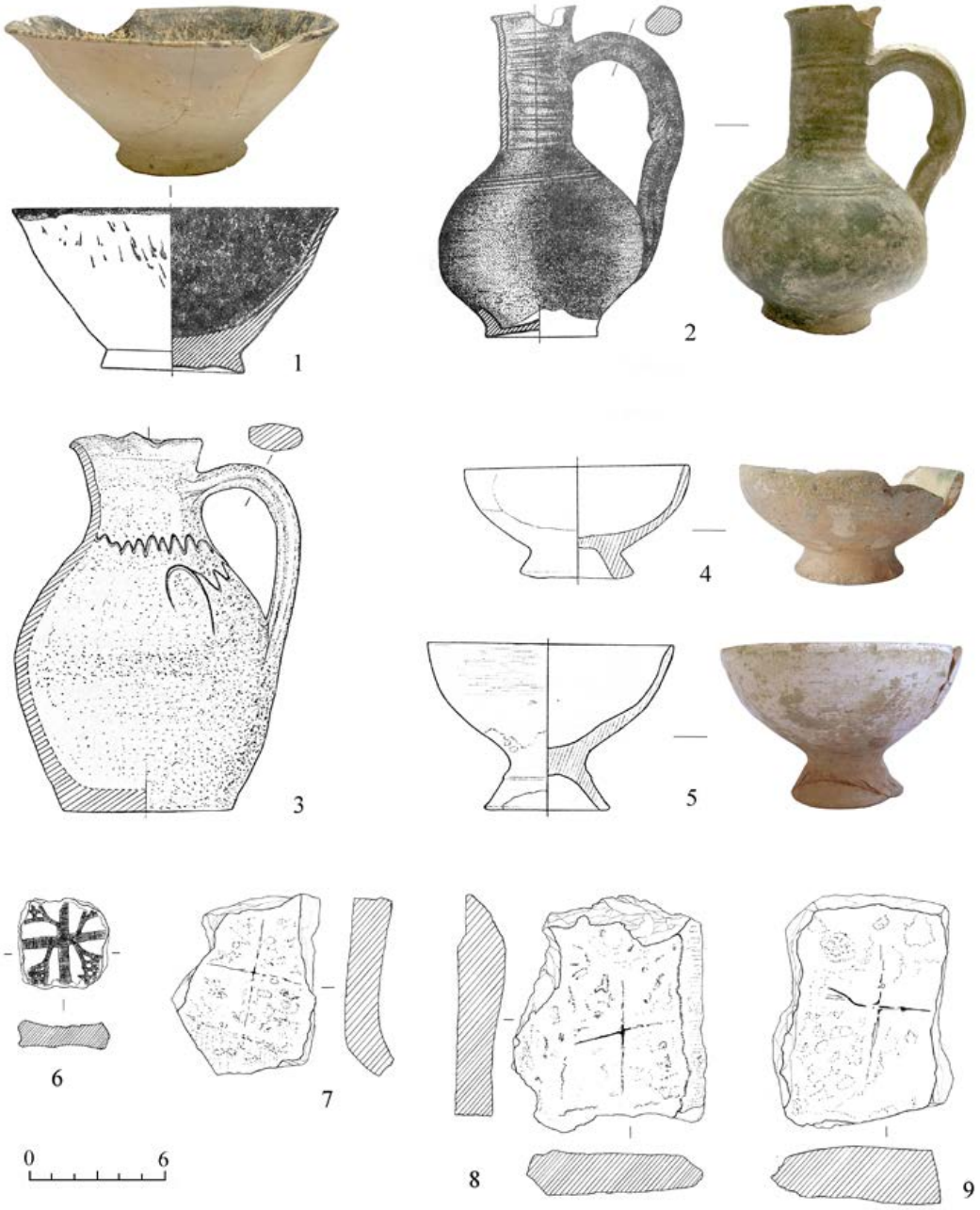


Fig. 15. Southern Crimea, Alushta, medieval cemeteries. Ceramics from the graves: 1, 2. Burial ground with church in the southeastern sector of the fortress, tomb No. 41, excavations in 1993; 3 – 9. Burial ground on the eastern slope of the Fortress hill, tomb excavated in 1992 (Author: I. Teslenko)

Обр. 15. Южен Крим, Алушта, средновековни некрополи. Керамика от гробовете: 1, 2. Некропол с църква в югоизточния сектор на крепостта, гроб № 41, разкопки през 1993 г.; 3 – 9. Некропол по източния склон на крепостта, гроб разкопан през 1992 г. (Автор: И. Тесленко)

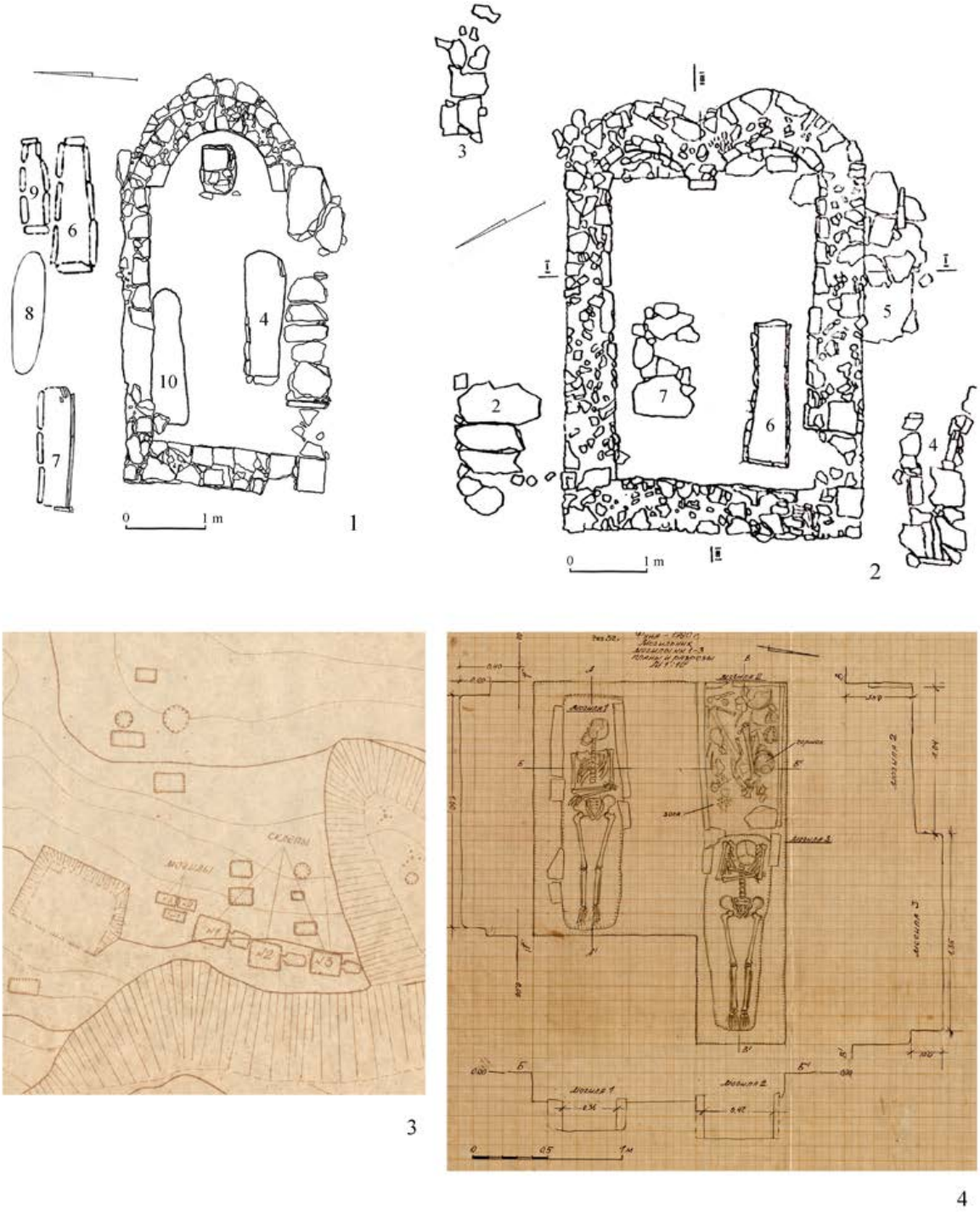


Fig. 16. Southern Crimea, Funa, medieval cemeteries: 1. Church in the eastern part of the necropolis (after Когонашвили, Махнева 1974, рис. 8; Кирилко 2010, рис. 2); 2. Double-apse church in the western part of the necropolis (after Айбабина 1991, рис. 3); 3. Southern part of the necropolis, plan of the area excavated in 1980, without scale; 4. Southern part of the necropolis, three graves excavated in 1980, plan (after Мыц 1980, рис. 52)

Обр. 16. Южен Крим, Фуна, средновековни некрополи: 1. Църква в източната част на некропола (по Когонашвили, Махнева 1974, рис. 8; Кирилко 2010, рис. 2); 2. Двуапсидна църква в западната част на некропола (по Айбабина 1991, рис. 3); 3. Южна част на некропола, план на разкопаната площ през 1980 г., без мащаб; 4. Южна част на некропола, три гроба разкопани през 1980 г., план (по Мыц 1980, рис. 52)

A red-clay glazed bowl was placed in grave No. 4, which was located outside the building and held single burials of adults (fig. 17: 6). The bowl was situated near the left shoulder of the deceased (Айбабина 1991, 190, рис. 8: 2). The unglazed jug with white slip painted body was found in tomb No. 7 with multiple burials (5 adults, 3 children) inside of the church (fig. 17: 7). Based on a coin find, the latest level of burials dates back to the 16th c. The jug was placed on the floor in the northwest corner of the grave at the headboard and probably belonged to the earliest buried person there (Айбабина 1991, 192, рис. 8: 1).

3.3. The southern part of the necropolis. Excavations were conducted in 1980 (Мыц 1980). Three vault-like tombs with multiple burials and three graves (1 ground and 2 slab ones) were studied (fig. 16: 3, 4; Мыц 1980). Two graves (Nos. 1 and 3) contained one skeleton each, in anatomical order and without funeral goods. The displaced remains of two buried people were located in the third tomb (No. 2). One small pot painted with white slip was found among the bones near the northern wall of the tomb (fig. 16: 4, fig. 17: 5). Another similar pot comes from vault-like tomb No. 3, where it was also found among displaced skeletons (fig. 17: 4).

The glazed bowl and all unglazed vessels have a local origin and belong respectively to the Southeastern and Southwestern Crimean groups (further SEC and SWC) common in Crimea in the 14th – 15th c. (see, e.g., Тесленко 2018a; Тесленко 2021).

4. Malyi Mayak village (former Biyuk-Lambat), about 6 km southwest of Alushta, Alushta district (fig. 2). There are two parish churches with cemeteries of the 14th – 15th and 14th – 18th c. associated with the rural settlements (Тесленко, Лысенко 2004, 270 – 274, рис. 1: 7, 8). Both of these sites have burials accompanied by pottery.

4.1. The church with burial ground of the 14th – 15th c. on the top of Ai-Todor mount[30] (fig. 18: 1). Excavations were conducted in 1969 (Паршина 1972, 253 – 257; Домбровский 1974, 42 – 43; Тесленко, Лысенко 2004, 273 – 274). Twelve of the 14 recorded graves were excavated. Most of them are stone-lined and covered with slabs, including one marked with a carved cross (grave No. 6). Two children's burials were arranged in the natural crevices between the rock blocks. Funeral structures contained the remains of one to five deceased individuals. Grave goods are few and were found only in some graves. These are mainly bronze wire earrings, rings, spherical buttons, pendants, beads, cowrie shells, one glass bracelet, and fragments of glass and ceramic wares (Паршина 1972, 253 – 257).

The bottom of a bowl with sgraffito decoration (fig. 18: 2) and three fragments from the bottom and body of unglazed closed vessels came from grave No. 6. It contained the remains of four adults and one child (Паршина 1969, 298; Паршина 1974, рис. 14: 12).[31] The bowl is dated back to the 14th c. and presumably originated in the Alushta workshop (Тесленко 2018a, рис. 16: 9). It is difficult to get an idea about the other sherds as we could not find them in museum collections.

A fragment of a glazed plate with manganese painting was found in grave No. 8 with a child burial (fig. 18: 3). However, it could have been re-deposited from above as the grave was disturbed. Moreover, parts of a similar (possibly the same) vessel were recorded outside near the tomb (Паршина 1969, 299). Two bottoms of other "ceramic vessels" and one fragment of a glazed vessel are mentioned in graves Nos. 3 and 9 containing, respectively, displaced bones of two and three buried persons (Махнева 1968б, 277 – 280). Other details are not clear.[32]

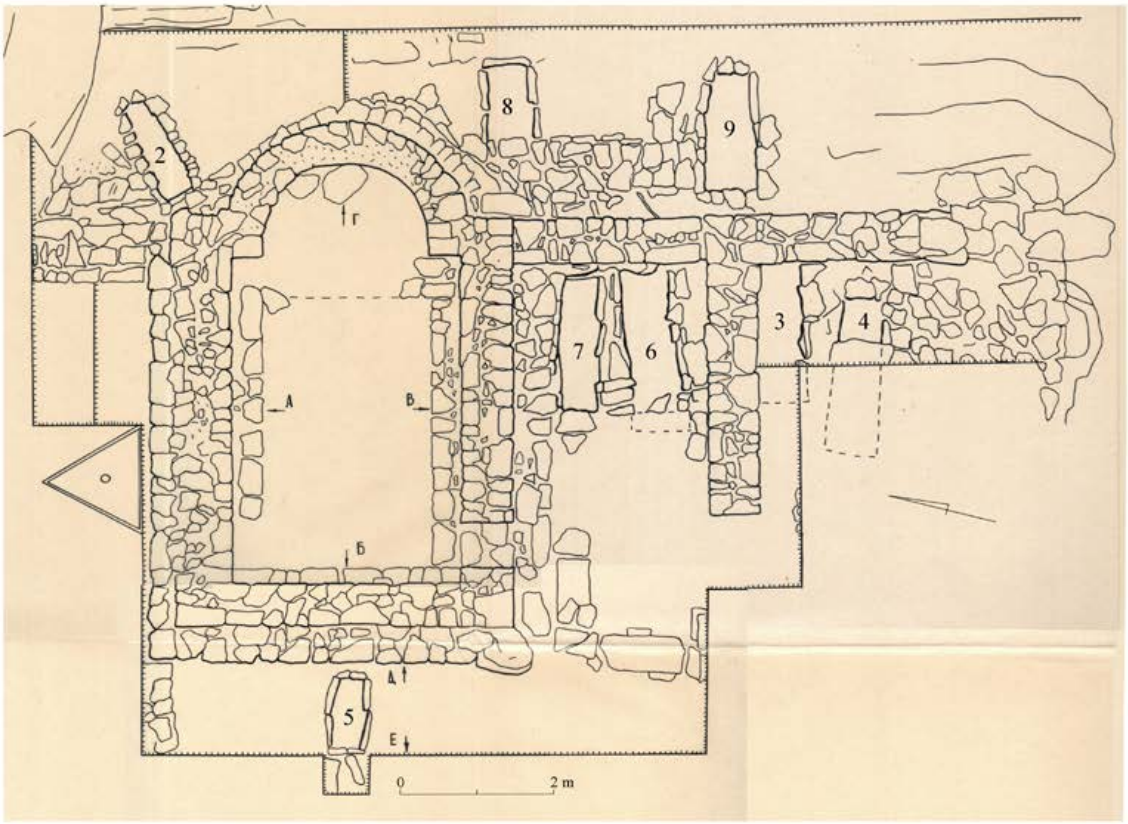
[30] For more details about the chronology of the site, see Тесленко, Лысенко 2004, 273 – 274.

[31] The context and stratigraphy of these ceramic finds leave no doubt that, despite the fragmentary nature of the objects, they represent either fragments of vessels deliberately placed in burials or even sherds specially selected for burial offerings.

[32] There are no drawings or photos of the items, and they have not been found in museum collections.

Fig. 17. Southern Crimea, Funa, ceramic vessels from the graves: 1 – 3. Grave No. 7 near the church in the eastern part of the necropolis, excavations in 1966 (after Когонашвили, Махнева 1974, рис. 9; Photos: I. Teslenko); 4, 5. Vault No. 3 (4) and slab grave No. 2 (5) in the southern part of the necropolis, excavations in 1980 (Author: I. Teslenko); 6, 7. Burials associated with the double-apse church in the western part of the necropolis, excavations in 1985 (after Айбабина 1991, рис. 8; Photos: I. Teslenko)

Обр. 17. Южен Крим, Фуна, керамични съдове от гробове: 1 – 3. Гроб № 7 край църквата в източната част на некропола, разкопки през 1966 г. (по Когонашвили, Махнева 1974, рис. 9; Снимки: И. Тесленко); 4, 5. Подземна гробница № 3 (4) и плочест гроб № 2 (5) в южната част на некропола, разкопки през 1980 г. (Автор: И. Тесленко); 6, 7. Гробове свързани с двуапсидната църква в западната част на некропола, разкопки през 1985 г. (по Айбабина 1991, рис. 8; Снимки: И. Тесленко)



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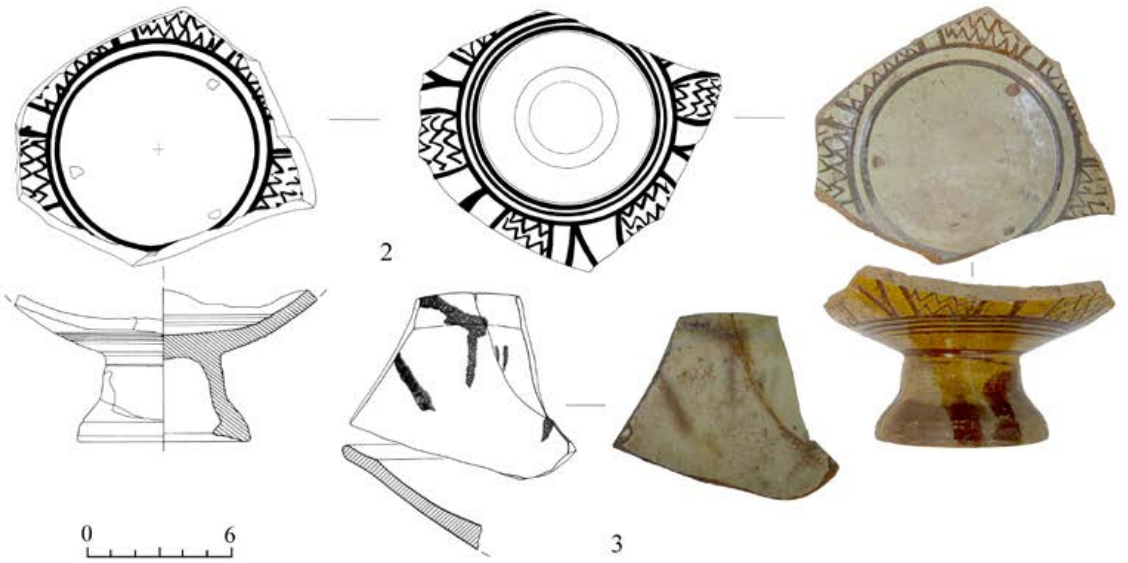

Fig. 18. Southern Crimea, Malyi Mayak village. Church with burial ground of the 14th – 15th c. on Ai-Todor mount: 1. Plan of the site (after Малый Маяк 1969, Scientific archive of the Institute of Archaeology at the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine) with numbers of the graves (2 – 9); 2, 3. Ceramic wares from graves No. 6 (2) and No. 8 (3; Author: I. Teslenko)

Обр. 18. Южен Крим, с. Малий Маяк. Църква и некропол от XIV – XV в. в планината Ай Тодор: 1. План на обекта (по Малый Маяк 1969, Научен архив на Археологическия институт на Националната академия на науките на Украйна) с номера на гробовете (2 – 9); 2, 3. Керамични съдове от гробове № 6 (2) и № 8 (3; Автор: И. Тесленко)

4.2. A church of the late 14th – early 15th c. and a burial ground of the late 14th – 18th c. on the southeastern spur of Ai-Todor mount (fig. 19: 1). Excavations were conducted in 2003 (Тесленко, Лысенко 2004). The area of the site is about 500 m^2, 70 m^2 of which was excavated. The burial ground was used for over four hundred years. Out of the 42 graves recorded at the site, 26 were explored. The graves were arranged in two to three levels, and many of them were used several times. The re-burying of bones in pits in the ground next to or in the space between the graves is also practiced there. The pottery is quite numerous at the cemetery (Тесленко 2012). It is interesting to note the presence of many bottoms of closed vessels in upward position in different areas of the burial ground but only rarely inside graves. Only two glazed bowls with sgraffito decoration that appear to be of local origin and are dated back to the end of the 14th – first half of the 15th c. come from funeral structure No. 27: a pit with reburied bones located above slab grave No. 28[33] (fig. 19: 2, 3; Тесленко, Лысенко 2004, 264 – 265, рис. 17: 2, 3). Later during the 16th – 17th c., bowls and jars were placed next to rather than inside the funerary structures and were associated mainly with children's burials (Тесленко, Лысенко 2004, 267, рис. 14, рис. 15: 4; Тесленко 2012, 242 – 243, рис. 10 – 11).

In addition, four sherds (a pithos, amphorae, and a tile) with crosses engraved on them came from funerary structures and the cultural layer of the burial ground (fig. 19: 4 – 7). Other funerary goods are represented mainly by elements of traditional clothing, jewelry, coins, two objects of personal Christian devotion (pectoral crosses), etc. (Тесленко, Лысенко 2004, 246 – 267, рис. 12). Moreover, there are fragments of a liturgical asterisk, a foil cross, and an element of a book clasp that could indicate the grave of a priest in this cemetery (Тесленко, Лысенко 2004, 267, рис. 11.I).

5. Gurzuf, Yalta district, is a small urban center with a fortress of the 6th – 15th c. on the Genevez-Kaya rock in southern Crimea (fig. 2). It was controlled by the Genoese as part of the so-called *Capitaneatus Gothiae* from the 1380s. A big rural settlement and a long-term burial ground with two churches that replaced one another (the latter one was built on the ruins of the earlier one) are known to the northeast of this site. The cemetery occupies the southern slope of the big hill named Lysyi (Khazary) between the Ayu-Dag mount and the Genevez-Kaya rock, 200 m from the seashore. Excavations were carried out there in 1951 and 2017 – 2018 (Якобсон 1954; Мастыкова 2020). Based on their results, the cemetery has been dated from at least the 7th – 8th until the 14th – 15th c. The construction of the first temple is attributed to the time no later than the 8th c. (Якобсон 1954). However, this date still needs further evidence. *Terminus post quem* for the next building could be determined by the coin of Golden Horde Khan Uzbek (1313 – 1342) in its masonry (Якобсон 1954; Бочаров, Кирилко 2017, 291). A tomb holding ceramic vessels was located in the center of this chapel and preceded its construction (fig. 20; Мастыкова 2020, 415 – 421). It is very likely that the chapel and the sepulcher formed a single memorial complex, possibly for members of the same family.

The tomb was built in a pit, with slightly rounded longitudinal sides. Its walls were made of processed blocks of soft limestone, with the use of ceramic tiles and lime mortar, and it was covered by four slabs with traces of processing. One of them had a cross carved on it.[34] Internal dimensions of the funeral structure are: 0.6 – 0.7 x 1.80 – 1.86 m wide and long and up to 0.7 m deep. It contained 20 buried individuals, men, women, and children (Мастыкова 2020, 415 – 421). One unglazed local jug and a glazed bowl accompanied one or two of the upper deceased (fig. 20: 4, 5). Only one of the skeletons was arranged in anatomical order; the rest were displaced. This was a man aged 40 – 49 lying on his back with his arms crossed over his abdomen. The head was fixed between two stone slabs. A fragmented glazed bowl was placed upside down to the left of his pelvis (fig. 20:

[33] The funeral structure No. 28 has not been excavated.

[34] The surface of the plate with the image of the cross is turned upside down inside in the grave.

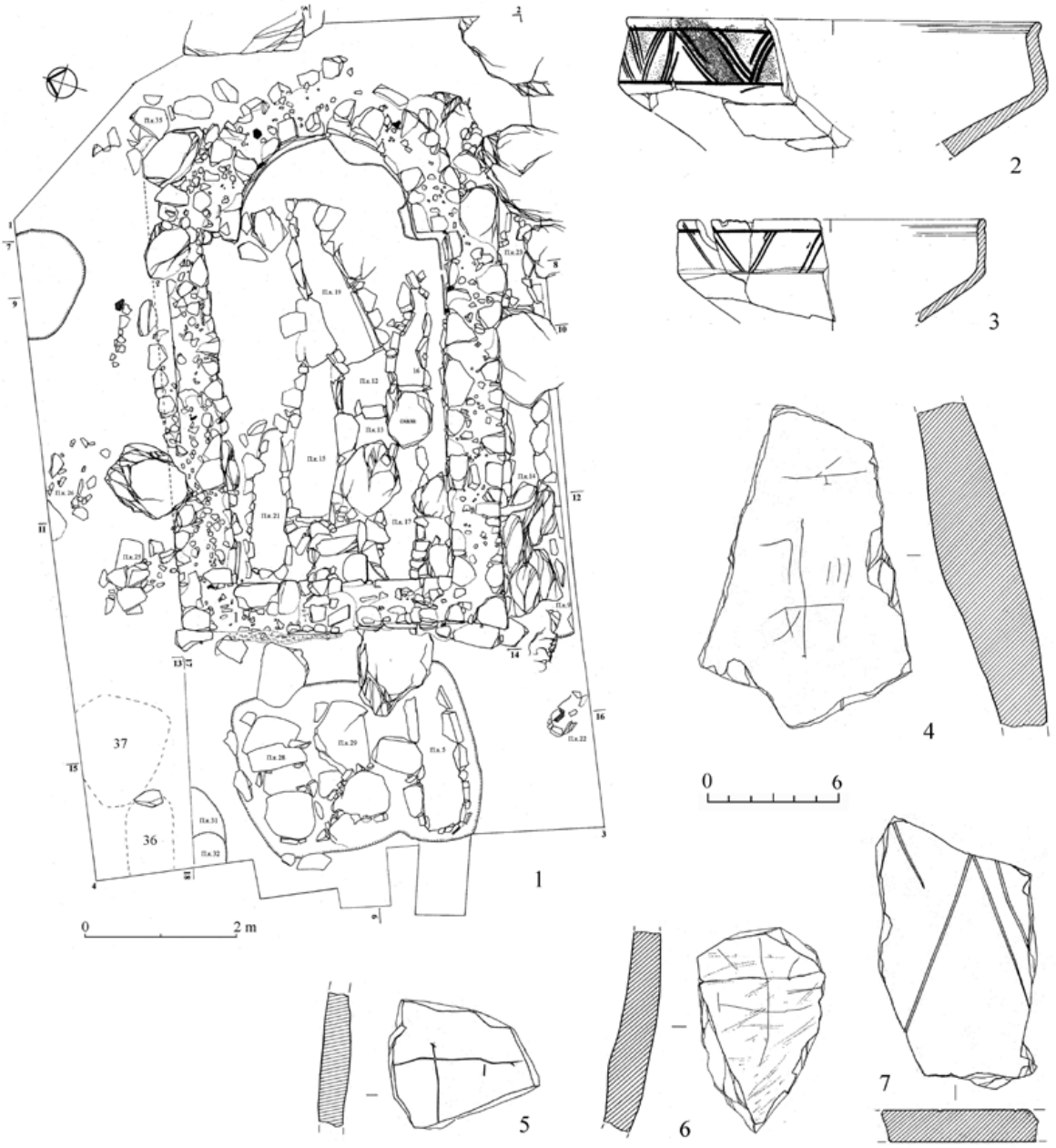

Fig. 19. Southern Crimea, Malyi Mayak village. Church of the late 14th – early 15th c. and burial ground of the late 14th – 18th c. on the southeastern spur of Ai-Todor mount: 1. Plan of the site with numbers of the funeral structures (1 – 37; after Тесленко, Лысенко 2004, рис. 3); 2, 3. Glazed bowls from funeral structure No. 27; 4 – 7. Ceramic sherds with engraved crosses from grave No. 14, level 3 (4, 5), from the cultural layer associated with activity at the site (6), and from grave No. 16 (7; Author: I. Teslenko)

Обр. 19. Южен Крим, с. Малий Маяк. Църква от края на XIV – началото на XV в. и некропол от края на XIV – XVIII в. на югоизточния хребет на планината Ай Тодор: 1. План на обекта с номера на погребалните съоръжения (1 – 37; по Тесленко, Лысенко 2004, рис. 3); 2, 3. Глазирани купи от погребално съоръжение № 27; 4 – 7. Керамични фрагменти с врязани кръстове от пласт 3 на гроб № 14 (4, 5), от културния пласт, свързан с човешката дейност на обекта (6), и от гроб № 16 (7; Автор: И. Тесленко)

Fig. 20. Southern Crimea, Gurzuf, chapel with tomb on the southern slope of Lysyi (Khazary) hill: 1. Plan of the chapel and the tomb; 2. Tomb covered with slabs, view from the north; 3. Male burial with bowl, view from the northeast; 4, 5. Ceramic wares from the tomb (after Мастыкова 2020, рис. 3 – 6)

Обр. 20. Южен Крим, Гурзуф, параклис с гроб на южния склон на хълма Лисий (Хазари): 1. План на параклиса и гроба; 2. Покрит с плочи гроб, поглед от север; 3. Гроб на мъж с купа, поглед от югоизток; 4, 5. Керамични съдове от гроба (по Мастыкова 2020, рис. 3 – 6)

3, 4; Голофаст, Мастыкова 2018, 362, рис. 4, рис. 6, рис. 13). A fragment of a red clay tile and a small brown-clay jug were also found next to it. According to the author of the excavations, however, the jug belongs to the previously interred deceased who cannot now be identified (Мастыкова 2020, 415 – 419, рис. 4, рис. 6, рис. 7).

The bowl is a Byzantine import of the so-called Sgraffito with Concentric Circles family (SCC). It was typical for the last third of the 13th – the beginning of the 14th c. (see, e.g., Waksman, Teslenko 2010; Тесленко 20186, 463 – 469). The jug belongs to the local SWC group that is generally dated to the early 14th – 15th c. (Тесленко 2021, 63 – 69). Thus, the presence of both vessels in the same tomb makes it possible to attribute the upper level of the burials to a time no earlier than the turn of the 13th – 14th or the first quarter of the 14th c., which is consistent with the chronology of the chapel's construction.

Other grave goods are rather poor. They are represented by small fragments of a glass vessel (possibly a lamp), glass and crystal beads, a spherical gilded bronze button, small iron nails, and two glass bracelets (Мастыкова 2020, 419, рис. 7). Most of the finds can be dated widely, but the bracelets are no later than the 12th – 13th c. (Голофаст, Мастыкова 2020, 249 – 254). Consequently, the burial complex seems to have started to form no later than at least the end of 13th c.

6. Nikita, two burial grounds with chapels, Yalta district (fig. 2).

6.1. A burial ground with chapel found in the upper part of the modern Nikitsky Botanical Garden, 13th – 14th c. (fig. 21: 1). The site is associated with a rural hillside settlement. It is located on a rocky hill at an altitude of about 180 m above sea level, 300 m southwest of the modern village Nikita in the Yalta district. Excavations were carried out in 1989 (Паршина 1989; Бочаров, Кирилко 2017, 290). The area of the site is about 800 m^2. The remains of the western part of a small chapel and 21 graves were studied there.[35] They were set in rows at a distance of 0.50 – 0.80 m from one another. These are simple pits and different kinds of stone-lined constructions that are predominantly covered with slabs. Three were built using lime mortar. They contained both single and multiple burials. In some cases, small stones or tiles were placed under the head. The head was supported by two stones in two children's burials Nos. 7 and 12 (fig. 7: 4). Funeral goods are few and quite ordinary, consisting of wire bronze earrings, rings, etc. At the same time, ceramics are fairly common in the tombs (fig. 21: 2 – 4, fig. 22 – 25).

Fragments of tiles and (less frequently) of pithoi were found in almost all the graves. They were placed on the chest or in the head area. On seven of them only a cross is engraved. On another seven the cross is accompanied by an inscription IC X[C] NH KA (fig. 22). Most of the sherds did not have any special designations. Some signs could have been applied with water-soluble paint, such as carbon black, etc., and so are not preserved.

Entirely preserved vessels or large fragments of ceramic vessels were found in eight graves (Nos. 1, 4, 5, 7, 13 – 15, 17): three bottoms and an upper part of unglazed closed vessels (fig. 23), six glazed bowls of both local and Byzantine origin (fig. 24, fig. 25: 1, 2). Five of the samples (two glazed bowls, two bottoms and one upper part of unglazed closed vessels) were located in the area of the feet (fig. 21: 3). The other five items (four bowls and one bottom of a jug) were placed in the area of the pelvis or thigh of the buried person at the southern (4) or northern (1) wall of the graves, i.e., to the right or left of the skeletons (fig. 21: 2, 4). In most of the graves the remains of the buried individuals were disturbed, so the original position of the vessels in some cases could have been changed as well.

Two of the six glazed bowls are Byzantine imports from the last third of the 13th – first quar-

[35] Two graves (Nos. 7 and 7A) are arranged in two levels, one above the other.

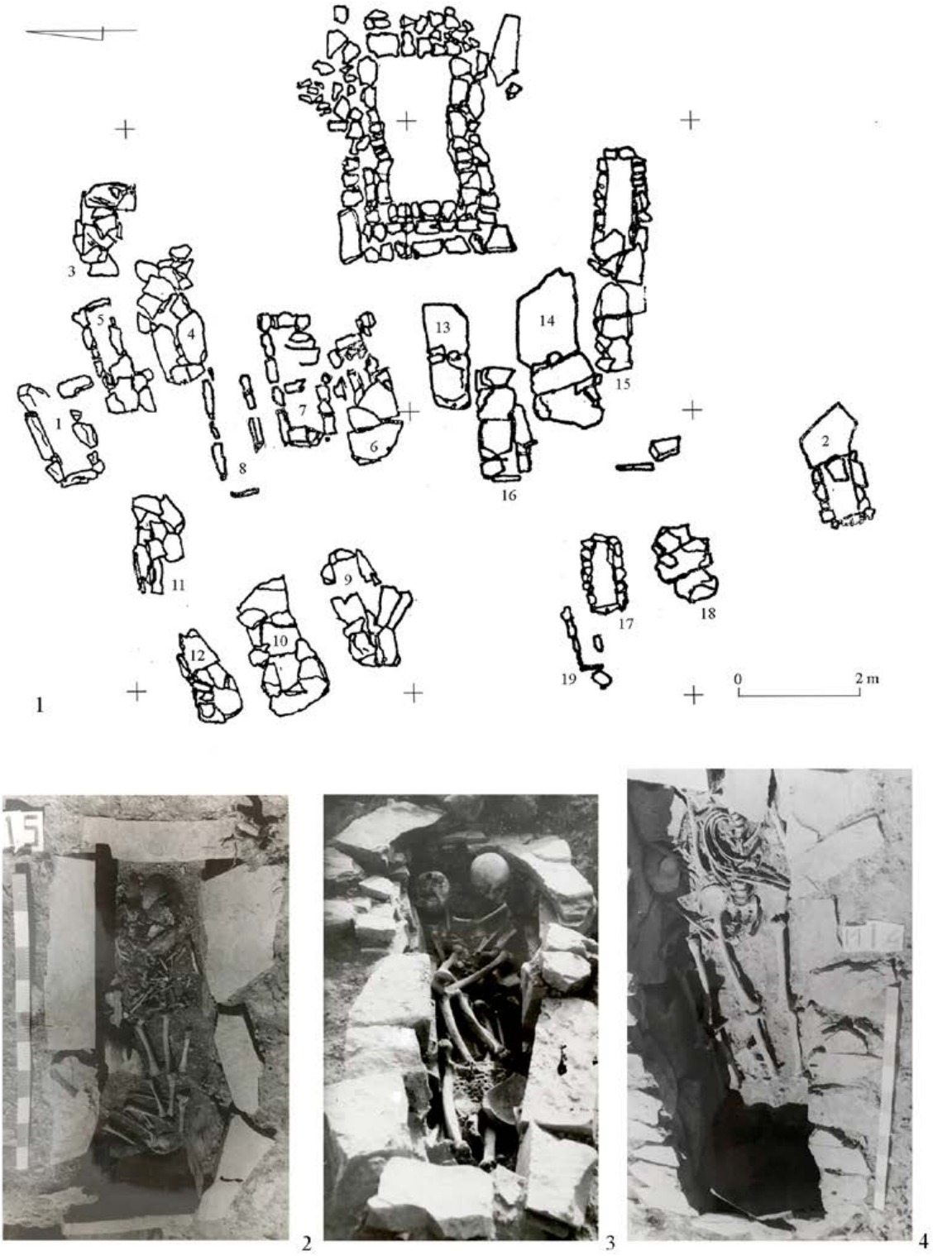

Fig. 21. Southern Crimea, Nikita, in the upper part of the modern Nikitsky Botanical Garden, 13th – 14th c.: 1. Plan of the site; 2 – 4. Burials in graves Nos. 15, 4 and 14 (after Паршина 1989, рис. 2, рис. 47, рис. 75, рис. 78)

Обр. 21. Южен Крим, Никита, в горната част на съвременната Никитска ботаническа градина, XIII – XIV в.: 1. План на обекта; 2 – 4. Гробове № 15, 4 и 14 (по Паршина 1989, рис. 2, рис. 47, рис. 75, рис. 78)

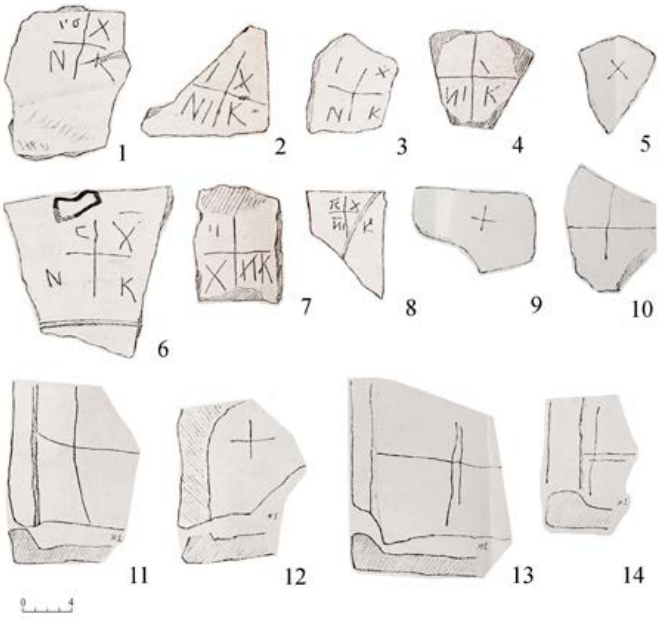

Fig. 22. Southern Crimea, Nikita, in the upper part of the modern Nikitsky Botanical Garden. Fragments of ceramic tile and vessels with engraved crosses and inscriptions: 1, 2. Grave No. 4; 3. Grave No. 6; 4. Grave No. 18; 5, 8, 9. Grave No. 3; 6. Grave No. 10; 7. Grave No. 12; 10. Grave No. 14; 11 – 14. Grave No. 1 (after Паршина 1989, 51, рис. 25)

Обр. 22. Южен Крим, Никита, в горната част на съвременната Никитска ботаническа градина. Фрагменти от керемида и керамични съдове с врязани кръстове и надписи: 1, 2. Гроб № 4; 3. Гроб № 6; 4. Гроб № 18; 5, 8, 9. Гроб № 3; 6. Гроб № 10; 7. Гроб № 12; 10. Гроб № 14; 11 – 14. Гроб № 1 (по Паршина 1989, 51, рис. 25)

ter of the 14th c. and the end of the 13th – first third of the 14th c. (fig. 25: 1, 2; see, e.g., Тесленко 2018б); four others (one with sgraffito, three without decoration) come from local Crimean workshops (SEC group) around the first half – middle of the 14th c. (fig. 24; see, e.g., Тесленко 2018а). Thus, the burial ground can be dated no earlier than the end of the 13th – beginning of the 14th c. and no later than the latter century.

6.2. A burial ground with a chapel in the lower part of the modern Nikitsky Botanical Garden, 14th c. The exact location is not clear. Brief information about the site was recorded by the local historian E. I. Visniovskaya in 1930. She mentions the remains of a medieval settlement and the foundations of a structure built of stone with lime mortar that she discovered during her exploration in the Lower Park of the Nikitsky Botanical Garden. One medieval grave was found in the area in 1975. It was examined by V. A. Kolpakov, a researcher at the Yalta Museum (Турова 2019, 327; Турова 2023, 87, № 18). There is no site map or detailed information about the burials. It is only known that two ceramic vessels came from the grave: a jug and a glazed bowl. We managed to find only the bowl in the Yalta Historical and Literary Museum (fig. 25: 3). This is a Byzantine import no earlier than the end of the 13th – 14th c. The exact analogies have not yet been found. The composition of its raw materials is visually similar to the products of a pottery workshop discovered in the Sirkeci area of Istanbul.[36]

7. Massandra, two churches with cemeteries, Yalta district (fig. 2).

7.1. A church with a burial ground in Lower Massandra (fig. 26). It is located in the eastern part of modern Yalta, about 0.25 – 0.28 km from the Black Sea coast, and was possibly related to a rural settlement. Rescue excavations were carried out there in 1976 (Баранов 1976; Бочаров,

[36] For more about the Sirkeci workshop and its production, see, e.g., Waksman 2012, 147 – 151.

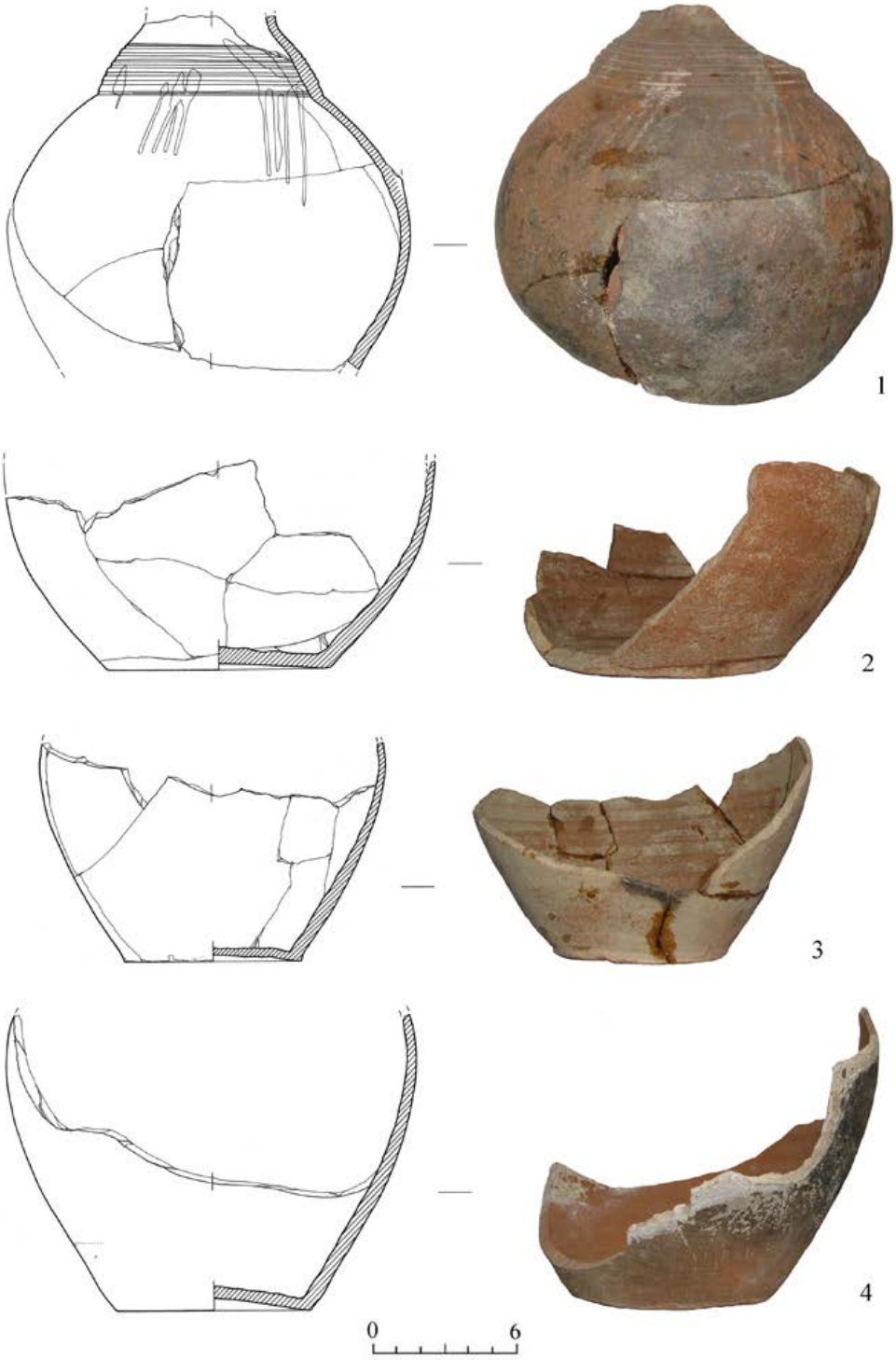

Fig. 23. Southern Crimea, Nikita, burial ground with chapel in the upper part of the modern Nikitsky Botanical Garden. Unglazed ceramics from the graves: 1. Grave No. 15; 2, 3. Grave No. 7; 4. Grave No. 1 (Author: I. Teslenko)

Обр. 23. Южен Крим, Никита, некропол с параклис в горната част на съвременната Никитска ботаническа градина. Неглазирани съдове от гробовете: 1. Гроб № 15; 2, 3. Гроб № 7; 4. Гроб № 1 (Author: I. Teslenko)

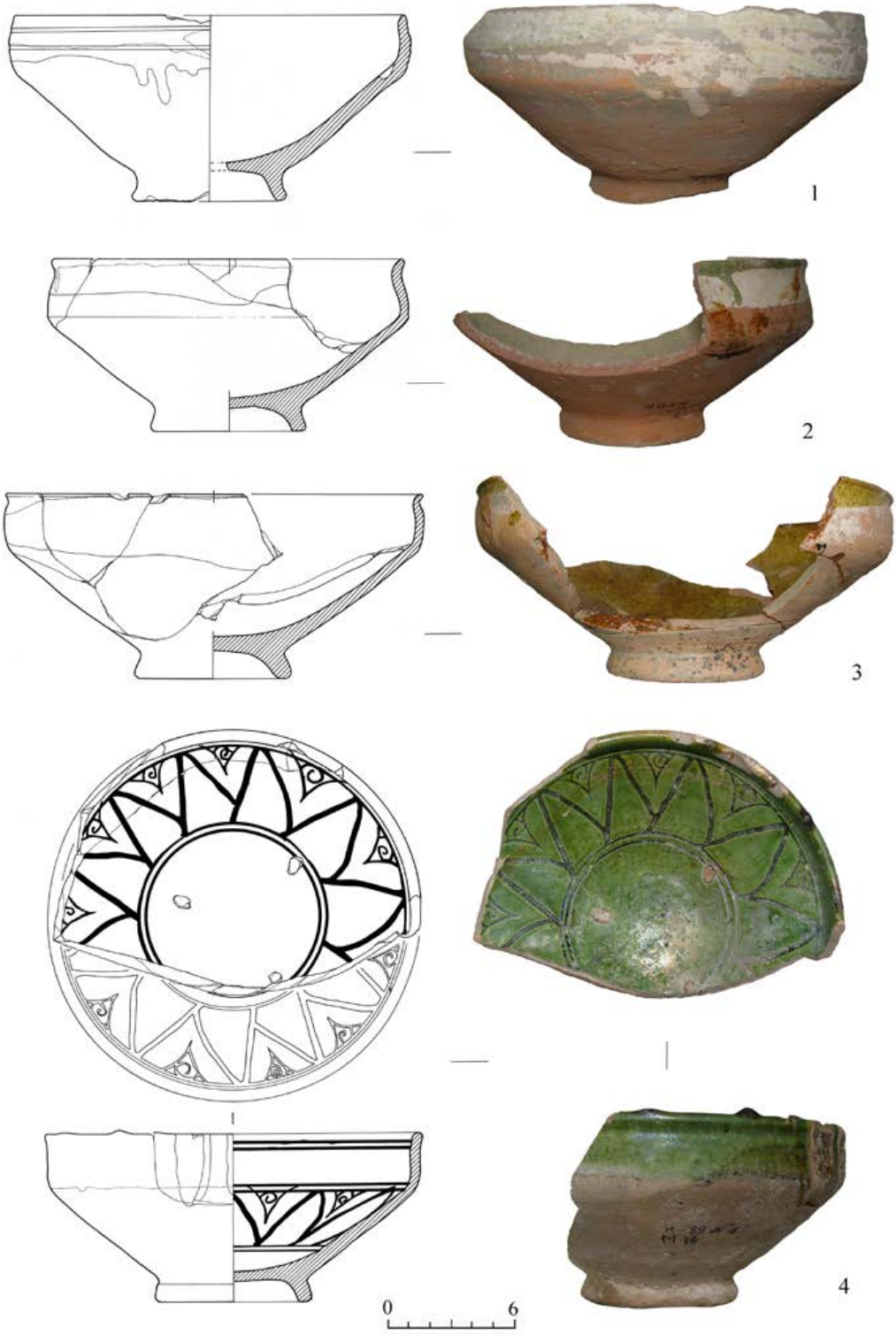

Fig. 24. Southern Crimea, Nikita, burial ground with chapel in the upper part of the modern Nikitsky Botanical Garden. Glazed ceramics of local Crimean origin from the graves: 1. Grave No. 17; 2. Grave No. 4; 3. Grave No. 5; 4. Grave No. 14 (Author: I. Teslenko)

Обр. 24. Южен Крим, Никита, некропол с параклис в горната част на съвременната Никитска ботаническа градина. Глазирани съдове с местен кримски произход от гробовете: 1. Гроб № 17; 2. Гроб № 4; 3. Гроб № 5; 4. Гроб № 14 (Author: I. Teslenko)

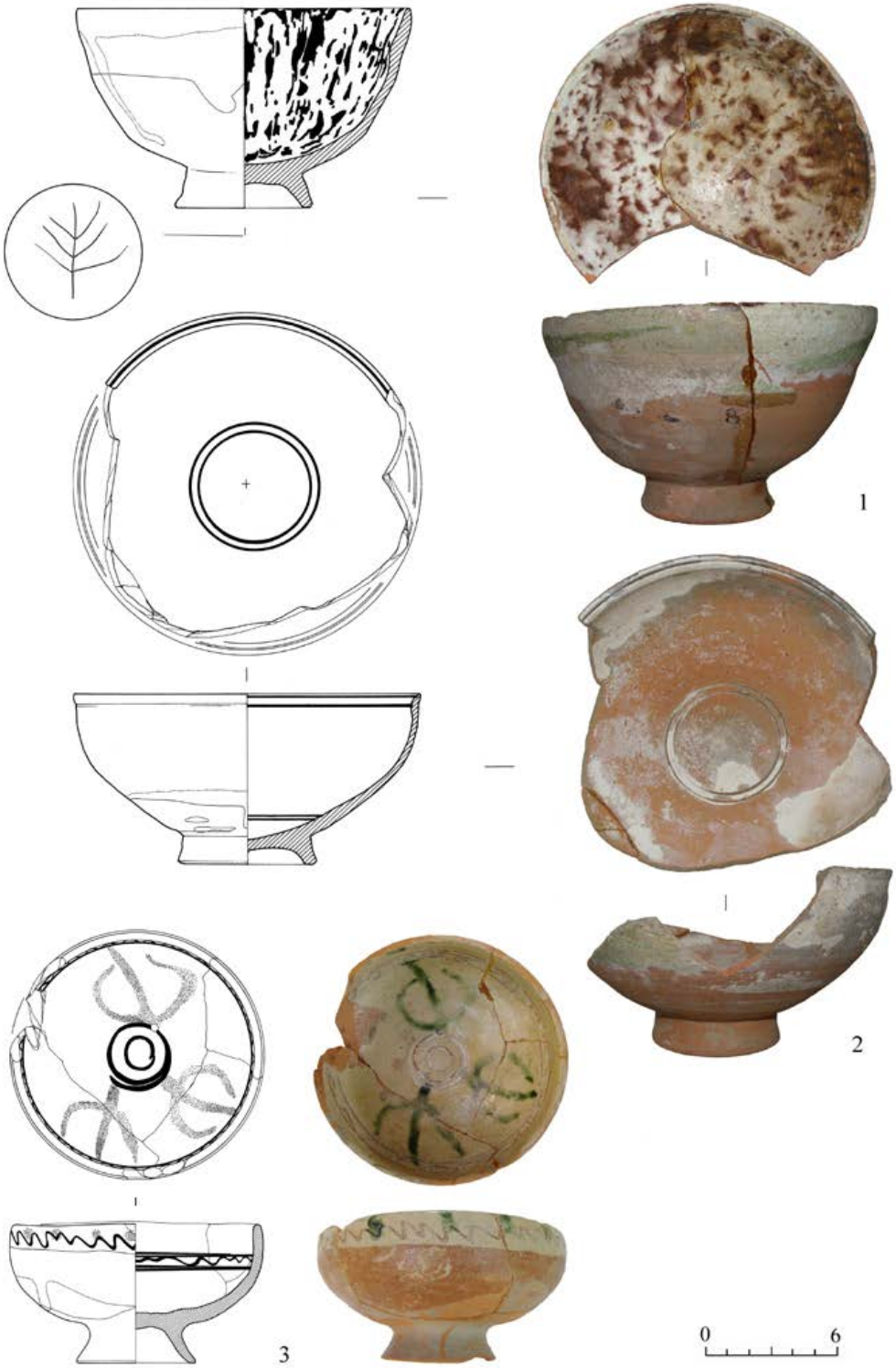

Fig. 25. Southern Crimea, Nikita. Byzantine glazed wares: 1, 2. Burial ground with chapel in the upper part of the modern Nikitsky Botanical Garden – grave No. 13 (1) and grave No. 15 (2); 3. Burial ground in the lower part of the modern Nikitsky Botanical Garden (Author: I. Teslenko)

Обр. 25. Южен Крим, Никита. Византийски глазирани съдове: 1, 2. Некропол с параклис в горната част на съвременната Никитска ботаническа градина – гроб № 13 (1) и гроб № 15 (2); 3. Некропол в долната част на съвременната Никитска ботаническа градина (Автор: И. Тесленко)

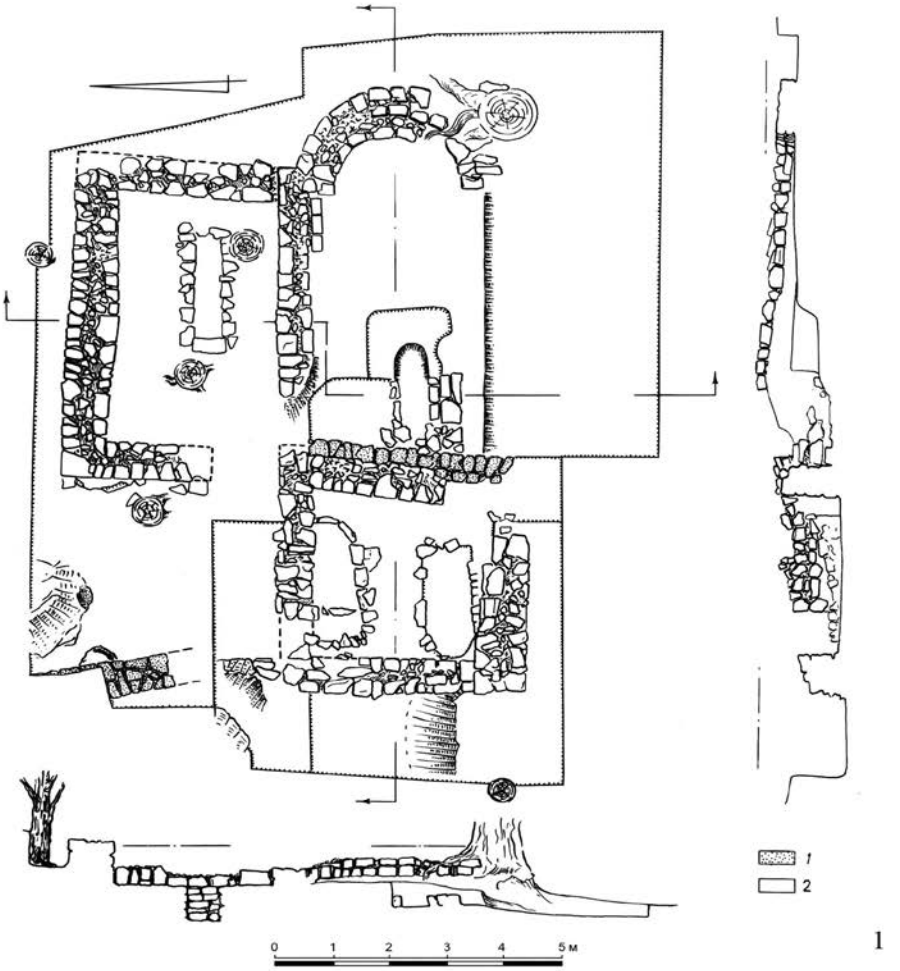

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Fig. 26. Southern Crimea, Massandra, church with burial ground in Lower Masandra: 1. Plan of the site; 2. Grave in the west annex to the church, burial with bowl, view from the southwest (from the personal archive of V. P. Kirilko)

Обр. 26. Южен Крим, Масандра, църква и некропол в Долна Масандра: 1. План на обекта; 2. Гроб в западния анекс към църквата, гроб с купа, поглед от югозапад (от личния архив на В. П. Кирилко)

Кирилко 2017, 289, № 41). The site was completely destroyed during the construction of hotel infrastructure in late 1970s – 1980s.

Information about the results of the excavation is very brief, and the finds were lost. We managed to find only a short preliminary report by I. Baranov, a plan of the church, and a photo of one of the tombs in the western annex to the church with the remains of two buried individuals.[37] One of them (the upper and better preserved burial) is accompanied by a large bowl with a vertical rim, set upright to the left of the pelvis (fig. 26: 2). The finding of a bottom of a thin-walled table vessel of the 12th – 15th c. is also mentioned in a nearby grave. Other finds include bronze buttons, an earring, and an iron knife. There are no drawings or photos of them in the report's documentation (Баранов 1976, 3).

Fragments of red-clay glazed plates of the 14th – 15th c. and fragments of a flat-bottomed amphora are noticed among the finds from the floor of the building between the graves. Based on these findings, I. Baranov proposed the Ottoman invasion of 1475 as a reason for the destruction of the church (Баранов 1976, 1 – 3), but this assumption has no sufficient proof.

7.2. A church with a burial ground in Upper Massandra (fig. 27). It is located in the modern village of Massandra, about 2 km from the Black Sea coast. The church is situated on a wooded hill formed by tufa, out of which it was built. Excavations were carried out in 1967 (Домбровский 1968, 70 – 74; Домбровский 1974, 35 – 37, рис. 21).

A tomb was located in an arcosolium at the northwestern corner of the church, and eight slab graves were dug outside the building in the churchyard cemetery (fig. 27).[38] The first one contained the displaced remains of 11 buried individuals accompanied by two glazed ceramic specimens: an entirely preserved small bowl and a fragment of the bottom of another open vessel (fig. 28: 3, 4).[39] A fragment of the handle of a glazed jug with an inscribed cross is also mentioned among the finds (Махнева 1967, 191).[40]

The graves outside were arranged in three levels; nine adults and six children (15 people in total) were buried there.[41] Four graves contained one deceased each. The remains of two to seven skeletons were noted in the others. Glass beads, one iron cross, earrings made of material indicated in the rapport as "white metal" (probably billon alloy or base silver), six glazed, and three unglazed fragmented vessels were indicated among the grave goods (Кружилин 1968). Ceramic vessels accompanied the burials of both children and adults. In cases where they were found *in situ*, the vessels were placed either at the head (2) or at the feet (1) of the buried persons. One child was accompanied by fragments of one or two unglazed vessels.[42] The other mentioned samples are mostly glazed ones. We managed to find six fragmented bowls in the Yalta museum. Five of them

[37] A photo and a copy of the short report of I. Baranov are preserved in the personal archive of V. Kirilko. We express to him our sincere gratitude for providing materials for the publication.

[38] Among the archival documents we could only find a plan of the church and the burials in the arcosolium. There is no plan of the burial ground near the church. Schematic drawings of some burials are available only in the field diary of the student G. Kruzhilin, who excavated the necropolis (Кружилин 1968); we will not present them here.

[39] The location of the vessels in the tomb is not specified.

[40] We could not find it in the museum collection or in the illustrations for the report.

[41] The information on this point was retrieved from the field diary of student G. Kruzhilin. He noted the age of the deceased (adult or children) and the number and location of vessels in the graves. In addition, he sketched some of the wares, which makes it possible to recognize them in the museum collection (Кружилин 1968).

[42] The author of the excavations, student G. Kruzhilin, mentions two vessels: the top of the jug and the bottom of the pot (Кружилин 1968, 6 – 7). Based on sketches at the end of his diary, however, it is possible to say that the first one is the upper part of a thin-walled pot of a local SWC group common in the early 14th – 15th c., and the second one is the bottom of a similar vessel, possibly the same one. We could not find them in the museum collection. Therefore, it is not clear whether there were the fragments of one or two vessels in the grave.

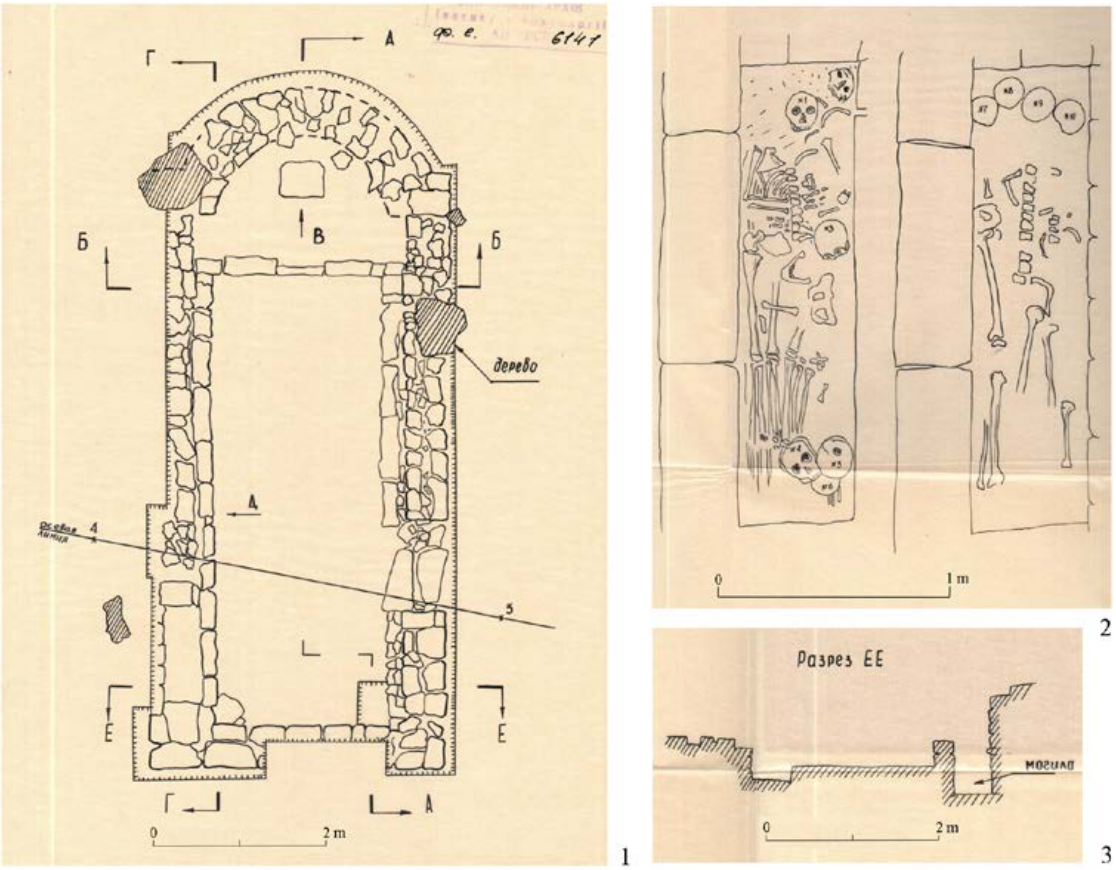

Fig. 27. Southern Crimea, Massandra, church with burial ground in Upper Massandra: 1, 3. Church with arcosolia, plan and section; 2. Burials in the arcosolia, plan (after Массандра 1967, Scientific archive of the Institute of Archaeology at the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine)

Обр. 27. Южен Крим, Масандра, църква и некропол в Горна Масандра: 1, 3. Църква с аркосолии, план и разрез; 2. План на гробовете в аркосолиите (по Массандра 1967, Научен архив на Археологическия институт на Националната академия на науките на Украйна)

came from the graves (fig. 28: 1, 2, 5 – 7).[43] The context of the other one is not clear (fig. 28: 8). Two bowls are Byzantine imports from the last third of the 13th – first quarter of the 14th c. (fig. 28: 1, 2; see, e.g., Тесленко 20186); three others (two with a sgraffito ornament and one without decoration) look like the local production of the SEC group and can be dated back to the 14th c. (fig. 28: 5 – 7; Паршина 1974, 72, 74, рис. 11: 1, рис. 14: 1, 13; Тесленко 2018a, 60, рис. 28). Thus, the studied area of the necropolis should most likely be dated to the late 13th – 14th c.[44]

8. Livadiya, chapel with burial ground near the source of the Ai-Yan-Su (the source of St. John's) in the center of the village, Yalta district (Ханацкий 1867, 5; Бочаров, Кирилко 2017, 286, № 27). The find of an open-form ceramic vessel in one of the graves near the ruins of the chapel is mentioned in the guidebook "Review of the South Coast" (*Obozrenie Yuzhnogo berega*), published in 1867.[45] Further details were not available.

[43] One more bowl with the image of a dove mentioned in the diary that came from one of the children's burials was absent from the museum's collection.

[44] The sherd without context (fig. 28: 8) is typical for the end of the 14th – 15th c. assemblages in Crimea (Тесленко 2021, 77 – 91), but it cannot be used for the dating of the cemetery.

[45] The guidebook notes that two graves were discovered during construction "*in which the dead were laid facing east; in the heads of one of them lay a small column made of Kerch stone, decorated with flutes, and a broken clay cup on the side*" (Ханацкий 1867, 5).

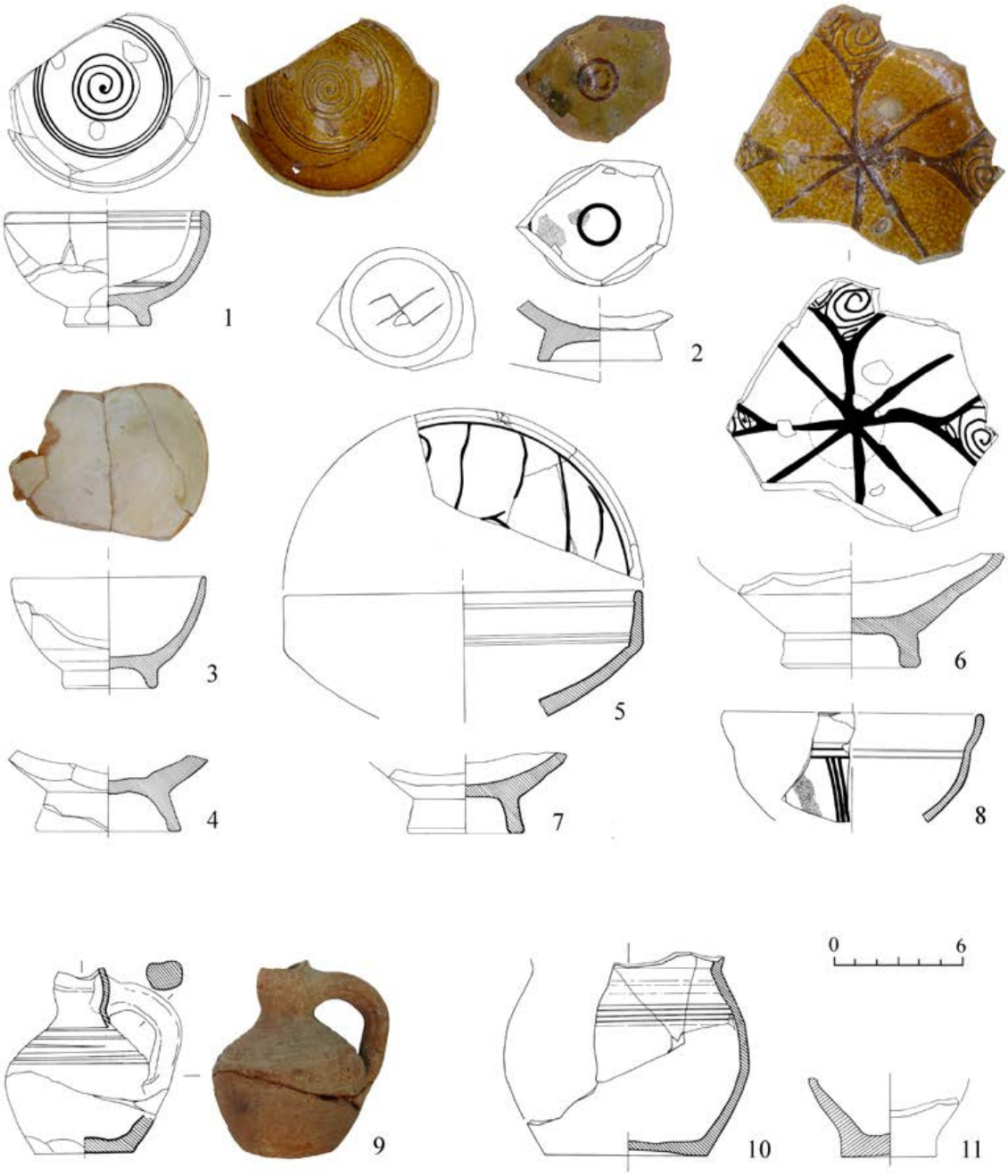

Fig. 28. Southern Crimea, Massandra and Oreanda, ceramic vessels from the graves: 1 – 8. Upper Massandra – arcosolium in the church (3, 4), graves in the church yard (1, 2, 5 – 8); 9 – 11. Oreanda, church with necropolis near the fork of the upper and lower Yalta – Alupka highway – grave No. 8 (9), grave No. 3 (10), grave No. 9 (11; Author: I. Teslenko)

Обр. 28. Южен Крим, Масандра и Ореанда, керамични съдове от гробовете: 1 – 8. Горна Масандра – аркосолий в църквата (3, 4), гробове в църковния двор (1, 2, 5 – 8); 9 – 11. Ореанда, църква с некропол близо до разклона на горната и долната част на магистралата Ялта – Алупка – гроб № 8 (9), гроб № 3 (10), гроб № 9 (11; Автор: И. Тесленко)

9. Oreanda, three churches with burial grounds, Yalta district (fig. 2).

9.1. A church with a necropolis near the fork of the upper and lower Yalta – Alupka highway (fig. 29: 1). The upper part of the village Oreanda is about 740 m from the Black Sea coast. Excavations were carried out in 1967 (Паршина 1968б, 65 – 70).

There were 17 slab graves recorded. Three of them were destroyed by modern construction, and 14 were excavated. One grave was located inside the church, the rest were around the building. Some of the graves located outside were arranged on two levels. For example, grave No. 4 was built on the covering slabs of grave No. 14.[46] The graves contain the remains of one to five skeletons. The total number of buried individuals is 30 (21 adults and 9 children). Glass and paste beads, bronze wire earrings, bronze spherical buttons, an iron cross, two fragments of tiles with a cross and the inscription IC XC NI KA,[47] and ceramic vessels represented the grave goods (Паршина 1968б, 65 – 66, рис. 1 – 2).

In her report and field diary, the author of the excavations O. A. Parshina mentioned the finding of ceramic vessels in 9 out of 14 graves (Nos. 1 – 4, 7 – 9, 13 – 14; Паршина 1967a; Паршина 1967b). These are 11 upper and lower parts from open glazed vessels (fig. 30 – 31), two bottoms of closed glazed and unglazed vessels, one small jug without a rim, and one small fragmented pot (fig. 28: 9 – 11). The location of the vessels in the burial structures is specified only for graves Nos. 1 – 4 (Паршина 1967б, 158 – 162). There was one skeleton in anatomical order with a glazed bowl (fig. 30: 7) placed at its feet in grave No. 1. Other funeral structures Nos. 2, 3, and 4 contained the displaced remains of at least four individuals each. There were two fragmented glazed bowls in the western part of grave No. 2 (fig. 30: 4, fig. 31: 2) and a bottom of a coarse jug in its eastern area;[48] a glazed plate in the northeastern part of structure No. 3 (fig. 31: 1) and a small pot in its center (fig. 28: 10); and bottoms of two glazed bowls with polychrome and monochrome sgraffito in the western and eastern area of grave No. 4 (fig. 30: 3, 6).

It should also be noted that two fragmented vessels, bottoms of a glazed jug and a bowl (fig. 28: 11, fig. 31: 4), accompanied one buried person (an infant) in grave No. 9. Interestingly, this is the only case that has been well-documented so far in Crimea when two vessels can be associated confidently with one person. The location of the vessels in the grave is not specified.

Ceramic vessels were located at the head and feet areas of the deceased (Паршина 1967a; Паршина 1967б). The unglazed vessel belongs to the local SWC group with wide chronology from the early 14th – 15th c. There are both Byzantine imports (fig. 30: 5, fig. 31) and local ceramics (fig. 30: 1 – 4, 6, 7) among the glazed wares (Паршина 1974, 70 – 75, рис. 11: 5, рис. 12: 2, 5, рис. 14: 2, 10). Such pottery usually dates from the late 13th – 14th c. (Тесленко 2018a; Тесленко 2018б). Thus, the necropolis was most likely used during this time as well. Only the bowl with the image of a brown and green colored bird is more typical for the period not earlier than the middle of the 14th – first half of the 15th c. It comes from grave No. 4, which belongs to the later level of burials, and, accordingly, may mark the cemetery's upper chronological boundary.

9.2. A church with a cemetery at the fortified settlement Oreanda Isar on the Krestovaya mount (fig. 29: 2, 3). The central part of the village Oreanda is about 380 m from the Black Sea coast. Excavations were conducted in 1968 (Скобелев 1974). Four graves covered with slabs have been studied there. Brief information about three of them was published at the time (Скобелев 1974, 110 – 111). The author of the paper does not mention finds of large fragments of pottery

[46] Detailed information about the relative chronology of the necropolis is missing in the report.

[47] These fragments bearing a cross and inscription were found in graves Nos. 3 and 7.

[48] The drawing of the bottom is only in the field diary (Паршина 1967б, 4); based on it, attribution of the vessel is difficult. The fragment has not been found in the museum collection.

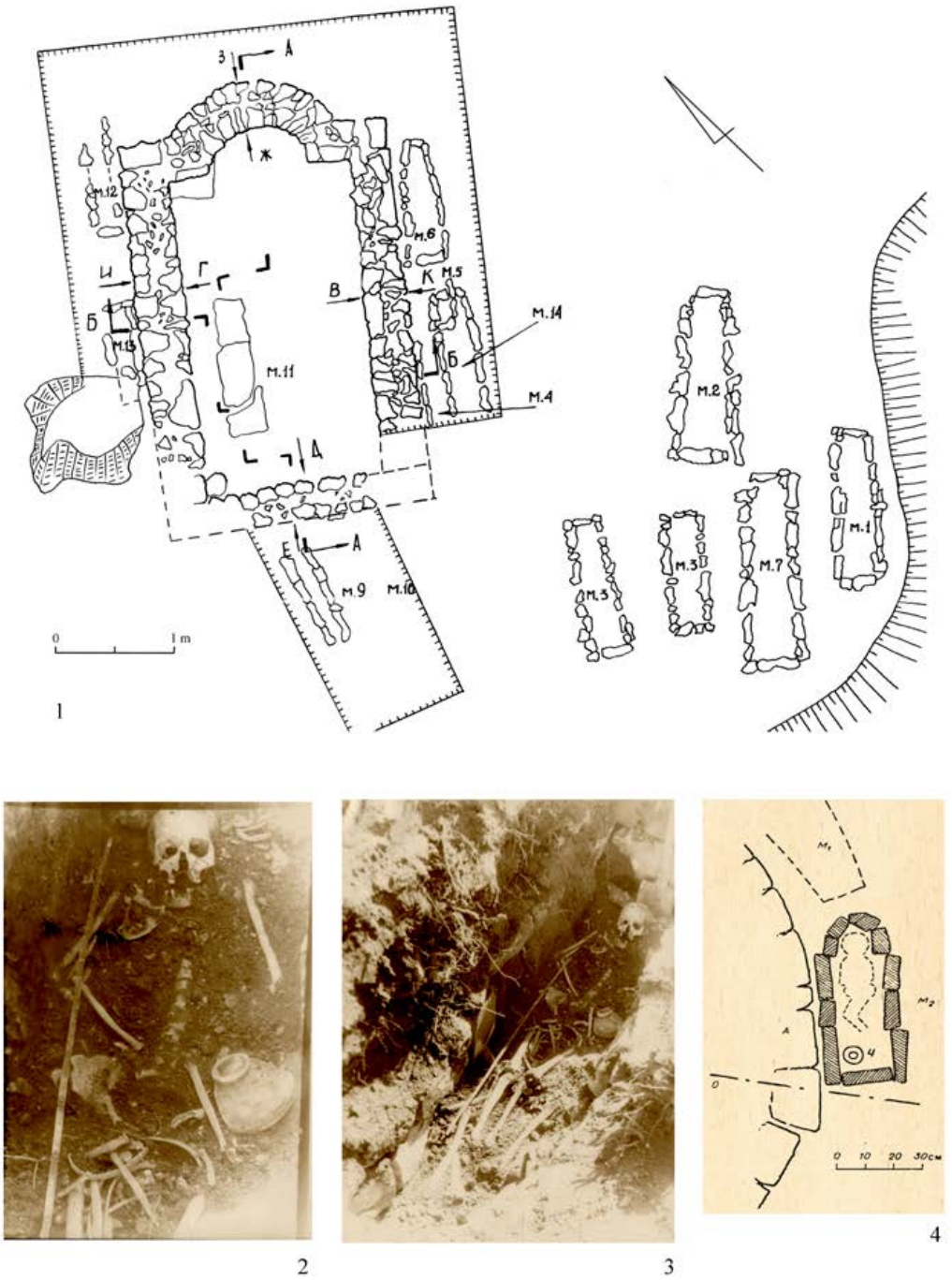

Fig. 29. Southern Crimea, Oreanda: 1. Church with burial ground near the fork of the upper and lower Yalta – Alupka highway (after Ореанда 1967, Scientific archive of the Institute of Archaeology at the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine); 2, 3. Krestovaya mount, grave No. 1 (after Scientific archive of the Crimean Branch of the Institute of Archaeology at the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Ф. О–1. Оп. 1. Д. 2165, Л. 183, 181); 4. Khachla-Kayasy, church and necropolis in the castle of the 13th – 14th c., burial of an infant with a small bowl (after Фирсов 1990, 247, рис. 81)

Обр. 29. Южен Крим, Ореанда: 1. Църква с некропол близо до разклона на горната и долната част на магистралата Ялта – Алупка (по Ореанда 1967, Научен архив на Археологическия институт на Националната академия на науките на Украйна); 2, 3. Планината Крестовая, гроб № 1 (по научен архив на Кримския филиал на Археологическия институт на Националната академия на науките на Украйна, Ф. О–1. Оп. 1. Д. 2165, Л. 183, 181); 4. Хачла Каяси, църква и некропол в крепостта от XIII – XIV в., гроб на дете с купичка (по Фирсов 1990, 247, рис. 81)

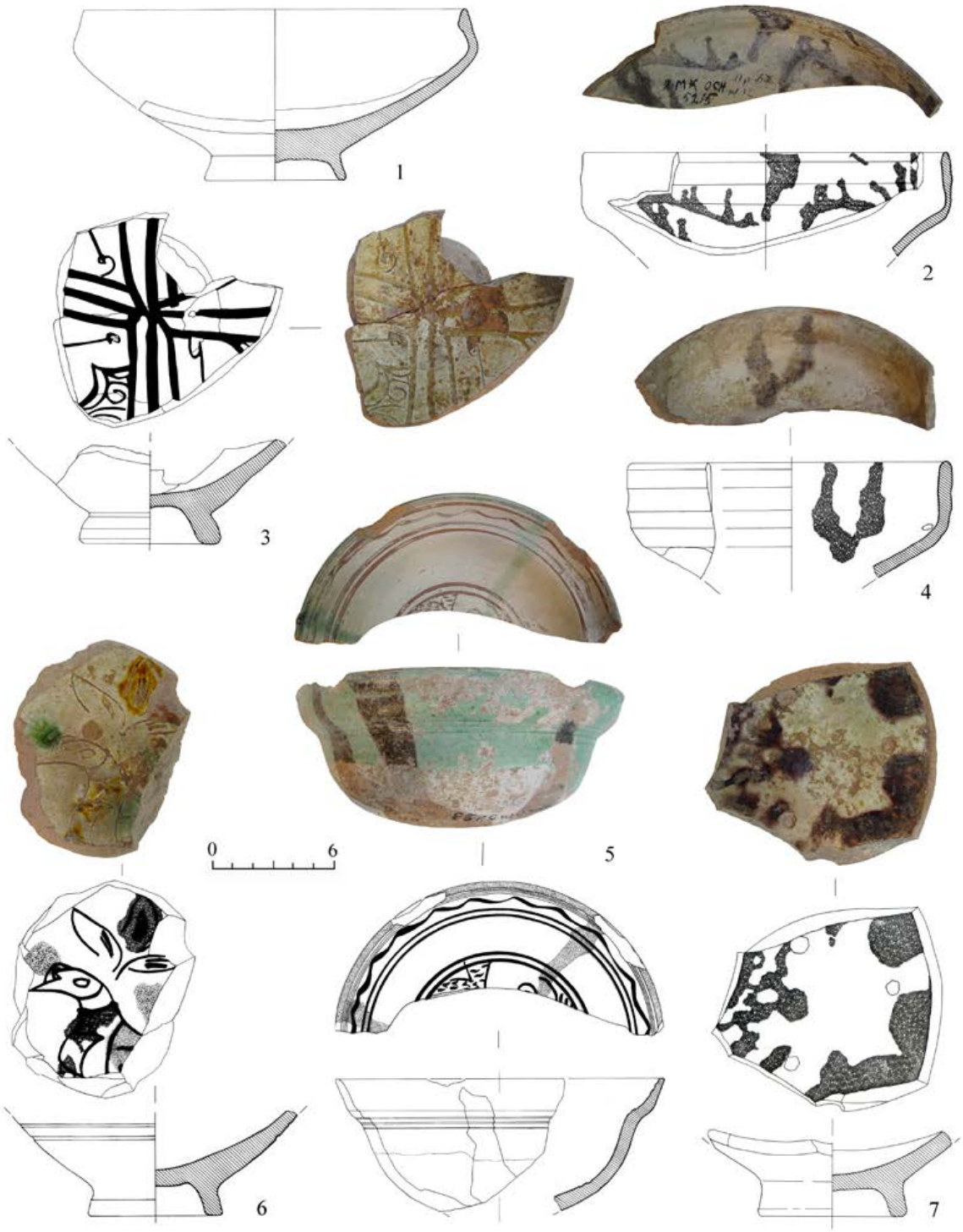

Fig. 30. Southern Crimea, Oreanda, church with necropolis near the fork of the upper and lower Yalta – Alupka highway, ceramics from the burials: 1. Grave No. 7; 2, 5. Grave No. 14; 3, 6. Grave No. 4; 4. Grave No. 2; 7. Grave No. 1 (Author: I. Teslenko)

Обр. 30. Южен Крим, Ореанда, църква с некропол близо до разклона на горната и долната част на магистралата Ялта – Алупка, керамични съдове от гробовете: 1. Гроб № 7; 2, 5. Гроб № 14; 3, 6. Гроб № 4; 4. Гроб № 2; 7. Гроб № 1 (Автор: И. Тесленко)

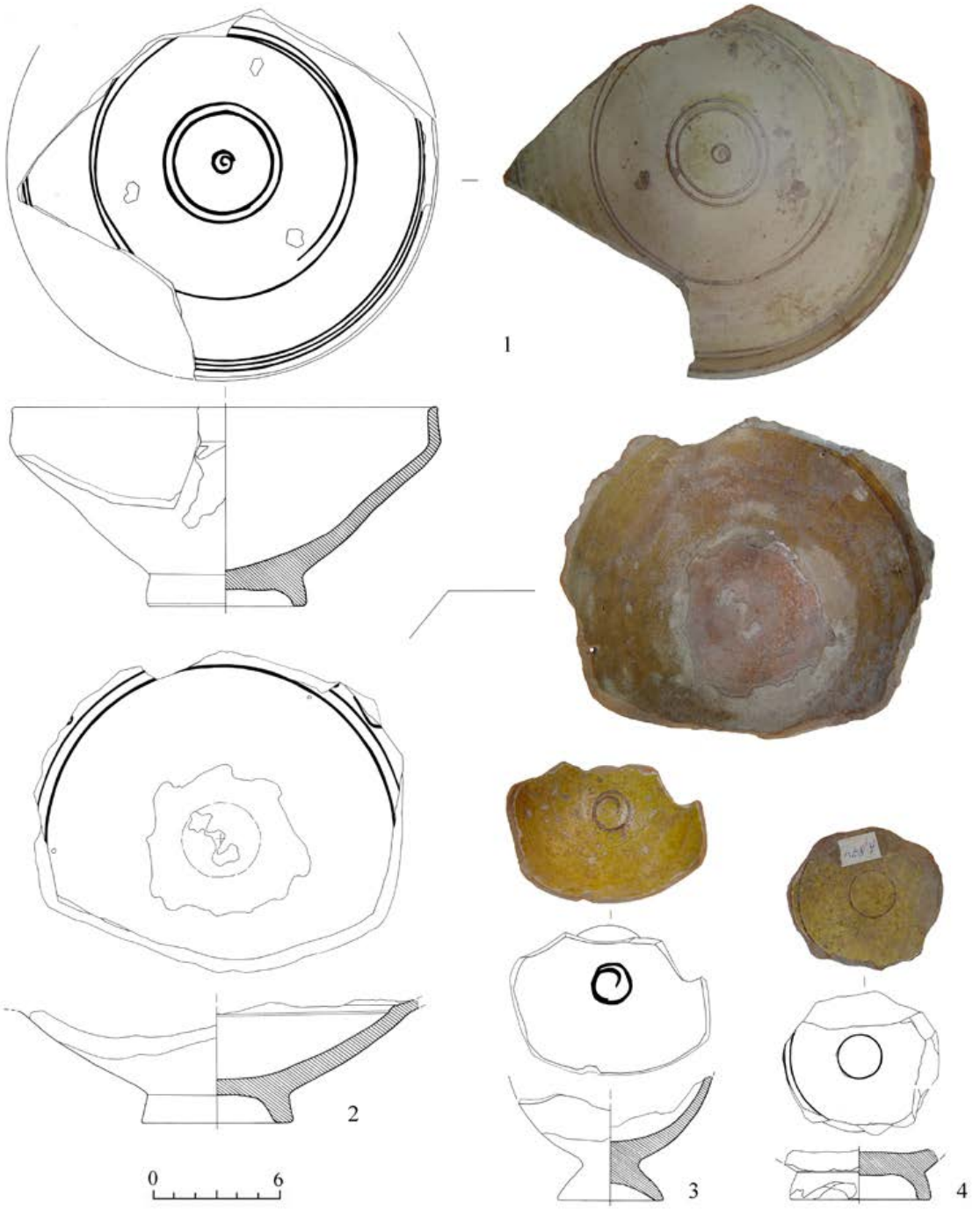

Fig. 31. Southern Crimea, Oreanda, church with necropolis near the fork of the upper and lower Yalta – Alupka highway, ceramics from the burials: 1. Grave No. 3; 2. Grave No. 2; 3. Grave No. 7; 4. Grave No. 9 (Author: I. Teslenko)

Обр. 31. Южен Крим, Ореанда, църква с некропол близо до разклона на горната и долната част на магистралата Ялта – Алупка, керамични съдове от гробовете: 1. Гроб № 3; 2. Гроб № 2; 3. Гроб № 7; 4. Гроб № 9 (Автор: И. Тесленко)

in the funeral context. One photo of a burial with bowls inscribed "Oreanda, Krestovaya mount, March 1968, grave No. 1", however, was found among the archive's materials (fig. 29: 2, 3).[49] The bowl was placed upside down to the left of the buried person's pelvis.[50]

9.3. Khachla-Kayasy, church and necropolis in the castle of the 13th – 14th c. (fig. 29: 4). It was discovered in 1963 and excavated in 1967 (Фирсов 1990, 246 – 249, рис. 77, рис. 79, рис. 81; Паршина 1968а, 58 – 61, рис. 1 – 2). Outside the apse of the church were two infant burials with their heads oriented toward the west. The bones were poorly preserved. The first was a natural hollow in the rocks covered with sandstone slabs. The second grave was dug up to the rock surface in the clay layer. It is rectangular in plan with a semicircular niche for the head that protrudes outwards. The walls are formed from a lining of limestone and sandstone, and the grave is covered by a slab of sandstone. The infant was placed on its back with the legs slightly bent to the right and arms folded over the abdominal area. A small clay bowl was placed at the feet of the buried person (fig. 29: 4; Фирсов 1990, 247, рис. 81).[51]

10. Eski-Kermen is one of the urban centers in southwestern Crimea in the inner ridge of the Crimean mountains, 14 km south of modern Bakhchisaray (fig. 2). From the late 6th to the end of the 13th c., it was a provincial Byzantine town with a classic layout. It was destroyed by the Mongols at the end of the 13th c. and was never rebuilt (Айбабин 2014а; Айбабин 2014б). Only a small chapel and a burial ground were laid at the ruins of the central basilica around the beginning of the 14th c. (fig. 4). The excavations were carried out in 1930 (basilica), and in 1979 – 1980, 2018 – 2022 (of the chapel and late medieval cemetery; Паршина 1988, 46 – 47; Тесленко 2020б; Айбабин, Хайрединова 2019; Айбабин, Хайрединова 2021; Хайрединова 2021а; Хайрединова 2022).[52] Two sectors of the necropolis have been excavated: the area along the northern wall of the Byzantine basilica with the crypts, chapel, and associated burial ground (fig. 4: B) and a slab graveyard to the west of the basilica (fig. 4: C, fig. 32). Burials accompanied by pottery were recorded at both sites.

At the first site, glazed bowls were found to the southeast of the chapel in a ground grave with a single burial of an adolescent (fig. 4: B; grave No. 2) and in one of the crypts with multiple burials around 4.3 m to the north of the northern wall of the basilica (fig. 4: B; grave No. 7). An adolescent was accompanied by a large fragment of a glazed sgraffito bowl (fig. 33: 3) lying bottom-up by his right hip (Паршина 1988, 46 – 47). Such specimens are quite typical for ceramics of the SEC group dated to the 14th c. (Тесленко 2020б, рис. 1: 6).[53]

A crypt contained the remains of 30 skeletons and had probably been in use for a long time. O. A. Parshina, the author of the excavations, mentioned about a dozen whole and fragmented open-shaped red-clay vessels that came from the upper part of the grave. She presented drawings of two of them in the field report (fig. 33: 1, 2; Паршина 1980, 7, 21 – 22, рис. 112).[54] Both have morphological and decorative features typical for Byzantine pottery of the SCC family (possibly, Novy Svet group) common in the last third of the 13th – early 14th c. (Waksman, Teslenko 2010; Тесленко 2018б, 463 – 466; Тесленко 2020б, 251 – 252, рис. 1: 6).

[49] The author of the photo is V. Rybka. Folder „ЮБК. Ореанда, Ливадия". Науковий архів Кримського філіалу Інстітуту археології НАН України. Ф. О–1. Оп. 1. Д. 2165. – 249 л.: Л. 180, 181, 183.

[50] The current location of the bowl is unknown, and there is no detailed information about it in the archives.

[51] The current location of the vessel is unknown.

[52] Excavations of the Eski-Kermen site were carried out in 1928 – 1937, 1979 – 1981, and 2003 – 2024 (see, e.g., Айбабин 2021; Хайрединова 2022).

[53] This bowl has not yet been found in museum collections. There is only a photograph from the report and a published drawing.

[54] The current location of the finds is unknown. There are only descriptions of the items in the report and drawings of two of them (Паршина 1980, 7, 21 – 22, рис. 112, № 48 – 52).

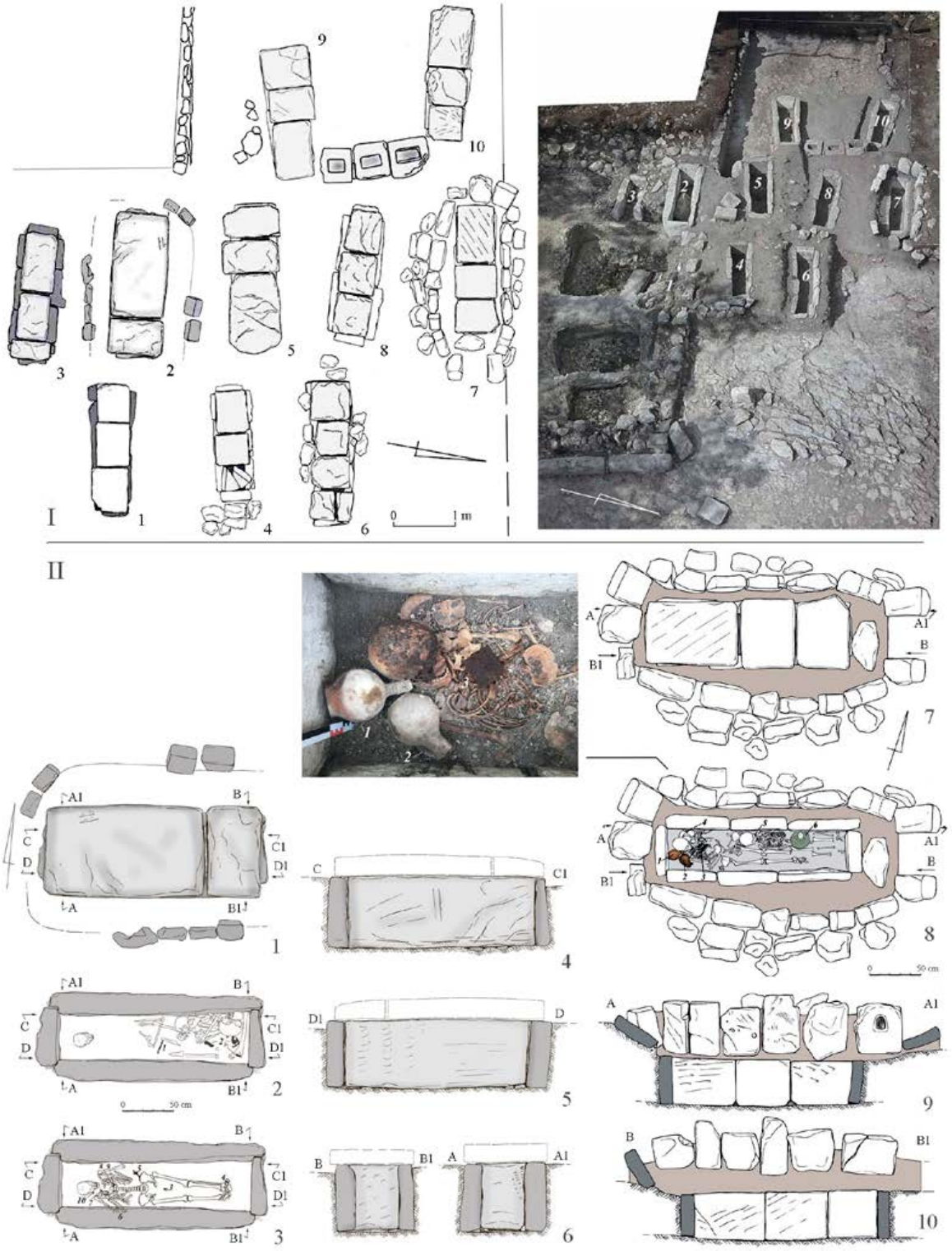

Fig. 32. Southwestern Crimea, Eski-Kermen, slab graveyard to the west of the basilica: I. General plan and photo of the burial ground; II. Tombs No. 2 (1 – 6) and No. 7 (7 – 10), plans and sections (after Хайрединова 2022, рис. 6, рис. 9)

Обр. 32. Югозападен Крим, Ески Кермен, плочест некропол западно от базиликата: I. Общ план и снимка на некропола; II. Гробове № 2 (1 – 6) и № 7 (7 – 10), планове и разрези (по Хайрединова 2022, рис. 6, рис. 9)

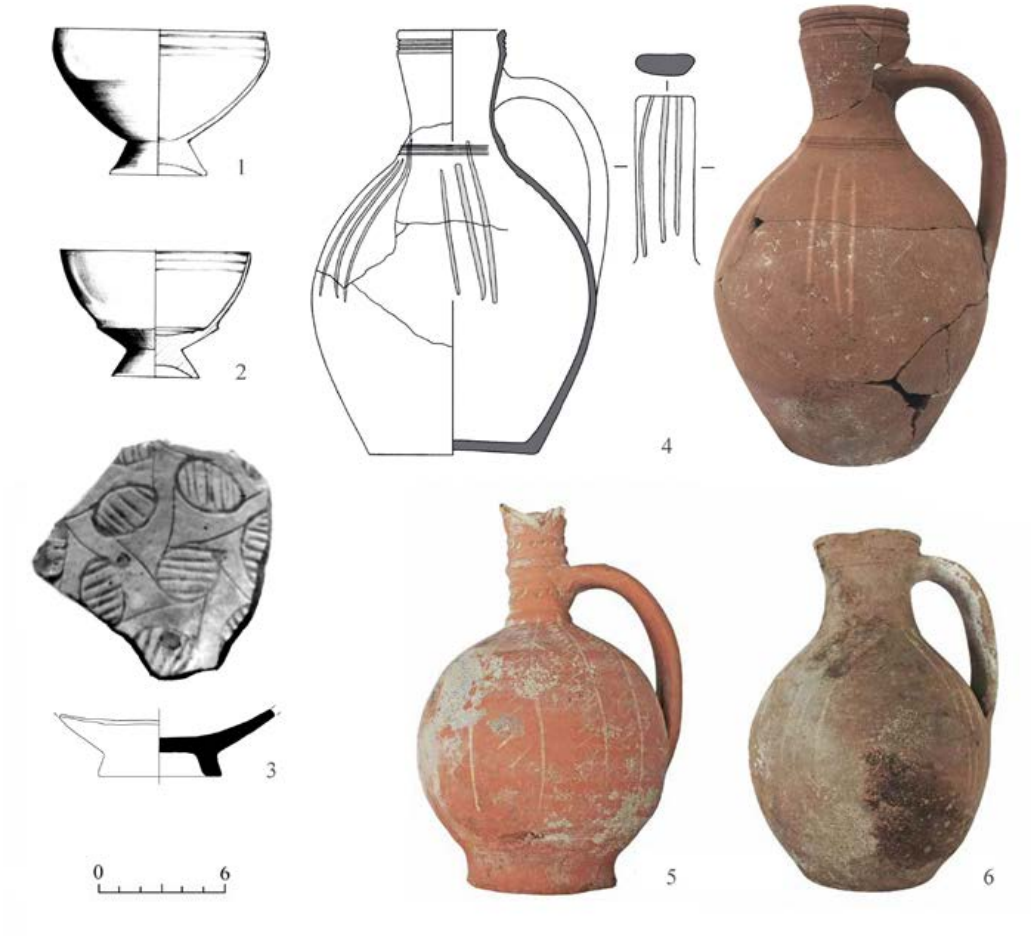

Fig. 33. Southwestern Crimea, Eski-Kermen, ceramics from the burials: 1 – 3. Area along the northern wall of the Byzantine basilica with the crypts, chapel and associated burial ground – crypt No. 7 (1, 2; after Паршина 1980, рис. 112) and grave No. 2 (3; after Паршина 1979, рис. 12); 4 – 6. Slab graveyard to the west of the basilica – tomb No. 2 (4; after Айбабин, Хайрединова 2021, рис. 36) and tomb No. 7 (5, 6; after Хайрединова 2022, рис. 52)

Обр. 33. Югозападен Крим, Ески Кермен, керамични съдове от гробовете: 1 – 3. Площта покрай северната стена на византийската базилика с криптите, параклиса и прилежащия некропол – крипта № 7 (1, 2; по Паршина 1980, рис. 112) и гроб № 2 (3; по Паршина 1979, рис. 12); 4 – 6. Плочест некропол западно от базиликата – гроб № 2 (4; по Айбабин, Хайрединова 2021, рис. 36) и гроб № 7 (5, 6; по Хайрединова 2022, рис. 52)

Three unglazed jugs were found in two out of 10 excavated tombs in another area of the necropolis (fig. 32: 1 – 10). One of them (fig. 33: 4) was situated in the eastern part of tomb No. 2 with remains of five buried individuals that were buried on two levels: on layer I were three children aged between 2.5 and 6 and a man aged 25 (displaced skulls and bones) and on layer II was one woman 18 – 19 years old whose skeleton was preserved in anatomical order (fig. 32: 2, 3; Хайрединова 2021a, 37 – 38; рис. 31 – 38). There are a coin of Khan Uzbek dating from 1320 – 1340 and golden earrings in the form of a "question mark" of the 14th c. among the funeral goods in the layer II (fig. 34: 1 – 10). Thus, the earliest burials were most likely dug at least after the 1320s.

Two other vessels accompanied the burials of three infants 4 – 5 years old, 10 – 11 years old, and under three years old, respectively, who were placed in one tomb (fig. 32: 7 – 10). Both jugs were located in the area of the deceased's heads (fig. 32: 8). In addition, the grave goods included a bronze dish painted with red color (placed in the abdomen area of one of the buried), a bone comb (on the chest of another child), and two iron arrowheads near the skulls (fig. 34: 11 – 14; Хайрединова

Fig. 34. Southwestern Crimea, Eski-Kermen, slab graveyard to the west of the basilica, various funerary goods from tomb No. 2 (1 – 10) and No. 7 (11 – 14). Tomb No. 2: 1. Spherical button; 2, 4. Bronze rings; 3. Iron arrowhead; 5. Silver coin; 6. Astragalus; 7. Bone stylus; 8, 9. Gold earrings; 10. Gold ring (after Айбабин, Хайрединова 2021, рис. 36 – 37). Tomb No. 7: 11. Bronze dish; 12, 13. Iron arrowheads; 14. Bone comb (after Хайрединова 2022, рис. 53, рис. 56)

Обр. 34. Югозападен Крим, Ески Кермен, плочест некропол западно от базиликата, разнообразен погребален инвентар от гроб № 2 (1 – 10) и от гроб № 7 (11 – 14). Гроб № 2: 1. Сферично копче; 2, 4. Бронзови халки; 3. Железен връх на стрела; 5. Сребърна монета; 6. Астрагал; 7. Костен стилус; 8, 9. Златни обеци; 10. Златен пръстен (по Айбабин, Хайрединова 2021, рис. 36 – 37). Гроб № 7: 11. Бронзово блюдо; 12, 13. Железни върхове на стрели; 14. Костен гребен (по Хайрединова 2022, рис. 53, рис. 56)

2022, 13 – 16, рис. 51 – 52). All of the ceramic vessels belong to the local SWC group, types 2.1 A – C according to the classification proposed by one of the authors. They were common on the peninsula from the beginning of the 14th to the third quarter of the 15th c. (Тесленко 2021, 63 – 69, рис. 53 – 56).

11. Mangup is a large urban center in southwestern Crimea in the inner ridge of the Crimean mountains, 25 km south of modern Bakhchisaray, and dated to the middle of the 6th – 18th c. (fig. 2). From at least the 8th or 9th c., it was the center of the Gothic bishopric and the residence of the hierarchs of Crimean Gothia. At the end of the 13th c., the archbishopric of Gothia was elevated to the rank of metropolis.[55] In the first quarter of the 15th c., the city became the capital of a local principality known from the historiography as Theodoro, which existed until the Ottoman invasion in 1475 (Герцен, Науменко 2015; Науменко и др. 2021, and other). Eight cave and 18 ground-based Christian churches are associated now with this site. Thirteen of the latter, most of which have burial grounds, are situated on the plateau, and five are placed in the surrounding area. Of these 18 churches, 16 have been excavated or explored. About 80 % of the sites did not exist before the late 13th – 14th or the 15th c. (Герцен и др. 2017, 39 – 54; Герцен, Науменко 2020; Науменко и др. 2021). The ceramic vessels were found in the funeral context of the three burial grounds inside of the city.

11.1. The "Small Basilica" is situated 270 m south of the citadel (fig. 35). Excavations were carried out in 1967 – 1968 and in 2016 (Веймарн и др. 1974, 130 – 131, 134, рис. 4 – 5; Герцен и др. 2017, 46). Five graves carved into the rock with the remains of displaced bones have been investigated to the north and northwest of the church (fig. 35: I). Glass, bronze and iron bracelets, beads, earrings, plaques, glass beads, as well as a small coarse jug are mentioned among the grave goods (fig. 35: II; Веймарн и др. 1974, 131, рис. 5). The drawing in the publication is rather sketchy, so the attribution of the vessel is difficult. According to the new data, the site could be dated back to the 14th c. (Герцен и др. 2017, 35 – 36, 46, № 7, рис. 1: 8, рис. 1: 9).

11.2. St. George's Church (fig. 36) is located in the upper reaches of Yelli-Burun cape, at the bend of the road from the Kapu-Dere gully. It was excavated in 1912 – 1913 and 2015 – 2016 (Герцен и др. 2017, 43 – 45, 56 – 108). The church was built in the 1420s – 1430s on the cemetery, which was founded no earlier than the second half of the 13th c., and was used until the 16th c. (Герцен и др. 2017, 56 – 108).

Two graves with single deceased without grave goods were excavated inside the church. In the surrounding area were discovered 10 burial structures. One vault (No. 5) under the apse of the church was fully studied (fig. 36: 2, 4). It contained the remains of 13 buried individuals (Герцен и др. 2017, 57 – 107, рис. 2: 7, 17 – 25). One Byzantine white-clay glazed jug painted in brown and green (so-called Glazed White Ware IV or GWW IV, after Hayes 1992, 30 – 33) and the bottom of a local bowl with sgraffito decoration were among the grave goods (fig. 36: 6, 7). Both come from the lower level of the crypt and were placed in its eastern area (Герцен и др. 2017, 102, 105, ил. 70 – 73).

11.3. "Church of 2015" (fig. 37). It is located in the upper reaches of Yelli-Burun cape, about 100 meters west of St. George's Church and dated to the end of the 13th – 14th c. Excavations were carried out in 2015 – 2017. The investigated area is 122 m^2. The remains of a single-apse church and five tombs have been studied (fig. 37: 1). Two of them were located inside the building at the southern and northern walls while three others were situated outside of the southeast corner (Герцен и др. 2017, 47, 111 – 139, рис. 1: 15; Науменко, Душенко 2019). All of the tombs were carved into the rock and contained multiple burials (Герцен и др. 2017, 139, ил. 74). Three jugs were found in

[55] For more on these issues, see Науменко 2003.

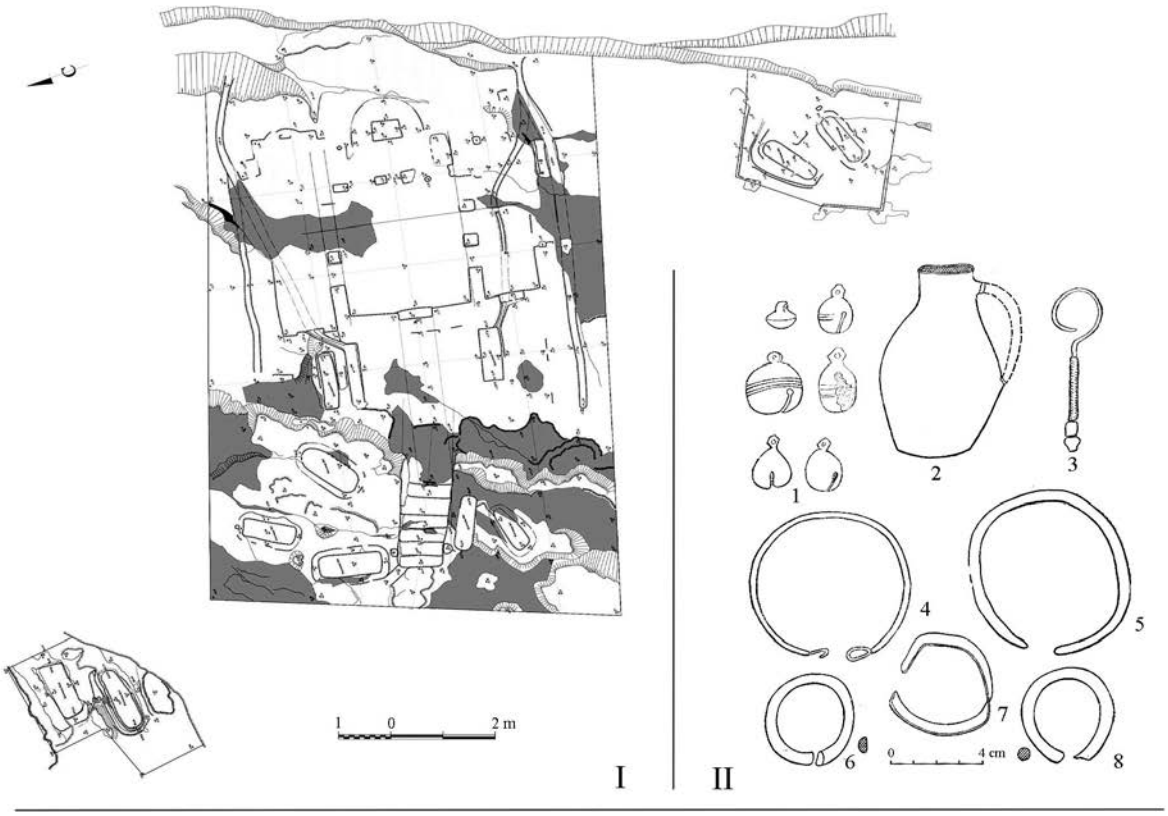

Fig. 35. Southwestern Crimea, Mangup, "Small Basilica" and burial ground 270 m south of the citadel: I. Plan (after Герцен и др. 2017, рис. 1: 8); II. Grave goods (after Веймарн и др. 1974, 131, рис. 5)

Обр. 35. Югозападен Крим, Мангуп, „Малка базилика" и некропол 270 м южно от цитаделата: I. План (по Герцен и др. 2017, рис. 1: 8); II. Гробен инвентар (по Веймарн и др. 1974, 131, рис. 5)

the lower layers of funeral structures Nos. 1 – 3. These are one glazed white-clay ware of Byzantine origin (fig. 37: 4) and two red-clay unglazed jugs from Cherson (fig. 37: 2, 3). One of them (fig. 37: 2) was located in the western part of tomb No. 3 (Герцен и др. 2017, рис. 3: 16). The location of the two other is not specified. More grave goods from the tombs are represented by elements of clothes, jewelry, objects of personal devotion (iron and bronze crosses pendants), an amulet (a cowrie shell), tools (knifes), weapons (arrowheads), fragments of a glass lamp, etc. (fig. 38). A rare find is a bone icon with the image of St. John the Evangelist (fig. 38: 4; Герцен и др. 2017, 118 – 134, ил. 81 – 85; Науменко, Душенко 2019, рис. 4 – 6).

12. Cembalo is a Genoese trading post and fortress founded in the 1340s in the costal area of southwestern Crimea, modern Balaklava (fig. 2). Excavations were performed in 1991, 1999 – 2013, and 2014 – 2022 (Гинькут 2022). Five churches with burial grounds were discovered there: one Catholic, three Orthodox, and one Armenian (Адаксина, Мыц 2021). More than 50 graves with nearly 400 buried persons were studied. Three glazed bowls are mentioned in the context of the graves on three burial grounds associated with one Catholic and two Orthodox churches.

12.1. Catholic church of St. Nicholas or St. George (No. 1) [56] on the St. George cape in the Latin quarter of the fortress (fig. 39: 1). Excavations were carried out in 1991, 1999 – 2003, and 2018. It dated back to the 14th – 15th c. and was also used in the Ottoman period between 1475 and

[56] For more details, see Адаксина, Мыц 2021, 216.

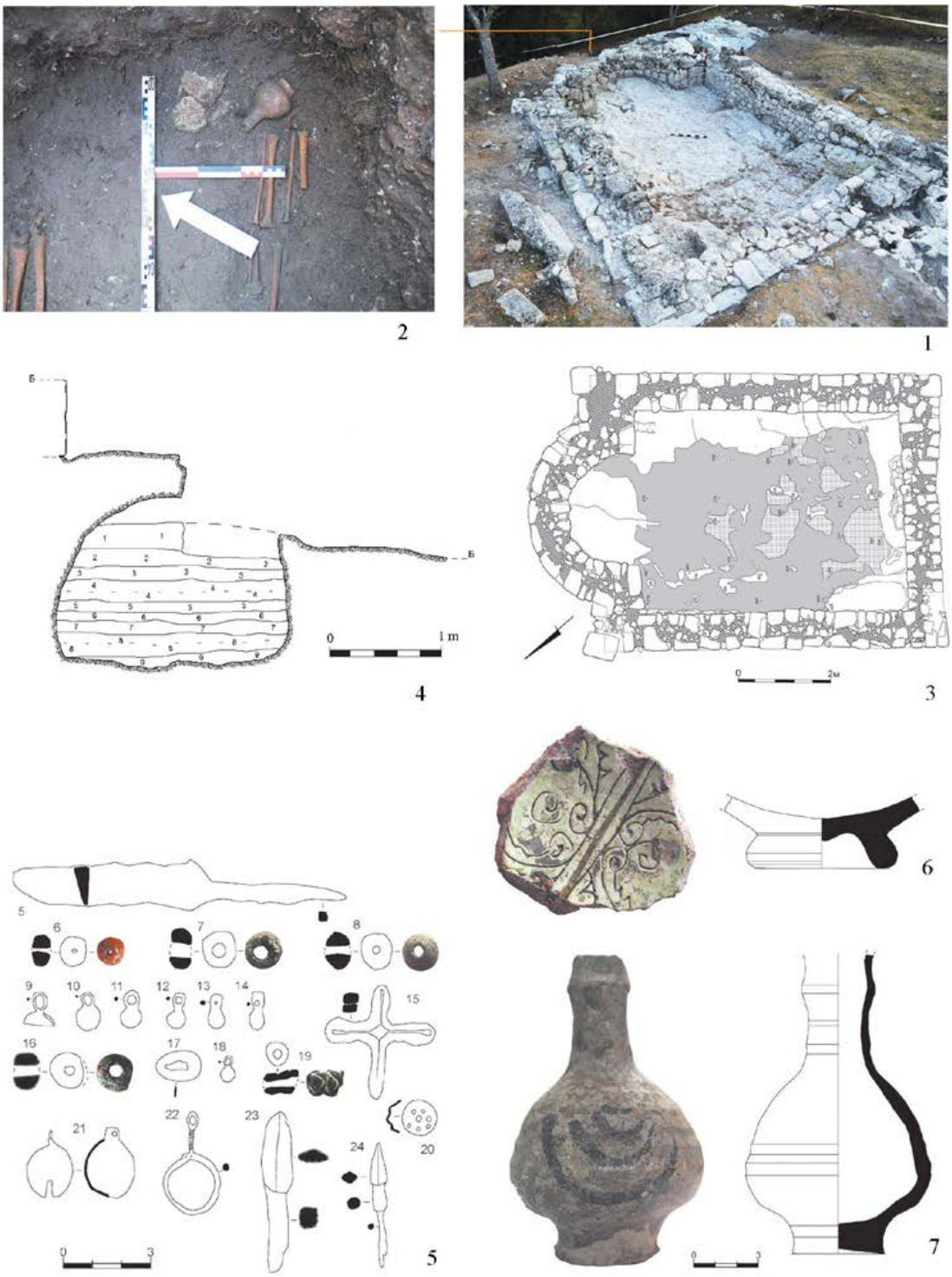

Fig. 36. Southwestern Crimea, Mangup, St. George's Church and burial ground: 1. General view from the west, after excavations; 2. Crypt No. 5, level 8, view from the south; 3. Church, plan of the building; 4. Crypt No. 5, section and stratigraphy; 5 – 7. Grave goods – small finds from the different levels (5), ceramic vessels (6, 7; after Герцен и др. 2017, рис. 2: 14, 17, ил. 41, ил. 71, ил. 73)

Обр. 36. Югозападен Крим, Мангуп, църква „Св. Георги" с некропол: 1. Общ поглед от запад след разкопките; 2. Крипта № 5, пласт 8, поглед от юг; 3. План на църквата; 4. Крипта № 5, разрез и стратиграфия; 5 – 7. Гробен инвентар – дребни находки от различни пластове (5), керамични съдове (6, 7; по Герцен и др. 2017, рис. 2: 14, 17, ил. 41, ил. 71, ил. 73)

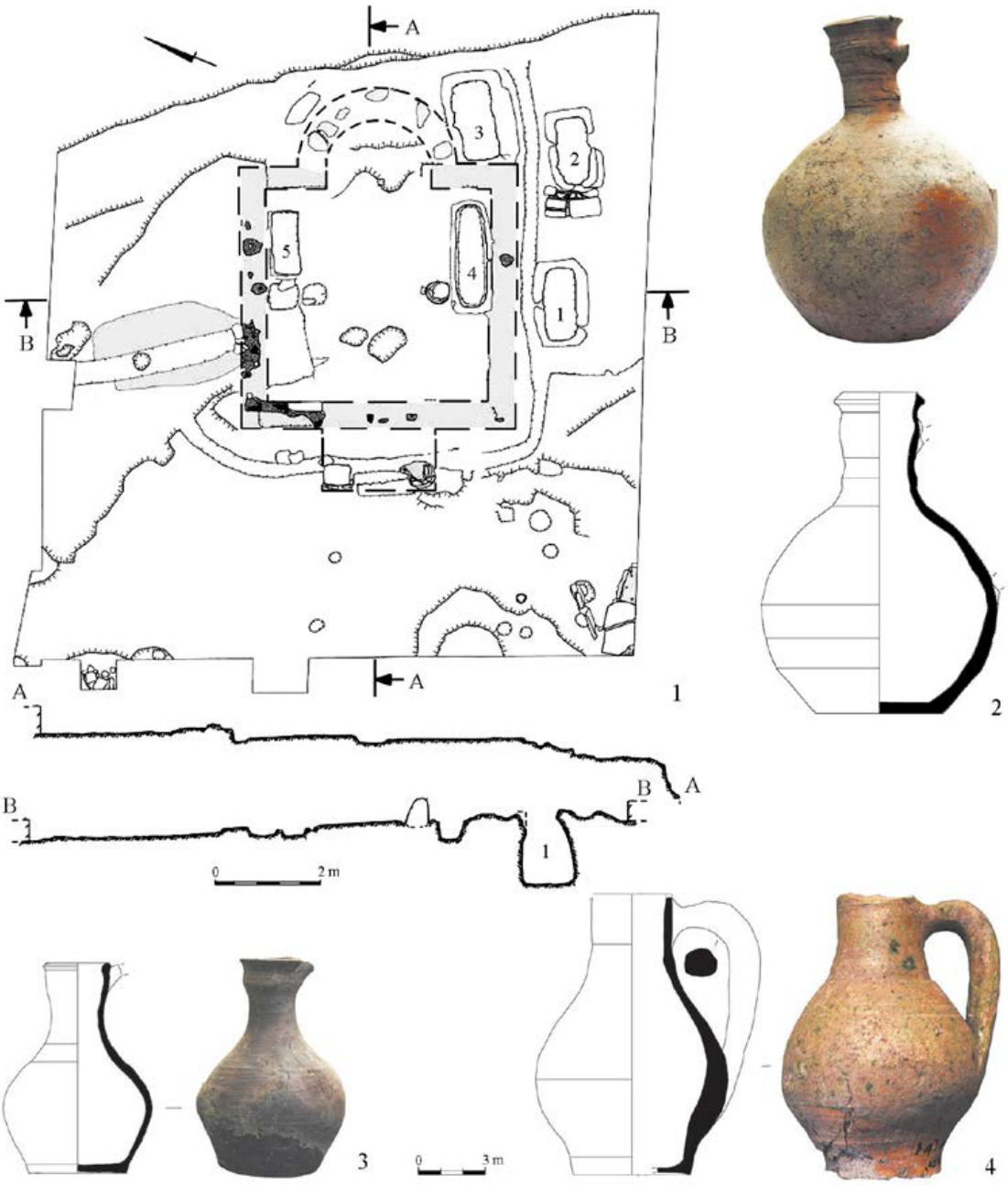

Fig. 37. Southwestern Crimea, Mangup, "Church of 2015": 1. Plan of the site; 2 – 4. Ceramic vessels from the funeral context – tomb No. 3, level 6 (2), tomb No. 2, level 4 (3), and tomb No. 1, level 3 (4; after Науменко, Душенко 2019, рис. 3; Герцен и др. 2017, ил. 81 – 83)

Обр. 37. Югозападен Крим, Мангуп, „Църква от 2015 г.": 1. План на обекта; 2 – 4. Керамични съдове от погребален контекст – от гроб № 3, пласт 6 (2), от гроб № 2, пласт 4 (3) и от гроб № 1, пласт 3 (4; по Науменко, Душенко 2019, рис. 3; Герцен и др. 2017, ил. 81 – 83)

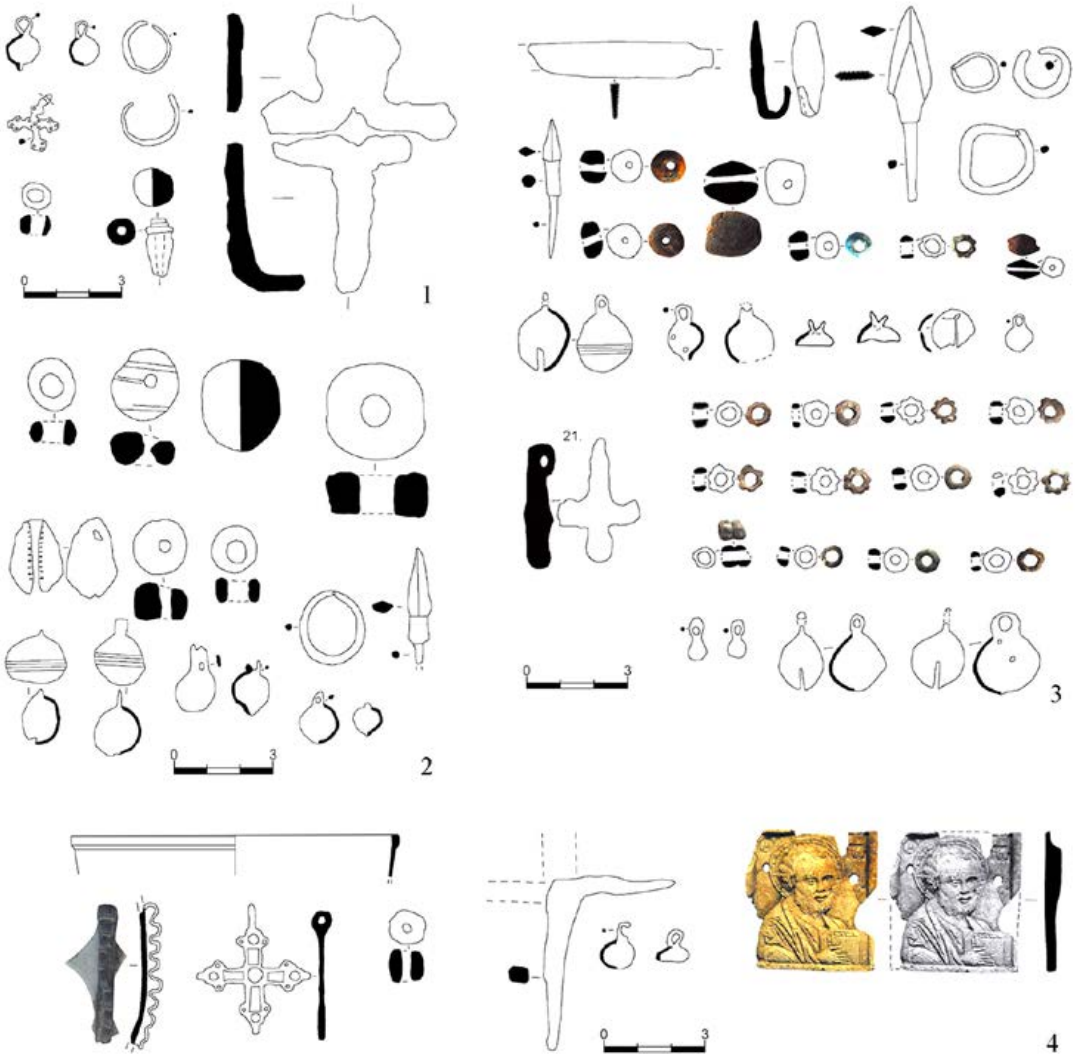

Fig. 38. Southwestern Crimea, Mangup, "Church of 2015", small finds from the tombs: 1. Tomb No. 1; 2. Tomb No. 2; 3. Tomb No. 3; 4. Tomb No. 4 (after Герцен и др. 2017, ил. 81 – 85)

Обр. 38. Югозападен Крим, Мангуп, „Църква от 2015 г.", дребни находки от гробовете: 1. Гроб № 1; 2. Гроб № 2; 3. Гроб № 3; 4. Гроб № 4 (по Герцен и др. 2017, ил. 81 – 85)

second half of the 18th c. (Дьячков 2004; Дьячков 2005; Дьячков 2019; Алексеенко и др. 2015, 150 – 153; Адаксина, Мыц 2021, 215 – 219). Site researcher S. Dyachkov believes that at the end of the 14th c. the church was an integral part of the complex of buildings of the Genoese consular castle and served as a burial place for its inhabitants, namely representatives of the Genoese colonial administration (Дьячков 2019, 772 – 779).

A stone tomb covered with stone slabs outside the northeastern wall of the church as well as the space inside the building and outside the northwestern wall were used for burials. Burials with one to 22 (grave No. 7) buried individuals in each were also set into the ground inside the building. A total of 24 funerary structures with more than a hundred burials have been investigated, and about 73 % of them are children. Burials were mostly in wooden coffins. Numerous reburials of the bones' remains were also noted (Дьячков 2019, 772 – 779). Bronze and silver spherical buttons

(in some cases with gilding), bracelets, remains of gold and silver embroidery, earrings, finger rings of copper, silver and gold, objects of personal devotion, amulets (cowry shells and a coral pendant), copper and silver coins of the 14th – 15th c., one medical device, and one glazed bowl are mentioned among the grave goods (Столяренко 2010; Гинькут 2011, 59; Гинькут 2022; Алексеенко и др. 2015, 150 – 153; Дьячков 2019, 778 – 779). More details about the last one as well as the complete results of the site excavations have not been published yet.

12.2. A double-apse church on the top of Kastron mount (No. 2; fig. 39: 2). Excavations were conducted in 2005 – 2008 (Адаксина, Мыц 2021, 219 – 220). The chronology of the church was set between the first half or middle of the 15th c. and 1475 (Адаксина, Мыц 2021, 220; Гинькут 2011, 59 – 60). Two burial structures with two buried individuals in each were excavated inside the building (fig. 39: 2). The grave with the bowl is located in the center of the north compartment. It is a rock-cut tomb containing: a male of 50 – 55 years old and a female aged 35 – 40 who has congenital physiological pathologies (fig. 39: 4; Адаксина, Мыц 2008, 10, рис. 77 – 79). One red-clay Byzantine bowl was placed bottom up on the chest of the female. The bowl is decorated with incised ornament that includes Christian symbols (fig. 40: 1). The burial dates back to the late 14th – first half of the 15th c. (Гинькут 2011, 58 – 60). Other funeral goods from the graves inside the church were represented by twelve spherical bronze buttons (fig. 40: 2; Адаксина, Мыц 2008, 10 – 11, рис. 170: 1 – 12).

12.3. The orthodox roadside church (No. 3; fig. 39: 3, 5) was excavated in 2007 (Адаксина, Мыц 2008). The authors of the digs interpret the site as a quarter church with a burial ground that existed from the 1420s – 1440s to the 1580s (Адаксина, Мыц 2021, 220 – 223).[57] A trench for burials was dug into the rocky surface along the inner side of the northwestern wall. Its length is 3.65 m, width 1 – 1.60 m, and depth up to 0.53 m. Twelve graves with the remains of 53 individuals were studied there (fig. 39: 5). Most of the graves contained from three to twelve skeletons. Only two of them held one deceased each. Most of the bones were redeposited in the process of reburial.

A ceramic glazed bowl is mentioned in connection to one of the displaced skeletons (No. 3; Адаксина, Мыц 2021, 223; Адаксина, Мыц 2008, рис. 155). The vessel was placed near the cranium; it is of Crimean origin and is quite typical for ceramic assemblages of the 15th c. (fig. 40: 3). At the same time, such type of bowls was known earlier, too. It is difficult to date undecorated wares precisely (Тесленко 2021, 85). One broken glass vessel is also mentioned as associated with the same burial (fig. 40: 4). Given that the deceased's remains were displaced from their original position, however, this assertion cannot be certain. Four more fragmented glass vessels accompanied burials Nos. 1 and 2 (fig. 40: 5, 6).[58] The location of the glass vessels in the graves is not specified (Адаксина, Мыц 2008, 18, 20). Moreover, from the information provided by the authors of the excavations, it is difficult to find out whether the whole vessels were placed in the graves during the funeral ceremony or ended up there already in fragments in the process of covering the deceased with soil. Other grave goods include pendant buttons (spherical, polyhedral, and grooved) made of bronze and silver, including those with gilding; a wire earring; a ring; a hairpin (fig. 40: 8); etc. (Адаксина, Мыц 2008, 17 – 21, рис. 132 – 134, рис. 139 – 141, рис. 155 – 156, рис. 168 – 171).

Among the specific features of the burial practice in this cemetery, the authors of the excavations note the abundant remains of commemorial meals (various broken ceramic vessels, animal bones and shells of sea mollusks) and pieces of charcoal (Адаксина, Мыц 2008, 16 – 21). In addition, there is a remarkable number of close-form vessel bottoms in the site's ceramic assemblage.

[57] A coin of Tokhtamysh Khan minted in 1380 – 1381 came from the lower layer of the church floor fill, marking the *terminus post quem* of the complex (Адаксина, Мыц 2008, 16 – 17).

[58] The authors of the excavations mention two open and two closed vessels. The profile parts of both are represented in the illustrations for the report (Адаксина, Мыц 2008, рис. 166: 2, рис. 169: 1).

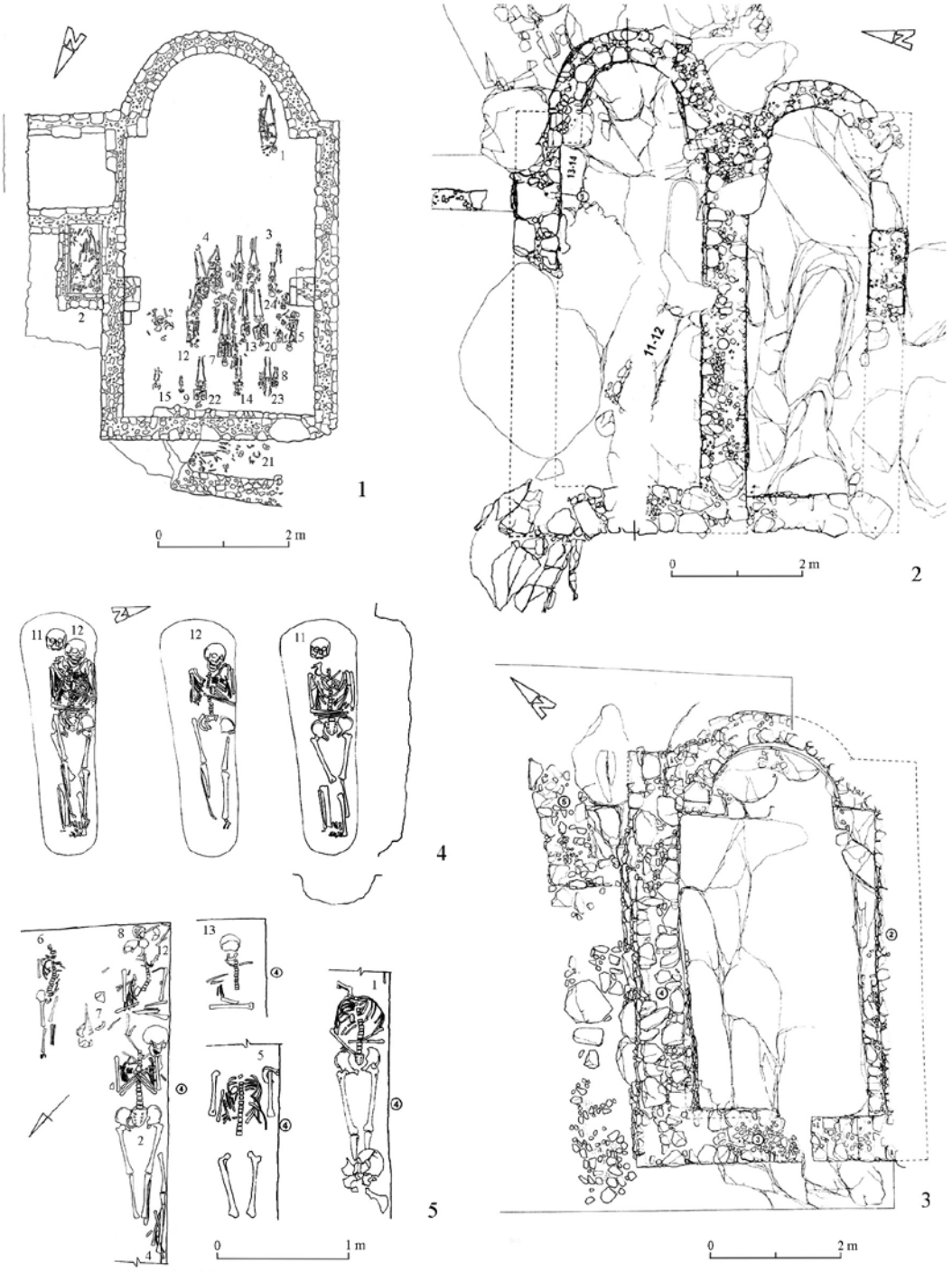

Fig. 39. Southwestern Crimea, Cembalo, churches with burial grounds with ceramic vessels in the graves: 1. Church of St. Nicholas in the Latin quarter (No. 1), plan (after Дьячков 2005, рис. 2); 2. Double-apse church on the top of Kastron mount (No. 2), plan (after Адаксина, Мыц 2008, рис. 62); 3. Roadside church (No. 3), plan (after Адаксина, Мыц 2008, рис. 92); 4. Burials Nos. 11 – 12 under the floor of church No. 2, plan and sections (after Адаксина, Мыц 2008, рис. 64 – 65); 5. Burials under the floor of church No. 3 (after Адаксина, Мыц 2008, рис. 97)

Обр. 39. Югозападен Крим, Чембало, църкви с некрополи, съдържащи керамични съдове в гробовете: 1. Църква „Св. Никола" в Латинския квартал (№ 1), план (по Дьячков 2005, рис. 2); 2. Двуапсидна църква на върха на планината Кастрон (№ 2), план (по Адаксина, Мыц 2008, рис. 62); 3. Крайпътна църква (№ 3), план (по Адаксина, Мыц 2008, рис. 92); 4. Гробове № 11 – 12 под пода на църква № 2, план и разрези (по Адаксина, Мыц 2008, рис. 64 – 65); 5. Гробове под пода на църква № 3 (по Адаксина, Мыц 2008, рис. 97)

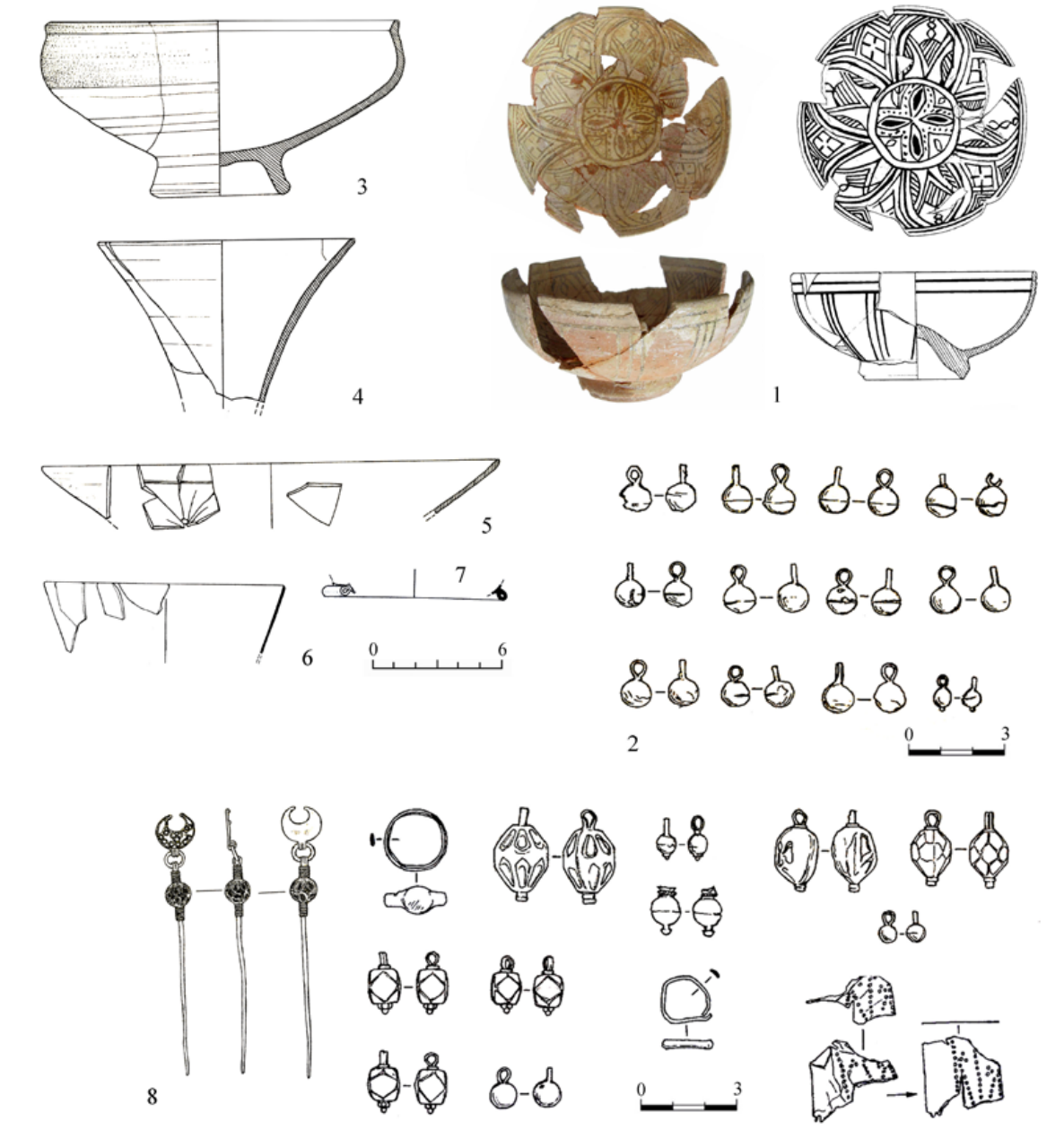

Fig. 40. Southwestern Crimea, Cembalo, churches with burial grounds, grave goods: 1, 2. Double-apse church on the top of Kastron mount – Byzantine bowl (1) from burial No. 11 (after Гинькут 2011, рис. 1) and bronze spherical buttons (2) from burials No. 12 (12 items) and No. 13 (1 item; after Адаксина, Мыц 2008, рис. 170: 1 – 12); 3 – 7. Roadside church – Crimean glazed bowl and glass vessels from burial No. 3 (3, 4, 7), glass vessels from burials Nos. 1 – 2 (5, 6), and small finds (8) from burials Nos. 2, 8 and 12 (after Адаксина, Мыц 2008, рис. 155, рис. 166, рис. 169 – 171)

Обр. 40. Югозападен Крим, Чембало, църкви с некрополи, гробен инвентар: 1, 2. Двуапсидна църква на върха на планината Кастрон – византийска купа (1) от гроб № 11 (по Гинькут 2011, рис. 1) и бронзови сферични копчета (2) от гробове № 12 (12 бр.) и № 13 (1 бр.; по Адаксина, Мыц 2008, рис. 170: 1 – 12); 3 – 7. Крайпътна църква – кримска глазирана купа и стъклени съдове от гроб № 3 (3, 4, 7), стъклени съдове от гробове № 1 – 2 (5, 6) и дребни находки (8) от гробове № 2, 8 и 12 (по Адаксина, Мыц 2008, рис. 155, рис. 166, рис. 169 – 171)

Similar features of funeral practice have been recorded at the church burial ground on the south-eastern spur of Ai-Todor mount in the village of Malyi Mayak (Тесленко, Лысенко 2004). A more detailed comparative analysis of the two sites would be promising for the future.

13. Cherson is located on the territory of modern-day Sevastopol (fig. 2). It is a large urban site that existed from antiquity until the 15th c. and was the center of Byzantine possessions in Crimea during medieval times. It was significantly reduced after the devastation by the Mongols in the second half of the 13th c. The city has been explored for more than one hundred and eighty years (see, e.g., Rabinowitz et al. 2010, 425 – 430). However, only three locations with vessels in the context of late medieval burials are mentioned in the publication for now.

13.1. The chapel No. 1 in quarter 10A in the northern area of Cherson (fig. 41: 1 – 3) was excavated in 1988. The excavation materials have been published only briefly (Рыжов, Голофаст 2000; Рыжов 2001).

The author of the excavations mentions two chapels in the quarter 10A and two cemeteries, associated with them, specifying that many burials there were made after the destruction of this part of the city in a fire (Рыжов 2001, 310). This catastrophic event is supposed to be related to one of the Mongol campaigns of the second half of the 13th c. (see, e.g., Голофаст, Рыжов 2003, 224). Detailed information on both burial grounds and on other funerary goods from them is not yet available. From the publications, we only know that two ceramic vessels come from grave No. 1 at Chapel No. 1 (Гинькут 2011, 59). These are a bowl with sgraffito decoration and a red-clay one-handled mug covered with yellow glaze (fig. 41: 2, 3; Рыжов, Голофаст 2000, 261 – 262, рис. 8: 6, рис. 9: 6; Яшаева и др. 2011, 377, 649, № 445). In our opinion, based on a comparison of the available information from the late medieval Cherson's contexts and existing chronologies of the Late Byzantine vessels with sgraffito decoration (for Crimea, see, e.g., Тесленко 2018б; Тесленко 2020в), the finds date no earlier than the third quarter of the 13th c.

13.2. The "Church with arcosolia" with burial ground in the harbor area of the city (fig. 41: 4 – 6) was excavated in 1963 – 1965. According to the author of the excavations L. Kolesnikova, the church was built no earlier than the end of the 10th – 11th c. and served as a quarter church with a burial ground until the end of the 14th – 15th c. The late date is marked by findings of 14th – early 15th c. Golden Horde coins on the floor and in one of the tombs of the complex (Сводный отчет 1971, 28 – 30; Колесникова 1978; Гилевич 1971, 65). The results of the excavations have not yet been published in detail.

It is known from brief reports that there were nine funerary structures inside the church. Three of them were located in the arcosolia and six situated under the floor of the building (fig. 41: 4). With the exception of ground grave No. 4, all of the others were tombs faced with stone masonry on clay or lime mortar and covered with stone slabs. Each of them held from five to 45 buried persons. Funerary goods are represented rather briefly and have not been illustrated. These are simple rings; bracelets; bronze wire earrings; blue glass bracelets; bronze spherical buttons; pectoral crosses made from gray slate or probably steatite, bronze, mother-of-pearl (no later than the second half of the 12th – 13th c., see Мусин 2009, 242 – 245, рис. 5 – 7) or iron; half of a copper alloy reliquary-cross with a relief representation of the Crucifix and silver inlay representations of saints in medallions at the ends of the branches (fig. 41: 6);[59] fragments of glass lamps and gold plaques; and

[59] НЗХТ 490/36588. This type of copper alloy reliquary-cross with silver inlay was elaborated in Kyiv at the end of 11th c.; they could have been in use during the 12th – 13th c. and even later (see Корзухина, Пескова 2003, 107, табл. 57: III.1.1.43; Яшаева и др. 2011, 526, № 199; Зоценко 1981, 113 – 124). We see nothing special in the fact that the cross was detected in a context that may be associated with late medieval burials. It should be stressed, however, that several specific features of the cross (very schematic silver inlay bust of saints) could testify that the cross was made no earlier than in the second half of the 12th c.

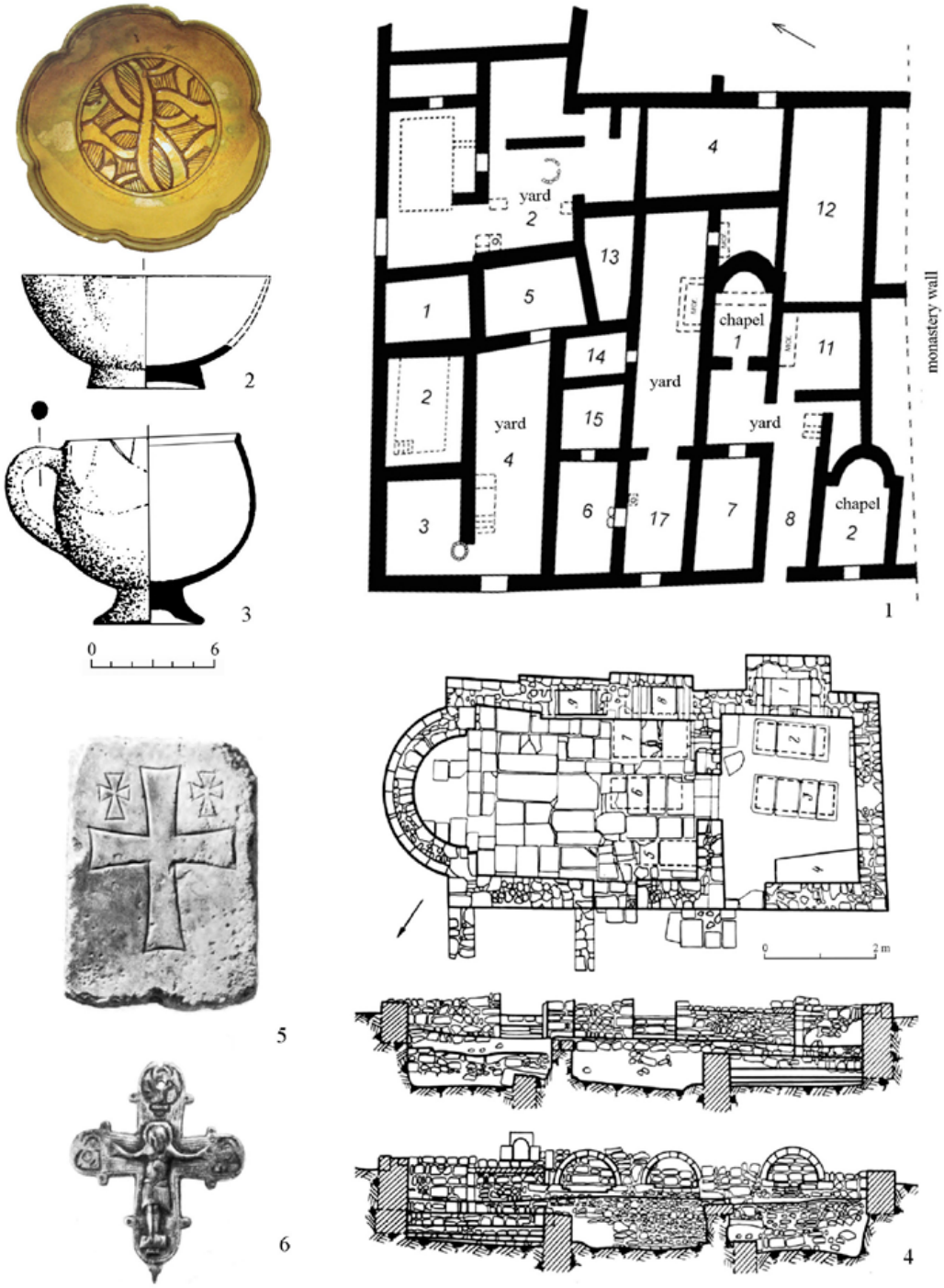

Fig. 41. Southwestern Crimea, Cherson. 1 – 3. Chapel No. 1 in quarter No. 10A in the northern area of the city: 1. Schematic plan without scale (after Рыжов 2001, рис. 5); 2, 3. Bowl and mug from grave No. 1 (after Рыжов, Голофаст 2000, рис. 8: 6, рис. 9: 6; Яшаева и др. 2011, 377, № 445); 4 – 6. "Church with arcosolia" in the harbor area of the city: 4. Plan and sections; 5, 6. Finds from site excavations – reliquary-cross from tomb No. 3 and marble tile with carved cross without scale (after Колесникова 1978, рис. 2, рис. 5)

Обр. 41. Югозападен Крим, Херсон. 1 – 3. Параклис № 1 в квартал № 10А в северната част на града: 1. Схематичен план без мащаб (по Рыжов 2001, рис. 5); 2, 3. Купа и чаша от гроб № 1 (по Рыжов, Голофаст 2000, рис. 8: 6, рис. 9: 6; Яшаева и др. 2011, 377, № 445); 4 – 6. „Църква с аркосолии" в пристанищния район на града: 4. План и разрези; 5, 6. Находки от разкопките на обекта – нагръден кръст от гроб № 3 и мраморна керемида с гравиран кръст (без мащаб; по Колесникова 1978, рис. 2, рис. 5)

pieces of brocade decorated with fantastic birds, animals, and geometric ornamentation. Fragments of Byzantine amphorae, a glazed jug and a glass beaker with molded decoration were found in some graves as well (Колесникова 1973, 256; Колесникова 1978, 164 – 165). N. Ginkut further mentioned one glazed bowl from the funeral context (Гинькут 2011, 59),[60] but she does not specify its type or origin and does not publish any images of the bowl.

13.3. The church in the agora of Cherson (fig. 42). It is located at the center of the ancient settlement on the hill. Most of the medieval buildings are currently covered by the 19th c. St. Vladimir's church. Prompted by the new church's construction, the first excavations took place in 1861 and the 1890s. The plans of the medieval structures that were discovered were drawn by K. Vyatkin and D. Ainalov. The recent excavations of 2020 – 2023 were prompted by renovation of the 19th c. church (Лесная и др. 2024).

The foundation remains of two medieval churches were investigated, along with the remnants of several funerary structures inside them. Ossuary grave No. 8, explored in 2023, is of particular interest to the current research. The stone tomb was built in the western compartment of the medieval church's northern nave and so in the building's southwest corner. The tomb's ceiling slabs have not survived. The grave held multiple burials, and those buried here were arranged in anatomical order in the lower part of the structure. Bones were scattered across its upper part. In general, the remains of at least 41 adults and 43 infants were recorded. The burial goods are quite numerous and varied. They consist of a piece of cloth with gold embroidery; various elements of traditional costumes; amulets and jewelry made of metal, glass, and bone (belt buckles, buttons, wire bronze earrings like those in the form of a question mark, glass bracelets, pendants, etc.; fig. 42: 2 – 6); as well as a bone stylus for writing. The dating of all these finds generally fits with the second half of the 13th – 14th c. (Лесная и др. 2024).

Among the ceramic and glass finds were two fragments of Gunsenin IV amphora of the 13th – 14th c. that were marked with graffiti monograms IC XC NI KA (fig. 42: 8), a local, small hemispherical bowl with a ring foot covered by yellowish-green lead glaze over white slip (fig. 42: 9) of the 14th c., a Late Byzantine bowl of Elaborate Insized Ware (EIW) type decorated with a monogram MIX and dated to the middle – late 14th c. (fig. 42: 10), fragments of a glazed tuvak (baby cradle pot) from the 14th c. (fig. 42: 11),[61] a Zeuxippus ware derived bowl, as well as numerous fragments of a bottle with a narrow neck and spherical grooved body made of transparent light green glass (fig. 42: 7) belonging to type O2b according to Stiaffini (Stiaffini 1991) and probably Italian-made in the 14th – 15th c. (Лесная и др. 2024, 22, 26 – 30, рис. 2: 1 – 5). Thus, according to findings from the tomb, its chronology can be placed in the late 13th – late 14th c.

14. Districts of Cherson. A cave complex on Vinogradnyi cape, the southwestern coast of the Herakleian peninsula in southwestern Crimea (fig. 2). Excavations were carried out in 1993. It was possibly a part of the monastery with an above-ground church 200 m away (Яшаева 1994; Яшаева 1995). It consisted of three dwelling and household rooms, one of which had a water source coming out of a niche in the wall, two household pits, and one burial structure – a subterranean rock-cut chamber with a dromos and niches (fig. 43: 1, 2). According to the author of the excavations, the tomb belongs to earlier times but was reused between the end of the 13th – beginning of the 14th c. and the end of the latter century. Then it was abandoned together with the monastery (Яшаева 1994, 80).

The funeral construction includes three spaces. The remains of at least forty persons were

[60]The bowl is stored in the Tauric Chersonese National Reserve, Sevastopol, Crimea, storage number НЗХТ К/О 4/36710 А (Гинькут 2011, 59).

[61] This fragment is hardly related to burial goods.

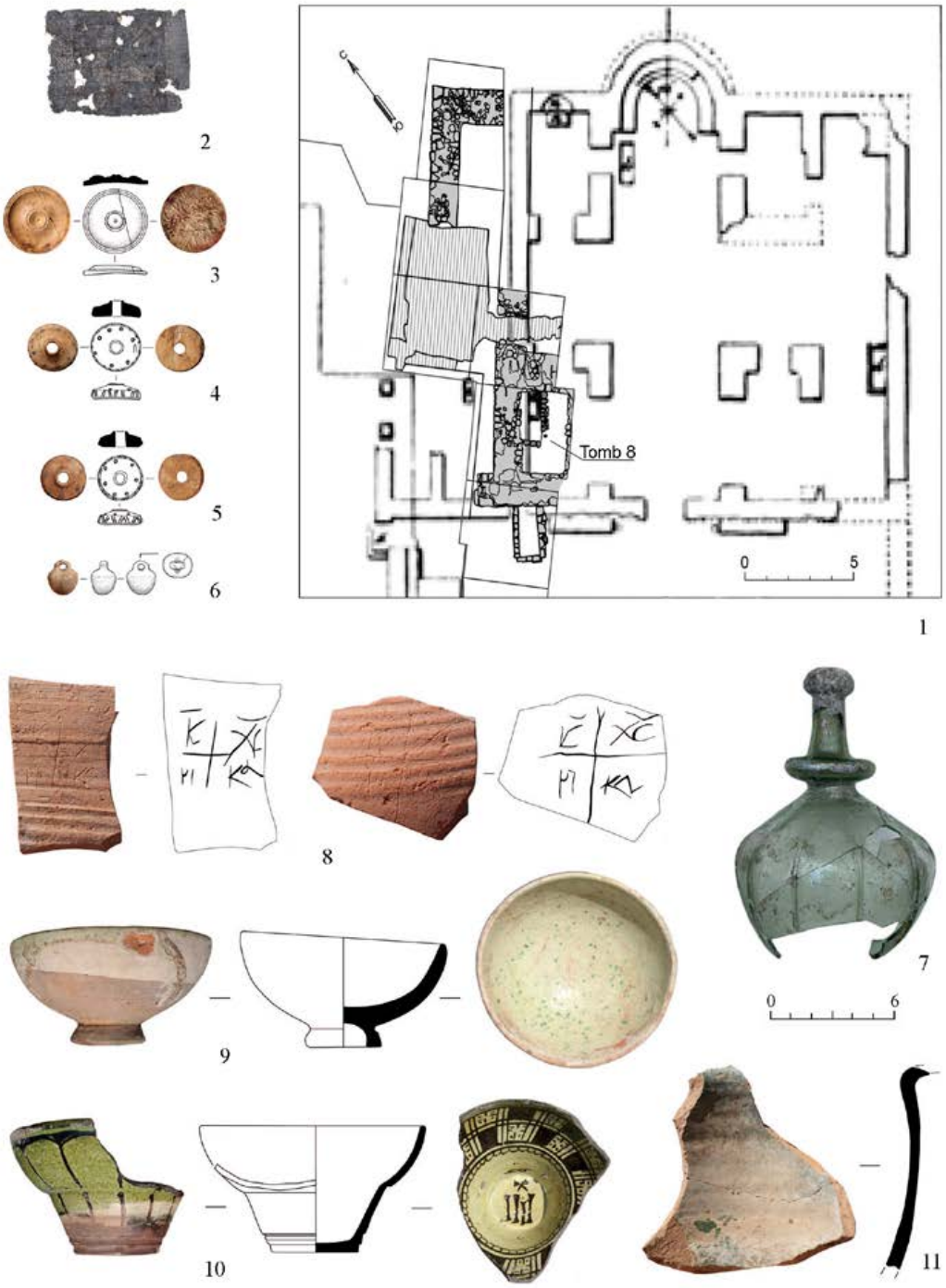

Fig. 42. Southwestern Crimea, Cherson. Church in the agora of Cherson: 1. Plan of the church published in 1905 by D. Ainalov, and fragment of walls and tomb No. 8, excavated in 2023 (after Лесная и др. 2024, рис. 1); 2 – 11. Grave goods from tomb No. 8 – 2. Tissue fragment; 3 – 6. Bone items; 7. Glass bottle; 8. Fragments of Gunsenin IV amphora with graffiti monograms IC XC NI KA; 8 – 10. Local and Byzantine glazed bowls; 11. Fragment of a glazed tuvak from the 14th c. (after Лесная и др. 2024, рис. 2 – 3)

Обр. 42. Югозападен Крим, Херсон. Църква на агората в Херсон: 1. План на църквата, публикуван през 1905 г. от Д. Айналов и парче от стена и гробница № 8, разкопана през 2023 г. (по Лесная и др. 2024, рис. 1); 2 – 11. Гробен инвентар от гробница № 8 – 2. Парче тъкан; 3 – 6. Костени предмети; 7. Стъклена бутилка; 8. Фрагменти от амфора Гюнсенин IV с графити и монограми IC XC NI KA; 8 – 10. Местни и византийски глазирани купи; 11. Фрагмент от глазиран съд от XIV в. (по Лесная и др. 2024, рис. 2 – 3)

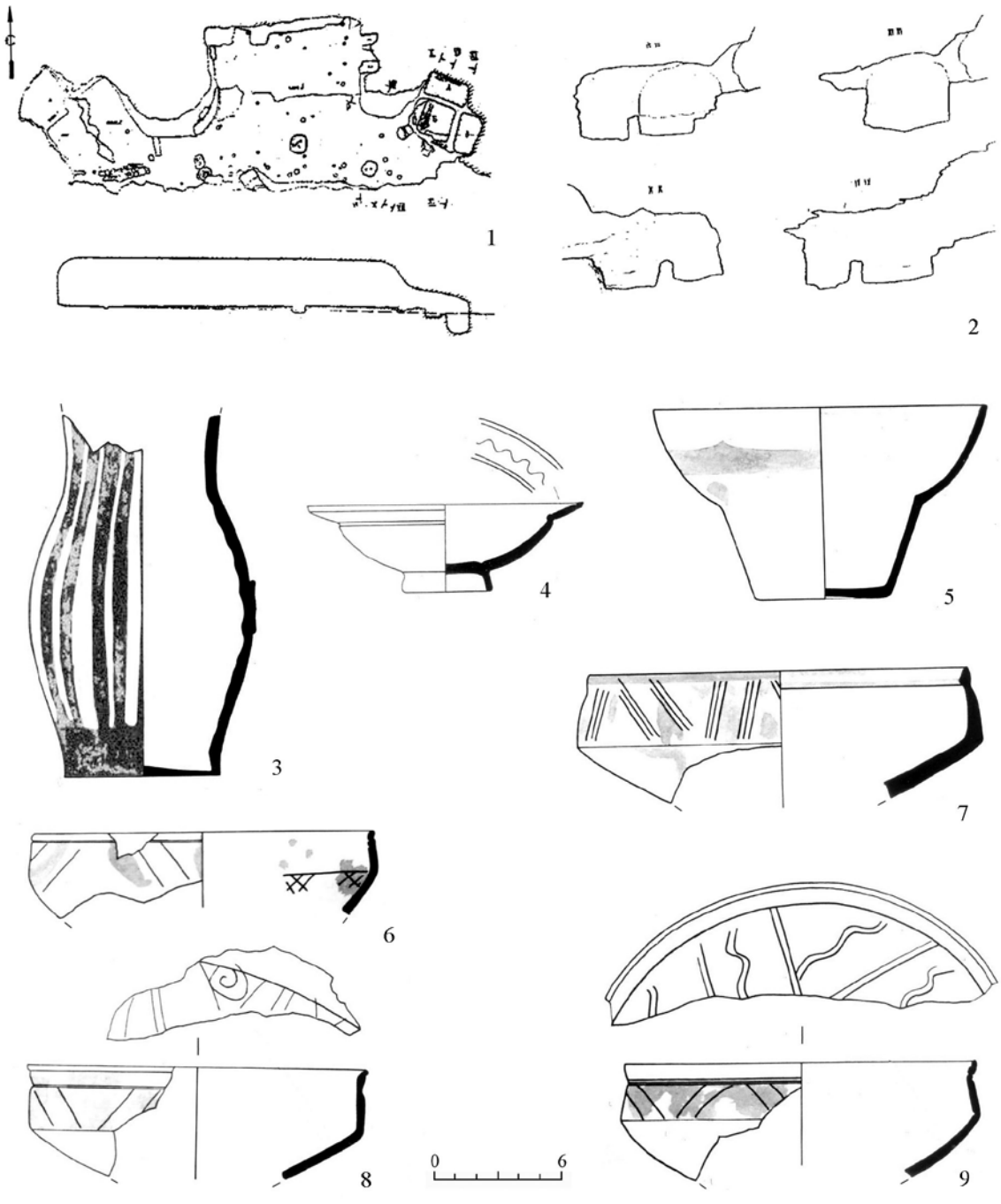

Fig. 43. Southwestern Crimea, Cherson districts, cave complex on Vinogradnyi cape: 1. Plan and sections without scale; 3 – 9. Ceramic vessels from the crypt (after Яшаева 1994, рис. 3, рис. 5, рис. 7)

Обр. 43. Югозападен Крим, Херсонски район, пещерен комплекс на н. Виноградний: 1. План и разрези без мащаб; 3 – 9. Керамични съдове от крипата (по Яшаева 1994, рис. 3, рис. 5, рис. 7)

found there. Twelve of these were identified as females, three as children, and the rest were males or indeterminates. Ceramic vessels were found among the bones, but it is not possible to relate them to particular deceased (Яшаева 1994, 77, рис. 7: 1, 2, 4 – 8). These are seven whole and fragmented glazed vessels: one jug with vertical stripes of white slip painted under the light green glaze, one bowl on a flat bottom (both of Byzantine origin?; fig. 43: 3, 5), one plate of a small size (fig. 43: 4), and another four big fragments of a bowl with sgraffito decoration of Crimean origin (look like SEC group; fig. 43: 6 – 9; Яшаева 1994, 77 – 78, рис. 7).

15. Kilse-Burun, the monastic complex with church and burial ground (fig. 2, fig. 44 – 46). It is located on the western slope of the mountain with the same name, which is part of the main ridge of the Crimean mountains in the urban district of Yalta. The altitude is about 650 m. Excavations were performed in 2016 – 2019. The studied area is 92 m^2 (Турова 2021). The author of the excavations N. Turova dated the site back to the 9th(?) – 15th c. and identified three building periods in its architectural history: I. the 9th(?) – 12th – 13th c., construction of the first church; II. dating no later than the 13th c. and entailing the construction of a new building inside the perimeter of the destroyed former church;[62] and III. the 14th – 15th c., extension of a narthex to the western wall of the church (Турова 2021, 123). The cemetery was located around the church and was used for the burial of both adults (male and female) and infants (fig. 44).[63]

Nine funeral structures were studied: one vault-like construction (No. 7), one grave carved in the rock, and seven ground graves unlined and partially lined with stones or tiles (fig. 44: 1). The ceramic vessels came from two of them: burial chamber No. 7 and grave No. 9 (fig. 44: 3, 5; Турова 2021, 126, рис. 6 – 11, рис. 19 – 21).

The first grave was located at the south wall of the church. Its lower part was carved into the rock, and its ceiling was formed of masonry in the form of a vault and covered with a tiled roof that rose above the ancient surface by about 1 m (fig. 44: 1, 3). A cross made of an iron flat rod was fixed in the eastern wall of the construction (fig. 44: 4). The funeral chamber contained the disturbed remains of numerous burials; their number is not specified. One coarse bowl and the bottom of a closed vessel were found in the northeastern and the southwestern parts of the grave, respectively (fig. 45: 1 – 2). Other finds from the tomb include a large iron precession cross, an iron liturgical asterisk, a small iron cross, a silver wire earring, two rings of copper and iron, six glass beads, and a cowrie shell pendant (fig. 45: 3 – 10; Турова 2021, 126, рис. 10 – 11, рис. 15). N. Turova relates this funerary construction to the later church and attributes it to the 13th – 15th c. The processional cross and asterisk most likely indicate a priest among the buried individuals.

Other bottom of a similar closed vessels accompanied one of the two deceased (adult) in ground grave No. 9 (fig. 46: 1). It was placed to the right of the cranium, which was covered with two large fragments of tiles. A reliquary-cross was at the right hand of the deceased (fig. 46: 2).[64] No image has been preserved on its surface. According to morphological features, it can be dated to the period around the 12th – 13th c. However, the upper chronological boundary limit of such crosses is not clear. The state of preservation of the surface testifies to the long-term use of the item. There

[62] A reliquary-cross leaf was found in the masonry of this church (fig. 44: 2). The model of the cross is typical for the 10th – 11th c. However, the relief is almost unreadable. This is likely due to multiple recasts from impressions in clay molds. Thus, it is very likely that this piece dates from a later time. At least in Eastern Europe, similar artifacts are known in 13th c. contexts.

[63] Among the buried are two women under the age of 30 and about 45, four men from 25 to 60 years old, and three children from 6 to 24 months old (Турова 2021, 130).

[64] Both hands were located at the abdomen. The cross has no strong parallels among known collections; however, a Bulgarian origin is quite probable. The mechanism of suspension, for example, is very comparable to examples from the region. This type emerged in the 10th – 11th c. in Byzantine provinces but circulated in Christian culture until the 13th – 14th c. (Дончева-Петкова 2011, № 1 – 47; Корзухина, Пескова 2003, I.1, 42 – 43, табл. 1 – 3).

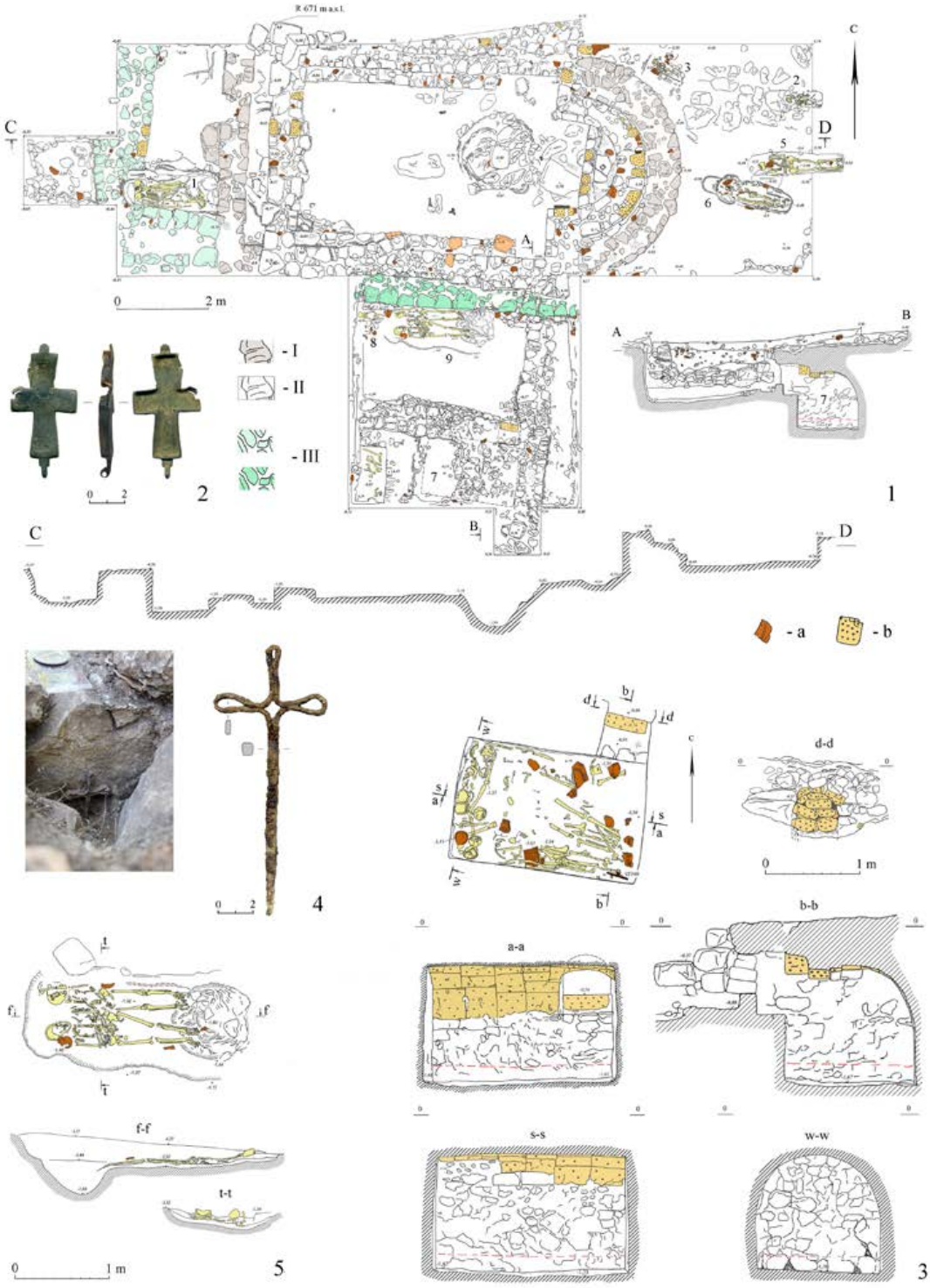

Fig. 44. Southern Crimea, Kilse-Burun, church with burial ground: 1. Plan and sections – I – III. Construction periods, a. ceramics, b. calcareous tufa; 2. Reliquary-cross from the masonry of vault No. 7; 3. Vault No. 7, plan and sections; 4. Vault No. 7, iron cross in the eastern wall; 5. Grave No. 9, plan and sections (after Турова 2021, рис. 2, рис. 5)

Обр. 44. Южен Крим, Килсе Бурун, църква с некропол: 1. План и разрези – I – III. Строителни периоди, a. керамика, b. варовиков туф; 2. Нагърден кръст от зидарията на подземна гробница № 7; 3. Подземна гробница № 7, план и разрези; 4. Подземна гробница № 7, железен кръст на източната стена; 5. Гроб № 9, план и разрези (по Турова 2021, рис. 2, рис. 5)

Fig. 45. Southern Crimea, Kilse-Burun, church with burial ground, vault No. 7, burial goods: 1, 2. Bottom of unglazed closed vessel and coarse bowl; 3. Procession cross; 4. Iron liturgical asterisk; 5. Iron cross; 6, 7. Copper and iron rings; 8. Silver wire earring; 9. Cowrie shell pendant; 10. Glass beads (after Турова 2021, 126, рис. 10 – 11, рис. 15)

Обр. 45. Южен Крим, Килсе Бурун, църква с некропол, подземна гробница № 7, гробен инвентар: 1, 2. Дъна от неглазиран затворен съд и неглазирана купа; 3. Процесиен кръст; 4. Желязна литургична звездица (астериск); 5. Железен кръст; 6, 7. Медни и железни халки; 8. Обеца от сребърна тел; 9. Висулка от раковина; 10. Стъклени маниста (по Турова 2021, 126, рис. 10 – 11, рис. 15)

Fig. 46. Southern Crimea, Kilse-Burun, church with burial ground, grave No. 9, burial goods: 1. Bottom of unglazed closed vessel; 2. Reliquary-cross; 3. Flint sherd; 4. Fragment of the wall of unglazed closed vessel; 5. Sherd of a roof tile with an inscribed cross and an inscription IC XC NI KA (after Турова 2021, рис. 18, рис. 20)

Обр. 46. Южен Крим, Килсе Бурун, църква с некропол, гроб № 9, гробен инвентар: 1. Дъно на неглазиран затворен съд; 2. Нагръден кръст; 3. Парче кремък; 4. Парче от стената на неглазиран затворен съд; 5. Фрагмент от покривна керемида с врязан кръст и надпис IC XC NI KA (по Турова 2021, рис. 18, рис. 20)

were also a flint sherd (fig. 46: 3), large charcoal pieces, and remains of decayed wood. Another buried individual was accompanied by a large fragment of the wall of a similar pot to the right of the pelvis and a sherd of a roof tile with an inscribed cross and an inscription IC XC NI KA in the area of the neck (fig. 46: 4, 5; Турова 2021, 129, рис. 19 – 21). N. Turova considers that this grave preceded the vault and so dates it to the 13th c. At the same time, both closed vessels from the vault and grave No. 9 belong to the same local SWC group that were common in Crimea from the early 14th to the last quarter of the 15th c. The chronological position of the open vessel is not yet clear.

16. Vosporo is a medieval site with a Genoese trading post and a fortress dating from the 1360s – 1475 and situated in the central area of modern Kerch (fig. 2).

At the present stage of research, we do not have reliable information about the finds of ceramic vessels in burials at Kerch, which would be confirmed by well-documented excavation results.

However, seven bowls are known in the Victoria and Albert Museum's collection (V&A Museum), which are supposed to be from Kerch graves (fig. 47). Five bowls were identified by E. A. Ivison (fig. 47: 1, 3, 4 – 6).[65] He noted that "*all the bowls are intact and are definitely recorded as found in graves*", noting that "*further details are lacking*". This information allowed him to include Kerch in the list of sites with burials containing vessels (Ivison 1993, Vol. 2, 241, fig. 282). E. A. Ivison described and dated them back to the later 13th or early 14th c. (Ivison 1993, Vol. 2, 132), citing the closest parallels in the publications of D. Papanikola-Bakirtzis and A. Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1987; Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1989).

One Valencian Lusterware from the same collection, dated to the first half of the 15th c. and "*said to have been found in a tomb at Kertch in the Crimea*", was published earlier in the catalogue of Spanish ceramics from the collection of the V&A Museum (fig. 47: 7; Ray 2000, 63, № 128). The author noted that it had been bought from "*M. W. J. Ready*".[66] Finally, the seventh vessel was identified by the authors in the online collection (fig. 47: 2).[67] The bowl is "*said to have been found in a tomb at Kertch, in the Crimea*" and is noted as "*probably Cyprus; 13th – 14th c. Old gallery label (until April 2006)*". Based on photographs of the bowls in the online museum collection, we could clarify the attribution for six ones with monochrome and polychrome sgraffito, impressed, and slip-painted decoration. All of them find close analogies among the production of Crimean workshops of Late Byzantine times known in the southeast and southwest parts of the peninsula (Caffa, Sudak, Solkhat, Cembalo, and the district; Тесленко 2018a).

Wares with underglaze white slip painting, including decoration in the form of small stylized fish arranged in a spiral pattern like on the exemplar Inv. No. 144 – 1908 from V&A Museum, came mainly from the contexts of the mid-to-second half of the 14th c. (Тесленко 2018a, 44 – 46, рис. 22). The bowls with relief decoration of the walls in the form of short vertical depressions (fingerprints or special tools) dated to the third quarter of the 14th c. could originate from the Caffa or Cembalo workshops (Тесленко 2018a, 46, рис. 24). An almost identical bowl was found in a grave near the double-apse church in the western part of the Funa burial ground (see here, No. 3.2). Monochrome sgraffito wares with design features like on the bowls Inv. Nos. 140 – 143 – 1908 are most typical for the second quarter – second half of the 14th c. (Тесленко 2018a, 25 – 61, рис. 25 – 30). The polychrome sgraffito bowl Inv. No. 139 – 1908 has analogies in pottery assemblages from the end of the 14th and the 15th c. (Тесленко 2018a, 61 – 66, рис. 36 – 37; Тесленко 2021, 77 – 90, рис. 88 – 113).

So, it is obvious that the vessels are slightly different chronologically. All monochrome glazed wares can be dated to around the mid – second half of the 14th c. while the Spanish bowl dates to the first half of the 15th c. and the polychrome sgraffito – to the late 14th – 15th c. At the same time, it is not clear whether these vessels come from one or several Vosporos' burial grounds. Nevertheless, if we accept that all seven bowls really came from Kerch and were found in tombs as the museum's

[65] Inv. Nos. 140 – 144 – 1908: https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O279544/bowl-unknown/; https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O279543/bowl-unknown/; https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O279542/bowl-unknown/; https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O279541/bowl/; https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O340283/dish-unknown/ (all links were active when accessed on September 12, 2023). In the online museum catalogue all objects are dated to 12th – 13th c. and attributed as "*Byzantine (probably Crimea)*". There is one exception (Inv. No. 143 – 1908) for which no chronology or attribution is proposed, quite probably due to technical reasons.

[66] Inv. No. 138 – 1908: https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O159567/bowl-unknown/ (Accessed on September 12, 2023). In the online collection it is noted as a "*bowl, made in Paternia or Manises, Spain, about 1400 – 50, tin-glazed earthenware with luster decoration*"; however, no information about Kerch as the place of provenance and the acquisition from W. J. Ready is mentioned.

[67] Inv. No. 139 – 1908: https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O125463/bowl-unknown/ (Accessed on September 12, 2023).

Fig. 47. Eastern Crimea, Vosporo/Kerch, the vessels found in the graves, the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum in London: 1. Inv. No. 144 – 1908, https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O340283/dish-unknown/; 2. Inv. No. 139 – 1908, https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O125463/bowl-unknown/, (without a scale); 3. Inv. No. 142 – 1908, https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O279542/bowl-unknown/; 4. Inv. No. 143 – 1908, https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O279541/bowl/, (without a scale); 5. Inv. No. 141 – 1908, https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O279543/bowl-unknown/; 6. Inv. No. 140 – 1908, https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O279544/bowl-unknown/; 7. Inv. No. 138 – 1908, https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O159567/bowl-unknown/ (All links were accessed on September 12, 2023)

Обр. 47. Източен Крим, Воспоро/Керч, съдове, намерени в гробовете, колекция на музея „Виктория и Албърт" в Лондон: 1. Инв. № 144 – 1908, https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O340283/dish-unknown/; 2. Инв. № 139 – 1908, https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O125463/bowl-unknown/, (без мащаб); 3. Инв. № 142 – 1908, https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O279542/bowl-unknown/; 4. Инв. № 143 – 1908, https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O279541/bowl/, (без мащаб); 5. Инв. № 141 – 1908, https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O279543/bowl-unknown/; 6. Инв. № 140 – 1908, https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O279544/bowl-unknown/; 7. Инв. № 138 – 1908, https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O159567/bowl-unknown/ (Всички линкове са посетени на 12.09.2023 г.)

description and E. A. Ivision suggest, these objects could have entered the museum through various owners in 1908, judging by the inventory numbers.

It is well known that at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th c., archaeological excavations in Kerch were carried out by the Imperial Archaeological Commission in St. Petersburg and its department in Kerch – the Kerch Museum of Antiquities. Until 1901, the museum was headed by E. Dumberg (1862 – 1931) and then later by V. Shkorpil (1853 – 1918; Зинько 2013). We know nothing about the study of medieval sites during this period under the direction of the Commission. In addition, the commission and its agents were mainly interested in ancient sites (Ростовцев 1925, 260 – 261; Мусин, Медведева 2019, 465 – 500). However, it is known that the Commission carried out its activities in constant competition with the organizers of illegal excavations (Шкорпил 1903, 74 – 93). This activity was enormous in scale at Kerch at the beginning of the 20th c. The main areas where legal excavations and robbery of tombs took place at this time were the necropoleis on the mount called Second throne of Mithridates and alongside Gospitalnaya Street. However, today there is no information about the existence of medieval burials there.

If the vessels from the museum really come from Kerch, then before 1908 they could have reached London due to the activities of a border guard corps doctor of Polish origin named I. Terlecki (1860 – 1916), who was a collector and art dealer (Боровкова 1999, 39 – 40, 83 – 94; Bodzek 2016, 91 – 112). According to V. Shkorpil, in 1902 – 1914 I. Terlecki organized and headed an entire network in Eastern Crimea for the purchase and resale of antiquities from looted archaeological sites to Europe. Another candidate for the sale of antiquities from Kerch around that time could be the chief winemaker of the Ministry of the Imperial Court, a citizen of France named A. Merle de Massonneau who also specialized in the antiquities of the North Caucasus (Мусин, Медведева 2019, 1045; Martin 2022, 93 – 104; Medvedeva 2022, 61 – 72).

17. Pondico is a medieval settlement with a small fortress, necropolis, and possibly a church that existed at the end of the 13th – 15th c. on the ruins of the ancient polis of Mirmecius.[68] It is located on the eastern outskirts of modern-day Kerch, on the northern shore of Kerch bay (fig. 2). The site has been explored for over 180 years. Excavations of medieval burial ground were carried out in 1886, 1935 – 1938, and 2000 – 2005. About 135 graves were discovered during this time, 72 of which were studied in the early 2000s (for bibliography, see Бутягин, Виноградов 2006; Науменко, Пономарев 2017).

Most funeral structures are stone-lined graves or stone tombs covered with stone slabs. Others were simple pits or partly stone-lined graves. Few graves had no cover slabs (probably some of them were lost) or were covered with wooden boards. Some slabs have crosses carved on them. Some graves were accompanied by tombstones in the form of stelae with a carved cross or by roughly worked stones.

The graves contained single and multiple burials. The buried individuals were laid in an extended position on their backs with their heads to the west and, in a few exceptions, to the east. Burial goods are not numerous. They include various beads (colored and monochrome glass, bronze, amber), bronze bracelets, iron parts of a belt set, bronze and silver spherical buttons, bells, earrings, rings, necklaces of beads, single beads, knives, thimbles, fire strikers, small pieces of flint, touchstones, and coins. In 2004, two small glazed vessels were found in one of the graves. They were located outside of the grave under the edge of the overlying slabs. According to the author of the excavations, it was the first recorded case of using ceramic vessels as funerary goods in this necropolis (Бутягин и др. 2005). We have not managed to find out more details about them yet.

[68] The site Pondico (Pondica, Pondici, Pondico, Pondicopera) is known on medieval portolans from the late 13th to 17th c. The earliest to mention the site dates to around 1296 (Науменко, Пономарев 2017, 246 – 247).

18. Caffa (or Kaffa), modern-day Theodosia is a large urban site with a fortress (fig. 2). It was the center of the Genoese possessions in the Crimea during the 1270s until 1475. We do not have reliable information about the finds of ceramic vessels in burials there, which are confirmed by well-documented excavations. E. A. Ivison mentions Caffa as an unconfirmed site of 'bowl burials' without reference (Ivison 1993, Vol. 2, 46, note 41, fig. 282). We assume that the source of his hypothesis was D. Talbot-Rice, to whom he refers for seeking a parallel to pottery from the Arabaci Sokak Church excavated in 1987 at Iznik-Nicaea (Ivison 1993, Vol. 2, 40, 46) and who reproduced information about Theodosia's finds from the publication by E. von Stern. D. Talbot-Rice cites this publication to show the spread of Byzantine ceramics Group B2, the so-called EIW. He also demonstrates the two most typical jugs but says nothing about their archaeological context (Talbot-Rice 1930, 35 – 36). In his article, E. von Stern says that all these materials were obtained during the excavation of the hill on the border of the city of Theodosia, from which the earth was extracted for the construction of the pier and strengthening of the embankment (Фон-Штерн 1906, 2). There is no mention of any medieval burial ground. Thus, Ivison's hypothesis remains unconfirmed.

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To summarize, it is important to note that the biggest concentration of burials with pottery was recorded on the south coast and in highland Crimea. In contrast, in the big urban centers such as Sudak, Cembalo, and Cherson these are still rare cases, despite the large number of excavated graves.[69] Thus, only three recipients are known from more than 50 excavated graves with four hundred deceased in Cembalo; only four ceramic specimens come from several dozen excavated graves in Sudak, and only six are mentioned in the grave context of Cherson. While at some south coast cemeteries, e.g., Oreanda (here, No. 8.1), the ceramic wares are present in almost all the graves, in Nikita (here, No. 6) they were found in eight of the 21 graves.

These were both close-shaped vessels, mainly jugs, occasionally small pots, and unglazed (1) or glazed bowls (fig. 48 – 51). The last ones were a new component in the burial rituals that appeared not earlier than the late 13th and early 14th c. The vessels could be whole or broken and located on the left (more often) or right (less often) side as well as near the cranium or at the feet of the deceased, often upside down (Table 1). Most of the vessels have missing fragments, which could mean they were placed in the grave already damaged.

The vessels could accompany not all but only a part of the buried individuals in the same necropolis or even in the same grave. It is often quite difficult to determine the "owner" of the vessel in the graves, especially with multiple burials. In cases where it was possible, however, there were men, women, and children among them. So, it is difficult to talk about age or gender preferences for this rite.

In most cases where it could be confidently recorded, the deceased was accompanied by only one vessel: a jug or bowl or a fragment of one of them. Only at Oreanda there was one burial of an infant (here, No. 8.1, grave No. 9) with two fragmented vessels: the bottoms of a glazed jug and a bowl.[70] A single grave could often contain deceased persons accompanied by different types of vessels. Burials with bowls did not have any special differences from those with jugs.

We especially note that glass vessels detected in graves even in fragmented form (Sudak, Malyi Mayak, Gurzuf, Cembalo) could initially play the same or similar role in burial customs. We do not analyze here in detail the glass vessels from the burials. Synchronous use of glass and ceramic vessels

[69] Due to the lack of relevant data, nothing definite can be said about Caffa and Vosporo.

[70] One of the graves in Massandra (here, No. 7.2) possibly also contained two vessels (unglazed closed shapes), but this cannot be clarified now.

Table 1. Comparative analysis of the position of vessels in burials

Таблица 1. Сравнителен анализ на местоположението на съдовете в гробовете

Site	Burials in anatomical order or not too mixed up			Multiple displaced burials, reburials			Not specified
	Head	Feet	Mid (hip, pelvis, thigh) area	Western part of the funerary structure	Eastern part of the funerary structure	Center or other part of the funerary structure	
Sudak	1.2. 1 bowl 1.3.1. 1 glass bottom 1.3.43. 1 jug	1.3.1. 1 pot		1.1. 1 bowl			1 glass beaker (not included in the catalogue, see Майко 2007, 227, рис. 141)
Aluston	2.2. 2 jugs, 1 bowl		2.2. 2 bowls (right)		2.1.41. 1 jug, 2 bowls		2.2. 1 jug
Funa	3.2.4. 1 bowl (left shoulder)			3.1. 1 jug 3.2.7. 1 jug		3.3.2. 1 pot (northern wall)	3.1. 1 jug, 1 pot 3.3. vault 1 pot
Malyi Mayak						4.2. 2 bowls (reburied bones)	4.1. 1 bowl and several more vessels
Gurzuf			5. 1 bowl (left); 1 jug (northern wall)				
Nikita		6.1.1,4,7,13,15. 2 bottoms and 1 top part of unglazed closed vessels, 2 bowls	6.1.5,7,14,15,17. 4 bowls (right), 1 bottom of closed vessel (left)				6.2. 1 jug, 1 bowl
Massandra	7.2. 2 vessels	7.2. 1 vessel	7.1. 1 bowl (left)				7.1. 1 bottom of a thin-walled table vessel 7.2. tomb in the arcosolium 2 bowls 7.2. burials outside: 6 vessels
Livadiya							1 bowl
Oreanda		9.1.1. 1 bowl 9.3. 1 bowl	9.2. 1 bowl (left)	9.1.2. 2 bowls 9.1.4. 1 bowl	9.1.2. 1 bottom of a jug 9.1.3. 1 plate 9.1.4. 1 bowl	9.1.3. 1 small pot	9.1.9. 2 bottoms of a bowl and a jug; 9.1.7,8,13,14. 5 vessels
Eski-Kermen	2 jugs				1 jug		3 bowls

Site	Burials in anatomical order or not too mixed up			Multiple displaced burials, reburials			Not specified
	Head	Feet	Mid (hip, pelvis, thigh) area	Western part of the funerary structure	Eastern part of the funerary structure	Center or other part of the funerary structure	
Mangup				11.3.3. 1 jug	11.2. 1 jug, 1 bowl		11.1. 1 jug 11.3.1.2. 2 jugs
Cemba-lo	12.3.3 1 bowl		12.2. 1 bowl (chest)				12.1. 1 bowl 12.3.1 – 3. 5 glass
Cherson							13.1. 1 bowl, 1 mug 13.2. 1 bowl, fragments of glass lamps 13.3. 3 bowls, 1 glass bottle
Vino-gradnyi cape							7 whole and fragmented glazed wares (1 jug, 6 bowls)
Kilise-Burun	15.9. 1 bottom of a closed vessel			15.7. 1 bottom of a closed vessel	15.7. 1 coarse bowl		
Vosporo							7 bowls
Pondico							2 bowls
	No less than 13, including 1 glass vessel	No less than 9	No less than 12	No less than 8	No less than 10	No less than 4	No less than 61, including 7 glass vessels

in graves of the 13th – 15th c., however, should be taken into account when drawing the overall picture of the funeral rituals that include the use of various containers for liquids at funerals.

What are the ceramic vessels from the burials?

Unglazed wares (33) are represented mainly by jugs (15) or small pots (5) of three local groups or the bottom or other parts of such vessels (12)[71] as well as one bowl (fig. 49). Of these, 18 belong to the SWC group (fig. 49: 8 – 25), which was common in Crimea and beyond in the 14th and 15th c. Their Crimean origin is not really in doubt (Тесленко 2021, 63 – 69). Another six jugs and one pot are typical for late 13th c. contexts (fig. 49: 1 – 7). Two from Mangup look to be of Cherson origin (fig. 49: 4, 5). They are characterized by a dense, red-colored surface sometimes burnt to gray and with homogeneous plastic clay with few inclusions. This pottery was thrown on a kick-wheel. The surface is often covered with yellowish-white slip (see, e.g., Ивашута 1975, 16;

[71] Only five of these vessels, which have survived in museum collections or are presented in publications, can be identified.

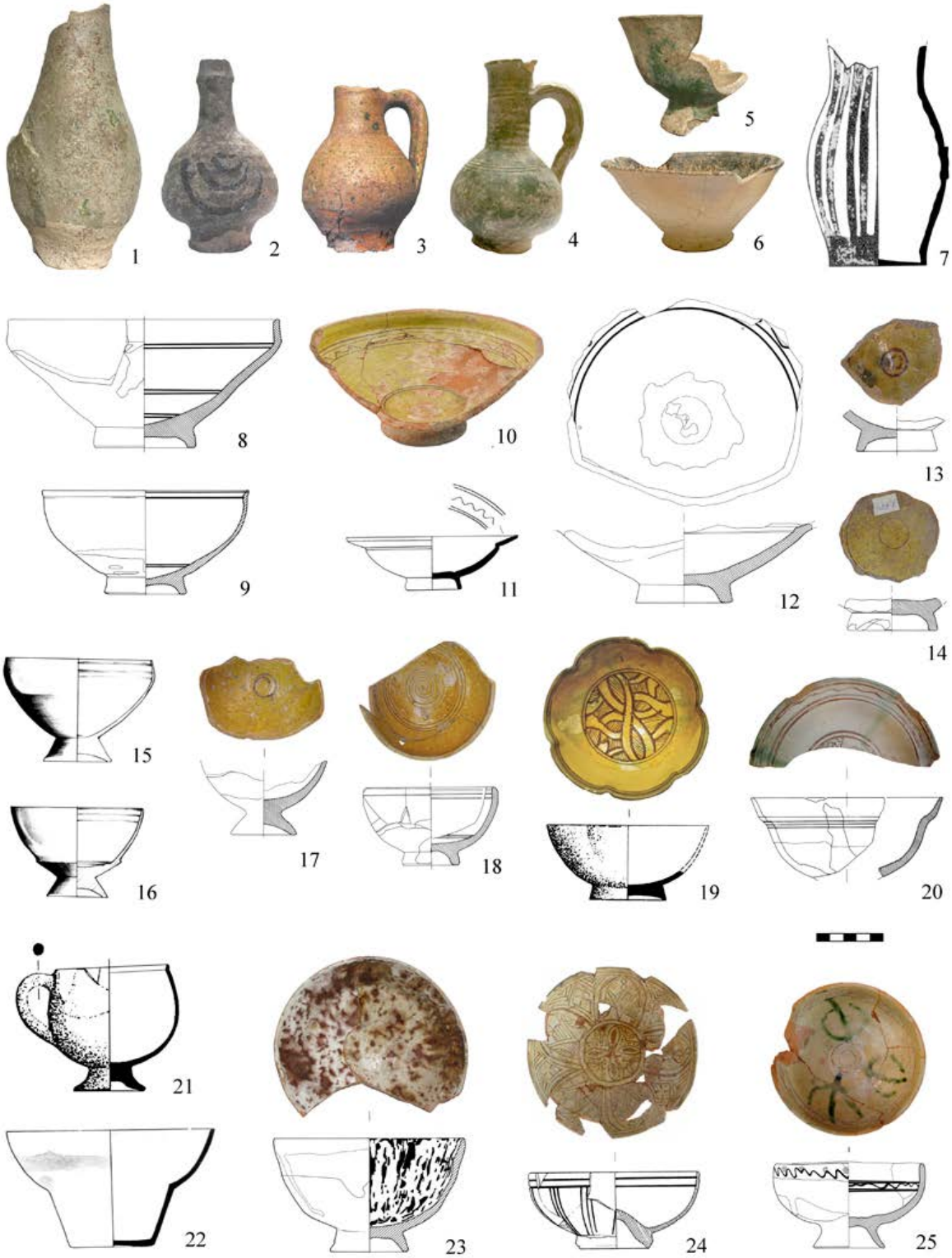

Fig. 48. Crimea. Byzantine glazed ceramic vessels from the graves, second half of the 13th – 14th and early 15th c. (Author: I. Teslenko)

Обр. 48. Крим. Византийска глазирана керамика от гробовете, втора половина на XIII – XIV и началото на XV в. (Автор: И. Тесленко)

Fig. 49. Crimea. Local unglazed ceramic vessels from the graves, late 13th – 15th c. (Author: I. Teslenko)
Обр. 49. Крим. Местни неглазирани керамични съдове от гробовете, края на XIII – XV в. (Автор: И. Тесленко)

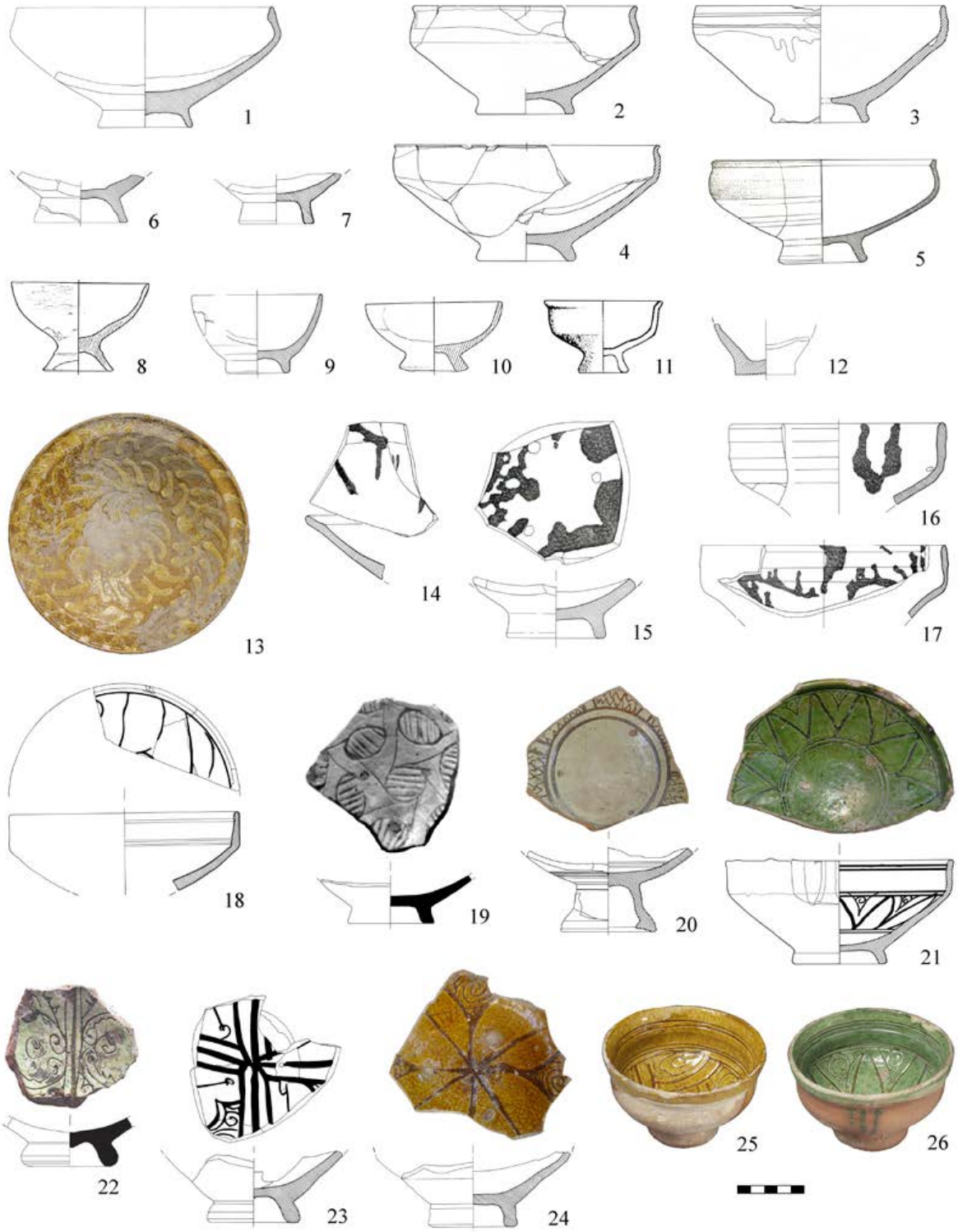

Fig. 50. Crimea. Local glazed ceramic vessels from the graves, late 13th – 14th c. (Author: I. Teslenko)

Обр. 50. Крим. Местни глазирани керамични съдове от гробовете, края на XIII – XIV в. (Автор: И. Тесленко)

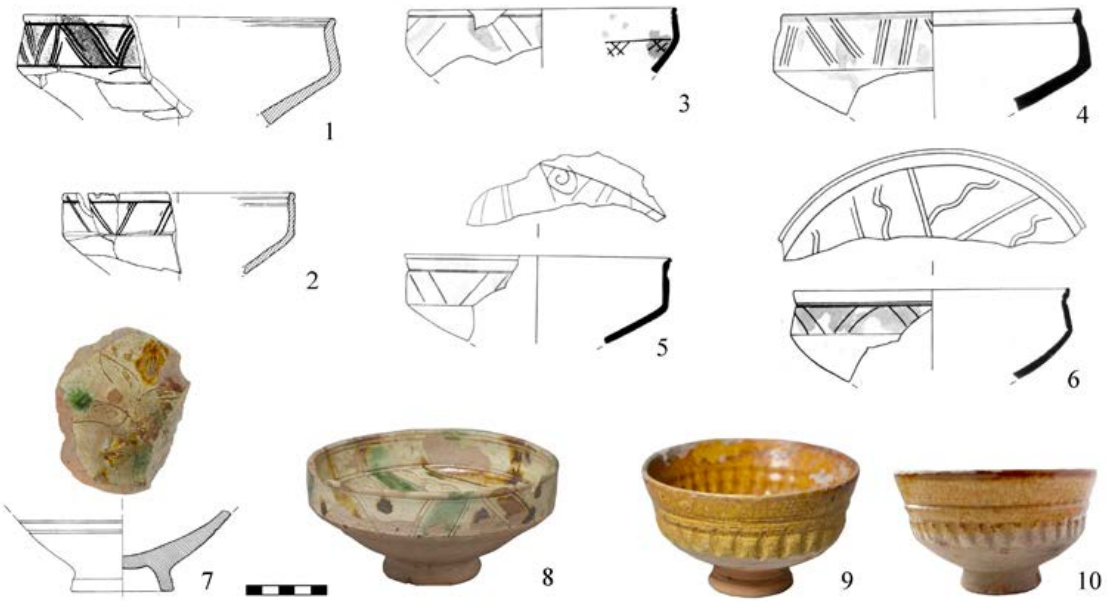

Fig. 51. Crimea. Local glazed ceramic vessels from the graves, second half of the 14th – 15th c. (Author: I. Teslenko)
Обр. 51. Крим. Местни глазирани керамични съдове от гробовете, втора половина на XIV – XV в. (Автор: И. Тесленко)

Голофаст, Рыжов 2003, 196 – 197, рис. 5 – 6; Седикова 2018, 425 – 427, рис. 22 – 23). Two other examples represent another group of local ceramics, the workshops for which are not localized yet (fig. 49: 1, 2). These vessels have a brown sandy surface. They were molded using a band method and then finished on a potter's wheel. Various types of these vessels, predominantly closed ones, form a significant part of the 13th c. ceramic assemblages at sites in southern and southwestern Crimea (see, e.g., Талис 1977, рис. 4; Талис 1980; Мыц 2016, 84, 86, рис. 8; etc.). Their typology still has not been developed. The attribution of two unglazed vessels from Sudak (fig. 49: 6, 7), one jug from Mangup (fig. 49: 3), and the bowl from Kilse-Burun (fig. 49: 26) cannot yet be clarified from the published data.

Glazed wares are more numerous (66) and diverse. These are predominantly open-form vessels (goblets, bowls of various sizes, and occasionally plates) but include six jugs that are both of local origin and imported (fig. 48, fig. 50 – 51). Local wares account for 59 % of the glazed ceramic assemblages. These are one bottom of a jug, three main types of bowls of various sizes, and two plates (fig. 42: 9, fig. 50 – 51). Of these vessels, 12 are undecorated and therefore can only be dated fairly broadly to the turn of the 13th – 14th – the third quarter of the 15th c. but mainly the 14th c. (Тесленко 2018a, 40, рис. 19; Тесленко 2021, рис. 74). A more precise chronology can be proposed for four of them. The earliest ones are probably two large bowls that presumably represented the initial period of local glazed pottery manufacturing in the late 13th – early 14th c. (fig. 50: 1, 3).[72] In addition, two more bowls most likely come from the Alushta workshop and can accordingly be dated within the framework of its activity between the turn of the 13th – 14th c. and the 1360s (fig. 50: 8, 10; Teslenko, Waksman 2016).

At the same time, decorated vessels can be defined chronologically in more detail. For example, the slip-painted plate could be dated to the mid – second half of the 14th c. (Тесленко 2018a,

[72] For more details on the early glazed ceramics production in Crimea, see, e.g., Maslovskiy 2012.

44 – 46, рис. 22). The purple splash decoration under the yellow glaze was common for local ceramics only in the first half of the 14th c.; the peak of this kind of ceramic's production was in the 1330s and early 1340s (Тесленко 2018а, 46, рис. 23). The bowls with relief decoration on the walls are well known in the contexts of the second half of the 14th c. (Тесленко 2018а, 46, рис. 24). Monochrome sgraffito with green, yellow, or brown glaze was in use in Crimean glazed pottery workshops during the whole time of their activity. Chronologically significant in this case are the elements of decoration (Тесленко 2018а, 48 – 61).

Based on them, the bowls with concentric circles in the centers of the ornamental composition (fig. 50: 20, 21), for instance, could be dated to around the second quarter – mid of the 14th c. (Тесленко 2018а, 57, рис. 25).[73] A bowl decorated with a palmette (fig. 50: 22) is approximately synchronous with them (Тесленко 2018а, 56, рис. 26: 5, рис. 32: 1, 10 – 11). In contrast, the series of medium and small bowls with large rosettes, polyhedron, etc., inside (fig. 50: 24 – 26) have close parallels in contexts of the second half of the 14th c. (Тесленко 2018а, 60, рис. 28, рис. 30). Polychrome sgraffito wares began to predominate among the Crimean glazed ceramics towards the end of the 14th c. until the Ottoman invasion in 1475 (Тесленко 2018а, 61 – 66, рис. 36 – 37; Тесленко 2021, 87 – 88, рис. 88 – 113). The bowls from Malyi Mayak and two others from the crypt on Vinogradnyi cape (fig. 51: 1, 2, 4, 6) are more common for contexts no later than the mid-15th c. (Тесленко 2021, 87 – 88, 143, рис. 83: 5 – 12). The others (fig. 51: 5, 7, 8) could be dated up to the third quarter of the 15th c. including.

The imported wares (41 % of the glazed ceramics) came mainly from Byzantium (fig. 42: 10, fig. 48).[74] Only one bowl has a Spanish origin (fig. 47: 7). Byzantine imports are represented by several chronological groups of vessels. The earliest are Glazed White Wares (GWW), both without decoration (three jugs, one goblet) and with brown painting (one) or manganese splashes (one; fig. 48: 1 – 6). In Crimea, both monochrome and painted versions form a significant part of 13th c. ceramic assemblages (Тесленко 2020в, 396, 399, рис. 2). The latest contexts, in which they occur in abundance, date from the second half or the last third of the 13th c. GWW pottery was still in trade then. GWW is at least present in the commercial cargo of a ship presumably wrecked in 1277 near Sudak off the coast of the modern Novy Svet village, the so-called Novy Svet shipwreck (Waksman et al. 2009). In assemblages of the turn of the 13th – 14th and early 14th c., however, it is already usually absent (Тесленко 2020в, 396 – 399, рис. 2). Grave contexts are apparently the exception.

Other vessels are red-clay wares. They belong to a different decorative and chronological series. The most numerous kind (12 items) is the SCC (fig. 48: 8 – 18). Its chronology is determined by the last third of the 13th – the early or first quarter of the 14th c. At this time, it was common even in rural settlements. SCC was produced by numerous large and small workshops in northern Italy and the Aegean region to the Crimea, including western Anatolia, the Balkans, and central Greece[75] (for more information, see Waksman, Teslenko 2010; Waksman et al. 2014, 415). A jug with painting in the form of vertical stripes of white slip (fig. 48: 7) has a similar chronology (Тесленко 2020в, 399). According to the results of archaeometric study, this kind of vessel was also produced in different pottery centers (Waksman, Teslenko 2010, 365 – 368, 370 – 371). Manganese Painted Ware (fig. 48: 23) was most common in ceramic assemblages of the northern Black Sea region in the first

[73] As we mentioned before, one of the bowls presumably came from the Alushta workshop (fig. 50: 20).

[74] The bowl with a spiral decoration (fig. 48: 18) is similar to the Veneto production, the so-called Spirale Cerchio ware, but the profile of the bottom and the fabric are different from the Venetian ones, therefore, we have added it to the Byzantine ware family.

[75] The products of one of these workshops, the location of which has not yet been determined, made up the main cargo of the already mentioned Novy Svet shipwreck (Waksman, Teslenko 2010).

quarter of the 14th c. (Масловский 2010, 237). Sgraffito ware with green splashes or stripes under the yellow or almost colorless glaze, otherwise known as Late Byzantine Sgraffito Ware (fig. 48: 19, 20, 25), arrived in the northern Black Sea region at the end of the 13th – first quarter of the 14th c. During this period, its share in the glazed ceramic assemblages, for example in the Azak of the Golden Horde period (modern-day Azov, Rostov region, Russia), could exceed 50 %. But from the second half of the 1330s, it was significantly reduced, giving way to imports from the Crimea, and ended by the middle of the 14th c. (Масловский 2010, 237).

Finally, the latest representative of Byzantine imports is the EIW from Cherson and Cembalo (fig. 42: 10, fig. 48: 24). They were in use in the northern Black Sea region from the middle until the end of the 14th c., with a peak of distribution in the 1350s – 1370s. At the same time, EIW is also known in contexts of the first quarter or first half of the 15th c. in Crimea, at Azak and medieval Belgorod/Moncastro/Asprocastron (modern-day Bilhorod-Dnistrovskyi, Ukraine), albeit in a much smaller number (Teslenko et al. 2021; Teslenko, Waksman (forthcoming)). Spanish Lusterware probably from Kerch has a similar chronology: the end of the 14th – early 15th or the first half of the 15th c. (Тесленко 2021, 103).

Thus, ceramic vessels, especially glazed ones, started to be placed in burials in the territory of Crimea in large numbers from about the end of the 13th – to the beginning of the 14th c. The peak of this phenomenon falls on the first half – middle of the 14th c. At least the majority of the more-or-less precisely dated items belong to this time. Since the funeral vessels were most likely already in use before, their involvement in funeral rites could have taken place somewhat later than the peak of their distribution in everyday life.

In the 15th c., this tradition was no longer so common. For this century, burials with ceramic vessels are recorded at Malyi Mayak, Funa (here, Nos. 3.2, 3.3?), Kerch, and Vinogradnyi cape. In the latter case, based on the chronology of ceramic finds the tomb was used from about the end of the 13th – early 14th c. to the middle or third quarter of the 15th c.

At first, mostly local coarse close-form vessels or imported Byzantine glazed ceramics were placed in the graves. Apparently, with the development of local pottery manufacturing, however, they were later replaced by Crimean glazed tableware. At least only two imported funerary bowls are known for today: the Byzantine EIW from Cembalo and the Spanish Lusterware probably from Kerch, which were placed in graves around the first half of the 15th c. Perhaps this rite in Crimea was modified by the second half of this century. Based on materials from excavations at a burial ground of the late 14th – 18th c. on the southeastern spur of Ai-Todor mount at Malyi Mayak, ceramic vessels continued to be used in funeral rites until the 18th c. However, these were predominantly close-shaped vessels or their bottom parts, which were placed next to the graves and not inside them (Тесленко, Лысенко 2004, 267; Тесленко 2012).

Discussion

How can the ritual of placing ceramic vessels in graves be explained against the background of burial practices in late medieval Crimea? Modern researchers propose 5 options.

1. According to the first, placing ceramics in graves is a local custom that reflects the survival of paganism (Когонашвили, Махнева 1974, 119). This is the typical explanation caused by a lack of information from other regions participating in the Eastern Christian tradition. We should not forget that such an opinion was in the spirit of the times and corresponded to the principles of Soviet secular historiography, which neglected the study of Christian culture and preferred considering all grave goods like ceramic vessels as evidence for the survival of paganism (Мусин 2002, 42, 47).

2. The second scholarly opinion suggests that the influence of the funeral culture of the population of the North Caucasus moved to Crimea in the 13th – 14th c. (Мыц 2009, 217 – 227). In the Golden Horde period, burials with glazed cups and jugs are known in the North Caucasus (Армарчук, Дмитриев 2017). These are the inhumations in the barrows that look like the burials of nomads, however, and apart from the presence of glazed wares, there are no other parallels in the funeral rite. As in the previous case, one can see a disregard for the Christian cultural and historical context of the Crimean burials.

3. The third option proposes a special individual protective function of bowls placed in the grave as a way to help the dead to go to heaven. This idea is presented in the case of a Byzantine bowl with Christian symbols in the tomb of a woman with pathologies at the Cembalo fortress (Гинькут 2011). The author of the idea, N. Ginkut, suggests that it could be an *eulogia* brought from a pilgrimage to holy places and regarded as a Christian souvenir. For this reason, the bowl could have been especially valued and so was placed in the grave as an apotropaic offering that was very precious to the owner. Nevertheless, most of the graves' ceramics are common household wares, though, without Christian symbols. The mass placement of vessels in the graves indicates an established and widespread ritual and not an individual pilgrimage. Even taking into account the individual physical anthropological characteristics of the buried person that indicate a pathology, which does not in principle exclude individualized elements of the ritual (let us also note the fact of turning the bowl over, which is observable in ethnological practices), the bowl hardly could have served as an individualized apotropaic symbol. It should be regarded against the background of the mass use of vessels in Christian burials.

4. The fourth supposition presents an attempt to transfer the ideas of E. A. Ivison and J. A. Thompson about Latin influence on Byzantine burial practice to the cases in Crimea (Ivison 1993; Thompson 2013; etc.). A. Mastykova and L. Golofast suggest that the man buried with a glazed bowl in the chapel in Gurzuf, could have had "some connection" with Byzantine territories under the rules of Latin Crusaders where, according to several American researchers, the placement of open bowls in the graves of the Orthodox population is explained by the influence of the European Catholic rituals. The European burials with vessels known at the time the hypothesis was put forward, were mainly in France. At the same time, the authors do not explain the presence of a jug accompanying another deceased in the same tomb (Голофаст, Мастыкова 2018, 371 – 372, 374; Мастыкова 2020, 419).

Arguing with the opinion of the above researchers makes no sense since they only uncritically "copy-paste" the alien hypothesis into their text; in other words, they used an idea that was strange to local practice and applied it to particular archaeological materials while ignoring the history of Orthodox ritual. It makes more sense to argue with the authors of this hypothesis. We will critically reconsider the opinions of E. A. Ivison and J. A. Thompson later. Given the ages and genders of persons buried with open-glazed vessels in other Crimean cemeteries, however, as well as their rather significant number in rural cemeteries and a rarity in centers of the Genoese, the reality of their connections with the Latin East looks very doubtful. In addition, it would be imprudent to explain the emergence of a fairly massive use of bowls in funeral rites only by individual contacts with the Latin Empire as if researchers were dealing with linear cultural mimesis.

5. Finally, E. Khairedinova, publishing burials of the 14th c. with jugs from the Eski-Kermen site, offered one more option for interpreting their purpose. Following the idea proposed by several researchers for the same cases in Greece, she also noted that since Early Byzantine times the jugs were involved in the funeral ritual of "sprinkling" the body of the deceased with "holy liquid" (wine, water, or oils) before closing the grave (Хайрединова 2022, 15). In other words, the pres-

ence of jugs in burials is explained by the Christian practices of that time. The main source of this hypothesis, however, (which we regard as generally correct except for some nuances) was the general review of Byzantine funeral rituals by N. Poulou-Papadimitriou, E. Tzavella, and J. Ott. They correctly noted that ceramic vessels, in early periods usually pitchers or lekythos and later open bowls, were sometimes interred with the dead and likely served for the pouring of wine, oil, or water onto the body or for washing the deceased shortly before the closing of the tomb, as occurs in later Orthodox ritual. At the same time, they distinguished the use of ceramic and glass vessels and believed that glass vessels placed in graves were used especially for lighting during ceremonies, not for pouring or washing bodies. The authors did not exclude that in this ritual one can see a continuation of the pre-Christian funerary practice; it would have taken on Christian overtones through its incorporation of liquids from the sacraments of the Church (Poulou-Papadimitriou et al. 2012, 380, 383, 391). In their publication, N. Poulou-Papadimitriou, E. Tzavella, and J. Ott look not to late antique and medieval written sources but to modern studies of a general character (Κουκουλές 1951, 154; Danforth 1982, 42, pl. 12; Sanders 2004, 184) since their tasks did not include assessing the liturgical side of the rite. The analysis of written sources in the context of the Eastern Christian tradition is decisive for assessing the role of vessels in the burials of the Byzantine world.

N. Turova generally supports the idea of E. Khairedinova but associates the use of vessels with "*the sacrament of anointing (unction;* ukr. and rus. *soborovanie* or *eleoosvyashchenie) of the deceased*" (Турова 2021, 132; with reference to Супрун 2013 where no mention of this sacrament is found). This ideological confusion of the posthumous ritual of pouring of oil on the deceased and the anointing (unction) of the sick and those near death is very often found among modern researchers (Розенфельдт 1968, 49; Беляев 2017, 127, 136; Панченко 2021, 179). This is not surprising since even in the Middle Ages the ritual of consecration of oil for anointing the sick had a significant liturgical influence on the use of oil during funerals and commemoration. However, the anointing the dead with a special prayer and especially the consecration of oil for this purpose in contrast to the pouring of oil on the deceased were marginal rituals that were condemned by the church hierarchy. We will dwell on these differences later, but now it is worth noting that the last hypothesis is unlikely due to the nature of the specified ritual that was more common in the Balkans.

Nevertheless, for a better understanding of the origins and meaning of this rite and also to clarify whether there are differences between the role of Early and Middle Byzantine jugs and Late Byzantine bowls in funerary practice, it is reasonable to take into account the area and chronology of its spread as well as some special features of burial traditions in different areas of the Christian world. So, where else are related or comparable burial practices known? How is the function of ceramic vessels in funerary practice interpreted and why?

Look to the West

The placement of open vessels in graves during the Late Byzantine period (unlike the Early Byzantine habit of placing closed vessels, jugs, or pitchers) is a long and well-established archaeological fact. The desire to see in this archaeological evidence a new burial custom with an uncertain method of use of open cups during the funeral is a feature of the history of archaeological thought (Poulou-Papadimitriou et al. 2012, 413). Combining these two positions, E. A. Ivison was the first to focus on the study of Western connections and the Latin meaning of this ritual in a categorical manner inherent to his academic culture. He rejected endogenous change or internal development within the Byzantine funeral tradition, introducing instead an innovation of Latin origin and a Crusader connection into Late Byzantine Orthodoxy (Ivison 1993, Vol. 1, 244 – 249) that could be called "BBC" (here – "Bowl Burials Culture"; cf. Ivison 1993, Vol. 1, 245).

In his PhD thesis, E. A. Ivison concentrates on funeral rites and the new features of the burial practices in Byzantium between 1200 and 1453 (Ivison 1993). Considering the vessels in the burials, he divides them into two main categories depending on the hypothetical function attributed to them. "*1. Closed or semi-closed vessels for holding liquids or for pouring. Into this category fall pottery jugs, cups and flasks, metal cups, glass jugs, beakers, flasks, and phiales, and also lead ampullae... 2. Larger, open vessels, which could contain substances other than liquids, including pottery bowls, pottery, and metal incense burners, and censers*" (Ivison 1993, Vol. 1, 226). He suggests that closed and semi-closed vessels served for liquids and could be involved in the funerary liturgy, in particular for cruciform "libation" (according to the terminology of E. A. Ivison, in fact the pouring – see below on the differences between them) over the body of the deceased. According to him, this rite is known both from medieval historical records (St. Symeon of Thessaloniki) and from later Orthodox burial practice in Greece (Ivison 1993, Vol. 1, 227; Danforth 1982, 42, pl. 12). This interpretation of their function in the Middle Ages is supported by most researchers (see above and e.g. Poulou-Papadimitriou et al. 2012, 380).[76] E. A. Ivison suggests a similar function for glass jugs and beakers, as containers for "apotropaic" oils; he also remarks that the beakers could have also served as lamps (Ivison 1993, Vol. 1, 228 – 230). In addition, he notes that expensive perfumed oils and glass containers for them were likely only available to wealthier families.

E. A. Ivison believes that the function of open-form vessels, particularly glazed bowls, is more controversial. The author, for instance, surmised that they served as receptacles for burning incense and fumigating the deceased. He associates their coming to the funerary practice of Eastern Christians with the Franks' impact (Ivison 1993, Vol. 1, 240 – 252). His ideas were then supported by J. A. Thompson and S. V. Moore, who analyzed the Crusaders' cemetery at the Pilgrims' Castle Atlit (modern-day Israel) and the Christian cemetery on Yumuktepe on the Mediterranean coast of South Turkey, respectively (Thompson 2013; Moore 2013, 28 – 29). In contrast, N. Poulou-Papadimitriou with the co-authors note that "*the precise method of use of open cups during the funeral is uncertain*" (Poulou-Papadimitriou et al. 2012, 413). However, they noted the global shift from closed form ceramics to open forms in Late Byzantine burials.

Geography of burials with bowls

We managed to find information about three dozen sites from publications. Most of these are located in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Levant (including Cyprus), Anatolia, and the Balkans, mainly in the territory of modern Greece, Bulgaria, and Turkey (fig. 52). E. A. Ivison mapped 23 sites, excluding Crimea (Ivison 1993, Vol. 2, fig. 282); the information about another seven sites is taken from other sources: the Crusaders cemetery at Atlit near the Pilgrims' Castle of the Templar Knights in modern northern Israel (Thompson 2013), the Christian cemetery on Yumuktepe on the Mediterranean coast of southern Turkey (Köroğlu 2007; Moore 2013), the Church of Zoodochos Pigi between the village of Alikianos and the area of Koufos in southwestern Crete (Bourbou 2010 – 2011), the parish church with the cemetery at Vasilitsi in southern Messenia (Kontogiannis 2008), at Melnik, southwestern Bulgaria in the cemetery near the Church of St. Nicholas the Wonderworker dated to the 13th – 18th c. (Димитрова 1989, 91 – 94, рис. 69а – г, рис. 71), the Christian necropolis at Kaliakra in northeastern Bulgaria (Petrunova et al. 2022, 51 – 53, fig. 16), and the Late Ottoman period Greek Orthodox cemetery (18th – 19th c.) near the Dormition Church (Balatlar Kilisesi) at Sinop, Turkey (Köroğlu et al. 2023, 19).

The majority is dated back to the 13th – 14th or 13th – 16th c. (du Plat Taylor 1938; Ivison 1993,

[76] The presence of such vessels only in some graves is explained by the fact that they could be thrown nearby (Ivison 1993, Vol. 1, 228).

Fig. 52. Map of the late medieval cemeteries with burials accompanied by ceramic vessels in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea region (excluding Crimea): 1. Episkopi, St. Mamas, Chrisanayotissa; 2. Kouklia (Palaiopaphos), St. Nicholas and Katholiki; 3. Environs of Polis, St. Epiphanios; 4. Soloi, Basilicas A and B; 5. Menico, St. Epiphanios; 6. Tremithos near Kormakiti; 7. Anemurium; 8. Lycia, Assar Onü; 9. Ephesos, Basilica of St. John Theologos; 10. Nicaea, Church by the Theatre; 11. Trebizond, St. Sophia; 12. Constantinople, Balaban Agha Mescidi, Great Palace, and Myrelaion; 13. Thessaloniki, Vlatadon monastery, Hippodrome cemetery, St. Demetrios, Rotunda (St. George), St. Nicholas Orphanos, Church or the Savior; 14. Thebes, Cemetery of St. Luke; 15. Chalkis; 16. Athens, Hephaisteion (St. George), St. Dionysios Areopagites, new church, Agora north, Church of St. Nicholas in the Athenian Agora; 17. Corinth, Bema Church, Temple Hill Church, Monastery of St. John Theologos, the Temenos E Church; 18. Argos, the Alikas Basilica; 19. Mistra; 20. Verria; 21. Siteia, Site of Petras (1 – 21. – after Ivison 1993, 282); 22. Atlit, Crusader cemetery; 23. Yumuktepe/Mersin; 24. Alikianos, Church of Zoodochos Pigi; 25. Vasilitsi; 26. Melnik, Church of St. Nicholas the Wonderworker, 13th – 18th c.; 27. Kaliakra; 28. Komana; 29. Sinop, the Dormition Church (Balatlar Kilisesi; Authors: I. Teslenko, A. Musin)

Обр. 52. Карта на късносредновековните некрополи от Източното Средиземноморие и района на Черно море (без Кримския п-в) с керамични съдове в гробовете: 1. Епископи, църкв „Св. Мамас", църква „Хрисанайотиса"; 2. Кукля (Палеапафос), църкви „Св. Николай" и „Католики"; 3. Околностите на Полис, църква „Св. Епифаний"; 4. Соли, „Базилики А и В"; 5. Менико, църква „Св. Епифаний"; 6. Тремитос близо до Кормакити; 7. Анемуриум; 8. Ликия, Асар Оню; 9. Ефес, базилика „Св. Йоан Богослов"; 10. Никеа, църква при театъра; 11. Трапезунд, църква „Света София"; 12. Константинопол, джамия „Балабан ага", Великия дворец и Мирелеона; 13. Солун, манастир „Влатади", некрополи на хиподрома, църква „Св. Димитър", Ротонда („Св. Георги"), църква „Св. Николай Орфанос", църква „Христос Спасител"; 14. Тива, некрополи на църквата „Св. Лука"; 15. Халкида; 16. Атина, Хефестиона („Св. Георги"), църква „Св. Дионисий Ареопагит", нова църква, Агора север, църква „Св. Никола" на Атинската агора; 17. Коринт, „Църква в бемата", „Църква на храмовия хълм", манастир „Св. Йоан Богослов", църква „Теменос Е"; 18. Аргос, базилика „Аликас"; 19. Мистра; 20. Верия; 21. Сития, парцел Петрас (1 – 21. – по Ivison 1993, 282); 22. Атлит, некрополи от кръстоносния период; 23. Юмуктепе/Мерсин; 24. Аликианос, църква „Живоносен източник"; 25. Василици; 26. Мелник, „Св. Николай Чудотворец", XIII – XVIII в.; 27. Калиакра; 28. Комана; 29. Синоп, църква „Успение Богородично" (Балатлар килисеси; Автори: И. Тесленко, А. Мусин)

Vol. 1, 240 – 241; Makropoulou 2006, 9; Laskaris 2000). This tradition continued at least until the 17th c., for example, at Athens (Ivison 1993, Vol. 1, 241) or even later in the Greek Orthodox cemetery (18th – 19th c.) near the Dormition Church (Balatlar Kilisesi) at Sinop. Among the necropolis with the most numerous "bowl burials",[77] other sites should be mentioned: the cemetery at Episkopi in Cyprus (the churches of St. Mamas at the north end of the village and Chrysanayotissa; du Plat Taylor 1938) and several sites at Thessaloniki (the Vlatadon Monastery, the Hippodrome Square, the Church of the Transfiguration, the Church of St. Nicholas Orphanos, etc.; Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1989; Μακροπούλου 1985). There are also the Bema Church, Temple Hill Church, Temenos E Church, and church of the Monastery of St. John at Corinth (Ivison 1993, Vol. 1, 241; Thompson 2013, 34 – 41).

What are the arguments for the Latin version?

1. E. A. Ivison dates the majority of glazed bowls placed in graves to the period after 1200, that is, approximately after the Fourth Crusade and the beginning of the Latin domination in Greece. The rite was becoming most common in the 13th and 14th c. According to the data he cited, some of the earliest appearances of bowls in burials occur at sites occupied by Latins: Cyprus (after 1190), Corinth (after 1211), Athens and Thebes (after 1206), Thessaloniki (1205 – 1212), Chalkis (after 1205), Crete (after 1211), and Constantinople (1204 – 1261). There are also the Latin burials at the cemetery of St. Luke at Thebes, the church of St. George in Athens, and the Castle Chapel in Mistra (Ivison 1993, Vol. 1, 241 – 247). He explains the presence of a few earlier vessels in the graves by the use of old things for burials that was inherent to the funeral practice (Ivison 1993, Vol. 1, 241). This is quite true but requires more careful study (see, e.g., the cases cited by Laskaris 2000, 324 – 325). E. A. Ivison also mentions the "bowl burials" from Genoese Vosporo (modern-day Kerch, Crimea) as one of the pieces of evidence for the connection of the rite with the Latins. As our review of Crimean sites suggests, however, glazed bowls were more common in rural cemeteries than in the necropoleis of Genoese outposts on the peninsula.

2. He points out that glazed bowls could not perform the same function as jugs since sometimes they are found together in burials (Ivison 1993, Vol. 1, 240). However, this is not always the case (du Plat Taylor 1938, 72, 85; Makropoulou 2006, 10; Laskaris 2000, 324, fig. A, 160).

3. In some burials there are two, three or more vessels, as happened in the lands of the Franks. As E. A. Ivison adds himself, however, this occurs only in rare cases and in some necropoleis not earlier than the end of the 14th – 15th or in the 16th c. (St. Mamas, Chrysanayiotissa, Vlatadon Monastery; St. John's Basilica at Ephesus; Ivison 1993, Vol. 1, 242). Thus, when also considering that in these cases this is a later development of the custom, it was rather rare instead of common.

4. The author pointed out the presence of bowls and their bases with burnt and scratched surface in the 13th c. vaulted tomb in the Hephaisteion in Athens and in 13th – 14th c. tombs in the Athenian Agora. There are also small pieces of charcoal in the 13th c. burials in Vlatadon Monastery Thessaloniki that lack any connection to vessels. He interpreted this fact as an indication that some bowls and even their bases could be used as censers like in the lands of the Franks (Ivison 1993, Vol. 1, 245 – 246). However, such cases are quite limited.

E. A. Ivison interpreted these finds as proof of the use of incense burners in Orthodox funerary practice from the 14th and 15th c. as a consequence of the development of funerary bowls and evidence of the continuing influence of Latin funerary customs (Ivison 1993, Vol. 1, 252). He does not provide further reasons for this assumption, but it is clearly not enough for the hypothesis that

[77] The term proposed by E. A. Ivison (Ivison 1993, Vol. 1, 240 – 252).

there was a remarkably plentiful appearance of bowls in Byzantine burials due to the influence of Western European censer ware, which (as it has become clear today, as noted below) were not the only and main type of burial ware in the Latin funeral rite.

6. E. A. Ivison also believes that among the factors that influenced the spread of Latin customs could be their prestige for the Byzantine aristocracy, who adopted them as a means of raising their status in "*competitive emulation of the Latins*", due to intermarriage, and also because these customs were culturally attractive and had additional apotropaic features (Ivison 1993, Vol. 1, 252 – 254). As an argument, he cites the custom of priests buried with ceramic eucharistic chalices (Ivison 1993, Vol. 1, 253 – 256; Ivison 2000; Ivison 2001). From his point of view, it is "*important evidence of the transmission of burial customs from West to East, probably by peer interaction between the two ecclesiastical hierarchies, and by symbolic entrainment*" (Ivison 1993, Vol. 1, 254). Indeed, chalices appeared in the graves of Greek priests only in the 13th c. while in Western Europe – France, England, the Netherlands, Belgium, Denmark, and Germany – they were placed in the tombs of clergy from the 10th c. According to the author, then, this tradition in the West predates those in the East by over two centuries (Ivison 2000, 170 – 171).

In this case, E. A. Ivison's idea could seem reasonable, but mainly for Orthodox priests of the 13th c. who could perform the Eucharist. However, the rite of *communio mortuorum* was well-known in the Byzantine tradition before and after the 13th c. (Dabrowska 1989; Dabrowska 2005), and this practice provoked a hard discussion in Orthodox canon law before the Crusades, even if the finds of liturgical vessels in the graves are not very numerous. Theodor Balsamon emphasizes that consecrated bread was held in the hands of dead priests rather than placed in a vessel (Migne 1863, col. 793 [can. 83]). The author is aware of these facts (Ivison 1993, Vol. 1, 254 – 255), but he practically ignores them to promote his hypothesis, which is based solely on the chronological coincidence of a certain number of burials with chalices with the Latin presence in Byzantium. It cannot be ruled out that this Christian rite of *communio mortuorum*, like many others (Dabrowska 1996), arose in Latin Europe under Eastern Christian influence.

In any case, these cases of finds of eucharistic chalices in graves in the Eastern Church are quite rare, and such kind of borrowings, as E. A. Ivison himself notes, were not approved of by the higher clergy, although they were practiced. In addition, the shape of these chalices as well as their purpose were completely different from the bowls of secular burials. The practices of communion of the dead at burial, mainly of the clergy, in Eastern Christian Byzantine rite and the rarity of liturgical chalices in graves cannot (and should not) explain the use of open bowls in burials. In some exceptional cases it can be assumed that the intensification of cultural contacts between Byzantium and Latin Europe could lead to the activation and development of some features of the funeral rite that traditionally existed in Eastern Christian culture.

The short-term appearance of ceramic eucharistic chalices in the graves of the Greek clergy should be considered as changes in the material culture of a rite that was practiced before, perhaps not without connection with Latin culture. However, the nature of this influence can be quite contradictory. The archaeological evidence could reflect not the borrowing of Western practices but the Byzantine rejection of Latin influence as part of its wider cultural response to Western expansion.

7. Finally, E. A. Ivison noted that the "bowl burials" in Cyprus ceased after the Ottoman conquest of the island. He suggests the expulsion of the Latins as one of the reasons (Ivison 1993, Vol. 1, 282). If by the beginning of the Ottoman conquest the custom of "burial bowls" had already been firmly adopted by the Orthodox community, however, it is not clear how the presence or absence of the Latins could impact it. Probably there were other reasons.

In addition, the Latins themselves did not always place vessels in burials. For instance, most of the burials of the Crusaders in Palestine contained no objects. Among the rare evidence from the Holy Land, J. A. Thompson focused on the burial ground of the Pilgrims' Castle Atlit (in modern-day Israel) where this ritual was recorded. Despite the fact that this cemetery belonged to the Latins, open vessels were not found in all graves. J. A. Thompson attributes this to the fact that not all Crusaders were familiar with such a custom, but only cavaliers from Ile-de-France or Normandy because the practice of placing vessels into the graves was well known in that region (Thompson 2013). However, this observation must be considered erroneous. The placement of vessels in burials of various forms and various functions was a widespread phenomenon in France and other Western European countries (Thier 1999; Bocquet-Liénard et al. 2017).

It is worth noting that E. A. Ivison promoted his hypothesis at the time when the study of pottery in French graves was just beginning. Only the first observations had been made. Today this appears to be a complex and multifaceted phenomenon (Galinié, Zadora-Rio 1996; Bocquet-Liénard et al. 2017; Baud et al. 2023). The spread of the custom of placing vessels in burials is especially noticeable from the end of the 12th c. and occurs especially actively in the 13th (Fichet de Clairfontaine et al. 2011; Fichet de Clairfontaine et al. 2017, 232, 248; Bauduin, Verslype 2017, 495). The earliest burials with vessels are known in the south of France (Bocquet-Liénard et al. 2017, 12 – 15), which may be associated with the Mediterranean and an eastern influence in general. It should be noted that this practice becomes common during the era of the Crusades, so it cannot be ruled out that the Crusaders brought home this custom from the Christian Orient.

At the end of the 12th and 13th c., this practice received theological Catholic justification. The placement of vessels with holy water and vessels-censers in graves was explained in France, first of all, by driving away demons from the deceased (Douteil 1976, 163; Davril et al. 1995 – 2000, 706 [VII:35]). This was due to profound changes in attitudes towards death and the afterlife in Latin culture, in particular the doctrine of purgatory (Hincker, Combalbert 2017, 21 – 28; Gaudelet 2017, 427 – 428; Bauduin, Verslype 2017, 499). These theological ideas were completely alien to the Christian East. Therefore, it is difficult to assume that Byzantium copied its funeral customs from Western Europe without taking into account the theological justifications behind them.

Two different substances used in burial vessels in the Latin Europe – holy water and incense coals – influenced the use of different types of vessels in graves (Foy, Démians d'Archimbaud 1996; Prigent 1996; Horry 2017, 59, 65; Carme, Corrochano 2017, 102 – 103; Normand 2017, 152 – 155). Mostly these were tall, open-shaped vessels with handles (type *oule* et *conquer*), but there were also close-shaped vessels (type *bouteille*). The use of vessels comparable to bowls is infrequent (type *écuelle*; Horry 2017, 66, fig. 6; Normand 2017, 157, fig. 10; Conte, Roger 2017, 180, fig. 14; Billoin, Passard-Urlacher 2017, 365, fig. 5). At the same time, there are known areas where censers were not used and only vessels for holy water are known (Carme, Corrochano 2017, 108). Placing vessels in burials was not mandatory and widespread; only in some regions did the number of burials with vessels reach 10 % (Fichet de Clairfontaine et al. 2017, 242). Moreover, normally unused or specially prepared pots with perforations were used for burial (Fichet de Clairfontaine et al. 2017, 242), which is completely unusual for the burial culture of Byzantium and Crimea. The current level of knowledge about the use of vessels in burials in Europe and about the rituals behind this does not allow us to transfer this religious experience to Byzantine soil unambiguously.

In the 1990s, the idea of linking some new features in the funeral rites of Eastern Christians to the arrival of the Franks was new and attractive. However, there is no serious proof that some Crusaders or their descendants incorporated glazed bowls into their burial practice in the East for the same purposes as closed or semi-closed vessels in their homeland. Although there is no reliable

indication among archaeological materials, perhaps some Eastern Christians inherited western customs, as through family connections. At the same time, this does not mean that all of them used the same pottery for the same purpose as the Latins. This also does not mean that there were Latins who introduced to ordinary Orthodox Christians the practice of using glazed bowls in the burial process in general. Funeral practices in traditional societies usually are very conservative, unlike fashions for everyday items that could change much more quickly. During the 13th and 14th c., the manufacturing of a wide range of glazed ceramics, including glazed bowls of various sizes, in the Mediterranean and Black Sea region become really widespread in everyday life (see, e.g., Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1999, etc.). Therefore, these bowls easily could have become common among funerary goods as well, like any other container.

A few traces of burning on the surface of bowls and charcoal in graves cannot be taken as convincing enough evidence, and the absence of traces of vessels' use according to the Frankish funeral custom in the reliably known graves of the Crusaders makes E. A. Ivison's hypothesis doubtful. More than that, in the 13th – 14th c. glazed bowls and unpainted jugs were common graves goods for local Orthodox population everywhere in Greece, even in small communal provincial cemeteries like the one that was excavated near the church in the village of Vasilitsi in southern Messenia (Kontogiannis 2008). Therefore, the glazed bowls were not something extraordinary in the funeral practice of the local people. One can put forward a counter assumption, which remains unconfirmed, that the Latin elites in Byzantine territories could have adopted the local tradition of using bowls for burial since Byzantium always caused fascination among the Latins. This could partly explain why burials of the Frankish elite have not been reliably identified through archaeological materials.

E. A. Ivison's use of written, canonical, and liturgical sources in his study must be recognized as insufficient. He uses only late and indirect evidence of the use of liquids in the funeral rite (Ivison 1993, Vol. 1, 171, 227), which could suggest the use of vessels. In fact, he considers the history of the Orthodox funeral rite in isolation from the Orthodox tradition.

Additionally, two methodological inaccuracies can be pointed out in E. A. Ivison's hypothesis. First of all, the author uses a formal approach to the relationship between vessel and ritual. The change in form entails a change in ritual. It was the intensive use of bowls in a burial that allowed him to suggest the emergence of a new ritual and determine his "BBC". In Christian culture, however, content is not always determined by form. The same applies to ritual, which could use completely different forms of vessels to perform an action. The only productive method of studying the role of vessels in the Eastern Christian funerary rite is to consider them without distinction of form (closed and open forms) and material (ceramics and glass). So, the "BBC" has no right to exist as an independent cultural and archaeological phenomenon.

Another inaccuracy is that the author initially assumed that *post hoc, ergo propter hoc*, that the Crusades occurred and then local Christian rituals emerged under the influence of Latin culture. However, *post hoc, non est propter hoc*, and internal changes should not be completely excluded, especially since we study ritual through material evidence that can be subject to multi-faceted influences.

The period of the spread of burials with glazed bowls coincided with the time of a wide distribution of glazed bowls in the culture of the Mediterranean and Black Sea regions, where this type of vessel became a common part of everyday life. It is known that vessels of different types were used in the Eastern Christian funeral rite both before and after this period. That is why open-shaped vessels should be considered not as an innovation of ritual but as one of the material culture of the ritual, which did not affect the content and meaning of the rite since the ritual comprised the use of different types of vessels.

Against the background of our knowledge about the development of East Christian culture, there is no good reason to talk about the influence of Catholic rituals using vessels in the era of the Latin Empire. Behind these rituals, there were certain theological ideas and a religious mentality that was unusual for Byzantine society. Bowls in burials are archaeological evidence for a traditional Eastern Christian rite that has absorbed new trends in everyday culture and adapted in connection with changes in church and public life. If it is possible to see here any consequence of the dominance of the Crusaders in Byzantium, it is only in the consolidated response of the Orthodox community to the pressure of Latin domination, expressed in the cultural modification of traditional East Christian ritual. Unfortunately, this outdated hypothesis without the necessary critical reflection has influenced modern Eastern European archaeological literature. To understand the meaning of burial customs in the Crimea, though, it is first necessary to turn to the funeral traditions of other Eastern Christian regions and Eastern Europe first.

Look to the East

The study of the Christian funeral rites of Eastern Europe is important for understanding the role and meaning of bowls in the graves of Crimea at the end of the 13th – 15th c. for several reasons. At this time, the Christian culture of the Eastern European subcontinent, the northernmost metropolis of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, participated in the same Orthodox-Byzantine civilization as Crimea. Crimea was one of the sources of Christian culture, which began spreading across Eastern Europe since the 10th c. According to the "law of the periphery" (see this phenomenon: Musin et al. 2007; Musin 2020), Eastern Europe's Orthodox culture on the border of Byzantine Christianity was not only receptive to Byzantine innovations but also better preserved archaic features of Byzantine culture than life in the capital. These features, which fell out of use in cultural centers due to the evolution of liturgical and social fashion, often remained on the periphery as an indelible model.

At the first stage of the present study, a basic review of Christian graves with vessels in Eastern Europe starting from the 11th c. is necessary. As we have already noted (see sections "Discussion" and "Look to the West"), the only productive method of studying the role of vessels in Eastern Christian funerary rites is to consider them regardless of form and material. The study of funeral practices of Eastern Europe *de longue durée* will allow us not only to evaluate synchronous phenomena in funereal and commemorative culture in Crimea but also to compare the Crimean phenomenon with the development of Eastern Christian burial customs. Against the background of the evolution of both ceramic and glass production and importation, analysis of graves with vessels in the territories adjacent to Crimea may help explain the use of bowls in Crimean necropoleis in the period under question.

In the second stage, after obtaining independent results about the history of vessels in Eastern European graves over a long period based on archaeological materials, it is necessary to turn to written sources of both Byzantine and Eastern European origin. The results obtained from the study of theological, liturgical, and canonical texts should be compared with the conclusions of archaeological investigation. These double observations, as we expect, will shed light on the fairly intensive appearance of graves with bowls in the Crimea at the end of the 13th – 15th c.

The history of archaeological research in Eastern Europe demonstrates that vessels with a "non-utilitarian" function were placed in Christian graves near and inside churches from the very beginning (Панова 2004, 153 – 157; Musin 2017, 381 – 383). These vessels did not contain food remains and cannot be associated with the pre-Christian tradition of a funeral meal. As far as can be judged from objects preserved *in situ*, these vessels were not subordinated to the rituals known from

ethnological investigations of the 19th – 20th c. associated with turning over dishes in connection with the death and burial of a member of a rural community (Толстой 1990; Седакова 2004, 200).

These vessels present a special interest for the present study. However, we have no reason to call these vessels "liturgical" or "ritual" due to their belonging to well-known and sometimes numerous groups of everyday ceramic or glass ware. The use of a vessel in a ritual does not automatically turn it into a "ritual vessel" and does not imply that its original function was "ritual" in character.

Finds of vessels in Christian graves are known from Kyiv, Ukraine, the capital of the Christian state and ecclesiastical metropolis, already in the early period. Near the cathedral of St. Sophia, at the cemetery presumably associated with the Church of St. Irene (ca. 1050), at least five glass vessels were recorded, three of which were at the feet of the dead. Among them, there are funnel-shaped goblets with a sharp bottom and beakers and cups. The burials date back to no later than the 12th c. (fig. 53: 1 – 3, fig. 54: 1; Івакін и др. 2015; Корнієнко, Стрихар 2018). A comparable glass cup placed at the head of the dead was recovered during the excavation of a church grave in Komana, Asia Minor, in the context of the 11th – 12th c. (Erciyas 2019, 12, 13, 38, fig. 25; Tatbul, Erciyas 2019, 274, fig. 3). Evidently, there was a Byzantine tradition that transferred to Eastern Europe.

Judging by the extremely vague information, small glass vessels, the type and reliable dating of which are unfortunately unavailable, were attested among early graves near the Church of the Tithes in Kyiv (Раскопки 1909, 125). A glass cup from the second half of the 12th c., morphologically close to some finds from Kyiv, was discovered near the head of a female burial in the Cathedral of the Dormition of the Virgin in Halych, Ukraine (fig. 54: 3; Пастернак 1944, 140, рис. 48; Пастернак 1998, 183 – 184, рис. 48). In the burial chapel at Bilhorodka (medieval Belgorod), Kyiv district, Ukraine, next to the sarcophagus of a bishop of the late 12th c. a glass vessel with a handle was found, which possibly served as a hanging church lamp; this function is of additional interest for our research (fig. 54: 4; Рыбаков 1968, 8).[78] A funnel-shaped goblet, preserved in fragments, may be associated with one of the graves at Tchernihiv, Ukraine (fig. 54: 2; Рожанківський 1959, 26, рис. 4: 2).

It is possible that already in the first half of the 13th c. glazed ceramic vessels were placed in the graves of bishops in Vladimir-on-Klyazma River, Vladimir district, Russia (fig. 54: 5; Виноградов 1891, 97). Unfortunately, the type and chronology of these vessels is unknown. In the 11th – 12th c., Byzantine glazed ceramics were sporadically placed in churchyards, which may indicate their ritual use (Коваль 2010, 187 – 188; Романов, Романова 2007). In the middle of the 14th – 15th c., however, glazed pottery of different open forms, sometimes imported, becomes widespread in church graves of Eastern Europe, especially in Muscovy. A siliceous-paste painted bowl from Golden Horde workshops made no earlier than the second third of the 14th c. was found in connection with one of the sarcophagi of the Martyrian porch in the Cathedral of St. Sophia in Veliky Novgorod, Russia, where Archbishop Basil Kalika († 1352) was supposedly buried (fig. 53: 4, fig. 54: 6; Монгайт 1948, 70 – 73, рис. 26 – 27; Монгайт 1949; Медведев, 1963, 280; Коваль 2010, 98 – 99).

Ceramic vessels of various sizes and shapes, mostly locally produced glazed pottery became widespread in Muscovy at the end of the 14th – 17th c. (Панова 1987; Панова 1989; Панова 2004, 153 – 157; Panova 2009, 156 – 161, 209 – 201, 217, 240; Panova 2011; Панченко 2016; Панченко 2018; Панченко 2020; Панченко 2021; Беляев 2017). Even small containers made of wax can be also found in the grave in the Monastery of St. Cyril of Beloozero in 2010 (Беляев

[78] In the new study of the archaeological site, the vessel is not mentioned (see Непомящих 2017).

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Fig. 53. Glass (1 – 3, 17 – 25) and ceramic (4 – 16, 26 – 28) vessels for pouring oil over the deceased from burials in Eastern Europe, 11th/12th – 17th/18th c.: 1 – 3. Church yard of St. Irene, 11th – 12th c., Kyiv, Ukraine (after Корнієнко, Стрихар 2018); 4. Grave of Archbishop Basil Kalika († 1352), Veliky Novgorod, Russia (after Монгайт 1948); 5 – 10. Monastery of the miracle of the Archangel Michael in Chonae (Chudov Monastery), 14th – 16th c., Moscow, Russia (after Панченко 2018); 11, 12, 26, 27. Different cemeteries, 15th – 16th c., Moscow, Russia (after Беляев 2017); 13 – 16. Trinity Lavra of St. Sergius, 15th – 16th c., Moscow district, Russia (after Панченко 2021); 17. Grave of tsaritsa Anastasia Zakharyina-Yuriev, first wife of Ivan IV the Terrible († 1560), Monastery of the Ascension, Kremlin, Moscow, Russia; 18. Grave of tsar Ivan IV the Terrible († 1584), Church of the Archangel Michael, Kremlin, Moscow, Russia; 19. Grave of tsaritsa Marfa Sobakina, third wife of Ivan IV the Terrible († 1571), Monastery of the Ascension, Kremlin, Moscow, Russia; 20. Grave of prince Ivan Ivanovich († 1581), Church of the Archangel Michael, Kremlin, Moscow, Russia; 21. Monastery of the Ascension, Kremlin, 17th c., Moscow, Russia; 22. Grave of tsar Feodor Ivanovich († 1598), Church of the Archangel Michael, Kremlin, Moscow, Russia (after Панова 2004, Panova 2009); 23 – 25. Graves of the boyar family of Cherkassky, relatives of the royal Romanov dynasty, New Monastery of the Savior (Novospassky Monastery), 17th c., Moscow, Russia (after Беляев, Елкина 2016); 28. Monastery of the Ascension at the place of Arsenal, 17th – 18th c., Kyiv, Ukraine (after Івакін, Балакін 2008). (Author: A. Musin; Computer design by S. Bocharova)

Обр. 53. Стъклени (1 – 3, 17 – 25) и керамични (4 – 16, 26 – 28) съдове за възлияния с масло върху починалите от некрополи в Източна Европа, XI/XII – XVII/XVIII в.: 1 – 3. Църковен двор на църквата „Св. Ирина", XI – XII в., Киев, Украйна (по Корнієнко, Стрихар 2018); 4. Гроб на архиепископ Василий Калика († 1352 г.), Велики Новгород, Русия (по Монгайт 1948); 5 – 10. Манастир „Чудото на архангел Михаил" (Чудов манастир), XIV – XVI в., Москва, Русия (по Панченко 2018); 11, 12, 26, 27. Различни некрополи, XV – XVI в., Москва, Русия (по Беляев 2017); 13 – 16. Свето-Троицката Сергиева лавра, XV – XVI в., Московска област, Русия (по Панченко 2021); 17. Гроб на царица Анастасия Захарина-Юрева, първа жена на Иван IV Грозни († 1560 г.), Възнесенски манастир, Кремъл, Москва, Русия; 18. Гроб на цар Иван IV Грозни († 1584 г.), Архангелски събор, Кремъл, Москва, Русия; 19. Гроб на царица Марфа Собакина, трета жена на Иван IV Грозни († 1571 г.), Възнесенски манастир, Кремъл, Москва, Русия; 20. Гроб на принц Иван Иванович († 1581 г.), Архангелски събор, Кремъл, Москва, Русия; 21. Възнесенски манастир, Кремъл, XVII в., Москва, Русия; 22. Гроб на цар Фьодор Иванович († 1598 г.), Архангелски събор, Кремъл, Москва, Русия (по Панова 2004, Panova 2009); 23 – 25. Гробове на болярската фамилия Черкаски, роднини на царската династия Романови, Новоспаски манастир, XVII в., Москва, Русия (по Беляев, Елкина 2016); 28. Възнесенски манастир на мястото на Арсенала, XVII – XVIII в., Киев, Украйна (по Івакін, Балакін 2008). (Автор: А. Мусин; Компютърен дизайн: С. Бочарова)

Fig. 54. Map of the cemeteries of 11th/12th – 17th/20th c. with graves accompanied by ceramic and glass vessels for pouring oil in Eastern Europe: 1. Kyiv, Ukraine; 2. Tchernihiv, Ukraine; 3. Halycz, Ukraine; 4. Bilhorodka (medieval Belgorod), Kyiv district, Ukraine; 5. Vladimir, Russia; 6. Velikiy Novgorod, Russia; 7. Smolensk, Russia; 8. Moscow, Russia; 9. Trinity Lavra of St. Sergius, Moscow district, Russia; 10. Novhorod-Siverskyi, Ukraine; 11. Trinity Monastery of St. Stephen of Makhra, Vladimir district, Russia; 12. Monastery of St. Cyril of Beloozero, Vologda district, Russia; 13. Trinity Monastery of Boldino, Smolensk district, Russia; 14. Staraya Ladoga, St. Petersburg district, Russia; 15. Ryazan, Russia; 16. Suzdal, Russia (Author: A. Musin; Computer design by S. Bocharova)

Обр. 54. Карта на некрополите от XI/XII – XVII/XX в. от Източна Европа с гробове, съдържащи керамични и стъклени съдове за възлияния с масло: 1. Киев, Украйна; 2. Чернигов, Украйна; 3. Галич, Украйна; 4. Билхородка (средновековен Белгород), Киевска област, Украйна; 5. Владимир, Русия; 6. Велики Новгород, Русия; 7. Смоленск, Русия; 8. Москва, Русия; 9. Свето-Троицката Сергиева лавра, Московска област, Русия; 10. Новгород Северски, Украйна; 11. Стефано-Махришки манастир „Св. Троица", Махра, Владимирска област, Русия; 12. Кирило-Белозерски манастир, Вологодска област, Русия; 13. Троицки Герасимо-Болински манастир, Болдино, Смоленска област, Русия; 14. Старая Ладога, Санктпетербургска област, Русия; 15. Рязан, Русия; 16. Суздал, Русия (Автор: А. Мусин; Компютърен дизайн: С. Бочарова)

2017, 123) and recently (spring 2024) in Trinity Lavra of St. Sergius, Moscow district, Russia. The archaeological literature on late medieval vessels in burials is extensive, but a complete catalogue with comprehensive analysis has not yet been compiled.

Based on the aforementioned publications and information we personally obtained, such vessels are known from the late medieval and Early Modern churchyards and monastic necropoleis in Moscow (fig. 54: 8): at the Church of Our Saviour in the Woods, Kremlin (Древности 1849, № 107; fig. 55); Church of The Holy Myrrhbearing Women at Zariadie; Church of St. Nicetas at Shvivova Gorka on the Yauza river; Church of Holy Trinity in the Fields; Church of Our Lady of Kazan in Kolomenskoe; Monastery of the miracle of the Archangel Michael in Chonae (Chudov Monastery) in Kremlin (fig. 53: 5 – 10); Andronikov Monastery of the Savior on the Yauza river; Epiphany Monastery in the Kitai Gorod; Monastery of the Ascension in Kremlin; Vysokopetrovsky Monastery or High Monastery of St. Peter in the Bely Gorod, Danilov Monastery; and Conception or Zachatyevsky Monastery. Numerous vessels were also discovered in the graves in Trinity Lavra of St. Sergius, Moscow district (fig. 53: 13 – 16, fig. 54: 9), Monastery of St. Cyril of Beloozero, Vologda district (fig. 54: 12), and Trinity Monastery of Boldino, Smolensk district (fig. 54: 13), Russia. Late medieval ceramic vessels are known from burials and cemeteries at Ryazan, Suzdal, and Smolensk (fig. 54: 7, 15, 16; Неклюдов, Писарев 1901, 26 – 27). In these necropoleis, there are both single and multiple finds of up to several dozen vessels.

From the middle of the 16th – 17th c., imported vessels of European glass, sometimes Bohemian and Venetian, began to be placed in sarcophagi and graves of the Russian elite in Moscow (fig. 54: 8), mainly near the heads. The burials of tsars Ivan the Terrible († 1584) and Feodor Ivanovich († 1598), which held glass beakers, have been studied in the Church of the Archangel Michael, Kremlin (fig. 53: 18, 20, 22). The burials of aristocratic women that also held glass vessels were found in the Monastery of the Ascension, Kremlin (fig. 53: 17, 19, 21; Панова 2004, 157; Panova 2009, 210 – 217; Столярова 2009) as well as in the Church of Our Lady of Sign, New Monastery of the Savior, Novospassky Monastery (fig. 53: 23 – 25; Станюкович и др. 2005; Беляев, Елкина 2016, 140 – 143). In a grave in the Trinity Monastery of St. Stephen of Makhra, Vladimir district, Russia, a Middle Eastern glass vessel is known in the burial of a clergyman of the 16th c. (fig. 54: 11; Станюкович 2006). Outside Muscovy, a glass vessel was recorded in a grave in the Cathedral of Transfiguration of Christ in Novhorod-Siverskyi, Tchernihiv oblast, Ukraine, at the chest area of the buried person (fig. 54: 10; Коваленко, Куза 1981, 81). It is worth noting that 16th c. imported Venetian glass vessels are known from post-Byzantine Orthodox burials in Thessaloniki, Greece (Antonaras 2003).

The mainly glass vessels of the 17th c. are known from Kyiv, where they were found in a grave near the church in the Monastery of the Ascension at the place of Arsenal (fig. 53: 28, fig. 54: 1; Івакін, Балакін 2008, 17, 18, іл. 12), as well as near the Church of the Tithes in the necropolis of the era of Metropolitan Peter Mohyla (1633 – 1646), where a small glass vessel had been placed at the feet of the deceased (Раскопки 1909, 124). According to several scholars, in 17th c. funerary contexts were discovered metal and even wooden vessels along with ceramics and glass vessels, whose form continues to be varied; all of these finds remain unpublished (Панова 2004).[79] The tradition of placing vessels in burials continued until the 20th c. In 2013, in the fortress of Staraya Ladoga near St. Petersburg, where burials in brick crypts near the Church of St. George were investigated, a tea porcelain cup made by the Porcelain factory Kuznetsov and a cup of Chinese faience, possibly a trophy of the Russo-Japanese War (1904 – 1905), were discovered (fig. 54: 14;

[79] See, however, a skeptical remark about wooden vessels in Панченко 2021, 185.

Григорьева 2017).[80] Thus, we can conclude that vessels of different forms and materials have been used in Orthodox burial customs in Eastern Europe since the 11th – 12th c. Only the atheization of the Soviet era led to the disappearance of this materialization of such liturgical rituals that we focus on here. Such long-term survival of the practice of placing vessels in graves finds a complete parallel in the burial rite of the Greeks from Asia Minor in the Late Ottoman period, as evidenced by the results of excavations of the Orthodox cemetery (18th – 19th c.) near the Dormition Church (Balatlar Kilisesi) at Sinop, Turkey (Gök 2023, 195, tab. 9).

Let us return to the general characteristics of burial vessels in Muscovy. Some researchers count over 100 burials of the late 14th – 17th c. (Панченко 2021). Most of the vessels were found in monastic necropoleis, which are three times more numerous than in parish cemeteries. The number of burials with vessels in necropoleis usually ranges from 6 to 13 %, although among burials of the aristocracy in churches the percentage is much higher – about 30 %. Vessels were most often placed near the heads of the buried; the ratio of finds of vessels at the heads and at the feet is ca. 50/30 %. The vessels are more common in male graves (ca. 60 %) than in female burials (ca. 35 %), which is probably because most of the buried men were clergy or monks. The placement of vessels at the feet of the dead are also more common at men's graves (ca. 25 %) than women's (ca. 5 %), although some early cases of the 11th – 12th c. indicate a predominant placement of vessels at the feet (see for the statistic Панченко 2021, 183 – 186 and Энговатова, Васильева 2018).

It should be noted that both glass and ceramic vessels of various shapes (including closed ones) and sizes, and mostly glazed in the case of the latter vessels, were used at burials. The practice of using bowls, which may be regarded as an innovation since the late 14th c., was reflected not only in archaeology but also in iconography reflecting burial customs. On the icon of the late 15th – beginning of the 16th c. (Monastery of St. Cornelius of Komela, Vologda district, Russia, Russian State Museum, St. Petersburg) that presents The Holy Myrrhbearing Women at the Tomb of Christ, vessels of open and closed forms with oil and flagrant liquids for the burial can be distinguished (fig. 56; Ланс 1997, 124). If the bowl and high neck jar could be modeled after contemporary vessels, their morphological difference might reflect a shift in the form used for pouring oil over the deceased from the late antique tradition kept during the Middle Byzantine period to late medieval practice. Obviously, one should not expect complete formal correspondences of the represented vessels with archaeologically known examples since the iconographic space transformed the objects of material culture.

For several series of vessels found in graves, it is possible to observe a certain technological and typological unity (Беляев 2017, 123). Some of them were prestigious imports; some may have been produced specifically for burial (Панченко 2016). Among the local vessels, prestigious and fashionable items are also known; for example, a locally made glazed red clay bowl with the image of a centaur unsheathing a sword was discovered in a grave at the churchyard of the Church of The Holy Myrrhbearing Women in Zariadie, Moscow (Дубынин 1960, 78; Розенфельдт 1968, 49, 111, табл. 17, № 13; Чернецов 1981). In general, we can note a special choice of vessel used during the burial on the part of the persons who performed it.

What constitutes archaeological evidence for ritual is always a topic of debate among modern researchers. In the 19th and early 20th c., scholars usually correctly interpreted the ritual associated with the placement of vessels in the graves (fig. 55). This was due both to researchers' level of education and to the fact that these rituals were practiced by the society of that time, although not everywhere. That is to say, among both the Russian and Greek Orthodox churches vessels

[80] For general trends in the development of funeral rituals in late medieval and modern Russia, see Логунова 2010; Шокарев 2003.

Fig. 55. Bowl for pouring oil, monastic leather girdle and rectangular analabos with depictions of icons according the Stoudite Typikon from the grave of princess Maria Tverskaya († 1399), the Church of Our Savior in the Woods, Kremlin, Moscow, Russia (after Древности 1849, № 107)

Обр. 55. Купа за възлияние с масло, монашески кожен пояс и правоъгълен аналав с изображения на икони съгласно студитския устав от гроба на принцеса Мария Тверская († 1399 г.), Спаска църква (църква на Спасителя в горите), Кремъл, Москва, Русия (по Древности 1849, № 107)

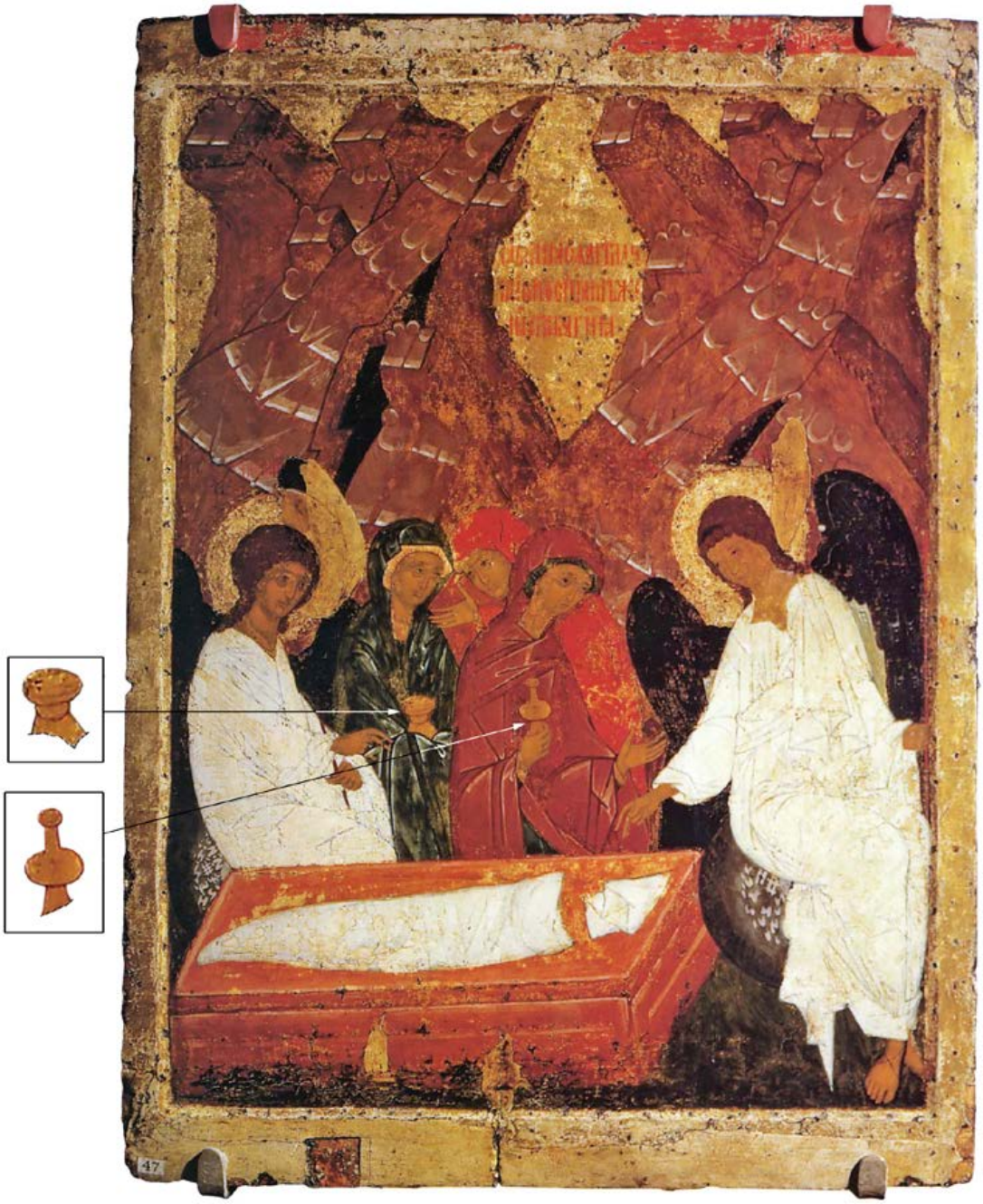

Fig. 56. The icon of the Holy Myrrhbearing Women at the Tomb of Christ with representations of recipients with oil and fragrant liquids used for the burial, late 15th – early 16th c., Monastery of St. Cornelius of Komela, Vologda district, Russia, Russian State Museum, St. Petersburg (after Ланс 1997, 124; Computer design by S. Bocharova)

Обр. 56. Икона на светите жени-мироносици на гроба на Христа с изображения на съдове с масло и благовонни течности, използвани при погребването, края на XV – началото на XVI в., Корнилиево-Комелски манастир, Вологодска област, Русия, Руски държавен музей, Санкт Петербург (по Ланс 1997, 124; Компютърен дизайн: С. Бочарова)

were used in the same ways during funeral services. At the end of the funeral liturgy, the remains of oil used several days before for the anointing of the sick and now deceased person were mixed with red wine and poured over the deceased in the coffin, where the utensils used in this ritual were placed (Древности 1849, 165; Раскопки 1909, 124 – 125; see also Розенфельдт 1968, 49; Станюкович 2006). Scholars considered this act not as a widespread and obligatory ritual but as a custom that only concerned cases in which a patient died after being anointed with oil when sick (slav. *soborovanie, eleoosvyashchenie*; gr. *ευχέλαιον, euchelaion*). Sometimes these vessels were interpreted as "lachrymatory" for collecting tears when honoring the dead, and the fact that they were left in the cemetery was taken by scholars to attest to superstitions that prescribe not returning objects related to the dead to the house (Неклюдов, Писарев 1901, 26; see, however, Рабинович 1949, 65, 67, 78).

Subsequently, the break in traditions that occurred during the Soviet era gave rise to new explanations divorced from liturgical and historical realities. It was believed that these vessels could contain *kutia* – a special funeral dish with grains that was served at Orthodox funerals and commemorations (Монгайт 1948, 70). In historiography, one can come across the opinion that there is no explanation for this ritual of placing vessels in graves either in theological or in scientific literature (Панова 2004, 157). Some authors believe that the use of vessels was not part of an official funeral ritual sanctioned by the church hierarchy. If this had been an official rite, it was thought, there would have been many more burials with vessels, and they would have had a wide geographical distribution, rather than being concentrated in Muscovy. Although the use of vessels in burial in late medieval Muscovy was regular, the ritual remained unregulated, and its details were probably left to the discretion of the priest who performed it (Панченко 2021, 187). Scholars believe erroneously, as we will see, that this rite is not recorded in canonical and liturgical texts. It is also noted that in church literature there is no special name for funeral vessels (Панченко 2021, 179, 181). It has been proposed to call the vessels found in graves "holy oil bottle" (slav. *eleynitsa*), "church lamps" (slav. *lampadka*), or even "lachrymatory" (tear bottle, slav. *sleznitsa*) according to the tradition of Antiquity (Беляев 2017, 127; Панченко 2021).

We can attest to methodological difficulties with the interpretation of the Orthodox liturgical tradition that leads to mixing and bringing together similar concepts. Researchers reproduce clichés about the connection of this ritual with or its difference from the anointing of the sick, which is regarded exclusively as the last unction before death, or with or from "popular Orthodoxy" tradition or even "anointing saint relics with oil". Against the background of methodological and epistemological problems, as in the archaeology of Crimea (Голофаст, Мастыкова 2018; Мастыкова 2020), a discussion about the possible Western European influence on burial customs of Muscovy has arisen (Беляев 2017, 125 – 127; Панченко 2021, 180 – 181).

The long and almost continuous tradition of placing containers for liquid in graves throughout the entire space of Orthodox culture can be explained by only one factor: the "archaeologization" of longstanding Orthodox liturgical rituals. The modern archaeological historiography of vessels in graves in 11th/12th – 20th c. Eastern Europe and attempts at their interpretations presented above need to be compared with the history of rituals reconstructed based on theological, liturgical, and canonical written sources. Their analysis shows the following.

Generally speaking, different kinds of vessels regardless of their material and shape have always been used in the Eastern Christian funeral ritual for a very simple reason: this ritual always (till the Modern Times) used oil and/or fragrant liquids. These substances needed containers. The fact that they are not obligatorily found in mass quantities in graves is not evidence to the contrary. The destiny of the vessel used in the burial depended on many factors, most of which are inaccessible to

archaeological study: ethnological traditions, family customs, and personal circumstances.

The ritual of anointing or pouring oil and fragrant liquids on the body of the deceased is known to Ancient and Jewish traditions, at least from the era of the Iliad, where the funeral of Patroclus is described (Chantraine, Goube 1964, 185 – 187) and from the burial of Christ[81] (see on this subject Garland 2001; Damet 2007; Magness 2011; Brulé 2017). It was from this tradition that such practice was naturally continued in the Christian burial customs. The first mentions of it are associated with church sermons and hagiography. Thus, Syncletica of Alexandria was anointed with a mixture of aloe, myrrh, myrtle, and wine before burial ca. 450 (Constas 2006, 126).

This ritual cannot be identified with the ritual of libation, when after a funeral meal the remains of wine and fragrant liquids (or food) were poured directly into the grave or sarcophagus of the deceased through the appropriate holes. The libation was associated, first of all, not with funerals but with commemorative rituals and was considered a gift to the earth and the gods (Malkin 2012; Ekroth 2013). Connections between the two rituals may well exist, but the content of the rite involving anointing or pouring oil over the deceased has been seriously rethought.

No later than the second half of the 6th c., the tradition of pouring oil on the dead during the funeral definitely received ecclesiastical codification in the writings of a Christian theologian known as Pseudo-Dionysius, who belonged to the Neo-Platonist school and probably lived in Syria (see his writing *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, especially VII.I: *The rite for the dead* in Heil, Ritter 1990). Instead of a mixture of fragrant liquids as in the Jewish and late antique traditions, pure oil was chosen as the norm.

At the end of the burial ceremony and before putting the body in the grave, the priest "*offers a most sacred prayer for the dead after which he kisses the deceased, as do all those with him. After everyone has given the kiss, the hierarch pours the oil on the deceased (ἐπιχέει τῷ κεκοιμηένω τὸ ἔλαιον ὁ ἱεράρχης; επιχέων) prays for all, and lays the body in an honored place*". This pouring oil over the deceased received a special theological explanation that strictly distinguishes this act from the baptismal anointing and other ritual anointing practiced in the Church: "*After the kiss, the hierarch pours the holy oil over the deceased. Now remember that the first participation in this sacred symbol, the oil of anointing (τῆς χρίσεως ἔλαιον), was given to the initiate during the sacred divine birth, before the actual baptism and after he has exchanged his old clothes for the new. Now, by contrast, it is at the end of all things that the holy oil is spread over the deceased (τὸ ἔλαιον ἐπιχέεται). The sacred anointing with oil (τοῦ ἔλαίου χρῖσις) once called the initiate to sacred combat; now the pouring on of the oil (τὸ ἐπιχεόμενον ἔλαιον) reveals that in this sacred combat, the deceased fought his way to victory*" (Heil, Ritter 1990, 123 [556D], 129 [565A]; Luibheid 1987, 250 – 251, 256; Gandillac 1943, 315 – 316).

The theologian strictly monitors the use of verbs for distinguishing different kinds of sacral manipulation with oil: "to anoint" (χρίσεων) for baptism and "to pour" (ἐπιχέων) for burial (χρίσεως ἔλαιον/unctionis oleum sanctissime/sacrus/sanctorum, sancti chrismatis oleum; ἐπιχέει τῷ κεκοιμηένω τὸ ἔλαιον ὁ ἱεράρχης/infundit/superfundit dormenti oleum, dormenti oreum infunditur; *cf.* Concordantia graeco-latina 1993, tab. "χρίσεων"). This usage also differs from the description of the sacrament of *euchelaion (ευχέλαιο)* or anointing the sick, *soborovanie/eleosvyashchenie* of the modern Slavic liturgy, or the last or extreme unction of the popular European tradition, the origins of which go back to the Epistle of St. James: "*Is any sick among you? Let him call for*

[81] "*Nicodemus... brought a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about a hundred pounds in weight. Then took the body of Jesus and wound it in linen cloths with the spices, as is the manner of the Jews for burial*" (John 19: 39 – 40); "*And they returned and prepared spices and ointments. Now upon the first day of the week very early in the morning, they came unto the sepulcher, bringing the spices which they had prepared*" (Luke 23:56 – 24:1); "*... when the Sabbath was past, Mary Magdalene and Mary the mother of James, and Salome bought sweet spices, that they might come and anoint Him*" (Mark 16:1).

the elders of the church; and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord: And the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up; and if he have committed sins, they shall be forgiven him" (Epistle of James 5:14 – 15: *ἀσθενεῖ τις ἐν ὑμῖν, προσκαλεσάσθω τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ προσευξάσθωσαν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀλείψαντες αὐτὸν ἐλαίῳ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἡ εὐχὴ τῆς πίστεως σώσει τὸν κάμνοντα καὶ ἐγερεῖ αὐτὸν ὁ κύριος· κἂν ἁμαρτίας ᾖ πεποιηκώς, ἀφεθήσεται αὐτῷ*).

Thus, the ritual of pouring oil on the deceased performed exclusively on the dead categorically cannot be called *soborovanie* as the *euchelaion* performed on the living, as often happens in Eastern European archaeological literature. However, the similarity of the substance of oil used in both rituals and the fact that the anointing of the terminally sick could often be followed by his death had led in the history of the liturgy, as we will see, to the ritual and conceptual confusion of two liturgical acts.

The post-iconoclastic era contributed to the establishment of practice described by Pseudo-Dionysius. In the 10th – 12th c., the performance of this rite is confirmed by hagiography and iconography. In the Life of Basil the Younger (II.11) before Theodora begins her "journey" through the toll-houses (which was supposed to be a postmortem ritual), oil was poured over her from jars, and the miniature of an early 12th c. manuscript containing Pseudo-Dionysius' works (Athon. Dionysiou MS 65, fol. 12r) depicts a monk admitted to paradise after an angel poured oil over him (Marinis 2016a; Marinis 2016b. See also: Abrahamse 1984; Constas 2006, 124 – 145).

At the same time, 10th – 11th c. Byzantine liturgical texts, primarily the Euchologion (*Εὐχολόγιον*; slav. *trebnik*) that holds a description of the funeral service, begin to mention the posthumous pouring of oil in the shape of a cross on the deceased, with an accompanying prayer. The first funeral prayers and pouring oil on the deceased before burial appeared in such Euchologia as Vatican, Barberini ms gr. 336; Paris, Coislin 213 (1027), Grottoferata, ms gr. Γ. β. X. (10th – 11th c., Rome, Italy), and Ethnike Bibliotheke tes Ellados, Athènes, ms gr. 662 13th c. (Athens, Greece; Arranz 2003, 315). These liturgical books reflect urban worship in a cathedral setting and show the influence of the monastic tradition from Jerusalem. A special feature of the rite was probably the consecration of oil before the pouring in the same way as the prebaptismal consecration of oil, and pouring was accompanied by the exclamation of the priest "*Be anointed with the Oil of Gladness, in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit*" (Velkovska 2001; Galadza 2004, 229, 231, 233, 247, 250; Galadza 2003).

Researchers suppose that some of the ritual elements reflect the root symbolism and offer an implicit paschal perspective (Velkovska 2001, 35 – 36, 44 – 45). In equating funeral oil with anointing with baptismal oil, however, it is worth seeing a liturgical abuse that violates the strict theological concept of Pseudo-Dionysius. Other contemporary and later Euchologia containing texts of the funeral service do not mention the abuse of the consecration of oil (National Library of Russia, St. Petersburg, ms Sevastianov gr. 474, 10th c.; Vatican, ms gr. 1836, 11th – 12th c.), and some of them (Vatican, ms gr. 1969, 12th c.) do not know the anointing with oil at all (Galazda 2004, 231, 238, 239).

A serious debate is caused by the mention of "myron" along with oil in several texts, which was sometimes used and especially to anoint a deceased clergy (Arranz 2003, 315; Viscuso 2002, 235 – 236). It is possible, however, that the word *μύρον* was used by the Byzantines to describe any perfume, sweet oil, or unguent, and not the Holy Myron used in baptism and confirmation (Ivison 1993, Vol. 1, 233 – 234). Nevertheless, the Euchologion Grottoferata, ms gr. Γ. β. XLIII., 11th c., regards the oil as an alternative to the "myron" (a fragrant liquid?) in the case of its absence (Galazda 2004, 233). It is worth assuming that the original ritual of consecrating oil before pouring it

over the deceased that imitated the baptismal rite and that the spread of the practice of posthumous pouring in the 12th – 14th c. led to the development and even abuses of the ritual (Павлов 1897, 150). In the 12th c., the Canon law collection *Syntagma* condemned the practice of anointing the bodies of clergy with the consecrated holy oil that also could be regarded as "myron" (Pitra 1868, 324 – 325; Constas 2006, 126).

Official condemnations, however, usually indicate the prevalence of abusive practices. Despite the fundamental difference between the posthumous pouring with oil and the *euchelaion*-anointing the sick (Gorodenchuk 2022, 24, 38), there was a widespread adaptation for funeral services of the general prayer structure of the *euchelaion* that was used for the sick (Архангельский 1895, 227 – 231; Алентов 1917, 288, 296). This practice was later condemned by the Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople (1260 – 1261; Gorodenchuk 2022, 155, footnote 44). The traces of this rite are still present in the rite of burial of priests and influenced its structure (Голубцов 1888; Красносельцев 1889; Успенский 1908, 99).

Over time, a special rite of *euchelaion* or "blessing of oil" for the dead was formed as a kind of posthumous remission of sins, an idea completely contrary to Orthodox theology. This ritual did not even involve the pouring of oil on the body during burial, but allowed even a memorial libation on the grave according the tradition of Antiquity (Алентов 1917, 509 – 524). It spread through Greek and Balkan churches in the 14th – 15th c.; in Eastern Europe, this rite appears along with the second South Slavic influence (Афанасьева 2020, 133 – 134), and in the 17th c. it was universally abolished.

The relationship between the two rituals (anointing the sick and *euchelaion* for the dead) and the reasons for the appearance of the second one requires further study. Still, the hypothesis that the ritual for the dead began with the custom of using the remains of oil after the anointing the sick for the deceased's burial in case of their death (Алентов 1917) seems quite artificial, even if several liturgical texts prescribed pouring out the oil remaining after the anointing the sick on the tomb in cases when the sick person died soon after (Архангельский 1895, 252 – 260). The appearance of the *euchelaion* for the dead should be based not on the practical but on theological and liturgical development of the idea of the remission of sins: from the symbolism of Pseudo-Dionysius to the ritual of consecration of oil in the Euchologion Grottoferata and the emergence of the rite of consecration of oil for the dead. When assessing the impact of this ritual on archaeology, it is worth emphasizing that the ritual of the *euchelaion* or consecration of oil for the dead throughout its history remained a marginal phenomenon, condemned by the hierarchy and finally excluded from practice. In the churches of Eastern Europe, the *euchelaion* for the dead may not have been used at all since it is not found in the most common editions of Euchologia (Прилуцкий 1912, 249; Алентов 1917, 542).

As we have seen, in Byzantium the main option for pouring oil over the dead also remained the simple pouring without consecration and prayers, according to Pseudo-Dionysius (Vat. gr. 1836, 11th – 12th c.), even if according to the tradition of Late Antiquity a mixture of oil and water was used (Manuscript Euchology, Mt. Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, No. 450, dated to 1408; Galazda 2004, 244). The spread and flourishing of this practice in Byzantium in the 14th – 15th c. are attested not only by the Euchologia but also by the theological works of St. Symeon of Thessaloniki at the beginning of the 15th c. As the dominant ritual, he mentions the pouring of oil in the shape of a cross on the deceased from the altar lamp in line with the ideas of Pseudo-Dionysius. At the same time, he allowed for the pouring on the deceased the oil left after the anointing of the sick or extreme unction (Migne 1866, 519, 674 – 675, 684 – 689; see especially his works *De ordine sepulturae* and *De sacro ritu sancti olei*).

It was exactly this form of the ritual that became widespread in Eastern Europe along with the introduction here of the monastic Typikon of the tradition of the Monastery of Stoudios, Constantinople, in the version of Patriarch Alexios Stoudites (1025 – 1043)[82] that he adapted for his private monastery in 1030s. The Typikon was probably introduced by St. Theodosius of Kyiv for the Cave Monastery in the 1060s in its abbreviated version, but already in the 12th c. the full version of the Statute was distributed in Eastern Europe (Карабинов 1916; Пентковский 2001; Уханова 2007; Семячко 2020). The text of the Typikon was preserved only in a Slavic translation made in Novgorod at the end of the 12th – beginning of the 13th c. (Manuscript Department, State Historical Museum, Moscow, Synod ms no. 330).

This Statute contains a chapter called *About the burial* (Горский, Невоструев 1869, 273 – 279; Шмидт 1984, 159 – 161; Пентковский 2001, 416 – 419, esp. 418). The critical edition of the text was already published at the end of the 19th c. by I. Mansvetov. The burial of monks prescribes the following. After completing the prayers and putting monastic habits and/or liturgical vestments on the dead, the priest "*takes oil in a vessel and pours it on top of the body, making three crosses: the first on the face, the second on the chest, the third on the knees; after this, the oil has been poured crosswise onto the face, chest and knees, and on bury him*" (Приложение IX 1882, XXV – XXXIII; Пентковский 2001, 418). Unfortunately, archaeologists and researchers of burial customs did not pay attention to the text.

This chapter is unknown in other contemporary Typika or foundational monastic documents. The founders focused primarily on the everyday life of the monastic community and its relations with the outside world rather than on liturgical rites (see, for example, Thomas et al. 2000, 84 – 119, 416 – 419). Researchers were lucky that this charter was drawn up by a clergyman who paid special attention to the liturgical side of the monks' life and rituals. Let us note that the Typikon does not tell us about the consecration of the oil, the prayer that accompanied pouring oil on the deceased, or what should be done with the vessel used in the ritual. Obviously, the last gesture depended on custom and tradition. It is also possible that a church lamp was used in the ritual, which was returned to the church or chapel after the burial was ended.

The existence of such a ritual in Kyiv at the end of the 11th – 12th c. is confirmed by the hagiography. In discourse 32 on "*Venerable Marko the Cave-dweller, whose orders the dead obeyed*" of the Paterik of the Kyivan Caves Monastery, there is a story about a miracle when the deceased himself "*stretched out his hand, raised himself up a little, took the oil, poured himself with the sign of the cross on his breast and face, and returned the vessel. Then in front of them all he prepared himself for burial, lay down, and fell asleep*" (Абрамович 1930, 156; Heppell 1989, 176; see also Бобровський 2002). The practice of pouring oil in a cross shape on the deceased and returning the vessel to the priest is here confirmed in a way characteristic of hagiography.

From the end of the 13th c. we can observe the tendency to unify funeral customs in Eastern Europe due to the spread of the monastic tradition of burial among the general population. This unification took place against the background of considerable changes in Christian society of the 13th – 14th c. and the shaping of its modern liturgical culture comparable to modern practices. This process could be called "secondary Christianization" or "second wave Christianization" (Мусин 2002, 75; Sommer 2009). One of the pieces of evidence for monastic traditions' influence on East European society, including the field of burial customs, is the inclusion of the article *About the burial* from the already known Typikon of Stoudite tradition in the Nomocanon (*Kormchaia* or Books of the Pilot) of Archbishop of Novgorod Clement, which was compiled in 1280 – 1282 (Manu-

[82] See on this person Stanković 2001/2002 and Kalousios 2019.

script Department, State Historical Museum, Moscow, Synod ms no. 132, f. 611; Столярова 1998, 312 – 314; Корогодина 2017, Т. 1, 65 – 79, Т. 2, 65 – 80, 414 – 552; cf. Мусин 2002, 79). The copying of the norm on monastic burial in the collection, which was the book of administration of a church diocese, is not only evidence of attention to the funeral topic but also an indication of the adaptation of monastic rituals, including the pouring of oil over the deceased by other social groups. This observation does not mean that oil was not previously used during laymen burials. It was precisely in the 14th c., however, against the background of monastic influence and "secondary Christianization" that one can expect a more widespread practice of this rite among the laity.

Our assumptions are confirmed in the text that relates to the burial of non-monastic clergyman as a special group of laity. The innovations are connected with the activity of the Metropolitan of Kyiv and all *Rhôsia* Cyprian (1389 – 1406) and his liturgical reforms, including the introduction of a new monastic Statute based on the combination of liturgical and ritual features of the Stoudite Typikon and the Statute of St. Saba Sanctified of Jerusalem. The synthesis, which originated in Byzantium, was adopted in Eastern Europe through the Serbian and Bulgarian churches (Мансветов 1882; Getcha 2010). It should be noted that even after the reform the peculiarities of monks' burial mainly continued in accordance with the chapter of the already known Stoudite Typikon, as evidenced by Muscovite monastic Statutes and Euchologia of the 15th – 16th c. At the same time, Cyprian's reforms reintroduced into Eastern European practice a new redaction of the aforementioned Euchologia "according the ritual of the Great Church" of St. Sophia of Constantinople, which included the prayer over the grave during the cross-shaped pouring of oil on the body of deceased (Афанасьева и др. 2019, 24, 260 – 261; Afanasieva 2015).

This reanimation of the pouring ritual raised the question of what to do with a vessel used for pouring oil after the ritual. This is seen in the answers of Metropolitan Cyprian to questions of Athanasios, Hegumen of the Vysotsky (High-Placed) Monastery on the left bank of the Nara river in Serpukhov, Moscow district, Russia, concerning different ecclesiastical practices, including funeral one. The document can be dated to the 1390s. The influence of monastic funeral practice on parish practice is clearly visible (Послание митрополита Киприана 1841, 475; Павлов 1880, 245 – 246, 250). In one of his answers, the Metropolitan describes the burial of a "layman priest" ("white", non-monastic) in accordance with the already mentioned chapter of the Stoudite Typikon about the burial of a monk. The difference is that his body is not washed but only wiped with warm water. The "wooden oil" (law-quality olive oil) mixed with wine is poured over the dead and over the monk (head, legs, and the right and left of the body). Here for the first time it is reported what should be done with the vessel after the pouring: it is prescribed that it be placed in a coffin at the feet of the dead (cf. Lutsyk 2021, 223 with wrong interpretation of vessel with oil as a liturgical chalice). It was in parish life that such a question arose: what should be done with the vessel after the ritual? As we can see, the practice prescribed placing a vessel at the feet of the buried person, as we have already seen in burials of the 11th – 12th c. at the churchyard of St. Irene in Kyiv. Obviously, this was the common traditional practice. The popular custom of handling objects associated with the dead could have an additional influence on putting the vessel in the coffin: oil containers came into contact with the dead and should be buried with them to avoid their re-use by the living (Vrionis 2021, 254).

The pouring of oil on deceased monks and priests was a constant part of the funeral service in Russia described in the manuscript Euchologia of the 15th – 16th c., although some of them say nothing at all about oil pouring. Sometimes before the pouring the priest read the "*prayer over the coffin, when pouring myron and oil in a cross shape over the body*" (Прилуцкий 1912, 246 – 247). Evidently, the mention of myron reflected the practice condemned in the 12th – 13th c. but was

preserved in Euchologia of the Balkan churches transferred to Russia (Афанасьева и др. 2019, 260 – 261). The later destiny of vessels is not reported in the texts, in which case we can only be guided by the canonical instruction of Metropolitan Cyprian to Hegumen Athanasios.

With the printed Euchologia in the 17th c., the ritual started to be significantly unified. These liturgical books indicate that the pouring of oil was also usually performed at the burial of the laity. In Muscovite *Trebniks* 1623, 1633, 1636, 1639 [*Mirskoy Potrebnik*], 1647, and 1651 is mentioned a "*prayer over the coffin, when pouring oil in a cross shape over the body*" (cf. Красносельцев 1889, 203, 235 – 242; Прилуцкий 1912, 246 – 247; Андреев 2021). In other Euchologia, the pouring of oil over the deceased laymen could be performed without any special prayer or could be replaced by another ritual like placing ashes from the censer on the coffin. It is characteristic that this alternative appeared in the Euchologia compiled in the lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, for example, in the manuscript No. 98 from the library of the Cathedral St. Sophia in Kyiv or in the Euchologion of Metropolitan Peter Mohyla, 1646 (Прилуцкий 1912, 247; Евхологион 1646, 726). In the last action, one can see the influence of the Latin ritual in the use of censors in burial known since the 13th c. (see above). This cultural synthesis definitely occurred in the liturgy of the Greek Catholic Church in western Ukraine and Belarus. It is interesting to note that pots with charcoal were placed in burials in Western Siberia in the 17th – 18th c. (Воробьев, Троицкая 2000; Воробьев 2001); however, the connection of this phenomenon to Greek-Catholic Slavonic practices is currently difficult to establish.

Even though pouring oil on the dead became a largely accepted element of the ritual in the 17th c., printed Euchologia or service books contain different features of funeral service that over time became dominant and replaced the use of oil. Thus, the Euchologion of Patriarch Joasaph in 1636 reports that the priest should "take the *lyskar*" (scoop) and sprinkle earth on the coffin in form of cross. In the 20th c. this practice became dominant, and the pouring of oil from Christian Antiquity is forgotten (Musin 2002, 79).

Let's summarize the results of our study. When assessing the use of vessels in East Christian funeral rites, it is necessary to proceed from the fact that the appearance in burials of open-shaped vessels or bowls, sometimes luxury items and sometimes specially made for burial but most often being just widespread household glazed bowl, does not in any way reflect the emergence of a "new" ritual under the influence of an exogenous external tradition. Bowls and imported glass vessels in burials from the 13th – 17th c. testify not to the evolution of the ritual of pouring oil over the dead. Instead, they attest to the culture of and vessels used in everyday life.

The continuity of Christian graves with vessels from Antiquity to modern times attested by archaeology in Eastern Europe and Asia Minor demonstrates to us a continuous Christian ritual of pouring oil over the deceased before its burial in the tomb. We should not forget that glass vessels, possibly serving as church lamps, appeared in burials in Eastern Europe, mainland Greece, and Asia Minor no later than the 11th – 12th c. The absence of vessels in the grave or their rarity does not indicate that this ritual was not practiced in the studied period and territory under question. This absence may be explained by different reasons, for example, as written sources indicate. It is also necessary to take into account that the later destiny of the vessel used for pouring, unlike the ritual itself, was not regulated. The first known attempt is the canonical regulations of Metropolitan Cyprian at the end of the 14th c. However, the issue of vessels after funerals continued to be regulated based on local and family customs and traditions. It must be recognized that the ritual of pouring oil on the deceased is not always "archaeologically perceptible". Numerous finds of bowls in burials in Eastern Europe do not reflect the emergence of a new ritual, but the spread of an old one in society among new segments of the population under the influence of the authority of monastic

culture, which is also known from other sources.

These observations are directly related to the history of funeral rites in Crimea. In early Byzantium according to the tradition of Antiquity, closed ceramic vessels were usually used for funeral pouring. The opinion that glass vessels were predominantly used for these purposes (Ivison 1993, Vol. 1, 228 – 233; Antonaras 2010, 422) is not supported by research. Around the middle of the 7th c., burial customs undergo important changes. The archaeological fact is that the deposition of pottery is especially prevalent in the late 6th to mid-7th c. while the wider range of drinking cups and shallow bowls deposited within graves of the Roman era is usually absent from the Early Byzantine ritual (Poulou-Papadimitriou et al. 2012, 380, 407). This change perfectly coincided with information about the funeral rite featuring the pouring oil in the work of Pseudo-Dionysius.

From the end of the 13th c., bowls became very numerous in burials but did not completely replace the jugs of the Middle Byzantine period used for pouring oil over the dead. We have every reason to believe that bowls as well as jugs were used for pouring oil. There was no change in the ritual. The ritual only replaced one of its material elements in connection with the emergence of a new type of vessels, now common glazed bowls. Byzantine society was emerging from the influence of late antique culture, where the main vessels for pouring oil were closed forms and primarily jugs.

It is interesting to note certain differences from the rite in Eastern Europe. Here the wares most frequently found in burials are bowls and glass goblets. Note that most often these were not ordinary vessels for everyday use. Special circumstances required special ware even in the modern times. At the same time, in Crimea we observe a different approach to the selection of vessels for the funeral ritual: luxury bowls in graves are rare; often only bottoms of ordinary pots, bowls or jugs, or even large fragments of the pottery could be used in ritual since they may contain some burial oil.

The frequency of occurrence of vessels in burials should be explained by the social composition of the population that used this ritual. In Eastern Europe in the 11th – 14th c., the main social groups whose representatives were buried with pouring oil were monks, bishops, and those in the society's upper strata. One of the reasons for the large-scale discovery of vessels in the necropoleis of Muscovy since the end of the 14th c. seems understandable. Thus, both Byzantium and Muscovy knew the tradition of taking monastic vows in old age or on the eve of death (Talbot 1987, 229). Accordingly, these persons were buried according to monastic rules, which were accompanied by pouring oil and then the placement of the vessel in the grave. This does not mean that all graves with vessels belong to monks. First of all, it was the imitation of prestigious monastic rituals by other social groups that could become a trigger for the spread of this ritual in the 15th c. This ritual phenomenon primarily was reflected in the reforms of Metropolitan Cyprian, which could have further incentivized this tradition.

Similar reasons most likely existed in both Byzantium and the Crimea. It is evident that the ritual in which glazed bowls recorded archaeologically in Late Byzantine graves were used was the same ritual described by Pseudo-Dionysius. Numerous bowls found in Crimean graves from the late 13th to 15th c. reflect increased popular interest in monastic rituals that practiced using this common tableware for pouring oil during funerals. As we have seen, this interest was also shown through canonical and liturgical texts. It is also necessary to take into account the active penetration of monastic traditions into Byzantine society in the 13th – 14th c. "Secondary Christianization" was not only a result of liturgical reforms since the end of the 13th c. but also could be due to the destruction of monastic life during the Latin domination and the dispersion of monastic communities into parish areas.

So, neither archaeological materials nor liturgical and canonical texts give us a comprehensive idea of the specifies, extent and areas of distribution of burial customs entailing the use of vessels to

pour oil. Part of the answer lies in the sphere of customs and mentality of medieval society. Perhaps the cessation of the mass placement of bowls in burials in Crimea by the mid-15th c. is associated with the weakening of monastic influence at this time or with the dominance of ethnographic customs when dishes could be placed not in the grave but next to it. It is worth remembering that the funeral practice of pouring oil was dominant, but not universal, as the liturgical books attest. Perhaps the explanation lies in the mutual influence of local family customs and new church practices like the sprinkling of the coffin with earth that is well-known for later periods.

Conclusion

Returning to Crimea, it is already possible to say that new features in the burial practice of local peoples in the late medieval period or at least the three features we have focused on (supporting the head with stones on both sides and placing in the grave ceramic fragments with an inscribed cross, often supplemented by a protective inscription together with different types of ceramics and glass vessels) largely correspond to the rites of the central regions of Byzantium. So, the burials accompanied by ceramic vessels of both closed and open forms can hardly be associated with pre-Christian customs that reflect the survival of paganism. Neither can these burials be called an innovation brought by migrants from the Caucasus or personal eulogies or apotropaic symbols.[83] It is also very unlikely that the deceased buried with bowls or their families had any significant connections with the Latin West. Even more dubious is that this custom arose in Byzantium under Latin European influence.

In addition, there is no good reason to speak about the different functions of closed and open vessels (ceramics and glass ones) and their parts, at least based on the Crimean and East European materials, since one deceased was accompanied by only one of these items. In other words, it is improbable that a jug was used for a cruciform post-mortem pouring of oil inherited from Antiquity while the bowl in a neighboring burial was used for incense according to a specific Latin burial tradition that reflected the 13th c. belief in purgatory, which was unknown in both the official and popular Orthodoxy of Byzantium. The choice of the vessel could depend more on the priorities, social status, economic wealth, cultural connections, and aesthetic preferences of the deceased's family and on their capabilities than on any strict specialization of vessels associated with its shape. Most likely, the vessels found in the graves of the late 13th and 14th c., regardless of their shape, were involved in the action of the cruciform pouring of oil. The active and widespread use of open-shaped glazed wares in the 13th –14th c. could be due to their availability at this time. At first, it was an affordable and accessible Byzantine import that was usually already damaged at the time of burial and was then replaced by local glazed wares in the course of the development of Crimean glazed pottery manufacturing. Without a doubt, the vessel used in the funeral rite acquired a degree of sacred status through its use for ritual for the dead. It could no longer be used in everyday life and so was placed in the grave.

As evidenced by liturgical and canonical Byzantine texts and the continuity of funeral practices in other regions, primarily Eastern Europe, no change in burial customs, endogenous or exogenous, occurred in the 13th – 14th c. in the Orthodox cultural space. So, it is not the ritual itself that changed but the material culture of the ritual as a result of the appearance of a new type of vessel in everyday life, which quickly won the favor of the society. It was glazed bowls that partly replaced jugs and other types of vessels in the funeral rite, although these types of utensils also continued

[83] In the case of Cembalo, it is possible that the bowl still had a special meaning for the deceased and could be brought from a pilgrimage tour, so it may also have had an apotropaic sense; however, it was eventually involved in the funeral rite as a container for the pouring of oil ritual.

to be used in burial. Moreover, glazed bowls began to be left in graves much more often than glassware and closed vessels before. It was also a manifestation of some new fashion in the form of the funeral rite but not in its essence. In Crimea, it reaches its peak in the 14th c. then becomes less and less noticeable again. In the Balkans, Eastern Europe and the Greeks in the Ottoman Empire, the placement of vessels in graves was consistently recorded until modern times.

This observation concerns the change in the type of containers used in the ritual of pouring oil on the deceased and their subsequent placement in graves. At the same time, the relative prevalence of the ritual since the end of the 13th – 14th c., attested by archaeology, reflects internal changes in Christian society and its culture in that period. Pouring oil on the deceased was a common practice since Late Antiquity and extended to all members of the Church: bishops, priests, monks, and laity. In the Middle Byzantine period, this ritual received a privileged spread in monastic culture. At the turn of the 13th – 14th c., however, liturgical reforms in which monasteries again played an important role led to the active influence of monastic tradition on parish life. This phenomenon is known in the history of Christian society as "secondary Christianization". One of its manifestations was the active use of the ritual of pouring oil on the deceased among the laity, which was reflected in the archaeology of funeral rites. If some Latin connections can be seen in the active spread of this ritual in Byzantine society, then it is worth seeing here the desire to emphasize an Orthodox identity after the domination of the Latin Empire, a kind of reaction and rejection of external influence. In Crimea, however, the appearance of bowls in graves was only a consequence of the spread of the ritual of pouring oil as a result of the secondary Christianization of society, especially in the rural areas where the monastic presence could be stronger. This influence finds its parallel in special care being taken to fix the position of the head of the dead.

Thus, the challenges of the epoch most likely affected more the material culture of the local people than their religious and liturgical priorities, although the intense influence of monastic culture in the period under study should be recognized as obvious. Crimean Christians were closely attuned to the centers of Orthodoxy despite the loss of Byzantine political power on the peninsula. According to the archaeological materials, these close links persist in the Ottoman period as well.

At the same time, the disappearance of bowls from burials, or at least a significant reduction in their numbers, by the middle and second half of the 15th c. is difficult to explain unambiguously. Ceramic ware and their fragments were still placed in large quantities in cemeteries but no longer in the graves. They have been found normally next to them, and these are predominantly closed vessels. This trend continued after the Ottoman conquest in 1475, which is well recorded, for example, in two cemeteries at Malyi Mayak (here, Nos. 4.1 and 4.2) and one of the church burial grounds at the Cembalo fortress (here, No. 12.3).

External forms of funerary practices might have changed under the influence of some local traditions and family customs since the placement of bowls in graves was not strictly regulated by liturgical and canonical law. The ritual of pouring oil could continue to be performed, but the vessel was not put in the grave after. Maybe it was placed next to it. There may also have been a change from the ritual of pouring oil on the dead to sprinkling the dead with earth, as we see in 17th c. Eastern Europe and as was reflected in the printed Euchologia. As we have already noted, the use of oil at funerals was a prevalent but not universal practice at that time. This could also have been a factor in the disappearance of bowls from burials. After the Ottoman invasion, the degradation of traditional ties between clergy and monks, who may have migrated, and parishioners as well as other social changes may have contributed to innovations in the material custom of ritual.

The development of local cultural traditions was violently interrupted only in the late 18th c. after the capture of Crimea by Russia. Russian Empress Catherine II ordered the Crimean

Christians to resettle in the Azov steppes (Араджиони 1999). As a result, the local Orthodoxy together with the traditional customs of the Crimean Goths' descendants and Greeks ceased to exist. However, a better understanding of the life and mentality of these people will be facilitated by further study of their attitude to death through, among other things, the detailed publication of materials from archaeological excavations of late medieval necropoleis in Crimea. Thus, there are still a lot of avenues for further study.

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КЕРАМИЧНИ И ДРУГИ СЪДОВЕ В ПОГРЕБАЛНАТА ПРАКТИКА НА КЪСНОСРЕДНОВЕКОВНИЯ КРИМ

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РЕЗЮМЕ

Погребалните практики на късносредновековното население на Крим не са достатъчно проучени. След 60-те години на XX в. този проблем практически не е изследван. Археологическите материали, натрупани през последните десетилетия, включително и в резултат на работата на един от авторите на статията в Южен Крим, възродиха интереса към тази тема. Тази статия е първият опит за обобщено изследване на тази тема. Основен акцент в статията са керамичните и други – стъклени и метални съдове от гробове, интерпретацията на находките и реконструкцията на ритуали, свързани с поставянето на съдове в гробовете. Авторите изследват и две важни характеристики на християнските погребения в Крим през XIII – XV в.: фиксиране на главата на погребания с камъни или керемиди (обр. 7) и поставяне на керамични фрагменти с християнски надписи и изображение на кръст в гробовете (обр. 8).

Християнската традиция за поставяне на съдове в гробовете е известна още през Античността и Ранното средновековие. От средновизантийския период на фона на няколкото десетки разкопани гроба, са известни само две гробници от Ески Кермен, съдържащи керамични съдове, които са надеждно датирани съответно в X и XIII в. (обр. 3). Въпреки това, още в края на XIII – XIV в. поставянето на съдове в гробовете става масова практика. Гробове, съдържащи керамични съдове, са регистрирани в 32 градски и селски некрополи в южната (30) и източната (2) част на полуострова. Тези некрополи са разположени главно в планинските и крайбрежните зони, където населението на Крим е мигрирало масово след разрушителните походи на монголите през втората половина на XIII в. (обр. 2, обр. 5 – 47). В гробовете, наред с целите или фрагментирани гърнета и кани, масово се появяват нови видове съдове – вносни и местни отворени глазирани форми. Това са предимно цели или фрагментирани паници и чаши (обр. 48 – 51). В статията е представена и тяхната подробна типология.

Съдовете най-често са били поставяни от лявата страна на погребания, понякога са били поставяни от дясната страна, близо до главата или близо до краката (табл. 1). Понякога съдовете са били обръщани с дъното нагоре. Предполага се, че това се дължи на известната в етнографията практика за обръщане на съдове във връзка със смърт на член на семейството. В погребалната практика често се използват и повредени съдове. Съдове се намират в гробовете на хора от различен пол и възраст. Важно е да се отбележи, че в един и същи некрополи са проучени гробове, съдържащи съдове, и гробове без съдове. Установено е, че ако в гроба са били погребани няколко души, то съдове са поставяни само край някои от покойниците. Край покойника в гроба е възможно да се положат различни по вид съдове. Обикновено до погребания е имало само един съд – кана или купа, или част от отворен или затворен съд. Единствено в некрополи край Ореанда в гроб на дете са открити

две дъна от глазирани кана и купа. Гробовете, съдържащи купи не се различават по своя ритуал от гробовете, съдържащи кани. Понякога в гробовете се намират счупени стъклени съдове (Судак, Малий Маяк, Гурзуф, Чембало). Единствено в гроб на дете от Ески Кермен е открито бронзово блюдо. В статията авторите доказват, че при погребването съдове с различни форми и от различни материали могат да изпълняват една и съща функция като керамичните съдове.

Поставянето на посуда в гробовете и значителното увеличаване на броя на глазираните съдове през късновизантийския период пораждат различни интерпретации сред археолозите. Сред хипотезите са: остатъци от езически обреди, влияние на севернокавказките етнически групи, преселили се в Крим през XIII – XIV в., личните апотропейни функции на купите с християнски символи, които могат да бъдат донесени от поклонения, и дори влиянието на погребалните обреди на католическа Европа върху православните християни. Най-убедителни са опитите ритуалът да се свърже с православието. Според църковната традиция, по време на погребението върху починалия можело да се изливат течности, осветени от Църквата – вода, вино, масло или комбинация от тях. Това тълкуване се нуждае от важно историческо пояснение.

Авторите разглеждат поставянето на съдове в гробовете в широкия исторически и културен контекст на западния и източния християнски свят. Освен резултати от археологически разкопки, изследването се опира и върху исторически, канонични и богослужебни източници. В студията се прави критичен анализ на хипотезата, свързваща масовото разпространение на купи в православните гробове с влиянието на католическата култура на Латинската империя през XIII в. Това предположение не взема под внимание анализа на ритуалите на източното християнство. Въглени, обикновено намирани в гробовете съдържащи съдове от Западна Европа, са на практика незасвидетелствани във византийските гробове от XIII в. В православието използването на светена вода и въглени от кадилницата при погребални и възпоменателни ритуали е било неизвестно до XVII в. Тези ритуали възникват под влиянието на Полша. Понастоящем практически няма археологически доказателства, че западноевропейците в Гърция са поставяли в гробовете специални съдове за въглени с тамян и светена вода. Използването на такива съдове в Западна Европа отразява специфични латински представи за чистилището. Тези идеи са непознати както в официалното, така и в народното православие на Византия. Трябва да се има предвид, че използването на съдове с различни форми и от различни материали в православната традиция е известно още преди латинското присъствие на Изток. Авторите смятат, че масовото поставяне на съдове в гробовете във Византия през XIII в. е целяло да подчертае собствената православна идентичност в противовес на господството на Латинската империя.

В същото време в Източна Европа и при гърците в рамките на Османската империя поставянето на съдове в гробовете на православното население е регистрирано през XI – XX в. Тази дълга традиция продължава до атеизацията на населението през съветската епоха. Студията предлага общ преглед на източноевропейската практика за използване на съдове в християнската погребална култура. Установено е, че първоначално този ритуал е бил използван предимно при погребването на представители на висшия клир, монашеството и аристокрацията. В гробовете са регистрирани както стъклени, така и керамични, често вносни съдове. От края на XIV в. в гробовете са поставяни малки глазирани купички местно производство. Този обред е представен главно в некрополите от Московието. От XVI в. в царските и аристократичните гробове на Москва са поставяни вносни и престижни стъклени съдове или порцеланови купи. Тази ритуална особеност обаче е известна и в енорийските гробища.

Съдове има в гробове на хора от различна възраст и пол. Те са били поставяни предимно около главите на покойника, но са многобройни и случаите на поставяне на съда в областта на краката. Тълкуването на този обред, който има византийски произход, е възможно въз основа на църковни писмени източници.

Анализът на богослужебните и каноничните текстове, предимно монашеските типици и служебници, и требниците на православното духовенство, които са запазени както в гръцката, така и в източнославянската традиция, ни позволява да стигнем до следния извод: тези съдове, независимо от тяхната форма и материал, са били използвани за кръстообразно посмъртно възлияние с масло върху починалия непосредствено преди полагането на тялото в гроба. Този ритуал, наследен от източното християнство от древността и непознат в латинските практики, е залегнал в съчинението „За църковната йерархия" на византийския автор от VI в., известен като Псевдо-Дионисий Ареопагит. От X в. този ритуал, понякога със значителни вариации, се запазва във византийските евхологии чак до Ново и Най-ново време. През средновизантийския период могат да се наблюдават значителни литургични промени в молитвите, свързани с този обред. Това показва специалното внимание на обществото към този ритуал. Тези промени обаче не повлияват съществено на процедурата по възлияние с масло върху починалия. Този обред не може да се сравни със съвременното църковно тайнство елеосвещение (маслосвет), което се извършва за болни хора.

Известно е, че от XI в., както свидетелства Типикът на традицията на Студитския манастир, съставен от Константинополския патриарх Алексий през 30-те години на XI в., този ритуал получава приоритетно разпространение в монашеска среда. От XIII в. нататък, именно в епохата, която ни интересува, в резултат на литургичните реформи във Византия и Източна Европа, се извършва т. нар. вторична християнизация на населението. Този процес води до появата на съвременната форма на православната култура. Един от най-важните фактори в това „вторично християнизиране" е монашеското влияние върху енорийската практика. Както може да се предположи, това влияние довежда до широкото разпространение на ритуала за възлияние на масло върху мъртвите сред миряните. Енорийската култура започва да копира манастирската култура, което се отразява в археологията на погребалните обреди.

В същото време този процес повдига пред общността въпроса как да се отнасе към съда след ритуала. Съгласно етнографската практика, за да се отърват от предмети, които са били в контакт с починалия, близките на починалите започват масово да поставят тези съдове в гробовете. Може да се наблюдава своеобразна „секуларизация" на този ритуал. В по-стари времена при погребението често се използвало масло от църковната лампа, която след церемонията се връщала в църквата. Киевският митрополит Киприан, родом от България, в края на XIV в. се опитва да регулира тази практика. Той предписал съдът да бъде поставен в краката на погребания след възлияние. Археологията обаче показва, че тази практика не е станала масова. Отношението към съдовете продължава да се регулира не въз основа на каноничното право, а, очевидно, въз основа на местните обичаи. Разнообразието от такива обичаи се отразява в погребалните практики на Крим и Източна Европа през XIII – XVII в.

Авторите смятат, че анализът на погребалния контекст, в който са намерени съдовете от Крим и Източна Европа, подкрепя твърдението, че независимо от това дали са керамични, стъклени или други съдове със затворена и отворена форма, или големи части от подобни съдове, те са изпълнявали една и съща функция в гробовете. Това заключение по-специално се основава на факта, че в по-голямата част от случаите, е открит само по един съд край останките на погребания. Изборът на конкретен съд може да зависи от приоритетите, социалния

статус, икономическото състояние, културните връзки и естетическите предпочитания на семейството на починалия. Това не е строго свързано с морфологията или типологията на съдовете.

Широкото използване в погребалната практика през XIII – XIV в. на глазирани съдове с отворена форма може да се дължи на значителното им разпространение през този период. Първоначално в гробовете са поставяни съдове, които не са скъпи или вече са били много употребявани, макар и да са византийски внос. Постепенно вносните съдове са заменени от местни глазирани изделия, тъй като Крим развива собствено керамично производство. Единственото изключение засега е испанска люстрова купа от първата половина на XV в. от некропола в Керч.

Както свидетелстват литургичните и каноничните текстове и приемствеността на погребалните практики в други райони, предимно в Източна Европа, през XIII – XIV в. не е имало еволюция на ритуала в православното културно пространство. В тази епоха промените се отнасят не до самия ритуал, а до неговите материални атрибути, с други думи, до „материалната култура на ритуала". Това се дължи на появата на нов тип съдове в ежедневието, които бързо печелят предпочитанията на обществото. Често става въпрос за глазираните купи, които частично заменят каните и другите видове съдове в погребалните обреди на Византия и Крим. Очевидно е, че глазираните купи започват да се оставят в гробовете много по-често, отколкото например стъклените чаши и затворените съдове, регистрирани в гробовете от предходните периоди. Всичко това трябва да се разглежда като проява на нова мода, засягаща формата на погребалния обред, а не еволюцията на неговия смисъл и съдържание.

В Крим традицията да се използват глазирани съдове в погребалните обреди и последващото им поставяне в гроба достига своя връх през XIV в. Масовото появяване на съдове в гробовете в Крим може да е следствие от разпространението на ритуала за възлияние с масло върху починалия в резултат на вторичната християнизация на обществото. Това засяга особено селските райони, където влиянието на извънградските е било по-силно. Допълнително влияние на монашеската култура върху погребенията на миряните може да се види във фиксирането на позицията на главата на покойника в гроба.

Изчезването на съдовете от християнските гробове в Крим може да се свърже с демографските процеси, както и с новите характеристики на православния погребален обред. Тези особености са записани в требниците от Новото време, които предписват посипването на починалия с пръст, вместо възлияние с масло. Именно тази практика в момента преобладава в Източна Европа. Тези промени може да са били възприети от кримските християни по-рано и по-бързо от техните източноевропейски съседи.

Така че е по-вероятно предизвикателствата на Късното средновековие да са засегнали повече материалната култура на местното население, отколкото техните литургични практики. Кримските християни продължават да бъдат тясно свързани с културата на гръцкото население, въпреки факта, че Византия губи политическа власт над полуострова. Археологическите материали показват, че тези връзки са се запазили и през Османския период. Културните и религиозни контакти са прекъснати едва в резултат на преселването на местното православно население в приазовските степи, инициирано от руската императрица Екатерина II след превземането на Крим от Русия в края на XVIII в.

Ключови думи: Крим, Византия, Източна и Западна Европа, XIII – XV в., християнски некрополи, погребални обреди, гробен инвентар, керамични и стъклени съдове, културни промени, история на богослужението