ПРИНОСИ
КЪМ БЪЛГАРСКАТА АРХЕОЛОГИЯ

Том XIV

CONTRIBUTIONS
TO BULGARIAN ARCHAEOLOGY

Volume XIV

СОФИЯ • 2024 • SOFIA

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1892 - 1921 - 1948

БЪЛГАРСКА АКАДЕМИЯ НА НАУКИТЕ
НАЦИОНАЛЕН АРХЕОЛОГИЧЕСКИ ИНСТИТУТ С МУЗЕЙ
BULGARIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES
NATIONAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE WITH MUSEUM

Приноси към българската археология, том XIV

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Изданието представя изследвания по средновековна археология, рецензии и отзиви

Главен редактор: Евелина Тодорова
Редакционна колегия: Валери Григоров, Евгения Коматарова-Балинова, Петър Димитров, Методи Златков, Георги Сенгалевич, Дочка Аладжова, Николай Марков, Мария Манолова-Войкова, Фалко Дайм, Весна Бикич, Валерий Фльоров, Ярослав Володарец-Урбанович

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Печатница BULGED

ISSN 1310-7976 (print)
ISSN 2603-3410 (online)

Sofia 2024

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POTTERY PRODUCTION CENTER (6TH – EARLY 7TH C.) IN THE CITY OF SOFIA, LOZENETS RESIDENTIAL DISTRICT – YUZHEN (SOUTH) PARK. STUDIES IN 2000 – 2001

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ABSTRACT

The current paper aims at presenting the results from the 2000 – 2001 excavations at Lozenets residential district – Yuzhen (South) Park, Sofia. The remains of a church from the 340s – 350s were documented. This church functioned until the late 410s. Later on, the site used to be a significant architectural complex composed of a single-apse, three-nave basilica surrounded by walls with towers at the corners that also held massive buildings southwest of the basilica's narthex and atrium courtyard. The complex was built immediately after the first decade of the 5th c. and functioned in this initial form until nearly the end of the same century. Certain changes due to tumultuous circumstances occurred before the end of the century. Subsequent reconstructions of the complex were carried out around the middle of the 6th c. These changes probably indicate that the complex was losing its religious functions and that a lay population had settled in the enclosed space.

During the latest period of occupation of the site, the production of household pottery developed. Three two-chamber kilns for firing clay vessels and the related pits have also been discovered. Production activity took place in the space south of the main basilica building and within the enclosed area. The kilns belong to the widespread type with a round (oval) chamber in plan and a supporting pillar for the perforated floor. Based on stratigraphic observations, coins, and archaeomagnetic analysis, the kilns were dated in the late 6th c. They were used for the production of local coarse and glazed cooking and table wares.

The entire complex stopped functioning and was abandoned in the early 7th c.

Keywords: Early Byzantine church complex, 6th – early 7th c., glazed pottery production, pottery kilns

General data for the complex

During construction for a building of the so-called *Yuzhen Park Housing Group* in the Lozenets residential district (fig. 1 – 2, fig. 4) in late February 2000, a hitherto unknown archaeological site was partially destroyed. The site is located in a nearly straight line about 3.5 km from the Southern Gate of Serdica and southwest of the intersection of today's Kozyak and Bogatitsa Streets. Until recently, it was set within a park immediately northeast of the famous Turkish Tabia (fig. 1 – 2). The impressive late antique mausoleum is also very close, about 250 – 300 m away, along today's Dim-

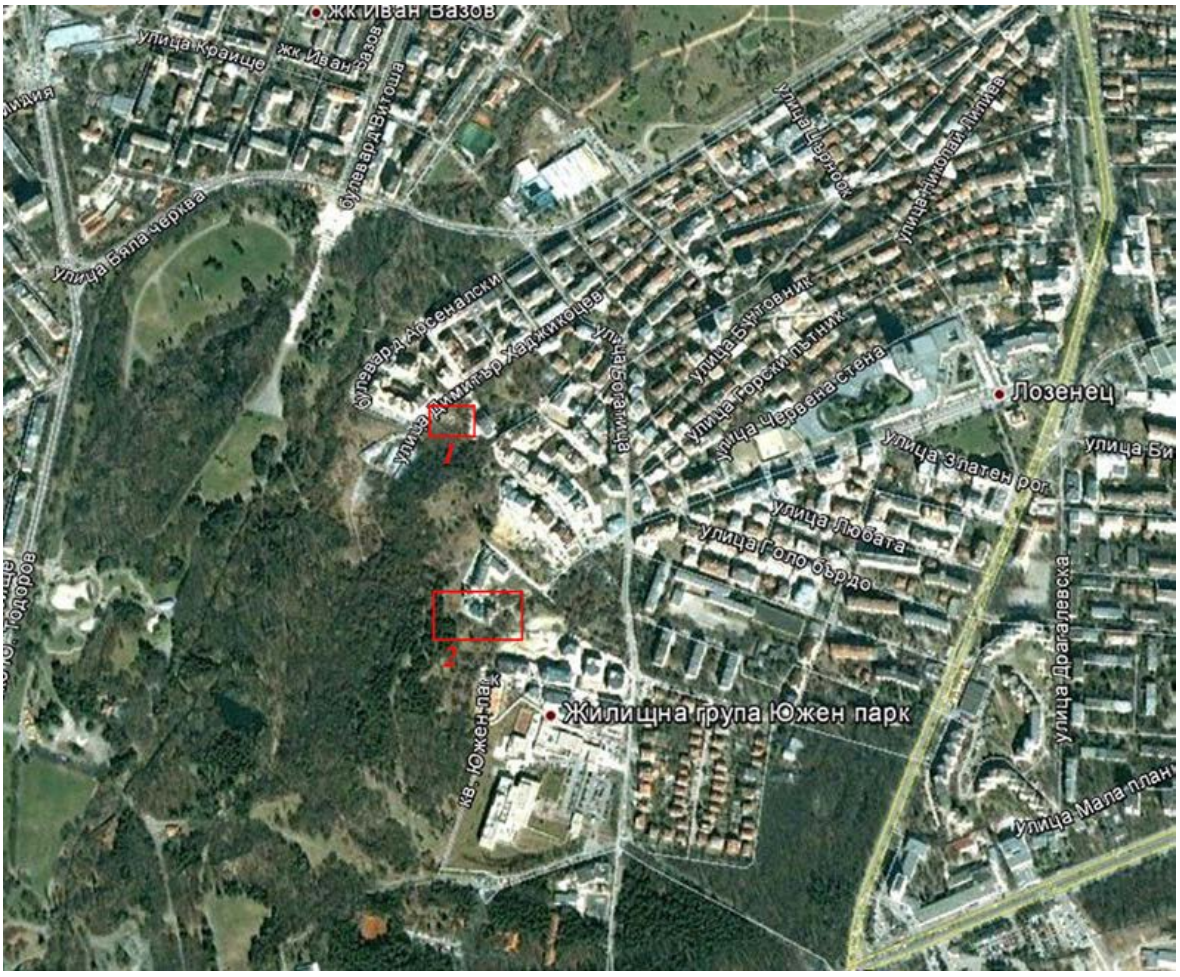


Fig. 1. The Mausoleum (1) and the Early Christian complex (2) in today's Lozenets residential district – South Park
Обр. 1. Мавзолеят (1) и раннохристиянският комплекс (2) в днешния квартал „Лозенец – Южен парк"

itar Hadzhikotsev Street (fig. 1, fig. 3; Шалаганов, Иванов 2006, 314 ff.; Иванов 2008, 149 ff.).[1]

Rescue excavations of the site's remains were undertaken within the building plot in 2000 and 2001, and an area of about 900 m^2 was surveyed (fig. 5). After these excavations were completed and the site's borders were delineated, it became clear that a portion of the site around 580 – 600 m^2 in size had been destroyed during construction, including about 80 % of the main basilica building that is adjoined to the northern wall revealed in the excavation area (fig. 5). In the autumn of 2001, a geophysical survey was carried out that revealed the site used to be a significant architectural complex composed of a single-apse, three-nave basilica surrounded by walls with towers at the corners that also held massive buildings southwest of the basilica's narthex and atrium courtyard. According to analysis of the complex, we can assume it encompassed a total area of around 2800 m^2 (fig. 6).[2] As a

[1] The monument was studied in the early 1950s by Dr. Ivan Velkov and arch. Sava Bobchev, becoming known as the so-called *Basilica in Gorni Lozenets* (Велков 1954, 117 – 118; Василева 1984, 79 – 86; Чанева-Дечевска 1999, 30, обр. 7).

[2] The electromagnetic research was conducted by † Eng. Iliyan Katevski at the request of Eng. Petar Mitanov, then director of the Old Sofia Municipal Enterprise. The profiles laid out on the ground were tailored to the specific situation of the site – asphalted alleys, permanent vegetation, landfills of earth and stones, etc. Despite such complications, the results of the complex's analysis can be considered trustworthy since massive structures are concerned. The southern enclosure wall was probably more than 30 m south of the basilica.



Fig. 2. The position of the complex in the modern environment
Обр. 2. Мястото на комплекса в съвременната среда

result of the two archaeological campaigns in 2000 – 2001,[3] the surviving parts of the complex in the plot were studied, and the main periods of habitation and construction there were clarified (fig. 5).[4]

Periods of construction, use and habitation. General features, chronology and periodization

A few isolated finds are associated with the Late Roman period (3rd – early 4th c.). These consist of: coins from the second half of the 3rd – first decade of the 4th c., a fragment of a votive relief, and a part of a tablet with Greek letters, both of which can be dated to the 3rd c.[5] No other artifacts or traces of construction that could be related to the same time were registered in the study area.

[3] The excavations were carried out with funding from the investor and the participation of students of Archaeology and History from Sofia University "St. Kliment Ohridski" and New Bulgarian University. I am grateful and obliged for their positive attitude, understanding, and quality work, and I hope the work was beneficial to them as well. I can note with great pleasure that not a small number of them are already established professional scholars and lecturers (archaeologists and historians), with defended scientific and educational degrees and academic titles.

[4] The site has been presented in the scholarly literature (Даскалов и др. 2001, 131 – 133; Даскалов и др. 2002, 123 – 126; Даскалов, Горянова 2009, 118 – 136); it also has been presented in reports at national and international scholarly forums dedicated to the secular and Christian history and archaeology of Serdica at home and abroad (Daskalov, Goryanova 2009, 151 – 162) as well as in exhibitions (Даскалов, Горянова 2019, 69 – 73). Significant numismatic material from the site has been released, too (Божкова 2000, 18 – 37; Божкова 2004, 73 – 86). Data from the archaeomagnetic study of samples from the kilns have also been published (Jordanova et al. 2003, 146 – 158; Kovacheva et al. 2004, 1463 – 1479).

[5] Assoc. Prof. Dr. Bistra Bozhkova identified the coins, and † Prof. Vasilka Gerasimova was consulted for the other two artifacts.

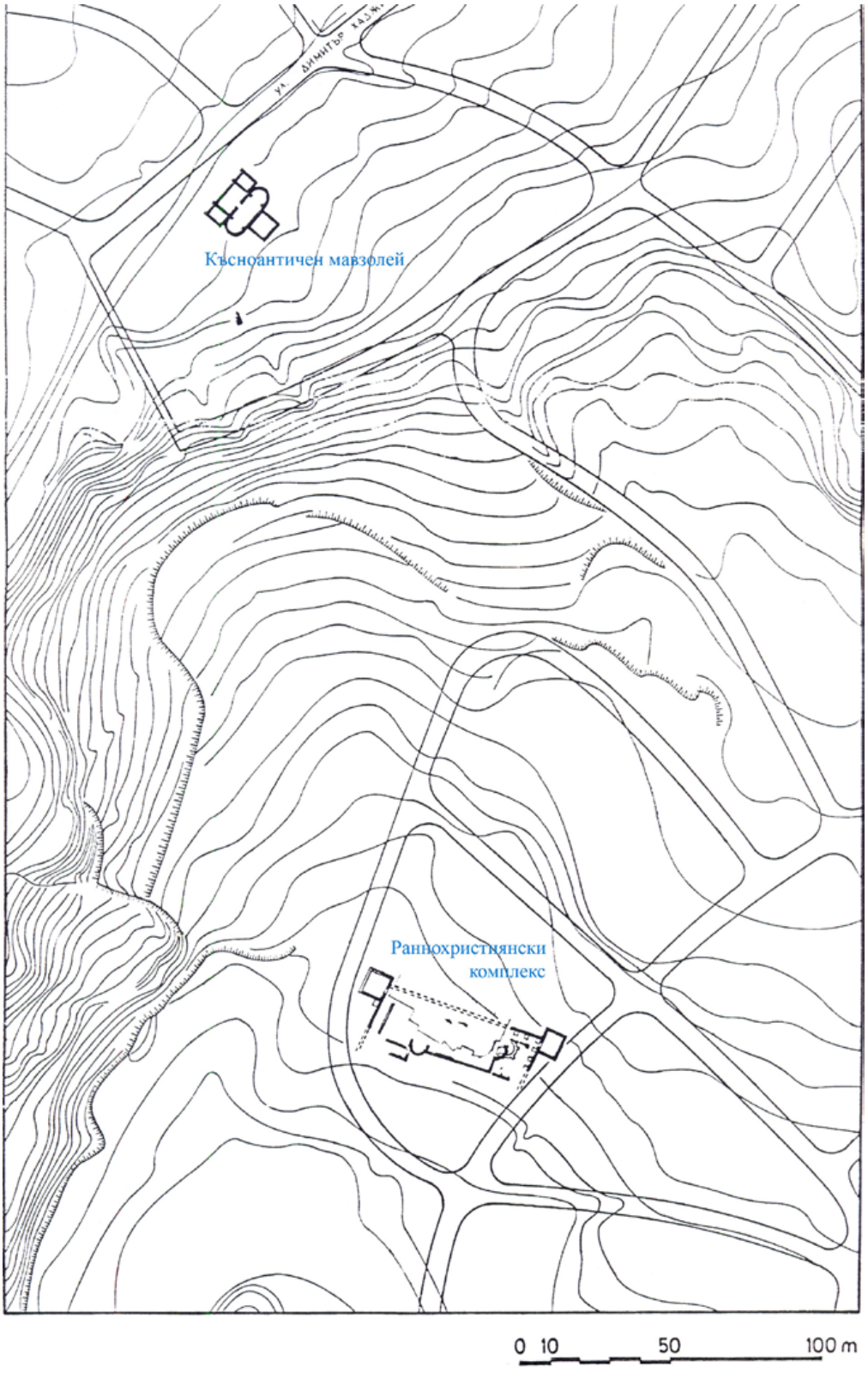


Fig. 3. Topographic situation on Lozenets hill: the late antique mausoleum on Dimitar Hadzhikotsev Street and the church complex

Обр. 3. Топографска ситуация на Лозенския хълм: късноантичен мавзолей на ул. „Димитър Хаджикоцев“ и църковния комплекс

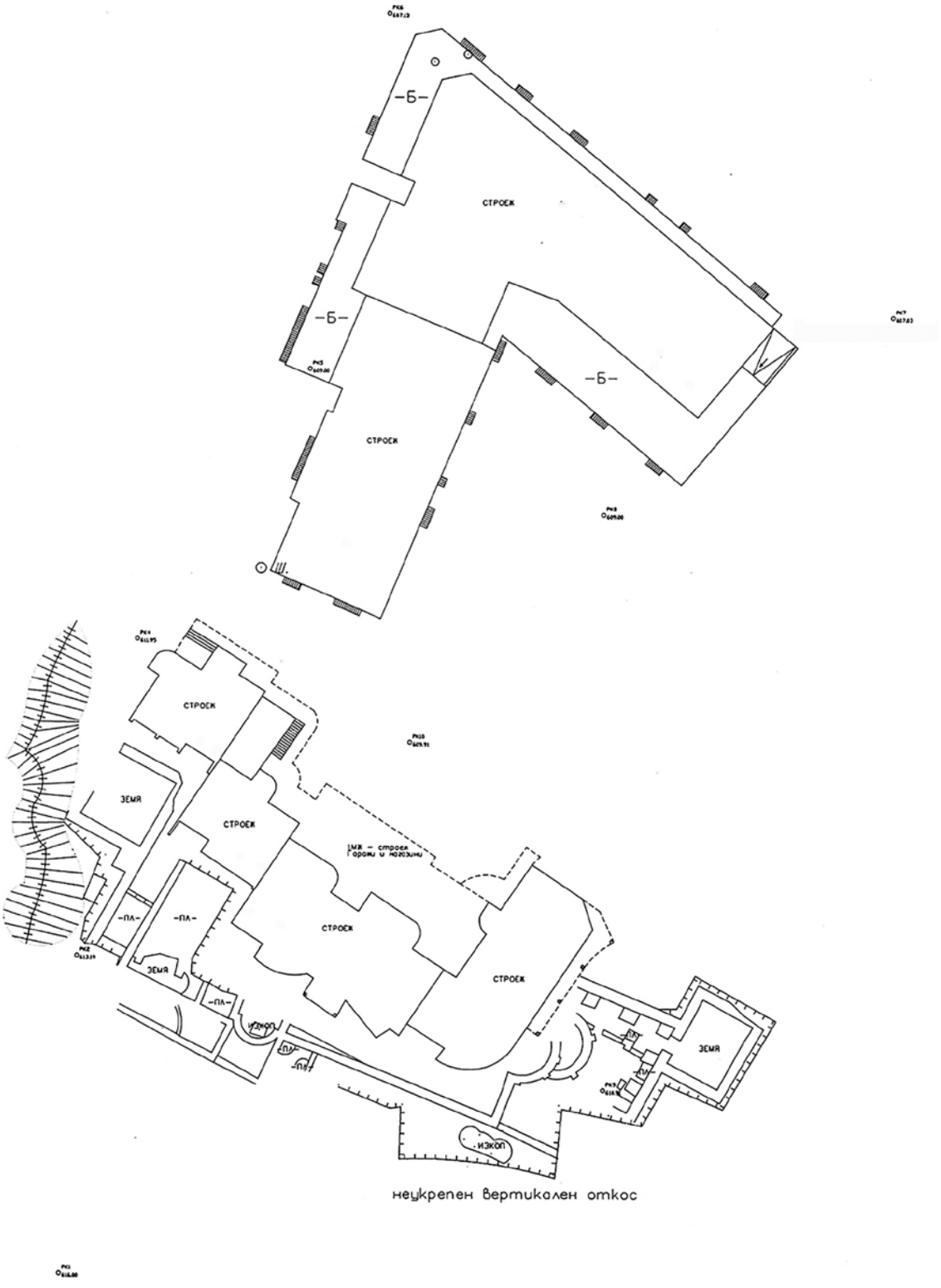


Fig. 4. The built-up plots and the complex revealed sectors
Обр. 4. Застроените парцели и разкритата част на комплекса

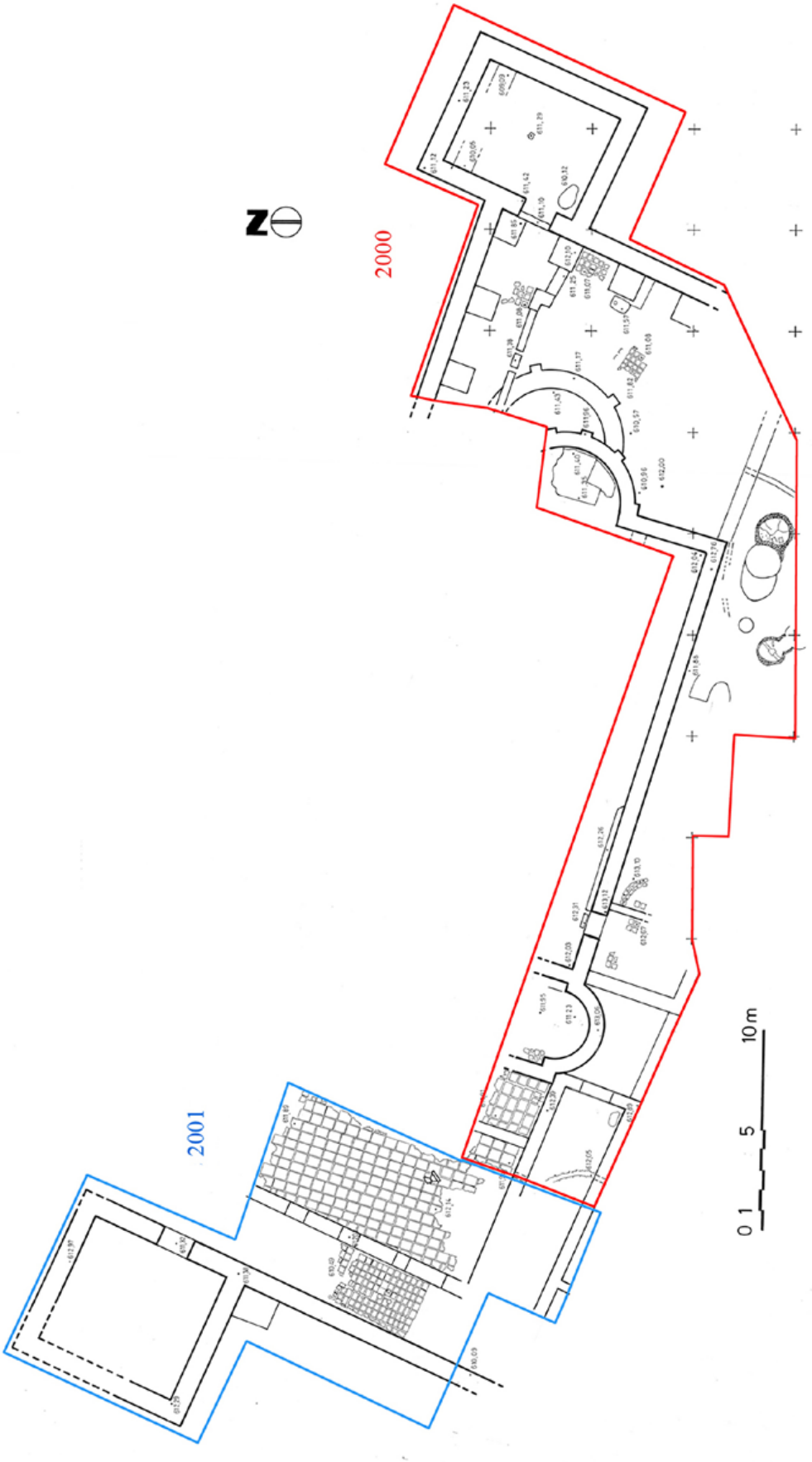


Fig. 5. Areas surveyed within the plot in 2000 and 2001
Обр. 5. Терените, проучени в рамките на парцела през 2000 и 2001 г.

The first stage of construction in the study area was connected with a church, of which only the apse with a massive floor screed and a step to the altar area was revealed. On the church's exterior were connected pilasters that decorated its façade. The building was likely a single-nave, single-apse church (fig. 5). The internal diameter of the apse is about 5.20 m, and its wall is 0.90 m thick. The apse's masonry was of crushed stone alternating with brick courses, judging from its preserved height. The church was destroyed during a subsequent construction phase and its materials reused. Construction waste consisting of fragments of bricks and tiles, crushed stone, and mortar rubble were left below the basilica's construction level or used as fill to level the terrain. According to coin finds from key stratigraphic locations, the early church's construction can be related to the 340s – 350s.[6] According to the rich numismatic material from the church, it functioned (i.e. was actively visited and donated to) until the end of the 410s. Its destruction is marked by a coin hoard (No. 1, partially preserved) found next to the threshold of the altar area that was covered with mortar debris; the latest coin in the hoard is from 408 – 423). This data is also confirmed by a coin hoard (No. 3, from a pit filled during leveling), containing coins completely identical to those in No. 1 (Божкова 2004, табл. 3 – 4).[7]

The establishment of a basilica complex marks the next stage of construction and takes the form of a three-nave, single-apse basilica surrounded by a wall 1.05 – 1.10 m thick. Towers rose in the northwestern and northeastern corners of the enclosure. An atrium with porticoes to the east and west was located west of the main building; to the south were added buildings that remain unrevealed, and no arguments have been advanced for their interpretation. The northern wall is about 55 m long west – east while the external dimensions of the wall's towers are 7.50 x 9 m west – east (they have an internal area of 37 – 38 m^2). The exterior dimensions of the basilica are: 31 m long from the end of the apse to the far side; 16.70 m wide from the east; and 17.20 m wide from the west. The basilica's interior is divided into three naves: the central aisle is 7.40 m wide, and the side ones are each 3.10 – 3.20 m wide. The narthex measures 15.40 (north – south) x 4.20 m (west – east); its conch ceiling is 3.40 m in diameter and 1.75 m deep (fig. 5).[8] The apse's internal diameter is 5.40 – 5.50 m, and it is about 3 m deep.

The basilica's masonry is in *opus mixtum* with the first band of bricks (preserved in three courses) at a height of 0.64 – 0.65 m above the plinth, and the walls are 0.82 – 0.84 m thick. The floor is covered with a pink mortar screed set on a bed of fragmented bricks, tiles, and crushed stone. The atrium is trapezoidal in plan, and its wider side is oriented to the south. Along the western and eastern sides, stylobates of porticoes have been revealed that were structurally connected to the other buildings. Rectangular column bases are preserved on them *in situ*. The courtyard is 16 m (north – south), 14.5 m wide from the south, and about 13 m wide from the north. The porticoes are about 1.50 m wide. The column bases (steps) are placed every 2 m. The western portico floor

[6] It is worth noting that among the extremely rich numismatic finds (about 2,400 specimens in total), small denominations from the 4th and 5th c. predominate. We could associate them with pilgrims' symbolic donations (mites). Another interesting finding is the absence of coins minted in the lifetime of Constantine I the Great; several specimens bearing his image and name are posthumous. In general, coin circulation increased sharply in 340s. "*Given the attested amount of coins from these years, it could be concluded that there was already a lively activity in the architectural complex*" (Божкова 2004, 75). A certain correction could be made to the opinion expressed by Assoc. Prof. Dr. Bistra Bozhkova: this lively activity took place during visits to the Early Christian single-nave church since the complex as such did not yet exist.

[7] The numerous latest coins from the layer below the building level of the basilica are from the period 395 – 408. Two of the hoards (referred to as Nos. 1 and 3 in the documentation, which is adopted in the cited works) also pertain to the same layer and the data from them do not contradict the mentioned period.

[8] A massive threshold block 1.48 – 1.50 m long, 0.64 – 0.65 m wide, and 0.40 – 0.42 m tall was found among the debris thrown out by the construction equipment. There are holes 5 – 8 cm in diameter at both ends that mark axles for a double door, possibly at the basilica's entrance.

is covered with plain, standard square bricks; they are raised relative to others used nearby and so possibly mark a repair. The open space and portico in front of the basilica façade are paved with bipedal bricks laid on a stable base and using plentiful pink mortar (fig. 5).

After a geophysical survey, an irregular rectangular shape of the walled space measuring approximately 53 – 55 (west – east) x 48 – 50 m (north – south) is assumed. It is unclear whether there were corner towers to the southwest and southeast. Massive walls have been registered inside the walled enclosure that are rectangular in plan and likely connected rooms that may belong to a single complex. They are well-marked in the southwestern portion of the enclosure south of the atrium and the basilica's narthex (fig. 6).

From observations made during the excavations, two construction phases can be distinguished for the complex: the first and a subsequent one when repairs, additions, and alterations were made. The complex was built immediately after the first decade of the 5th c.[9] and functioned in this initial form until nearly the end of the same century. Certain changes due to tumultuous circumstances occurred before the end of the century after the reign of Emperor Leo I (457 – 474). As a result, some of the complex's canals no longer functioned; accumulations of mortar rubble have been recorded as well as fragments of wall paintings, pieces of mortar joints, fragments of architectural details, and pieces of marble tiles of two thicknesses denoting their original placement in walls and floors. Regular coin circulation ceased for about two decades. The following coins belonged to Emperor Anastasius (491 – 518) from pre-reform issues. Contemporarily with them also appeared single post-reform denominations of the same emperor.

Subsequent reconstructions of the complex were carried out around the middle of the 6th c. Massive pillars made of crushed stone held together with white, highly sandy mortar were added to the inner face of the enclosure wall. Six of them were revealed in the northeastern corner, and they were probably intended to hold wooden platforms as on the top of a fortress wall. They measure 0.9 – 1.10 x 1.40 m and stand about 2.50 m apart. Their plinths are 0.45 to 0.60 m higher than the floor level (and thresholds) in the complex, which corresponds to the pavements of reused bricks located southeast of the apse,[10] south of the basilica to the inner face of the eastern enclosure wall between the pilasters.

The layer below this level was abundantly saturated with whole and fragmented bricks and tiles, stones with mortar stuck to them, pieces of mortar from joints and plasters, household pottery, fragments of window glass and glassware (mainly lamps and glasses), whole nails and fragments of them, wedges and iron П-shaped brackets, bronze and lead plates, and other metal objects probably belonging to wooden constructions. Apparently, all of this debris is remnants of repairs and reconstruction. The basilica's interior was also renovated: an entrance was opened in its southern wall near the conch arch of the narthex and benches were built inside the nave along its southern wall as well as in the narthex.[11]

[9] The latest coins from the strata for leveling and raising the terrain for large-scale construction come from the period up to 408. This date is also confirmed by a coin under the mortar pit south of the entrance to the northeastern tower, which dates from 402 – 408. The floor in the atrium was laid on a well-leveled and tamped ground and was made of bipedal bricks; the joints were carefully filled with hydrophobic mortar. A categorical *terminus post quem* for this floor's and the complex's construction as a whole are the coins found under the pavement dating from the late 4th – early 5th c., the latest one of which is a minima of Emperor Honorius of a type struck until 408. A coin of the same emperor but of a slightly later issue was found in the fill above the dismantled (?) apse of the single-nave church. The coin series found in mortar lumps are from the last two decades of the 4th c. (of Valentinian II and Theodosius I).

[10] A coin of Emperor Justin II and Sophia (struck 573/574) was found in the layer above.

[11] A 16-nummi coin of Emperor Justinian I was found in the clay for fixing the stones of the benches in the narthex; at the level of the secondary entrance in the southern wall of the basilica was found a half follis of Emperor Justin II (struck 565/567).

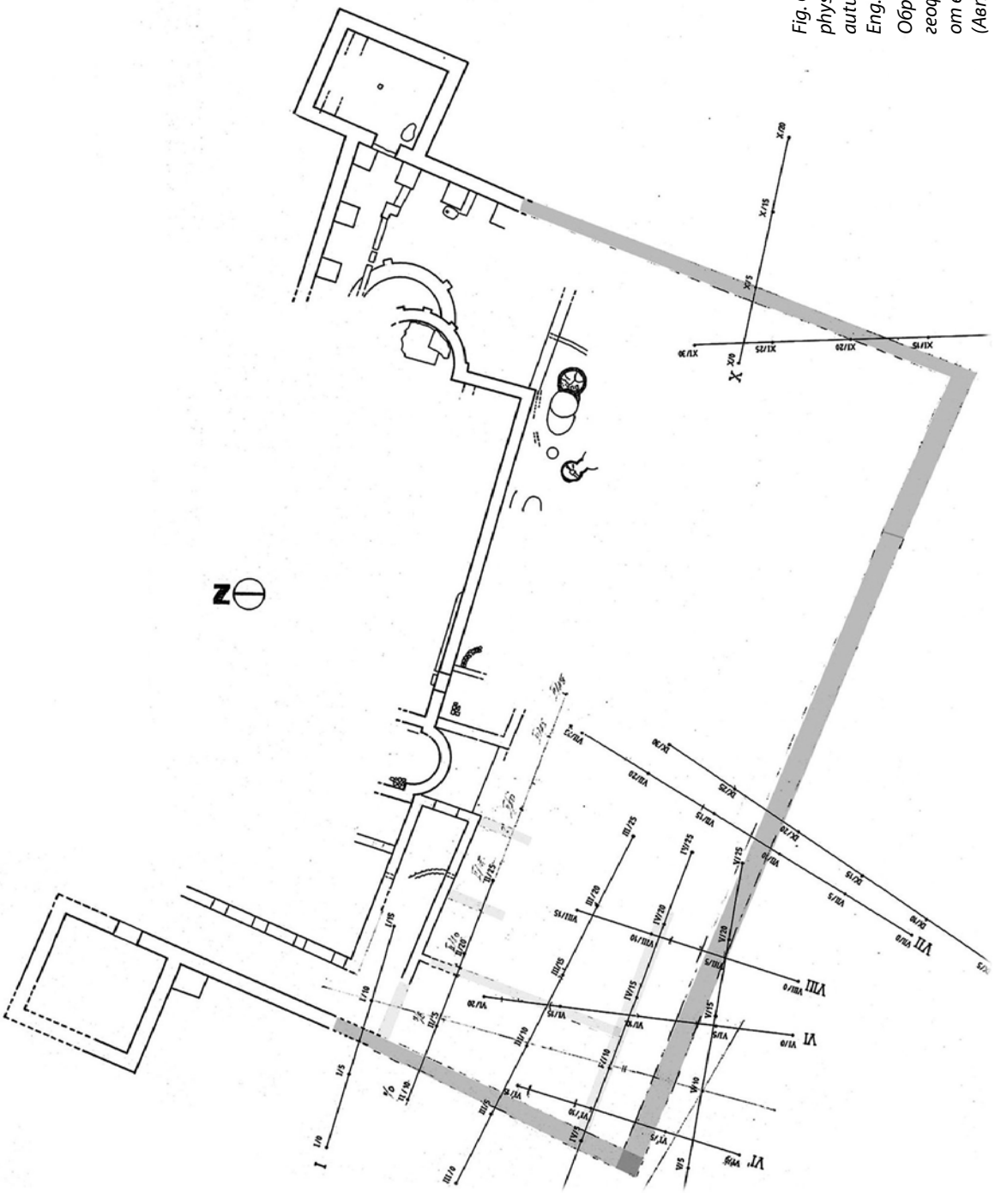


Fig. 6. Results of the geophysical survey from the autumn of 2001 (Author: Eng. I. Katevski)
Обр. 6. Резултати от геофизичното проучване от есента на 2001 г. (Автор: инж. И. Катевски)

These changes probably indicate that the complex was losing its religious functions and that a lay population had settled in the enclosed space. The floor inside the northeastern tower was raised with a layer of yellow-brown clay soil, in which traces (holes) of vertical beams for roofing have been registered. The tower's interior was also divided into four parts (pl. 8). Secondary pavements of reused bricks have been traced in the rooms next to the basilica's southern wall (pl. 7). In all these cases coins from the days of Justin I, Justinian I, and Justin II and Sophia were found above the repairs. Mass pottery finds increased significantly, consisting of vessels of a domestic nature such as kitchen pots with lids, vessels for storing products (cruses and pithoi), and ceramic lamps. Tableware is also well-represented: jugs, flat-bottomed amphorae, cups, and bowls. Metal artifacts are also evidence of everyday life: well-known types of fibulae, knives, needles, tweezers, piercing instruments, etc. (fig. 10).

During the next latest[12] period of occupation of the site, the production of household pottery developed, with part of the output having a glazed surface. Kilns for firing clay vessels have also been discovered. Production activity took place in the space south of the main basilica building and within the enclosed area. A wall of crushed stones and reused fragments of bricks stuck together with clay was built next to the basilica's exterior southeastern corner. It continues in an easterly direction into unexplored terrain and probably encloses the "potters' sector" (fig. 7).

The quality clays in the area apparently had been exploited for centuries.[13] The kiln for firing building ceramics needed for the complex's construction was associated with the exploitation of these clay deposits. It is located immediately north of the supposed route of the northern enclosure wall (about 3.5 – 4 m away from the basilica). Two houses that belong to the modern residential complex at the site were built over it (fig. 7: 1). The structure has been significantly affected by modern construction works; part of it was filled with concrete for the foundations of the new buildings. The base of an arch was also placed approximately in the middle of the kiln along its north – south axis (pl. 1: 1 – 3).

This prevented full study of the kiln, but the parts of it that were uncovered still provide valuable information. The opening to the combustion chamber was from the south. Along the length of the combustion chamber were support pillars for the grate, three from the east and two from the west. These pillars were arranged along the chamber's interior walls, made of standard bricks (approximately 0.30 x 0.30 m in size), and fixed with clay (preserved up to two courses tall); the

[12] This final phase can thus be called Early Byzantine. Data and artifacts from other periods before present were also found during excavations. This is the partially preserved oven marked No. 1: a dome of fragmented bricks joined with clay and a bottom with a fired screed. It was likely domestic and was revealed southeast of the basilica's apse at the level of its collapse. According to the pottery fragments found in and around it, it can be attributed to the Late Middle Ages. For more precise dating come the mangir (of Suleyman I or Bayezid II) and akçe (of Bayezid II, 1481 – 1512) found there. Other characteristic finds (vessel and pipe fragments) appeared in the northwestern tower sector. The archaeomagnetic sample suggests the same dating: a firing in the period of 1460 – 1620 (or more precisely: 1513 – 1583, see below). Apparently, this part of the Lozenets hill was inhabited during these centuries. An indirect indication is also the toponym of Korubaglar (*korubagları*) which in translation means *vineyard in the grove* or *vineyard in the forest*, and a bit later *kurubaglar*, where "o" has changed to "u" and the meaning has already changed to the *dry vineyards*. The locality is mentioned in the records of Evliya Çelebi.

[13] The deposits of quality clay, fit for producing various ceramic products, have been exploited even in modern times, from the last decade of the 19th c. to the late 1950s. The current South Park is famous for its brickworks and factories (the earliest one from 1890 belonged to Hristo Kalpakchiev, built precisely in the Korubaglar area). According to historical data, there were a total of 17 brickyards here. The most famous was the Golden Lion Factory (built in 1930) of Eng. Nikola Hr. Popov, which was quite modern for its time and was established precisely because of the volume and quality of the nearby clay resources. Apparently, they were known to the nearby population for centuries and were used for the production of various ceramics. During the construction in 1964 of the current Lozenets University Hospital Complex (former Government Hospital), the large diggings for clay extraction were clearly visible. In the 1950s and 1960s, the brickyards in Lozenets had a rather unenviable and sad reputation among the people of Sofia.

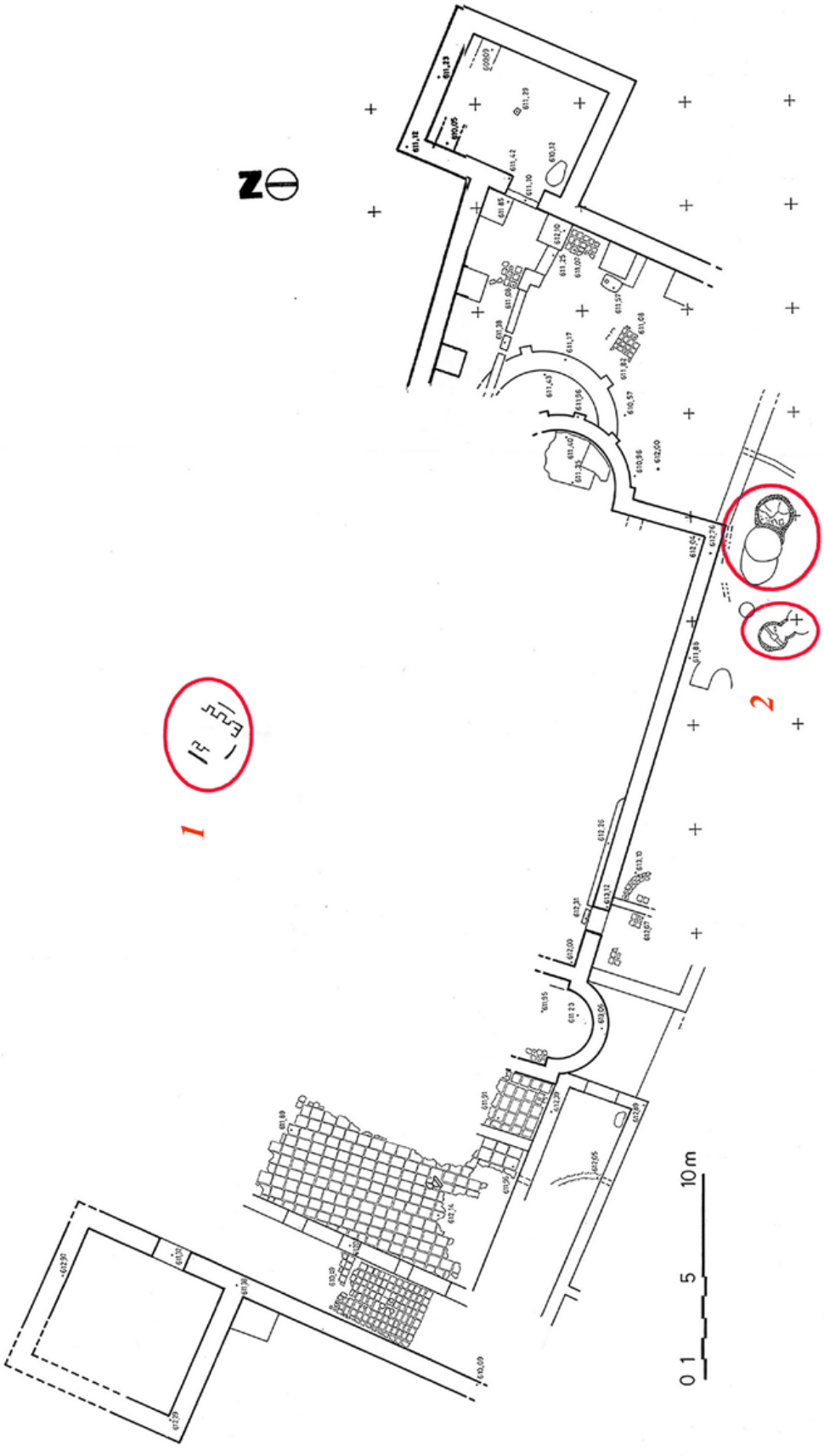


Fig. 7. Position of the production structures relative to the main building: 1. Kiln for ceramic building material; 2. Kilns for household pottery

Обр. 7. Разположение на производствените съоръжения спрямо основната сграда: 1. Пещ за строителна керамика; 2. Пещи за битова керамика

studied portion of the kiln is 2.20 m long (from the north it was also filled with reinforced concrete, the removal of which was not possible). The width has been established with certainty at 2.95 meters. The distance between the rows of pillars (west – east) is about 1.40 meters, and the rows are not arranged in axial symmetry. The kiln body consists of a massive wall of stones and building ceramics (up to 0.20 – 0.24 m thick) and a thick clay screed. Due to the current condition of the kiln, the presence, location, and dimensions of a partition wall intended to carry a perforated floor along the length of the chamber are not clear. The floor is not well leveled; it became deformed with use and bears traces of heavy burning and black-brown patches. The entire interior of the kiln is similarly colored, probably from repeated firing (pl. 1). The kiln's construction and operation can be associated with the building of the large church complex (there is no specific data on any chronological correlation). The possibility that it was used in the previous century and for construction of the earlier church cannot be completely ruled out.

During Late Antiquity, production of building ceramics (bricks) was also established in the immediate vicinity of the site, about 300 m northwest (as the crow flies) at the base of a hill (fig. 3). A kiln was discovered adjacent to the late antique mausoleum on what is now Dimitar Hadzhikotsev Street. It was researched simultaneously with the excavations of the complex in 2001 (Козарев 2004, 86 – 90; Шалаганов, Иванов 2006, 314 ff.; Иванов 2008, 149 – 160). Its construction is very well clarified, and the kiln's operation was undoubtedly related to the impressive building's construction (Козарев 2004, 86 – 90).

Kilns for manufacturing pottery were discovered at the site as well. They as well as other artifacts (vessel fragments and defective wares deformed and cracked during firing with burnt glaze found around them) are evidence of *in situ* production. These kilns are located to the south of the basilica in a walled space (fig. 7: 2). The wall is of spolia fixed with clay and has an uneven width of 0.70 – 0.80 m and a shallow foundation. It has a built-in channel for the drainage of ground water (possibly also water related to production). A collection pit was formed nearby to the south and was later filled in. The kiln is on a slope due to the unevenness of the terrain from south to north (pl. 2). The studied pottery kilns were numbered according to the order of their discovery in 2000 as Nos. 2 – 4.[14] Kiln No. 4 has not been fully revealed: it is located right on the border of the property and continues to the south. The most complete data is available for kilns Nos. 2 and 3.

Kiln No. 2 (fig. 8) is situated about 1.60 m south of the southeastern outer corner of the basilica, inside the space enclosed by the stone-mud wall (fig. 7: 2). It is dome-shaped and has two chambers and a dividing grate with openings for the passage of hot air (pl. 3 – 4). The highest preserved diameter of the upper chamber is 1.27 m, and at the grate level the chamber is 1.45 m in diameter. The walls of the upper chamber (the dome) are 7 – 9 cm thick. The grate is partially preserved at its northwestern side (fig. 8, pl. 3), and it is about 8 – 10 cm thick; its holes are 5 – 8 cm in diameter. The maximum preserved depth of the upper chamber is 0.38 – 0.40 m from the top of its preserved walls to the grate. Supporting pillars or other weight-bearing structural elements were not registered *in situ*, but in the process of exposing the area under the preserved part of the grate, we came across large rounded fragments of clay, which are undoubtedly parts of a similar construction that was possibly disturbed at the end of the kiln's use. The depth of the combustion chamber from the floor to the grate underside is 0.28 m. The bottom of the chamber is formed with fragments of bricks and thickly plastered with clay; it is strongly burnt and covered with a thick layer of gray-black ash.

[14] They are present in a specialized research. Some of the information on the numbering of the kilns, their mutual location, construction notes and some of the parameters specified by Alexander Harizanov (Харизанов 2019, 661 – 664) is not correct.



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Pl. 1. Kiln for ceramic building material: 1, 2. Discovery of the eastern and western parts of the kiln for ceramic building material (view from the south); 3. The explored part of the kiln (view from the south)

Табло 1. Пещ за строителна керамика: 1, 2. Регистриране на източната и западната част на пещта за строителна керамика (поглед от юг); 3. Проучената част на пещта (поглед от юг)



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Pl. 2. 1. The enclosing wall and kiln No. 2 at the moment of discovery (view from the north); 2. Kiln No. 2 and the wall (from the south); 3. The wall on the construction level of the basilica

Табло 2. 1. Ограждащата стена и пещ № 2 при разкриването (поглед от север); 2. Пещ № 2 и стената (от юг); 3. Стената върху строителното ниво на базиликата



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Pl. 3. 1. The moment of discovery of kiln No. 2; 2. Exploration stage: cleaned chamber floor; 3. The kiln and stoking pit during the uncover (view from the east)

Табло 3. 1. Регистриране на пещ № 2; 2. Етап на проучване: почистен под на камерата; 3. Пещта и предпещната яма при проучването (поглед от изток)

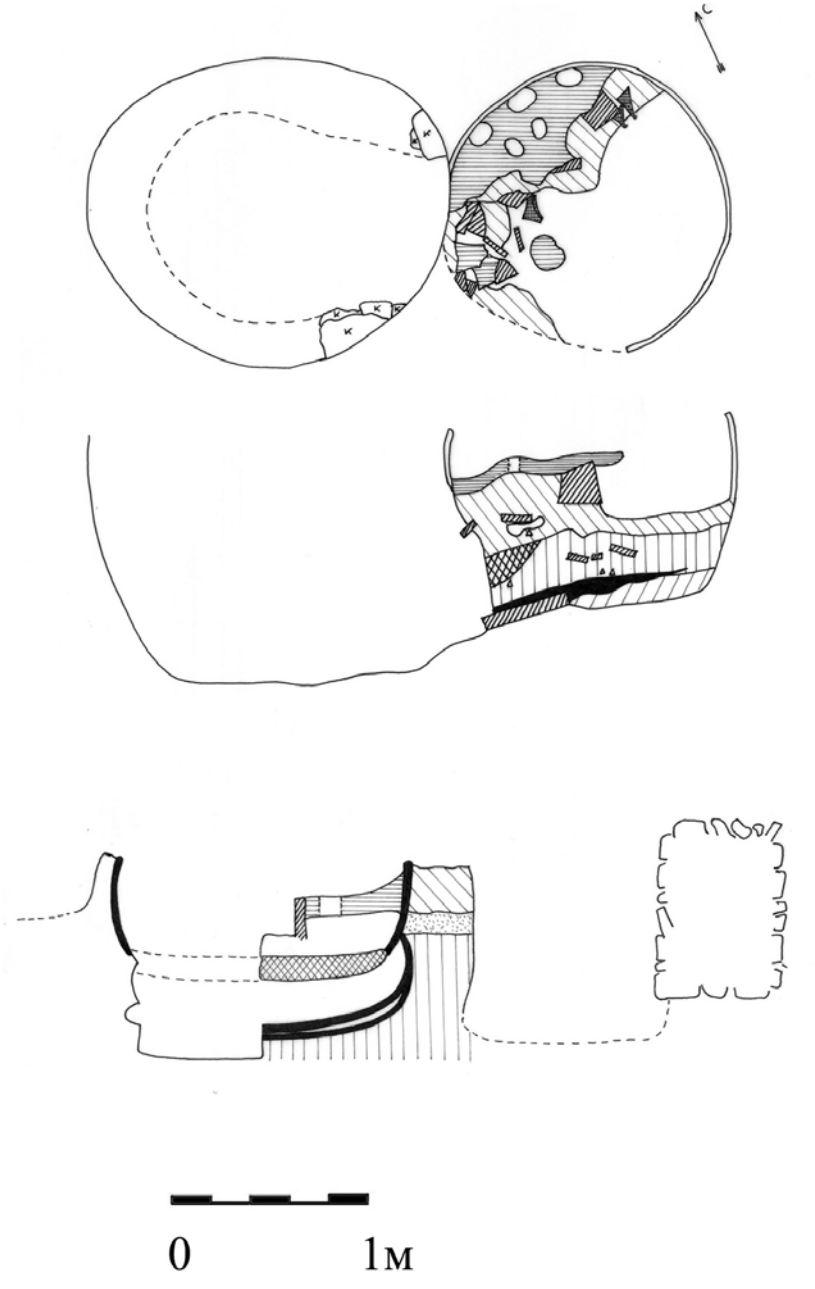


Fig. 8. Horizontal plan and section of kilns Nos. 2 and 4
Обр. 8. Хоризонтален план и разрез на пещи № 2 и № 4

The diameter of the lower (combustion) chamber is equal to that above the grate (1.45 m). The service opening is to the west where the stoking pit (working designation No. 2) was laid out (pl. 3 – 4). Its sides are formed by rows of mud-fixed bricks that became black with repeated firing of the kiln. The lower portion of the opening is formed with horizontally arranged bricks that are also very badly burnt. The lower part of the stoking pit (at its bottom) on both sides of the opening is lined with crushed stones fixed with clay. It is 1.50 m deep (from the digging level where at discovery there was an oval outline with dimensions of 1.95 m west – east and 1.76 m north – south). Above the bottom it narrows in depth to about 1.20 m, and here there is a stratification of much ash

and coal mixed with earth as a result of the kiln's use. The pit was dug into sterile terrain.

During excavations in the southeastern portion of the bottom interior of the kiln, a sinkhole was found filled with small pieces of bricks, pottery fragments (including a whole bottom of a glazed vessel), and pieces of burnt clay. This fragmentary material was covered with a horizontally placed tegula with a layer of wood ash and coal over it. From the section over the most destroyed part of kiln No. 2, it became clear that it was built on top of an earlier kiln of similar construction (marked with No. 4; pl. 5). Its entrance is from the southeast, and its floor was covered with fragments of tegulae. The stoking pit is also located there, filled with pieces of burnt clay, coal, and ash; fragmented pottery; and waste products (working designation pit No. 7).

A part of the combustion chamber opening was revealed, for the floor of which an entire tegula was used (it was burnt to black, cracked, and covered with a thick layer of coal and ash). The floor of the opening slopes from west to east. In the studied part of the opening and the chamber, traces of very strong burning and cracks were detected, as a result of which the kiln went out of use. Repairs were probably carried out during the course of its operation, however; the floor level of the lower chamber was raised about 7 cm, for example.

Probable dimensions for the kiln, as established from finds within the section, are as follows: the chamber diameter was about 1.30 – 1.40 m and the combustion chamber opening was 0.55 – 0.62 m wide. After taking damage, the kiln was filled with pieces of bricks, lumps of burnt clay from the grate and walls, pieces of plaster, and pottery fragments, all to build the combustion chamber of the later kiln (No. 2). The diameters of the chambers of both kilns are identical, i.e., kiln No. 2 generally follows the form of the earlier kiln over which it was built (fig. 8, pl. 5). The difference in floor levels is about 0.40 m (fig. 8). Unlike kiln No. 2, the earlier one was accessed from the east, from pit No. 7, which is very well outlined as an irregularly circular spot. A large portion of this kiln is located in unexplored terrain (working designation Profile South-2). The two kilns have a similar construction and were built and used in a relatively short period of time. After the damage caused by kiln No. 4, the route of the drainage channel beginning from higher ground was also laid to the south, whereby the filled pit was carefully bypassed and proximity to the eastern periphery of kiln No. 2 was avoided. Gradually, this channel was filled with ash, coal, and waste products during the kiln's operation. Study of the sector containing kilns Nos. 2 and 4 could not be fully completed as it continues outside the site.

Kiln No. 3 (fig. 9, pl. 6) is located west of the above two kilns and about 3 m south of the exterior face of the basilica's southern wall. It is two-chambered, dome-shaped, and slightly oval in plan with external dimensions of 1.20 m (west – east) x 1.10 m (north – south). The dome wall is 8 – 10 cm thick. The grate is supported by a central pillar constructed of half-bricks set high and plastered with clay. It is horizontal and consists of radially arranged clay beams (probably eight in number) resting on the supporting pillar and attached to the inner part of the chamber by a thickened coating. Two of the beams are preserved *in situ*, forming an entire diameter along the approximate west – east axis 0.95 – 1 m long. A third beam is preserved entirely but has become detached and has sunk into the lower chamber. A fourth beam only partially survives.

The depth of the lower chamber at the supporting pillar is 0.21 m, and the preserved height of the dome above the level of the grate is 0.22 – 0.23 m. The floor of the lower chamber slopes from north to south, i.e. from the back to the opening, the difference in levels being about 0.25 m. The opening for the passage of hot air in the lower chamber is to the south. The actual combustion chamber is positioned to the south and is 0.48 – 0.52 m long and 0.58 m wide (fig. 9). Judging from the dimensions of the opening in the lower chamber, its depth was 0.70 m. Constructed of clay, it was structurally connected to the other part and was strongly fired in a high temperature until gain-

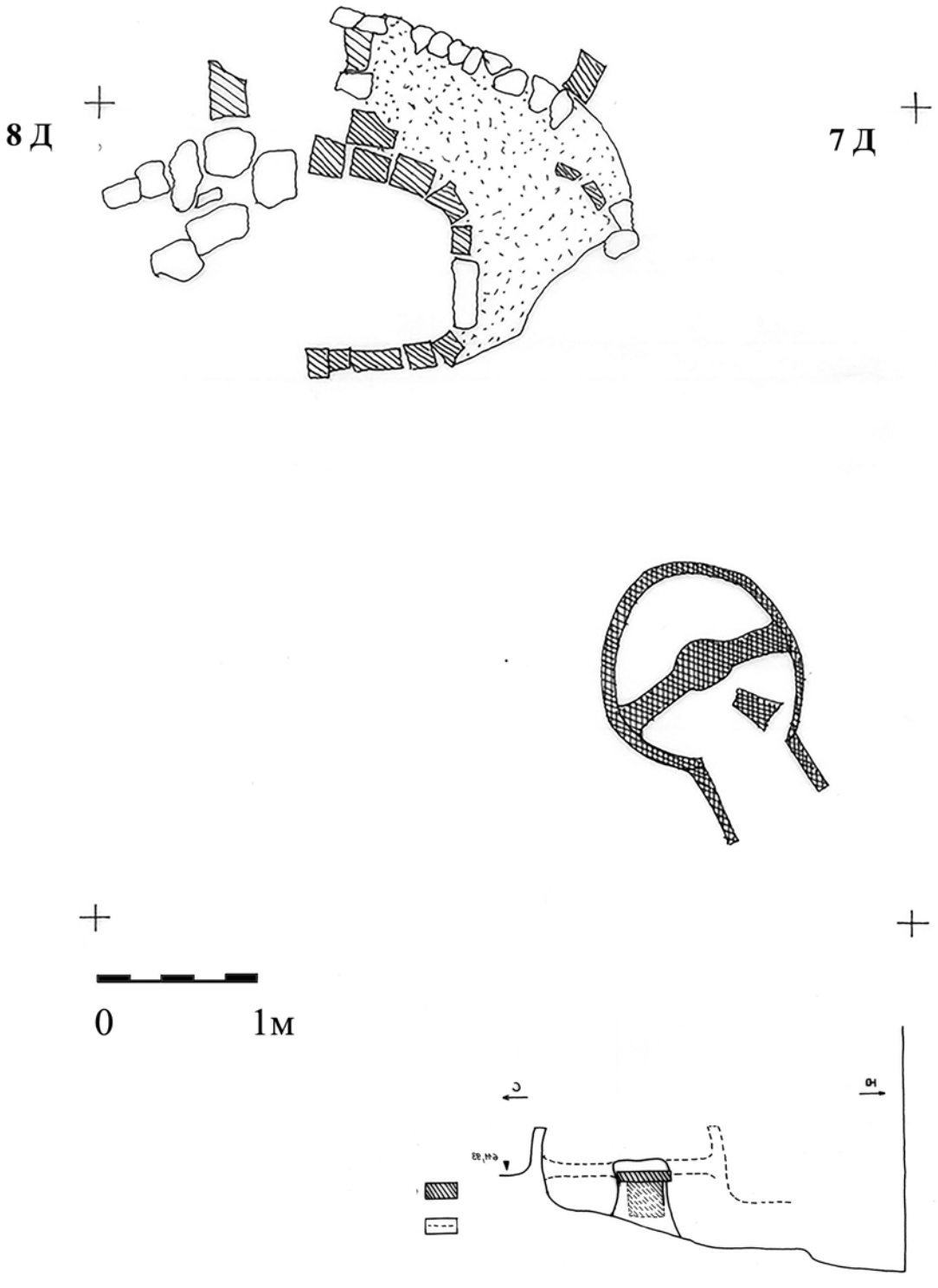


Fig. 9. Plan and section of kiln No. 3
Обр. 9. План и разрез на пещ № 3



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Pl. 4. 1. Kiln No. 2 with the stoking pit (view from the south); 2. Kiln No. 2 with the pit and the opening to the lower chamber (view from the west)

Табло 4. 1. Пещ № 2 с предпещната яма (поглед от юг); 2. Пещ № 2 с ямата и отвора към долната камера (поглед от запад)



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2

Pl. 5. Kilns Nos. 2 and 4 – overlapping of the combustion chambers
Табло 5. Пещи № 2 и № 4 – застъпване на горивни камери



1



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Pl. 6. 1. The moment of discovery of kiln No. 3; 2. Kiln No. 3 and a part of its stoking pit after their exploration
Табло 6. 1. Регистриране на пещ № 3; 2. Пещ № 3 и част от предпещната ѝ яма в проучен вид

ing the density of a brick. The bottom of the chamber is thickly coated in a layer of ash and coal, the chamber's ceiling was vaulted. This form of construction and the methods of firing and removing hot air it enables is related to the prevention of direct contact between the fire and the vessels arranged for firing. The stoking pit (working designation No. 6) was registered and partially explored to the south of the combustion chamber. The diameter of the chamber at its widest revealed extent is 1.45 m (approximately along the chamber's west – east axis). The full shape of the kiln has not been determined since it partially lies in unexplored terrain.

The design of kilns Nos. 2 and 3 belongs to the widespread type with a round (oval) chamber in plan and a supporting pillar for the perforated floor. Kiln No. 4 probably belongs to the same type. Different variants are known and have been well-explored in today's Bulgarian lands, neighboring territories, and in general across the Late Roman Empire and its successor kingdoms. This type of kiln is quite conservative and appeared before Christ and existed into the following centuries (the Middle Ages).

The kilns presented at Lozenets have been arranged in a typology for the territories south of the Danube river for the 1st – 6th c. (see Харизанов 2019, 661 – 664, cat. No. 169 on the kiln for building ceramics; the other three kilns for household pottery have the original working numbering 2, 3, 4[15] and are cat. Nos. 170 – 172). In the interest of correcting the data from the field survey of the structures, some clarifications can be made. The kiln for building ceramics has been assigned provisionally to type II/b/1. The construction of the combustion chamber is unclear; whether there was a retaining wall along its length is unknown. There is no data for the upper part of the kiln (Харизанов 2019, 104 – 108).

In general, all three kilns for household pottery can be assigned to type I/a of the proposed typology (Харизанов 2019, 82 – 83, 86 – 89). Kilns Nos. 2 and 4 (as represented here) are similar, with No. 2 showing a central support pillar (though parts of it were out of place in the lower chamber) that upholds the grate of the firing chamber. Nothing can be said for certain about No. 4; after its failure or irreparable damage done to it, it was buried, and No. 2 was built on top of it so that the two kilns' chambers cohered in form. The latter was left entirely intact, so this did not allow the full exposure of No. 4 (its lower combustion chamber in particular). In kiln No. 3, the two chambers were separated by eight clay beams connected with a support pillar.

The dating of the kilns is based on stratigraphic situations and field observations supported by many coins. The kilns have been dug into a layer containing coins from the last two decades of the 4th and almost the entire 5th c. (of Theodosius I, Arcadius, Honorius, Theodosius II, Marcian and Leo I) as well as Justin I's post-reform pentanummium. The half follis of Emperor Justin II (struck 570/571) is of particular importance for dating the use of kiln No. 2 (providing a *terminus post quem* for it) and was found at the bottom of the stoking pit. The earlier kiln No. 4 was also dug into a layer containing coins from the late 4th and 5th c., the latest of which was one coin from the first decade of the 5th c. The layer into which the structures were dug was deposited during the time when the early church building functioned, when the whole complex was constructed in the early 5th c. (probably soon after the end of the single-nave church), and the duration of complex's use in its original form.

These data are also supported by archaeomagnetic dating, samples for which were taken during the excavations by Prof. D.Sc. Mary Kovacheva and her team (National Institute of Geophysics, Geology and Geography – Bulgarian Academy of Sciences). She personally provided the processed and calibrated preliminary data from the study of materials from two of the kilns (Nos. 1 and 2) in

[15] See Footnote 11 above.

2002.[16] They fully confirm the observations and results of the field survey and traditional archaeological dating. The specific studies are presented later in papers in specialized publications together with the final results. Kiln No. 1 was fired in the period 1513 – 1583 while kiln No. 2 is thought to have been in operation between 566 and 583 and fired 580 – 590 (Jordanova et al. 2003, 146 – 158; Kovacheva et al. 2004, 1463 – 1479).

Based on ceramic wasters, it is possible to confirm that the three kilns were primarily used for firing of kitchen and table wares for everyday use: pots, various bowls, lids, jugs, two-handled pitchers, cups, storage vessels of various sizes like pithoi, and candlesticks.[17] Production repertoire is relatively standard, and the noteworthy thing in this case is that the same types of vessels were found with and without glaze. The character and variety of these vessels indicate they were intended for households in nearby Serdica. Removing pottery production outside the fortress walls of an inhabited urban area is also completely in the spirit of Late Antiquity (places for processing raw materials, constructing kilns, and using fire were commonly located outside of urban areas). Despite extensive archaeological research in previous decades, no (known) comparison materials were available when the pottery center was discovered (2000 – 2001). During the archaeological excavations undertaken in 2015 – 2018 in Sofia's central square at Sveta Nedelya, materials typologically and chronologically close to those from Lozenets were found in a reliable environment and identified. Their dating in the second half of the 6th – early decades of the 7th c. cannot be doubted (Станев 2020, 179 – 181, обр. 6 – 7).

Synchronous structures in the complex related to the pottery production. Absolute dating data

The rooms attached to the southern wall of the basilica were associated with the time of the kilns' operation. They are designated as Rooms A – B.[18] The first room is located immediately to the east of the narthex conch and rests on an earlier structure with a mortar floor that was later rebuilt with a stone and clay superstructure and a secondary brick floor at a higher elevation. Within it is a secondary entrance to the nave of the basilica that was rather carelessly opened (the reconstructions there and in the narthex are noted above). The next room westward, Room Б, matches the width of the conch and is bounded to the south by a secondary wall of clay-jointed stones (it is on the boundary of the building trench and is only outlined in height). It is not clear whether this wall was built on top of an earlier one.

Room В follows Room Б to the west and is situated to the south of the courtyard with the porticoes, west of the basilica's façade. It is 3.20 m wide, and half of its possible length (5.50 m out of a total of about 11 m) has been explored (pl. 7). It originally had an entrance from the east (1.63 m wide with a double-winged door, according to the revealed openings for its vertical axes) that was subsequently blocked with a rather sloppy single-faced wall of stones and clay that faces inwards toward the west (pl. 7: 1, 2). A mortar pit connected with the construction of the complex was revealed deep in Room B's southeastern corner. A drainage channel constructed of half-bricks relating to the complex's use was traced across the leveling embankment of brown clean soil. It was filled during ongoing repairs of the complex, and a coin of Leo I was found in its fill (pl. 7: 3). At a height above the level of the longitudinal wall plinth and the threshold of Room B's entrance, deposits were registered containing many pieces of bricks and tiles, lumps of crushed mortar, and fragments of household pottery and glass, among other finds. Above this stratum, a sloppy pave-

[16] Twenty-five samples have been taken (7 from kiln No. 1 and 18 from kiln No. 2).

[17] For more details on the variety of shapes, see Todorova 2024 in this volume.

[18] The lettering of the rooms is kept in Cyrillic according to the original documentation.



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Pl. 7. 1. Room B: cleaning of the 6th – 7th c. floor level and the walled-up entrance on the eastern wall (view from the west); 2. Walled-up entrance on the eastern wall (from the east); 3. Room B on the level of the original building

Табло 7. 1. Помещение B: почистване на подовото ниво от VI – VII в. и зазидания вход на източната стена (поглед от запад); 2. Зазиждане на входа на източната стена (от изток); 3. Помещение B на нивото на оригиналния градеж

ment of whole and fragmented bricks and tiles is preserved in places. Together with some rammed brown-yellow clay soil with spots of charcoal and ash, and concentrations of domestic pottery and glassware, these deposits probably mark the late "floor" level. In the fill below it was found a follis of Justinian I that was struck in Constantinople in 527 – 538 (pl. 7: 1). The amount of fragments of household vessels (pots, jugs, lids, lamps, storage jars, and glass fragments) and charcoal increases in the deposits above this fill and coin.

Numismatic data from the study of Room B (which has the working name "The Potter's House") comes from the coin hoard scattered in the fill under the layer of stones and bricks formed after the collapse of the Room's walls after it was finally abandoned (working designation "Demolition Layer I"). The hoard consists of 43 coins: 42 bronze pieces of different denominations and one tremis (Божкова 2000, 18 – 37; Божкова 2004, 73 ff.). About half of the bronze coins are folles from the time of Emperors Phocas and Heraclius (some of them overstruck); the latest was issued in 614/615. The presence of smaller and very small denominations does not so much reflect the hoarding of full value coins (by weight) as current coin circulation at the time of the hoard's deposition (Божкова 2004, 80 – 83). Coins of Emperors Phocas (struck 607/608) and Heraclius (struck 614/615) were found in deposits above the pavement of bipedal bricks in the courtyard with the porticoes in front of the western façade and under the destruction layer (the above-mentioned Demolition Layer I).

In a similar environment in the northeastern tower under the same uppermost layer of destruction, coins of Emperors Justinian I and Justin II and Sophia (from the 8th and 14th year of their reign) and a pentanummium of Phocas appeared in habitation deposits. There, too, habitation was identified by a level with spots of burnt clay, accumulations of un-burnt rammed clay, building ceramics including whole bricks and tiles lying horizontally (pl. 8), and a greater amount of household pottery, ash and charcoal. This then was a floor level for which coins of Anastasius and Justin I (found at the tower threshold level) establish a *terminus post quem*. During this last period of the tower's habitation, its inner space was divided into smaller rooms with walls of perishable material.

The upper chronological limit of the production center's use is largely based on the coin hoard found in Room B, which establishes a date after the fourth or fifth year of Emperor Heraclius' reign (Божкова 2000, № 39, 30 ff.). This date is important for analyzing both production technology and output and problems related to everyday life in an urban center like Serdica. In a new study on coin circulation in Serdica during the period concerned here (according to data from old and recent excavations), it has been determined that there was a sharp collapse in economic activity after 614/615. Emperors Phocas[19] and Heraclius (up to 615 – 616) are presented with 44 and 23 coins respectively, and after the year 616 there are only few coins of uncertain provenance. Folles again prevail over smaller denominations (51:18, with semi-follis in second place), i.e. there is an almost complete repeat of the picture of coin circulation at the Lozenets complex (Божкова 2000, 30 – 34; Владимирова-Аладжова 2022, табл. 10 – 11).

Analysis of numismatic materials from the early 7th c. is quite clear, then: there was obvious economic stagnation at and around Serdica at this time; among the coins in circulation for everyday needs, "modern" issues with larger denominations (primarily 40 nummi) predominated. After the fourth or fifth year of Emperor Heraclius' reign, a sharp collapse occurred, apparently related to irreversible changes that limited contact between settlements in this part of the Balkan Peninsula and cause their abandonment (Владимирова-Аладжова 2022, 50). This was the consequence

[19] Numismatic data (single specimens and a small hoard) from active archaeological excavations in the fortified area of the city show that the latest coins of this emperor's reign are from 606/607 (Владимирова-Аладжова 2022, 46 – 47, табл. 10, диагр. 1).



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Pl. 8. 1. Northeastern tower: level of habitation in the 6th – early 7th c. (view from the south); 2. Stratigraphic situation in the northeastern tower (up to the level of habitation in the 6th – early 7th c.)

Табло 8. 1. Североизточна кула: ниво на обитаване през VI – началото на VII в. (поглед от юг); 2. Стратиграфска ситуация в североизточната кула (до нивото на обитаване през VI – началото на VII в.)

of another (the so-called third or fourth, perhaps) Avaro-Slavic campaign, the goal of which was taking the second largest city of the Empire, Thessaloniki. Based on textual sources, researchers propose different exact dates in the second or beginning of the third decade of the 7th c. (Бурмов 1968, 101 – 102; Цанкова-Петкова, Ангелов 1980, 18 – 19; Петров 1981, 68 – 69; Данчева-Василева 2017, 55, 88). Based on analysis of artifacts (jewelry, pottery, and coins) from the latest research in Sveta Nedelya Square in the Serdica – Sredets – Sofia Reserve and after comparison with data from written sources (*Miracula Sancti Demetrii* in particular), the conclusion has been reached that the territory of Serdica was still inhabited in the initial years of Emperor Heraclius' reign (Станев 2020, 183 – 184).

Comparative analysis shows that the events in question affected wider areas of the Balkan Peninsula. The collapse of coin circulation in the third to fifth year of Emperor Heraclius' reign is noted in the relatively nearby cities of Naissus and Justiniana Prima as well as even further away in the towns along the Adriatic coast (Popović 1975, 491 – 496). The situation is similar in other large towns in the southern Danube territories such as Odessos (Лазаренко 2003, 153 ff.). One can always pose the possibility of a full or partial restoration of control by the central authority, in this case Constantinople, when finding later coins and well-dated seals, but there is no data to support

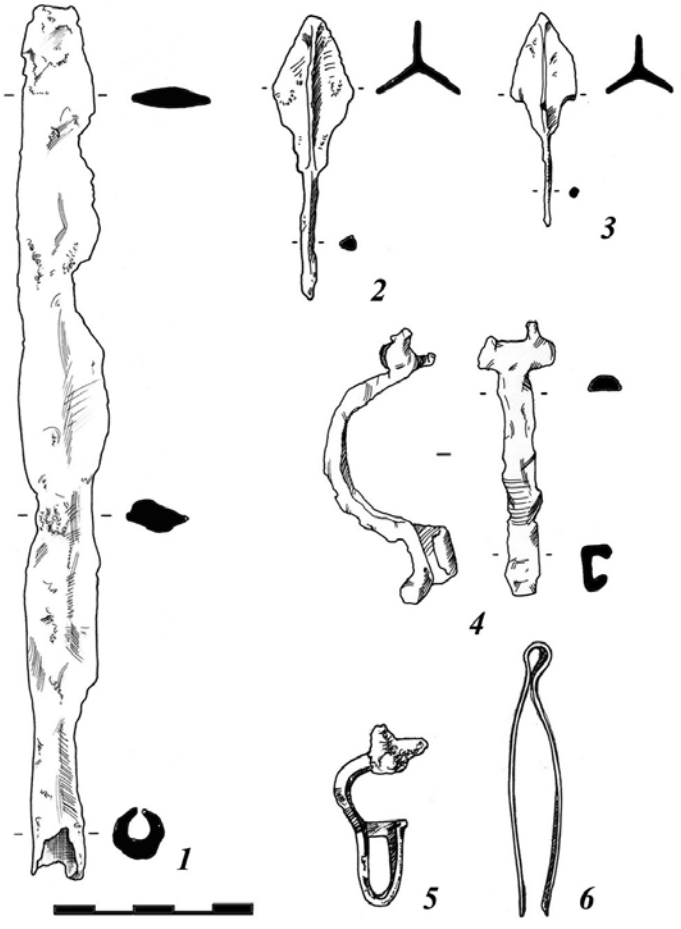


Fig. 10. Characteristic metal artifacts under Demolition Layer I
Обр. 10. Характерни метални находки под „Пласт разрушения I"

this in the case of the Lozenets complex. In fact, Demolition Layer I suggests a final destruction or point of abandonment for the site. Some metal artifacts from this mentioned layer can point to a particular historical interpretation: tri-blade arrowheads (the so-called Avar type) and a spearhead (fig. 10: 1 – 3). It is plausible, then, that the site discussed here was threatened and probably subsequently attacked and abandoned during the aforementioned Avaro-Slavic campaign, after which the population of Serdica retreated to Thessaloniki (Даскалов 2003, 287 ff.).

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ПРОИЗВОДСТВЕН КЕРАМИЧЕН ЦЕНТЪР (VI – НАЧАЛОТО НА VII В.) В ГР. СОФИЯ, КВ. ЛОЗЕНЕЦ – ЮЖЕН ПАРК. ПРОУЧВАНИЯ ПРЕЗ 2000 – 2001 Г.

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РЕЗЮМЕ

При изкопни работи за сграда от т. нар. „Жилищна група Южен парк" в кв. Лозенец (обр. 1 – 2, обр. 4) е засегнат и частично разрушен неизвестен до този момент археологически паметник (обр. 1 – 2). Мястото е на около 3,5 км по права линия от южната порта на Сердика. В близост, на ул. „Димитър Хаджикоцев", е проучен късноантичен мавзолей (обр. 1, обр. 3).[20]

Напълно са унищожени около 580 – 600 кв. м, включително около 80 % от основната базиликална сграда (обр. 5). При спасителните разкопки бе проучена площ от около 900 кв. м. Геофизично изследване от 2001 г. показа, че става дума за внушителен архитектурен комплекс: едноапсидна трикорабна базилика, оградена със стена, с кули в ъглите; във вътрешността се развива комплекс от масивни сгради (южно от притвора и атриалния двор). Общата площ е около 2800 кв. м.

С периода III – началото на IV в. не се свързват строителни останки, има отделни находки.

Запазена е част от еднокорабна църква – апсидата (с вътрешен диаметър 5,20 м, стените са 0,90 м) с масивна подова замазка от розов хоросан. Според монетни находки изграждането е в 4-то – 5-то десетилетие на IV в.[21] Била е активно посещавана и дарявана и в първото десетилетие на V в. Храмът е разрушен при следващо строителството, като материалите са били преизползвани.

Следва изграждане на комплекса – трикорабна едноапсидна базилика в оградено със стена пространство с кули в североизточния и северозападния ъгъл. От запад пред храма има атриален двор с портици от изток и запад, настлани с тухли. Към юг се развива комплекс от сгради. Базиликата е с дължина 31 м; наосът от изток е 16,70 м, от запад – 17,20 м. Централният кораб е с ширина 8,50 м, страничните са по 3,70 м. Притворът е с конха от юг (обр. 5). Строителството е след началото на V в.[22]

Разграничават се два периода – първоначален и следващ, през който са направени добавки и преустройства. Направени са ремонти в края на века, след император Лъв I (457 – 474), вероятно по време на император Анастасий (491 – 518), когато се възобновява монетната циркулация.

През VI в. има преустройства: до вътрешното лице на стената са изградени масивни, долепени стълбове от ломени камъни с бял хоросан, намиращи се един от друг на около 2,50 м. Вероятно са за дървена платформа (?), лягаща върху тях. Цоклите им са с 0,45 – 0,60 м по-високо и са в ниво с настилките от вторично употребени тухли.[23] Пластът под тях е с останки от ремонт: цели и фрагменти от тухли, парчета от облицовки, късове мазилки и фугировки, пирони и скоби, прозоречно стъкло и т. н. Преустройства има и в базиликата: пробит е вторичен вход на южната ѝ стена до конхата на притвора, изградени са пейки в наоса покрай южната стена, както и в нартекса.[24] Комплексът губи

[20] Паметникът е известен преди проучването през 2001 г. (Шалаганов, Иванов 2006, 314 и сл.; Иванов 2008, 149 и сл.) и е интерпретиран като т. нар. „базилика в кв. Горни Лозенец" (Велков 1954, 117 – 118; Василева 1984, 79 – 86; Чанева-Дечевска 1999, 30, обр. 7).

[21] Сред нумизматичния материал (около 2 400 монети) преобладават малките номинали от IV и началото на V в. Те са дарения (лепта) от посетителите-богомолци. Отсъстват монети на Константин I отсечени приживе. Като цяло монетната циркулация се увеличава рязко през 40-те г. на IV в.

[22] Най-късните монети от пласта под строителното ниво на базиликата са от периода 395 – 408 г.

[23] Над една е намерена монета на император Юстин II и София (отсечена 573/574 г.).

[24] В глината за спойка на пейка в нартекса е намерена монета от 16 нумии на император Юстиниан I; на нивото на вторичния вход в южната стена на базиликата – половин фолис на император Юстин II (отсечен 565/567 г.).

представителните религиозни функции, обитава се от обикновено население. Нивата са повдигнати и има вторични настилки. Значително се увеличава битовият керамичен материал: кухненски и съдове за съхранение, светилници, както и трапезните съдове – кани, плоскодънни амфорки, чаши и купи. Металните находки са свързани с ежедневието: добре познати типове фибули, ножчета, игли, пинсети, инструменти за пробиване и др. (обр. 10).

Това обитаване е свързано с производство на битова керамика, като част от продукцията е с глазирана повърхност. Разкрити са пещи за изпичане на съдове (означени с № 2, 3, 4) и съпътстващи ги ями. Намират се южно от базиликата и зида на кал, явно ограждащ „грънчарския сектор“ (обр. 7: 2).

Пещ № 2 (обр. 8) е двукамерна с купол, със скара с отвори за топлия въздух (табло 3 – 4). Диаметърът на горната камера в основата ѝ е 1,45 м. Скарата е запазена частично, дебела е 8 – 10 см (табло 3), отворите са с диаметър 5 – 8 см. Вероятно е носена от глинени стълбчета. Горивната камера е с диаметъра на скарата и е дълбока 0,28 м. Дъното е обмазано с глина и е силно опалено. Отворът е към запад, постлан е с тухли, страниците са оформени от редове тухли, споени с кал, опалени до черно. Оформена е предпещната яма с дълбочина 1,50 м и диаметър около 1,20 м (табло 3 – 4). При разрез в най-разрушената част се установи, че е изградена върху по-ранна пещ с подобна конструкция (пещ № 4; табло 5). Входът ѝ е от югоизток с наклон към запад, подът е тегула. Източно се развива предпещна яма. Горивната камера е със същия диаметър както тази на пещ № 2 и е застъпена (обр. 8, табло 5). Разликата в нивата на подовете е около 0,40 м (обр. 8). Пещта е дефектирала при прегряване. Диаметърът на камерата е около 1,30 м, отворът е с ширина 0,55 – 0,62 м. Пещ № 2 е била изградена след повреждането на пещ № 4.

Пещ № 3 (обр. 9, табло 6) е на около 3 м южно от южната стена на базиликата. Тя е двукамерна, куполовидна, леко овална в план, с външни размери 1,20 м (запад – изток) х 1,10м (север – юг). Дебелината на стените на купола е 8 – 10 см. Скарата се носи от централен стълб от половинки тухли, обмазани с глина. Скарата е от осем радиално разположени глинени лъча. Подът е под наклон от север към юг, като разликата в нивата е 0,25 м. Същинската горивна камера е изнесена на юг и е с дължина 0,48 – 0,52 м и ширина 0,58 м (обр. 9). Във височина е била засводена. Изградена е от глина, отухлена от високата температура. Южно от нея частично бе разчистена предпещната яма с диаметър 1,45 м (запад – изток).

Пещите се отнасят към разпространения тип с кръгла (овална) в план камера. Те имат много варианти и са добре познати както от днешните български земи, съседните територии и като цяло – в рамките на късната Римска империя.

Датиране в контекста на обекта: пещите са вкопани в пласт с монети от края на IV и почти целия V в. (включително и Лъв I), както и следреформена пентанумия на Юстин I. Много важна за датиране на пещ № 2 (*terminus post quem*) е монета на император Юстин II (отсечена 570/571 г.), намерена на дъното на предпещната яма. По-ранната пещ № 4 също е вкопана в пласт с монети от края на IV и V в.

Пробите за археомагнитно датиране дават данни за периода 566 – 638 г., като пещ № 2 се предполага да е опалвана през 580 – 590 г. (Jordanova et al. 2003, 146 – 158; Kovacheva et al. 2004, 1463 – 1479).

Синхронни с периода на функциониране на пещите са помещенията (означени А – В) отвън до южната стена на базиликата. Първото се разполага непосредствено източно от конхата на притвора. Западно са Помещения Б и В, също с преустройства и повдигнати подови нива – настилки от цели и фрагментирани тухли, трамбована глинеста пръст с въглени и пепел. Под него е намерен фолис на Юстиниан I, (отсечен 527 – 538 г.; табло 7: 1). Изобилства от фрагменти от битови съдове. В Помещение В (т. нар. „жилище на грънчаря“) има колективна монетна находка. Тя е от запълването под най-късното обрушване на помещението („Пласт разрушения I“). Монетите са 43: 42 бронзови с различен номинал и един тремис (Божкова 2000, 18 – 37; Божкова 2004, 73 и сл.). Около 50 % са фолиси от времето на император Фока и Ираклий (някои с препечатки), като най-късните са от 614/615 г. Смесването с малки номинали отразява не толкова трезориране на пълноценни (като тегло) монети, а е отражение на актуална монетна циркулация към момента на формиране (Божкова

2004, 73 и сл.). Аналогични са и в отлаганията над настилката в атриума пред западната фасада, също под „Пласта разрушения I".

В североизточната кула, пак под същия пласт деструкции, в отлаганията от обитаването са намерени монети на Юстиниан I, Юстин II и София, и на Фока. Обитаването се фиксира от ниво с горяла отухлена глина, струпвания от затъпкана глина, тухли и керемиди, лежащи хоризонтално (табло 8). Вътрешното пространство е разделено на четири.

За горна хронологична граница на производствения център може да се приеме четвъртата – петата година от управлението на император Ираклий, аналогично на града. Констатиран е рязък срив след 614/615 г.: монетите на Фока и Ираклий (до 616 г.) са съответно 44 и 23, а след това те са единични и с несигурен произход. Преобладават фолисите спрямо по малките номинали, т.е. има почти пълна повторяемост на монетното обръщение в комплекса в Лозенец (Божкова 2000, 30 – 34; Владимирова-Аладжова 2022, табл. 10 – 11).

Това е следствие от поредния (трети или четвърти) аваро-славянски поход към втория по големина град Тесалоники. Изворите и отделните изследователи предлагат различни точни датировки в рамките на второто/началото на третото десетилетие на VII в. Явно градската територия е обитавана и в първите години на император Ираклий.

За конкретна историческа интерпретация могат да бъдат използвани някои метални находки от споменатия пласт: трипери върхове за стрели (т. нар. „аварски" тип) и връх за копие (обр. 10: 1 – 3).

Ключови думи: ранновизантийски църковен комплекс, VI – началото на VII в., производство на глазирана керамика, керамични пещи

PLAIN AND GLAZED WARE FROM THE 6TH – EARLY 7TH C. POTTERY WORKSHOP AT LOZENETS RESIDENTIAL DISTRICT, SOFIA (PRELIMINARY REPORT)[1]

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ABSTRACT

The current paper aims at presenting the main pottery groups produced in the Early Byzantine pottery workshop found during rescue excavations at Lozenets residential district, Sofia, Bulgaria in 2000 – 2001. Three kilns, several pits related to them and a great amount of discarded wasted ceramics were found. The attempt to establish relative chronology of these structures and features showed that all of them functioned more or less simultaneously in a limited time span – the second half of the 6th – early 7th c.

The same range of storage jars, plain and glazed table and kitchen wares were fired together in each one of the kilns. A wide variety of rim profiles was documented within every ceramic category, hinting to the magnitude of the production scale. All pottery groups fit perfectly within the Late Roman ceramic production tradition since they find close analogies with pottery discovered at other sites in the area from this period. Glazed pottery is very similar to vessels from the 4th – early 5th c., whose prototypes were produced in the Pannonian workshops.

At the present moment the pottery workshop appears to be one of a kind for its period, evidencing how glazing pottery persisted since the Roman times and was passed down to the Early Middle Ages.

Keywords: Early Byzantine period, plane ware, glazed ware, local production, pottery kilns, wasters

Introduction

During rescue excavations in 2000 – 2001 at Lozenets residential district, Sofia was uncovered a church complex consisting of two superimposed basilicas enclosed by a wall with two towers (fig. 1). The complex is located some 3.5 km south of the Roman province capital of Serdica and is generally dated to the 4th – early 7th c. In the second half of the 6th c., in the immediate vicinity outside of the southern wall of the upper church, a pottery workshop emerged. Three two-chamber pottery kilns and several pits related to them were documented, but it is possible that more of them

[1] I would like to thank the dig directors Assoc. Prof. Dr. Metodi Daskalov and Snezhana Goryanova from NAIM – BAS for allowing me to work with the material and publish it. I participated in the 2000 – 2001 excavations as a student and had a hands-on experience with the pottery washing and sorting. I would like also to thank Dr. Alexander Harizanov (NAIM – BAS) and the reviewers of the article for helping me improve the initial version of the text.

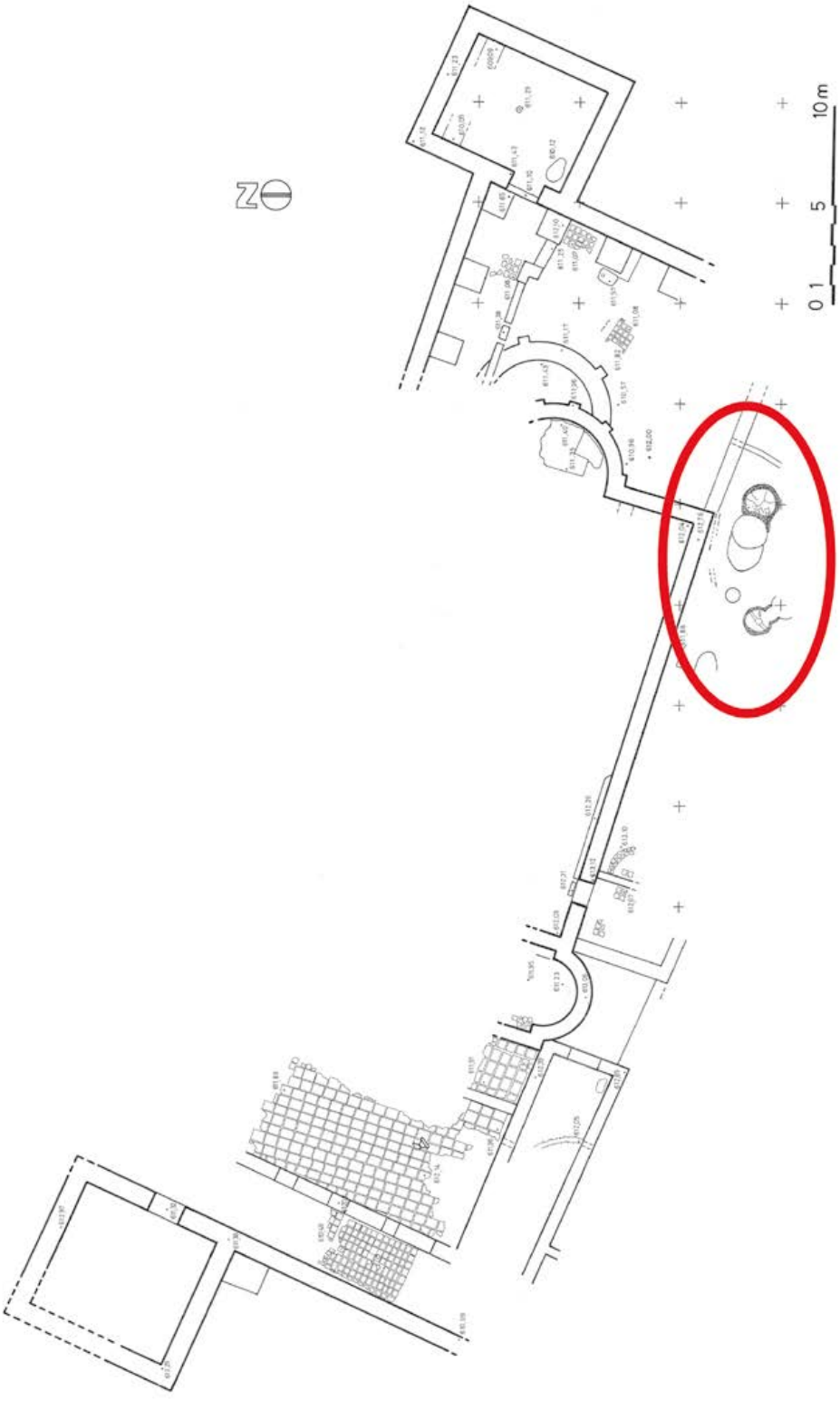


Fig. 1. Plan of the site and the church complex. The area of the pottery workshop is marked in red (after Daskalov 2024, fig. 7)

Обр. 1. План на обекта и църковния комплекс. Мястото на керамичната работилница е оградено в червено (по Daskalov 2024, fig. 7)

existed beyond the boundaries of the excavation plot. Both plain and glazed kitchen and table wares were produced. Based on a coin hoard found in one of the rooms attached to the southern wall of the basilica that were associated with the kilns' operation, the upper chronological limit of the production center's use can be set in the very beginning of the 7th c.[2]

Glazing pottery has a long-lasting tradition. It was popular in Roman times and during the 4th and the 5th c. many centers producing glazed pottery were found across the Roman province of Pannonia (Barkóczi 1992; Buócz 1992; Magrini, Sbarra 2010). Through them, the glazed pottery spread out on the Balkans, where it is assumed that local pottery workshops emerged (Kuzmanov 2000, 233; Cvjetićanin 2006, 159 – 172).[3] Long after the Pannonian workshops stopped existing, glazed pottery is documented in Saraçhane in Istanbul in contexts from the 6th and the 7th c. Still, it is very scarce, and the centers of production are undetermined. It is noted that this pottery has nothing in common with the Constantinopolitan Glazed White Ware from the 7th – 13th c. (Hayes 1992, 9 – 10, 41). It is interesting to know more about the production center(s) of these ceramics and how the tradition was passed through from Antiquity to medieval times. The Serdica workshop, being one of a kind for the moment, appears to be such "missing link" along this chain; hence its pottery production needs special attention to be paid to.

The pottery collected during the excavations and on which the current study is based is associated entirely with the production of the three kilns. These are predominantly discarded items and wasters as a result of production malfunction. More than 20 000 ceramic pieces have been processed until now and the work is still ongoing. This allowed for the outlining of the main typological diversity of the workshop and will be presented here as a preliminary publication. The most complete and detailed version will be forthcoming.[4]

Stratigraphy and relative chronology of the contexts

The pottery that is going to be discussed below originates from the following structures and contexts: kiln No. 3 and its related pit No. 6,[5] kiln. No. 2, pit No. 5,[6] pit No. 7,[7] pit No. 3,[8] pit No. 4,[9] a layer of piled ceramics in Grid sq. 5Д/6Д,[10] ceramics from Grid sq. 7Д[11] (fig. 2).

An attempt was made to establish a relative chronology of the functioning of the three kilns and the related pits, and to discern the synchronously existing contexts.

The stratigraphic position clearly showed that kiln No. 4 and its related pit No. 7 pre-dated kiln No. 2. The later was built on top of kiln No. 4, using its combustion chamber. Pit No. 5 was

[2] More about the research history, stratigraphy and chronology of the complex: see Daskalov 2024's article in this volume and the respective bibliography.

[3] In fact, the only evidence for the on-site production of glazed pottery (kilns, wasters) that we have is from Diana, Viminacium (Cvjetićanin 2006, 160), and Ratiaria (Kuzmanov 2000, 233). The rest of the sites, most of which date to the 4th – first half of the 5th c., were assumed to be production centers based on the presence of unglazed ware with spots, drippings or run-downs of glaze (Cvjetićanin 2006, 160 – 171, fig. 19).

[4] The processing of the pottery and the selection of sherds for archaeometric analysis (see Waksman et al. 2024 in this volume) were partially supported by the Bulgarian National Science Fund, Bulgarian Ministry of Education and Science (contract No. КП-06-Рила-6/15.12.2021) within the frames of a French-Bulgarian "PHC RILA" program.

[5] Pit No. 6 is in front of kiln No. 3, to the southeast and served as its stoking pit.

[6] To the west of kiln No. 2 and pit No. 2.

[7] Pit No. 7 is to the east of kiln No. 2. It is associated with kiln No. 4 and probably served as its stoking pit.

[8] Based on the archaeological records kept during the excavations in 2000, pit No. 3 was located between kiln No. 2 and the wall made of stones and mud bisecting diagonally Grid sq. 5Д.

[9] Pit No. 4 is located in Grid sq. 6Д, northeast of kiln No. 3.

[10] This layer is more than 0.50 m thick. It was piled in the space around kiln No. 2 and the stone-and-mud wall that bisects Grid sq. 5Д. The wall runs diagonally from northwest to southeast, starting from the southeastern corner of the basilica.

[11] More precisely the space around kiln No. 3 and south of it.

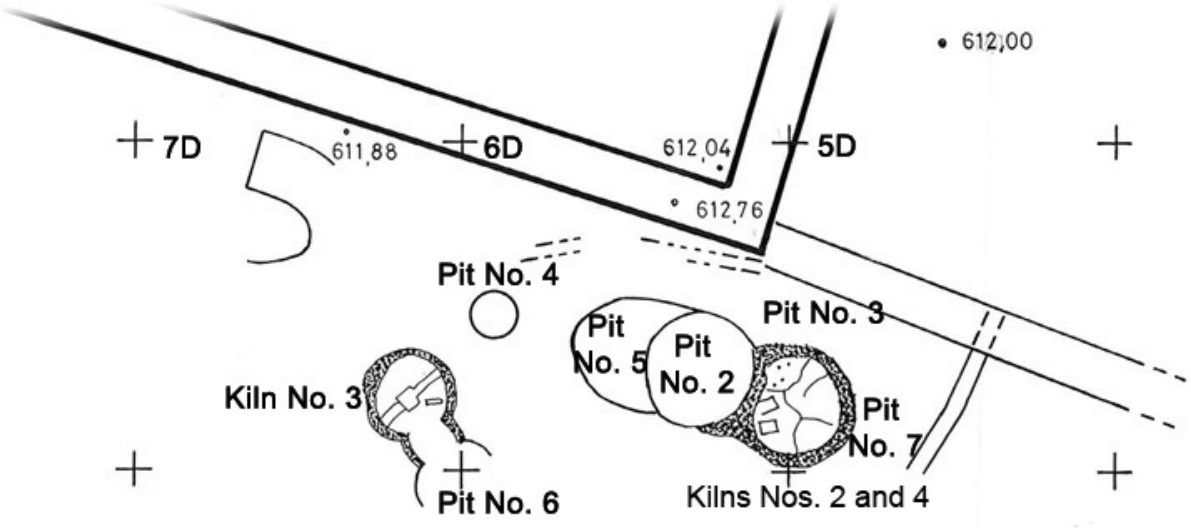


Fig. 2. Detail of the kilns and the related pits in the southeastern corner of the site (after Daskalov 2024, fig. 7, additions by E. Todorova)

Обр. 2. Детайл на пещите и свързаните с тях ями в югоизточния ъгъл на обекта (по Daskalov 2024, fig. 7, добавки Е. Тодорова)

earlier than kiln No. 2. It was cut by pit No. 2, which served as a stoking pit for kiln No. 2. It is unclear if pit No. 5 was contemporaneous of kiln No. 4 and pit No. 7 or not. It is also difficult to say if kiln No. 3 and its related pit No. 6 were earlier than kiln No. 4, contemporaneous, or later e.g. contemporaneous to kiln No. 2. It is highly possible that it was contemporaneous to both kilns Nos. 2 and 4 and functioned with them in more or less the same time period. Pits Nos. 3 and 7 were documented under the thick layer of ceramics in Grid sq. 5Д/6Д, consequently they preceded it.[12]

Matching pottery sherds found in different context add to stratigraphic data in establishing the relative chronology of the workshop. It should be noted that after a closer look at all processed ceramic sherds, no typological and morphological differences were recorded that would be used as chronological markers. The pottery within each group represented similar features and characteristics, e.g. it was produced simultaneously or in a very short time span. It was possible to piece up several vessels from fragments that were found in different contexts. For example, fragments found in pit No. 4 bound with such from pits Nos. 3 and 7, kiln. No. 2, the layer of ceramic fragments in Grid sq. 5Д/6Д, and the pottery around kiln No. 3. Sherds from pit No. 3 fit together with fragments from pits Nos. 4 and 6, and the layer of ceramics in Grid sq. 5Д/6Д. Sherds from the same vessels were found in different depths of the more than 0.50 m thick layer of ceramics in Grid sq. 5Д/6Д as well as in pits Nos. 3 and 4, and at the area close to kiln No. 3. Fitting ceramic fragments were assembled from kiln No. 3 and pit No. 6. Only the materials found in pit No. 5 don't match with pottery from other contexts. Consequently, we should consider it as being one of the earliest features at this particular spot.

[12] Based on matching ceramic pieces between the thick layer of sherds in Grid sq. 5Д/6Д and pits Nos. 3 and 7, it is possible to assume that the pottery used to pile up the layer partially leveled the upper layers of the fills of both pits Nos. 3 and 7. For the moment this layer is one of the latest features on the site of the workshop. It was contemporaneous and/or later to kiln No. 2. We do not know how many discarded items from previous pottery firings it contained, but it is sure that a major part of it was created by discarding the very last load of pottery of kiln No. 2.

As can be seen, pit No. 4 shares the most common "links" with other contexts meaning that more or less most of them were used throughout the entire time of functioning of the pottery workshop.[13] One of the possible reconstructions of the events is that potters used equally the existing pits and the space around them to dump discarded and defective vessels for some time. Another possible explanation is that kiln No. 2 became unusable, due to malfunction in the firing process leading to overfiring of the entire load and fatally damaging the firing facility itself. Consequently, the kiln's dome was dismantled. The load was discarded and piled in the space formed between the stone wall, crossing diagonally Grid sq. 5Д from northwest to southeast, and kiln No. 2, thus creating the thick layer of broken ceramics. It is possible that at the same time or not long after this event the entire area around the kilns in Grid sq. 5Д, 6Д and 7Д was leveled and this is how fragments from the same vessels fell into different contexts around the place. Both scenarios do not contradict our opinion that all three kilns and their related pits functioned more or less simultaneous for a relatively short time period and after that fell into disuse.

Unfortunately, due to the fact that the excavated pottery workshop is located closely to the southern limit of the excavation's plot, part of the structures (such as pit No. 6) could not be explored in their entity. Probably other parts of the workshop were developing further south. This is one of the main reasons why so far, we could not piece together an entirely preserved vessel. Most of the items that could be reconstructed have large missing parts that could not be traced among the other sherds. Traces of freshly broken and missing fragments have been documented multiple times. It is highly possible that they were broken and lost at the time when the excavations took part, stayed in the unexcavated part of the site or got lost later.[14]

The pottery

The entire pottery collected during the discovery of the kilns and the related structures represents the local production. The workshop produced both glazed and unglazed ceramics. There is a very distinctive and indisputable evidence of the pottery production on the site. On the first place, there are a couple of well-recognizable wasters – overfired vessels with distorted body parts (fig. 3: 1, 2) or pieces of different items soldered together when they melted down (fig. 3: 3). Most of the sherds bear clear signs of overfiring that resulted in a change of the fabric's color – mostly different shades of brownish-gray, grayish or grayish-black (fig. 3: 4). Sometimes the surface of the same sherd is covered by spots of different color (fig. 3: 5). As a result of the wrong firing conditions in the kiln, deep cracks in the fabric (fig. 3: 6) or flaking fabrics, similar in look to puff pastry, are also very common (fig. 3: 7). In the case of glazed ware, most wasters have overfired flaking and peeling glaze. Not so rare are the documented cases in which the glaze ran down through the cracks of the fabric, covering the entire cross-section of the walls, and leaked on the inner surface of the vessel. Very often glazed ceramics got stuck one to another or to unglazed ones, the glaze serving as glue that kept them together. Apparently, after the kiln cooled down and the load was taken out, the potters tried to separate the glued together pieces. These attempts were not very successful as

[13] Pit No. 4 relates to the earliest and latest stratigraphic contexts. This means that it was used during the entire period of activity of the workshop.

[14] It has to be specified, that more than 20 years have passed since the excavations took part. During this time the ceramics were transported a couple of times to different storage places. Even when they were housed at the Regional Museum of History – Sofia, the plastic bags containing the pottery were relocated at least twice to different rooms. It was only in 2021 when we were able to study the material. This led to a new transfer of the pottery to another place, where it had to be re-washed, because it was very dirty, before we were able to process it. It is not unlikely that during all those transfers some of the sherds and even bags with ceramics may have been lost. This may be one reason why it is so difficult to assemble an entirely preserved profile or piece.



Fig. 3. Pottery wasters
Обр. 3. Производствен брак

one (or both) of the vessels would break and part of the fabric would stay soldered on the outer surface in the form of a coarse gray mark (fig. 3: 8). Sherds covered with "defective" glaze are yet another sign of wasted pottery production. In this case, instead of forming a nice, glossy vitrified surface, the glazed surface appears to be covered by "goose bumps" – a very coarse and rash layer of grayish-whitish color, like sprinkled with hundreds miniature round particles.[15] Some bricks and pipes used in the construction of the kilns bear large, glazed spots and in few cases – pottery sherds soldered to them with glaze.

Glazed[16] and unglazed ware was fired together in the same kiln and all three kilns fired the same range of products.[17] There is no distinction between the kilns for glazed and unglazed pottery. There is also no distinction between kilns firing smaller vessels and those firing larger vessels. A single load of each kiln consisted of different type of ceramics – large storage jars, cooking pots, glazed and unglazed table ware. As a support for this statement should be brought the fact that quite often large storage jars and cooking pots that were not initially supposed to be glazed, bear traces of occasional glazing – small drops or run-downs on top of the rims, shoulders and body, on the inner side of the bottom, or even on the outer side, in the case when vessels were stacked one on top of the other (fig. 3: 9). The explanation behind this is very simple and pragmatic. It is valid for all pottery production workshops since the Neolithic times. For a maximum output, the space in the firing chamber of a kiln had to be used at its best – that is why smaller vessels filled the space created by larger forms, while the most fragile and valuable pieces, such as glazed ceramics, were most probably placed in the top section. Like this, the liquid glaze that covered these vessels dripped down and splashed on the lower ranks of pottery. Later the glaze vitrified during the firing.

It should be noted that, contrary to later glazed ceramics, such as medieval sgraffito, the pottery of Serdica's workshop did not require a biscuit firing. The glaze was applied directly on the leather-hard fabric – there was no slip underneath, than it was fired. The glaze was green in color with shades depending on the quality – very glossy, dark green and dense, with some black speckles; dark green, less dense and less glossy; lighter green, diluted and runny, with some brown "nerves" showing the direction of the liquid glaze flow, with no gloss at all, rather hoarse and transparent; and finally, very low quality, very diluted and thin, almost transparent and with no color – the color of the fabric shines through.

The following pottery categories have been produced by the workshop: ceramics for storing food, cooking and table ware, candlesticks and others. No amphora and transport vessels have been recorded.

Storage jars

This group consists of dolium-like containers with massive broad rims, large ovoid bodies and relatively small, flat bases, shaped as short compact foot (fig. 4). The rim diameter is approx. 25 – 30 cm. There is a great variety of how the rim was shaped. At the present moment of research at least 15 distinct rim profiles were recorded (fig. 5). There is not entirely or even partially preserved specimen. It is very difficult to judge about the average height of these jars which may have been up to 1 m or more. A great number of walls were documented, most of which relatively thin (some 7 – 8 mm), considering the general size of the jars. The entire body was covered on the outside,

[15] For more information about this phenomenon and the process of glazing: see Waksman et al. 2024 in this volume.

[16] I would like to thank Georgia Giannaki, a PhD student at the Lyon 2 University, France and the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Greece for her help in processing the pottery. She will include and extensively study some of the glazed sherds from the Serdica workshop in her PhD thesis.

[17] It was impossible to distinguish if any of the kilns would "specialize" in firing certain type of pottery.

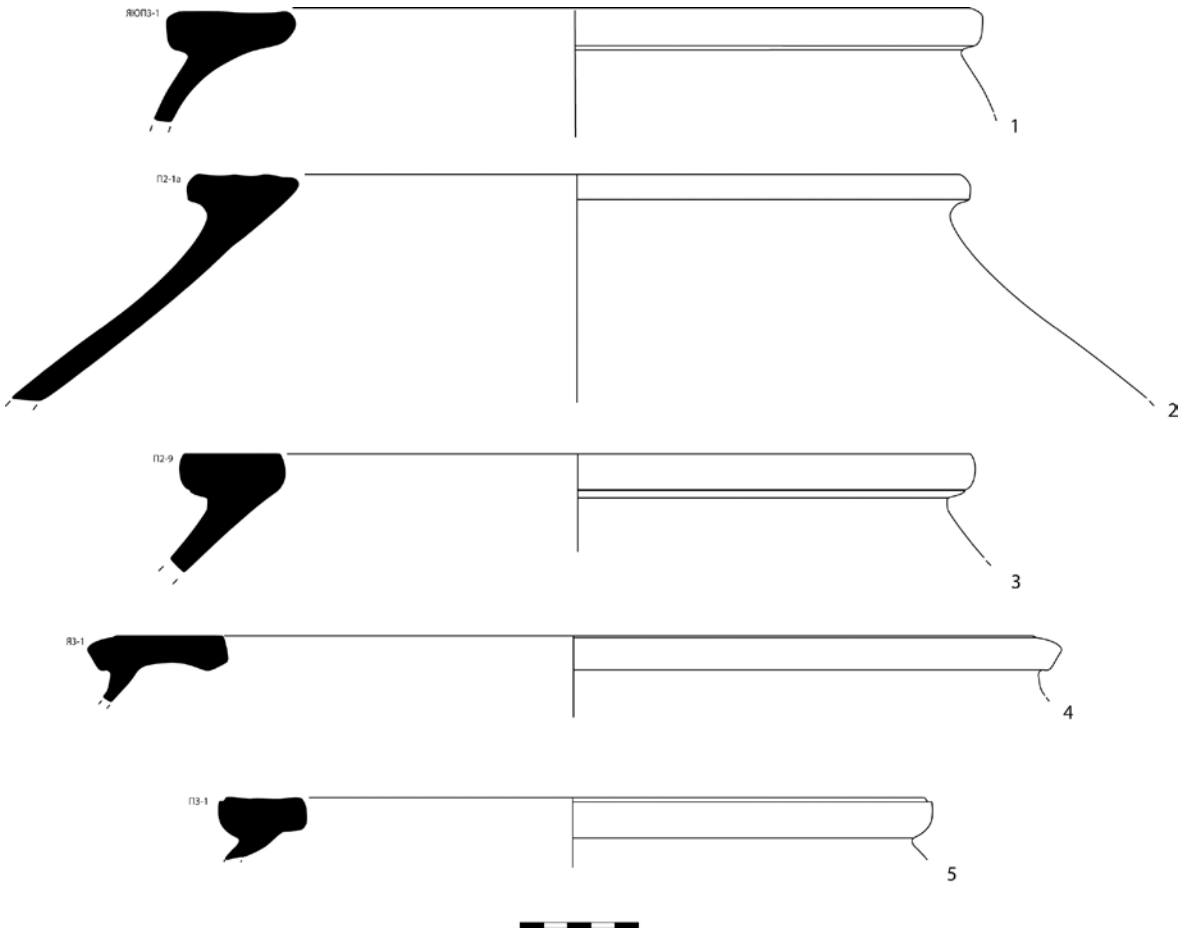


Fig. 4. Storage jars: unglazed (1, 2, 4, 5) and with spots of glaze (3)
Обр. 4. Съдове за съхранение: неглазирани (1, 2, 4, 5) и с петна глазура (3)



Fig. 5. Profiles of storage jars
Обр. 5. Профили на съдове за съхранение



Fig. 6. 1. Wall sherd from a storage jar showing the "joint" between the two parts of the body; 2. Glazed sherd from a storage jar

Обр. 6. 1. Фрагмент от стена на съд за съхранение, показващ мястото на слепване на двете части, от които е изработен съдът; 2. Глазирана стена от съд за съхранение

from under the rim to the base, by very dense, shallow and closely set horizontal relief lines. A few thick-walled sherds with plain surface were decorated only with a single wavy line. Most likely, if not belonging to dolia, they were part of another type of storage jars.[18] The fabric is usually hard, compact, mixed with considerable amount of not so coarse sand, although some of the quartz particles are of 2 – 3 mm. The color after firing is reddish-brown. Due to the overfiring most sherds have turned to dark brown or gray color. Bright orange color is the exception. There are cases in which the upper surface and the core of the fabric are flaking and disintegrating. Many sherds have deep cracks due to overfiring.

An interesting observation has been made about how these jars were produced. While pots, lids, and bowls were all thrown on a potter's kick wheel from a single piece of clay, storage jars, due to their large size, were made of separate parts. These parts were thrown each on a potter's wheel and were later assembled. Two of the recorded sherds clearly show how the parts were mended (fig. 6: 1) – the potter "tucked" the lower edge of one of the parts into the upper edge of the other by making a vertical movement with his fingers. He covered up the "seam" with diluted clay. Finally, he smoothed the surface by using his hands and moving them again in vertical direction.[19]

A negative relief stamp was placed before firing on top of the flat surface in one case. The majority of the jars were unglazed, only occasional drops or running downs of glaze were documented. There are only two rims that were entirely covered by dense green glaze. One of them was also decorated

[18] Less than 10 rim sherds of very small size and with profiles, differing from the dolia, suggest that other type of storage jars was present at the site.

[19] Similar observations are made for a jar found in Caričin grad, Serbia (Bjelajac 1990, 176 – 177).

with incised wavy line on the upper broad part of the rim.[20] Two body sherds were also entirely glazed[21] on the outside (fig. 6: 2), thus pointing out that glazed storage jars (entirely or partially – the upper part at least) did exist, as confirmed by finds from present-day Serbia from the 6th c. (Cvjetićanin 2006, 94 – 95, LRG 172 – 174). The jars and pithoi from contexts from the second half of the 6th – early 7th c., found during the excavations of the Upper City of Caričin grad, are very close to the ones from Serdica in terms of profiles, decoration and coating. A local origin for them has been suggested (Bjelajac 1990, types I/12 – 13, types VI/1 – 6, 168 – 169, 177 – 178, pl. XIV: 14 – 16, 20, pl. XVIII: 1 – 7, pl. XIX: 1, pl. XX: 1).

Kitchen ware

This category comprises mortaria, large bowls for preparing food, pots, vessels with spouts, lids, and strainers.

Mortaria are large deep bowls with heavy, sturdy flanges, spherical bodies and flat bases. They were used for preparing liquid food through grinding and pounding. There is often a wide channel in the rim that allowed the food to be poured (fig. 7). The rim diameter measured approx. 30 cm. The height was approx. 20 – 25 cm. The walls are relatively thick – sometimes up to 1.5 cm considering their function and the pressure they were subjected to during food grinding. The fabric is hard, compact, with sand inclusions measuring up to 2 – 3 mm. Color after firing ranges from reddish-brown to dark brown and sometimes grayish-brown. Cracks from overfiring are noticeable in some cases. Until now some 20 types could be defined, according to the rim profile and the intricately shaped flanges (fig. 8). Few mortaria were decorated on their flanges with incised parallel lines or small notches. Others bear decoration on the outer surface of the body, below the heavy rim board. It consisted of a band of four closely set incised parallel lines and a single incised wavy line above them. Most of the mortaria were glazed on the inside,[22] only few were unglazed (fig. 7: 1). The glaze was thick and consistent. In some cases, it covered also the rim of the pouring channel or even the entire flaring flange. No glaze was detected on the outside. Due to the firing conditions and later to the soil conditions in which the sherds were deposited, most of the sherds have decayed glaze, peeling and flaking. In some cases, it has a matt, opaque, rather yellowish-milky color than glossy green one.

Mortaria were a common type of kitchen ware on the Balkans during the Late Roman period. The closest to the here-presented examples come mostly from sites in present-day western Bulgaria and Serbia. They have been dated within the 4th – first half of the 5th c. and are closely related to the production of the Pannonian workshops from this period (Любенова 1981, 129, обр. 43; Kuzmanov 1998, Typ I – IV, 89 – 91, Abb. 15: 66 – 69, Abb. 16: 71 – 73, Abb. 18: 77 – 79; Kuzmanov 2000, types I – IV, 230, fig. 5: 27 – 30; Кузманов 2005, тип I, 134 – 135, табл. X: 65 – 68; Cvjetićanin 2006, 21 – 32, LRG 1 – 3, 5 – 7, 9, 14, 16, 18, 19; Кленина 2006, 72, рис. 38: 292; Кузманов, Грудев 2013, 343 – 344, табл. IV: 30 – 32; Василева 2020, 131, табл. 4: 3, 4). Obviously, the production of this type of vessels continued well into the late 6th c.

Similarly to mortaria *large bowls* with thick walls were used for preparing or storing food (fig. 9: 1, 2). Four rim pieces of thick-walled unglazed bowls, decorated with 3 to 4 well-pronounced horizontal ribs on the outer side, just below the rim, were documented. The fabric is hard, compact, mixed with sand. The color after firing is beige to gray.

[20] An unglazed dolium with wavy decoration on the upper flat surface of the rim was published from Ratiaria (Кузманов, Грудев 2013, 396, табл. XVIII: 212).

[21] The glaze is not of good quality – light green, very thin and transparent, not at all glossy.

[22] They were used for preparing liquid food and the glaze served as an insolation, not allowing the porous ceramic walls to absorb the water.

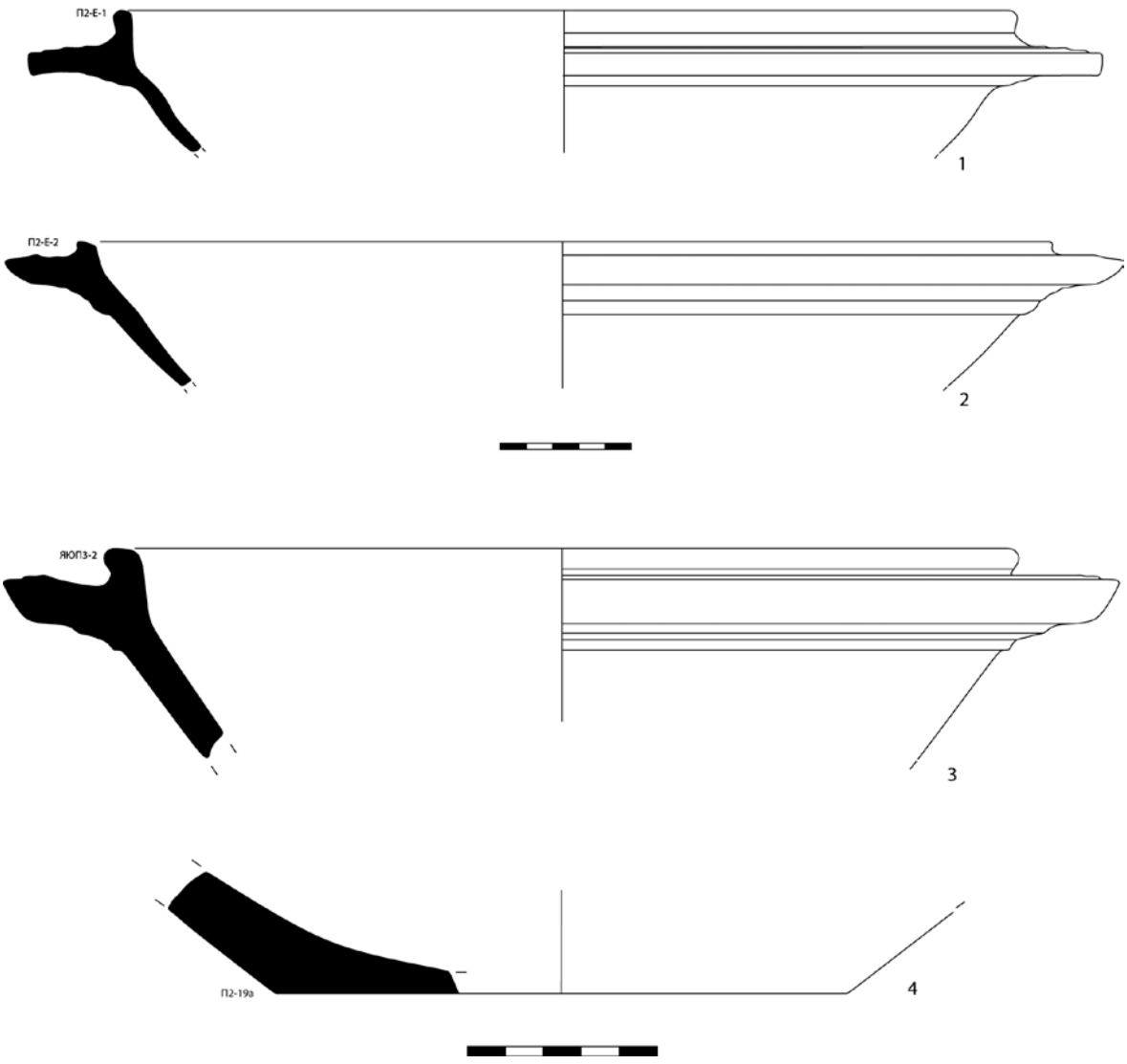


Fig. 7. Mortaria: unglazed (1) and glazed (2 – 4)
Обр. 7. Мортарии: неглазирани (1) и глазирани (2 – 4)

Pots were the main production of the pottery workshop with ca. 50 % of the entire ceramic complex. According to their rim profile and body shape they can be divided in three larger groups (pots with thick, horizontally cut rims, cooking pots with lids and large pots without lids).

The pots from the first group (fig. 10) are like mini versions of the storage jars, having similar rim and body outlines. The rims are solid, thick, and folded. They are mostly horizontally and rarely obliquely cut to the inside, with intricate profiling. According to the rim profile, more than 20 types can be set. Sometimes the broad upper part of the rim is decorated with 1 to 3 parallel incised lines or small notches. Despite the thick rim, the walls are relatively thin. The body shape is rather conical in the upper part. Relief ridges or grooves mark the sharp transitions between the shoulders and the body. In some cases, small, flattened, band-like arched handles connect the rim to the shoulders (fig. 10: 11). The fabric is hard, well-purified, mixed with fine sand. The color after firing ranges from reddish-brown to beige, beige-brown, and dark brown. Many pieces have been

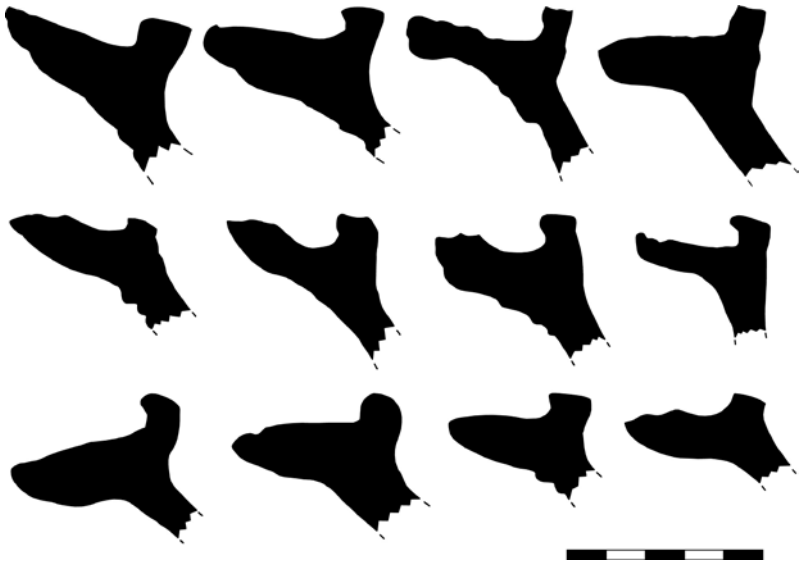


Fig. 8. Profiles of mortaria
Обр. 8. Профили на мортарии

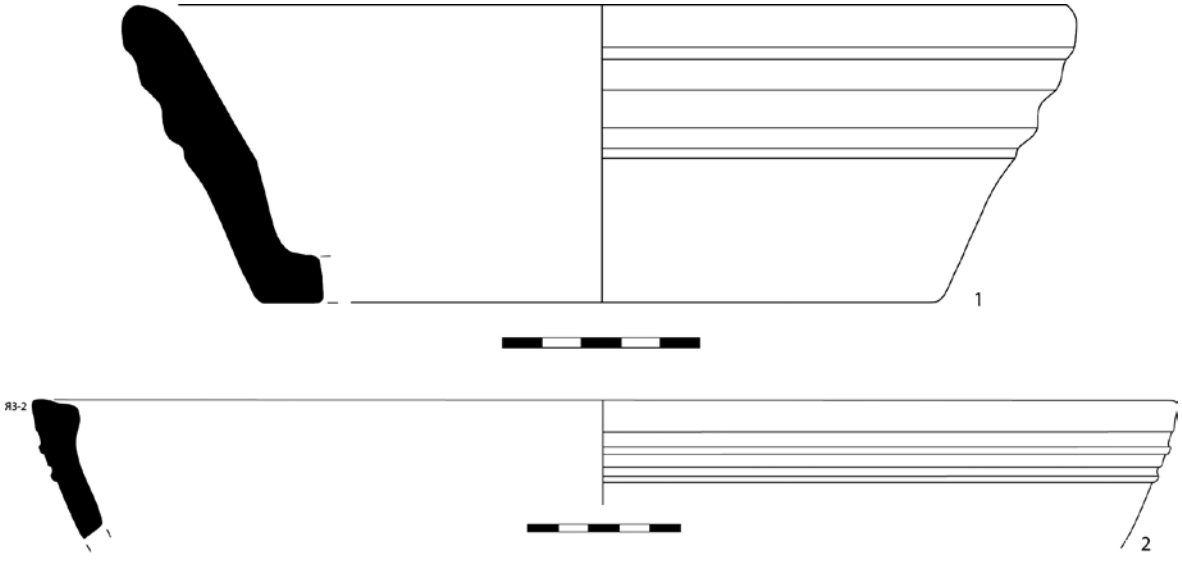


Fig. 9. Large bowls: unglazed (1) and glazed (2)
Обр. 9. Големи купи: неглазирани (1) и глазирани (2)

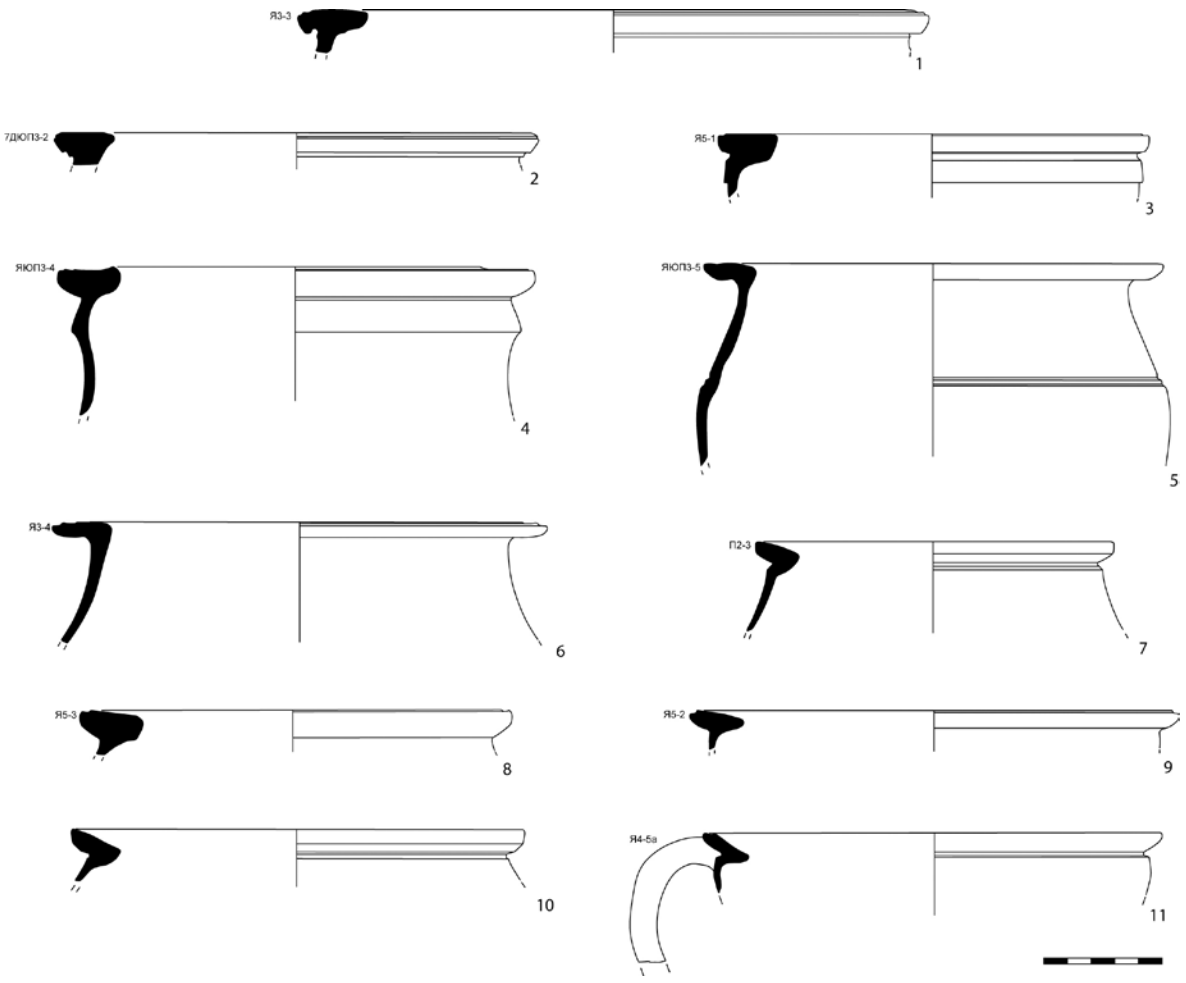


Fig. 10. Cooking pots from the first group: unglazed (1 – 7, 9 – 11) and with spots of glaze (8)
Обр. 10. Гърнета от първа група: неглазирани (1 – 7, 9 – 11) и с капки глазура (8)

overfired and the fabric is flaking. There are only 5 cases of such pots that are entirely or partly glazed (fig. 10: 8).

Pots with similar profiles were found at sites along the Danube river and the present-day Bulgarian and Serbian lands in contexts with quite large chronology – ranging from the second half of the 3rd until the early 7th c. (Бьотгер 1978, 28 – 29, обр. 4; Любенова 1981, обр. 25, обр. 29: 2, обр. 35: 2; Böttger 1982, Taf. 48: 505, Taf. 50: 515; Кузманов 1985, тип VIII, 54, табл. 32: Г65, Г66; Bjelajac 1990, type I/10, 168, pl. XIV: 9 – 11; Kuzmanov 2000, 230, fig. 6: 33, 34; Кузманов 2005, тип VIII, 140 – 141, табл. XIX: 131, 132, табл. XX: 135, 136; Кленина 2006, 41, 48, 54, 60, 69, рис. 12: 57, рис. 19: 121, 122, рис. 23: 139 – 142, рис. 30: 217, рис. 33: 237; Cvjetićanin 2006, 87 – 89, LRG 147, 150, 151, 153 – 155; Борисов 2013, тип 7, 290, табл. V: 1 – 6; Кузманов, Грудев 2013, тип IX – XI, 356 – 357, табл. XVI: 186 – 189, 192, 193; Василева 2020, 133, табл. 5: 3, 4).

Pots with lids are the largest group among this category. They can be divided into 5 main types with internal division of sub-types and variants according to the shaping of the rim (fig. 11, fig. 12: 1 – 13). Common for all types is the short neck, turned outwards. There is a more or less pronounced

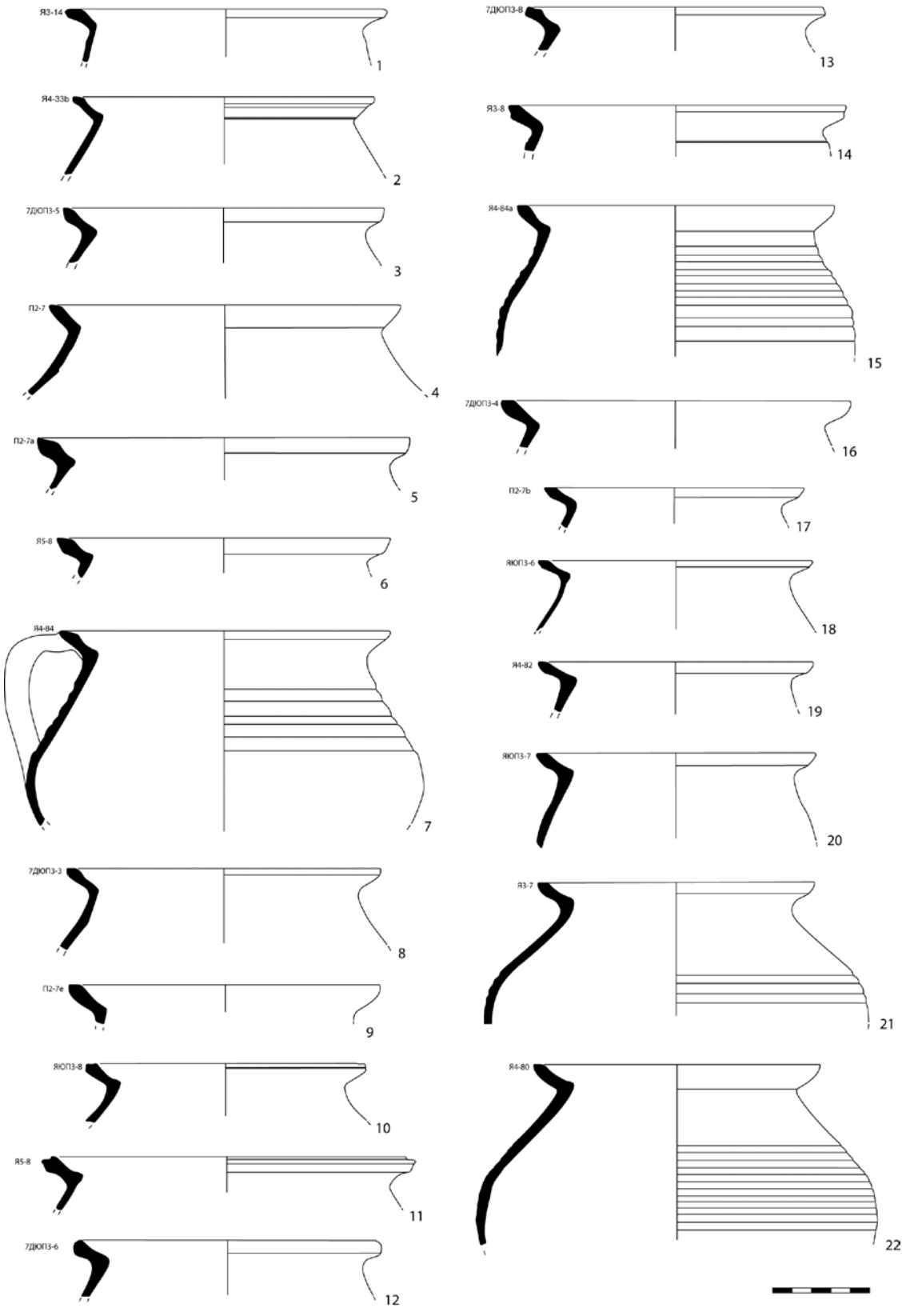


Fig. 11. Cooking pots from the second group: unglazed (1 – 7, 9 – 16, 18 – 22) and with spots of glaze (8, 17)
Обр. 11. Гърнета от втора група: неглазирани (1 – 7, 9 – 16, 18 – 22) и с капки глазура (8, 17)

concave shaping on the inner side, where the lid was supposed to sit. The body is bulging, ovoid, the maximum diameter is in the upper part of the body, almost just below the neck. The base is flat. The pots are thin-walled. The rim diameter is between 8 and 17 cm. The base diameter is between 8 and 15 cm. Considering the fact that the pots with the smallest rim diameter are extremely thin-walled – 2 mm, it is possible that they were used as small cups (fig. 12: 1, 2, 8, 11). Some of the pots have one or two small handles, curved like fishing hooks (fig. 11: 7, fig. 12: 12, 13). They have flattened oval cross-section and three deep grooves running all along their length. The handles connect the rim to the shoulders. In only one case there is a relief button on top of the handle, close to the rim. Some of the pots have bodies covered with broad, shallow, horizontal ribs. The fabric is hard, well-purified, mixed with fine sand. The predominant color after firing is reddish-brown to beige-brown, dark brown or brownish-gray to grayish-black. Only the specimens of light yellow, yellowish-gray, light orange, and orange-pink color have very hard, coarse, and grittier fabric. Examples of mis-shaped pots deformed during firing, as well as multiple cracks on the bodies and handles from overfiring, and flaking fabrics are often documented. Some of the pots bear single or multiple drops of glaze and glaze spills and run-downs (fig. 3: 9). In some cases, it is possible to suppose that only the upper edge of the rim was intentionally glazed. There are five cases in which we are inclined to admit that the entire pot was initially covered with relatively glossy green glaze.

These pots appear to be the most common cooking ware during the Late Antiquity at various sites (Бьотгер 1978, 27 – 28, обр. 1в, к; Любенова 1981, 120 – 123, обр. 31 – 34; Böttger 1982, Taf. 45: 84, 85, 88, Taf. 46: 94, 472, 479; Кузманов 1985, тип I, 48 – 50, табл. 28 – 29; Bjelajac 1990, types I/1, 2, 166 – 167, pl. XIII: 1 – 9; Kuzmanov 1998, 92, Abb. 21: 90; Kuzmanov 2000, 233, fig. 6: 37; Кузманов 2005, тип I – III, 135 – 138, табл. XII: 80, табл. XIII – XVI; Кленина 2006, 38, 41, 53 – 55, 86 – 87, рис. 9: 15 – 18, рис. 12: 53 – 55, рис. 23: 144 – 147, рис. 46: 371 – 386; Cvjetićanin 2006, 90 – 91, LRG 160 – 162; Борисов 2013, тип 1, тип 3, 284 – 288, табл. I – II, табл. IV: 1, 7; Кузманов, Грудев 2013, тип I – VII, 352 – 356, табл. IX – XV; Василева 2020, 133, табл. 5: 2; Harizanov 2022, fig. 13; Harizanov 2023, fig. 16).

The last group consists of thick-walled pots, with rim diameters ca. 20 cm or more. They have conical necks, some 4 – 5 cm tall, ending with rounded or straight cut rectangular rims that can be set in several varieties of the same type. Sometimes relief ribs or ridging are documented on the rim edge or outer surface of the neck (fig. 12: 14 – 20). It should be noted that the fabric of these pots is coarser and grittier, of light yellow, yellowish-gray, light orange or orange-pink color.[23] Considering the fact that the vessels were having thicker walls compared to other pots, maybe it is connected to their function – as directly exposed to fire and for cooking and preparing larger quantities of food. These pots were never glazed. The closest parallels are dated to the 3rd – first half of the 5th c. (Кленина 2006, 38, 41, 47 – 48, 53 – 55, 60 – 61, 71, рис. 9: 14, рис. 12: 56, рис. 19: 112 – 114, рис. 23: 148, 149, рис. 30: 218, рис. 36: 270 – 272; Борисов 2013, тип 2, 286 – 287, табл. III: 1 – 6; Harizanov 2022, fig. 13, fig. 17).

Vessels with spouts. There were only three small, fragmented spouts and a very damaged wall, that had a round opening made before the firing just below the thick, folded rim that looks very much like the pots from the first group.

Vessels with spouts were rare, but not uncommon for the period. Most of them are indeed pots, similar to the here presented first group (Любенова 1981, обр. 30: 1, 2; Böttger 1982, Taf. 32: 395, 396; Кузманов 2005, 142, табл. XIX: 129, табл. XXI: 142 – 144; Cvjetićanin 2006, 88 – 89, LRG 151; Борисов 2013, 290; Кузманов, Грудев 2013, 359, табл. XVIII: 210, 211), but spouted bowls

[23] For all other ceramic categories two types of fabric were used. The first one is smooth, mainly reddish-brown, beige, brown or brownish-gray after firing. The second fabric is the one described above – coarse and gritty.

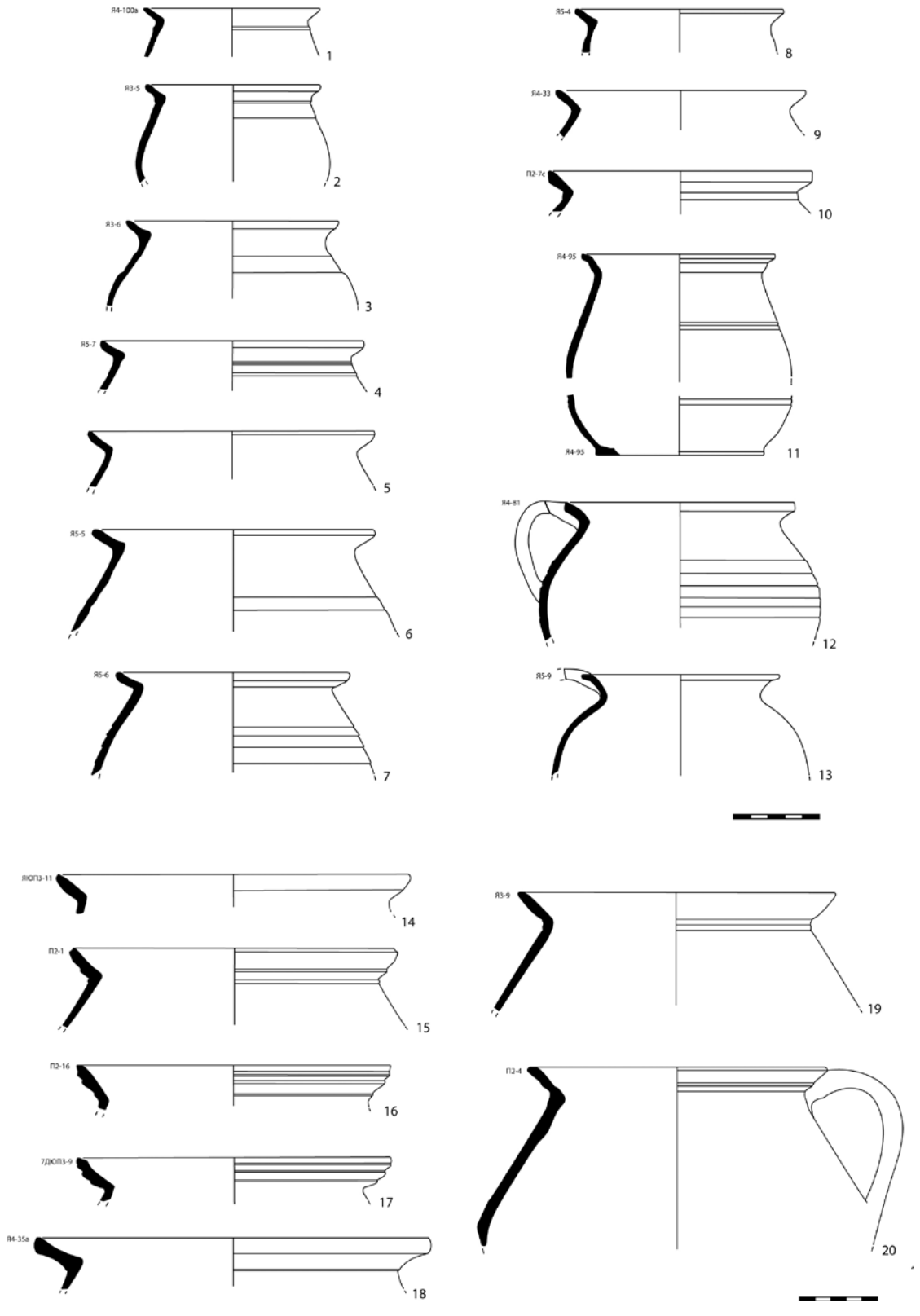


Fig. 12. Cooking pots from the second (1 – 13) and the third (14 – 20) groups: unglazed (1 – 5, 7 – 9, 11, 13 – 20) and with spots of glaze (6, 10, 12)

Обр. 12. Гърнета от втора (1 – 13) и трета (14 – 20) група: неглазирани (1 – 5, 7 – 9, 11, 13 – 20) и с петна глазура (6, 10, 12)

also existed (Kuzmanov 1998, 91 – 92, Abb. 20: 83; Kuzmanov 2000, 230, fig. 6: 32; Кузманов 2005, 141, табл. XX: 139, табл. XXI: 140). According to Ljiljana Bjelajac when commenting the finds from contexts from the second half of the 6th – early 7th c. from the Upper City of Caričin grad, Serbia, spouts were not characteristic for the previous periods and are a novelty introduced only in the 6th c. (Bjelajac 1990, type I/6, 167 – 168, pl. XIV: 1 – 5).

Lids. There are basically two types of lids. The first one has the "classical" conical shape, a button-like handle and a hook-like lower edge, where a plethora of profiles were documented (fig. 13 – 14).[24] These lids are tightly connected to kitchen ware, since they served covering the pots while cooking. Their diameter varies accordingly to the diameters of the pots starting from 9 up to 17 cm. Like pots, they could be found at different sites over the Balkan peninsula in the Late Antiquity (Böttger 1982, Taf. 49: 217, 510 – 514; Bjelajac 1990, types VIII/1 – 3, 181, pl. XV: 10 – 18; Kuzmanov 1998, 91 – 92, Abb. 20: 86; Кузманов 2005, тип I, 146 – 147, табл. XIII: 169, 170, табл. XIV: 172 – 177; Кленина 2006, 38, 42, 48, 53, 55, 60, 68, 70, рис. 9: 19, рис. 12: 62, рис. 19: 126 – 128, рис. 21: 132 – 133, рис. 24: 150 – 152, рис. 29: 214, рис. 30: 222 – 225, рис. 32: 233, рис. 35: 259 – 261; Cvjetićanin 2006, 92, LRG 164; Борисов 2013, тип 2, вариант А, В, 305 – 306, табл. X: 1 – 15; Кузманов, Грудев 2013, 357 – 358, табл. XVII: 195 – 208; Василева 2020, 133, табл. 6: 1; Harizanov 2022, fig. 13).

The second type of lids is represented by several sherds of small size that probably belonged to two different items. The pieces are thick-walled, with slightly thickened and rounded edge. The walls are gently sloping towards the center, forming not a sharp cone, but rather an almost flat surface. The thickness of the walls and the great diameter of their circumference (more than 30 cm) allow us to consider them as lids for storage jars and dolia.

Strainers (?). There are only three small sherds – two from a rim and one from a base from a bowl-like vessels with flat bottom. Holes, piercing the walls at several places, were made before the firing of the item (fig. 15: 1, 2). The fabric is brownish-red and there are splashes of green glaze on the outer surface of two of the fragments (probably from the same vessel; fig. 15: 3). This allowed us to deduce that they were most likely used as strainers (Любенова 1981, обр. 61: 1; Böttger 1982, 134, Taf. 14: 469; Кленина 2006, 59, 71, рис. 28: 202, рис. 34: 252, рис. 37: 283; Cvjetićanin 2006, 57, LRG 79).

Table ware

Bowls. The bowls can be set generally in two big groups. The first one (represented by only few specimens) has a rounded body ending with a rim, slightly curved and rounded inwards (fig. 15: 4, 5). This is a very common shape of bowl since prehistoric times. Similar in the way of shaping the rim come from Ratiaria (Кузманов, Грудев 2013, тип VII, табл. VI: 61), Serdica (Василева 2020, 129, табл. 4: 1), and the Serbian lands (Cvjetićanin 2006, 46, 48 – 49, LRG 54, 60).

The second group consists of vessels with wide horizontal board with variety of rim profiles starting from plain flat ones and ending with more intricate, lower dropping rims (fig. 15: 6 – 21). Rim diameters measure between 15 and 23 cm. Their bodies are either conical, semi-spherical or with a conical-spherical lower part and cylindrical or conical upper part with a well-defined transition by a sharp ridge. Most of them are plain, but few bowls with semi spherical bodies have walls covered by shallow, not very well-defined, relief grooves – just like some pots. The bases are

[24] On one hand, the profile of the lower edge of the lids depended on the individual potters producing them, since some of the profiles are slight variations of one and the same type. On the other hand, the shaping of the lower edge had to fit the curvature of the inner part of the pots' rims so that both pot and lid fit perfectly to allow the best food preparation and cooking conditions.

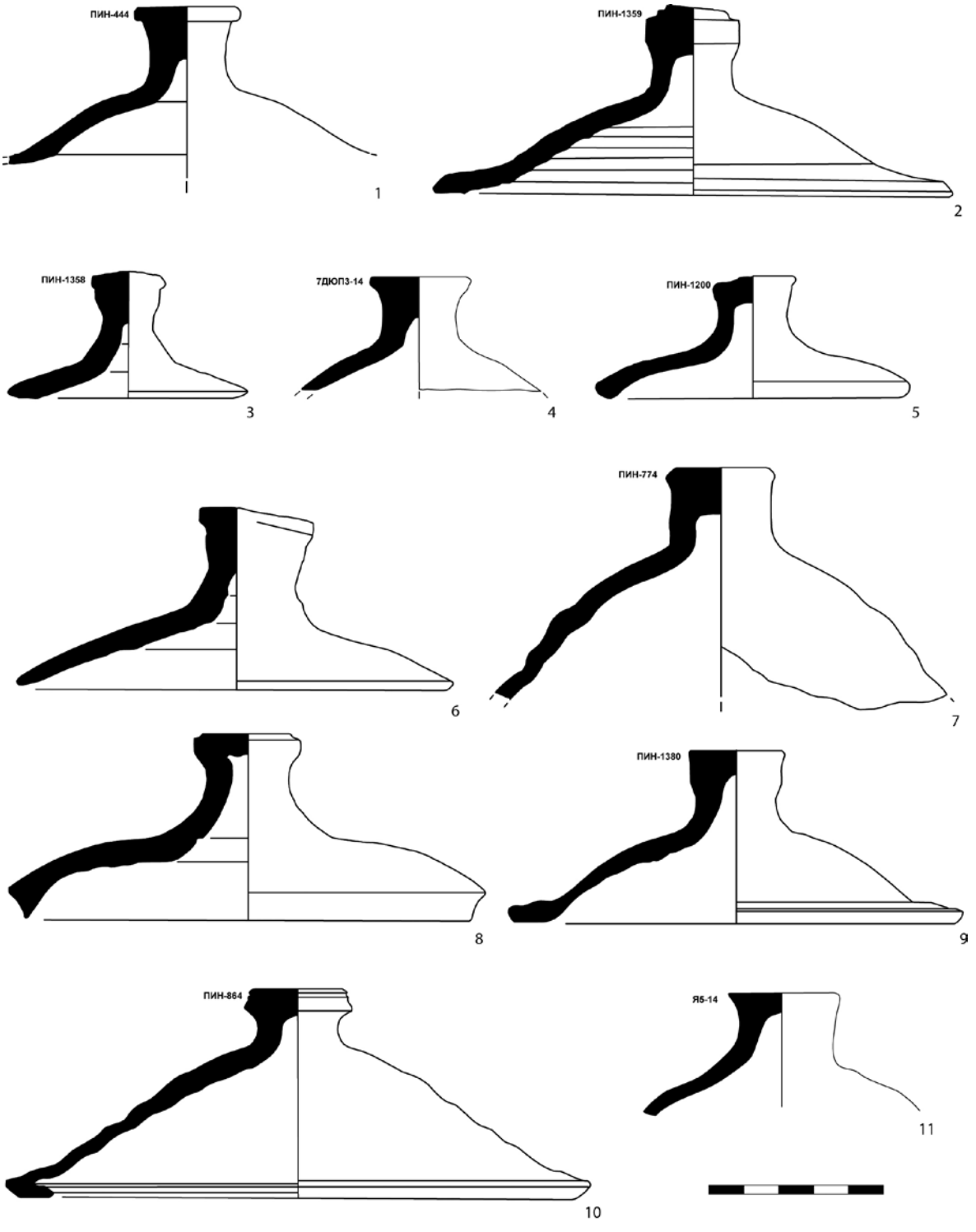


Fig. 13. Lids: unglazed (1 – 4, 6 – 11) and with spots of glaze (5)
Обр. 13. Капаци: неглазирани (1 – 4, 6 – 11) и с капки глазура (5)

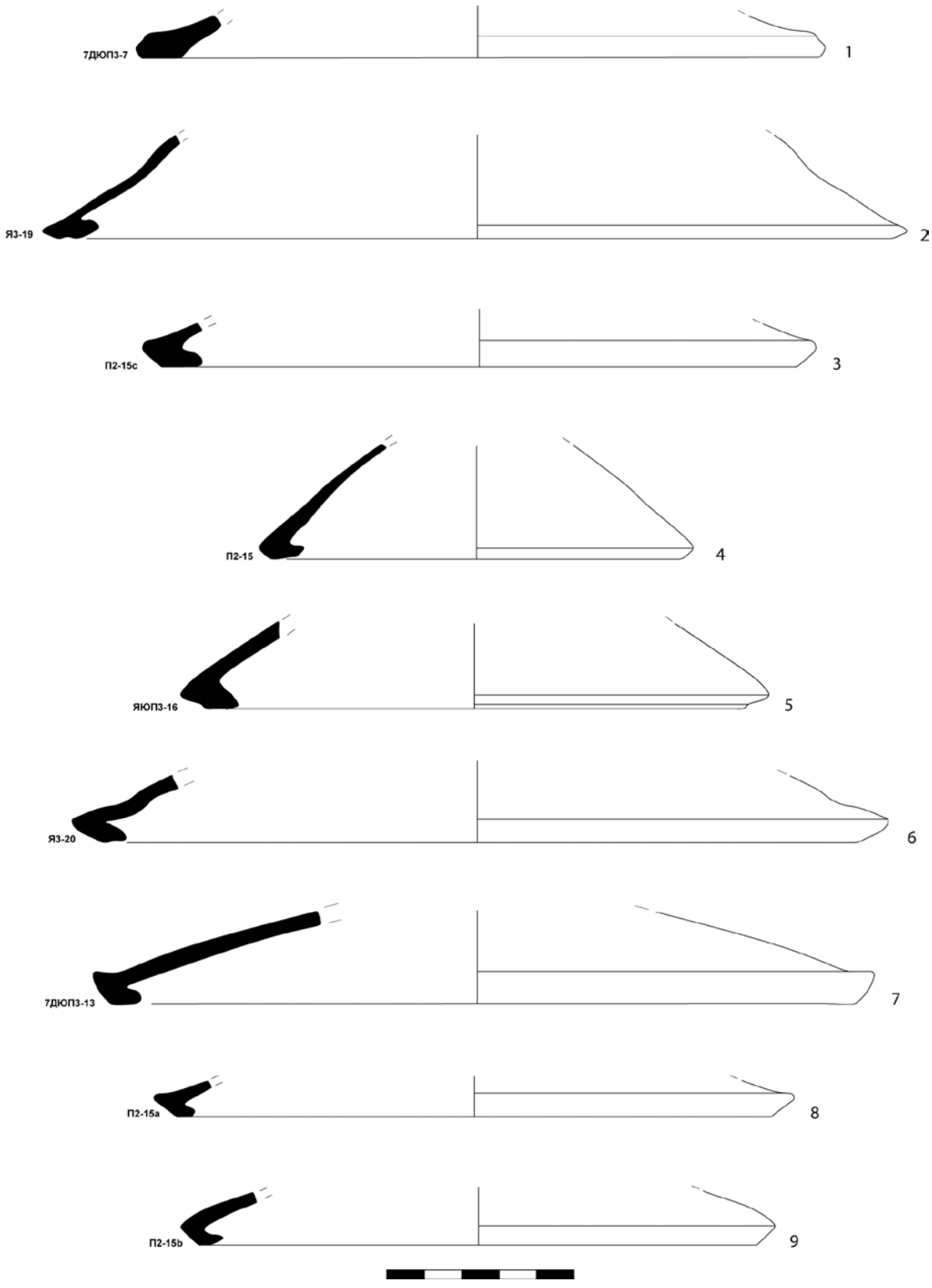


Fig. 14. Lids: unglazed (1 – 3, 5 – 9) and with spots of glaze (4)
Обр. 14. Капаци: неглазирани (1 – 3, 5 – 9) и с капки глазура (4)

flat. Although not very common, some of the bowls had a single small, fish-hook shaped handle, attached to the rim and joining the body around its mid-section (fig. 15: 16). Most of the bowls are unglazed and do not have any slip or other coating. At the present moment of the research, there are at least 10 different bowls with distinct and characteristic rim shaping that were entirely or partially glazed (only on the inside and the upper part of the board; fig. 15: 19, 21). The horizontal board of two of them was respectively decorated with diagonal hatches and circles with dots.

Similar examples were found at different sites in Bulgaria and Serbia, where they were mostly dated to the 4th and early 5th c. Nevertheless some 6th c. pieces also exist (Böttger 1982, Taf. 43: 467; Кузманов 1985, тип I – II, 39 – 41, табл. 23: П1 – П12, табл. 24: П14, П24, П26; Kuzmanov 1998, Typ I – VI, 83 – 85, Abb. 3: 10 – 12, Abb. 4: 15, 17, Abb. 5: 18 – 21, Abb. 7: 26, 28, 29; Kuzmanov 2000, type I, 225, fig. 1: 7; Кузманов 2005, тип 1, тип 4, тип 5, 129 – 133, табл. I: 6, табл. II – IV: 23, 25, табл. VII: 46 – 48, табл. VIII: 49 – 53; Кленина 2006, 57 – 58, 70, рис. 26: 168 – 173, 177, рис. 36: 264; Cvjetićanin 2006, 34 – 39, 41, 43, 53 – 55, LRG 27a, c, d, 28, 29, 37, 42, 70, 71b, c, d; Борисов 2013, тип 6, вариант B, табл. VI: 10; Кузманов, Грудев 2013, тип I – V, 340, 345 – 347, табл. II: 14, табл. V: 40 – 42, 44, 45, 47 – 49, 52, табл. VI: 54, 55, 57, 58).

It is interesting to note that one of the glazed bowls had a solid, round, horizontal hollow handle attached to it – like a patera (Bjelajac 1990, type II/10, 172 – 173, pl. XVI: 18; Cvjetićanin 2006, 33, LRG 22; Борисов 2013, табл. VIII: 13).[25] It resembles a modern casserole or frying pan, but was probably not used as such in the late 6th c. The walls are too thin, and the glaze would be damaged if exposed on an open fire. Most probably it served for pouring liquids. Since the item was very fragmented and large parts of it were missing, it is difficult to say if there was a spout opposite of the handle or not (fig. 16).

Flat-bottomed table amphorae are very consistent in their body shape. They have short wide cylindrical necks decorated with a band of 3 – 4 incised horizontal lines. The collar-like rim is solid, and variety of rim profiles has been documented (fig. 17). Rim diameter varies between 13 and 16 cm. Two broad, very thin, band-like handles, start from the neck at mid-height and join the bulging shoulders. Although there is no entirely preserved specimen, we can judge by the preserved large parts of walls that the body was big, rounded and ended with a large flat base. Considering their general size and volume, it is worth noticing that these vessels have unusually thin walls – 3 – 4 mm thick. We find them mostly broken at the spot where the handles were attached to the neck, and it is difficult to assemble and restore them. None of the flat-bottomed amphorae was entirely glazed. There are only spots, splashes and drippings of glaze on the rim, handles or the body (fig. 17: 6, 11). Only in two cases partially glazed rims were documented.[26] We are not sure, but can only assume, that the bodies of the flat-bottomed amphorae were decorated with different patterns, mostly combining bands of incised horizontal and wavy lines.

Exactly the same have been found at Golemo Buchino near Sofia (4th c.; Harizanov 2022, fig. 13) and at Castra Martis (4th – early 5th c.), where they were classified as amphorae type VII, variants I and II, and were considered to be production of a local, yet non-identified workshop, reproducing earlier ceramic forms from Thrace (Кузманов 2005, 148 – 149, табл. XXV: 184 – 190, табл. XXVI: 191 – 194). Very similar are also some vessels from Novae, dated to the 6th c.

[25] A patera was reported among the finds from an early 7th c. ceramic context in Ephesos by Horacio Gonzalez-Cesteros and Sabine Ladstätter in their communication "Eating and drinking to the bitter end – the ceramic inventory of a taberna of the early 7th century in Ephesos" during the LRCW7 international conference that took place in October 15 – 19, 2019 in Valencia, Spain.

[26] These are only sherds with a small size and the glaze does not entirely cover the surface – there are large spots of unglazed fabric. Thus, it is problematic to say if the entire rim and neck were intentionally glazed or glaze has dripped in large quantities from a glazed vessel placed on a higher position in the kiln.

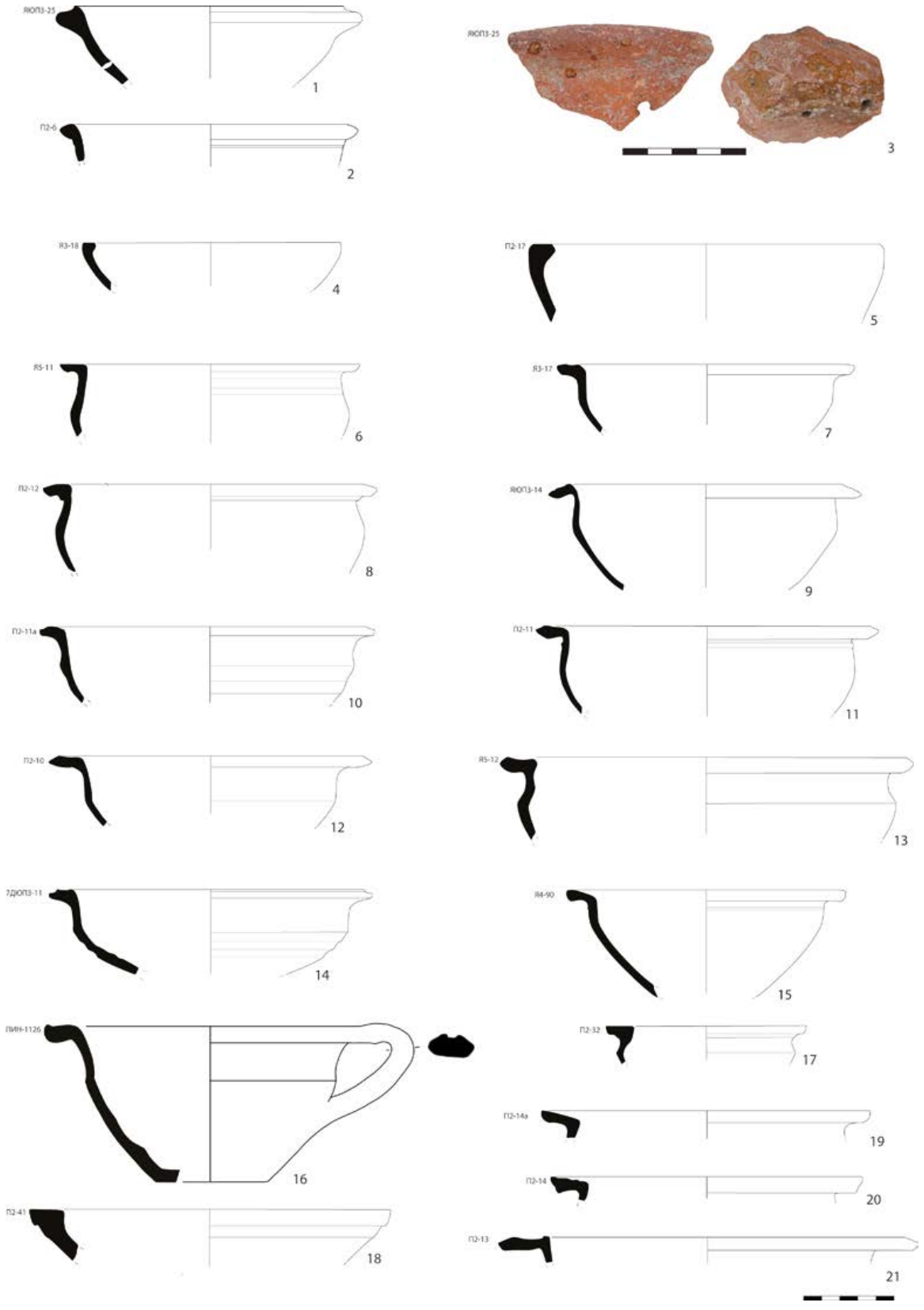


Fig. 15. Strainers (1 – 3) and bowls (4 – 21): unglazed (2, 4 – 11, 13 – 18, 20), glazed (19, 21) and with spots of glaze (1, 3, 12)
Обр. 15. Цедилки (1 – 3) и купи (4 – 21): неглазирани (2, 4 – 11, 13 – 18, 20), глазирани (19, 21) и с капки глазура (1, 3, 12)

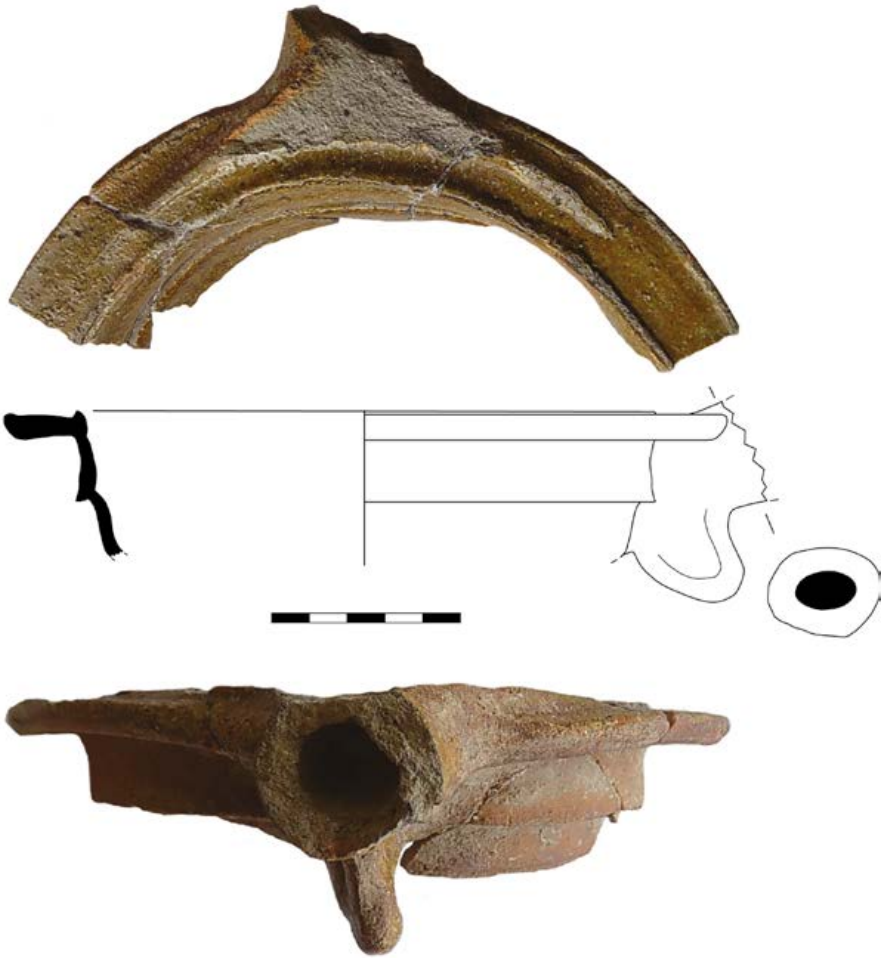


Fig. 16. Patera (glazed)
Обр. 16. Патера (глазирана)

(Кленина 2006, 86 – 87, рис. 45: 363, 364, рис. 46: 389, 390; Harizanov 2023, fig. 18: 12, 16 – 18). Examples that look more or less similar, but are not a perfect match, can be listed from Ratiaria (Кузманов, Грудев 2013, стомни тип III, вариант 2, тип IV, вариант 2, амфори тип IX, 345 – 347, 349 – 350, 363, табл. VII: 72, 75, табл. XXII: 244 – 247), Iatrus (early 5th c.; Böttger 1982, type II4, 119, Taf. 24: 293, 294) and the Early Byzantine fortress near Voyvoda, Shumen district (Кузманов 1985, амфори тип XIX, 25, табл. 14: A138, A140).

Jugs. There are two general types of jugs. The first one has a medium-high wide cylindrical neck. A large variety of rim profiles has been documented for the rolled-up rim collar (diameter ca. 12 – 13 cm). One strap-like handle is attached to the neck, at mid-height, where there is a band of incised horizontal lines, and joins the shoulders of the body (fig. 18: 1 – 6). Exactly the same rim profile have some sherds from Golemo Buchino near Sofia (4th c.; Harizanov 2022, fig. 13). Very similar in terms of neck profile are some examples from Pernik (Любенова 1981, обр. 49: 1) and Novae from a context dated to the mid-5th – 6th c. (Кленина 2006, 79, рис. 42: 327).

The second type has a trefoil rim, narrower and slender neck. The strap-like handle is attached to the rim and also joins the shoulders (fig. 18: 7). Trefoil jugs are also very popular shape since Antiquity. During the Late Roman and Early Byzantine periods they were part of the ceramic

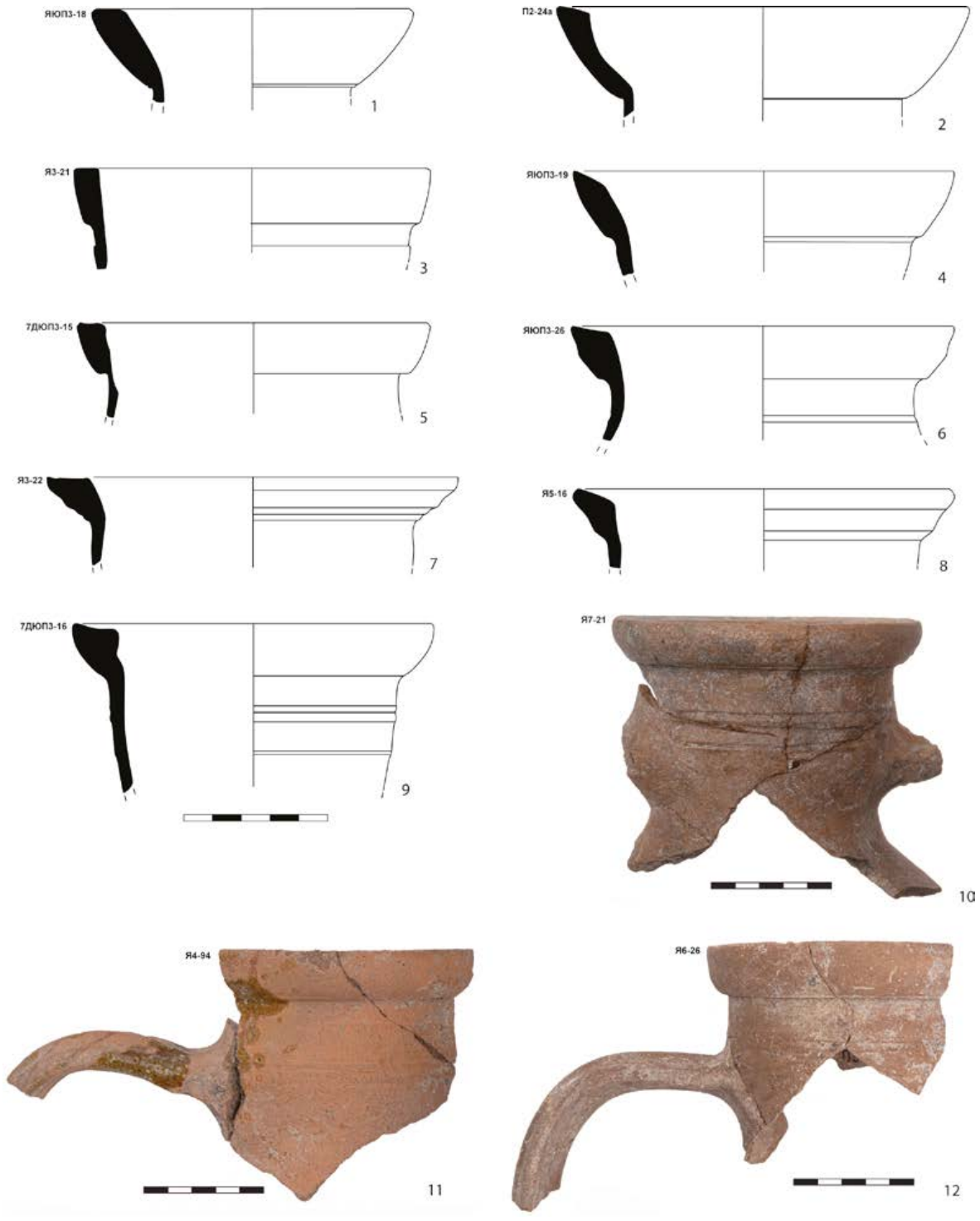


Fig. 17. Flat-bottomed table amphorae: unglazed (1 – 5, 7 – 10, 12) and with spots of glaze (6, 11)
Обр. 17. Плоскодънни трапезни амфори: неглазирани (1 – 5, 7 – 10, 12) и с капки глазура (6, 11)

repertoire of most of the sites, including the cited here, but are not so slender and the necks are shorter and broader. The only ones with more elongated profile are Kuzmanov's type VI (Кузманов 1985, 34, табл. 20: K55) and an example from Ratiaria (Кузманов, Грудев 2013, тип I, 345 – 347, 349, табл. VII: 78).

So far, we can only assume how the body of both types looked like. Most probably it was quite large, spherical or ovoid. The base was either flat or on a small foot, like the pitchers. The body was decorated with bands of 2 – 4 horizontal incised lines. None of the jugs recorded was entirely glazed. Only occasional spots, splashes and leaks of glaze were observed on the outer or inner surface of the vessels as result of being fired together with glazed pottery (fig. 18: 6).

Pitchers are probably the most worth to be noted production of the workshop. They come in several different types that showed little variations in size among each other, thus evidencing for the existence of standardization.[27] We have to emphasize that the same shapes were produced as glazed and unglazed and were fired together in the kilns. Glazed pitchers represent 80 % or even more of all glazed pottery produced by the workshop. Most of the glazed pitchers are wasters – they are either deformed or have stuck to another vessel. There are cases in which the entire surface of the vessel looks like if sprinkled with salt or sugar – like a sandpaper.

The prevailing type of pitcher was at an average some 40 cm high (fig. 19 – 20). It had a funnel-like rim, decorated on the outside with three relief ribs, set closely or apart from each other. Rarely, the relief ribs were two or four. Rim diameter was either 8 or 9 cm. The rim transitioned to a conical neck. A single handle, attached to the neck, just below the funnel-like rim, joined the shoulders or the body of the vessel. The handle is strap-like, with ellipsoidal cross-section and three grooves running down its spine, the central being less broad and more pronounced. The body was quite large, bulging, rather pear-shaped, the maximum diameter being towards the lower third. There was a slight pinch of the body, forming a small foot, before transitioning to the flat base (ca. 10 – 13 cm in diameter). Three bands of 4 to 5 horizontal incised lines each run across the shoulder and the body of the pitcher. A broad shallow ribbing is merely noticeable towards the bottom part (fig. 19: 11, fig. 20: 4). It is not excluded that some of these pitchers had less voluminous and more cylindrical bodies, as suggested by some sherds (fig. 19: 9, 10, fig. 20: 1).

Not exactly identical, but very similar to this group of pitchers, were published from present-day Bulgaria and Serbia. Most of them are dated to the 4th – first half of the 5th c., very rarely to the 5th – 6th c. and it is assumed that their prototypes originated in the Pannonian workshops (Любенова 1981, обр. 49: 2; Böttger 1982, Taf. 31: 388; Кузманов 1985, тип II – IV, 32 – 34, 38, табл. 18: K39, K41, табл. 19: K46, K49, табл. 22: K81; Kuzmanov 1998, Typ I – III, 86 – 89, Abb. 9: 36, 38, 40, Abb. 10: 42, 43, Abb. 11: 44, 45, Abb. 12: 47, Abb. 14: 62 – 64; Kuzmanov 2000, type I – III, 230, fig. 3: 21, 22, fig. 4: 23, 24, 26; Кузманов 2005, тип I, вариант I, тип II, 142 – 145, табл. XXI: 146, табл. XXII: 150, 151, табл. XXIII: 162, 163; Кленина 2006, 60, рис. 30: 219; Cvjetićanin 2006, 57 – 60, 67, 69, 75 – 77, 79, 81 – 82, LRG 80, 97, 104, 115: 6, 116: 2, 122, 128; Кузманов, Грудев 2013, тип I, 341, табл. III: 20; Василева 2020, 131, табл. 5: 1).

The two-handled pitchers have high, narrow, cylindrical necks, ca. 3 – 4 cm in diameter. Both handles were attached at mid-height. All four items found differ one from another in the way the rim was shaped (fig. 21: 1 – 4). None of them has a preserved lower part. In one case (fig. 21: 4) the preserved part of the shoulders points out to more slender and elongated forms. So far, we have documented several gently sloping shoulders that connect to cylindrical bodies with flat bottoms, like a bottle (fig. 21: 5, 6). The shoulders are mostly decorated with incised lines that vary

[27] Unfortunately, until present we were unable to piece together an entirely preserved glazed or unglazed pitcher.

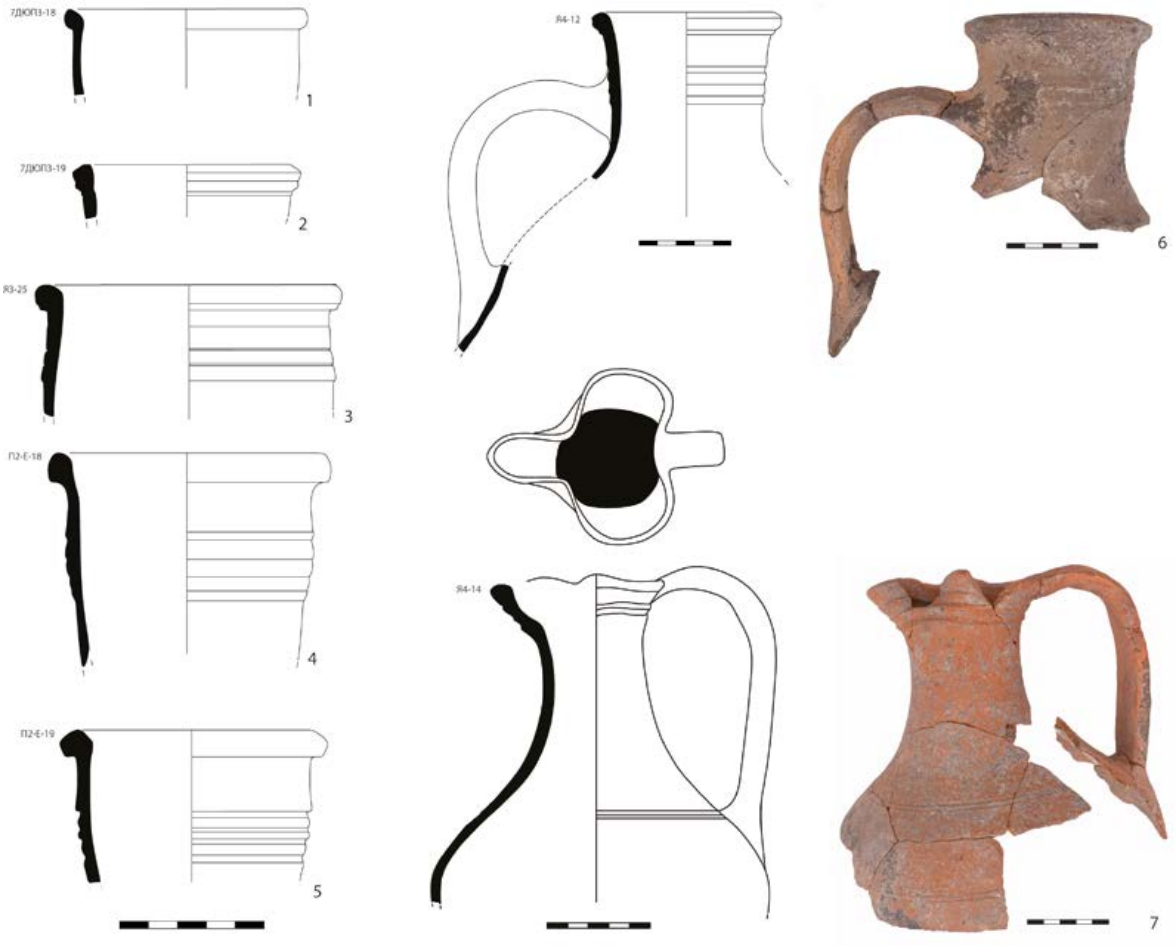


Fig. 18. Jugs: unglazed (1 – 5, 7) and with spots of glaze (6)
Обр. 18. Кани: неглазирани (1 – 5, 7) и с капки глазура (6)

from simple ("fish-bone") to more intricate patterns, where horizontal, vertical or diagonal lines are combined with wavy ones (fig. 21: 7, 8). The upper and the lower part of the cylindrical body may be covered with relief ribs, while in between them several bands of single wavy lines may be present. We are inclined to think that some of the handles belonging to these bottle-shaped pitchers were having relief knobs on their highest point and incised lines at their base (fig. 21: 9).

As with the previous group, they find analogies among the multitude of glazed pitchers from the Middle and Lower Danube. It is believed that their prototypes were produced in Aquincum in the 2nd c. before appearing in the 4th – first half of the 5th c. at sites all across Lower Pannonia, Dacia Ripensis, Dacia Mediterranea and even Lower Moesia (Любенова 1981, обр. 46, обр. 50: 1, 2; Böttger 1982, Typ II/2, Taf. 30: 382; Кузманов 1985, тип III, 33, табл. 18: К43; Kuzmanov 1998, Typ II, 88, Abb. 12: 47, 48, 50, 51, Abb. 13: 52 – 60; Kuzmanov 2000, type II, 230, fig. 4: 24, 25; Кузманов 2005, тип I, вариант 2, тип II, 143 – 144, табл. XXII: 151 – 158; Кленина 2006, 76, рис. 39: 293, 294; Cvjetićanin 2006, 75 – 76, LRG 115: 4; Кузманов, Грудев 2013, тип I, вариант 2, 342 – 343, табл. III: 23 – 26).

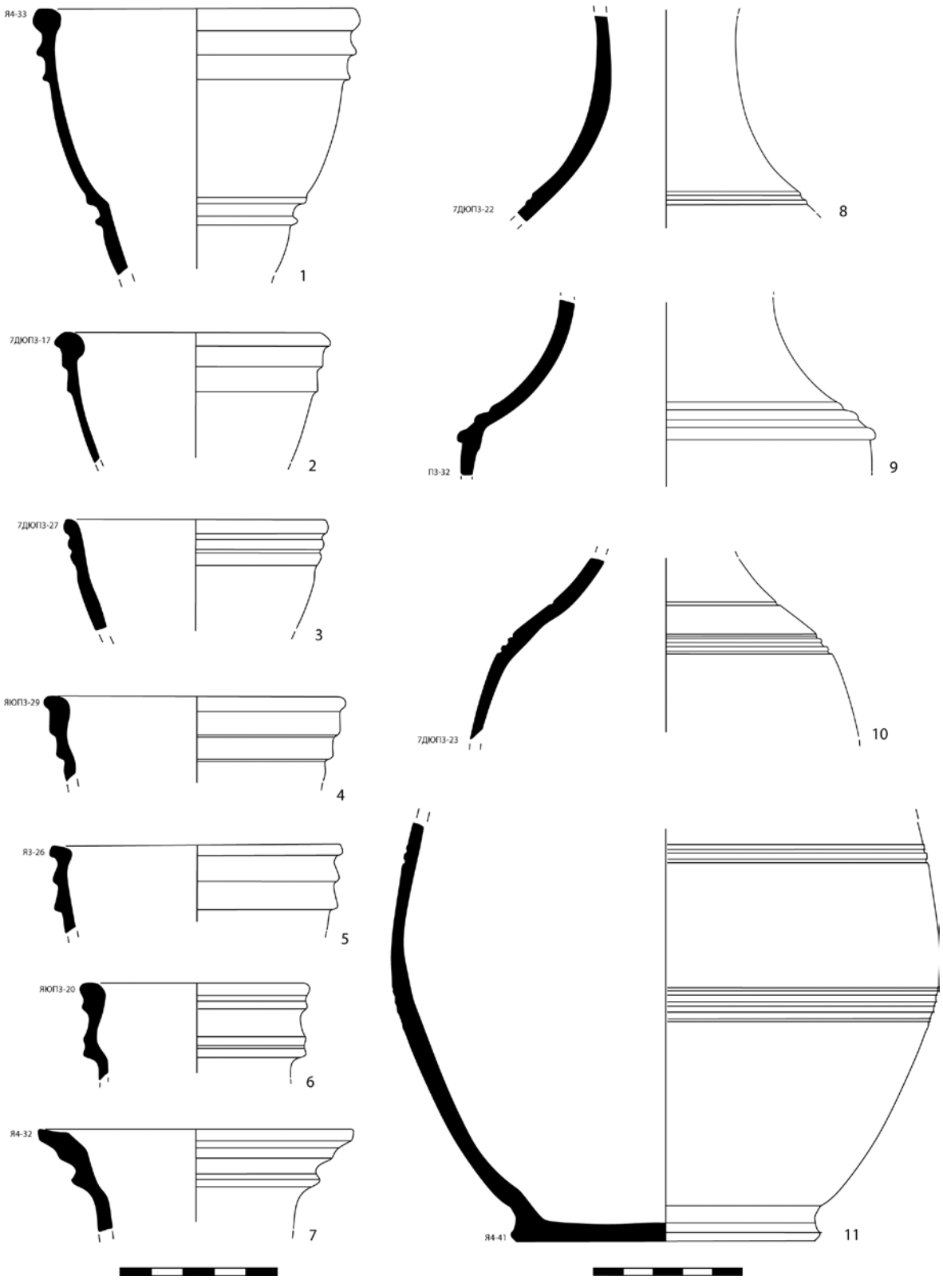


Fig. 19. Pitchers: unglazed (2, 5, 8, 9), glazed (1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 11) and with spots of glaze (10)
Обр. 19. Стомни: неглазирани (2, 5, 8, 9), глазирани (1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 11) и с капки глазура (10)



Fig. 20. Pitchers: unglazed (1), glazed (3, 4) and with spots of glaze (2)
Обр. 20. Стомни: неглазирани (1), глазирани (3, 4) и с капки глазура (2)

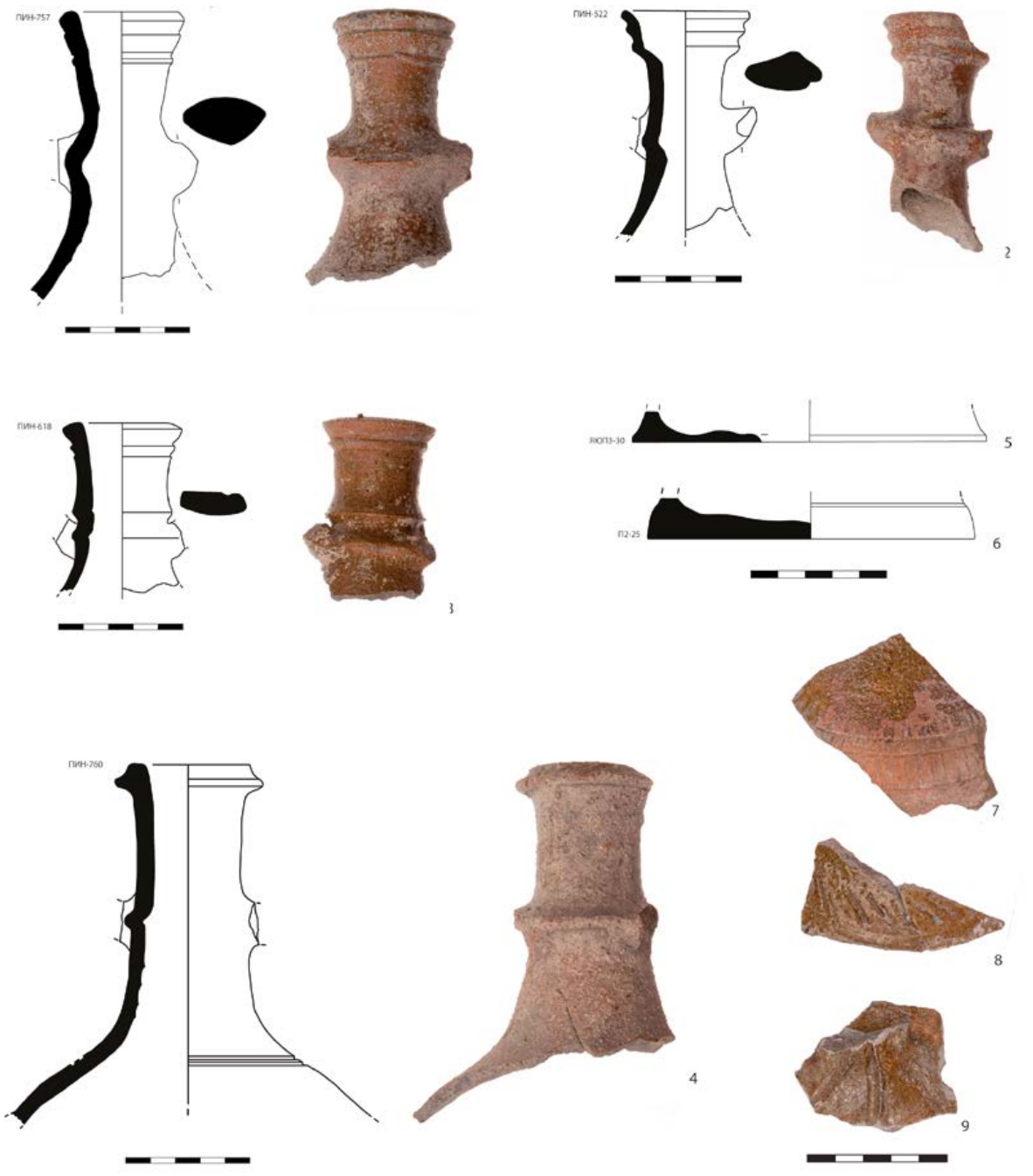


Fig. 21. Pitchers: unglazed (6) and glazed (1 – 5, 7 – 9)
Обр. 21. Стомни: неглазирани (6) и глазирани (1 – 5, 7 – 9)

Varia

Kernoi. Three almost identical tube-like items and another small piece (fig. 22) were part of a single object – a hollow ring with an U-shaped cross-section and outer diameter of ca. 20 cm. Its outer walls opened and formed spouts for pouring liquids at at least four different places on its circumference. Two of the items had button-like protrusions on the inner side of the tube. Most likely these parts were standing opposite one another on the ring and were connected with a handle or a bar. The upper flat surface of the object was covered with a glaze of low quality – coarse, transparent, pale green in color, without gloss. The hollow ring was identified as a *kernos* – a ritual vessel for pouring libations during ceremonies related to the gods and the cult of agricultural abundance. As can be seen on a similar object from the village of Gabare, Stara Zagora district (Герасимова-Томова 1981, обр. 13), usually this type of artifacts had several small cup-like vessels (now missing) attached to the hollow ring that held the liquids used for the offerings. The cups were usually connected to the hollow ring through openings at the bottoms of each of them. *Kernoi* were most popular in the Ancient Greek world, but obviously found their way through Roman culture as well.

Candlesticks. Three partially preserved, but well-distinguishable, candlesticks of different types were found during the excavations. They have long, hollow cylindrical stems of ca. 4 cm in diameter. The stems are covered by ribbing that would secure a tighter grasp of the object. Like this it would not allow to slip away if holding it with sweaty or wet hand. The upper end of the stem forms the candle holder. It is surrounded by a shallow cup, few centimeters bellow its edge. At this state of research, it is difficult to say how the lower end of the candlesticks looked like. Two of the items

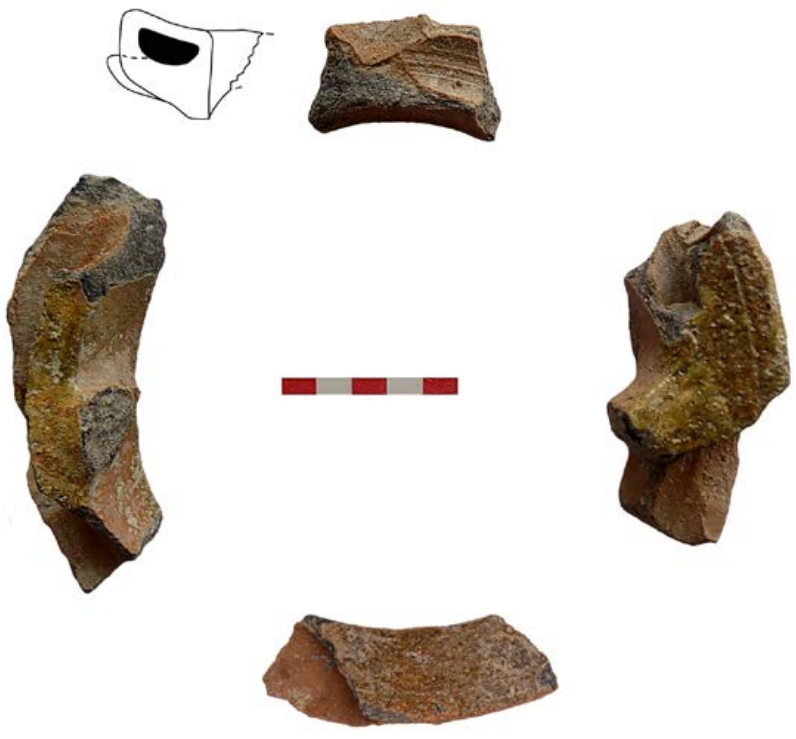


Fig. 22. Kernos (glazed)
Обр. 22. Кернос (глазиран)



Fig. 23. Candlesticks: unglazed (2) and glazed (1, 3)
Обр. 23. Светилници: неглазирани (2) и глазирани (1, 3)

were entirely covered with glaze (fig. 23: 1, 3), while one was unglazed (fig. 23: 2). Candlesticks were documented among the plain and glazed pottery from present-day western Bulgaria (Любенова 1981, 154 – 157, обр. 83 – 84; Кузманов 2005, тип V, 184, табл. IV: 33, 34) and Serbia (Cvjetićanin 2006, 95 – 96, LRGapp 1, LRGapp 3). In Saraçhane vessels with similar shape come from much later contexts (Hayes 1992, 43, fig. 15: 14 – 16).

During the excavations we found many rim sherds that due to their small size were considered as belonging to pitchers. It is highly probable that they may actually be rims of the candle holder or the cup beneath it. The same is valid for the cylindrical segments of small diameter with ribbing on the outer surface that have been considered as pitcher necks. Due to similarities in the shape, they may also have been candlestick stems. A more thorough study of the material, connected to its future detailed publication will allow making more decisive conclusions.

Conclusion

The pottery workshop discovered in the vicinity of ancient Serdica is one of a kind, because at the present moment of research it is the only one archaeologically explored production center for glazed pottery on the Balkan peninsula and Southeastern Europe dated in the second half of the 6th – early 7th c. It is also significant, because obviously there was no clear distinction between plain and glazed pottery and their production was not separated. Potters produced the same forms of vessels with or without coating, especially the pitchers. This is also a perfect showcase of how both wares were fired together in the same kilns. Obviously, the potters were skilled enough and had mastered the glazing technology that required higher firing temperatures.

Although the ceramic repertoire of the workshop looks quite uniform and limited at first glance, the variety of the rim profiles among each of the described categories suggests a larger in size and a more diverse production than expected. All pottery shapes find similar among examples from other sites from the 4th – 6th c. in the central part of the Balkan peninsula, thus fitting perfectly within the late antique ceramic tradition. It is interesting to note that the closest parallels for the glazed pottery are found among ceramics dated to the 4th – early 5th c., whose prototypes were produced in the Pannonian workshops and found on sites in areas currently located in the present-day western Bulgarian and eastern Serbian lands. This is a good example of how a tradition persists and gets transferred through time regardless of the apparent gap of about 150 years. It is up to future scholars to fill this gap.

It is difficult to judge about the organization of the workshop and the production process, because a very small part of it was explored. The rest of it, lying in the neighboring plots will stay forever hidden or was already destroyed by modern building activity, so probably we won't be able to know much more about it. Still, it will be interesting to know through future and more thorough research how its production was distributed geographically and if it was part of a long-distance exchange or stayed on a more regional level. Little is known for the moment, except that the workshop, quite logically, supplied with pottery Serdica, the closest and largest town in its proximity (Станев 2020, 179 – 181, обр. 6: 1 – 6, обр. 7: 1 – 10). Another direction to follow up will be to see if the same shapes of vessels continue existing during the Middle Ages on a local ground and how they change over time.

Despite the brief overview and the preliminary results, the pottery from this workshop can be used as a cornerstone for further studies on late antique and early medieval glazed pottery and how the transfer of the glazing techniques was effectuated.

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НЕГЛАЗИРАНА И ГЛАЗИРАНА КЕРАМИКА ОТ VI – НАЧАЛОТО НА VII В. ОТ КЕРАМИЧНОТО АТЕЛИЕ В КВ. „ЛОЗЕНЕЦ“, СОФИЯ (ПРЕДВАРИТЕЛНО СЪОБЩЕНИЕ)

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РЕЗЮМЕ

През 2000 – 2001 г. по време на спасителни разкопки в кв. „Лозенец“, София е разкрит комплекс, състоящ се от две разположени една върху друга базилики, които са били оградени със зид с кули в ъглите (обр. 1). Датиран е в границите на IV – началото на VII в. и е разположен на 3,5 км южно от крепостните стени на древна Сердика. През втората половина на VI в., в непосредствена близост до външната страна на южната стена на горната църква, възниква керамично ателие. Разкрити са три двукамерни пещи и няколко свързани с тях ями, но е възможно да са съществували и други извън границите на разкопаната площ. В ателието е произвеждана както неглазирана, така и глазирана керамика. Производството е продължило до началото на VII в.

През Късната античност множество керамични ателиета за производство на глазирана керамика са известни от римската провинция Панония. Те функционират в рамките на IV – V в. Под тяхно влияние глазирана керамика се появява и на Балканите, но до момента все още нямаше сигурно докумен-

тирано производство, особено през VI в. Глазирана керамика от VI – VII в. е известна от разкопките на Сарачхане, Истанбул, но произходът ѝ е неустановен. Въпросът за приемствеността между късноантичната и средновековната глазирана керамика е все още неразрешен. С оглед на това, продукцията на керамичната работилница от Сердика е от изключителна важност, тъй като представлява значима брънка от веригата, по която преминава тази приемственост.

Голяма част от керамиката, която е обект на настоящото изследване, е бракувана продукция, резултат от дефекти в производствения процес на трите керамични пещи. До момента са обработени над 20 хиляди фрагмента, което позволи да се очертаят основните групи и форми съдове, произвеждани в ателието. Фрагментите произхождат от следните структури и контексти: пещ № 3 и свързаната с нея яма № 6, пещ № 2, яма № 5, яма № 7, яма № 3, яма № 4, от пласт от натрошена керамика с дебелина около 50 см, южно от зида на кал в кв. 5Д/6Д, както и керамика около пещ № 3 в кв. 7Д (обр. 2).

Направеният опит да се установи относителната хронология на пещите и ямите и да се разграничат синхронните контексти показа, че пещ № 4 и свързаната с нея яма № 7 са по-ранни от пещ № 2 и яма № 2. Яма № 5 също е по-ранна от пещ № 2 и яма № 2, но не е ясно дали е синхронна на пещ № 4 и яма № 7. Трудно е да се каже дали пещ № 3 и свързаната с нея яма № 6 са синхронни на пещ № 4 или на пещ № 2. Много е вероятно да са функционирали едновременно и с двете пещи. Ями № 3 и № 7 се намират под дебелия пласт с керамика в кв. 5Д/6Д, т.е. те са по-ранни от него. За момента пластът с керамика се явява най-късният от разглежданите контексти и се предполага, че голяма част от него е била натрупана при изхвърляне на дефектната продукция от последното зареждане на пещ № 2.

Керамичните фрагменти, принадлежащи към едни и същи съдове, но намерени в няколко различни контекста, както и еднотипността на фрагментите от отделните керамични групи, потвърдиха предположението, че производствените съоръжения са функционирали едновременно в кратък хронологически период. Единствено материалите от яма № 5 не се слепват с парчета от другите контексти, поради което смятаме, че тя е най-ранна от всички. Фрагменти от яма № 4 се слепват с фрагменти от най-ранните и най-късните контексти, поради което смятаме, че тя е била използвана през целия период на съществуване на работилницата. Попадането на фрагменти от едни и същи съдове на различни места обясняваме с това, че грънчарите са използвали едновременно всички ями и пространството около пещите, за да изхвърлят дефектната продукция. Друго възможно обяснение е, че след като пещ № 2 е престанала да бъде използвана и е била разрушена, дефектната керамика от нея е била натрупана на дебел пласт между пещта и зида на кал в кв. 5Д/6Д. Малко по-късно, при заравняване на терена в тази част на комплекса, пластът е бил разнесен и така фрагменти от него са попаднали в други контексти.

Освен пещите, доказателство за производството на място на неглазирана и глазирана керамика са деформираните и бракувани съдове (обр. 3: 1 – 8). При глазираната керамика често се забелязва отлюспване на глазурата в резултат от препичане или стичането ѝ във вътрешността на съдовете при пропукването на стените. Често глазирани съдове са залепвали един за друг или за неглазирани такива, което е видно от останалите от разделянето им следи от допира (обр. 3: 8). Резултат от дефект в производствения процес е и глазурата, която не е успяла да се превърне в гладка стъкловидна повърхност и е останала под формата на грубо, поръсено с миниатюрни частици, сивкаво покритие. Документирани са и няколко случая на тухли и тръби от конструкцията на пещите, по които има глазура или са залепнали керамични фрагменти.

Във всяка една от трите пещи едновременно е опалвана глазирана и неглазирана керамика. Освен това са опалвани едновременно съдове с големи и малки размери, така че максимално да бъде използвано вътрешното пространство на камерата. Следите от капки и стечки глазура по повърхността на неглазираната кухненска керамика и съдове за съхранение (обр. 3: 9) показват, че при подреждане на съдовете във вътрешността на пещта последните са заемали долната част на камерата, а глазираната керамика е поставяна върху тях в най-горната част на пространството.

Глазурата е полагана директно върху добре изсъхналата повърхност на глинените съдове, преди те да бъдат опалени. Цветът ѝ е зелен, с различни оттенъци в зависимост от качеството и дебелината на покритието – много лъскава, тъмнозелена и плътна, на места с черни точки; тъмнозелена, с

по-малка плътност и не толкова лъскава; светлозелена, разредена и течна, с кафяви жилки, следващи посоката, по която се е стичала глазурата, без блясък, по-скоро груба и прозрачна; много нискокачествена глазура, доста рядка, без плътност, почти прозрачна и безцветна, под която прозира цветът на опечената глина.

В работилницата са произвеждани следните категории керамика: съдове за складиране на продукти, кухненска и трапезна керамика, светилници и др. Не са документирани амфори или друг вид съдове за транспортиране на продукти.

Съдове за съхранение

В групата попадат съдове, подобни на долиумите. Те имат масивни широки устия, големи яйцевидни тела и относително малки дъна, оформени като ниски плътни столчета (обр. 4). Документирано е значително разнообразие от профили на устието, чийто диаметър варира между 25 – 30 см (обр. 5). Вероятно съдовете са били високи около 1 м. Въпреки големите си размери те са били относително тънкостенни (7 – 8 мм). Външната повърхност на тялото е покрита с гъсти, плитко врязани хоризонтални линии. Глината е твърда, компактна, примесена със значително количество пясък. Цветът след изпичането е червеникаво-кафяв, рядко светлооранжев. Прегорелите фрагменти са тъмнокафяви или сиви на цвят. Като цяло тези съдове са неглазирани. Единствено два фрагмента от тяло на съд са покрити отвън с глазура (обр. 6: 2), поради което можем да заключим, че са съществували ако не изцяло, то поне частично глазирани съдове за съхранение.

Кухненска керамика

Мортариите са използвани за приготвянето на течни храни чрез стриване и счукване. Имат формата на дълбоки дебелостенни полусферични купи с равни дъна и с масивни широки периферии, върху които има улей за изливане на храната (обр. 7). Диаметърът на устието е около 20 см, а височината им около 20 – 25 см. До момента са регистрирани около 20 различни профила на устието (обр. 8). При някои перифериите са украсени с врязани линии или насечки, при други украсата от врязани хоризонтални и вълнисти линии е по външната страна на тялото, под периферията. Глината е твърда, компактна, с примеси от пясък. Цветът след изпичане е червеникаво-кафяв до тъмнокафяв и сиво-кафяв. Повечето мортарии са глазирани от вътрешната страна, като понякога глазурата покрива ръба на канала за изливане или цялата горна повърхност на периферията, но има и някои неглазирани съдове (обр. 7: 1).

Големи дебелостенни *купи* също са използвани за приготвяне или съхраняване на храна (обр. 9: 2).

Гърнетата представляват основната част от производството на работилницата – почти 50 % от целия керамичен комплекс. Според профила на устието и формата на тялото могат да бъдат разделени на три големи групи (гърнета с плътни, хоризонтално отрязани устиета, гърнета с капаци и големи гърнета без капаци).

Гърнетата от първата група по профил на устието и формата на тялото приличат много на съдовете за съхранение и изглеждат като техни умалени версии (обр. 10). Устията са със сложна профилировка, масивни, удебелени и прегънати, предимно хоризонтално разположени, по-рядко косо отрязани навътре. Регистрирани са над 20 различни профила на устието. Понякога горната му повърхност е украсена с 1 – 3 врязани линии или малки насечки. Горната част на тялото е конична, а релефни пръстени или бразди маркират резкия преход между плещите и тялото. Понякога две малки плоски извити дръжки свързват устието с плещите (обр. 10: 11). Глината е твърда, добре пречистена, примесена с пясък. Цветът след изпичане е червеникаво-кафяв, бежово-кафяв и тъмнокафяв. Засвидетелствани са едва 5 случая на изцяло или частично глазирани гърнета.

Гърнетата с капаци са най-широко застъпената група в тази категория. Според профила на устието могат да се разделят на 5 основни типа с подтипове и варианти (обр. 11, обр. 12: 1 – 13). Обща за всички типове е ниската, извита навън шия с повече или по-малко ясно изразено вдлъбване от вътрешната страна там, където е трябвало да легне капакът. Тялото е широко, издуто, с максимален

диаметър в горната част на съда почти под шията. Дъното е равно. Гърнетата са тънкостенни. Диаметърът на устието е между 8 и 17 см, а този на дъното – между 8 и 15 см. Възможно е някои от гърнетата с много малки размери да са използвани за чашки (обр. 12: 1, 2, 8, 11). Някои от съдовете имат една или две малки извити дръжки (обр. 11: 7, обр. 12: 12, 13). Телата на някои от гърнетата са покрити с широки плитки хоризонтални бразди. Глината е твърда, добре пречистена, примесена с фин пясък. Цветът след изпичане е основно червеникаво-кафяв, бежово-кафяв, тъмнокафяв или кафеникаво-сив до сиво-черен. Единствено гърнетата със светложълт, жълтеникаво-сив, светлооранжев или оранжево-розов цвят на глината са изработени от твърда, груба и зърниста глина. Обикновено по някои от съдовете има случайни петна и стечки от глазура. Предполагаме, че е имало гърнета, при които е глазиран само устийният ръб. В пет случая са документирани изцяло глазирани отвън гърнета.

Последната група се състои от дебелостенни гърнета с диаметър около и над 20 см. Шиите им са конични, високи 4 – 5 см и завършват със заоблен или право отрязан устиен тип. Понякога върху външната повърхност на шията или ръба на устието има оребряване (обр. 12: 14 – 20). Трябва да се отбележи, че за разлика от другите категории, при които едни и същи форми са изработени от два вида глина, тези гърнета са изработени изцяло и единствено от груба зърниста глина със светложълт, жълтеникаво-сив, светлооранжев или оранжево-розов цвят. Тези съдове никога не са били глазирани.

Съдове с чучури. Документирани са едва три малки фрагмента от чучури и една стена с отвор, направен преди изпичането на съда, непосредствено под сложно профилираното и прегънато устие на съд, който много прилича на гърнетата от първата група, разглеждана тук.

Капаци. Има два основни типа капаци. Първият тип е с конична форма и цилиндрична дръжка на върха на конуса. Долният ръб на капака, който е трябвало да легне в оформената за целта бразда върху вътрешната страна на шията на гърнетата, е оформен като кука, като се забелязва голямо разнообразие от профили (обр. 13 – 14). Диаметърът на капаците варира в границите на диаметрите на гърнетата, с които е неразривно свързан – 9 – 17 см.

Вторият тип капаци е дебелостенен, с леко удебелен и заоблен ръб. Стените им съвсем леко се издигат към центъра на капака, оформяйки не конус, а почти плоска повърхност. Дебелината на стените и големият диаметър на капаците ни карат да предположим, че са използвани за покриване на долиуми или големи делви за съхранение на продукти.

Цедилки (?). Документирани са три малки фрагмента от плоскодънни съдове, подобни на купите, в чиито стени преди изпичането на съда са пробити дупки (обр. 15: 1 – 3). Глината е кафеникаво-червена и по външната повърхност има пръски от зелена глазура.

Трапезна керамика

Купите са разделени най-общо на две големи групи. В първата попадат малко на брой представители, които имат полусферично тяло и завит навътре и леко заоблен устиен ръб (обр. 15: 4, 5). Втората група се състои от съдове с широк хоризонтален борд и голямо разнообразие от профили – от по-опростени и изчистени до по-сложни и профилирани (обр. 15: 6 – 21). Диаметърът на устието варира от 15 до 23 см. Тялото е конично, полусферично или със сферо-конична долна част и цилиндрична или конична горна част, като преходът между тях е ясно маркиран. Стените на повечето от тях са гладки, при други има добре изразени плитки релефни ребра – подобно на тези при гърнетата. Дъната са равни. Някои купи имат една малка извита дръжка (обр. 15: 16). Основната част от съдовете са без покритие. Има съдове, изцяло глазирани от вътрешната страна и по горната част на периферията (обр. 15: 19, 21), а при някои има и украса от диагонални насечки или орнамент „птиче око“.

Трябва да се отбележи, че една от глазираните купи има масивна хоризонтална куха дръжка с кръгло сечение, която е закрепена за устието – подобно на патерите (обр. 16).

Плоскодънните трапезни амфори са доста еднотипни по отношение на формата си. Имат къса цилиндрична шия, украсена с ивица от 3 – 4 врязани хоризонтални линии. Устието е масивно, удебелено като якичка, с разнообразна профилировка (обр. 17). Диаметърът на устието е 13 – 16 см. Шията и плещите са свързани чрез две широки, плоски лентести дръжки. Тялото е издуто, закръглено, предполагаме, че е украсено с комбинации от врязани хоризонтални и вълнисти линии, дъното – плоско, а

стените – много тънки. До момента не е регистриран нито един изцяло глазиран съд, налице са единствено петна и стичания от глазура по различни части на съдовете, основно по горната им външна повърхност (обр. 17: 6, 11).

Каните са два основни типа. Първият е със средновисока широка цилиндрична шия и пръстеновидно удебелено устие с различна профилировка, с диаметър около 12 – 13 см. Шията е украсена с ивица от врязани хоризонтални линии и за нея е закрепена една лентеста дръжка (обр. 18: 1 – 6). Вторият тип кани са с ойнохоевидно устие и тясна, издължена шия (обр. 18: 7). Предполага се, че и двата типа са имали издути, сферични или яйцевидни тела, украсени с ивици от врязани хоризонтални линии, а дъната са равни или върху ниско столче, подобно на това при стомните. Нито една кана не е изцяло глазирана, единствено при някои съдове са регистрирани петна и стечки от глазура (обр. 18: 6).

Стомните заслужават специално внимание. Могат да се разделят в няколко типа, които са приблизително с еднакви размери. Едни и същи форми съдове са произвеждани със и без глазурно покритие. Глазираните стомни представляват над 80 % от всички глазирани съдове, произвеждани в ателието. Голяма част от обработените материали е бракувана продукция с различни дефекти. Преобладаващият тип съдове е с височина около 40 см (обр. 19 – 20). Имат фуниевидно устие с диаметър 8 – 9 см, украсено отвън с 2 – 4 релефни хоризонтални ребра. Шията е конична и за нея се захваща една оребрена дръжка с елипсовидно сечение, която завършва върху плещите. Крушовидното тяло е силно издуто, с диаметър в долната третина на съда. Украсено е с няколко ивици от хоризонтално врязани линии. Дъното е равно, върху ниско столче, с диаметър 10 – 13 см (обр. 19: 11, обр. 20: 4). Възможно е някои кани да са имали по-издължени и по-цилиндрични тела (обр. 19: 9, 10, обр. 20: 1).

Стомните с две дръжки са с висока, тясна, цилиндрична шия с диаметър 3 – 4 см. Дръжките са закрепени по средата на шията. Налице са няколко различни типа според оформянето на устийния ръб (обр. 21: 1 – 4). Няма изцяло запазени съдове, вероятно телата са по-издължени и цилиндрични, подобни на бутилка (обр. 21: 5, 6). Плещите са украсени с различни врязани линии, които се комбинират помежду си и оформят по-сложни мотиви (обр. 21: 7, 8). Горната и долната част на тялото са покрити с релефни ребра, а пространството между тях е украсено с единични врязани вълнисти линии. Смятаме, че върху горната повърхност на дръжките на част от тези съдове е имало релефни пъпки, а в основата на дръжките, където се прикрепват за тялото – украса от врязани линии (обр. 21: 9).

Разни

Керноси. Три съвсем идентични извити тръбовидни фрагмента и едно малко парче (обр. 22) са оформяли кух пръстен с U-образно сечение. Поне на четири места по външната страна на стените е имало улеи за изливане на течности. От вътрешната страна на два от фрагментите има пъпковидни израстъци. Вероятно са стояли един срещу друг и са част от свързваща дръжка или пръчка. Горната плоска повърхност на предмета е покрита с нискокачествена глазура. Предметът е идентифициран като кернос.

Светилници. От разкопките на работилницата произлизат три различни по тип, но ясно различими светилника. Те имат дълго, оребрено цилиндрично тяло, върху което е разположено резервоарче, оградено с полусферична чашка. Два от светилниците са изцяло глазирани (обр. 23: 1, 3), а третият е неглазиран (обр. 23: 2).

Керамичната работилница, открита в околностите на антична Сердика, е единствена по рода си, тъй като до момента на територията на Балканския п-в и Югоизточна Европа не са документирани по археологически път други ателиета за производство на глазирана керамика от периода на втората половина на VI – началото на VII в. Значима е и поради факта, че в нея са произвеждани едновременно глазирани и неглазирани съдове, които после са били изпичани заедно в пещите. Един и същ тип съдове е произвеждан със и без глазурно покритие.

Произвеждани са съдове от различни категории, а сред тези от един и същи вид е имало значително разнообразие по отношение на оформянето на устията, което подсказва за едно по-голямо по мащаб производство. Всички групи съдове намират близки паралели сред такива, датирани в рамките

на IV – VI в. от знакови археологически обекти, разположени в централната част на Балканския п-в. Трябва да се отбележи, че по отношение на глазираната керамика паралелите са датирани основно в IV – началото на V в. и техните прототипи се намират в продукцията на панонските керамични ателиета. Тези паралели произлизат от обекти, разположени на територите на днешните Западна България и Източна Сърбия. Разглежданата тук работилница се явява приемник на късноантичните традиции в производството на керамика и е пример за това как се осъществява преминаването на тази традиция в Ранното средновековие.

Ключови думи: ранновизантийски период, неглазирана керамика, глазирана керамика, местно производство, керамични пещи, бракувана продукция

CHEMICAL ANALYSES OF BODIES AND GLAZES OF CERAMICS FROM THE POTTERY WORKSHOP EXCAVATED AT THE SITE OF LOZENETS (SOFIA, 6TH – EARLY 7TH C.): PRELIMINARY RESULTS

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ABSTRACT

A selection of 40 glazed and unglazed pottery sherds from the 6th – early 7th c. pottery workshop at Lozenets, Sofia (ancient Serdica) was studied to investigate their manufacturing technique. Analysis of the sherds' ceramic bodies indicates that the same low-calcareous clay was used for the production of all categories of vessels (glazed and unglazed, for cooking and not). The glazes are high-lead ones, with a noticeable bismuth content in some inclusions which might be indicative of the provenance of the lead compounds. The latter were probably applied directly onto vessels' low-calcareous bodies to form the glaze. As for the firing process, several clues point to a single firing. Based on this data, the production of glazed pottery at Serdica seems to be related to the technical tradition observed in the Balkans and northern Italy between the 5th and 7th c. that continued in the "Byzantine Glazed White Ware I" of the 7th c.

Keywords: high-lead glazed ware, Early Byzantine pottery, Serdica, Bulgaria, manufacturing techniques, body and glaze analysis, chemical analysis, WD-XRF, SEM-EDS

The 6th – early 7th c. pottery workshop in Sofia (the Lozenets residential district) is of particular interest since production sites of glazed wares that have been identified archaeologically are rare for this specific period (for earlier periods see Magrini, Sbarra 2005; Cvjetićanin 2006; Hárshegyi, Ottományi 2013). These glazed wares shortly precede the production of a repertoire of Byzantine glazed wares in the early 7th c., according to John W. Hayes' study at Saraçhane, Istanbul (Hayes 1992). They may therefore be seen as the "missing link" between late antique and Byzantine glazed wares. Archaeometric investigations have been undertaken to characterize the materials used for the bodies and glazes of glazed ceramics produced in Sofia and to determining the technological tradition to which these ceramics are related (Walton 2004; Waksman et

https://doi.org/10.53250/cba14.75-84

al. 2007; Waksman et al. 2008; Capelli et al. 2009; Capelli et al. 2010a; Capelli et al. 2010b; Walton, Tite 2010).

We considered a sample of 40 ceramics from the excavations of the Lozenets pottery workshop (fig. 1) that were carried out in 2000 by a team from the National Archaeological Institute with Museum of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences directed by Metodi Daskalov and Snezhana Goryanova (Daskalov, Goryanova 2009; Даскалов, Горянова 2009; Daskalov 2024, in this volume). This sample comes from a large assemblage found in close proximity to the pottery kilns that has been interpreted as their dump (Todorova 2024, in this volume). Although this assemblage seemed fairly homogeneous, we included in the sample overfired or distorted wasters in order to secure local references. The sample also contains tablewares as well as common and cooking wares that are both glazed and unglazed. The glazed and unglazed wares sometimes have the same form, thus raising the question of double firing (fig. 1: top left). Most of the sherds in the sample belong to the most common fabrics and forms of glazed wares, mainly jugs and mortars. Less common fabrics



Fig. 1. Examples of sherds sampled from the Lozenets workshop: fragments of glazed jugs and unglazed counterparts (top left), glazed mortar (top right), jug with lumps on the surface (bottom left), unglazed rim showing drops of glaze with a central hole (bottom right). Analyzed samples are indicated by Lyon laboratory id (Photos: S. Y. Waksman)

Обр. 1. Примери за фрагменти, взети от работилницата в кв. „Лозенец": фрагменти от глазирани кани и техните неглазирани аналози (горе вляво), глазиран мортарий (горе вдясно), кана с бучки по повърхността (долу вляво), неглазирано устие с капки глазура, в центъра на които има „кратерчета" (долу вдясно). Анализираните проби са обозначени с идентификатор на лаборатория в Лион (Снимки: С. Й. Ваксман)

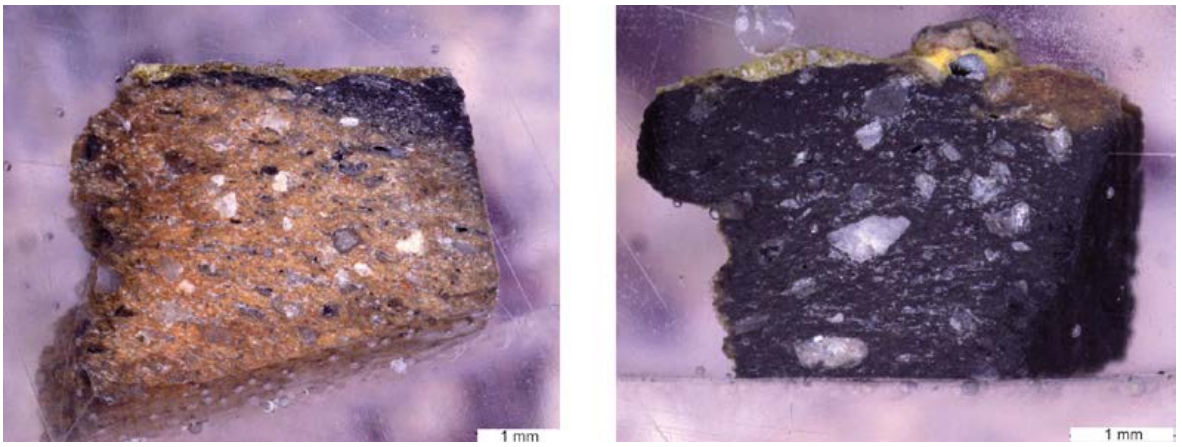


Fig. 2. Photos of polished cross-sections of samples under the binocular microscope, showing total reduction (right) or partial reduction (left) of the clay body on the glazed side. A large bubble at the surface of the glaze covered by crusting is also visible at right (samples BZN469 on the left and BZN473 on the right; Photos: J. Burlot)

Обр. 2. Снимки на полирани напречни сечения на проби, погледнати под бинокулярен микроскоп, показващи пълна редукция (вдясно) или частична редукция (вляво) на глиненото тяло от страната на глазурата. Вдясно се вижда и голямо мехурче на повърхността на глазурата, покрито с коричка (вляво – проба BZN469, вдясно – проба BZN473; Снимки: Ж. Бурло)

and forms were sampled as well to include representatives of most of the glazed repertoire (e.g., jars and cooking wares). A restricted number of unglazed wares was included as well to compare their chemical characteristics.

A smaller sample of six sherds was selected for glaze analysis. Four were jugs (BZN467, BZN475) and mortars (BZN469, BZN478). Two special cases were also considered: one jug bearing a large number of round lumps on the surface of its glaze (fig. 1: BZN473) and an otherwise unglazed sherd showing a large drop of glaze with a hole in the center (fig. 1: BZN487), a phenomenon known as pitting or pin-holing depending on the depth of the "crater".[1] These two samples were expected to provide further information on the glazing process. Unglazed sherds with either drops or trails of glaze are frequent, suggesting that glazed and unglazed wares were fired together in the same load in the kilns. The glaze applied to the former would have dripped onto the latter in a (semi-)liquid state.

Optical microscopy

Observations of cross-sections of the sherds under a binocular microscope show their bodies to be fairly coarse with inclusions reaching millimetric size (fig. 2). Most glazed sherds were only partly reoxidized during cooling in the kiln; a few remained completely reduced (fig. 2: left and right, respectively). In the former case, the reduced part of the sherd always corresponds to the glazed side, which supports a single firing process where reoxidation during cooling could only occur through the unglazed side.[2] Round lumps at the surface of the glaze, occasional on many sherds and particularly abundant at the surface of sample BZN473, are bubbles trapped directly below the surface rather than remains of unmelted glaze. Crusting may also be seen at the surface of a large lump on BZN473 (fig. 2: top right). The pinhole in sample BZN487 would be another

[1] We thank Dr. Rumyana Koleva from Sofia University "St. Kliment Ohridski" for information about similar defects on later glazed wares found at Silistra (Koleva 2009).

[2] See Picon 2002 for the successive steps of the firing cycle and the effects of an oxidizing or reducing atmosphere in the kiln on the color of the pottery.

id.	CaO	Fe_2O_3	TiO_2	K_2O	SiO_2	Al_2O_3	MgO	MnO	(Na_2O)	(P_2O_5)	Zr	(Sr)	Rb	Zn	Cr	Ni	(Ba)	V	Ce
BZN459	1.49	5.77	0.707	2.59	64.63	21.36	1.59	0.0464	1.56	0.08	181	188	148	92	78	25	552	119	75
BZN460	1.46	5.45	0.671	2.70	65.95	20.27	1.55	0.0463	1.65	0.06	164	198	142	85	74	25	571	115	77
BZN461	1.48	5.58	0.715	2.57	65.32	20.81	1.64	0.0447	1.60	0.08	179	187	143	90	78	27	550	124	75
BZN462	1.43	5.81	0.721	2.48	65.35	20.89	1.61	0.0454	1.39	0.10	177	183	143	89	78	24	543	126	76
BZN463	2.00	5.38	0.638	3.51	65.67	19.15	1.55	0.0533	1.71	0.17	178	213	153	83	74	24	578	96	73
BZN464	1.49	5.44	0.680	2.71	65.98	20.25	1.56	0.0450	1.58	0.09	166	192	148	85	76	25	544	117	81
BZN465	1.48	5.36	0.630	2.64	66.91	19.69	1.44	0.0452	1.59	0.08	153	187	140	82	71	25	557	104	70
BZN466	1.45	5.83	0.718	2.50	65.22	20.94	1.60	0.0478	1.38	0.14	170	184	143	89	78	25	556	127	67
BZN467	1.42	5.56	0.680	2.59	66.59	19.95	1.46	0.0502	1.41	0.12	166	181	143	84	73	22	565	123	72
BZN468	1.73	5.23	0.651	3.43	66.14	19.50	1.37	0.0466	1.58	0.14	166	248	137	79	69	22	779	113	59
BZN469	1.49	5.70	0.680	2.65	66.11	20.00	1.51	0.0522	1.53	0.11	170	199	143	84	74	23	593	120	73
BZN470	1.54	5.66	0.669	3.12	65.09	20.07	1.68	0.0446	1.75	0.15	158	186	143	89	80	25	567	115	77
BZN471	1.41	5.31	0.655	2.72	66.73	19.84	1.46	0.0419	1.58	0.08	164	187	142	90	71	23	547	111	76
BZN472	1.44	5.46	0.691	2.66	66.15	20.18	1.54	0.0482	1.54	0.10	183	183	145	88	75	25	543	116	88
BZN473	1.99	5.64	0.696	2.52	65.07	20.42	1.51	0.0437	1.51	0.42	175	266	141	89	78	25	794	122	80
BZN474	1.51	5.45	0.692	2.64	65.95	20.27	1.56	0.0476	1.59	0.12	192	190	149	89	77	23	576	115	87
BZN475	1.65	5.55	0.672	2.63	66.21	19.87	1.47	0.0526	1.53	0.20	173	209	138	83	74	24	652	111	74
BZN476	2.05	5.75	0.707	2.56	65.03	20.29	1.48	0.0450	1.45	0.45	175	261	135	89	78	25	811	119	66
BZN477	1.36	5.71	0.683	2.57	65.79	20.52	1.56	0.0436	1.54	0.07	164	183	140	89	77	26	545	119	77
BZN478	1.44	5.31	0.681	2.64	66.29	20.22	1.54	0.0460	1.57	0.10	170	190	145	85	81	24	551	116	81
BZN479	1.48	5.49	0.683	2.62	66.40	19.90	1.51	0.0444	1.53	0.14	196	191	143	83	72	24	562	122	75
BZN480	1.43	5.67	0.670	2.71	66.02	20.13	1.50	0.0479	1.58	0.07	163	187	151	87	77	25	558	112	88
BZN481	1.48	5.42	0.670	2.68	66.20	20.17	1.50	0.0427	1.56	0.11	163	187	144	87	74	24	556	111	75
BZN482	1.37	5.70	0.646	2.69	66.55	19.86	1.41	0.0459	1.50	0.08	173	178	150	83	74	23	532	106	71
BZN483	1.45	5.45	0.679	2.60	66.54	19.89	1.49	0.0458	1.59	0.11	177	189	143	86	74	23	572	116	83
BZN484	2.05	5.76	0.702	2.62	64.96	20.29	1.50	0.0463	1.42	0.44	166	254	134	88	83	28	899	126	75
BZN485	2.14	5.76	0.663	2.82	65.09	20.00	1.38	0.0523	1.48	0.41	166	245	136	89	79	24	980	106	66
BZN486	1.41	5.56	0.682	2.60	65.98	20.40	1.53	0.0434	1.54	0.08	174	184	141	88	74	24	569	115	71
BZN487	1.45	5.51	0.676	2.62	66.10	20.25	1.52	0.0455	1.51	0.11	167	187	141	84	74	25	564	118	77
BZN488	2.12	5.35	0.618	2.62	66.27	19.41	1.28	0.0444	1.56	0.52	147	280	132	83	71	23	777	104	72
BZN489	1.45	5.57	0.680	2.97	65.74	20.25	1.53	0.0431	1.50	0.10	169	186	147	89	77	24	550	119	84
BZN490	1.41	5.96	0.748	2.44	64.51	21.50	1.71	0.0458	1.40	0.08	173	181	141	93	84	27	542	129	81
BZN491	1.43	5.83	0.732	2.45	65.16	21.03	1.64	0.0460	1.44	0.09	178	186	144	90	77	26	548	128	84
BZN492	1.39	5.74	0.717	2.52	65.50	20.82	1.59	0.0466	1.42	0.08	172	175	144	91	83	25	543	128	81
BZN493	1.41	5.47	0.679	2.64	65.96	20.45	1.51	0.0430	1.55	0.11	163	184	142	87	74	24	550	118	77
BZN494	1.63	5.57	0.665	2.76	66.00	20.01	1.46	0.0429	1.57	0.13	154	202	136	87	76	25	703	116	75
BZN495	1.47	5.44	0.648	2.71	66.60	19.82	1.45	0.0418	1.56	0.10	168	189	142	84	75	25	594	112	75
BZN496	2.03	5.51	0.656	2.86	65.93	19.52	1.33	0.0585	1.51	0.39	167	305	136	84	70	24	825	109	74
BZN497	1.44	5.64	0.676	2.71	66.12	20.09	1.51	0.0457	1.50	0.09	180	195	139	86	72	23	584	114	74
BZN498	1.43	5.38	0.655	2.63	66.73	19.84	1.49	0.0428	1.56	0.08	159	191	145	82	80	24	564	110	83
m	**1.57**	**5.57**	**0.680**	**2.69**	**65.86**	**20.20**	**1.51**	**0.0463**	**1.53**	**0.15**	**170**	**202**	**142**	**87**	**76**	**24**	**614**	**116**	**76**
σ	**0.24**	**0.17**	**0.028**	**0.22**	**0.60**	**0.50**	**0.09**	**0.0035**	**0.08**	**0.13**	**10**	**32**	**5**	**3**	**4**	**1**	**113**	**7**	**6**
min	1.36	5.23	0.618	2.44	64.51	19.15	1.28	0.0418	1.38	0.06	147	175	132	79	69	22	532	96	59
max	2.14	5.96	0.748	3.51	66.91	21.50	1.71	0.0585	1.75	0.52	196	305	153	93	84	28	980	129	88

Table 1. Chemical composition of the ceramic body (WD-XRF; major and minor elements in oxide weight %, trace elements in ppm; m: mean, σ: standard deviation, min: minimum value, max: maximum value; elements between brackets were not taken into account in the histogram presented on fig. 3)

Таблица 1. Химичен състав на керамичното тяло (WD-XRF; основни и второстепенни елементи в тегловни % на оксида, микроелементи в ppm; m: средно, σ: стандартно отклонение, min: минимална стойност, max: максимална стойност; елементите в скоби не са взети предвид в представената хистограма на обр. 3)

aspect of the same phenomenon; bubbles of gas were either trapped in the glaze (the surface lumps) or exploded leaving a cavity in it (the pinholes). Both would be favored by a single firing, as a first biscuit firing prior to glazing and a second firing would have liberated gases caused by organic material contained in the clay body and so would have avoided such glazing defects.

Chemical analysis of the ceramic bodies

Chemical analysis of the ceramic bodies was carried out through wavelength-dispersive X-ray fluorescence (WD-XRF) at the Lyon laboratory (CNRS UMR 5138) using a Bruker S8 Tiger spectrometer. Samples were cut out with a diamond-coated saw, and any coating as well as the external layer, chemical composition of which is more liable to be altered by the burial environment, were removed. After heating at 950°C (for the removal of water, volatile elements, organics), cooling,

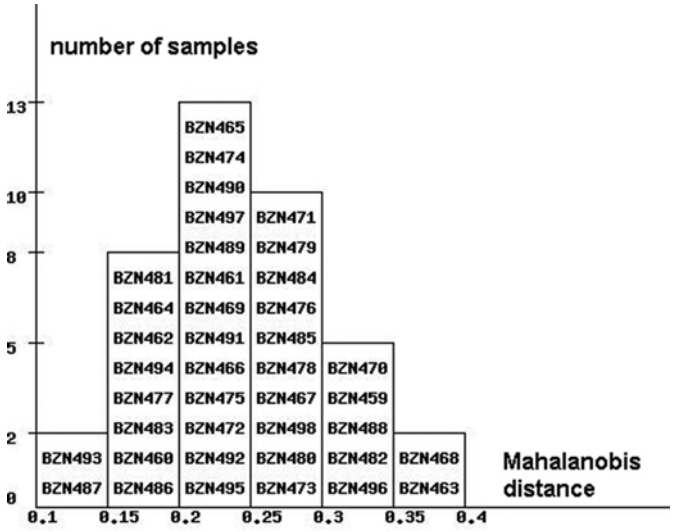


Fig. 3. Histogram of the Mahalanobis distances between each individual sample and the distribution of the group

Обр. 3. Хистограма на разстоянията по Махаланобис между всяка отделна проба и груповото разпределение

and grinding, 800 mg of ceramic powder was mixed with 3200 mg of flux (lithium metaborate and tetraborate). The mix was heated to a liquid state in a gold and platinum crucible then cast into a bead. Analysis was carried out on these homogeneous beads of fixed size to determine a mean chemical composition representative of the initial clay material. The calibration of the set-up was based on the analysis of 40 geological standard reference materials (including CRPG, USGS, and NIST certified international standards).[3]

The chemical compositions of the samples are very homogeneous, and the histogram of their individual Mahalanobis distances to the distribution of the group shows its statistical consistency (Table 1, fig. 3). They correspond to low calcareous bodies (mean CaO ~ 1.6 %) that are not very ferruginous (Fe_2O_3 ~ 5.6 %) and with concentrations in alkali and alkali-earths too high for us to consider them kaolinitic (mean K_2O ~ 2.7 %, mean MgO ~ 1.5 %). Elements such as Sr, Ba, and P have more variable concentrations, with distributions skewed towards high values that were interpreted as pollution during burial (e.g. Picon 1991) and were not taken into account in the histogram (fig. 3). Two samples differ because of a slightly higher potassium content (BZN463, BZN468). The same clays were used in Serdica to manufacture the whole repertoire, whether glazed or unglazed and designed for cooking or not. These low-calcareous clays are suitable for cooking wares that have to withstand thermal stress, so it was not necessary to look for a different more appropriate material.[4] It may be noted that the sherds that looked a bit different visually, with a clearer surface reminding us of kaolinitic wares, were not distinguished from the others through chemical analysis.

Chemical analysis of the glazes

To analyze the ceramic glazes, samples were embedded in a polyester resin, cross-sectioned to expose all the layers, polished up to a 1 μm diamond paste, and then carbon-coated for SEM-EDS[5] analysis. Prior to carbon-coating, the cross-sections were observed under a binocular microscope with magnifications ranging from 10x to 115x.

Glazes analyses were carried out with a SEM (FEI Quanta FEG 250) at the Technological Center for Microstructures (CTμ) in Lyon. The study of the microstructures was mainly performed

[3] A detailed description of the analytical setup and its performances may be found in Thirion-Merle 2024.

[4] This is not the general case, and it is commonly observed that different clays were used in workshops manufacturing both cooking and tablewares; see, for example, Marchesi et al. 1997.

[5] Scanning Electron Microscopy/Energy Dispersive Spectroscopy.

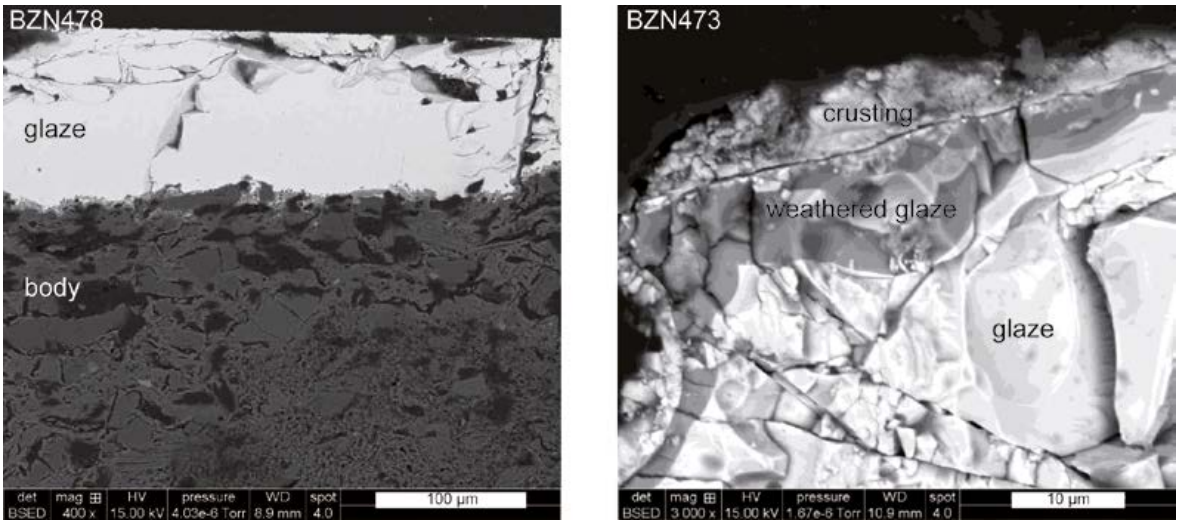


Fig. 4. Backscattered electron (BSE) SEM images of cross-sections of glazed ceramics, showing the chemical contrast between the high-lead glaze and the underlying body (left), and zooming in on the surface structures of a crusting and of altered glaze on top of the initial glaze (samples BZN478 on the left and BZN473 on the right; Photos: J. Burlot)

Обр. 4. Изображения на напречни сечения на глазирана керамика, получени чрез обратно разсеяни електрони (BSE) и сканираща електронна микроскопия (SEM), показващи химическия контраст между глазурата с високо съдържание на олово и намиращото се под нея тяло (вляво) и увеличение на повърхностните структури на кора и на изменена глазура върху първоначалната глазура (вляво – проба BZN478, вдясно – проба BZN473; Снимки: Ж. Бурло)

using backscattered electron (BSE) images that differentiate various phases according to the atomic numbers of their elementary content (fig. 3). Elemental compositions were determined by energy-dispersive X-ray spectrometry (EDS) using an Oxford Instruments Ultim® Max 65 mm2 silicon drift detector. All measurements were operated at 15 kV acceleration voltage in 60 s by setting the working distance at about 10 mm. Standardless quantification was performed using a PAP correction method of the intensities. AZtecLive software was used for data acquisition and evaluation, and the reliability of the results was tested by measuring reference glasses and geological standards (Corning Brill B, C and D, DR-N). The compositions of the glazes are given as an average of three to five measurements on different zones that avoided weathered areas and glaze-body interfaces. In addition, spot analyses were carried out on selected inclusions.

The analysis of the glazes shows homogeneous composition. Lead is the only flux, with concentrations reaching 70 % PbO and the contents in alkali being below 1.4 % Na_2O+K_2O. The iron concentrations are between 1.7 and 2.4 % FeO, which may account for the greenish to brownish color of the glazes (when applied to a reduced or oxidized body surface, respectively; Table 2). The respective concentrations of silicium in the bodies and glazes support that lead was applied directly to the body surface and reacted with the silicon of the body to form the glaze (see, for example, Waksman et al. 2008). Weathered layers may be observed as well as superficial layers rich in lead, calcium, and phosphorus that correspond to crustings on some of the round lumps at the surface of the glaze (fig. 4: right).

An interesting feature is the localized concentration of bismuth (up to 4 % Bi_2O_3) in inclusions rich in lead at the body-glaze interface (sample BZN467, Table 2, fig. 5).[6] Such high concentrations in Bi are rare in lead objects (L'Héritier et al. 2015) but were found in a wooden-lead anchor sunk in the Black Sea off the coast of Bulgaria (Kuleff et al. 1995). Although the attribution of this

[6] Further investigations by LA-ICP-MS analysis are ongoing.

id.	Al_2O_3	SiO_2	PbO	Na_2O	MgO	K_2O	CaO	FeO	TiO_2	SrO	Bi_2O_3
glazes											
BZN467	5.8	18.1	71.3	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.7	1.8	0.2	0.3	
BZN469	5.8	16.2	73.4	0.2	0.5	0.4	0.9	1.8	0.2	0.3	
BZN473	5.1	15.6	74.2	0.3	0.4	0.3	1.3	1.7	0.2	0.3	
BZN475	5.3	17.7	71.3	0.2	0.5	0.6	0.7	2.8	0.2	0.2	
BZN478	6.0	19.6	69.6	0.3	0.5	0.5	0.5	1.8	0.2	0.6	
BZN487	7.4	22.2	64.2	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.9	2.4	0.3	0.4	
inclusions at the body-glaze interface, BZN467											
spectrum 1	7.9	23.1	57.4	0.2	0.2	2.6	0.8	2.5	0.4	0.1	3.9
spectrum 2	12.9	29.6	50.1	0.3	0.2	3.2	0.8	1.3	0.2	0.2	1.0

Table 2. Semi-quantitative chemical analysis of the glazes and of the selected inclusions shown on fig. 5, scanning electron microscopy with energy-dispersive spectroscopy (SEM-EDS; oxide weight %)

Таблица 2. Полуколичествен химичен анализ на глазурите и на избраните включения, показани на обр. 5, сканираща електронна микроскопия с енергийно-дисперсионна спектроскопия (SEM-EDS; % тегло на оксида)

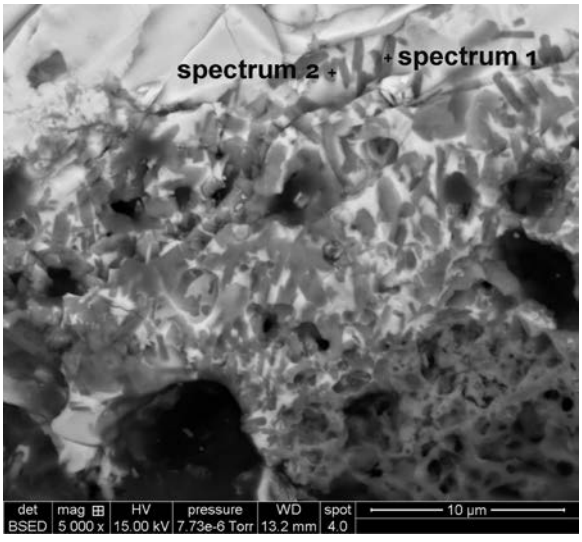


Fig. 5. Inclusions at the body-glaze interface, backscattered electron (BSE) image showing the location of SEM-EDS analysis reported in Table 2 (sample BZN467; Photo: J. Burlot)

Обр. 5. Включения на границата на взаимодействие между керамичното тяло и глазурата, изображение чрез обратно разпръснати електрони (BSE), показващо местоположението на SEM-EDS анализите, отчетени в Таблица 2 (проба BZN467; Снимка: Ж. Бурло)

anchor to a metal source in the Rhodope mountains was not clear, it is probably not by chance that high-Bi lead is found in the glazes of a Bulgarian pottery production as well.

Concluding remarks

Chemical investigations of a sample of ceramics produced in the 6th – early 7th c. Lozenets pottery workshop in Sofia indicate that all the categories of wares, whether glazed or unglazed and designed for cooking or not, were manufactured with the same clay material. Several clues point to a single firing.

Chemical analyses of the bodies and glazes show them to be low-calcareous bodies associated with high-lead glazes. Such features belong to a technical tradition observed in the Balkans and northern Italy in a period that is usually not very well-defined between the 5th and the 7th c. (Capelli et al. 2009; Capelli et al. 2010a; Capelli et al. 2010b). The Lozenets material enables us to specify more precisely that these characteristics are found in a 6th – early 7th c. production that just precedes that of Glazed White Ware I, considered to be the first Byzantine glazed wares *stricto sensu*. The latter continues this tradition, with the nuance that the low-calcareous clays are kaolinitic (Waksman et

al. 2007; Waksman et al. 2008).

Our analysis of wares produced in Sofia also shows that the glazes contain phases with high concentrations of bismuth, a potential marker of the lead's provenance.

Acknowledgments

This research was supported by a French-Bulgarian PHC RILA program (project number: 48049UB) co-directed by Evelina Todorova and Sylvie Yona Waksman and funded by the French Ministry for Europe and Foreign Affairs, the French Ministry for Higher Education and Research, and the Bulgarian National Science Fund according to contract No. КП-06-Рила-6/15.12.2021. This work was also made possible by grants to Georgia Giannaki from the Hellenic Foundation for Research and Innovation (HFRI) under the 3rd call for HFRI PhD Fellowship grant (Fellowship Number: 6804) and from the French Academy (Jean Walter Zellidja grant). Our thanks also goes to the staff of the "Céramologie" (CNRS UMR 5138) and the CTμ (Lyon 1 University) platforms in Lyon and to the MONARIS laboratory (UMR 8233) in Paris.

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ХИМИЧНИ АНАЛИЗИ НА КЕРАМИЧНИ ТЕЛА И ГЛАЗУРИ ОТ ГРЪНЧАРСКАТА РАБОТИЛНИЦА, РАЗКОПАНА В КВ. „ЛОЗЕНЕЦ" (СОФИЯ, VI – НАЧАЛОТО НА VII В.): ПРЕДВАРИТЕЛНИ РЕЗУЛТАТИ

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РЕЗЮМЕ

Подбрани са 40 глазирани и неглазирани керамични фрагмента от VI – началото на VII в., произлизащи от грънчарската работилница в кв. „Лозенец", София (антична Сердика), за да се изследва техниката им на производство. Химичните анализи на керамичните тела показват, че един и същ нисковаровит глинен материал е използван за производството на всички категории съдове (глазирани и неглазирани, предназначени или не за готвене). Глазурите са с високо съдържание на олово, със забележимо съдържание на бисмут в някои включения, което може да е показателно

за произхода на оловните съединения. Последните вероятно са нанасяни директно върху нисковаровитите тела за образуване на глазурата. По отношение на процеса на опалване на съдовете, съществуващите податки сочат, че то се е осъществявало само веднъж. Въз основа на тези данни се предполага, че производството на глазирана керамика в Сердика е свързано с техническата традиция, наблюдавана на Балканите и в Северна Италия между V и VII в., която продължава да съществува и във „Византийска глазирана белоглинена керамика I“ (GWWI) от VII в.

Ключови думи: съдове с покритие от високооловна глазура, ранновизантийска керамика, Сердика, България, производствени техники, анализ на керамично тяло и глазура, химичен анализ, WD-XRF, SEM-EDS

WAS EMPEROR PHOCAS BEARDED? NOTES ON AN UNSOLVED PROBLEM IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF IMPERIAL IMAGES IN THE OFFICIAL ART OF BYZANTIUM

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"God ... made him a living image of His power"
(Eusebius Caesariensis. Life of Constantine. I.5.)

ABSTRACT

Here the established notion is challenged that the first steps towards the portrayal of individual features (such as beards) in ruler representations in the official art of Byzantium were made in depictions of Emperor Phocas (602 – 610) with a beard on some of the coins issued in his time as well as on his bullae.

Keywords: imperial images, Early Byzantine official art, Emperor Phocas, coins, beard

1. The problem

At first glance, the question of whether or not Emperor Phocas had a beard, which is the subject of this paper, may seem insignificant. Such a perception would be misleading, however, especially since it is now considered proven that Phocas was in fact the first bearded emperor for the entire period since the time of Emperor Constantine I, with the fleeting exceptions of Emperor Julian the Apostate and the usurper influenced by him, Eugenius. This phenomenon has still not found a satisfactory explanation. Elaboration on this topic will certainly contribute to clarifying some ill-resolved questions on the familiar conventionality characteristic of Byzantine art and the Byzantine worldview. The firm conclusions of André Grabar written 90 years ago, for example, are highly illustrative in this respect: "*...l'art du portrait appelé à fixer ce masque officiel – signe de grandeur surhumaine – ne fait qu'offrir une formule plastique adéquate à cette vision solennelle et abstraite, en se bornant, pour permettre d'identifier une image impériale, à noter sommairement quelque trait saillant (p. ex. une barbe) d'une physionomie de basileus et à tracer, à côté, le nom du personnage que l'image est censée représenter. L'empereur n'existe guère en tant que thème de l'art portraitique, en dehors de son rang ou de sa fonction sociale mystique à la fois, et la première tâche du "portrait" est précisément de faire sentir qu'un tel est le "vrai" basileus, en montrant qu'il en a les traits nobles et graves obligatoires, rallure majestueuse prescrite, le geste*

consacré, les vêtements et les insignes réglementaires..."[1] (Grabar 1936, 10).

Researchers continue to accept Grabar's view unreservedly to this day. Grabar only notes the appearance of beards (defined by Grabar as a salient feature – "*quelque trait saillant*") in a significant number of Emperor Phocas' depictions known mainly from the bullae and some coin types issued during his reign between 602 and 610.[2] Grabar attributed this phenomenon solely to the need to determine the identity of the emperor's image ("*d'identifier une image impériale*"). Grabar does not explain what caused this necessity, though, especially considering that "anonymous" imperial portraits had been prevalent for nearly three centuries.

Philip Grierson, one of the notable numismatists of our time, was the first to attempt an explanation. This is what he wrote on the subject, thirty years after Grabar: "*The sudden abandonment of the customary anonymity of official art is something that must surely be ascribed to the orders of Phocas himself and can in part be accounted for by his plebeian background. He was the first emperor for several centuries to have been raised suddenly to supreme power without any previous period of cultural acclimatization. Justin I was no doubt illiterate, but as commander of the palace guard he must at least have become habituated to the standards and notions of artistic propriety current in court circles. A contributory cause may also have been a resemblance between Phocas bearded face and contemporary representations of Christ as we see them on ampullae from the Holy Land; it may have flattered him to be brought before the eyes of his subjects in this fashion. In any case, his restoration of portraiture set its mark on Byzantine coinage for almost the whole of the following century*" (Grierson 1968, 90).

Barry Baldwin has provided another explanation for the appearance of a beard on this emperor's face. He notes that "*Phocas would cultivate hispidity to disguise his disfiguring facial scar*" (Baldwin 1981, 18 – 19). Why do not only Grabar, Grierson, and Baldwin, but also all contemporary scholars of the period continue to insist that Phocas wore a beard? This is despite the fact that a considerable number of his coins issued by all the mints of the empire and from every year of his reign also depict him as clean-shaven?

Asserting that the emperor wore a beard based solely on the fact that some coins from his reign depict him with a beard, however, is hardly an example of rigorous scientific research. I personally do not find well-founded the view that the bearded image of Phocas on some of his coins indicates that a beard was one of his salient features ("*trait saillant*") and that his beardless depictions are to be taken as conventional representations inherited from the preceding period of late antique coinage. To provide more clarity on the subject, a brief review of the available sources – both material artifacts and written records – is necessary.

2. The sources

2.1. Images from material artifacts

2.1.1. Coin types

By tradition established in the previous century, the largest gold coins, the solidi, depicted imperial images frontally. It is on these coins that Phocas is shown with his characteristic pointed

[1] "...the art of portraiture, which is called upon to fix this official mask – a sign of superhuman grandeur – only offers an adequate plastic formula for this solemn and abstract vision, limiting itself, in order to identify an imperial image, to briefly noting some salient feature (e.g. a beard) of the physiognomy of a basileus and to tracing, next to it, the name of the personage that the image is supposed to represent. The emperor hardly exists as a theme of portraiture, apart from his rank or his mystical social function at the same time, and the first task of the "portrait" is precisely to make one feel that such a person is the "true" basileus, by showing that he has the obligatory noble and serious features, the prescribed majestic bearing, the consecrated gesture, the regulatory clothing and insignia...".

[2] I must emphasize that Grabar is extremely careful on this issue and does not specifically connect Emperor Phocas with the appearance of the first "bearded" imperial images in his work.



Fig. 1. Depictions of Emperor Phocas on his gold coins: a. Solidus; b. 1/2 solidi; c. Tremisses – beardless; d. Tremisses – bearded (all coins are in private collections). On the frontal bearded representations, Emperor Phocas is depicted with a crown, and on the ones in profile and beardless – with a diadem

Обр. 1. Изображения на император Фока според златните му монети: a. Солид; b. ½ солид; c. Тремис – без брада; d. Тремис – с брада (всички монети са в частни колекции). Върху фронталните си и брадати изображения Фока е представен с корона, а върху онези, в които е представен в профил и без брада – с диадема



Fig. 2. Depictions of Emperor Phocas on his silver coins: a. Miliarense (in private collection); b. 1/2 miliarense (in private collection); c. Ceremonial coin – medallion (3 miliarense?; after Grierson 1968, No. 21); d. Ceremonial coin – 200 nummi (?; after Grierson 1968, No. 112.1). On these nominals Phocas is depicted in the same way as on his gold coins: in the frontal bearded representations he wears a crown, and on the ones in profile and beardless – with a diadem

Обр. 2. Изображения на император Фока според сребърните му монети: a. Милиаренсия (в частна колекция); b. 1/2 милиаренсия (в частна колекция); c. Церемониална монета – медальон (3 милиаренсии?; по Grierson 1968, No. 21); d. Церемониална монета – 200 нумии (?; по Grierson 1968, No. 112.1). Върху тези номинали Фока е представен като върху златните си монети – на фронталните брадати изображения той е с корона, а върху профилните, безбрадите – с диадема

medium-length beard or "goatee" (fig. 1a).[3] On smaller denomination coins, the semisses and tremisses, that follow the same tradition, he is depicted in profile and is clean-shaven (fig. 1b, c). Two limited issues of tremisses on which he is depicted in profile with a beard (fig. 1d) pose an exception. On the silver coins, the miliarense and half miliarense, Phocas' bust is again in profile and beardless (fig. 2a); however, on the half miliarense he is depicted frontally with a beard (fig. 2b). The situation is similar with the copper coins issued during his reign; the folles, ¾ folles, decanummi, and pentanummi all depict the frontal images of Phocas (alone or with Leontia) with a beard, except for a few issues where the emperor is depicted beardless (Grierson 1964, 247 – 250).[4] The smallest copper coins, the dodecanummia, depict Phocas either frontally with a beard or turned to

[3] This type of beard is referred to as a "wet beard" in Russian art history literature.

[4] The explanation of Grierson, who published them, is that they appeared as a product of engravers' carelessness (Grierson 1964, 248).

the right and beardless. On several known "nonstandard issues" of silver coins, the medallion (or 300 nummi?), 120 nummi (?), and 200 nummi (?), Phocas is depicted either beardless in profile (the first two) or frontally with a beard (fig. 2c, d).

2.1.2. The bullae

The bullae of Phocas known to me invariably depict the emperor facing forward with a beard and medium-length hair covering his ears (fig. 3), i.e., exactly as he is depicted on his solidi (fig. 1a). This connection between the two types of artifacts has been explicitly noted by the compilers of the catalogue of Byzantine seals held in the collection at the Dumbarton Oaks Institute in Washington, D.C., and at Harvard University's Fogg Art Museum in Cambridge (Nesbitt, Morrisson 2009, 20). This is why they are only mentioned here to register the existence of this type of material source related to the topic.

2.1.3. Counterweight for a single-arm scale

In one of the only three known counterweights featuring male ("imperial") images, some researchers still identify the figure as Emperor Phocas, albeit with uncertainty. It was found in the city of Haifa (present-day Israel) in 1867 (fig. 4) and is today kept in the collections of the British Museum under reg. No. 1867,1005.1. The counterweight is shaped like the bust of



Fig. 3. Lead seal (bulla) with an image of Emperor Phocas (after Соколова 2007, 28, № 23)

Обр. 3. Оловен печат (моливдовул) с изображение на император Фока (по Соколова 2007, 28, № 23)



Fig. 4. Counterweight for scales assumed by many to represent Emperor Phocas (after Dalton 1901, 98, № 485)

Обр. 4. Кантарната противотежест, за която мнозина и досега приемат, че представлява изображение на император Фока (по Dalton 1901, 98, № 485)

a bearded man (an emperor?) with long hair reaching his shoulders. He wears a diadem on his head, and his body is draped in a robe fastened at the right shoulder by a round fibula with three pendants. The tunic covering his right shoulder features a circular ornament with a cross at the center. The counterweight is made from a thin bronze sheet, and its cavity is filled with lead. The hoop formed on the crown, through which the arm of the scale was once fitted, is broken off and missing. In its present state, the counterweight is 19.1 cm tall, has a maximum width of 14.49 cm, and is 5.40 kg in weight without the missing hoop. The archaeologist and British Museum curator Ormond Dalton, the first researcher of this intriguing object, identified the image depicted on it as a bust of Emperor Phocas because "*A comparison with coins of Phocas (602 – 610) suggests that the weight may represent that emperor*" (Dalton 1901, 98, № 485). Anne McClanan, however, has justifiably contested the identification of the figure depicted on the counterweight. As a conclusion to her study of counterweights with "imperial" images, she wrote: "...*it seems unlikely that the male figures represent specific historical figures...*", and she holds that the same applies to the female ones (McClanan 2002, 63). It seems that these scale counterweights were likely designed as symbolic imperial images to serve as guarantees of the accuracy of their weights and, by extension, the integrity of the transactions conducted using their single-arm scales.

2.1.4 Images that have not survived to the present day

Two similar images are mentioned in the sources known to us: the portrait of Emperor Phocas and his wife Leontia, sent from Constantinople and received in Rome on April 25, 602, and the statue of Phocas, which was likely erected around 610 near the Magnaura in Constantinople.

2.1.4.1. This is what we know about the first of them, according to a chronicle preserved in the Vatican Archives: "*Venit autem icona suprascriptorum Focae et Leontiae Augustorum Romae septimo Kalendarum Maiarum, et acclamatum est eis in Lateranis in basilica Iulii ab omni clero uel senatu: "Exaudi Christe! Focae Augusto et Leontiae Augustae vita!" Tunc iussit ipsam iconam domnus beatissimus et apostolicus Gregorius papa reponi eam in oratorio sancti Cesarii intra palacio*"[5] (Norberg 1982, 1101, App. VIII. 10 – 15). Unfortunately, there is no description of this image in the record. In all probability, however, it did not differ significantly from the coin images where Phocas and Leontia are depicted full-length and side by side facing forward (fig. 5) and with Phocas wearing a beard.



Fig. 5. The Augusti Phocas and Leontia, according to a follis issued in 605 at Theopolis (Antioch; in a private collection)

Обр. 5. Августите Фока и Леонтия, според фолис, емитиран през 605 г. в Теополис (Антиохия; в частна колекция)

A lot has been written about these royal portraits, which were typically sent to cities and provinces throughout the empire during imperial ascensions. It is important to note, however, that during Late Antiquity these portraits held exclusively official political and legal value,[6] which

[5] "And the image of the aforementioned Phocas and Leontia Augusti arrived in Rome on the seventh day of the May Kalends and was welcomed in the Lateran at the Basilica of Julius before the entire clergy and senate: "Listen, O Christ! To Phocas Augustus and Leontia Augusta, [long] life!" Then the most blessed and apostolic vicar, Pope Gregory, ordered that the image be placed in the oratory of St. Caesarius [of Terracina] in the palace".

[6] Details on the acceptance or non-acceptance of these portraits by their recipients, as well as their legal and political value, can be found in Treitinger 1956, 204 ff.

is why they were not actual portraits of the figures they depicted. Regarding imperial portraits of the time in general, including those of the type we are interested in, Grabar wrote that "*...la personne physique du prince s'efface devant le porteur auguste du pouvoir suprême, de mème l'image de l'empereur s'attache avant tout à la représentation du souverain, reconnaissable moins à ses traits personnels qu'à ses insignes, à son attitude et à son geste rituels...*"[7] (Grabar 1936, 10).

2.1.4.2. The second known depiction of Phocas was a three-dimensional statue cast in bronze that was erected towards the end of his reign behind the Magnaura building. It is mentioned in two works describing the landmarks of Constantinople – one from the end of the 10th c. (Berger 2013, 72 – 73), and the other from the beginning of the 11th c. Comparing the texts of the two works reveals their undoubted connection. Moreover, regarding the account of the statue of Phocas, it is evident that the authors of both texts used a common source. Both texts refer to the period when the statue was put up to the final days of Phocas' reign.

The account from the early 11th c. that is preserved in the well-known, possibly "tourist's guide" work *Παραστάσεις σύντομοι χρονικαί* (Brief Historical Notes), however, is more detailed. This is why I have chosen to present it here: [The rumour that he will suffer a horrible death for butchering so many people] "*...came to the ears of the Emperor Phocas while the statue (stele) was being cast, and he made so much haste in the erection of the statue (stele) that, as his contemporaries have told, he caused still more deaths. But he gave much money to the workmen to speed up the work; and eighteen days after the same statue (stele) was put up, he was cast out from the imperial power, getting nothing better than he dispensed, a horrible death...*"[8] (Cameron, Herrin 1984, 156 – 157).

Unfortunately, neither text provides any opportunity to ascertain with certainty whether the emperor was depicted in this image as beardless or with a beard. Despite the silence of the anonymous authors on this issue, I am inclined to believe that Emperor Phocas was depicted as beardless in this statue. Otherwise it would be inexplicable why two inhabitants of Constantinople like Symeon Magister and Logothete (better known to us as Leo Grammaticus)[9] and George Cedrenus[10] (who will be discussed below), both of whom lived at the time these texts were composed and disseminated, would represent Phocas in their works as beardless if his statue, which was daily before their eyes, depicted him with a beard.

2.2. The written sources

Today, we have two rather detailed textual descriptions of the appearance of this emperor: one in the chronicle of Symeon Magister and Logothete, who likely worked under Emperors Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus and Basil II, and the other in the chronicle of George Cedrenus that was created after the mid-11th c. Both seem to be based on a common, now-lost earlier source (or sources) in which Phocas is specifically depicted as beardless. Since these descriptions are very

[7] "...the physical person of the prince fades before the august bearer of supreme power, likewise the image of the emperor is attached above all to the representation of the sovereign, recognizable less by his personal features than by his insignia, his attitude and his ritual gestures...".

[8] In Patria, the respective passage states: "*And in the seventh year of his reign, toward its end, he strove to set upon on the column that had been built, and eighteen days after it had been set up he was deposed from imperial power*" (Berger 2013, 72 – 73).

[9] There has been considerable controversy regarding the identity of the author of this chronicle, which will be discussed below. According to some scholars, however, its author was most likely a representative of the metropolitan official aristocracy ("*ее автор был, скорее всего, представителем служилой столичной аристократии*"; Виноградова 2014, 18). In the most recent scholarly edition known to me, the chronicle is almost certainly attributed to the work of Symeon Magister, which is why it is published under the title "Chronicle of Symeon Magister and Logothete" (Wahrlgren 2006); the notes clarifying the identity of its author are on pp. 3* – 8*. The question is reviewed in much greater detail in Treadgold 2013, 197 – 224.

[10] George Cedrenus was not born in Constantinople but moved there in the late 1070s (Treadgold 2013, 340).

similar, I will only present the one from the earlier chronicle of Symeon Magister here: "...*hic Phocas fuerat centurio in exercitu, corporis statura mediocri, deformis, vultum habens turgidum, comam rubram, supercilia iuncta et barbam tonsam: in mala cicatricem habebat, quae, quum irascebatur, nigrescebat; erat vinosus, caede gaudens et feminarum amans, saevus et audax in dicendo, sine misericordia et horridis moribus...*"[11] (Leo Grammaticus, 143).[12] The nature of this description is such that a modern scholar of the text wrote about it that seems to be borrowed from an official document (*"qui semble emprunté à un document official"*; Vailhé 1910, 204).

The discrepancy between the "bearded" images of Phocas on some of his coin types and the bullae and the written sources had long been noticed. Most researchers did not comment on it, but some tried to explain it. This is what the British numismatist, Warwick Wroth, wrote back in 1908: "*On his coins Phocas has an unkept, almost ruffianly appearance: he is always represented bearded, so that the description of Cedrenus must, in this particular, be inaccurate. We may rely all the more on the testimony of the coins because, in this case, a bearded Emperor is a deliberate innovation on the beardless type of the previous reigns*" (Wroth 1908, XXII – XXIII). And this is what can be read on the same subject in a much more recent work by the French scholar Cecile Morrisson, one of the prominent modern researchers of Byzantine coinage: "*Κερόμενος désigne peut-être dans ce cas la forme particulière de cette barbe taillée en pointe*"[13] (Morrisson 1970, 218, n. 1). I do not find Morrison's explanation convincing, however, since in Greek the adjective *κειρόμενος* is derived from the verb *κείρω* (to shear, shave, cut off), which is why it could not be used to refer to specific beard grooming. The descriptions of Symeon Magister and George Cedrenus were thus lightly dismissed.

The question of Emperor Phocas' beard probably would be easier to solve if there was not another written source that represents him with a beard. These are fragments from a chronicle that did not survive in its entirety and that is attributed to the 7th c. Byzantine chronicler John of Antioch,[14] whose work is preserved in copies from the 15th and the 16th c. (Excerpta de insidiis – Codex Scorialensis ω 1 and Codex Parisinus gr. 1666). Here is a brief retelling of the episode in Phocas' life immediately preceding his rebellion, where he first appeared in history according to some scholars. Towards the end of 599 or 600, Phocas was sent as part of an army delegation to Emperor Maurice to demand the removal of his commander Comentiolus. Maurice's attempt to defend the warlord angered Phocas, a centurion at the time. Phocas, unrestrained, began to speak indecently about the emperor. To quiet him, *"εἷς τῶν πατρικίων ἐπιδραμὼν τῷ Φωκᾷ ἀπέσπασε τῶν γενείων αὐτοῦ"* ("*one of the patricians* [present] *pounced on him and pulled his beard*"; Roberto 2005, Fr. 316, 546 – 547).

[11] "...This Phocas was a centurion in the army, of medium height, ugly, with a lined face, red hair, close-set eyebrows, and a shaven beard (τὸ γένειον κειρόμενος). He bore a prominent scar that darkened when he was angry; he was a drunkard, delighted in murder, and was a lover of women; cruel and foul-mouthed, he was merciless and of terrible manners...".

[12] Phocas' description in Cedrenus differs insignificantly (see George Cedrenus, 775 – 776). Of the twenty extant manuscripts of this chronicle, this text appears in the transcripts of the 'P, H, and K' (χ) group, according to Alexandra Sotiridou's study, which was accepted by Stefan Wahrlgren and presented in the textual-critical apparatus on page 154 of his published "Chronicle of Symeon Magister and Logothete" (Wahrlgren 2006). In the Russian translation of the chronicle (Виноградова 2014), the passage is on p. 126 and the notes on the manuscripts known to us are on pp. 10 – 16.

[13] "In this case κερόμενος perhaps refers to the particular shape of this pointed beard".

[14] There have been, and continue to be, serious disputes over the authorship of all the narratives attributed to John of Antioch that follow the time of Emperor Anastasius. They are summarized in Treadgold 2007, 311 – 329. I consider the arguments presented by Sergey Mariev regarding their obscure authorship and later incorporation into the works attributed to John of Antioch to be quite compelling. This is why Mariev did not include these narratives in the most recent publication of the Chronicle of John of Antioch (Mariev 2008, 4* – 8*).

This narrative is undoubtedly interesting not only because it introduces us to Phocas for the first time but also because it mentions his beard, which was apparently long enough to be caught and pulled. John of Antioch returned to this episode in his narrative. In Fragment 318, which recounts Phocas' accession, it is mentioned that just before ascending to the throne, the vengeful basileus "*Dunque Foca chiese del patricius che gli aveva afferrato la barba, e disse:* "*Portate il mio caro amico*", *e lo fece decapitare*"[15] (Roberto 2005, 548 – 549). In his subsequent narrative, the anonymous author (assumed to be John of Antioch) did not forget Phocas' beard. In Fragment 321, which recounts his deposition and beheading, we read that "*Fozio…entrò nel palazzo con le truppe, catturò Foca e lo trascinò fuori dal palazzo per la barba. Lo spogliarono della veste imperiale, lo gettarono dentro una piccola imbarcazione e lo portarono da Eraclio*"[16] (Roberto 2005, 554 – 555). We see that in the narrative presented by John of Antioch, Phocas' beard plays a special, even pivotal role. It is mentioned when Phocas first appears on the historical scene, again when he ascends to power, and a third time when he is deposed and killed. In fact, the beard is such an important element in the narrative of the so-called John of Antioch that a specific myth seems to have been constructed around it, likely according to the author's intention.

The motives behind the supposed author's creation of this "bearded myth" can only be speculated upon, given that little is known about his life and the exact period in which he lived and worked. It is likely that he worked after 1204 when the Latins, who had captured Constantinople, melted down numerous bronze statues, as noted by Niketas Choniates (Magoulias 1984, 357 – 362),[17] including possibly Phocas'.[18] Consequently, no one could compare the possibly beardless image of Phocas with the depiction in the account of the anonymous author supposed to be John of Antioch.

Moreover, it is curious that Theophylact Simocatta, the only Byzantine historian who lived and worked during the time of the events (with his history likely completed no later than 630), presented the events of 602 in such a different way. In his work, for example, Phocas first appears not as a member of a military delegation sent to the emperor but as one of a delegation to their own strategos (*magister militum*) Peter the brother of Emperor Maurice while the army was encamped at Palastolum (?) near the town of Oescus (present-day remains near the village of Gigen, Pleven region). A careful examination of Theophylact Simocatta's narrative in Book Eight, §§ VI. 9 – VII.1 – 7 and XIII.1 suggests that Peter is the basis for the "patrician" character who insulted Phocas by pulling his beard in John of Antioch's account (Феофилакт Симокатта, 81, 189).

It is also worth noting that in Byzantine art, pulling someone's beard was a gesture symbolizing victory over heretics (Grabar 1984, 130), and Phocas was declared a heretic by George Cedrenus (*"καὶ αἱρετικός"*; George Cedrenus, 776); this detail is missing in Symeon Magister. It appears that in Byzantine art, the gesture of "beard pulling" was depicted long after the iconoclastic period, most probably following the schism of 1054. It seems most likely that Phocas was labeled a heretic by George Cedrenus due to his significant rapprochement with the Roman Church, which he even acknowledged as having primacy under Pope Boniface III ca. 19th February 607 (Dölger

[15] "So Phocas asked for the patricius who had grabbed his beard, and said: "Bring my dear friend," and had him beheaded".

[16] "Photius…entered the palace with his troops, captured Phocas and dragged him out of the palace by his beard. They stripped him of his imperial robes, threw him into a small boat and took him to Heraclius".

[17] See Bulgarian translation in Марков 2012, 245 – 252.

[18] In Niketas Choniates' list of the statues destroyed by the Latins in his essay "De Signis" (On the Statues), the statue of Phocas is not mentioned. However, Niketas' aim was not to create an inventory of all the destroyed works of art in the City, *"but in creating a list of symbolic loci of memory"*, as noted by Foteini Spingou, who has studied this narrative of his (Spingou 2022, 182).

1924, 17, No. 155); however, it was during Cedrenus' time that the final break between the Constantinopolitan and Roman churches occurred in 1054 and when anti-Roman sentiment in Constantinople was extremely strong then. I should note that in the texts I am familiar with from before the mid-11th c., there are no episodes of beard-pulling or beard-plucking, only instances of cutting and shaving. In contrast, such episodes abound in later Byzantine works.[19]

It should also be noted that as a military man, Phocas could not have had a beard long enough to be pulled. This is precisely why, although not formally prohibited, the wearing of long beards by military personnel was not permitted from the time of Alexander the Great onwards (Plutarque, 16 (5.4)). It was also not tolerated in the Byzantine army. This is evidenced, for example, by a source from around the mid-9th c., the "Narrative of the 42 Martyrs of the Amorium" (*Сказания о 42 аморийских мучениках*; Васильевский, Никитин 1905, 24 – 25). It recounts that Callistus the comes of the Scholae Palatinae, whose hair was dirty and whose beard was ugly (*"Κάλλιστος παρεστηκώς αὐχμηρά τινι κόμῃ καὶ ἀφιλοκάλῳ γενειάδι..."*) received a severe reprimand from the emperor, who also ordered that the soldier be shaved immediately (*"ἀφεῖλεν αὐτοῦ μαχαίρα τὸ βαθὺ τῆς ὑπήνης"*; Haldon 1984, 324, 601, n. 994). Since this episode occurred during the reign of the last iconoclast emperor, Theophilos (829 – 842), some scholars today attribute it to the iconoclasts' general rejection of long beards (Vinson 1998, 510, n. 114).

However, it seems that long beards were generally not accepted in the Byzantine army, regardless of emperors' religious affiliations. This is confirmed by an anonymous Byzantine polemical work dated between the mid-11th and mid-12th c., known to us only in its Latin translation *Opusculum contra Francos*, which reads as follows: "*...radunt barbas presbyteri more suorum militum praeter apostolicam institutionem...*"[20] (Hergenrother 1869, 71). It appears that no reliable written sources mention Phocas having a beard, but at least one (the primary source of Symeon Magister and George Cedrenus which did not survive to our time) supports the view that, contrary to popular belief, Phocas was actually beardless.

3. The possible explanation

The absence of beards among Early Byzantine men should not be taken as absolute. Certainly, almost no man's face was as smooth as a baby's bottom. Even the iconoclast emperors had beards, although they were quite short and evidently well-groomed. Today we do not have a precise record of what Emperor Constantine V ordered in his edict against beards. The existence of such an edict is only known from its mention in *Vita Stephani Iunioris*, which was written at the beginning of the 9th c. by Stephen a deacon of the Church of St. Sophia in Constantinople. According to him, the young official George was identified by St. Stephen the Younger as a member of the palace staff by "*...il s'était en effet rasé la peau du visage de près selon l'édit de ce tyran...*"[21] (Auzépy 1997, 233). The short beards of the iconoclasts are clearly visible in their surviving images, including on miniatures, coins, and bullae (fig. 6). It was precisely by their beards that men were distinguished from beardless eunuchs, who were the subject of ongoing debates throughout the Byzantine period regarding whether they were to be considered men or belonged to a third sex (Vinson 1998, 485 – 510; Ringrose 1996, 85 – 109; Neil 2013, 1 – 10; Tougher 2013, 153 – 166).

In the sources, the distinction between these two groups is observed with strictness. For example, Emperor Constantine VII's remarkable work *De ceremoniis* explicitly emphasizes the

[19] See, for example, in the chronicle of Ioannes Zonaras, created in the late 11th – first half of the 12th c. (Ioannes Zonaras 277, 549, 658, 745 and elsewhere).

[20] "[Their] priests (i.e., the Latins, ed.) shave their beards like [our] soldiers, contrary to the apostolic injunctions".

[21] "...he had indeed shaved his face closely according to the edict of this tyrant...".



Fig. 6. Solidus of the iconoclast Leo IV and his son Constantine VI, issued after 776. The short, well-groomed beard of the emperor is clearly visible while his co-emperor, still a child, is depicted beardless (in a private collection)

Обр. 6. Солид на иконобореца Лъв IV и сина му Константин VI, емитиран след 776 г. Добре се вижда късата, добре оформена брада на императора, докато съимператорът му, още дете, е представен безбрад (в частна колекция)

difference between eunuchs and men (the bearded) in numerous instances.[22] As expected, this distinction needed to be observed in other forms of art such as miniatures, but it is precisely in these that a deviation from the generally accepted rule was found. The discovery was made by British researchers Bente Bjørnholt and Liz James from the University of Sussex. In their examination of the miniatures from the manuscript of the Madrid Skylitzes and the identification of several exceptions to the "rules". In cases of a depiction of a beardless character (an eunuch) with a beard they conclude that "*a beard may be a definition of manliness, rather than a sign of 'a man*'" (Bjørnholt, James 2007, 56). This masculinity (*ἀνδρεία*) was personified, and its image, as the researchers found, appears on a Byzantine lamp or incense burner from the 12th c. that is housed in the treasury of the Church of St. Mark in Venice (fig. 7; Bjørnholt, James 2007, 56).

It remains unclear, however, why the researchers were surprised that the image displayed both feminine features (e.g., lack of beard) and masculine features (e.g., lack of breasts). After all, the noun *ἀνδρεία* is feminine, and moreover, in the Roman pantheon, personifications were represented by female figures only. Additionally, *ἀνδρεία* was one of the four virtues valued in the Greek world and in Byzantium: *φρόνησις* (prudence, prudentia), *δικαιοσίας* (justice, iustitia), *σοφροσύνη* (moderation, temperantia), and *ἀνδρεία* (manliness or courage, fortitude; see Stewart 2016, 11 – 44), each of which was represented by its own personification in the Roman Empire and traditionally in Byzantium.

It seems that in the Byzantine context, then, the beard was perceived as an easily recognizable symbol of masculinity. For this reason, as seen in several miniatures from the Madrid Skylitzes Codex, characters who appear to have been beardless in reality are depicted with beards. This is why great care must be taken when constructing historically accurate portraits based on the images that have come down to us. Additionally, the depiction of a particular type of beard appears to have conveyed an additional message that was understood by people of the era but is unclear to us today. I will only mention the troubling variations in beard types with which the same ruler was depicted, such as Petar Delyan (1040 – 1041) the self-proclaimed Bulgarian rebel against Byzantine power. He was illustrated multiple times in the same codex by the same miniaturist. On fol. 215r (the scene depicting his proclamation as king), we see Petar Delyan with a long, forked, and unkempt beard. On fol. 215v (the scene with Tihomir, the other claimant to the Bulgarian throne), he is shown with a medium-length pointed beard. Then on fol. 217r (the scene with Alusian arriving), he is depicted with a short, neatly trimmed round beard (fig. 8).

After this brief review of selected examples from various groups of depictions showing significant differences in figures' beards, it becomes clear that the beard depicted was not necessarily a real

[22] See for example Ch. 76, in which it is noted that "*du rang et du lieu de tous les dignitaires qui remplissent une fonction en chaque réception dans les grandes phiales*" (Vogt 1939, 110 – 111).



Fig. 7. Personification of manliness (ἀνδρεία) according to an image on a lamp or incense burner from the end of the 12th c., housed in the treasury of the Church of St. Mark in Venice (Treasure of San Marco 1984, 239, No. 33)

Обр. 7. Персонификация на мъжеството (ἀνδρεία) според изображение от лампа или ароматизатор от края на XII в., съхраняван в съкровищницата на църквата „Св. Марко" във Венеция (Treasure of San Marco 1984, 239, No. 33)



Fig. 8. The different types of beard with which Petar Delyan is represented in the illustrated chronicle of Skylitzes, housed in the National Library of Spain in Madrid (Biblioteca Nacional de España. MS Graecus Vitr. 26-2, Fol. 215r, 215v, 217r)

Обр. 8. Различните типове бради, с които е представен Петър Делян в илюстрованата хроника на Скилица, съхранявана в Националната библиотека на Испания в Мадрид (Biblioteca Nacional de España. MS Graecus Vitr. 26-2, Fol. 215r, 215v, 217r)

trait of the person concerned. Its presence or absence in a depiction could signify the emphasis of a particular virtue by the author or in some cases the absence of that virtue. It does not appear coincidental that Byzantine creators of painters' manuals (*hermineia, ερμηνεία*) placed significant emphasis on the depiction of beards on biblical and other holy personages. Certainly the well-known post-Byzantine *hermineia* from the late 17th to early 18th c. authored by the Athenian iconographer monk Dionysios of Fourna and drawing on older texts provides examples of the following types

of beards: long beards, pointed beards, short beards, small beards, slightly rounded beards, split beards, round beards, sparse beards, broad beards, beards divided into five tufts, barely visible beards, thick beards, long split beards, twisted beards, and of course many beardless figures. Young people, adult figures, and old men had pointed beards that were black, gray, and white, respectively. More interesting in this work is the remark "*Saint Artémius: semblable au Christ*" (Durand 1845, 322). Unfortunately, nowhere in this work do I find even the slightest hint of the symbolic value of the various types of beards, although I have no doubt that such symbolism existed.

If Emperor Phocas was indeed beardless, as seems very likely, why is he depicted with a beard on some of his coin images and bullae? One possible explanation, as suggested by Grierson in the passage I quoted earlier, is the deliberate attempt to resemble Christ's image (μίμησις Θεοῦ),[23] as seen in some of the well-known Christ depictions of the time like those on ampullae from the Holy Land (fig. 9) and of Christ Almighty as represented in the mosaic of the Triumphal Arch of the Church of Sant'Apollinare in Classe in Ravenna dated to the 6th c. and in the mosaic of the Church of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna from the early 6th c. In these frontal representations, Christ is indeed depicted with a similar pointed, medium-length beard.

It seems that depictions of Phocas with a beard were also intended to reinforce an image of him (no doubt intentionally promoted) not only as a God-fearing ruler but also as a manly and courageous one. The almost complete absence of profile representations of Christ during this period seems to have relieved engravers of the need to depict Phocas with a beard in profile on some of the coin types mentioned above. As a result, on most of these coins, he was shown beardless, which he most likely was in reality. But was the practice of likening images of emperors to those of pagan deities, or later to that of Jesus Christ, something new? Are not the images of Commodus as Heracles, Caracalla as Sol, and others well-known? Do we often not see nimbuses around the heads of Christian emperors, creating the impression of a supernatural divine light emanating from them? Did imperial rituals not follow the imaginary model of Christ as the Almighty (Pantocrator), with the emperor being seen "*tanquam praesenti et corporali deo*" (as God bodily present),[24] a doctrine in which Phocas, as a military man, undoubtedly believed?



Fig. 9. The image of Jesus Christ on an ampulla from the Holy Land, held in the collections of the Dumbarton Oaks Institute in Washington, D.C., (after Ziadé 2022, 75, No. 64)

Обр. 9. Образът на Исус Христос върху ампула от светите земи, съхранявана в сбирките на Дъмбъртън Оукс във Вашингтон (по Ziadé 2022, 75, No. 64)

[23] The topic of making imperial images resemble those of Christ has long intrigued researchers. I will refer here only to the most recent work I am aware of on this topic, which also provides an extensive bibliography on the issue: Cotsonis 2020, 22 – 24.

[24] According to the phrase in Vegetius: "*Nam imperatori, cum Augusti nomen accepit, tamquam praesenti et corporali deo fidelis est praestanda devotio*" II. 5. (Reeve 2004, 39).

4. Conclusion

Everything discussed so far seems to provide sufficient basis for reconsidering the notion that, during the time of Emperor Phocas, individual features began to be prominently represented in imperial images for the first time. This shift marked the end of nearly three centuries of tradition in which imperial images were uniformly symbolic and schematic, with individuals taking a backseat to elements emphasizing their role as emperors. Such a change, which is also linked to a religious and philosophical reevaluation of the ruler's role and status, would be difficult to explain in what is otherwise considered a relatively intellectually barren period like the seven-year tyrannical reign of Phocas. In fact, this change began after Phocas during the reign of Emperor Heraclius, who implemented significant reforms across the Eastern Roman Empire like alterations to imperial images, which started to adopt more individual characteristics.[25] To conclude, it may be time to make a concerted effort to more precisely decipher the symbolic language used by the creators of Balkan medieval art.

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[25] My assumption here should not be taken as absolute, not least because we have Cedrenus' comment that "*Heraclius [habebat]... barba lata atque prolixa sed Imperator factus, extempo comam totondit, ac mentum rasit, qui est imperatorum habitus*" (Heraclius ... [had] a broad and long beard, but when he became emperor he cut his hair short and shaved his chin, which is an imperial custom; George Cedrenus, 782). See some interesting thoughts on the topic in Baldwin 1981, 19.

252. [Markov 2012: N. Markov. Kogato vsichki patishta vodeha kam Konstantinopol. Veliko Tarnovo, 2012, 245 – 252]

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БИЛ ЛИ Е БРАДАТ ИМПЕРАТОР ФОКА? БЕЛЕЖКИ ВЪРХУ ЕДИН НЕДОБРЕ РЕШЕН ПРОБЛЕМ ОТ РАЗВИТИЕТО НА ИМПЕРАТОРСКИТЕ ИЗОБРАЖЕНИЯ В ОФИЦИАЛНОТО ИЗКУСТВО НА ВИЗАНТИЯ

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РЕЗЮМЕ

В статията е оспорена представата, че първите стъпки към представяне на индивидуални черти (каквито били брадите) във владетелските изображения в официалното изкуство на Византия били направени с изобразяването на император Фока (602 – 610) с брада върху част от емитираните по негово време монети, както и върху моливдовулите му. За целта са представени и анализирани всички познати ни днес изображения на този император – от монетните му типове, от моливдовулите, от една запазена кантарна противотежест, за която и досега се приема, макар и с известна несигурност, че представя Фока, сведенията за двете недостигнали до нас негови изображения – „портретът" на августите Фока и жена му Леонтия, изпратен от Константинопол и получен в Рим на 25 април 602 г. и статуята на Фока, издигната вероятно през 610 г. при сградата на Магнаура в Константинопол; както и две писмени описания на императора и едно споменаване за брадатостта му – хрониката на Симеон Магистър, тази на Георги Кедрин, както и разказа на анонимен хронист, приеман от мнозина и до днес за съвременния на Фока хроникьор Йоан Антиохийски.

В заключение от извършените анализи е направен изводът, че е необходимо да се извърши преосмисляне на представата, съобразно която по времето на император Фока за пръв път започнали да се представят ясно видими индивидуални черти в официалните императорски изображения, белег за разчупването на почти тривековната традиция за изграждане на унифицирани, символични, схематично представяни императорски образи, в които индивидите били оставяни на заден план за сметка на елементите, представящи ги като носители на длъжността.

Ключови думи: императорски образи, ранновизантийско официално изкуство, император Фока, монети, брада

SOME OF THE RAREST LATE AVAR BELT FITTINGS: STUBLINE – HAJDÚNÁNÁS TYPE

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ABSTRACT

This article presents the belt fittings of the Stubline – Hajdúnánás type. Only three such finds are known to the present authors, which come from Stubline near Obrenovac in modern-day Serbia, Hajdúnánás – Mácsi-dűlő in the Great Hungarian Plain and from the Stara Bulgaria Collection. The last fitting allegedly originates from northeastern Bulgaria. Our mounts are up to 2.5 cm tall, oval-shaped with a round ending, and perforated for rivets. Remarkably similar to one another, they can be dated to the second half of the 8th c.

Keywords: Late Avar belt fittings, Stubline, Hajdúnánás, Stara Bulgaria Collection

Introduction

Comprised of finds from more than 60,000 archaeologically studied early medieval graves, Late Avar material culture is the richest and best researched in Europe.[1] Dated chiefly to the 8th c., this wealth of finds illustrates demographic growth. Particularly numerous are belt-sets, based on which the chronology of particular pieces and contexts has been narrowed down to 25 or 50 years (Daim 1987; Zábojník 1991; Garam 1995). This precision has to be regarded as unique and astonishing. The Late Avar belt-sets appear remarkably uniform but are not identical. While the cemeteries from this period more or less differ from one another, preserved parts of personal attire in graves *"are quite standardized concerning their characteristics, types and – usually meager – value"* (Szenthe 2018, 295 – 296). Scattered throughout the Khaganate, most of the types are very well studied. However, some of them consist of very few finds. This is the case of the belt fittings presented in this article, labeled by us as the Stubline – Hajdúnánás type.

Although there are several hundreds of unique belt fittings and strap-ends from the Late Avar period, and we know of the "types" represented by only two specimens each, they mostly came from the first half of the 8th c. or Jozef Zábojník's (1991) SS I and II phases. During the second half of the Late Avar period, to which belongs the type introduced here, belt mounts underwent a radical morphological homogenization. In this context, the Stubline – Hajdúnánás type represents an exceptional phenomenon, to some extent comparable to the rare gilded mounts and strap-ends decorated with so-called *Stäbchenranken* that are dated to the final phase of the Late Avar period (cf. Strzygowski 1917; Daim 2000).

[1] This paper is dedicated to the memory of Rasho Rashev (1943 – 2008). It was meant to be presented at the commemorative conference in Shumen in November 2023 and published in its proceedings, but the authors could not meet the deadlines.

https://doi.org/10.53250/cba14.101-111



Fig. 1. Stubline grave (after Bugarski et al. 2013, fig. 2)
Обр. 1. Гробът от Стублине (по Bugarski et al. 2013, fig. 2)

Finds of the Stubline – Hajdúnánás type

The first find of this type came from the southernmost Avar grave at Stubline near modern Obrenovac in Serbia (fig. 1). It was found together with a buckle, a propeller-shaped mount, and a belt-loop, some 15 cm below the pelvis of the deceased between his femurs. The grave has also produced several iron fittings of a wooden bucket. Apart from the sheet belt-loop, the belt parts were made out of cast bronze (fig. 2). This incomplete belt-set was not found in the usual position around the hips but lower, where a zone of darker soil was observed that possibly comes from the decayed leather belt or maybe a bag in which the belt could have been placed. Our applique is 2.3 cm tall, oval-shaped with a round ending, and perforated for rivets (Bugarski et al. 2013, 288, 292 – 294, fig. 6). As the buckle resembles those of Zábojník's types 149 and 151 from the SS III phase and the propeller-shaped mount has a direct parallel with the objects representing his type 302 from the same phase (750 – 780), our oval fitting has been assigned to the same production period (cf. Zábojník 1991, 238 – 241, 248, Taf. 29: 6, 7, 9, Taf. 31: 11, Abb. 1).

The second find, tin-plated and of the same shape and size, came from Hajdúnánás – Mácsi-dűlő in the Great Hungarian Plain (fig. 3). In the publication by Rozália Bajkai it has been widely dated to the 8th c.[2] As stated by the author, *"Nothing similar is known from the inner territories of the Avar Khaganate, its only exact counterpart was found near Belgrade in the site of Stubline [...]"* (Bajkai 2015, 229 – 230, pl. 8: 9). The Hajdúnánás find came from the upper layer of the earth fill of a house – one of as many as 27 Late Avar dwellings at the site. The mount was therefore deposited in the final backfilling stage. A sheep's leg bone from this feature is radiocarbon-dated to the 9th c.

[2] In the preliminary publication, the find was dated to the end of the Late Avar period, i.e. to the 9th c. (Bajkai 2012, 34).



Fig. 2. Finds from the Stubline grave (after Bugarski et al. 2013, fig. 6)
Обр. 2. Находки от гроба от Стублине (по Bugarski et al. 2013, fig. 6)

(1224 ± 15; fig. 4).[3] The fitting was almost entirely covered with patina. It is particularly important to note that the second author of this paper, who took part in the excavation as a student, vividly remembers that it was decorated with a shallowly carved grid-like pattern, even if memory could be misleading in such cases. Regrettably, the ornament – as schematically illustrated here – has vanished in the course of conservation work. Although one should not draw far-reaching conclusions from this detail, somewhat comparable is the scratched decoration on square bronze sheet fittings from grave No. 116 at Tiszafüred (Garam 1995, 21, Taf. 171: 116). More deeply engraved ornaments are widely attested on belt pieces from the last phase of the Late Avar period.

The third published find comes from the Stara Bulgaria Collection, which mostly consists of belt fittings, buckles, costume accessories and horse-harness mounts, predominantly dated between the 6th and the 11th c. *"Even though the exact findspots remain unknown, most [finds] are known to have come to light somewhere in north-eastern Bulgaria"*. The collection received a legal status in 1997. The most attractive items are displayed in the Archaeological Museum of Varna where the accessions register is kept, as well (Türk et al. 2021, 5). Among the processed finds is the 2.5 cm long cast copper-alloy mount that is pierced by two perforations along its central axis (fig. 5). Weighing 2.86 g, it has been erroneously dated to the 9th – 10th c. (Türk et al. 2021, 211, cat. No. B2292, pl. 99: 3).

[3] The radiocarbon measurement DeA-44300: HajM_16/16 was made possible through the support of the Ministry of Innovation and Technology of Hungary by way of the National Research, Development and Innovation Fund financed under the TKP2021-NKTA-24 funding scheme. The measurement was undertaken by the Isotoptech Zrt. Laboratory, Debrecen.



Fig. 3. Fitting from Hajdúnánás – Mácsi-dűlő (Documentation of the Hungarian National Museum)
Обр. 3. Апликация от Хайдунанаш – Мачи-дюльо (Документация на Унгарския национален музей)

Chronology of the Stubline – Hajdúnánás type

The only object of this type that has been found in association with other belt mounts is that from Stubline, and such fittings are rare. The most similar set came from grave No. 69 at Szeged-Fehértó A, in which an analogous buckle and an identical propeller-shaped mount were found, together with the main and small strap-ends and numerous minor belt fittings from Zábojník's SS III phase and its transition to SS IV (Madaras 1995, 62, pl. 11.69: 1 – 9). As for the small mounts of our interest, similar finds are known from the latest phase of Late Avar cemeteries, e.g. from grave No. 430 at Nové Zámky (Čilinská 1966, 83 – 84, Taf. LXIV: 36), grave No. 513 at Tiszafüred (Garam 1995, 69, Taf. 223: 4), and grave No. 93 at Halimba (Török 1998, Taf. 11). The hinged variants are more common, as represented in grave No. 35 at Szeged-Kundomb, for example (Salamon, Sebestyén 1995, pl. 5: 6; cf. Zábojník 1991, Typ. 250, 269). With some reservations, one can suggest that the fittings cast in one piece slightly post-date the other variants; they could be generally dated to the latest Avar phase (SS IV of Jozef Zábojník, or 780 – 800/825).

The Stubline burial post-dates the production time span of the belt-set, which may be established between 750 and 780 or, most widely, to the second half of the 8th c. if we take into account

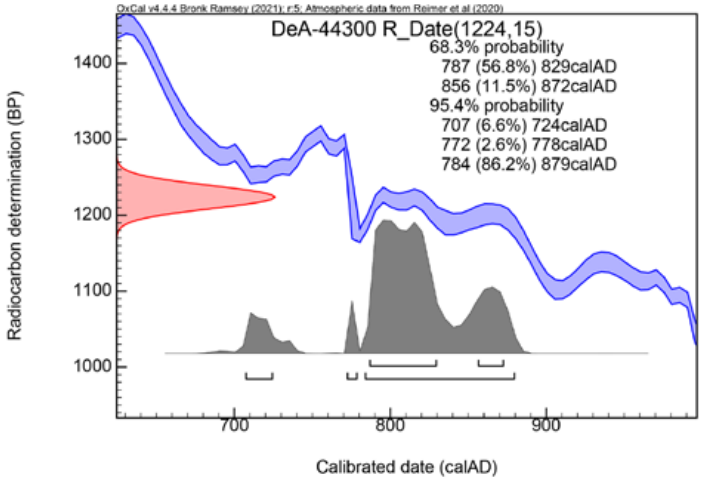


Fig. 4. Radiocarbon dating diagram for the house at Hajdúnánás – Mácsi-dűlő (Isotoptech Zrt. Laboratory, Debrecen)
Обр. 4. Диаграма на радиовъглеродното датиране на жилището от Хайдунанаш – Мачи-дюльо (Лаборатория Isotoptech Zrt., Дебрецен)



Fig. 5. Fitting from the Stara Bulgaria Collection (after Türk et al. 2021, pl. 99: 3)

Обр. 5. Апликация от колекцията „Стара България" (по Türk et al. 2021, pl. 99: 3)

the possibility that our mount was from the SS IV phase. This archaeological context is remarkably interesting. From an incomplete belt of a late date laid into a grave south of the main Avar area, one gets the impression that this was one of the last Avar burials. It belongs to a time of crisis in the Khaganate or even to the period shortly after its collapse, which was also the time of dissolution of Avar cultural identity. *"The young man from Stubline was buried by the Avars from the deepest periphery of the once-powerful state, or, perhaps even more probably, by the newcomers or refugees after the defeat at the beginning of the ninth century which ended the Khaganate"* (Bugarski et al. 2013, 301).

The calibrated date of the Hajdúnánás house, which also produced Late Avar wheel-thrown pottery sherds (fig. 6), is roughly the 9th c. One of the latest radiocarbon dates in the Avar sample, it would fit into the newly-proposed Late Avar 5 period or the last phase of cemeteries in which men were buried without belts or with single and/or damaged belt mounts (Szenthe et al. 2023; cf. Daim 1987, 155 – 160; Garam 1995, 416 – 420). The Stubline grave certainly belongs to this horizon (Bugarski et al. 2013, 295). To put aside the occasional problems with radiocarbon dating in early medieval archaeology (Robak 2024) and the obvious need for larger samples (Szenthe et al. 2023, 486), we have no reason to doubt the Hajdúnánás C14 date. Still, it does not apply to the production date of the mount (SS III or SS IV), which is provided by the Stubline belt. In return, it resolves the time when the house pit was backfilled. The mount from the Stara Bulgaria Collection is not illustrative in this respect since it lacks an archaeological context.

Discussion and conclusions

To summarize, we know only three finds of the Stubline – Hajdúnánás type, which puts them among the rarest Late Avar belt fittings, at least regarding the SS IV phase. Given the extremely rich sample from this period, we do not expect many more finds of this type to come to light in the future, and we cannot explain why they are so few in number. Although our finds come from distant territories, they are remarkably similar to one another. Different from related small mounts of the Late Avar period, they constitute a distinctive type of fittings produced in the second half of the 8th c. However, both the finds from Stubline and Hajdúnánás came from later contexts. While the Great Hungarian Plain is rather well known for Avar sites, this is not the case of modern-day Serbia south of the Danube and Sava rivers. The finds from the area across these rivers – including the mount from Stubline – could represent traces of temporary Avar stay or of the population that fled after the collapse of the Khaganate. The interpretation of these finds is more challenging than that of related finds from the Avar main lands, but they certainly complete the archaeological picture of the area in the Early Middle Ages (Bugarski 2008; Bugarski et al. 2013; Бугарски, Церовић 2021).

This group of finds reveals that the latest Avar-type belt pieces had wider distribution than before, spreading primarily to the northwest but also to the south. Theoretically, the reason for the appearance of Late Avar groups beyond their political borders, and in particular for the occurrence of their belt fittings south of the Carpathian Basin, could also lie in the transformation of their economy and changes in foreign affairs, as the expansion of Avar material culture seems to precede political collapse. In the later 8th c., Abbasid gold coins appeared in the south of the Carpathian



Fig. 6. Wheel-thrown pottery from the house at Hajdúnánás – Mácsi-dűlő (Documentation of the Hungarian National Museum)

Обр. 6. Керамика на крачно колело от жилището от Хайдунанаш – Мачи-дюльо (Документация на Унгарския национален музей)

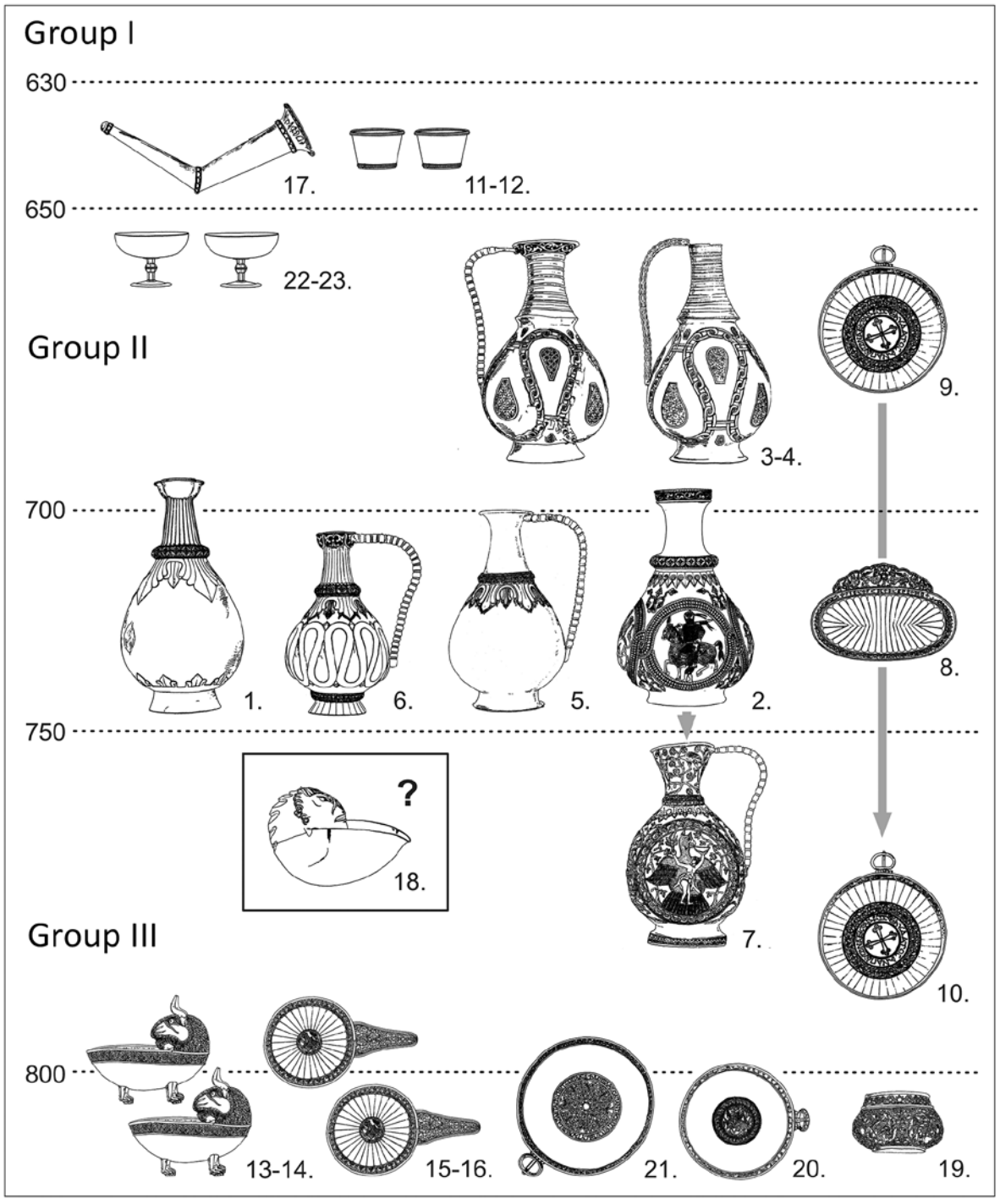


Fig. 7. Chronology of the Nagyszentmiklós/Sânnicolau Mare hoard (Author: G. Szenthe)

Обр. 7. Хронология на съкровището от Надсентмиклош/Сънникулау Маре (Автор: Г. Сентхе)

Basin (Bugarski 2022), and at the same time, Byzantine jewelry and high-quality belt mounts occurred again in greater numbers in Avar graves (Szenthe 2021). The intensification of southern (Byzantine and perhaps Bulgarian) contacts of the Khaganate is even more conspicuous when the chronology of the Nagyszentmiklós/Sânnicolau Mare gold hoard is considered (fig. 7), as four or five out of the seven latest vessels in the hoard are genuine Byzantine products (Garam 2002, 104 – 106; contra: Bálint 2010). The spatial distribution of some lower-quality Late Avar artifacts reflects the same pattern.

If the fitting from the Stara Bulgaria Collection was actually found in the region of Varna, we could perhaps see the finds of the Stubline – Hajdúnánás type too as illustrating Avar contacts with the Balkans. On the other hand, it is impossible to build reliable models with such a paucity of information. Some stray, Late Avar finds have previously been reported from the area of present-day northeastern Bulgaria; only a few such items have been recovered from graves (e.g. Инкова 2005; Daskalov 2017). The region of Varna is otherwise better known for the finds of the so-called Vrap – Velino group (Werner 1986; Daim 2000; Fiedler 2008, 218 – 220; Szenthe 2014).[4] In this context, a large presence of Late Avar type material culture in modern northeastern Bulgaria (cf. Türk et al. 2021) is yet to be proved through archaeological excavations. Moreover, there are very few Late Avar type finds even in what is now southern Romania, which is much closer to the Avar core territories (Curta 2022, 7, n. 7, fig. 1). In broader terms, most of the Avar belt pieces from the areas south of the Khaganate belong to the latest phases (SS III and particularly IV, or the Late Avar 3 and 4 phases by Szenthe et al. 2023). These finds have been collected by Rasho Rashev (cf. Рашев 2008, табл. LXV, табл. LXVII – LXXI). Out of the 67 depicted mounts, only seven can be dated to the first two phases of the Late Avar period. As some finds of an earlier date could have been used for a longer period of time (also in phases 3, 4 and even 5), it may be concluded that the Late Avar type mounts reached these territories rather late. The same can be observed in the Serbian Danube region (Bugarski 2008; Бугарски, Церовић 2021).

To conclude, we were only able to identify the new type of Late Avar belt fittings and to acknowledge how rare it was and how strange its spatial spread appears to have been. On the other hand, based on regional distribution patterns, we can tentatively deduce that political and economic relations between the Avars and the Balkans transformed in the final stage of the Khaganate.

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[4] Interestingly, only distant parallels of the Vrap – Velino type mounts occur in the Carpathian Basin. It seems that the contacts between this region and the eastern part of the Balkan peninsula were not intensive during the first half of the Late Avar period. Their routes might have led through Transylvania, where some objects of the Vrap – Velino type have been found, e.g. in burial mounds at Someşeni (e.g. Werner 1986, 31, Abb. 4).

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НЯКОИ ОТ НАЙ-РЕДКИТЕ АВАРСКИ КОЛАННИ АПЛИКАЦИИ: ТИПЪТ СТУБЛИНЕ – ХАЙДУНАНАШ

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РЕЗЮМЕ

Статията представя особено редки колани апликации, които принадлежат към типа Стублине – Хайдунанаш. Само три такива находки са известни на авторите на статията. Те произхождат от Стублине, близо до Обреновац, днешна Сърбия, от Хайдунанаш – Мачи-дюльо в Голямата унгарска равнина и от колекцията „Стара България". Смята се, че последната апликация произхожда от Североизточна България. Апликациите са с височина до 2,5 см. Имат овална форма със заоблен край и отвори за нитове. Забележително сходни са една с друга, сякаш са произведени в една работилница. Тези апликации могат да бъдат датирани във втората половина на VIII в.

Първата находка произхожда от най-южния аварски гроб в Стублине, близо до днешния Обреновац, Сърбия (обр. 1). Открита е заедно с тока, витлообразна апликация и гайка за колан на около 15 см под таза на покойника. С изключение на пресованата гайка, останалите части от колана са излети от бронз (обр. 2). Тази частично запазена коланна гарнитура не е открита на обичайното място около бедрата на покойника, а по-надолу, където се наблюдава зона от по-тъмна пръст, вероятно идваща от разложен кожен колан или може би от чанта, в която изглежда е бил поставен коланът. Токата наподобява тези от типове 149 и 151 по Й. Забойник от фаза SS III, а витлообразната апликация има пряка аналогия сред предметите, представящи тип 302 по същия автор, и са от същата фаза (750 – 780 г.). Поради това разглежданата овална апликация е определена като принадлежаща към същия производствен период. Макар и с известни резерви, може да се предположи, че изцяло летите апликации са малко по-стари от другите варианти; те също могат да бъдат датирани и в най-късната аварска фаза (SS IV по Й. Забойник).

Втората находка, покрита с калай и със същата форма и размер, произхожда от Хайдунанаш – Мачи-дюльо в Голямата унгарска равнина (обр. 3). В публикацията на Р. Байкай тя е датирана най-общо в VIII в. Находката от Хайдунанаш е намерена в горния слой на запълнителя на жилище – едно от 27-те късноаварски жилища на обекта. Следователно апликацията е депозирана там в последния етап на засипването. Кост от крак на овца от тази структура е датирана чрез радиовъглероден анализ в IX в. (1224 ± 15; обр. 4). Апликацията е почти изцяло покрита с патина. Особено важно е да се отбележи, че вторият автор на тази статия, който е участвал в разкопките като студент, ясно си спомня, че апликацията е била украсена с плитко врязан мрежест орнамент. За съжаление, орнаментът – тук илюстриран само схематично – е изчезнал в хода на консервационните работи. По-дълбоко гравирани орнаменти са широко засвидетелствани върху коланни апликации от последната фаза на късноа-

варския период.

Третата публикувана находка е от колекцията „Стара България“, която се състои предимно от колански апликации, токи, аксесоари за костюми и апликации за конски сбруи, датирани предимно между VI и XI в. „Въпреки че точните местонахождения остават неизвестни, за повечето [находки] се знае, че са открити някъде в Североизточна България“. Колекцията получава легален статут през 1997 г. Сред обработените находки е и дългата 2,5 см лята апликация от медна сплав, с два пробити отвора по централната надлъжна ос (обр. 5). Погрешно е датирана в IX – X в.

Гробът от Стублине се датира след периода на производство на коланните гарнитури, който може да бъде установен между 750 и 780 г. или най-общо към втората половина на VIII в. – ако вземем предвид възможността разглежданата апликация да принадлежи към фаза SS IV, а не към SS III по Й. Забойник. Калибрираната дата на жилището от Хайдунанаш, от което също произхождат фрагменти от късноаварска керамика на колело (обр. 6), е приблизително IX в. Все пак трябва да се отбележи отново, че това не се отнася за датата на производство на апликацията, а има отношение към времето на засипване на жилищната яма.

Докато в Голямата унгарска равнина има множество известни археологически обекти от аварския период, същото не може да се каже за земите на днешна Сърбия, разположени на юг от реките Дунав и Сава. Находките от района отвъд тези реки биха могли да са следи от временно пребиваване на авари или от население, избягало след разпадането на хаганата. Тази група от находки разкрива, че най-късните колански апликации от аварски тип са имали по-широко разпространение от преди – проникващи предимно на северозапад, но също и на юг. Теоретично, причината за появата на късните аварски групи извън техните политически граници може да се крие и в трансформацията на икономиката в късната фаза на хаганата, както и в промяната във външната политика, тъй като експанзията на аварската материална култура изглежда предшества политическия колапс. В късния VIII в. абасидски златни монети се появяват южно от Карпатския басейн и в същото време византийски накити се появяват отново в по-големи количества в аварските гробове. Засилването на южните (византийски) контакти на хаганата е още по-забележимо, когато се вземе предвид хронологията на златното съкровище от Надсентмиклош (обр. 7), тъй като четири или пет от седемте най-късни съда в съкровището са с доказан византийски произход.

Апликацията от колекцията „Стара България“ не е показателна в това отношение. Трябва да отбележим, че това е една от многото (късно)аварски находки, публикувани в каталога. Тези предмети не произхождат от археологически разкопки, а районът на Варна по принцип не е известен с наличието на аварски находки, а с тези от т. нар. група Врап – Велино. Нещо повече, дори в днешна Южна Румъния, която е много по-близо до основните територии на аварите, има много по-малко късноаварски находки, отколкото в Североизточна България. С други думи, трябва да се подхожда с резерви към териториалния произход на представените находки, включително и на разглежданата апликация. Присъствието на останки от късноаварската материална култура в днешна Североизточна България, както се предлага в публикацията на колекцията, предстои да бъде доказано чрез археологически разкопки.

Ключови думи: късноаварски колански апликации, Стублине, Хайдунанаш, колекция „Стара България“

CERAMIC KILN FROM THE MEDIEVAL SETTLEMENT AT THE PETROVA NIVA LOCALITY, SBORYANOVO ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESERVE

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ABSTRACT

This article examines a single-chamber kiln from the medieval settlement at the Petrova Niva locality, Sboryanovo Archaeological Reserve (northeastern Bulgaria, Isperih municipality). The kiln was dug into the ground and has a circular plan with a channel open to the southwest and leading to a two-level oval stoking pit. Pottery sherds that can be unequivocally defined as waster were not recorded in its backfill. Similar medieval facilities and arguments for the proposed identification of the structure discussed here as a pottery production facility are reviewed. Both stratigraphic observations and the characteristics of the ceramic assemblage from the kiln's backfill and the stoking pit have been used as arguments for the kiln's date. Based on them the kiln is dated to the mid-9th c.

Keywords: Middle Ages, 9th c., single-chamber pottery kiln, settlement, Sboryanovo Archaeological Reserve, Petrova Niva locality

The topic of the present paper is the remains of a kiln at the Petrova Niva locality, Sboryanovo Archaeological Reserve. Sboryanovo is an archaeological reserve in northeastern Bulgaria that is located about 10 km northwest of the town of Isperih in the area of the villages of Sveshtari and Malak Porovets. The settlement at the Petrova Niva locality is located on a part of the non-flooding terrace of the Krapinets (Tsaratsar) river, at one of its bends, on a terrace with a gentle slope and southwest exposure. The kiln examined here was discovered in the northern part of the studied estate and completely falls under its northern enclosure wall (fig. 1 – 2). It should be connected to the medieval settlement that previously existed on the site. The evidence for its purpose will be analyzed below.

After dismantling the stones from the enclosure wall (fig. 3) and scraping the surface to outline the dug-in structures in Grid sq. 34/15 at an elevation of 233.63 m (fig. 4), we started exploring them. At the presumed northern corner of dwelling No. 8 (at an elevation of 233.31 m), we noticed a large amount of pottery sherds in a layer of highly fired, deep red plaster and medium-sized stones fired to a temperature at which they turn to powder. The remains, as our observations have shown, belong to another dug-in structure associated with high-thermic processes. As a result of its function, the relatively smoothly plastered interior surfaces of the structure's floor and walls were well-fired and turned a gray-white color. The soil of the ground immediately surrounding the structure

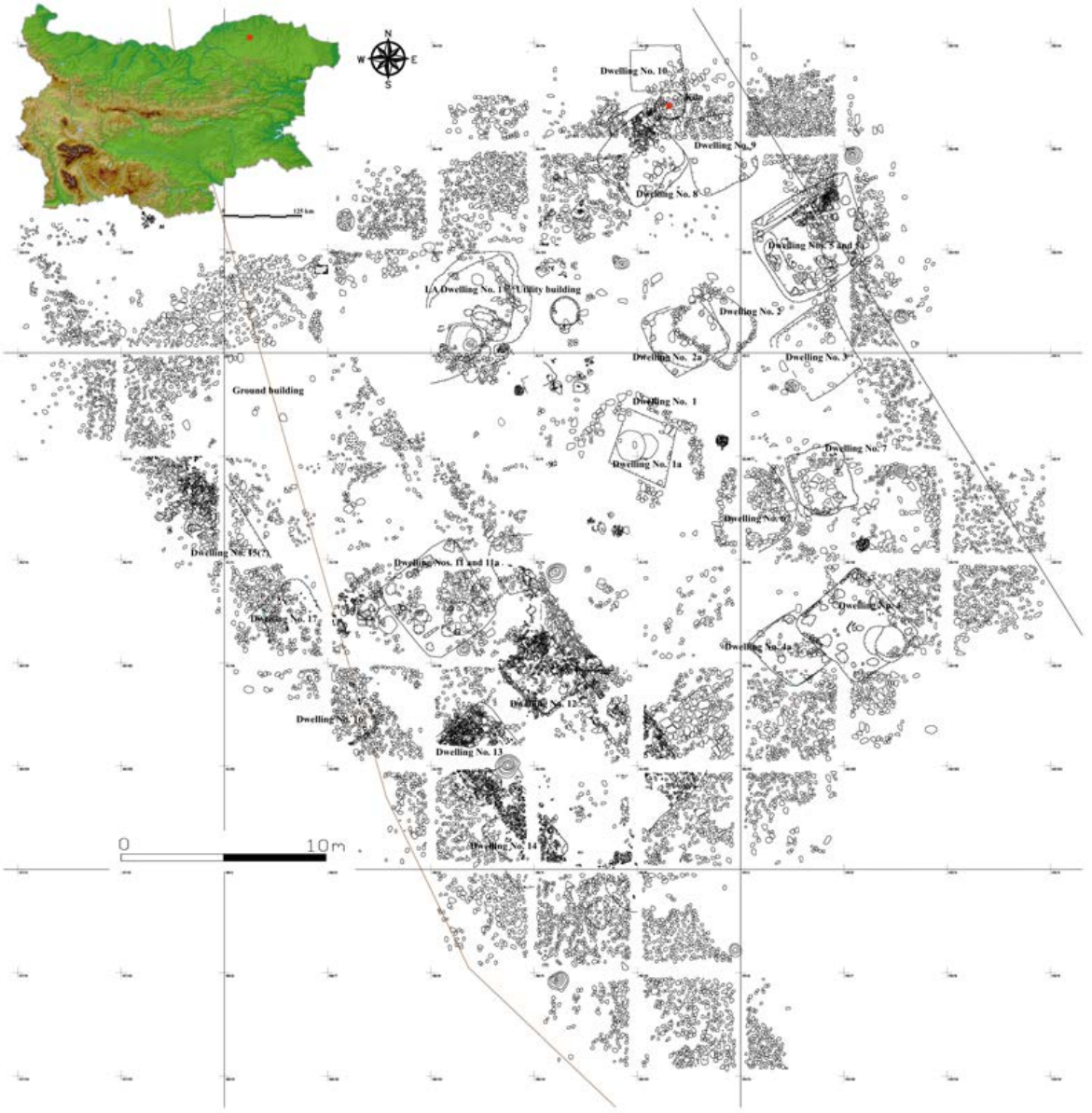


Fig. 1. Location and general plan of the medieval settlement in Petrova Niva locality, Sboryanovo Archaeological Reserve
Обр. 1. Местоположение и общ план на средновековното селище в м. Петрова нива, АР „Сборяново“

was fired to a tile red color and in more distant sections to orange-yellow. After excavating the structure, it became obvious that it was a kiln in which high temperatures were maintained, resulting in the firing of the surrounding ground. The aforementioned remains belonged to its backfill (fig. 5).

The kiln's single firing chamber has a near-circular shape in plan and an internal lower diameter of 1.40 – 1.50 m (fig. 6). The chamber's partially preserved walls are arched and probably in the past formed a kind of "domed" cover, which was preserved at the edge of the chamber to a height of about 0.30 m. The preserved part of the chamber is completely dug-in and falls below the level of what was then the ground surface. The kiln was filled with earth mixed with a large amount of powdered plaster and charcoal (fig. 7). Its floor (at an elevation of 233.06 – 232.96 m) was covered with a thin layer of ash. Due to the high temperatures to which this floor was subjected, it was cracked in places and fell apart and crumbled when it was cleaned.



Fig. 2. A view of the enclosure wall in the northern part of the excavated estate

Обр. 2. Поглед към оградния зид в северната част на проучваното стопанство

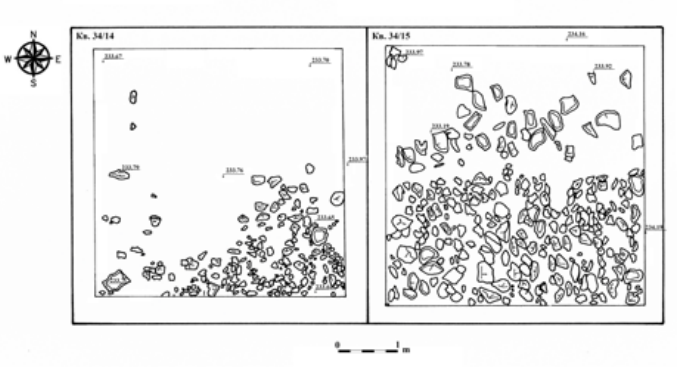


Fig. 3. Graphic documentation of the parts of the enclosure wall in Grid sq. 34/14 and 34/15, belonging to the estate that arose on the remains of the medieval settlement

Обр. 3. Графично заснемане на частите от оградния зид в кв. 34/14 и 34/15, принадлежащи на възникналото върху останките от средновековното селище стопанство



Fig. 4. Grid sq. 34/15 with the outline of the negative structures in the grid square

Обр. 4. Кв. 34/15 с очертанията на негативните структури в квадрата



Fig. 5. The kiln in Grid sq. 34/15. Study stage

Обр. 5. Пещта в кв. 34/15. Етап от проучването

Approximately at the center of the structure, possibly in connection with an opening through which the kiln was loaded and fired products removed, two medium-sized stones (at an elevation of 233.15 m) were found above the layer of ash (fig. 5). Around these stones, large pieces of plaster with a thickness of about 0.10 m were found. They were fired to a tile red color and have a friable texture. Step-by-step uncovering and cleaning showed that in the immediate vicinity of the above-mentioned stones, pottery sherds were found on the floor level of the kiln.

Toward the edge of the kiln, sherds lie higher than the floor on a layer with a dark color that contained large amount of charcoals. Apparently over time after the initial filling of the chamber,



Fig. 6. Fully excavated chamber of the kiln
Обр. 6. Изцяло разкритата камера на пещта



Fig. 7. The kiln in Grid sq. 34/15. Study stage
Обр. 7. Пещта в кв. 34/15. Етап от проучването



Fig. 8. Section of the kiln's backfill
Обр. 8. Разрез на запълнителя на пещта

parts of its edge became loose and fell both on its already partially soil-covered floor and on the previously loosened parts of the vault (fig. 7). Precisely because of this, the backfill at the edge of the kiln consisted of successively alternating layers of dark soil and pieces of plaster with a friable texture (fig. 8). From the center of the firing chamber to its periphery, then, plaster fragments were thus found higher and higher from the floor until they reached the well-preserved parts of the chamber's domed cover. Here the kiln's backfill consisted of dark soil without admixtures of fragmented and powdered plasters. It should also be explicitly emphasized that pieces of plaster with shaped holes were not found in the backfill. Based on these observations, we corrected our original assumption that the kiln had two chambers, which was based on mistaking the fallen pieces of the firing chamber's interior plastering for parts of its grate. The preserved *in situ* parts of the construction unequivocally indicate that this was a single-chamber kiln.

The cross-section we made after the firing chamber was completely exposed (fig. 9, fig. 16) allowed some additional observations about how it had been built. Remains of a wooden support 0.10 m in diameter, which was probably used as part of a temporary wooden structure for the kiln's construction, were revealed under the chamber floor's lining (fig. 16). The floor was plastered in two stages; the earlier plaster covered the kiln channel and the lowest western portion of the firing chamber (fig. 9). The first firing of the kiln was probably related to shaping the structure of the kiln, during which the supporting elements such as the above-mentioned wooden support were burned away. On the partially plastered and fired floor that was now covered with a thin layer of ash, a second lining was installed that covered the entire interior of the chamber. In the previously plastered and fired portion of the chamber, the new lining is fine, a few millimeters thick, and in the rest of the chamber it is 4 – 6 cm thick, forming an uneven floor with a slight depression (3 – 4 cm deep) at the chamber's center (fig. 10, fig. 16).

Shapeless lumps of vitrified clay and a large amount of charcoal were also found in the backfill of the firing chamber. Archaeobotanical analysis identified a large amount of wood remains, among which charred beech *(Fagus sylvatica L.)*[1] predominated. Archaeobotany also revealed a variety of mostly broad-leaved tree species (beech, oak *(Quercus sp.)*, alder *(Alnus glutinosa Gaertn. L.)*, and

[1] The archaeobotanical analysis was the work of Hanna Alexandrova (a doctoral student in the Department for Interdisciplinary Studies and Archaeological Map of Bulgaria at NAIM – BAS), to whom we express our sincere gratitude.



Fig. 9. Section of the kiln's lining. View from the west
Обр. 9. Разрез на замазките на пещта. Поглед от запад



Fig. 10. Section of the kiln's lining. View from the west. Detail
Обр. 10. Разрез на замазките на пещта. Поглед от запад. Детайл

hornbeam *(Carpinus betulus L.)*).[2] Two insignificant ceramic sherds were found at the bottom of the firing chamber (cat. Nos. 3 and 4). The sherds found in the upper levels of the backfill belong to one vessel (cat. No. 1) that was already broken when deposited so it is not fully reconstructed. The entire pottery found in the kiln's backfill bears traces of secondary firing.

The kiln channel opens to the southwest and was shaped using several medium-sized stones. As a result of the heat to which these stones were subjected, they became fragile and crumbly. The width of the channel is 0.30 m, and its preserved length is also 0.30 m. It was disrupted from the west by digging in the northern corner of dwelling No. 8 (fig. 1, fig. 11, fig. 15). The same dug-in context also disturbed the kiln's stoking pit, of which only the northern edge is partially preserved.

The stoking pit was also dug into the ground (fig. 12 – 13), and its periphery probably reached what was then the ground level. As readily became visible in the eastern and southern profile of the Grid sq. 34/14 (fig. 14), it was dug-in to an elevation of 233.52 m. The lowest point at which the stoking pit was preserved is at the northwestern edge of dwelling No. 8's recession into the ground, an elevation of 232.72 m.

At the center of the stoking pit, the platform was dug in deeper, forming something like a recess compared to the surrounding area (fig. 15 – 16). The stoking pit thus appears to have been placed lower than the firing chamber. As is common for kilns of similar construction, it should be taken into account that the ground on which the kiln was built slopes toward the southwest, so the site for its construction was specially selected to optimize the kiln's construction and use.

The stoking pit's length is approximately 2 m and its preserved width is about 0.70 m, but assuming a symmetrical arrangement with respect to the channel, we can assume that the pit was originally a minimum of 1.50 m wide. This does not exclude the possibility that it was originally circular in plan and about 2 m in diameter (fig. 15 – 16). Several wooden post holes were documented to the west of the stoking pit, which were probably once connected with a canopy of non-durable material (fig. 13). The backfill of the stoking pit contains several pottery sherds (fig. 17) and a large amount of charcoal.[3]

The above observations reveal a partially buried kiln intended for high-temperature firing and with a significant internal volume, a channel exceeding 0.30 m in length, and a stoking pit arranged on several levels and possibly covered with a temporary canopy, as evidenced by the preserved post holes on the kiln's western side. The way such kilns functioned has been described in the scholarly literature (Акрабова-Жандова 1959, 227 – 228; Рашев 2008, 185) but not in great detail. We therefore here propose a more detailed breakdown of how the kiln was used.

Dried vessels prepared for firing would have been arranged in the chamber first. The kiln's partially dug-in construction allowed for the accumulation and maintenance of a high temperature. It should not be excluded that the stones found in the chamber with traces of exposure to high temperatures were placed specifically to support the process.[4] As evidenced by the amount

[2] Ethnographic descriptions of the process of firing ceramic vessels show a preference for beech wood as fuel (Пунтев 1983, 122). Similar evidence (for the use of hazel, alder and beech, according to their distribution in different regions) is also available for other high-temperature processes (Георгиев 1978, 40).

[3] Results of the archaeobotanical studies show almost the same content of wood species, with the remains of beech *(Fagus sylvatica L.)* again being predominant but also joined by pieces of charred oak *(Quercus sp.)*, ash *(Fraxinus excelsior L.)*, hornbeam *(Carpinus betulus L.),* and lentils *(Lens culinaris Medik.)*.

[4] The situation is similar to that of one of the ceramic kilns discovered at Lyubimets, Haskovo district in which, according to the researcher, stones discovered at the floor level of the firing chamber were placed to retain and give off heat for a long time. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Dr. Rumyana Koleva from Sofia University "St. Kliment Ohridski" for sharing these observations. The stones discovered under similar circumstances near the kilns from Kovanlaka locality near the village of Topola, Dobrich district, have been interpreted as possible "plugs" for the vents used at a certain stage of the firing process (Бобчева 1977, 173).



Fig. 11. The kiln and part of the stoking pit, cut by the later excavation of the northern corner of dwelling No. 8

Обр. 11. Пещта и част от предпещната площадка, пресечени от по-късното вкопаване на северния ъгъл на жилище № 8



Fig. 12. Southern half of Grid sq. 34/14 with the outlines of the stocking pit

Обр. 12. Южната половина на кв. 34/14 с очертанията на предпещната яма



Fig. 13. The south part of Grid sq. 34/14 and the excavated stocking pit

Обр. 13. Южната половина на кв. 34/14 с изчерпания запълнител на предпещната яма

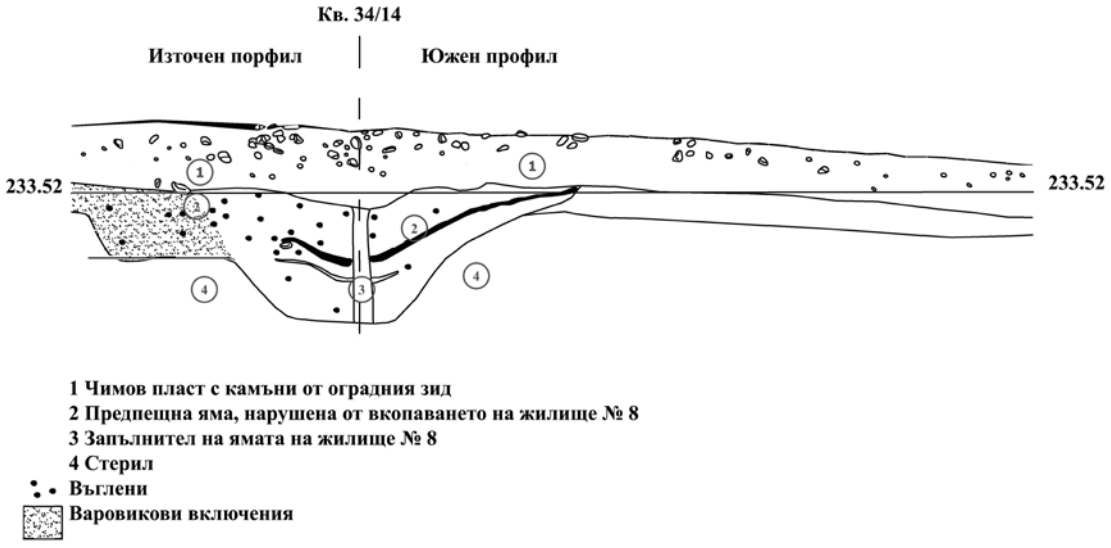


Fig. 14. Section of the stocking pit's backfill. In the corner of the grid square, its cutting from dwelling No. 8 is documented

Обр. 14. Разрез на запълнителя на предпещната яма. В ъгъла на квадрата е документирано прерязването ѝ от жилище № 8

of charcoal found, combustion was carried out mostly in the space in front of the kiln, which was also partially dug-in. The incompletely preserved structure of the kiln does not allow the flue hole to be reconstructed,[5] but it is most likely that the loading opening was used for this purpose. The coloring of the firing chamber's interior plaster coating and the remains of ashes and coals on its floor indicate that when it was in use, the kiln was heated not only by hot air but also by embers (possibly in the final phase of the firing process). The charcoal in the kiln's backfill was mainly concentrated in the space at the entrance and in the stoking pit, indicating that combustion took place there. It is possible that there was also some temporary covering here to direct the combustion gases to the chamber and prevent energy loss. Arguments in favor of such a hypothesis are offered by the "two-level" design of the stoking pit, which is deeper in the center and has a shallower, step-shaped periphery (fig. 13, fig. 15 – 16).

[5] The clearly visible indentation in the eastern part of the firing chamber (fig. 9 – 10) is an animal burrow.

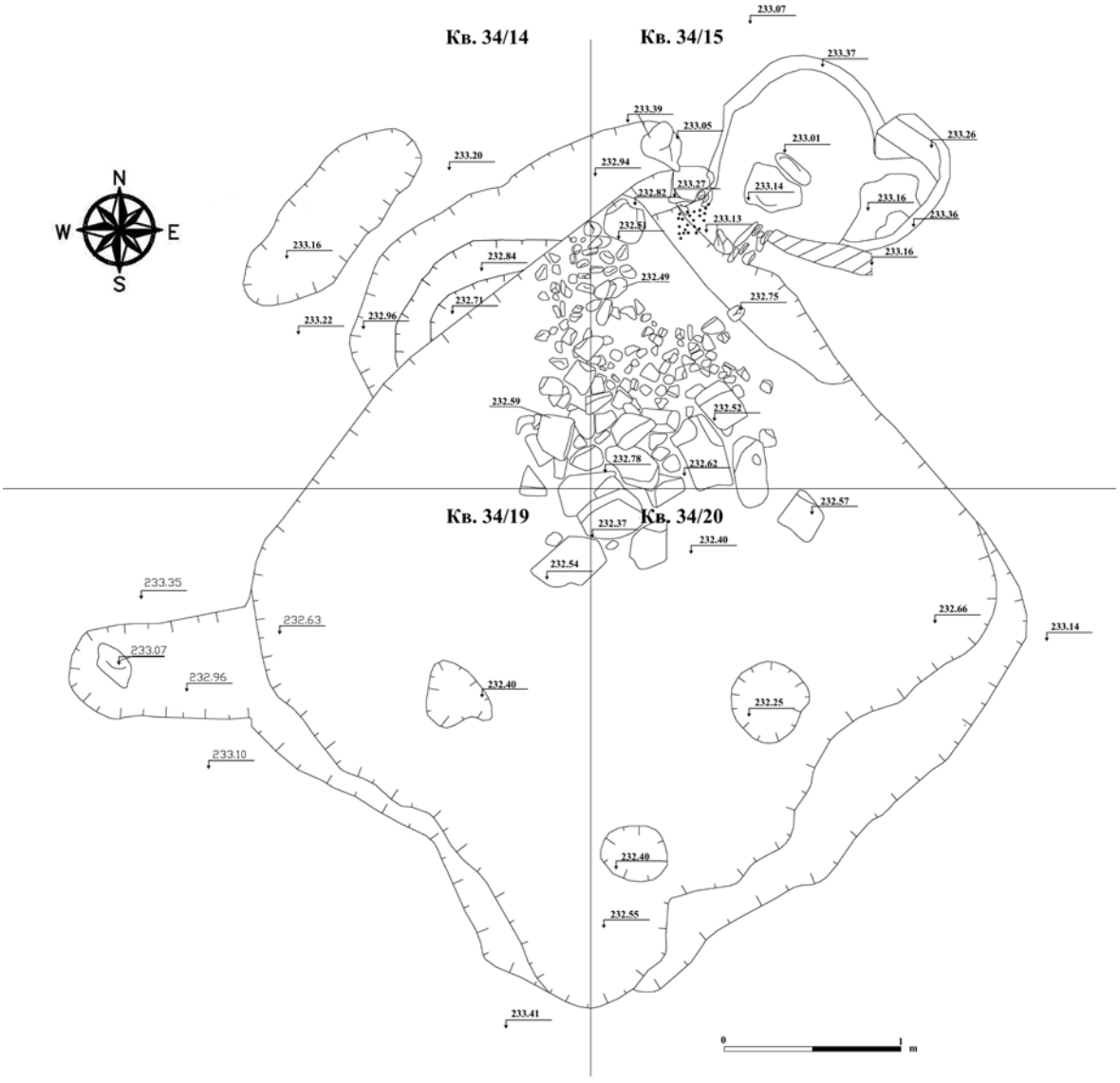


Fig. 15. Graphic documentation of the kiln and dwelling No. 8
Обр. 15. Графично заснемане на пещта и жилище № 8

The insignificant pottery sherds on the floor of the firing chamber (cat. Nos. 3 – 4, fig. 20: 2, 3) indicate that the kiln was emptied of finished products before it was demolished. Multiple sherds of the same vessel that could not be completely reconstructed (cat. No. 1, fig. 19) were found in the chamber's backfill, showing that the vessel was already in a broken state when deposited. It can be assumed that these pottery remains were in the immediate vicinity of the kiln and fell together with surrounding soil when the firing chamber was first filled. The reconstruction of a significant part of the vessel's shape is a further argument in favor of the fact that not much time passed between when it broke and when its remains fell into the kiln. There are no clear signs of deformation on the vessel's fragments that would allow it to be identified as a waster. Traces of secondary firing can be explained both by it staying in close proximity to the kiln and by domestic use.

As the main argument for identifying the kiln as one used for large-scale production, we need to point out that the dug-in firing chamber and the stoking pit in front of it bear unmistakable signs

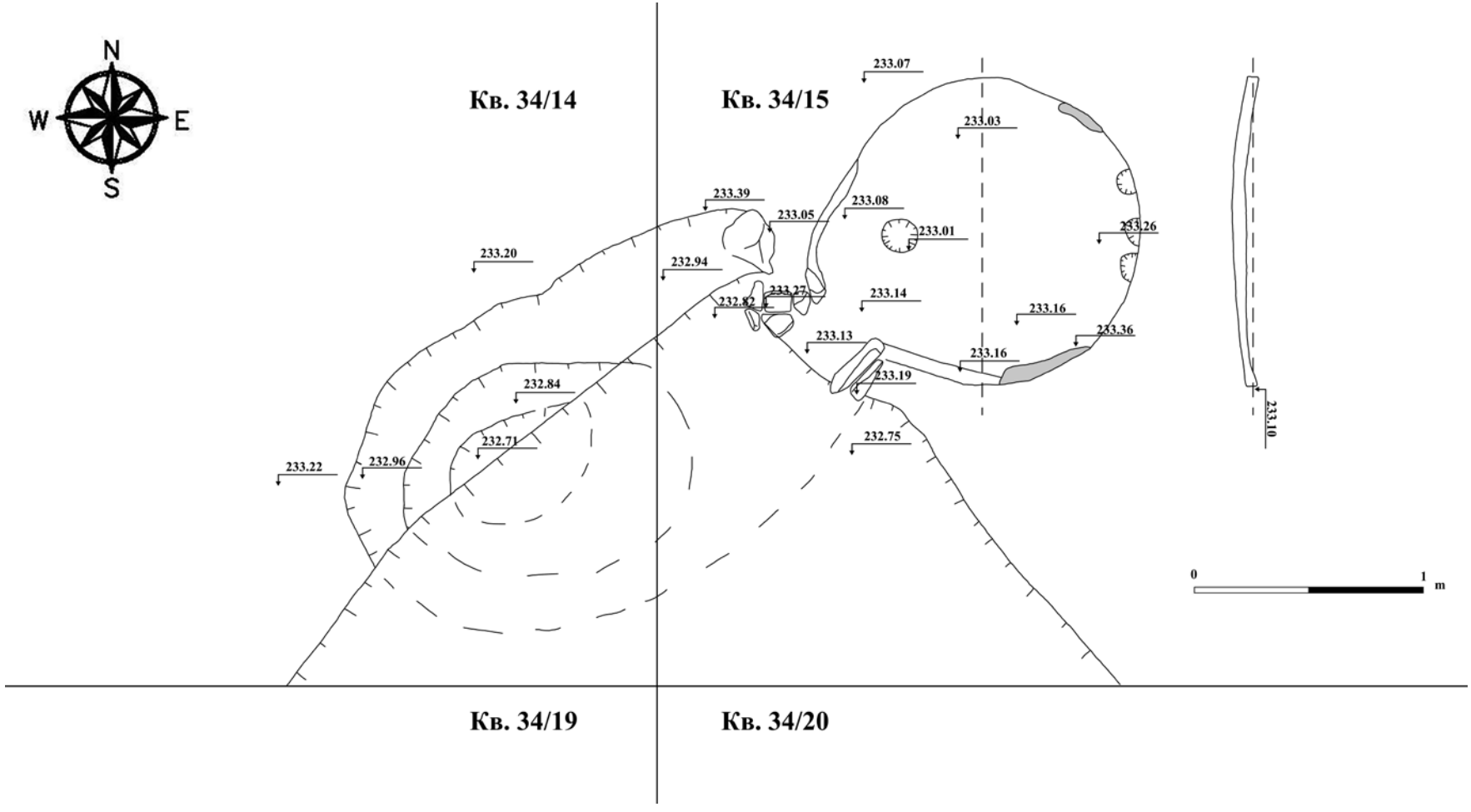


Fig. 16. Graphic documentation of the kiln in the final stage of the survey and the preserved part of the stocking pit with hypothetical outlines of its original boundaries. The line of the cross-section is marked, as well as the remains of a wooden support approximately in the center of the chamber

Обр. 16. Графично заснемане на пещта във финалния етап от проучването и запазената част от предпещната яма с хипотетични очертания на първоначалните ѝ граници. Отбелязана е линията на разрез, както и останките от дървена подпора приблизително в центъра на камерата

of the prolonged maintenance of high temperatures, which led to the firing of the ground around the kiln. It is also important to highlight the elongated channel (more than 0.30 m) that connected the firing chamber to the stoking pit. Domestic ovens with a similar construction that were used in the preparation of food for everyday life are known to us both from medieval settlements (Ваклинов, Станилов 1981, 35; Георгиева 1961, 13; Димитров 1984, 39 – 41; Тотев 1996, 44, табл. XL: 2) and ethnographic descriptions (Маринов 1901, 46 – 47). Usually, however, these ovens are built next to dwellings (dug-outs), and in front of them is a space shaped in the living area that is plastered in the same way as the kiln's interior (Димитров 1975, 221 – 222; Димова 1993, 65, 67). The temperatures reached in these domestic ovens lead to a slight firing of the oven itself and insignificant firing of the surrounding ground (Димитров 2020, 188, обр. 3; Топалилов 2020, 438, обр. 4). Domestic ovens also lack a channel for supplying heat (Димитров 2020, 188, обр. 3; Петрова 2020, 170 – 172). Unfortunately, we are unable to point to cases of such ovens in which their construction and the material from their backfills have both been analyzed. These ovens often have been studied outside a settlement context, which leaves many questions as to their function.

Ethnographic descriptions of such ovens, used mainly for baking bread, point to ground facilities with a simple design (Георгиева 1961, 13) located away from other buildings (Маринов 1901, 46 – 47). According to available photos and descriptions, the single oven at the Vinitsa production complex, Shumen district, was apparently built at ground level and was intended for food preparation (Тотев 1996, 44, табл. LII: 2). The situation at the Western fortress wall of Pliska is not particularly clear; here were found what have been described as household ovens that are rather dug-in[6] and are adjacent to identified but unexplored dwellings (Антонова, Витлянов 1985, 62 – 63, обр. 19). They are also significantly smaller in size than the one discussed here. They lack channels in their construction, and in some of them, the oven lining continues in front of its opening to form a relatively flat surface. Ground facilities away from residential buildings have also been documented in the village of Belogradets in the municipality of Vetrino (Александрова 2020, 412, обр. 5; Александрова 2021, 836) and in the village of Dolni Lukovit in the municipality of Iskar (Димитров 2020, 187 – 188, обр. 3). The situation of the ovens from the village of Vetrino, Varna district, which were found in a relatively differentiated part of the settlement (?), has not been clarified. The bottoms of these ovens' firing chambers were dug into the ground, but there has been no comment regarding their function (Манев и др. 2021, 1109 – 1110).

Single-chamber pottery kilns were already widely used in Antiquity as well (Henning 1977, 197, Abb. 8). Research shows that in the Middle Ages, when two-chamber kilns with a more advanced construction were widely employed (Петрова 2005, 39 – 60), the use of single-chamber kilns continued to complement larger production centers or to serve as the primary production facilities for settlements characterized by less consumption (Henning 1977, 197 – 199; Акрабова-Жандова 1959, 226 – 228; Димитров 1961, 135 – 139; Димитров 1984, 37 – 46; Аладжов, Василева 2020, 386). Despite doubts expressed in the scholarship regarding the use of these kilns as pottery production facilities (Дончева-Петкова 1977, 31), evidence of wasters support such an identification (Koleva 1997, 245 – 252). It is unclear when they were finally replaced by kilns of a more advanced design, but, their use is certainly attested from the 11th into the early 13th c. in Thrace (Шейлева 1999, 31 – 36; Borisov 1989, 317 – 318; Koleva 1997, 245 – 252). During the Bulgarian Revival period, different variants of kilns with a separate combustion chamber were used exclusively (Вакарелски 2007, 331 – 332; Пунтев 1983, 121).

[6] The graves documented at similar levels are indicative in this regard (Антонова, Витлянов 1985, 62, обр. 19).

Although the construction and use of single-chamber kilns in the territory of modern Bulgaria are therefore quite conservative, stratigraphic observations and pottery from the backfills of the firing chamber and stocking pit of the kiln considered here indicate well when it was in operation. The earliest structure at the site is dwelling No. 10 (fig. 1, fig. 18), which was uncovered in the immediate vicinity of the kiln to the north. Without disturbing the backfill of the dwelling pit, the kiln's use burned some of it due to the high temperatures to which the ground around the kiln was heated. This observation in itself is an indication that the construction and use of the kiln belongs to a time when dwelling No. 10 had fallen into disuse and had already been filled.

The next oldest structure at the site is the kiln discussed here. The disruption of its channel and stoking pit by the north corner of the later dug in dwelling No. 8 indicates that the kiln was no longer in use by the time the dwelling was built. On top of the filled pit of the same dwelling as well as the relatively leveled ground in this part of the settlement, some kind of ground structure made of non-durable material was set for some time, as evidenced by the preserved stone base for a wooden post uncovered in the southeastern corner of Grid sq. 34/14[7] (fig. 12) and by a large amount of clay plaster with traces of a wooden structure nearby. The latest structure built in this area is the northern enclosure wall (fig. 1 – 3) of an independent estate that arose here over the remains of the medieval settlement. The kiln considered here, the northern corner of dwelling No. 8, and the aforementioned stone base are set under it completely.

These stratigraphic observations assign the pottery kiln to the relatively early phases of medieval habitation at the Petrova Niva locality. Our overall observations, based on years of research of the structures that existed here, place the general chronology of the site in the 9th – 10th c. Without being able to comment on how long each structure was used, based on stratigraphic observations, we can provisionally attribute the kiln's operation to the 9th c. in general.

The pottery sherds found in the backfill of the kiln and its stoking pit offer some possibilities for refining this dating. As we have already noted, there is no reason to believe that these sherds can be connected with the final use of the kiln. It is more likely that they found their way into the backfill only after the kiln was no longer in use and when its stoking pit and the surrounding ground were leveled. The most indicative ceramic finds are the remains of the aforementioned pot (cat. No. 1, fig. 19) found in the kiln's backfill in a fragmented state with missing parts. Although the vessel's profile cannot be fully reconstructed, it is closest to type III according to the typology of Lyudmila Doncheva-Petkova (Дончева-Петкова 1977, 51 – 52) and subgroup A.III.1 according to Rasho Rashev (Рашев 2008, 177 – 180). Vessels with similar features[8] are a relatively conservative form dating from the 8th to the 10th c. They are attested in a number of closed complexes, mainly from pagan necropoleis (Дончева-Петкова 1977, 52; Рашев 2008, 178 – 179). The second relatively well-preserved vessel (cat. No. 2, fig. 20: 1) found in the backfill of the stoking pit has the same features. The only difference is in its decoration: the horizontal lines covering the body are crossed by two bands of incised wavy lines.

Since these vessels' forms cannot be completely restored, we would like to draw attention to their general features. The two sherds (cat. Nos. 3 and 4, fig. 20: 2, 3) found on the floor of the firing chamber point to a relatively early date for the facility. Their small size, however, does not allow them to be considered necessarily synchronous with the kiln's operation. They therefore cannot

[7] It has not been excluded that it is part of a significant construction and stands in connection with other similar bases discovered southwest of it in Grid sq. 34/19.

[8] They are made on a tournette and have a fabric containing a large amount of sand. The rims are truncated, conical, and rounded and are sometimes thickened. The shoulders are rounded, and the outer surface is densely covered with horizontal incised lines (Дончева-Петкова 1977, 52; Рашев 2008, 178 – 179, 562, табл. CIX).



Fig. 17. Pottery from the stocking pit's backfill
Обр. 17. Керамика от запълнителя на предпещната яма

be used as convincing evidence that this is a pottery kiln in which ceramics with both incised and burnished decoration were fired.

A better view of the pottery is offered by the stoking pit's backfill (fig. 17). Apart from a small amount of Late Roman pottery, the rest of the sherds belong to pottery of sandy fabric and incised decoration made on a tournette. All of the sherds bear traces of secondary firing, and none show signs of deformation, i.e. there are no explicit indications that they belong to vessels that due to an error in the firing process became "wasters" and were therefore not used in the household. No other sherds with decoration different from that already described were recorded. The sherds point to an earlier date for the kiln because they differ from the ones regarded by Rasho Rashev (Рашев 2008, 178 – 179, 562, табл. CIX) as characteristic for the second half of the 9th – 10th c. based on a stratigraphic and statistical analysis of the pottery from several pagan necropoleis.

On the one hand, then, the pottery from the kiln's backfill can only be used as a *terminus ante quem* for its period of operation. Filling is of course a process that marks the end of the kiln's use, but it does not exclude the simultaneous deposition of materials of different dates, the latest of which are indicative of the time when this happened. The size of the sherds can also be used as a guide for dating the backfilling of the kiln without absolutely confirming this date.[9] Pottery sherds that are significant in size are more likely to be "more recent", i.e. exposed for a shorter time to various destructive factors during their stay on the surface. Bigger sherds therefore could have been discarded closer to the time when the kiln was filled. In this case, the Late Roman pottery sherds that were collected are smaller in size and fewer in number than the medieval ones. We of course should also note that since as the ceramic forms are conservative, dating based on them can only be within relatively broad time spans.

Regarding the current case study, the considerations noted here as well as the overall characteristics of the pottery sherds point to the 8th – first half of the 9th c. as the period during which the kiln

[9] One should not disregard features such as sherd thickness, vessel shape, degree of firing, etc.



Fig. 18. View to the structures in this part of the enclosed area (Drone photo: Chr. Uzunov)
Обр. 18. Поглед към структурите в тази част на дворното пространство (Снимка с дрон: Кр. Узунов)

was used. Additionally, it is important to specify that the features of the pottery from the backfill of the stratigraphically earlier dwelling No. 10 show a combination of the same diagnostic features. Based on all this, we can narrow down the most probable date for the kiln's use to the mid-9th c.

Finally, we would like to make some observations regarding the sources of raw material for such ceramic production. The presence and exploitation of deposits of clays with plastic properties in the immediate vicinity of the Petrova Niva locality is evidenced by study of the Hellenistic period pottery production center on the opposite bank of the Krapinets river (Стоянов и др. 2006, 15 – 16, обр. 18 – 20). In support of this, we can point to some experiments carried out using clays from local deposits (Александров 2003, 44 – 49). Studies of pottery making in Eastern Europe show that clay deposits were usually located no more than a few kilometers from a settlement and not infrequently on its outskirts (Бобринский 1978, 76). We ourselves had the opportunity to experiment with clay from adjacent grid squares, which allowed not only good vessel modeling but also trouble-free firing. Targeted research is of course needed to identify the specific deposits of raw materials used in the Middle Ages, but since we currently do not have clear local wasters, comparisons will for now only have uncertain results.

Catalogue

1. Pot. Made on a tournette. Fabric containing large amount of coarse sand. Reddish-brown color after firing. Conical rim with a rounded outer edge. Broad rounded shoulders. Short neck. On the outer surface is a decoration of closely-set horizontal incised lines. On the edge of the rim and the outer surface are traces of smoking and secondary firing. Large parts of the upper half of the vessel are preserved, highly fragmented.



Fig. 19. Parts of a pot from the kiln's backfill (cat. No.1)

Обр. 19. Част от гърне, произхождащо от запълнителя на пещта (кат. № 1)

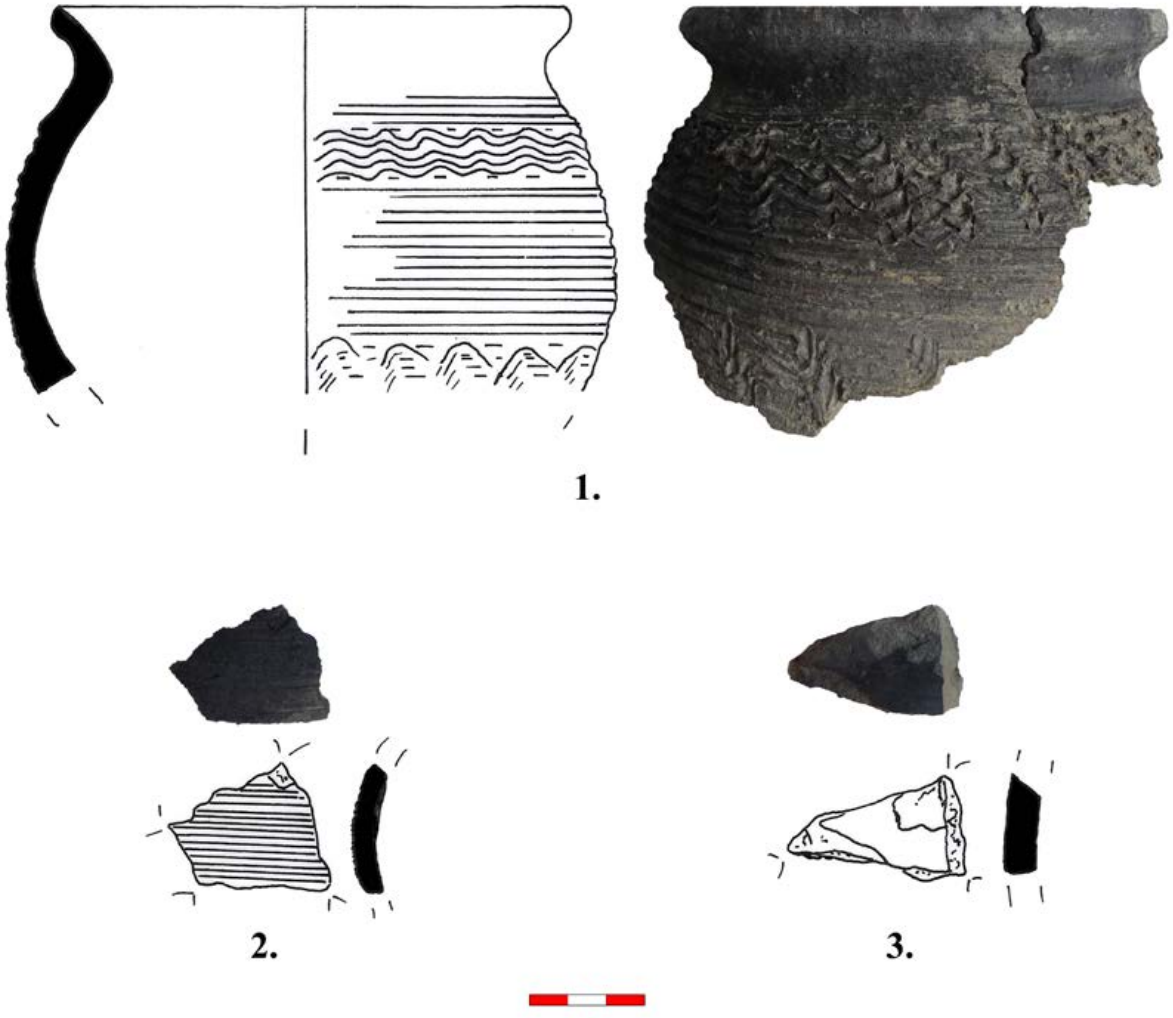


Fig. 20. Pottery from the stocking pit and the kiln (cat. Nos. 2 – 4)
Обр. 20. Керамика от предпещната яма и пещта (кат. № 2 – 4)

Size: D_1 – 180 mm; H (preserved) – 125 mm; Thickness – 7 mm
From the kiln's backfill (fig. 19).

2. Pot. Made on a tournette. Fabric containing large amount of coarse sand. Grayish-black color after firing. Obliquely cut and rounded on the outside rim. Short neck. Globular body. The preserved portion of the outer surface is covered with horizontal incised lines, intersected by two bands of wavy incised lines made with a five-toothed "comb". About ¼ of the upper part of the vessel is preserved as well as three more sherds that certainly belong to it.
Size: D_1 – 135 mm; H (preserved) – 95 mm; Thickness – 9 – 7 mm
From the stoking pit's backfill (fig. 20: 1).

3. Wall sherd. Made on a tournette. Fabric containing large amount of sand. Reddish-brown color after firing. The outer surface is densely covered with horizontal incised lines. Soot-stained.

Size: Thickness – 6 mm
From the stoking pit's backfill (fig. 20: 2).

4. Wall sherd. Made on a tournette. Fine micaceous fabric with grayish-black color after firing. Burnished outer surface.
Size: Thickness – 8 mm
From the stoking pit's backfill (fig. 20: 3).

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КЕРАМИЧНА ПЕЩ ОТ СРЕДНОВЕКОВНОТО СЕЛИЩЕ В МЕСТНОСТТА ПЕТРОВА НИВА, АР „СБОРЯНОВО"

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РЕЗЮМЕ

Статията разглежда еднокамерна пещ от средновековното селище в м. Петрова нива, АР „Сборяново" (Североизточна България, община Исперих; обр. 1). Тя е разкрита в северната част на изследваното пространство (кв. 34/14 и 34/15).

Пещта е вкопана в тогавашния терен. Тя е с кръгъл план (диаметър 1,40 – 1,50 м) и частично запазено куполовидно покритие (обр. 7 – 8, обр. 10 – 11). Каналът за обслужването ѝ е отворен на югозапад. Той е с ширина 0,30 м и входът му е оформен посредством няколко плочести камъка. Запазената дължина е 0,30 м, като западният край е пресечен от по-късната яма на жилище № 8. Отвежда до частично запазена предпещна яма. В запълнителя ѝ липсват фрагменти, които еднозначно могат да бъдат определени като производствен брак.

Направеният разрез на камерата (обр. 9 – 10, обр. 16) позволява допълнителни наблюдения относно начина и етапите на изграждането ѝ.

Разгледани са сходните средновековни съоръжения и аргументите за предложената идентификация като производствено съоръжение за керамика, а именно вкопаването на съоръжението, високата степен на изпичане на околния терен, наличието на канал за връзка с предпещната площадка, както и значителна по размер двустъпална предпещна яма. Посочено е, че подобни еднокамерни пещи в Античността и Ранното средновековие обикновено са помощни съоръжения при големите производствени комплекси или обслужват селища с по-малко потребление. Разгледани са отликите на тук анализираната пещ с еднокамерните битови пещи, познати както в археологически контекст, така и от етнографски описания.

Пещта е в ясна стратиграфска позиция спрямо останалите съоръжения, разкрити в този участък на селището. При функционирането си тя е довела до частично изпичане на запълнителя на близко разположеното жилище № 10, което явно, към времето на функциониране

на пещта, вече е било вън от употреба и ямата му е била запълнена. Каналът на пещта, както и предпещната площадка, свързани с обслужването ѝ, впоследствие са нарушени при оформянето на ямата на жилище № 8. След като жилище № 8 е излязло от употреба и ямата му е била запълнена, върху останките е изградена конструкция от нетраен материал, за което свидетелства запазената *in situ* каменна база за дървен стълб (обр. 12). Всички тези съоръжения попадат под изградения впоследствие северозападен ограден зид (обр. 1 – 3) на възникналото върху останките от селището стопанство, което е и най-късната структура, засвидетелствана на мястото.

Като аргумент за датата на съоръжението са привлечени както стратиграфските наблюдения, така и характеристиките на керамиката, произхождаща от пещта и предпещната яма (обр. 17, обр. 19 – 20). Въз основа на това, функционирането на пещта е отнесено до към средата на IX в.

Коментирани са и възможните източници на пластични глини, необходими за обслужване на керамичното производство.

Ключови думи: Средновековие, IX в., еднокамерна керамична пещ, селище, АР „Сборяново“, м. Петрова нива

PARTS OF ARMS AND ACCOUTREMENTS FROM THE "PALACE CENTER – EAST" SITE AT PLISKA

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ABSTRACT

This paper presents parts of arms and accoutrements discovered during archaeological excavations of the "Palace Center – East" site at Pliska. The site is located in the immediate vicinity of the monumental palace complexes and reflects the dynamics of life in the heart of the medieval city. Various parts of arms and accoutrements were found during the excavations: arrowheads, a saber guard, a plate from chain armor, a bit shank, a triple distributor, and a bone ball from a flail, which evidence the presence of soldiers at Pliska from the 10th up to the mid-11th c. The finds originate from well-dated stratigraphic contexts, which allows the development of a clearer chronology of use for the site and the discernment of a final date of use for the weapons before they found their place in a cultural layer. Artifacts are most numerous in Horizon III, which indicates increased military activity in the city around and after the 1030s/1040s. These dates correspond to the results of other archaeological studies that have documented numerous traces of fires on and repairs to Pliska's fortress walls and gates. This dating is also corroborated by historical sources that describe the tense military and political situation in the region in the period from the late 1020s to the end of the 1040s.

Keywords: Pliska, Middle Ages, arms and accoutrements

Introduction

Medieval warfare is an important topic that has been actively researched in Bulgaria in recent years. Scholars' interest in the topic has largely been provoked both by a growing number of archaeological finds from the medieval period in museum depots and private collections and by increased public interest in medieval arms and accoutrements (Троева 2020). One major problem researchers are facing, however, is the lack of information on the archaeological context of most of these finds. Artifacts discovered during archaeological excavations, then, are of special significance and value because they provide authentic data on stratigraphy and chronology.

The current paper reviews parts of arms and accoutrements discovered during the 2011 – 2016 archaeological campaigns at the "Palace Center – East" site at Pliska. The site is located in the immediate vicinity of the monumental palace complexes and the citadel (fig. 1) and reflects the dynamics of life at the heart of the city. Dozens of dwellings, utility pits, buildings, graves, and household ovens from the Post-Metropolitan period of Pliska have been uncovered in the excavated area (fig. 2). They illustrate the transformation of the Inner City from a ruler's residence in the 9th c. into a typical urban environment in the 10th and first half of the 11th c.

https://doi.org/10.53250/cba14.135-151



Fig. 1. Satellite photo of the Inner City of medieval Pliska. The location of the "Palace Center – East" site is marked
Обр. 1. Сателитна снимка на Вътрешния град на средновековна Плиска. Отбелязано е мястото на обект „Дворцов център – изток"

Various parts of arms and accoutrements were found during the excavations: arrowheads, a saber guard, a plate from chain armor, a bit shank, a triple distributor (fig. 3), and a bone ball from a flail (fig. 4). These finds come from well-documented stratigraphic contexts, which allows the development of a clearer chronology for their use and, above all, the discernment of a date for when they found their place in the cultural layer.

Stratigraphy and chronology of the site

The stratigraphy and chronology of the site have been reviewed in detail in several preliminary publications (Григоров, Тодорова 2014, 5; Григоров 2016, 256 – 293; Григоров 2017, 193 – 194, 197 – 199), which is why only the essential information will be summarized here. Three stratigraphic horizons from the Post-Metropolitan period of Pliska have been distinguished in the ap-

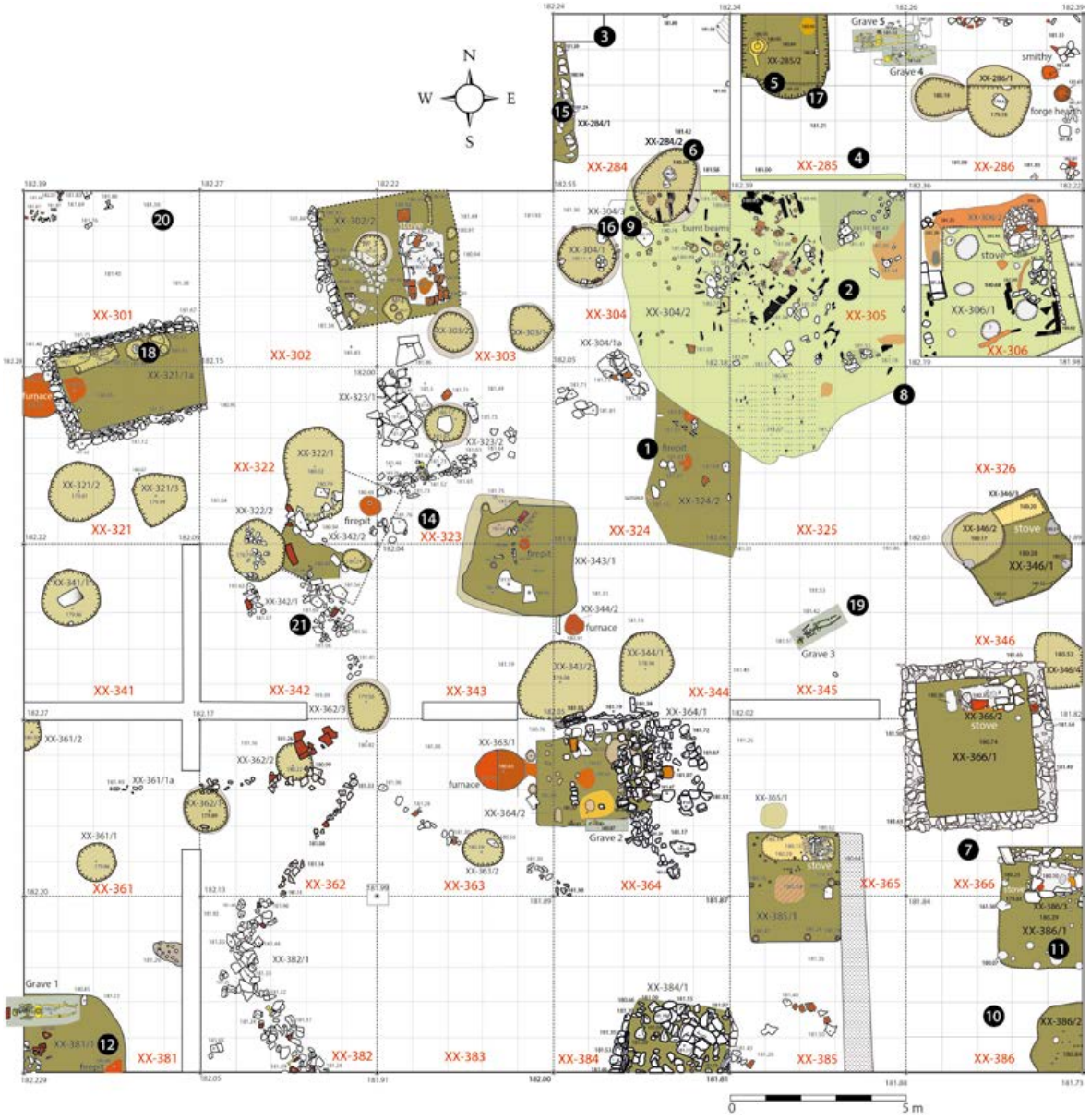


Fig. 2. Plan of the uncovered archaeological structures at the "Palace Center – East" site. The location of the discovered parts of arms and accoutrements is marked with numbers 1 – 21 (Author: V. Grigorov)

Обр. 2. План на разкритите археологически структури на обект „Дворцов център – изток". С цифри от 1 до 21 е отбелязано местоположението на откритите предмети на въоръжението и снаряжението (Автор: В. Григоров)

proximately 1-meter-thick cultural layer. The main chronological indicator used to date individual stratigraphic horizons are coins viewed as *terminus post quem*. The earliest layer (Horizon I), which is immediately on top of the old humus, is where a coin of Leo VI (886 – 912; Григоров 2017, 194, 200, кат. № 3, табл. XLIV) and a seal of the "Theoktistos, patrikios and logothetes tou dromou" (Григоров, Жекова 2015, 158, табл. XIX: 1 – 2) were found, and the common archaeological material is dated mainly to the 10th c. Anonymous Byzantine folles "Class A2" (976 – 1030/35) were found in the second stratigraphic horizon, dating it after 976. The next chronological boundary is marked by the level at which anonymous Byzantine folles "Class B" (1030/35 – 1042) are found. The latest medieval coin on the site was discovered in the present-day upper arable layer and is an



Fig. 3. Parts of arms and accoutrements from the "Palace Center – East" site at Pliska: 1 – 16. Arrowheads; 17. Cross-guard; 18. Plate from chain armor; 19. Bit shank; 20. Triple distributor (Author: V. Grigorov)

Обр. 3. Предмети на въоръжението и снаряжението от обект „Дворцов център – изток" в Плиска: 1 – 16. Върхове на стрели; 17. Предпазител на сабя; 18. Пластина от ризница; 19. Псалия от юзда; 20. Троен разпределител (Автор: В. Григоров)

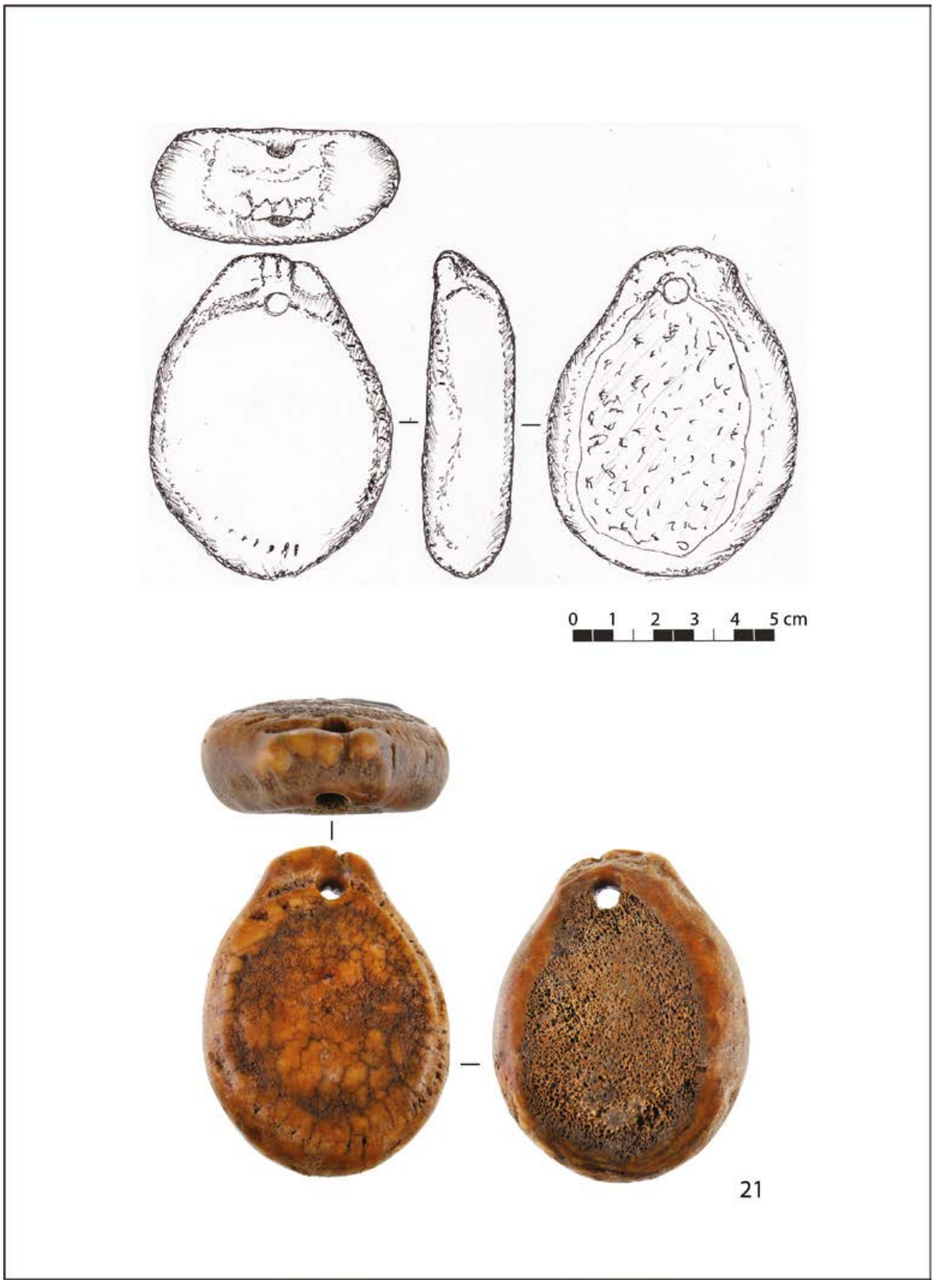


Fig. 4. Bone ball from a flail from the "Palace Center – East" site at Pliska, made from a hartshorn (Drawing: L. Todorova)
Обр. 4. Костен кистен от обект „Дворцов център – изток" в Плиска, изработен от еленов рог (Рисунка: Л. Тодорова)

anonymous Byzantine follis "Class D" (1050 – 1060), which thus closes the chronological framework of the cultural layer.

Arrowheads

The most numerous kind of arms found during excavation are iron arrowheads, 16 of them in particular (fig. 3: 1 – 16). For the purpose of the study, the finds will be presented in stratigraphic sequence, and their typological characteristics will be discussed on the basis of already existing classifications and typological schemes.

Horizon I

Three bilobate (flat) arrows were found in Horizon I (fig. 5: 12 – 14). They were attached to the wooden body of the weapon with a long tang. One of the finds (fig. 3: 12) was found in the fill of a dug-in dwelling (XX-381/1) used in the 10th c. (fig. 2: 12). The arrowhead is ellipsoidal and falls in group I, type 1 according to V. Yotov's classification (Йотов 2004, табл. V – VI). The total length of the arrow (with the head and tang) is 7.8 cm.

The second find (fig. 3: 13) was discovered on the spoil heap, but it is from a layer that precedes the level with the anonymous Byzantine folles from Class A2. The arrowhead is rhombic and falls in group I, type 3 of V. Yotov's classification (Йотов 2004, табл. XI – XIV) and group I, division A, type 2 according to the classification of S. Vitlyanov (Витлянов 1993, 122, табл. I). The total length of the arrow (with the head and tang) is 6.6 cm.

The third find (fig. 3: 14) was uncovered in Grid sq. XX-323 at an elevation of 181.30 m (fig. 2: 14). The head is rhombic and falls in group I, type 4 of V. Yotov's classification (Йотов 2004, табл. XVII – XVIII). The tang of the arrow is broken off, and the length of the blade is 5.4 cm.

The three types of arrowheads presented here are among those most commonly found in the country. Their stratigraphic context indicates that they were used in the 10th c., the latest date being the last third of the century. In his study on the arms and accoutrements from the Bulgarian Middle Ages from the 7th – 11th c., V. Yotov lists over 240 similar finds from necropoleis, settlements, and fortresses, mainly in northeastern Bulgaria (Йотов 2004, кат. № 32 – 277). Identical arrows have been found in different places at Pliska (Станчев 1960, 35, 38, 40, обр. 6А: 3, обр. 7Г: 2, 6, 12, обр. 8А: 7; Василев 1979, 105, обр. 12: 1 – 4; Захариев 1979, 158, обр. 52; Дончева-Петкова 1985, 115, обр. 42; Джингов 1992, 119, обр. 21ж; Дончева-Петкова 1992, 130, обр. 13; Витлянов 1993, 122, табл. I; Първопрестолна Плиска 1999, табл. I: 9, 11; Михайлова, Иванов 2007, 345, обр. 8: 2) and Veliki Preslav (Аладжов 1985, 170, табл. IV: 1; Гатев 1985, 197, обр. 13: 5; Рашев 1985, 218, обр. 12а, г – д; Момчилов 2003, 304 – 307, 311 – 312, обр. 1а, обр. 2з – м, обр. 3а, б, обр. 4е – к, обр. 8, обр. 9в) as well as at the settlement and necropolis near the village of Odartsi (Дончева-Петкова и др. 1999, табл. LIII – LV/719; Дончева-Петкова 2005, 159, обр. 24: 412), the Krasen fortress near Panagyurishte (Григоров 2010, 315, табл. 13-I: 481, 716), Durankulak, Tsar Asen, Dzhedzhovi Lozya, Skala, Ruyno, Nova Cherna, Okorsh, Garvan, Huma, Balik, and dozens of other places (Йотов 2004, кат. № 32 – 277).

Similar arrowheads are frequently found in Hungarian cultural settings (Schulze-Dörrlamm, 2006, 50, 52 – 53, Abb. 12, Abb. 14 – 16; Felgenhauer-Schmiedt 2006, 265, Abb. 9). Similar finds dated to the 10th – 11th c. are also listed for the necropoleis of the Heves County (Révész 2008, tabl. 5: 5, tabl. 10: 8, tabl. 24: 1, tabl. 28: 13 – 16, tabl. 32: 3 – 5).

The arrows are made mainly of mild (low carbon) iron. Metalographic testing was performed on several specimens found at the medieval settlement in the bowl of G. Dimitrov dam near the village of Koprinka (Русев 1961, 8 – 10). The metal's soft structure facilitated the arrows' forging;

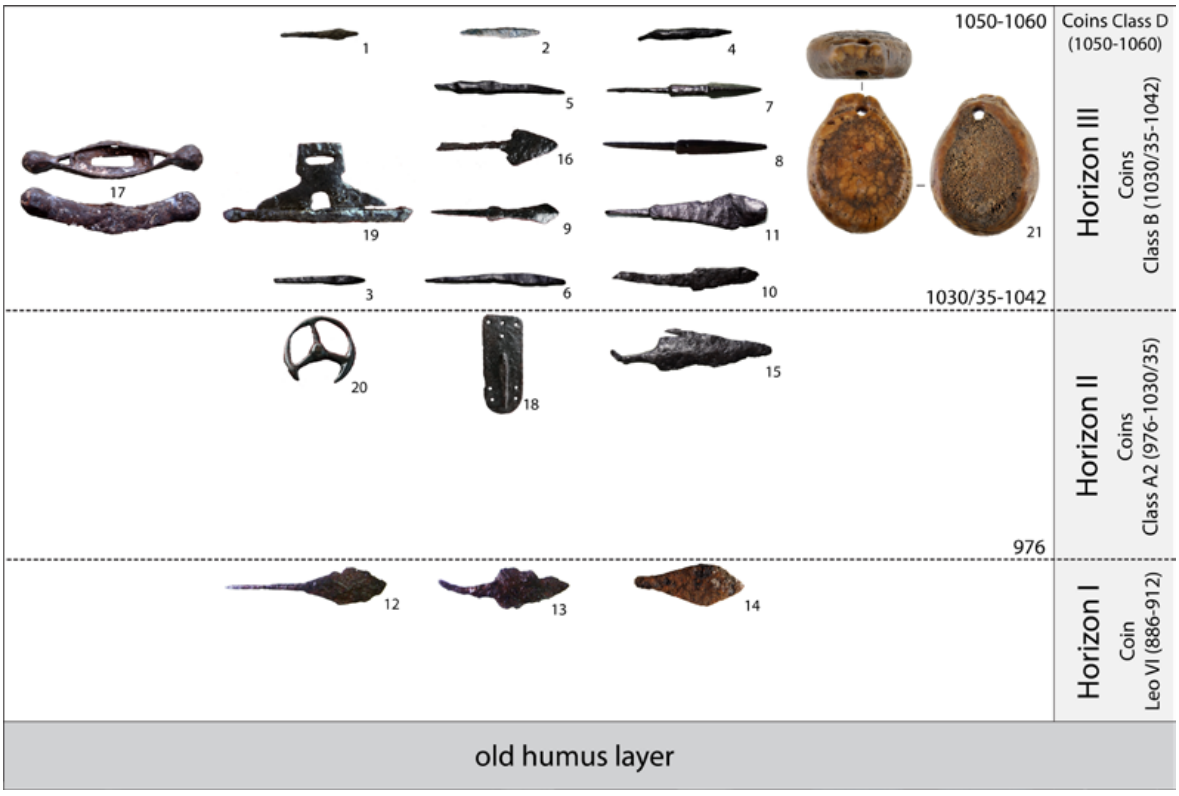


Fig. 5. Stratigraphy of the parts of arms and accoutrements from the "Palace Center – East" site at Pliska. The discovered coins, viewed as a terminus post quem, have been used for dating stratigraphic horizons: Horizon I (around and after the beginning of the 10th c.); Horizon II (after 976); and Horizon III (after 1030/35 – 1042 – to the 1060s; Author: V. Grigorov)

Обр. 5. Стратиграфия на предметите на въоръжението и снаряжението от обект „Дворцов център – изток" в Плиска. За датиране на стратиграфските хоризонти са използвани откритите монетни находки, разглеждани като terminus post quem: Хоризонт I (около и след начало на X в.); Хоризонт II (след 976 г.); Хоризонт III (след 1030/35 – 1042 г. – до 60-те години на XI в.; Автор: В. Григоров)

however, on hitting a hard base, the blade was easily hammered and deformed, which explains why damaged finds are discovered so often.

Horizon II

A bilobate arrow (fig. 3: 15, fig. 5: 15) was uncovered in Horizon II. It was found in the leveling layer above dwelling XX-284/1 at an elevation of 181.82 m (fig. 2: 15). Its stratigraphic position dates the find after the destruction of the dwelling, which was in use in the early 11th c. The arrowhead has an elongated triangular shape and a short barb on one side, connecting it to the "swallowtail" (barbed) arrows categorized in group I, type 6 in V. Yotov's classificatory scheme (Йотов 2004, табл. XIX – XX). The arrow from Pliska is of a hybrid type: the shape of the blade indicates close correspondences with variants B and C, and the tang for attachment is variant A. The arrow is relatively solid with a total length (including the head and tang) of 7.9 cm.

Horizon III

The highest number of arrowheads (12) was found in Horizon III (fig. 3: 1 – 11, 16). Most are small or medium-sized quadrilobate arrows with diameters ranging from 4 to 6 mm and their length from 3.5 to 6.7 cm. Six of the arrows (fig. 3: 1 – 6) can be classified as group II, type 2, variant A according to V. Yotov's classification (Йотов 2004, табл. XXIII). Arrowheads with an elongat-

ed blade that transitions into a short tang without a stem have been found in different places at Pliska (Станчев 1960, 38, обр. 7Г: 4, 7; Дончева-Петкова 1992, 130, обр. 13; Първопрестолна Плиска 1999, табл. II: 13, 14; Стоянова 2013, 225, табло XI: 8, 12), Veliki Preslav (Рашев 1985, 218, обр. 12в; Момчилов 2003, 309, обр. 6ж – п), Trapezitsa hill in Veliko Tarnovo (Рабовянов 2015, 609, табл. 53: 1358), the village of Zhilino in the Novi Pazar municipality (Стоянова 2003, 113, обр. 4: 5 – 8), and the medieval settlements near Odartsi (Дончева-Петкова и др. 1999, табл. LV: 723 – 731) and the village of Znamenosets (Борисов 1991, 272, обр. 8а).

Among the best-preserved specimens is a trilobate arrowhead (fig. 3: 7). It was uncovered in the upper stratigraphic layers of Horizon III, together with a badly worn and partially damaged heart-shaped appliqué (Grigorov 2018, 176, Abb. 3: 12). The total length of the arrowhead and the tang is 7 cm. Typologically the find belongs to group II, type 1, variant A of V. Yotov's classification (Йотов 2004, табл. XXII: 313 – 324). Similar arrows are known from Pliska (Станчев 1960, 38, обр. 7Г: 5), Veliki Preslav (Овчаров 1985, 154, обр. 41; Рашев 1985, 218, обр. 12: 6), Dolni Lukovit (Вăжарова 1976, 185, обр. 112: 3), Kyulevcha (Вăжарова 1976, 128, обр. 81: 6), and Dzhedzhovi Lozya (Вăжарова 1965, обр. 79).

Another very well-preserved arrowhead (fig. 3: 9) is of the same type. It was found at an elevation of 181.89 m in the leveling layer above the burnt building XX-304/2 (fig. 2: 9). Similar arrows have been found at Pliska (Захариев 1979, 158, обр. 52; Йотов 2004, табл. XXII: 323, 324) and Veliki Preslav (Овчаров 1985, 154, обр. 41).

A more solid specimen with a length of 8 cm (fig. 3: 8) can also be assigned to this arrow group; it was also found in the leveling layer above the burnt building XX-304/2 (fig. 2: 8). It is a quadrilobate arrowhead and typologically belongs to group II, type 2, variant A, according to V. Yotov (Йотов 2004, табл. XXIII: 337 – 347). Similar arrows have been found at Pliska (Станчев 1960, 31, обр. 4Б: 5; Стоянова 2013, 225, табло XI: 9, 20), near the eastern wall of the Inner City at Veliki Preslav (Овчаров 1985, 154, обр. 41; Момчилов 2003, 310, обр. 7б), at the necropoleis Kyulevcha (Вăжарова 1976, 106, 132, обр. 79, обр. 81: 6, 8) and Bdintsi (Вăжарова 1976, 106, 153, обр. 79, обр. 95: 1, 2), at the settlements of Dzhedzhovi Lozya (Вăжарова 1965, 70, 82, обр. 43, обр. 51: 5) and Odartsi (Дончева-Петкова и др. 1999, 108, обр. 135), and on Trapezitsa hill at Veliko Tarnovo (Рабовянов 2015, 609, табл. 53: 1356). This type of arrow is also found in Western Europe, where it is defined as type D1-1 according to B. Zimmermann (Zimmermann 2000, 73, 78) and dated to the 11th – 12th c.

The next artifact (fig. 3: 10) was uncovered in Grid sq. XX-386 at an elevation of 181.45 m (fig. 2: 10). It is bilobate with a long tang and total length of 7.2 cm. Similar arrows have been found during field surveys in the Inner City of Pliska (Стоянова 2013, 225, табло XI: 9, 20) and near the eastern wall of the Inner City at Veliki Preslav (Овчаров 1985, 154, обр. 41).

A bilobate rhombic arrowhead was discovered in the leveling layer above dwelling XX-386/1 at an elevation of 181.44 m (fig. 2: 11, fig. 3: 11). The find belongs to group I, type 4, variant B according to V. Yotov (Йотов 2004, табл. XVII – XVIII) and group I, division A, type 7 in S. Vitlyanov's classificatory scheme (Витлянов 1993, 122, табл. I). Similar arrows have been found in different places in the Outer and Inner Cities of Pliska (Дончева-Петкова 1985, 115, обр. 42; Джингов 1992, 119, обр. 21е; Първопрестолна Плиска 1999, табл. II: 16; Стоянова 2013, 225, табло XI: 10; Михайлова, Иванов 2007, 345, обр. 8: 3; Григоров 2013, 60, обр. 3: 23), at Veliki Preslav, Madara (Витлянов 1993, 122, табл. I), Dzhedzhovi Lozya (Вăжарова 1965, 85, обр. 53), and on Trapezitsa hill in Veliko Tarnovo (Рабовянов 2015, 608, табл. 52: 1337).

A bilobate arrowhead with a triangular shape was discovered in the leveling layer above pit XX-304/1 at an elevation of 181.83 m (fig. 2: 16, fig. 3: 16). The total length of the blade and sock-

et is 6 cm. This type of arrowheads is rarely found and its shape is closest to the arrows from group I, type 6, variant B according to V. Yotov (Йотов 2004, табл. XX). A similar arrow is known from Veliki Preslav (Момчилов 2003, 310, обр. 7и).

Saber cross-guard

A saber cross-guard can be listed among the arms found at the site (fig. 3: 17). It was found at an elevation of 181.99 m on the walking level of Horizon III, which formed after the backfill of dwelling XX-285/2 (fig. 2: 17). The cross-guard is made entirely of iron and has a complex form. It is diamond-shaped and the quillions, which end with thickened solid spheres, are tilted towards the ridge of the saber. The cross-guard is 8.9 cm long and 2 cm wide, and at its center is a socket with a cutout rectangular opening (2 x 0.5 cm) for attaching the cross-guard to the saber blade.

This type of saber cross-guard is one of the most widespread in present-day Bulgaria. In V. Yotov's classification, it is type 3, variant B (Йотов 2004, 71, обр. 9). Similar finds are known from Debrene, Yarebitsa, Popina (Йотов 2004, табл. XXXVIII: 456 – 458), Veliki Preslav, Ruyno, Starmen (Йотов 2004, табл. XXXVIX: 478, 480 – 481, табл. XL: 484, 487 – 488), and Pliska (Димитров, Иванов (под печат)). Three similar guards have been found at the settlement near Odartsi (Дончева-Петкова и др. 1999, табл. LVI: 742 – 744) and several more finds of undetermined origin from northeastern Bulgaria are kept in the depot of the archaeological museum in Varna (Йотов 2004, табл. XXXVIX: 459 – 461, 479, табл. XL: 489 – 491). An exact parallel for the saber cross-guard from Pliska is also known from the Hotalich fortress near the town of Sevlievo (Рабовянов 2019, 123 – 124, обр. 2 – 3).

Sabers of the same type were also widespread in the 10th – 11th c. in Central and Eastern Europe, mainly in the Hungarian cultural environment, which is why in publications they are often called the "Hungarian type" (Йотов 2004, 66, 68, обр. 30 – 31; Рабовянов 2019, 125). Similar sabers have also been found in soldier's graves in the following necropoleis: Tiszasűly-Éhhalom (Takács 2006, 15, Abb. 1) and Gnadendorf (Tobias 2006, 12 – 13, 21, 26 – 28; Daim 2006, 27, 31, Abb. 9, Abb. 17; Révész 2006a, 127, Abb. 3); in grave No. 52 of necropolis II at Karos (Révész 2006b, 190 – 191, Abb. 3); in grave No. 1 from Zemyanska street; at Nesvady, in grave No. 1/57 in Sered' I, and at Zemplin in present-day Slovakia (Ruttkay 1975, 183, Abb. 16). Analogous finds are also known from the necropoleis in Heves county (Révész 2008, tabl. 33, tabl. 47: 1, tabl. 51), the Carpathian basin (Biró 2012, 202 – 203, fig. 3 – 4) and southeast from the city of Augsburg (Schulze-Dörrlamm 2006, 50, Abb. 11). Identical sabers are known from Moldova (Рабинович 2014, 264 – 265, рис. 1В), Gamzigrad in Serbia (Шпехар 2017, 199 – 200, сл. 472), and eastern Poland (Kotowicz 2012, kat. № 128).

Elements of military accoutrements

An iron plate from chain armor was found in the leveling layer above dwelling XX-321/1a in stratigraphic Horizon II (fig. 2: 18); it is 6 cm long, 2.5 cm wide, and 0.2 – 0.3 cm thick (fig. 3: 18). The plate has a rectangular "tongue-like" shape and rounded corners, and its lower end is arched. A corrugated edge runs all the way down the middle of the plate to reinforce it. It was attached to the bottom of the chain armor through 8 symmetrical openings – four on one side and four on the other.

According to V. Yotov, the find is of type 2 (Йотов 2004, 127, табл. XXI). These chain armor plates are relatively rare finds and represent elements of higher-quality military attire. Similar single finds are known from Veliki Preslav (Витлянов, Димитров 1993, 170, обр. 3: 12), Pliska, Popina, Ravna, Nozharevo, Skala, Krivina, and Starmen (Йотов 2004, табл. LXI, табл. LXIV – LXV).

Another element of a military accoutrement that was discovered at the site is an iron ring that looks like a wheel with three spokes and through which three straps could be separated (fig. 3: 20); this piece likely once belonged to a horse's bridle or rigging or might have been used to hang a quiver from a horse. The ring was found in Grid sq. XX-301 at an elevation of 181.72 m (fig. 2: 20) and stratigraphically belongs to Horizon II. It is 2.7 cm in diameter and 3 mm thick. A similar find is also known from G. Dzhingov's excavations at Pliska (Джингов 1992, 120, обр. 22а).

Items of horse-riding equipment/tack

A bit shank was uncovered in Grid sq. XX-345 immediately next to grave No. 3 at an elevation of 181.57 m (fig. 2: 19, fig. 3: 19). It is made from a metal rod with a length of 9.3 cm. Soldered to it is a triangular plate that ends in a rectangular "ear" with a 1.3-cm-wide opening for attaching the strap of the horse's lead. An opening (7 mm) for attaching the bit of the bridle is cut out in the base of the triangular plate.

The find position of the bit shank provides no certain indications whether the find is related to the grave or ended up near it under different circumstances. The main problem is that the bit shank was found high in the cultural layer on the border with the present-day arable layer, which is a prerequisite for its displacement from its original position. Whether the bit shank belonged in the grave or ended up in the cultural layer does not change the fact that stratigraphically it belongs to Horizon III, which has been dated to the second third of the 11th c.

According to V. Yotov, the bit shank is type I, variant B (Йотов 2004, табл. LXVII: 724, 725). An exact analogue of the find from Pliska was uncovered in the settlement near Odartsi (Дончева-Петкова и др. 1999, 113, обр. 139: 760, табл. LVII: 760). The bit shank from the settlement near Durankulak is also morphologically similar (Йотов 2004, табл. LXVII: 724). Similar bit shanks are known from Hungarian graves from the 10th – 11th c. at Bodrog in present-day Slovakia (Ruttkay 1975, 202, Abb. 28: 2).

Bone ball from a flail

A bone piriform item was found while clearing the ruins of stone structure XX-342/1 (fig. 2: 21). It was cut from a hartshorn, its obverse is smoothed, and a hole (5 – 6 mm in diameter) for inserting a metal hoop or cord is drilled in its narrow end (fig. 4). The item is 8 cm tall, 6 cm wide, and 2.7 cm thick and weighs 66 grams. At this stage, the bone item has no exact analogue, and its function is uncertain; however, based on its size, shape and weight, it could be interpreted as the head of a flail.

A small number of bone balls from flails has been found in present-day Bulgaria during archaeological studies. These finds have mainly been distributed between the Danube river and Haemus mountains and more rarely south of the latter; the biggest concentration has been found in present-day northeastern Bulgaria (Рабовянов 2023, 102 – 110). Most finds are dated very generally to the 9th – 11th c., which makes their ethno-cultural interpretation difficult – they have been attributed to the Bulgars, Byzantines, and Pechenegs. In this respect, the ball from a flail discovered at Pliska has a very certain stratigraphic date after the 1030s/1040s, which connects it to the culture of the so-called "mixobarbaroi" and the time when the Pechenegs settled at Pliska.

Conclusion

The artifacts discovered at the "Palace Center – East" site at Pliska represent arms and accoutrements used in the performance of various military tasks. The arrowheads have various shapes and sizes that reflect different decisions in the search for optimum ballistic capacity. Arrows for striking

lightly equipped soldiers are the most numerous. The use of a saber (a weapon typical for this period), bit shank, and triple separator for horse tack should be counted among characteristic military accoutrements. A bone ball from a flail, a typical weapon for nomads from the European steppe and their contact zone, also comes from the site (Кирпичников 1966, 58 – 65; Данич 2012, 345 – 350; Рабовянов 2023, 98 – 113). The presence of a corrugated plate from chain armor points to the participation of soldiers with higher-quality defensive equipment in the military contingents posted at Pliska.

Mass finds like arrowheads are of particular value for assessing the dynamics of military activity at Pliska. Grouping artifacts by stratigraphic level (fig. 5) shows quantitative concentrations in individual periods. Finds are most numerous in Horizon III, which indicates increased military activity in the city around and after the 1030s/1040s.

This data corresponds with results of other archaeological excavations at Pliska, which have documented numerous traces of fire on the fortress walls. The northern and the southern gates were fenced off in the same period, when significant repairs and reconstructions were carried out on the fortress towers (Иванов 2004, 212 – 228). Abandoned dwellings and burnt structures have also been documented in different places in the Inner City (Балабанов 1985, 120, 130; Дончева-Петкова 1993, 80, обр. 1; Григоров, Тодорова 2018, 179 – 206). In addition to arms, important evidence of the presence of military contingents is the discovery in the same stratigraphic levels of a large number of coins (Григоров 2017, 193 – 208, табл. XLII – XLV) and a huge quantity of amphorae related to the import of food products for the supply of military units and administration.

The archaeological data from Pliska is also confirmed by historical sources that describe the tense military and political atmosphere in the region from the end of the 1020s to the late 1040s. Byzantine chroniclers mention multiple Pecheneg attacks south of the Danube river that were carried out in 1027, 1032, 1034, 1035 and 1036 and reached their peak in 1048 (ГИБИ 1965, 298 – 301, 312 – 317, 324; Дончева-Петкова 2003, 244), when according to John Skylitzes and George Cedrenus "the Pechenegs, rumored to have been about eight hundred thousands, crossed the frozen Danube and settled down in Moesia" (ГИБИ 1965, 312 – 317).

As early as the first excavations of the Palace Center at Pliska, in the uppermost cultural layers the researchers found materials and buildings that they connect with the Pechengs who settled at Pliska (Дончева-Петкова 1993, 246). R. Rashev even hypothesizes that Pliska and the Pliska field turned into one of the main centers of Pecheneg presence and settlement (Рашев 1983, 245). Data about the settlement of newly arrived population has been documented in different places in the Outer City of Pliska, the area of the Great Basilica (Дончева-Петкова 1993, 249 – 250), and at the northeastern end of the village of Voyvoda (Антонова 1964, 49 – 52).

During studies of the "Palace Center – East" site, we also documented numerous cases of abandoned dug-in dwellings at the end of the second stratigraphic horizon, and the later buildings have an above-ground structure. One of the most visible archaeological traces pointing to demographic and ethno-cultural changes at Pliska is the appearance after the 1030s/1040s of a large number of intramural graves (Grigorov et al. 2022, 101 – 146). These belonged to a recently Christianized population that buried their dead in the Inner City, immediately next to their dwellings.

The publication of the newly discovered parts of arms and accoutrements contributes to the clarification of the presence of military residents at the center of medieval Pliska and sheds additional light on their arms and accoutrements. Quantitative analysis of finds from individual stratigraphic horizons also makes it possible to trace the chronology of military activity in the city and how the archaeological data connects with the dynamic military-political events described in historical sources.

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ПРЕДМЕТИ НА ВЪОРЪЖЕНИЕТО И СНАРЯЖЕНИЕТО ОТ ОБЕКТ „ДВОРЦОВ ЦЕНТЪР – ИЗТОК" В ПЛИСКА

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РЕЗЮМЕ

В настоящата статия са представени предмети на въоръжението и снаряжението, открити в периода 2011 – 2016 г. при археологическите проучвания на обект „Дворцов център – изток" в Плиска. Обектът се намира в непосредствена близост до монументалните дворцови комплекси (обр. 1) и отразява динамиката на живот в сърцевината на средновековния град. В проучения сектор (обр. 2) са разкрити десетки жилища, стопански ями, постройки, гробове и битови пещи от следстоличния период на Плиска, които онагледяват трансформацията на Вътрешния град – от владетелска резиденция през IX в., в типично градска среда – през X и първата половина на XI в.

При разкопките са намерени различни предмети на въоръжението и снаряжението: върхове на стрели, предпазител за сабя, пластина от ризница, псалия от юзда, троен разпределител (обр. 3) и костен кистен (обр. 4). Находките произхождат от добре документирани стратиграфски контексти,

което позволи да се аргументира по-ясно хронологията им на употреба и най-вече крайната дата на използване на оръжията, когато те са попаднали в културния пласт.

Стратиграфията и хронологията на обекта са разгледани детайлно в няколко предварителни публикации, затова тук ще припомня основната информация. В дебелия около 1 м културен пласт са разграничени три стратиграфски хоризонта от следстоличния период на Плиска. Основен хронологически показател, използван при датирането на отделните стратиграфски хоризонти, са монетните находки, разглеждани като *terminus post quem*. В най-ранния пласт (хоризонт I), който лежи непосредствено върху стария хумус, е намерена монета на Лъв VI (886 – 912) и печат на „Теоктист, патриций и логотет на дрома", а масовият археологически материал се отнася основно към X в. Във втория стратиграфски хоризонт се откриват анонимни византийски фолиси „клас A2" (976 – 1030/35), които го датират след 976 г. Следващата хронологическа граница е отбелязана от нивото, на което се откриват анонимни византийски фолиси „клас B" (1030/35 – 1042). Най-късната средновековна монета на обекта е открита в съвременната орница – анонимен византийски фолис „клас D" (1050 – 1060), с който се затваря хронологическата рамка на културния пласт.

Сред откритите предмети на въоръжението най-многобройни са железните върхове на стрели (16 броя; обр. 3: 1 – 16). За целите на изследването находките са представени в стратиграфска последователност, а типологическите им характеристики са коментирани на основата на вече съществуващи класификации и типологически схеми. Стрелите имат разнообразна форма и размери, която отразява различни решения при търсенето на оптимално съчетание между конструкция, тегло, балистика и поразяващи възможности. Количествено преобладават стрелите за поразяване на леко екипирани войници.

Към специализираното военно оборудване принадлежи един предпазител за сабя (обр. 3: 17), намерен върху ходовото ниво на хоризонт III. Предпазителят е изработен изцяло от желязо и има размери: дължина – 8,9 см, ширина – 2 см. В средата му е оформена втулка с изрязан правоъгълен отвор – 2 х 0,5 см, служещ за прикрепване на предпазителя към острието на сабята. Този тип саби са широко разпространени през X – XI в. в Централна и Източна Европа, предимно в унгарска културна среда, поради което в литературата са определяни като „унгарски тип". Същият тип саби се откриват често и у нас, като най-голяма е концентрацията им в Североизточна България.

Сред елементите от вòйнското снаряжение е една гофрирана желязна пластина от ризница с дължина – 6 см, ширина – 2,5 см и дебелина – 2 – 3 мм (обр. 3: 18). Тя е открита в изравнителния пласт над жилище XX-321/1a и спада към стратиграфски хоризонт II.

Друг елемент от вòйнското снаряжение е един железен троен разпределител за ремък (обр. 3: 20), който може да е използван за конска амуниция или за окачване на колчан. Разпределителят е открит в квадрат XX-301 и стратиграфски също се отнася към хоризонт II.

В квадрат XX-345, непосредствено до гроб № 3, е открита метална права псалия (обр. 2: 19, обр. 3: 19). Тя е изработена от метална ос с дължина 9,3 см. Към нея е споена триъгълна пластина, завършваща с правоъгълно „ухо", с отвор широк 1,3 см за закрепване ремъка на повода. В основата на триъгълната пластина е изрязан отвор (7 мм) за закачане на удило (зъбалеца) на юздата. Пространствената позиция на псалията не дава сигурни указания дали находката има връзка с гроба или е попаднала в близост при други обстоятелства. Основният проблем е, че псалията е намерена високо в културния пласт, на границата със съвременния орен слой, което е предпоставка за разместване на находката от оригиналната ѝ позиция. Независимо дали псалията е принадлежала на гроба или е попаднала директно в културния пласт, и в двата случая стратиграфски тя се отнася към хоризонт III, датиран във втората трета на XI в.

При разчистване руините на каменна постройка (структура XX-342/1) е открит костен предмет с крушовидна форма (обр. 2: 21). Той е изрязан от еленов рог, лицевата му страна е изгладена, а в горния тесен край е пробит отвор за промушване на метална халка или връв (обр. 4). Размерите на предмета са: височина – 8 см, ширина – 6 см, дебелина – 2,7 см, тегло – 66 гр. На този етап костеният предмет не намира точен паралел, функцията му не е сигурна, но съдейки от размерите, формата и теглото му, може да се интерпретира като глава на кистен с хоризонтално окачване. У нас има открити

неголям брой костени кистени, като най-голяма е концентрацията им в днешна Североизточна България. Повечето находки са датирани много общо – в рамките на IX – XI в., което затруднява етнокултурната им интерпретация – българска, византийска или печенежка. В това отношение намереният в Плиска кистен има много сигурна стратиграфска дата – след 30-те/40-те години на XI в., което го свързва с културата на т. нар. „миксоварвари" и с времето на заселването на печенегите в Плиска.

За оценка динамиката на военната активност в Плиска особена стойност имат масовите находки, каквито са върховете на стрели. Групирането на предметите по стратиграфски нива (обр. 5) показва различни количествени концентрации в отделните периоди. Най-голям е броят на находките в хоризонт III, което е индикация за повишената военна активност в града около и след 30-те/40-те години на XI в.

Тези данни кореспондират с резултатите от други археологически проучвания в Плиска, които документират многобройни следи от пожари по крепостните стени. В същия период са преградени двете порти (северната и южната) и са извършени значителни ремонти и преустройства на крепостните кули. На различни места във Вътрешния град са документирани също така изоставени жилища и опожарени постройки.

Археологическите данни от Плиска намират потвърждение и в историческите извори, които описват напрегната военнополитическа обстановка в региона от края на 20-те до края на 40-те години на XI в. Византийските хронисти споменават за многократни печенежки нападения на юг от Дунав, извършени през 1027, 1032, 1034, 1035 и 1036 г., които достигат своя апогей през 1048 г., когато според Скилица-Кедрин „печенегите, според слуховете на брой около осемстотин хиляди, преминали замръзналия Дунав и се заселили в Мизия".

Още при първите разкопки на Дворцовия център в Плиска, в най-горните културни пластове проучвателите откриват материали и градежи, които свързват с настанилите се в града печенеги. Р. Рашев дори изказва хипотеза, че Плиска и плисковското поле се превръщат в един от основните центрове на печенежко присъствие и заселване. Един от най-видимите археологически факти, насочващи ни към демографските и етнокултурни промени в Плиска, е появата след 30-те/40-те години на XI в. на голям брой интрамурални гробове (Grigorov et al. 2022, 101 – 146), принадлежащи на скорошно християнизирано население, което е погребвало своите мъртви във Вътрешния град, непосредствено до жилищата си.

Публикуването на новооткритите предмети на въоръжението и снаряжението допринася за изясняване присъствието на военно население в центъра на средновековна Плиска и хвърля допълнителна светлина за тяхното въоръжение и екипировка. Количественият анализ на находките от отделните стратиграфски хоризонти позволява също така да се проследи хронологията на военната активност в града и връзката на археологическите данни с динамичните военнополитически събития, описани в историческите извори.

Ключови думи: Плиска, Средновековие, въоръжение и снаряжение

VIKINGS IN THE PALACE CENTER OF VELIKI PRESLAV. NEW EVIDENCE

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ABSTRACT

This article examines four remarkable finds discovered during archaeological excavations at the "Ruller's Church" in Veliki Preslav and the sector north of it, where the so-called "Building IV" is located. The details of these finds unequivocally distinguish them from known "characteristic" monuments of Old Bulgarian culture and generally from those belonging to the Byzantine art circle. The attempt here to assign them to an ethno-cultural identity undoubtedly attributes at least three of them to Northern European (Scandinavian) metalwork and possibly bone carving. Such finds have not yet been discovered in the territory of Bulgaria, especially in an archaeological context, but despite being unusual, the identification made here appears legitimate in light of the archaeological-historical context to which the finds belong.

Keywords: Veliki Preslav, Vikings, Varangians, metal applications, bone carving

Extant written sources about the history of Veliki Preslav are not only quite scarce in general but are also too concise and unequally "describe" the short yet quite distinct stages of the palace center's existence. In contrast, archaeology has clearly distinguished these stages. While information about the early Pre-Metropolitan (822 – 893) and Metropolitan (893 – 971) periods of the city is practically absent, there is significantly more for the Post-Metropolitan (971 – 13th c.) period, more precisely when the settlement was under Byzantine rule (971 – 1040/50).

Quite logically, the majority of what is known concerns the Russo-Byzantine War of 968 – 971 and related political events. Subsequent hostilities in northeastern Bulgaria – initially between Rus and Bulgarians (968 – 969) and subsequently between these united former opponents and the Byzantines (969 – 971) – are described in sufficient detail by Byzantine chroniclers. Reporting on the composition and armament of the warring parties, Leo the Deacon, John Skylitzes and George Cedrenus repeatedly note the presence of large Varangian detachments in the army of the grand prince of Kiev Svetoslav I (945 – 972), which were commanded by the generals Ikmor and Svenkel/Sfagel (Sveneld; ГИБИ 1964, 262, 264, 267 – 269, 271; ГИБИ 1965, 264, 268, 270). The actions of these detachments are also reflected in sources after the arrangement of forces were changed in the summer of 969, when they subsequently took an active part in the defense of the Bulgarian capital that the troops of Emperor John I Tzimiskes (969 – 976) besieged in 971 (ГИБИ 1964, 261 – 264; ГИБИ 1965, 263 – 266).

Despite this information, however, there is still no reliable archaeological data about this

remarkable but extremely short-lived stay of "northern new-comers" within the city's walls. This and subsequent Byzantine occupation most likely played decisive roles in erasing "movable" traces of these battles. Still, not everything seems to have been so thoroughly "cleaned up" in the following years. Individual characteristic objects of these northerners are sporadically registered across modern-day Bulgaria. Such objects include the so-called "Russian-Varangian" cult axes, one of which originates from Veliki Preslav (Мавродинов 1959, 227, обр. 265; Atanasov 1994, 76 – 81; Атанасов 2018, 221 – 234), and some types of weapons, mainly full and parts of swords (ex. guards), metal scabbard chapes (mainly bronze), battle axe blades, and spearheads (Йотов 2004а, 242 – 243, обр. 2 – 3; Йотов 2004б, 43, 46 – 55, 92 – 100, обр. 14, обр. 17 – 23, обр. 46 – 55; Йотов 2016, 403 – 404, обр. 9, обр. 11; Минаева 2013, 38 – 54; Yotov 2016, 242 – 249, fig. 10.1: 1, 2, 6, fig. 10.2: 2, fig. 10.6 – 12; Yotov 2018, 469, 471, 473, fig. 5, fig. 9, fig. 12: 1).

Belt (?) fitting

During archaeological excavations in 2019 in the northern sector of the necropolis around the "Ruler's Church" in Veliki Preslav, an artifact was found (fig. 1: 1, fig. 2: 1) that, in our opinion, belongs without a doubt to the group of monuments attributable to the aforementioned northern visitors. The artifact was discovered in Grid sq. 151/99, МП 7 (0.60 – 0.70 m) at an elevation of 134.850 – 134.750 m in the so-called "dark loose layer", which was formed during the 12th – 14th c. It is registered in the Field inventory book as FIN 191/2018.

The find is a relatively large open work appliqué (belt fitting?) of irregular oval shape with two round attachment holes at its ends, the left of which is partially broken off. It is made of cast copper alloy and is 48.6 mm long, 22.5 mm wide, and 3 mm thick. The artifact's obverse displays a stylized depiction of a triple-entwined snake (dragon) biting its tail. Its body is composed of three relief "threads", the curves of which are emphasized by five asymmetrically placed decorative round holes (four large and one smaller). In three places at the figure's lower end, on the left and right of the animal's head/partially on its upper (?) jaw as well as below it, three elongated elements are noticeable, the lateral ones of which are single and the middle double. These appear to represent the creature's limbs/claws grasping its own body, placing its pose in the so-called "gripping beast" group of motifs (Sindbæk 2012, 129 – 135).

The overall execution of the decoration indicates a common rather than a luxury product; the outlines are relatively rough and not particularly precise. The reverse side of the artifact is smooth, with one surviving rivet with a sealing plate for attachment to a surface. Coils of copper wire have been threaded through one of the decorative slots, possibly in a later repair, replacing the already broken original end with a rivet hole.

The observed image is a classic example of a variety of a widespread symbol in Antiquity: the *ouroboros/uroboros* (*οὐροβόρος*) or a snake or dragon biting its tail. This scene is a representation of infinity, of eternal motion and the unity of opposites. It is an allegory about the transience of being, of birth and death and old age and renewal. The object is a statement and reminder that every beginning has an end and that afterwards comes a new beginning, all in eternal repetition (Хлевов 2003, 202 – 203).

Over the millennia, this philosophical concept was adopted by and occupied an important place in the worldview of all Old World cultures, those of Egypt, Phoenicia, Greece, Rome, and subsequently in the mythological ideas and beliefs of the peoples inhabiting Northern Europe and the Scandinavian peninsula (Oehrl 2013, 455 – 458, Abb. 1 – 12). It is difficult to say exactly where and when this particular iconographic scheme arose and became established, but we know



Fig. 1. The finds from Veliki Preslav (Photos): 1. Belt fitting; 2, 3. "Face masks"; 4. Bone handle
Обр. 1. Находките от Велики Преслав (Снимки): 1. Ремъчна апликация; 2, 3. „Лицеви маски"; 4. Костена дръжка

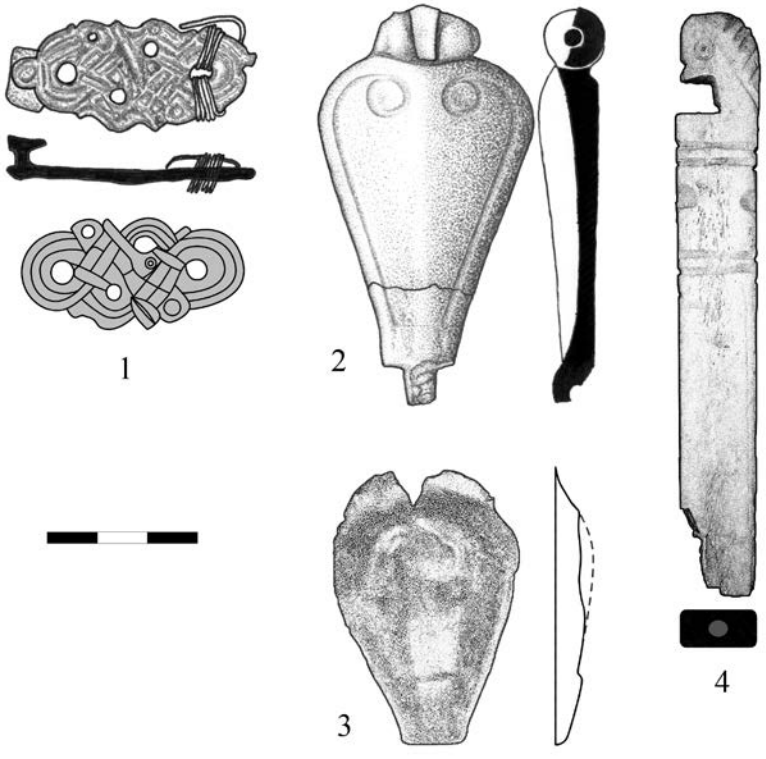


Fig. 2. The finds from Veliki Preslav (Drawings): 1. Belt fitting; 2, 3. "Face masks"; 4. Bone handle
Обр. 2. Находките от Велики Преслав (Рисунки): 1. Ремъчна апликация; 2, 3. „Лицеви маски"; 4. Костена дръжка

for sure that "movement" signs containing similar semantics, such as swastikas, triskelia[1] and "solar discs", date back to prehistory. Some of them are recorded as early as the Middle Neolithic period (Миков, Джамбазов 1960, 40 – 41, обр. 31, табл. I) and appear into the Middle Ages, when the "static" triquetra,[2] valknuts,[3] etc., that are conceptually even closer to the *ouroboros* became widespread (Davidson 1967, 101 – 106, 125, pl. 36, pl. 43 – 44, pl. 46 – 47, pl. 67; Davidson 1988, pl. 1; Davidson 1990, 147).

The earliest surviving written records about the use of a similar zoomorphic allegory are from the end of the 4th – beginning of the 5th c. Maurus Servius Honoratus (ca. 380) in his commentary to Virgil's Aeneid reports that: " ... *annus enim secundum Aegyptios indicabatur ante inventas litteras picto dracone caudam suam mordente, quia in se recurrit...*"[4] (Thilo 1881, Serv. A. 5.85), which is an allusion to the cycle of seasons and the cyclical nature of time. In Antiquity and the Middle Ages, the idea of "absorption, transformation and continuation" was also taken up and present in various treatises on medicine and alchemical practices. Perhaps the most famous of these is *Cleopatra's Chrysopoeia (gold-making)/Χρυσοποιία Κλεοπάτρας*, written by an alchemist who lived in Alexandria in the 3rd c. (Berthelot 1887, Table analytique, 131 – 134, fig. 2). In such treatises, the symbol (fig. 3: 1 – 3) serves both as a kind of collective image (emblem) of the processes of melting, mixing and formation, and as a detailed coded description of all important elements and characteristics of accompanying phenomena (Berthelot 1887, Table des matières, 22 – 23, Table analytique, 158 – 159, fig. 34).

In the Nordic tradition, this pattern was refracted and interpreted through the "prism" of the cosmogonic conceptions of Northern European peoples, according to which it represented one of the main opponents of the universe (Neiß 2004). In Old Norse literature, *Jörmungandr,*[5] also called "The World Serpent"[6] is a giant sea monster and the middle child of the god *Loki* and the giantess *Angrboða*. According to the *Prosaic Edda* (ca. 1220), Odin took Loki's three children (the wolf Fenrir,[7] the goddess Hel, and Jörmungandr) from Angrboða. Fenrir was initially left to live among the gods, Hel was sent to rule the Underworld of the Dead, and Jörmungandr was cast to the bottom of the Great Ocean. There the snake grew so large that it managed to span the world by biting its own tail (Sturluson, 42, 67 – 70, 79, 107). Her eternal enemy was Thor the god of thunder. Both perish in the great battle preceding the End of the World (*Ragnarök*; Bellows 1923, 18 – 27).

The roots of most of the early prototypes of this (Viking) type of *ouroboros*, which we will provisionally call *Jörmungandr* here, can be traced back to the "animal-style" in metal objects of the so-called Vendel period (mid-6th – 8th c.) in Scandinavia, particularly the round fibulae/brooches representing *amphisbaena*[8] (Hildebrand 1884 – 1891, 58, fig. 22; Stolpe, Arne 1927, 46 – 48, pl. XXXVI: 6, pl. XXXVII, pl. XXXVIII: 5; Хлевов 2003, 199 – 200; Rundkvist 2003, 97 – 121). This *ouroboros* subsequently appeared on "serpentine" brooches (single and double) from southwestern Finland.[9] In the 9th and 10th c., the image gradually evolved and found wider application

[1] Τρισκελής (Greek) – "three legs".

[2] Triquetrus (Lat.) – "triangular, having three corners".

[3] Valr-knut (Old Norse) – "Knot of the slain warriors" or Wotansknoten (German) – "Wotan's (Odin's) knot".

[4] "... according to the Egyptians, before the creation of letters, the year was represented as a serpent reborn by biting its own tail...".

[5] Jǫrmungandr (Old Norse) – "huge monster".

[6] Miðgarðsormr (Old Norse) – "The Midgard serpent".

[7] Fenrisúlfr (Old Norse) – "Fenrir's wolf" or "Fenris-wolf".

[8] ἀμφίσβαινα (Greek) – "both ways to go".

[9] käärmesolki; solki | Finnish Heritage Agency | Finna.fi; 2-eläiminen käärmesolki; solki | Museovirasto | Finna.fi: https://www.finna.fi/Record/museovirasto.581645FDB95B7EDB848D230405E3F803?sid=3169769628&imgid=2&lng=en-gb (Accessed on July 3, 2024).



Fig. 3. 1. Ouroboros from "Χρυσοποιία Κλεοπάτρας", 3rd c. (after Berthelot 1887); 2. Copies of drawings with ouroboros from the alchemical tractate of Synesius made in 1478 by Theodore Pelecan (After Grec 2327, 196, 279, Bibliothèque nationale de France – Département des manuscrits); 3. The Hunting of Jörmungandr by Thor and Jotun Chimir in the Icelandic manuscript Edda Oblongata, 1680 (After AM 738 4to, 42r, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, https://handrit.is/manuscript/view/is/AM04-0738/93?iabr=on#page/41v/mode/2up (Accessed on July 3, 2024))

Обр. 3. 1. Уроборос от „Златотворна Клеопатра", III в. (по Berthelot 1887); 2. Копия на рисунки с уроборози от алхимическия трактат на Синезий, направени през 1478 г. от Теодор Пелекан (по Grec 2327, 196, 279, Национална библиотека на Франция – Департамент за ръкописи); 3. Ловът на Йормунгандър от Тор и йотуна Химир в исландския ръкопис Edda Oblongata, 1680 г. (по AM 738 4to, 42r, Институт за исландски изследвания „Арни Магнусон", https://handrit.is/manuscript/view/is/AM04-0738/93?iabr=on#page/41v/mode/2up (Посетен на 03.07.2024))

in the art of Northern Europe through the Oseberg, Borre, Jellinge and to some extent Mammen styles (Wilson, Klindt-Jensen 1966, 48 – 83, 87 – 133; Gritton 2017, 1 – 7, fig. 1, tabl. 1). The twisted snake body-*ouroboros* is at that time diversely interpreted and "turns" into a stylized repeatedly intertwined "knot" with which jewelry (bracelets, fibulae, appliqués; Rundkvist 2010, 155 – 159, tabl. 10, fig. 19, fig. 21), vessels (bronze cups[10] and goblets), weapons (swords), manuscripts, tomb stones, various wooden surfaces, etc. (Salin 1904, 341 – 343; Wilson, Klindt-Jensen 1966, pl. VI – VII, pl. X, pl. L – LI) are decorated.

Monuments with this model – alone in a scene from the main plot or as a "multiplied" main or peripheral pattern (fig. 4: 1 – 3) – have been found mainly in the territory of today's Sweden (Jämtland, Uppland, Gotland), Denmark (Jelling, 10th c.), and Norway (Bergen, 8th c.; Trondheim, 8th – 9th c.; Tønsberg, 9th c.), but examples from England (Durrow, 7th c.; Kent, 7th c.; Brigham, 10th c.), northern France (Vailly-sur-Aisne, 7th c.; Amiens, 9th c.), Austria (Kremsmünster, 8th c.), and even Switzerland (Seengen, 7th c.) are known (Salin 1904, Abb. 725 – 726; Buisson 1976, 56 – 118; Oehrl 2013, 455 – 458, Abb. 13 – 20; Vike 2019). The Western and Central European *ouroboroi* inherit and generally, with certain exceptions (Tejral 2013, 392 – 394, fig. 8: 2), preserve the traditional round shape that was popular in Antiquity (Pesch 2012, 685 – 687, Abb. 21).

In contrast, after the 7th c. the majority of the numerous 8th – 11th c. Scandinavian examples largely replicate the pattern of rhythmically interconnected *Jörmungandr ouroboroi* (Gregner 2005). Most often, they form the decorative friezes that outline the periphery of Scandinavian "runestones", where a continuous line of this "triple-interlaced" decoration forms a closed frame around a central field with a shape (usually quadrangular) dictated by the slab itself. Uniting them into one "endless" ribbon-like cord further emphasizes and strengthens their individually embedded meaning. The *ouroboroi* witnessed on the stelae of types C and D, according to the typology of Lindqvist (Lindqvist 1941 – 1942; Kowatschek 2017, 13 – 19, Abb. 1), from Halla (Halla Broa IV, 8th – 10th c.), Lärbro (Lärbro St. Hammars I, III, IV, 8th – 10th c.), Garda (Garda Bote, 9th c.), Hellvi (Hellvi Ire V, 9th – 10th c.), Stenkyrka (Stenkyrka Lillbjärs III, 8th c.; Stenkyrka Smiss I, 10th c.), Ardre (Ardre kyrka VIII, 10th c.), Alskog (Alskogs kyrka; Alskog Tjängvide I, 10th c.), Ekeby (Ekeby kyrka, 11th c.), and other sites are exclusively of the local variant: a *Jörmungandr* in combinations of 3 to 8 "triple knots", or "tight" or "looser" series of them (Kowatschek 2017, Taf. 1: 1, Taf. 2: 2, Taf. 3: 3, Taf. 5: 10, Taf. 7: 14, Taf. 10: 23 – 24, Taf. 11: 26, Taf. 14: 33, Taf. 15: 37, Taf. 16: 39, Taf. 20: 45 – 46, Taf. 21: 47). Individual examples are also found in some bronze rings of clothespins (fig. 5: 10) from graves in the Russian-Varangian necropolis near Gnezdovo (Smolensk district, Russia) from the same period (Duczko 2004, 173 – 174, fig. 44a). A similar pattern decorated the bow and stern of the ship from Oseberg (Tønsberg, Norway), which dates to the first quarter of the 9th c. (Wilson, Klindt-Jensen 1966, pl. VI – VII; Bonde 1994, 128 – 148).

Decorating a modest-sized plate, the Veliki Preslav "triple-interlaced" finds its most numerous iconographic and stylistic equivalents (executed twice or trice) in examples of 9th – 11th c. metalwork (fibulae, belt buckles, appliqués, scabbard chapes, spurs, etc.) from Gotland and Öland (Sweden) at sites like Othem, Stånga, Halla, Havdhem, Vesterheide, Eke, Grötlingbo, Vallstena, Roma, Martebo, Visby, Boge, Sjonhem, and Hulterstad (fig. 5: 1 – 9; Montelius 1872 – 1874, Atlas, 128, 197, № 425; Thunmark-Nylén 1995, Abb. 22: 2, Abb. 392: 3; Thunmark-Nylén 1998, Taf. 31 – 44, Taf. 112: 1, Taf. 113: 1, Taf. 124: 4, Taf. 161: 9, Taf. 232: 1, Taf. 270: 3 – 5). The Veliki Preslav find was discovered in a late archaeological context (13th c.), but its stratigraphic position cannot serve as a reliable indicator for its date. The main reason for this is because the habitation of the

[10] Jellingbægeret, ca. 950 (danmarkshistorien.dk): https://danmarkshistorien.dk/leksikon-og-kilder/vis/materiale/jellingbaegeret-ca-950/ (Accessed on July 3, 2024).



Fig. 4. Stone reliefs with "triple-interlaced" motifs: 1. Ardre Runestone III, 8th – 9th c. (after Wilson, Klindt-Jensen 1966, pl. LXXI); 2. Altuna Runestone, 11th c. (Photo: Gunnar Creutz; https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/b/bd/Altunastenen_U_1161_%28Raä-nr_Altuna_42-1%29_Tors_fiskafänge_0646.jpg); 3. The Gosforth Cross, 10th c. (Photo: Julius Magnus Petersen; Gosforth_fishing.jpg; 779×1573; wikimedia.org)

Обр. 4. Каменни релефи с „триплетни" мотиви: 1. Стела III от Ардре, VIII – IX в. (по Wilson, Klindt-Jensen 1966, pl. LXXI); 2. Стела от Алтуна, XI в. (Снимка: Гунар Кройц; https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/b/bd/Altunastenen_U_1161_%28Raä-nr_Altuna_42-1%29_Tors_fiskafänge_0646.jpg); 3. Кръст от Госфорт, X в. (Снимка: Юлиус Магнус Петерсен; Gosforth_fishing.jpg; 779×1573; wikimedia.org)



Fig. 5. Metal-craft with "triple-interlaced" motifs: 1. Application from Vendel VII, 8th c. (after Hildebrand 1891, fig. 22); 2. Application from Hulterstad, 8th – 9th c. (after Montelius 1872 – 1874, № 425); 3. Belt buckle from Martebo, 10th c. (after Thunmark-Nylén 1998, Taf. 124: 4); 4. Bracelet from Visby, 10th c. (after Thunmark-Nylén 1998, Taf. 161: 9); 5, 6. Domed oblong brooches from Bergen and Trondheim, 8th – 9th c. (after Rundkvist 2010, fig. 19, fig. 21); 7. Ring-shaped fibula from Vallstena, 9th – 10th c. (after Thunmark-Nylén 1998, Taf. 112: 1); 8. Scabbard chape from Boge, 9th – 10th c. (after Thunmark-Nylén 1998, Taf. 232: 1); 9. Spurs from Sjonhem and Ekeby, 10th c. (after Thunmark-Nylén 1998, Taf. 270: 3, 4); 10. Clothing needle from Gnezdovo, 10th c. (after Duczko 2004, fig. 44a)

Обр. 5. Металопластика с „триплетни" мотиви: 1. Апликация от Вендел VII, VIII в. (по Hildebrand 1891, fig. 22); 2. Апликация от Хултерстад, VIII – IX в. (по Montelius 1872 – 1874, № 425); 3. Тока от Мартебо, X в. (по Thunmark-Nylén 1998, Taf. 124: 4); 4. Гривна от Висби, X в. (по Thunmark-Nylén 1998, Taf. 161: 9); 5, 6. Полусферични „фибули/брошки" от Берген и Тронд хайм, VIII – IX в. (по Rundkvist 2010, fig. 19, fig. 21); 7. Пръстеновидна фибула от Валстена, IX – X в. (по Thunmark-Nylén 1998, Taf. 112: 1); 8. Накрайник от ножница за меч от Боге, IX – X в. (по Thunmark-Nylén 1998, Taf. 232: 1); 9. Шпори от Шонхем и Екеби, X в. (по Thunmark-Nylén 1998, Taf. 270: 3, 4); 10. Игла за дреха от Гньоздово, X в. (по Duczko 2004, fig. 44a)

area around the church in the 13th c. led to widespread, highly destructive interventions. The more than 250 household (farm and garbage) pits and the necropolis with nearly 560 graves that were documented during the excavations, together with large-scale extraction and processing of stones for lime (which continued until the beginning of the 20th c.), seriously disrupted the integrity of the area's earlier cultural deposits. Therefore, only the artifact's characteristics should be taken into account: its shape, decoration, and the state in which it was lost or thrown away. Based on its style and iconography, it undoubtedly was produced in the Scandinavian metalworking tradition of around the 9th – 10th c. At the same time, that there was an attempt to repair and wear it in a damaged state allow the possibility that it was used at a slightly later time, – around the middle or in the second half of the 11th c.

Pendants

The second artifact that is undoubtedly atypical in style and for "fashion" trends in art metal of medieval Bulgaria (7th – 14th c.) is an unusual "pendant" (fibula?) with an unspecified function (fig. 1: 2, fig. 2: 2). It was discovered in 2005 in the area immediately southeast of the "Ruler's Church", unfortunately not *in situ* but in the dump heap (FIN 414/2005). It is made of cast copper alloy and is approximately 80 mm long, 42.7 mm wide, and 6 mm thick. It has a solid body with an elongated leaf shape that is divided into two equal, slightly outwardly inclined planes. Each of them is outlined by an incised line that ends in a small circle (like an eye) at the wide end of the artifact. At the top is a solid hinge, of which both its proper double (enclosing) part and the axis with the opposite single (enclosed) part of the now broken and missing "compartment" have been preserved. At the artifact's far end is a thinned and slightly curved, arch-shaped tip that resembles a fastener tooth.

In Western European scholarly literature, this type of "decoration" is divided into two main groups: "Bird brooches" and "Face masks/pendants". The first appear at the end of the Vendel period (7th/8th c.) in southern Scandinavia (mainly in the territory of present-day Sweden) and are interpreted as the "Ravens of Odin" Huginn and Muninn[11] or "hunting falcons". From the front, however, they somewhat resemble nocturnal birds of prey like owls or cuckoos (fig. 6: 1).

This type of decoration is subsequently "inherited" by the second group (fig. 6: 2, 3), which have transformed into a characteristic "male face" with varying degrees of detail. Interpretations for their identification vary between characters from the Scandinavian pantheon to Christian images (Helmbrecht 2013, 12 – 14, 17 – 19, fig. 3 – 4, fig. 9 – 11). In view of their very original diamond shape, it is most likely that they represent Odin, Thor, or Freyr. The latter is both a god of fertility and well-being and a military leader of the gods and protector of peace (Lindow 2002, 121 – 126; Sundqvist 2013, 16 – 24, fig. 1). These gods' 10th c. full-length bronze figurines from sites like Svenstorp[12] (Lindby, Sweden) and Rällinge[13] (Södermanland, Sweden) often show them with just such heads. Similar "masks" are also known as tops of clothespins (fig. 6: 4) from Hejde (Gotland, Sweden; Thunmark-Nylén 1998, Taf. 123: 10, 11). Their distribution fits into a rather narrow chronological span – from the mid-10th to the early 11th c. – but across a much larger territory (Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Iceland).

There is no unified position on the purpose of these pendants, but among Western authors the prevailing opinion is that they are apotropaic, meant to protect their bearer from evil forces (Helmbrecht 2013, 18 – 19). It has not excluded that they also may have had a practical role that is still un-

[11] Huginn and Muninn (Old Norse) – "thought" and "memory/mind".

[12] Statyett Odenfigur. Visa föremål | Sök i samlingarna | Historiska museet: https://samlingar.shm.se/object/79B27EF4-8E13-47F9-A6BD-F85BC6BB743C (Accessed on July 3, 2024).

[13] Rällingestatyetten. Visa bild | Sök i samlingarna | Historiska museet: https://samlingar.shm.se/object/907CB8FF-621C-47B3-9F20-9A3AF1AE72C6 (Accessed on July 3, 2024).

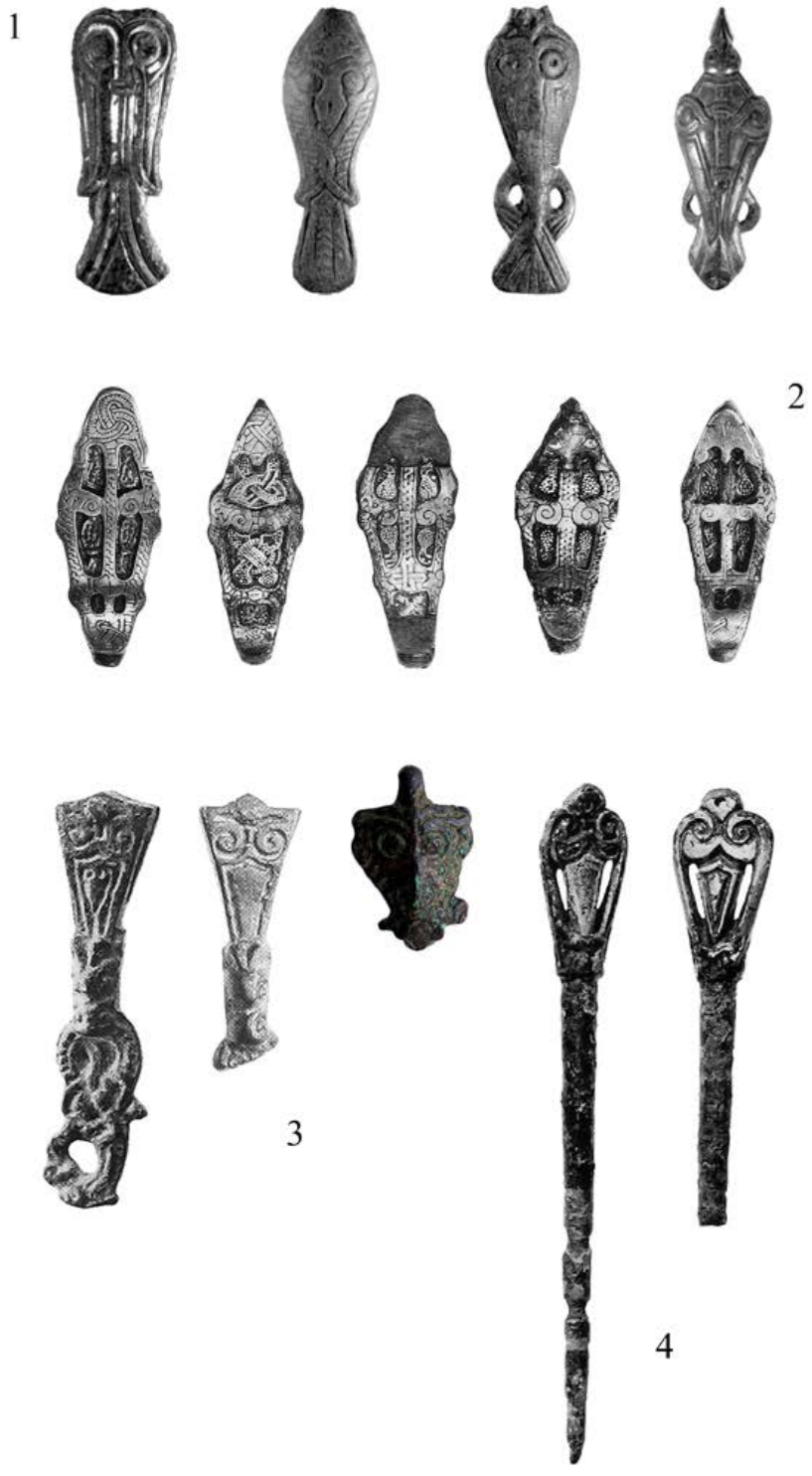


Fig. 6. 1. "Bird-brooches" from Uppåkra, 7th – 8th c. (after Helmbrecht 2013, fig. 3); 2. "Face masks" from Boge, Grötlingbo, Havdhem, and Hemse, 10th c. (after Thunmark-Nylén 1998, Taf. 168: 7, 9 – 12); 3. "Face pendants" from Gotland (unknown), Lärbro, and Uppåkra, 9th – 10th c. (after Thunmark-Nylén 1995, Abb. 236: 3; Thunmark-Nylén 1998, Taf. 133: 17; Helmbrecht 2013, fig. 11); 4. Clothing needles from Hejde, 9th – 10th c. (after Thunmark-Nylén 1998, Taf. 123: 10, 11)

Обр. 6. 1. „Птици-фибули/брошки" от Упокра, VII – VIII в. (по Helmbrecht 2013, fig. 3); 2. „Лицеви маски" от Боге, Грьотлингбо, Хавдем и Хемсе, X в. (по Thunmark-Nylén 1998, Taf. 168: 7, 9 – 12); 3. „Лицеви пандантиви" от Готланд (неизв.), Лербро и Упокра, IX – X в. (по Thunmark-Nylén 1995, Abb. 236: 3; Thunmark-Nylén 1998, Taf. 133: 17; Helmbrecht 2013, fig. 11); 4. Игли за дреха от Хейде, IX – X в. (по Thunmark-Nylén 1998, Taf. 123: 10, 11)

known due to the incomplete state in which they are found. The Veliki Preslav "pendant" belongs to the "triangular" variant of the second group and finds the greatest similarity with examples from Lärbro (Gotland, Sweden) and the vicinity of Uppåkra (Scania, Sweden; Thunmark-Nylén 1995, Abb. 236: 3; Thunmark-Nylén 1998, Taf. 133: 17; Helmbrecht 2013, 18, fig. 11), from which it differs in its larger size, simple ornamentation, and generally "cleaner" and "harsher" appearance (fig. 6: 3). This feature, on the other hand, somewhat brings it iconographically closer to examples from the first group from sites like Boge, Anga, Grötlingbo, Havdhem, and Hemse (Gotland, Sweden; Thunmark-Nylén 1998, Taf. 168: 7 – 12).

Apart from the Veliki Preslav "pendant," one more find probably belongs to the same type of artifact (fig. 1: 3, fig. 2: 3, fig. 7: 2). It was discovered in 2010, again during the excavations of the "Ruler's Church" in Veliki Preslav (Grid sq. 162/48), in the fill of an excavated building from the early Post-Metropolitan period (late 10th – first half of the 11th c.). It was registered in the Field inventory book as FIN 342/2010 and is a thin copper plate with an oval-teardrop shape. Its obverse has a rounded wide end with a spherically convex central part, but the narrow part (apex) is straight "cut" with a distinct relief edge above it. The reverse side is smooth. It is cast from copper alloy; its dimensions are 53 mm long, 35 mm wide, and 0.5 mm thick. At some point it was subjected to a strong pressure/blow that indented or deformed its central part, and along the periphery of the wide end a tear occurred and a large crack formed. The latter is slightly worn and chipped, possibly as a result of corrosion.

The artifact strongly resembles and is similar to another early type of fibulae/brooches (associated with women) from Gotland (fig. 7: 1). According to some researchers, this type also represents the head of an animal, often identified as a boar or bear, and is attributed to the late Vendel (8th c.) and early Viking (9th c.) periods in Scandinavia (Oehrl 2023, 966, fig. 31). The find context of the Veliki Preslav "pendant" as well as its highly stylized and simplified iconography, however, suggests a later date of use and production in the late 9th or the first half of the 10th c.

Bone handle

We will also attempt to analyze a bone artifact (National Archaeological Museum, Bulgaria, Inv. No. 5982) that could also be of "Varangian" origin (fig. 1: 4, fig. 2: 4). It was found in 2004 during excavations of the southeastern part of the "Ruler's Church" in an early archaeological context called the "crushed limestone". This was a mass of inert materials used to terrace and stabilize the terrain; it consisted of thick layers of limestone debris mixed with "stone flour" that were aligned and compacted with intervening thin layers of yellow-brown clay. It is assumed that this "crushed limestone" was originally created to prepare for the construction of the Veliki Preslav aul (early 9th c.), but it is quite certain that new platforms were added during the Metropolitan period (893 – 971) when the city was expanded and redeveloped. These layers are almost "sterile"; apart from minor fragments of semi-finished or wasted (?) bone plates, it contains no other contemporary or earlier remains. Of course, as already noted, this layer also did not remain unaffected in the site's Post-Metropolitan period (971 – 13th c.), and it has by no means been discounted that it was disturbed by significantly later anthropogenic contaminations.

The artifact in question is a handle for a knife or other tool, possibly a metal (iron) awl, of which no traces have been preserved today. It was entirely crafted from a single long bone of a small (domestic?) animal. It has a preserved length of 116 mm and is 16 mm wide and 7 – 8 mm thick. It has an elongated quadrangular shape and a rectangular cross-section. A longitudinal round/oval hole of small diameter (3 – 4 mm) was centrally drilled into its front (inner) end for the insertion of a handle spike, where it subsequently broke. The surface is thoroughly polished.



Fig. 7. 1. Fibulae/brooches from Gotland representing animal heads, 8th – 9th c. (after Oehrl 2023, fig. 31); 2. The adornment from Veliki Preslav, 9th – 10th c.

Обр. 7. 1. Фибули/брошки от Готланд, представящи животински глави, VIII – IX в. (по Oehrl 2023, fig. 31); 2. Украсата от Велики Преслав, IX – X в.

The artifact's back (outer) half is unusually and very curiously decorated. The very end of the handle is shaped like a head, of a human or animal is difficult to determine, but it is most likely a syncretic folklore or mythological image. The upper face lobe is bilaterally beveled, and the "sharpening" of this area initially gave the image a "more determined" and aggressive appearance. A small cut, rhomboid when seen from the front and triangular when seen from the side, was made in the lower part of the edge of the head's "muzzle". The cut may have been made to emphasize both the nose and the upper jaw/lip of the mouth below it. On each side of the head is a large bulging eye with a round shape and a central pupil that is rendered with a single dot (the so-called "bird's eye" pattern). Beneath the eyes, the wide open, slightly trapezoidal (in cross-section) jaw of the creature is accentuated by a deep groove. On the left and right of the occipital area, five short diagonal cuts are made that are limited by one longer and wider line in the opposite direction. Whether these cuts are meant to depict hair, a hat, or something else is impossible to say. Under the lower jaw is represented a highly stylized imitation of a body (neck?); two pairs of horizontal bands in shallow relief frame a field into which are carved four semi-oval dimples on the edges of the handle. The left dimples are located a little lower than the right ones.

These features, which emphasize the most important qualities and attributes of the character, unequivocally form a quite threatening expression. The sharp jagged lines, pointed face, fiercely open and disproportionately large mouth, and the face's generally "tense" grotesque expression emanate negative feelings of alarm, danger, and warning. These features clearly indicate that the artifact was mean to function as idol-amulet made to repel evil and protect the object's owner from all diseases and dangers.

Unfortunately, we are currently unaware of any other artifacts with the same or similar features and details. Again, perhaps the only more or less close imagery is known among the "animal" repertoire in the art of Northern Europe, where it was embodied in the most emblematic "elements" of the area's shipbuilding in the 8th – 11th c. This animal imagery's famous representations on Scandinavian battle "long ships" (*langskip*), along with their traditional name, were often compared and called according to their appearance and the impression they evoked "elongated-bulging (serpentine – P. D.) ships" (*snekkja*), "dragon ships" (*drekar/drakkar*), etc. All such nicknames were derived both from these image's shapes, dimensions, and proportions and from the nature of the galleons that were crowned and complemented by them (Durham 2002, 4, 35; Kalmring, Holmquist 2018, 749 – 750).

In three of the most significant sites where such vessels (or parts of them) were found, several probable figureheads of dragons (*drekahǫfuð*) or other fanciful reptiles with gaping jaws were also discovered. Although much larger and far more detailed and exquisite, they are somewhat similar in silhouette to the "snout-face" from Veliki Preslav presented here. Two of them were excavated during dredging works along the Scheldt (Schelde) river (Dendermonde – Appels[14] and Moerzeke – Mariekerke,[15] Belgium), and five others in the "ship burial" near Oseberg (Tønsberg, Norway).[16] The first were placed by radiocarbon dating carried out in 1971 in the beginning of Late Antiquity (352 – 400; Barker et al. 1971, 158). After subsequent calibration by one (68 % probability) or two (95 % probability) standard deviations, this date has been corrected and expanded into the ranges 400 – 615 and 250 – 665 (Kidd 1988, 8 – 10). Regardless of these radiocarbon dates, many researchers continue to consider the two monuments to be early medieval.[17]

Even if we accept the radiocarbon dates as reliable, we cannot fail to note that the "dragon's head" from Dendermonde – Appels shows a relative "conceptual" resemblance to the Veliki Preslav artifact (обр. 8: 1). Other far less convincing analogues can be "recognized" among the wooden animal figures from Oseberg, most notably in one of the five "Oseberg Beasts",[18] the so-called "Academic" (обр. 8: 2), and in some of the sculpted "corner" heads (обр. 8: 4) of a sledge from the same ship that have been dated by dendrochronological marks to 820 – 834 (Sjovold 1958, 36 – 42; Bonde 1994, 128 – 148; Vike 2019, 50). Additional loose parallels can be found in a number of plastically shaped tools, horse bits, and decorations of wood and horn (обр. 8: 5 – 9) found at Zemlyanoe Gorodishche (Staraya Ladoga, Leningrad district, Russia), Veliky Novgorod and the necropoleis of Dollkeim-Kovrovo (Kaliningrad district, Russia), and Graužiai (Lithuania) in strata from the mid-10th – 11th c. (Кулаков 2004, 17, 19, 22 – 23, рис. 1: 4, рис. 2: 1 – 3, рис. 5: 1, 2; Duczko 2004, 89, fig. 11a, b). Finally, to similar images we should perhaps add three oak slats in the shape of "dragons" (fig. 8: 3) from an "honorary (captain's – P. D.) armchair/awning" (Nicolaysen 1882, 41 – 42, pl. VI: 1, 2) found at the site of the 9th c. "ship burial" near Gokstad (Sandefjord, Norway). Despite all this, we must admit that until new sufficiently close morphological and stylistic parallels are identified, the ethno-cultural attribution proposed here remains largely hypothetical. For now, we cannot categorically include this artifact among the products of the Scandinavian artistic circle.

[14] Ship's figurehead of carved oak. Museum number: 1938,0202.1; https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_1938-0202-1 (Accessed on July 3, 2024).

[15] Wooden ship's figurehead of oak. Museum number: 1967,1001.1; https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_1967-1001-1 (Accessed on July 3, 2024).

[16] Oseberg find: https://www.khm.uio.no/english/research/previously-projects/saving-oseberg/oseberg-find/ (Accessed on July 3, 2024).

[17] Ship's figurehead of carved oak. Museum number: 1938,0202.1. Curator's comments: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_1938-0202-1 (Accessed on July 3, 2024).

[18] Oseberg. The Long soak: Five exquisite animal heads; https://www.khm.uio.no/english/collections/objects/the-long-soak.html (Accessed on July 3, 2024).



Fig. 8. Figures of "dragons" from: 1. Dendermonde – Appels, 5th – 7th c. (Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum); 2. "The Academic" from Oseberg, 9th c. (Photo: Vegard Vike; EJSrl_3X0AMDjNE.jpg; 800×1200; twimg.com); 3. Gokstad, 9th c. (after Nicolaysen 1882, pl. VI: 1, 2); 4. The Sleigh from Oseberg, 9th c. (after Sjovold 1958, 39); 5, 6. Staraya Ladoga, 10th – 11th c. (after Duczko 2004, fig. 11a, b; Кулаков 2004, рис. 2: 1, 2); 7. Veliki Novgorod (after Кулаков 2004, рис. 2: 3); 8. Dollkeim-Kovrovo (after Кулаков 2004, рис. 5: 1); 9. Graužiai, 10th – 11th c. (after Кулаков 2004, рис. 5: 2)

Обр. 8. Фигури на „дракони" от: 1. Дендермонд – Апелс, V – VII в. (Снимка: © The Trustees of the British Museum); 2. „Академика" от Осеберг, IX в. (Снимка: Вегард Вике; EJSrl_3X0AMDjNE.jpg; 800×1200; twimg.com); 3. Гокстад, IX в. (по Nicolaysen 1882, pl. VI: 1, 2); 4. Шейна от Осеберг, IX в. (по Sjovold 1958, 39); 5, 6. Старая Ладога, X – XI в. (по Duczko 2004, fig. 11a, b; Кулаков 2004, рис. 2: 1, 2); 7. Велики Новгород (по Кулаков 2004, рис. 2: 3); 8. Долкайм-Ковроово (по Кулаков 2004, рис. 5: 1); 9. Грауже, X – XI в. (по Кулаков 2004, рис. 5: 2)

In conclusion, we can say that if among the four finds presented here the first one can confidently be attributed to participants in the battle for Veliki Preslav in 971, then it is quite possible that the second and third (and possibly the fourth) ones reflect earlier cultural contacts between Pagan Bulgaria and Northern Europe.

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ВИКИНГИ В ДВОРЦОВИЯ ЦЕНТЪР НА ВЕЛИКИ ПРЕСЛАВ. НОВИ СВИДЕТЕЛСТВА

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РЕЗЮМЕ

Достигналите до нас писмени извори за историята на Велики Преслав като цяло са доста оскъдни и твърде лаконично и неравностойно „описват" кратките, силно различаващи се етапи от съществуването му. Докато за Предстоличния (822 – 893 г.) и Столичния (893 – 971 г.) период на града такива на практика липсват, то за Следстоличния (971 г. – XIII в.) свидетелствата са значително повече. Преобладаващата част от тях засягат Руско-византийската война от 968 – 971 г. и свързаните с нея събития. Последвалите бойни действия са изложени достатъчно подробно от византийските хронисти. Лъв Дякон и Скилица-Кедрин, съобщавайки състава и въоръжението на страните, отбелязват и присъствието на варяжки отряди в армията на киевския княз Светослав I, които били командвани от военачалниците Икмор и Свенкел. Техните действия са отразени в източниците и след промяната в разстановката на силите през 969 г., когато същите вземат активно участие в отбраната на обсадената през 971 г. от Йоан I Цимисхи българска столица. Въпреки тези сведения обаче и досега отсъстват сигурни археологически данни за пребиваването на „северните пришълци" зад стените на

града. Горепосоченото обстоятелство, както и последвалата византийска окупация, най-вероятно са изиграли своята решителна роля за заличаването на „движимите“ следи от сраженията. И все пак, изглежда не всичко е било старателно „почистено“. В днешните български земи спорадично се регистрират отделни характерни предмети като т. нар. „руско-варяжки“ брадвички – една от които произхожда от Велики Преслав, и някои оръжия – предимно мечове, накрайници на ножници, остриета на бойни брадви и върхове на копия.

При археологическите проучвания на сектори „Владетелска църква“ и „Сграда IV“ във Велики Преслав са открити четири находки, чиято специфика ясно ги отличава от паметниците, характерни за българското средновековие.

Първата от тях (обр. 1: 1, обр. 2: 1) представлява ремъчна (?) апликация с неправилна овална форма и два кръгли отвора за прикрепване, левият от които е частично отчупен. Изработена е от медна сплав чрез отливане. Лицевата страна е украсена с изображение на тройно преплетена змия, захапала опашката си. Тялото ѝ е съставено от три релефни „нишки“, чиито извивки са подчертани с пет декоративни кръгли отвора – четири големи и един по-малък. На три места – вляво и вдясно от главата, както и под нея, се забелязват три издължени елемента – два единични и един двоен. Те представят крайниците на съществото, захващащи собственото му тяло, причислявайки позата му към т. нар. мотив „сграбчващ звяр“. Опаката страна е гладка, с един запазен нит за прикрепване. През един от декоративните отвори са прокарани намотки от медна тел – вероятно при по-късен ремонт, заместващи вече счупения оригинален край с отвор за нит. Наблюдаваният образ е класически пример с една от разновидностите на широко разпространения в древността „универсален“ символ – *уроборос* – змия или дракон, захапал опашката си. Сцена, олицетворяваща безкрайността, вечното движение и единството на противоположностите. Алегория за преходността на битието – раждането и смъртта, старостта и обновлението. През хилядолетията тази концепция е възприета и заема важно място в мирогледа на всички култури на Стария свят (обр. 3: 1 – 3), а впоследствие и в митологията на Северна Европа. В нордическата традиция този шаблон е пречупен и осмислен през „призмата“ на космогонията на скандинавските народи, където е органично вписан, представяйки един от главните супостати на всемира. В тях, Йормунгандър е гигантска змия, живееща на дъното на Великия океан, която пораснала дотолкова, че обхванала света, захапвайки собствената си опашка.

Корените на прототипите на този викингски *уроборос* се проследяват при „звериния стил“ на т. нар. Венделски период (VI – VIII в.) в Скандинавия и Финландия. През IX и X в. образът еволюира и намира все по-широко приложение в изкуството чрез стиловете Осеберг, Боре, Йелинг/е и донякъде Мамен. Усуканото змийско тяло получава разнообразни интерпретации и се „превръща“ в стилизиран, неколкократно преплетен „възел“, с който са украсявани накити, съдове, оръжия, манускрипти, каменни стели и др. Паметници с изображението (обр. 4: 1 – 3) са открити предимно на територията на Швеция, Дания и Норвегия, но са познати и образци от Англия, Северна Франция, Австрия и Швейцария. Западно- и централноевропейските *уробороси* унаследяват и като цяло възпроизвеждат традиционната в Античността кръгла форма. В отличие, след VII в., преобладаващата част от скандинавските примери от VIII – XI в. масово тиражират мотива от ритмично свързани помежду си „триплети“. Най-често от тях са съставени фризовете, оконтуряващи скандинавските „рунически камъни“. Засвидетелстваните при стелите от VIII – X в. в Швеция *уробороси* са изключително от локалния вариант – *Йормунгандър*, в композиции от 3 до 8 комбинирани „тройни възела“ или поредица от тях – в „стегнат“ или „по-свободен“ вид. Отделни примери се срещат и при някои игли за дреха от руско-варяжкия некропол при Гньоздово (Русия). С подобни е дърворезбован и корабът от Осеберг (Норвегия) от началото на IX в. Украсявайки скромна по размери пластина, преславският „триплет“ иконографски и стилово намира най-многобройните си еквиваленти при образци на металопластиката от IX – XI в. от Готланд и Йоланд (Швеция; обр. 5: 1 – 9).

Стратиграфската позиция и късният археологически контекст (XIII в.) на преславската находка не могат да послужат за определяне на датировката ѝ, тъй като обитаването на терена около базиликата през XIII в. е било съпроводено от множество деструктивни интервенции, причина за почти повсеместна „объркана стратиграфия“ на обекта. Поради това, в случая, трябва да вземем предвид

единствено особеностите на паметника – морфология, украса, и състоянието, в което е намерен. Стилистично и иконографски той безспорно се отнася към произведенията на скандинавската металопластика от IX – X в. Същевременно опитите за ремонт и носенето му в увредено състояние допускат възможността за употребата му и в малко по-късно време – около средата или втората половина на XI в.

Второто материално свидетелство, което несъмнено се явява „чуждо“ по отношение на Старобългарската култура, е един необичаен артефакт – „висулка“ (фибула?) с недобре изяснена функция (обр. 1: 2, обр. 2: 2). Изработена е от медна сплав чрез отливане. Има масивно тяло с листовидна форма, разделено на две, леко наклонени навън равнини. Върху тях е врязана по една „волута-око“, съответно в левия и десния ѝ дял. Най-отгоре е запазена част от шарнир заедно с оста от липсващото „отделение“ на предмета. Отдолу завършва със слабо извит връх, наподобяващ зъб за закопчаване. В западноевропейската литература този вид „украси“ са разделени на две основни групи: „птици-фибули/брошки“ и „лицеви маски/пандантиви“. Първите се появяват в края на Венделската епоха (VII/VIII в.) в Южна Скандинавия (предимно на територията на дн. Швеция) и се тълкуват като „Гарваните на Один“ или „ловни соколи“ (обр. 6: 1). Впоследствие те са „наследени“ от представителите на втората група (обр. 6: 2, 3), които се трансформират в характерен „мъжки лик“ с различна степен на детайлизация, като предположенията варират между персонажи от скандинавския пантеон до християнски образи. С оглед твърде оригиналната си ромбоидна форма обаче най-вероятно е те да репрезентират Один, Тор или Фрейр. Често бронзовите им фигурки в цял ръст от X в. ги показват именно с такива глави. Подобни „маски“ присъстват и като навершия на игли за дрехи (обр. 6: 4) от Хейде (Швеция). Разпространението им се вмества в рамките от средата на X до началото на XI в., при това на вече значително по-голяма територия (Дания, Швеция, Норвегия и Исландия). Няма единна позиция и по въпроса за предназначението им, но преобладава мнението, че то е апотропеично, въпреки че не е изключено те да са имали и някаква все още неопределима практическа роля. Преславската „висулка“ спада към „триъгълния“ вариант на втората група, намирайки най-голямо сходство с образци от Лербро и Упокра (Швеция), от които се различава с по-големите си размери, семплата орнаментация и като цяло „изчистения“ и по-„суров“ вид (обр. 6: 3). Тази особеност от друга страна донякъде я сближава иконографски с примери от първата група от Готланд.

Освен тази, още една находка вероятно принадлежи към същия тип украси (обр. 1: 3, обр. 2: 3, обр. 7: 2). Представлява тънка медна пластина с овално-капковидна форма. Лицевата страна има заоблен широк край със сферично изпъкнала централна част, докато тесният е право „срязан“, с ясно изразен релефен ръб над него. Опаката страна е конкавна, гладка. Изработена е от медна сплав чрез отливане. В някакъв момент върху нея е бил упражнен силен натиск, като централната ѝ част се е вдлъбнала и деформирала. Наблюдаваната морфология силно напомня и се доближава до тази на друг ранен тип фибули/брошки от Готланд (обр. 7: 1), които според някои автори също представят животински глави, често определяни като глигански или мечи и отнасяни към късния Венделски (VIII в.) и ранния Викингски (IX в.) периоди. Контекстът на намиране на преславската находка обаче, както и силно стилизираната ѝ и опростена иконография, предполагат и една по-късна дата – не само на употреба, но и на нейното производство – в края на IX или първата половина на X в.

Последната находка има несигурна културна атрибуция, тъй като опитът за идентифицирането ѝ почива на относително далечни иконографски аналогии. Представлява изработена от дълга кост на дребно (домашно?) животно ръкохватка – за нож или друг инструмент, от който днес не са се запазили следи (обр. 1: 4, обр. 2: 4). Има издължена четириъгълна форма и правоъгълно сечение. В предния ѝ (вътрешен) край централно е пробит надлъжен овален отвор с диаметър 3 – 4 мм за втъкване на дръжката, където и впоследствие се е счупил. Повърхността е старателно огладена. Самият край на ръкохватката е оформен като глава – човешка или животинска е трудно да се определи. Горният лицев дял е двустранно скосен, което е придало на образа „по-устремен“ и агресивен вид. В долната част на „муцуната“ е направен малък изрез за подчертаване едновременно на носа и горната ѝ челюст. На всяка от страните има по едно изпъкнало око с кръгла форма и зеница в центъра. Под

тях, чрез дълбоко отнемане на костта е акцентирана широко разтворената паст на съществото. От двете страни на тилната област са нанесени по пет къси диагонални резки, ограничени от една по-дълга, противоположно насочена линия. Дали те изобразяват коса, шапка или нещо друго, не може да се каже. Под долната челюст изглежда съвсем символично е имитирано продължение на тялото – две двойки хоризонтални пояси в плитък релеф задават рамките на поле, в което влизат четири полуовални ямички, издълбани по ръбовете на ръкохватката. Така приложените похвати за постигане общия вид и подчертаване най-важните качества на персонажа недвусмислено формират едно заплашително изражение. Резките, отсечени линии, яростно (?) отворената, несъразмерна уста и като цяло гротескната мимика внушават усещане за опасност и предупреждение. Характеристики с ясно изразени функции на идол-амулет – за предпазване на притежателя му от всяко зло. За съжаление, към момента не са ни известни други паметници с наблюдаваните черти и детайли. Отново, може би единствената повече или по-малко близка образност е позната в изкуството на Северна Европа, където е била въплъщавана в най-емблематичните „елементи" от корабостроенето на региона през VIII – XI в. Неговите прочути представители – скандинавските „дълги кораби", наред с традиционното си название, често са били наричани според облика си: „издължено-издути", „кораби-дракони" и др. – все прозвища, продиктувани както от формата, така и от вида на *галионите* им. В три от най-значимите находища на такива са открити няколко, макар и много по-големи и далеч по-детайлизирани, но донякъде сходни като силует с преславското „лице" фигури на фантастични влечуги с раззината паст. Две от тях са изкопани край р. Шелде (Белгия), а други пет – в „корабното погребение" при Осеберг (Норвегия). Радиовъглеродното датиране отнася първите в Късната античност (352 – 400 г.), което след калибриране е разширено в рамките 400 – 615 г. и 250 – 665 г. Независимо от датата им, не можем да не отбележим, че в определен аспект „драконът" от Дендермонд – Апелс показва относителна „идейна" прилика с преславския образ (обр. 8: 1). Други, отново не особено убедителни аналози биха могли да се „припознаят" и сред фигурите от Осеберг (обр. 8: 2), в някои „ъглови" глави (обр. 8: 4) на шейна от същия кораб (820 – 834 г.), както и при дръжките на инструменти, псалии и украси от дърво и рог (обр. 8: 5 – 9) от Земляное градище, Велики Новгород и в некрополите Долкайм-Коврово (Русия) и Грауже (Литва) от средата на X – XI в. Към подобните изображения може би трябва да прибавим и летвите с форма на „дракони" (обр. 8: 3) от „почетното кресло/тента" в „корабното погребение" от IX в. при Гокстад (Норвегия). Въпреки всичко трябва да признаем, че до идентифицирането на нови, достатъчно близки паралели предложената тук етнокултурна атрибуция остава до голяма степен хипотетична и засега не ни позволява категорично да приобщим и този предмет към продукцията на скандинавските майстори.

В заключение можем да кажем, че ако сред находките първата уверено може да бъде отнесена към свидетелствата за участниците в битката за Велики Преслав през 971 г., то е напълно възможно втората и третата (и евентуално четвъртата) да отразяват и по-ранни (културни) контакти на Езическа България със Северна Европа.

Ключови думи: Велики Преслав, викинги, варяги, метални апликации, косторезба

A CONTRIBUTION TO BYZANTINE PROSOPOGRAPHY. 3. THE LACHANADES

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ABSTRACT

This study concerns individuals bearing the Byzantine family name Lachanas, which is attested in both literary and sigillographic sources as active mostly in the Balkans, Asia Minor, and the Aegean islands from the 11th to the 15th c. This essay consists of: an overview of the Lachanas name, its origin and variants; a short commentary on the known bearers of this name, their possible relations, and their presumable place in Byzantine society, with special attention paid to the seal of a Lachanas found recently in Plovdiv (published here for the first time) and its probable relation to another specimen presumably also from the same city; and a catalogue of individuals with the family name Lachanas.

Keywords: Byzantine prosopography, Lachanas, lead seals, social history

Introduction[1]

Over recent years, researchers have focused more and more on Byzantine prosopography as this topic is rather crucial for understanding Byzantine history in general and Byzantine social history in particular. Prosopography studies people as individuals by giving identities to them but also the connections between these individuals and, if possible, between people and particular places. In this way, scholars can reconstruct the triptych "Who? – When? – Where?". This study is dedicated to individuals with the family name Lachanas, which is attested in both literary and sigillographic sources as active mostly in the Balkans, Asia Minor and the Aegean, from the 11th to the 15th c.

The present essay begins with an overview of the Lachanas name, its origin and variants. Then follows a short commentary on the bearers of this name, their possible relations, and their presumable place in Byzantine society. Since lead seals showing the name Lachanas that have known findspot are scarce – there is concrete information for only two out of the twenty-two presented in this paper[2] – special attention is paid to the specimen of a Lachanas found recently in Plovdiv, medieval

[1] The author would like to express his gratitude to all those who helped at various stages of this study: Elena Bozhinova (RAM – Plovdiv), Assoc. Prof. Dr. Kamen Stanev (Cyrillo-Methodian Research Centre – BAS, Sofia), and Assist. Prof. Dr. Milena Raycheva (NAIM – BAS, Sofia). Also, to Prof. Marie Cronier (CNRS, Paris), for the bibliographical assistance, as well as to the two anonymous reviewers for their helpful remarks.

This is the third of a series of articles on Byzantine prosopography. See: Charalampakis 2017 and Charalampakis 2018. Other prosopographic studies by the author: Χαραλαμπάκης 2010 and Campagnolo-Pothitou, Charalampakis 2019.

[2] One was found at excavations in Plovdiv; one has been registered as originating from Plovdiv; one was allegedly found in the wider area of the Strandzha mountain, southeastern Bulgaria. The majority of the remaining pieces per-

Philippopolis (published here for the first time), as well as its possible relation to another that allegedly also comes from the same city. Afterwards is a two-part catalogue of individuals bearing the family name Lachanas. The first part deals with socially independent individuals of various walks of life who are attested in the sources. The second part includes all people known from sources as small landowners, paroikoi, servants, or those dependent in any other way on a monastery in the area of Macedonia and on the Aegean islands.

The Lachanas name and family(-ies)

The Greek name Lachanas (Λαχανᾶς), meaning the greengrocer, is a composite from the noun λάχανον for "cabbage" and "lettuce" (but also greens and vegetables in general) and the ending -ᾶς, which is typical of names denoting professions. Other examples of such names include Ἀμπελᾶς, Ἀροτρᾶς, Ἀσβεστᾶς, Βελωνᾶς, Ζωναρᾶς, Καμινᾶς, Κασσιτηρᾶς, Κλειδᾶς, Κολυμβᾶς, Μαχαιρᾶς, Μεταξᾶς, Μολυβᾶς, Προβατᾶς, Σαλιβαρᾶς, Σιδηρᾶς, Σκαραμαγκᾶς, Τοξαρᾶς, Ὑαλᾶς, Χοιρινᾶς, and (Ὀ)Ψαρᾶς (Koder 1993, 24 – 25; Moritz 1897, 14, 25, 46; Moritz 1898, 27). A similar family name used in Byzantium was Maroules/Μαρούλης (see the entries in PBW and the Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine seals online catalogue as well as Wassiliou-Seibt 2016, 679 – 680). Its female equivalents are attested in 14th c. documents as Λαχανῶ and Λαχανίνα (see below in the catalogue). Other endings were used too, most probably in the same context, as shown by the names (Claudius) Lachanius, a high official active in the late 4th/early 5th c. (Olszaniek 2013, 231 – 234), Λαχαναρᾶς, mentioned in a mid-12th c. document as Δανιὴλ ὁ τοῦ Λαχαναρᾶ (Lemerle et al. 1970, 333: 64.93, year 1162), and Λαχανεστούρης, a family name attested on 14th c. Cyprus (PLP Nos. 14617 – 14618). On other occasions, one encounters the name Lachanopoulos (Λαχανόπουλος), which originally denoted the son of a certain person called Lachanas and later probably evolved into a (distinct) family name (see, for example, the 11th c. seal of Basileios Lachanopoulos: DO BZS.1951.31.5.3436, online: https://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1951.31.5.3436/view[3] and the unpublished 11th – 12th c. seal of Konstantinos Lachanopoulos: DO BZS.1951.31.5.2169, mentioned in Kazhdan, Ronchey 1999, 366 – 367. Also, PLP No. 14620 = Успенский, Бенешевич 1927, 116, № 168, area of Trabzon, year 1432: Εἰρήνη Λαχανόπουλος – sic!). Apart from a single name, the noun is also used as a composite together with other nouns, such as Λαχανο-δράκων (Koder 1993, 24; Moritz 1897, 14, 54).

As pointed out in many scholarly studies, family names in Byzantium evolved long after Late Antiquity (on the appearance and evolution of family names in Byzantium see the bibliography in Charalampakis 2018, 53, note 6). In this respect, the word λαχανᾶς inscribed on a 5th c. tombstone (IthrAeg E533 – Maroneia Archaeological Collection AKM391: Θέσις Εἰοάνου λαχανᾶ. See http://pandektis.ekt.gr/pandektis/handle/10442/70659 as well as https://www.searchculture.gr/aggregator/edm/pandektis_epigrafes/000080-10442_70659?language=en, with photos and references to publications) suggests that Ioannes had been a vegetables producer or merchant; his funerary inscription simply states his profession and not a family name.

Perhaps the most famous Lachanas in medieval history gained his mocking nickname from his profession or occupation in his early years: this is the Bulgarian tsar Ivaylo, named Бърдоква (Βορδόκουβας or Κορδόκουβας in the Greek sources) in Bulgarian and Λαχανᾶς in Greek: ἦν ἀγρότης ἐκεῖσε μισθοῦ βόσκων χοίρους, Βορδόκουβας κεκλημένος· τὸ δ'ὄνομα ἡ Ἑλλήνων γλῶττα

haps (though not necessarily) was found – or at least acquired – in Constantinople (because they were or are part of the ex-Zacos, the Hermitage, and the IFEB collections), but this uncertainty does not allow for statistics or any further scholarly observations.

[3] All web-links quoted in this article were active when last accessed (March 15, 2024).

εἰς λάχανον ἐκλαμβάνει καὶ Λαχανᾶς ἐντεύθεν φημίζεται (Failler, Laurent 1984, Vol. II, 548 – 555: VI.3 – 4, 560 – 567: VI.7 – 8, 588 – 591: VI.19; Failler 1999, Vol. IV, 468 – 469: XI.23. On the Bulgarian word, see Георгиев и др. 1971, 101 – 102. Also, Moravcsik 1983, 177, on the change between B- and K-); βοσκηματώδης μὲν τὸ γένος ἀνὴρ … ὄνομα Λαχανᾶς (Schopen 1829, 130 – 132).[4] Apparently, Ivaylo was widely known by this nickname, which could have originated from his early years as a farmer (ἀγρότης) and also could have been later adopted as a family name (?), because shortly after his death an impostor pretended that he was Λαχανᾶς himself (Failler 1999, Vol. III, 210 – 213: VIII.30).

Since the name Lachanas could have been adopted by any person at any place in (or even outside) the Empire, it is unlikely that all individuals attested to have born this family name through the ages belonged to the same family or even distant branches of it. One can be more certain about those who issued seals in earlier centuries (11th – 12th c.) and about prominent individuals in later periods. It is rather challenging if not impossible, however, to establish any connection between these Lachanades and residents of the villages that were dependent on the Athonite monasteries mentioned in the respective documents. The engagement of a person as λαχανᾶς must have been quite frequent in the countryside, and therefore, the popularity of the name Lachanas in such areas can be expected. On the other hand, these same documents also reveal names of famous aristocratic families. In this respect, perhaps it is more accurate to speak about research on the prosopography of people who had a particular family name than research on a particular family, an observation already made by Polemis in his preface to the study on the Doukai about 55 years ago (Polemis 1968, preface). Nevertheless, it seems that some of the Lachanades share some common elements that might indicate they were indeed related.

Kazhdan and Ronchey argued that the Lachanas family members bore no titles or high offices either in civil or ecclesiastical administration and that, for this reason, its members should not be considered part of the (Byzantine) aristocracy (Kazhdan, Ronchey 1999, 246). Regarding honorific titles, one Lachanas was imperial protospatharios (here, No. 1), another protonobelissimos (here, No. 11) and a third hypatos and antigrapheus (here, No. 2) (Kazhdan, Ronchey 1999, 298, 366, No. 49). These titles were quite modest at the time, however. Besides, there is no way to make either a clear connection or a distinction between these two Lachanades and others who had the same family name. It is true, though, that certain bearers of the family name under examination managed to climb and occupy positions in the State or the Church. One could mention a Lachanas who became metropolitan of Crete (here, No. 14) and a second who was elected metropolitan of Herakleia (here, No. 15). Another was related to the Palaiologoi and became ambassador (here, No. 22), and a fourth Lachanas was related to the Laskarids and acted as the emperor's envoy (here, No. 23). Perhaps less prominent but still important was a Lachanas who might have established a church and so could not have been a commoner (here, No. 19), a protokentarchos (here, No. 4), and a grammatikos of the Zabareion (here, No. 6). It is not impossible that all these people were somehow related and that several branches of the same family existed at various locations, as was also the case with most of the well-known Byzantine houses.

Those who had the family name Lachanas appear in sources in the second half of the 11th c., at a time when several other families seem to have "emerged" and climbed the steps of the Byzantine

[4] Ivaylo, who ruled the Bulgarians from 1278 to 1279, was married to Maria Palaiologina-Kantakouzene (as her third husband, after the Byzantine nobleman Alexios Philes and the Bulgarian tsar Konstantin Tich). It is not clear why Nicol 1968, 20, note 19, considered a certain Nikephoros Lachanas, known through his seal only (see the catalogue here), as "Maria's third husband". There is no indication in the sources that the Bulgarian Βορδόκουβας/Λαχανᾶς bore the first name Nikephoros. His identification with Ivaylo, on the other hand, is more than certain and generally accepted in modern academic literature.

social hierarchy. We certainly lack sufficient evidence to establish the exact connections between those people and so to get a clear general view of their involvement in society. What cannot be neglected, though, is the fact that the Lachanades start to be attested at approximately the same time, in the second half of the 11th c., and that they were very active in the second half of the 12th and the early 15th c., which cannot be a coincidence. Such ups and downs are, perhaps, an indication that the Lachanades remained one close-knit family throughout these centuries and its members were noticed or escaped public attention rather as a group than individuals who happened to advance in their careers. Furthermore, with the exception of one person who used the figure of Saint Ioannes Prodromos on his seals (here, No. 2) and another who used that of Saint Theodoros Stratelates (here, No. 13), the other (five) individuals whose boulloteria are known to scholars used the figure of the Mother of God (here, Nos. 1, 3, 8, 9, 17). One might think that the Theotokos was the family protector of the Lachanades, but in the absence of a larger assemblage of boulloteria, this is only a hypothesis. Another link between these Lachanades is the use of first names: considering the first part of the catalogue (i.e., not including the paroikoi), the prevailing names are: Ioannes (7 times), Nikephoros (3 times), Manouel (2 times), Theodoros (2 times), and Georgios (2 times). Even if some of the Ioannes are identical, the number is still high, and as we know, Byzantine families preferred particular names.

The aforementioned examples are more than enough to show that: 1) at least some bearers of the family name Lachanas were related, although the exact family relations cannot be established at this stage of research, and 2) the Lachanades were not an unimportant family. On the contrary, the more evidence about them that comes to light, the more apparent it is that they were associated with the Byzantine elite. What is not clear at this stage of research, is whether a) the Lachanas family should be considered part of the aristocracy as a whole or b) only certain members of the main family and its various branches individually managed to have a successful career that allowed them to climb the social strata and enter relationships with other aristocratic families (such as the Palaiologoi and Laskarids). It is understandable, of course, that a (any?) family might have had members who rose to the upper strata in Byzantine society and even established connections with the aristocracy. As Cheynet has remarked, the names of certain families mirror their backgrounds, which were sometimes related to humble professions, and yet their bearers manage to climb the social ladder (Cheynet 2009, 96).

Aside from the aforementioned individuals, there is a fairly large number of people with the Lachanas family name who are explicitly mentioned in sources as paroikoi or small landowners and who neighbored monastic property inhabited and/or worked by paroikoi. These people are mostly known through Athonite documents and resided in various places in the area of modern-day Greek Macedonia. Furthermore, there is evidence of paroikoi with the same family name on the island of Lemnos. A question that so far has not been explored in depth in academic literature is whether some paroikoi were somehow related to homonymous middle- and/or upper-class families. The starting point behind this question is, as hinted above, the large presence of paroikoi bearing family names identical or similar to those of well-known aristocratic families whose members, prominent or not, would have hardly ended up as paroikoi of a monastery in the countryside of southern Macedonia. Should the use of such family names by paroikoi be treated as a mere coincidence? Did well-known families perhaps have so many branches that eventually some very distant relatives of the main branch were not only spread in various areas of the Empire but also were not in position to claim any wealth or prestige? The scarcity of documents such as the *praktika* and *testaments* related to monasteries other than the Athonite does not allow for a proper mapping of family names in the Byzantine Empire. Furthermore, one may notice the baptismal names Draganos and Stanna at

Melintziane as well as Bezanos at Radolibos, all of which point to either Slavic influence or mixed marriages (here, Nos. 29, 30, 45). In any case, the paroikoi and landowners of Macedonia and Lemnos who had the name Lachanas have been included in this study, though listed separately from the other individuals.

Another issue that posed a challenge in the preparation of this study is that of homonyms: the catalogue contains individuals bearing common and popular first names, which makes their identification more difficult. If one groups together individuals who in fact had nothing to do with each other, there is the risk of attributing to a single individual a seal or seals issued by others. On the other hand, considering each case as a separate individual would create a very long list of people, some of whom might have been the same person.

A good example of homonyms that might or might not be identical is the evidence of two lead seals from Plovdiv (Philippopolis). The first, found recently, is published here for the first time (here, No. 17). It was issued in the second half of the 12th c., or perhaps the beginning of the 13th c., by an Ioannes Lachanas and shows the Mother of God on the obverse. Another specimen, issued by a homonym, also showing the Mother of God and dated around the middle or, most likely, in the second half of the 12th c., was reportedly also found in Plovdiv a few decades ago (here, No. 9c). These people have been enlisted as separate entries in the following catalogue. However, despite the hesitation in identifying them, one cannot but notice similarities: the individuals' name and family name; the (approximate) date of their seals; the use of the Mother of God icon; the seals' find-spot (although we lack precise information on the specimen published by Jordanov); and similar formula and words used in the inscription (Μήτηρ Θεοῦ ἡ Κυριώτισσα. Σκέποις Λαχανᾶν Ἰωάννην Παρθένε vs Μήτηρ Θεοῦ. Λαχανᾶν Ἰωάννην σκέποις (or σκέπε) […] Κόρη). It is not impossible that the same Ioannes issued both seals addressed to a person or persons in Philippopolis. The fact that none of these seals show office or title could mean either that Ioannes did not have any or that these seals were struck from his personal (and not professional, i.e., containing information about his office) boulloterion. As for the use of monogram on one of the two seals, it was not uncommon for someone to convey a boulloterion's inscription both in full text and as a monogram, especially in the second half of the 12th and the first half of the 13th c. when monograms were quite popular and frequently attested on seals.[5]

The two specimens bearing the name Ioannes are not the only ones issued by a Lachanas discovered in modern Bulgaria. The seal of a Manouel Lachanas (here, No. 13) was reportedly "found in the Strandzha mountain", which Jordanov interpreted as the find-spot being the medieval fortress at Melnitsa. Although this location is only a speculation, what matters to this study is that a third seal of a Lachanas was found in Bulgaria and especially in the wider area around Adrianople. This is not surprising, considering that numerous seals issued by particular Byzantine families with (possibly) personal ties and interests or professional reasons related to specific places have been found in various locations in modern Bulgaria (see the entries in Jordanov 2006 and 2009, as well as the commentary in Cheynet 2008). The areas of Philippopolis and the Strandzha (or rather the Tonzos valley immediately to the west of the mountain) were among the lands distributed to prominent Byzantine families in the 11th – 12th c., which may suggest that Byzantine emperors had also endowed the Lachanades with lands.

[5] See, for example, the cases of Stephanos Bardales: Campagnolo-Pothitou, Cheynet 2016, 62 – 63, No. 44 and the seal DO BZS.1958.106.1277 on https://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1958.106.1277/view (to which the DO editors have ascribed a very late date); Alexios Krateros: Campagnolo-Pothitou, Cheynet 2016, 389, No. 348; and Alexios Kontostephanos: Cheynet 2019, 324 – 325, No. 7.3. All these specimens are dated in the same time period as the seals Ioannes Lachanas issued.

With the present work, scholars can add one more name to those of Byzantine families that emerged in sources in the 11th c. and eventually achieved elevated social standing. Even though in most cases the Lachanades' kinship cannot be determined with certainty (with the exception of the paroikoi where the documents define their relations in a straightforward way), this essay may be used as a research tool for future scholars working on prosopography and Byzantine social history so they can make use of known material for wider or deeper study.

All bearers of the Lachanas family name are presented below first chronologically and then in alphabetical order, without any established family line or tree (except for the paroikoi, when possible). The paroikoi are first listed by village or area and second by family (when such data is available). There is of course the possibility that Lachanas does not always denote a family name but a nickname; yet such occasions cannot be detected at the present stage of research, considering the information provided by available sources.

Catalogue of individuals who bore the family name Lachanas

Part I
(Socially independent individuals)

11th century

1) Theodoros Lachanas, imperial protospatharios (first half of the 11th c.)

a) Istanbul Archaeological Museum 554

Obverse: Half-figure of Theotokos (type Hagiosoritissa) turning right towards the hands of God (Manus Dei); sigla.

Μ(ήτη)ρ [Θ(εο)ῦ].

Mother of God.

Reverse: Inscription in Greek, in five lines.

[Θ(εοτό)κε] β(οή)θ(ει) [Θ]εοδώρ(ῳ) [β(ασιλικῷ) (πρωτο)σ]παθαρ(ίῳ) τῷ] Λαχ[ανᾶς].

Mother of God, aid Theodoros Lachanas, imperial protospatharios.

Ed.: Cheynet et al. 2012, 482 – 483, No. 5.167 (with photo).

Further references: Ebersolt 1914, 399, No. 511 (578).

Comment: The editors have rightly pointed out that the number of missing letters makes the reading of the family name uncertain. In the absence of a better preserved parallel, the reconstruction of the name as Lachanas seems best. Moreover, the last visible letter in the fifth line is too curvy to be an *alpha* for the dative case. Perhaps it is a *sigma*, and so providing a nominative instead of a dative, which might be grammatically wrong but is attested in other specimens (see here, No. 3).

2) Basileios Lachanas, hypatos, antigrapheus (second half of the 11th c.)

a) DO BZS.1958.106.1372

Obverse: Saint Ioannes Prodromos, standing, holding labarum with the medallion of Christ (left hand); vertical inscription in Greek.

Ὁ (ἅγιος) Ἰω(άννης) ὁ Πρόδρομ(ος).

Saint Ioannes Prodromos.

Reverse: Inscription in Greek, in six lines.

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Βασιλ<ε>ίῳ ὑπάτῳ (καὶ) ἀντιγραφεῖ τῷ Λαχανᾶ.

Lord, aid Basileios Lachanas, hypatos and antigrapheus.

Ed.: Online: https://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1958.106.1372; Jordanov 2006, 255 – 256 (without image).

Further references: PBW Basileios 20330; Wassiliou-Seibt 2011, 321.

Comment: Wassiliou-Seibt has provided an incorrect inventory number: 1958.106.1373 instead of 1372. The antigrapheus was a middle rank official subordinate to the quaestor. Although his duties are not clear to modern scholars, he must have been engaged with businesses related to those of the quaestor: supervision of visitors in Constantinople and judicial tasks related to privately held land (ODB 112, 1765 – 1766).

3) Georgios Lachanas (second half of the 11th c.)

a) Private collection Thierry, No. 165 (France)

Obverse: Bust of Theotokos, orans (type Blachernitissa?); sigla (not visible).

[Μή(τη)ρ Θ(εο)ῦ].

Mother of God.

Reverse: Inscription in Greek, in five lines.

Θ(εοτό)κε βοήθει Γεωργίῳ τῷ Λαχανᾶς.

Theotokos, aid Georgios Lachanas.

Ed.: Jordanov 2006, 256 (without image).

Further references: PBW Georgios 20236; mentioned in Wassiliou-Seibt 2011, 321 and Seibt, Seibt 2003, 202.

Comment: Note the family name in the nominative (as given by Jordanov) despite the invocation being in the dative.

b) Romanian Academy, Numismatic Cabinet, Orghidan O.8327 (516)

Obverse: As above.

Μή(τη)ρ [Θ(εο)ῦ].

Mother of God.

Reverse: As above.

[Θ(εοτό)κε βοή]θει [Γε]ωργίῳ [τῷ Λ]αχα[νᾶς].

Theotokos, aid Georgios Lachanas.

Ed.: Laurent 1952, 248, No. 501 (without image).

Further references: PBW Georgios 20236; Wassiliou-Seibt 2011, 321; Seibt, Seibt 2003, 202.

c) Paris, IFEB

Obverse: As above.

Reverse: As above.

Ed.: Unpublished.

Further references: PBW Georgios 20236; Seibt, Seibt 2003, 202.

Comment: Seibt and Seibt do not provide an inventory number for the specimen in the collection.

4) Georgios Lachanas, protokentarchos (late 11th c.)

a) DO BZS.1951.31.5.1854

Obverse: Inscription in Greek, in four lines.

[Σ]φγράγι[σ]μα γραφῆς [Λ]αχανᾶ Γ[ε]ωργ[ίου].

Sealing of the writing of Georgios Lachanas.

Reverse: Inscription in Greek, in five lines.
[Λ]αχόντος ἀξίωμα [π]ρωτωκ[εν]τάρχ(ου).
Who holds the dignity of protokentarchos.
Ed.: Online: https://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1951.31.5.1854/; Jordanov 2006, 256 (without image).
Further references: PBW Georgios 20259; Wassiliou-Seibt 2011, 321.
Comment: Protokentarchos was a low-ranking, provincial military officer.
The participle on the reverse alternatively could be read as [Ἔ]χοντος and translated as "Who had attainted", but [Λ]αχόντος seems more likely.

b) Unknown present location (formerly in the Zacos collection)
Obverse: As above.
Reverse: As above.
Ed.: Unpublished.
Further references: PBW Georgios 20259; Wassiliou-Seibt 2011, 321; Jordanov 2006, 256.

11th/12th century

5) Nikephoros Lachanas (late 11th – early 12th c.)
a) DO BZS.1947.2.1552
Obverse: Inscription in Greek, in three lines.
+ Γραφά(ς) σφραγίζω.
I seal the writings.
Reverse: Inscription in Greek, in three lines.
+ Λαχαν(ᾶ) Νικηφόρου.
Of Nikephoros Lachanas.
Ed.: Online: https://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1947.2.1552/; Wassiliou-Seibt 2011, 216 – 217, No. 425 (without image; this is the correct entry for this seal), 267, No. 573 (without image), 565, No. 1318 (without image); Leontiades 2011, 304 – 305, No. 7 (with photo).
Comment: Wassiliou-Seibt has mistakenly included this seal in the entry with No. 573, which applies to a different inscription. Moreover, she has included yet another entry with the same seal (as No. 1318), this time erroneously reading the inscription: [Λ]όγ[ου]ς σφραγίζω instead of the correct Γραφά(ς) σφραγίζω. The same reading appears also in Leontiades. The letter Φ, however, is clearly visible in the first line.

6) Ioannes Lachanas, diakonos, grammatikos of the Zabareion (ca. mid-12th c.)
Source(s): Leone 1972, 152, No. 105, 153, No. 106 (lines 16 – 20); Leone 1968, 146 ff. (IV.471 ff.).[6]
Further references: PBW Ioannes 522; Pizzone 2018; Grünbart 1996, 221 – 223.
Comment: In Tzetzes' letters, Ioannes Lachanas is mentioned in his capacity as deacon and as a person involved with the mills and in the bread-making activities at the monastery of Papiou. At some time Lachanas helped somebody become deacon, too; this person is not named in the

[6] This is a letter in verses by Tzetzes that was incorporated into his historical work but is not available in his corpus of letters as an individual epistle. On the subject see Zagklas 2021, 66, note 11 and the comments and literature in Agapitos 2017, 21 – 22.

letter, but Tzetzes reveals that he called himself "Maniakes". This person not only turned out to be ungrateful to his benefactor (i.e. Ioannes Lachanas) but also caused troubles everywhere he went. According to Tzetzes, Lachanas compiled some list or catalogue of deacons (perhaps active at the Holy Apostles?) and that person's name was included there. Tzetzes' letters cannot be precisely dated, but it seems that they were probably written between 1150 and 1160. Grünbart dated letter No. 105 to 1155 and No. 106 after that year. The editors of the PBW dated all these events to 1157.

It seems that later Ioannes Lachanas was appointed grammatikos at the Zabareion (armory warehouse. See: Kolias 1980, 27 – 35, especially 31 ff.) – hence Tzetzes also called him Zabareiotes – and that after he got the post, he stopped corresponding with Tzetzes as the latter complains. Grünbart identified this Lachanas (with some reservation) as the anonymous Lachanas who was the correspondent of Eustathios (here, No. 7). This would have been possible if Ioannes Lachanas was serving at the Zabareion of Thessaloniki (on which see Kolias 1980, 31), and Eustathios refers to this Lachanas. However, Tzetzes does not mention in which Zabareion Lachanas served, and moreover, since there is neither a first name mentioned in Eustathios' letter nor any indication that the recipient was a deacon or grammatikos at any Zabareion, the identification of the two persons remains only a hypothesis.

7) Ioannes Lachanas (mid-12th c.)

Source(s): Tafel 1832, 350 – 351, No. 48.

Further references: Grünbart 1996, 221 – 222.

Comment: Grünbart identified this anonymous Lachanas as Ioannes Lachanas, Tzetzes' correspondent (here, No. 6). This identification is hypothetical due to a lack of evidence that connects the two persons.

8) Stephanos Lachanas (mid-12th c.)

a) DO BZS.1958.106.4812

Obverse: Theotokos (type Dexiokratousa – Basiotissa), standing; sigla; vertical inscription in Greek.

Μή(τη)ρ Θ(εο)ῦ. Ἡ Βασιότισσα.

Mother of God. The Basiotissa.

Reverse: Inscription in Greek, in five lines.

Γραφὰς [σ]φραγίζ(ω) τοῦ Λαχαν(ᾶ) Στεφά[νου].

I seal the writings of Stephanos Lachanas.

Ed.: Online: https://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1958.106.4812/; Wassiliou-Seibt 2011, 239, No. 494 (without image).

Further references: PBW Stephanos 20234.

Comment: On the Dexiokratousa – Basiotissa type, see Effenberger 2018, 124 – 126, esp. note 124.

b) Private collection Thierry, No. 139 (France)

Obverse: As above.

Reverse: As above.

Ed.: Wassiliou-Seibt 2011, 239, No. 494 (without photo).

Further references: PBW Stephanos 20234; Jordanov 2006, 256.

9) Ioannes Lachanas (mid-/second half of the 12th c.)

a) DO BZS.1958.106.3440

Obverse: Mother of God (type Kyriotissa), standing, holding Christ; Angels on each side; sigla; vertical inscription in Greek.

Μή(τη)ρ Θ(εο)ῦ. Ἡ Κυριώτισ(σ)α.

Mother of God. The Kyriotissa.

Reverse: Inscription in Greek, in five lines.

Σκέποις Λαχανᾶν Ἰω(άννην) Παρθένε.

Virgin, may you protect Ioannes Lachanas.

Ed.: Online: https://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1958.106.3440; Wassiliou-Seibt 2016, 316 – 317, No. 2030 (without image).

Further references: PBW Ioannes 20550; Wassiliou-Seibt 2011, 321.

Comment: On the Kyriotissa type, see Effenberger 2018, 124 – 126.

b) Hermitage, M-6599 (formerly in the private collection of Likhachev)

Obverse: As above.

Reverse: As above.

Ed.: Шандровская 2009, 418 (with photo).

Further references: PBW Ioannes 20550; Wassiliou-Seibt 2016, 316 – 317.

c) Sofia, National Archaeological Institute with Museum (Bulgarian Academy of Sciences), Numismatic Department, seal No. 1 (fig. 1)

Obverse: As above.

Reverse: As above.

Σκέποις Λαχανᾶν Ἰω(άννην) [Π]αρθένε.

Virgin, may you protect Ioannes Lachanas.

Ed.: Wassiliou-Seibt 2016, 316 – 317, No. 2030 (without image); Jordanov 2011, 81, No. 163 (with photo); Jordanov 2009, 641 – 642, No. 1966 (with photo); Jordanov 2006, 254 – 257, No. 399 (with photo); Jordanov 1995, 128, No. 21 (with photo).

Further references: PBW Ioannes 20550; Wassiliou-Seibt 2011, 321.

Comment: According to a note by Gerassimov, the seal was found in Plovdiv in 1950. Unfortunately, there is no further information on the conditions of this discovery (whether it came from excavations or was a stray find).

d) DO BZS.1958.106.5747

Obverse: As above.



Fig. 1. NAIM – Sofia 1. Seal of Ioannes Lachanas – here No. 9c (Photo: N. Dimitrov)

Обр. 1. НАИМ – София 1. Печат на Йоан Лаханас – тук № 9c (Снимка: Н. Димитров)

Μή(τη)ρ [Θ(εο)ῦ]. [Ἡ] Κυρ[ιώτισ(σ)α].
Mother of God. The Kyriotissa.
Reverse: As above.
Σκέποις Λαχανᾶν Ἰω(άννην) Παρθένε.
Virgin, may you protect Ioannes Lachanas.
Ed.: Online: https://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1958.106.5747/; Wassiliou-Seibt 2016, 316 – 317, No. 2030 (without image).
Further references: PBW Ioannes 20550; Wassiliou-Seibt 2011, 321, 539 (under No. 1234).
Comment: The disc has been struck three times: traces of lines show the original strike, which is not identifiable anymore. Later, it was struck again by two persons with the use of two small-size boulloteria: Konstantinos Spanopoulos and Ioannes Lachanas. Wassiliou-Seibt (2016, 317), who did not notice the lines indicating the first strike, assumed that either Lachanas or Spanopoulos issued the seal first and sent the letter to the other person, who reused the disc and sent a letter back to the first person. This is of course theoretically possible, but only if one assumes that both correspondents were aware of the size of each other's boulloterion and were looking for very large size discs that would fit both stamps (if resending the same disc was a practice between the two). In fact, it is not certain whether Spanopoulos and Lachanas used the disc at different times, corresponding with each other, independently from each other, or as seems most likely, one after the other while both were present at the same place, so that the disc bears the stamps of both men next to each other. This would explain in a satisfactory way why both stamps of small-sized boulloteria appear on the same large size disc without overlapping.[7] See also the comments in Шандровская 2009, 418 and Jordanov 2006, 255. As Jordanov has written, it is possible that the two issuers used a very large-sized disc that was destined for the Ekdikoi of Hagia Sophia (but Lachanas and Spanopoulos struck an already used disc, not a blank, as Jordanov assumed).

e) Athens?
Obverse: As above?
Reverse: As above?
Ed.: Unpublished?
Comment: A parallel specimen to the above issued by Ioannes Lachanas and presently kept at the "Athen, Nationalmuseum 771" is mentioned by Wassiliou-Seibt (2016, 316). The reference is quite obscure since the only "National" museum in Athens is the National Archaeological Museum, the collection of which does not include Byzantine or other medieval objects (in this case Byzantine lead seals). Other possibilities are the collections of the Numismatic Museum and the Byzantine and Christian Museum, but the author apparently got the reference wrong and so it is not possible to verify the seal's present location.

10) Ioannes Lachanas (second half of the 12th c.)
a) DO BZS.1951.31.5.1490
Obverse: Inscription in Greek, in five lines.
+ Εἰς κῦρος ἔργων καὶ σφραγῖδα γραμμάτων.
As authentication for deeds and sealing of writings.

[7] The practice of striking a disc more than once by placing the boulloterion's edge next to the previous strike so that the stamps do not overlap and they cover the whole surface has been attested so far on multiple occasions. In these cases, however, all strikes were made by the same issuer on each disc respectively, possibly in order to cover the markings of earlier stamps made by other people.

Reverse: Inscription in Greek, in five lines.

Γράμματα τυποῖ Λαχανᾶς Ἰω[ά]ννης.

Ioannes Lachanas marks (these) words.

Ed.: Online: https://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1951.31.5.1490; Wassiliou-Seibt 2011, 320 – 321, No. 704 (without image); Jordanov 2006, 254 – 255 (without image).

Further references: PBW Ioannes 20550.

11) Nikephoros Lachanas, protonobelissimos (second half of the 12th c.)

a) DO BZS.1958.106.1379

Obverse: Inscription in Greek, in four lines.

+ Γραφῶν σφράγισμα Λαχανᾶ Νι[κη]φόρου.

Sealing of the writings of Nikephoros Lachanas.

Reverse: Inscription in Greek, in five lines.

Τὴν ἀξίαν δὲ πρωτονωβελισσίμ[ου].

By rank a protonobelissimos.

Ed.: Online: https://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1958.106.1379/view; Wassiliou-Seibt 2011, 267, No. 573 (without image); Leontiades 2011, 305 – 306, No. 8 (with photo); Jordanov 2006, 256 – 257 (without image).

Further references: PBW Nikephoros 20246.

Comment: The craftsman has put accentuation marks above the words of this metrical inscription (in two twelve-syllable verses). Wassiliou-Seibt has mistakenly included the seal DO BZS.1947.2.1552, also belonging to a Nikephoros but displaying a different inscription, under the entry with No. 573. Wassiliou-Seibt identified this Nikephoros with his namesake who issued the seal presented here above, which is only a speculation because there is no evidence pointing in this direction. It is worth mentioning here that very often Byzantine families had contemporary homonymous members. In Leontiades, the inventory number's last digits have been erroneously given as 1349 instead of the correct 1379.

12) Nikephoros Lachanas (second half of the 12th c.)

a) Hermitage, M-1695 (formerly in the collection of the Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople)

Obverse: Inscription in Greek, in four lines.

Ἡ σφραγὶς αὕτη Λαχανᾶ Νικηφόρου.

This seal of Nikephoros Lachanas.

Reverse: Inscription in Greek, in five lines.

+ Ἐπισφράγισμα καὶ γραφῶν καὶ πρακτέων.

(Is the) Sealing of his writings and acts.

Ed.: Панченко 1908, 147 – 148, № 491 with table VIII.6 (with photo); Wassiliou-Seibt 2011, 355, No. 780 and 383, No. 847 (without image); Laurent 1931, 384, No. 151 (without image); Мушмов 1923, 159 – 160, № 245, with table VII (with photo and drawing).

Further references: PBW Nikephoros 20246; Jordanov 2006, 256.

Comment: Panchenko (followed by Mouchmoff) attempted to identify this Nikephoros as the Bulgarian tsar Ivaylo. Later, Laurent and, finally, Jordanov explained why these two should be regarded as different people. Wassiliou-Seibt included this specimen twice in her catalogue since the legend could be read starting from either side of the disc.

13) Manouel Lachanas (mid-/late 12th c.)

a) Private collection (Shumen, Bulgaria)

Obverse: Saint Theodoros Stratelates, standing, holding spear (r. hand) and shield (l. hand); vertical inscription, in Greek.

Ὁ (ἅγιος) Θεόδωρος ὁ Στρατηλάτης.

Saint Theodoros Stratelates.

Reverse: Inscription in Greek, in five lines.

+ Σὸν Μανουήλ με Λαχαν[ᾶ]ν μάρτυς σκέποις.

Martyr, may you protect me, your (servant) Manouel Lachanas.

Ed.: Wassiliou-Seibt 2016, 400, No. 2228 (without image); Jordanov 2009, 642, No. 1967 (with photo); Jordanov 2006, 257, No. 400 (with photo); Jordanov 2002, 47, No. 41A (with photo).

Further references: PBW Manuel 20146; Jordanov 2010, 34, No. 41a.

Comment: According to Jordanov, the collector found this seal in the area of the Strandzha mountain, which in his opinion perhaps indicates that it came from the fortress by Melnitsa (where dozens of Byzantine seals have been discovered over the last few years). This is of course possible, but given the amount of sites dated in that era in the larger area of the Strandzha, the seal could have originated from another place, too. Moreover, Melnitsa lies in the highly connected Tonzos valley immediately west of the Strandzha mountain. Jordanov raised the question whether Manouel, the seal's owner, is the one who participated in the revolt against Andronikos I (here, No. 16). Wassiliou-Seibt also suggested the possibility that the two namesakes may have been the same person.

b) Unknown present location (sold in the market; fig. 2)

Obverse: As above.

Reverse: As above.

+ Σὸν Μανουήλ με Λαχανᾶν μάρτυς σκέποις.

Ed.: Unpublished. Presented in the N&N (London) Online Auction 13 (February 26, 2023), No. 856: https://www.biddr.com/auctions/nnlondon/browse?a=3288&l=3753892.

Further references: PBW Manuel 20146.

Comment: The auction's editors erroneously read (or typed) the issuer's name as Theodoros Chetames.



Fig. 2. Unknown present location. Seal of Manouel Lachanas – here No. 13b (after N&N (London) Online Auction 13, February 26, 2023, No. 856)

Обр. 2. Неизвестно място на съхранение. Печат на Мануил Лаханас – тук № 13b (по N&N (London) Online Auction 13, 26.02.2023, № 856)

c) IFEB 795
Obverse: As above.
Ὁ (ἅγιος) [Θε]ό[δ]ω[ρ]ος ὁ Στρατ[ηλ]άτης.
Reverse: As above.
+ Σὸν Μανουήλ με Λαχανᾶν μάρτυς σκέποι[ς].
Ed.: Wassiliou-Seibt 2016, 400, No. 2228 (without photo).
Further references: PBW Manuel 20146; Jordanov 2006, 257.
Comment: Jordanov has erroneously given the inventory number as 175. It seems that the disc has been used twice, but nothing is clearly visible from the first strike except traces of a circular border and an additional line.

14) Anonymous (Ioannes?) Lachanas, metropolitan of Crete (third quarter of the 12th c.?)
Source(s): Tsougarakis 1993, 43 (9.3 – 4)
Further references: Roskilly 2017, 40 with note 44, 501; Tsougarakis 1993, 167, note 4.
Comment: As Tsougarakis has convincingly argued, this Lachanas, whose first name is not mentioned in the Life of Leontios, could be identified as Konstantinos, Nikolaos, or Ioannes, three metropolitans of Crete consecutively active after 1142/1145 and until 1172. It is not entirely certain that he was Ioannes, as Roskilly (2017, 467, 501) wrote. Moreover, Roskilly attributed to this metropolitan the PBW number "Ioannes 20550", but in the dictionary itself there is no such identification. Finally, he calculated that Lachanas took the position in Crete before 1176 and kept it until after that year. The dates for Ioannes (regardless whether he was Lachanas or not) and his successor, Manouel Limas, must therefore be re-examined.

15) Theodoros Lachanas, metropolitan of Herakleia (between 1170 and 1178)
Source(s): Ράλλης, Ποτλής 1852, 275 – 276.
Further references: Roskilly 2017, 40, 130, 467; Grumel, Darrouzès 1989, 558, No. 1131a.
Comment: Theodoros Lachanas was elected metropolitan of Herakleia, but he never responded to the call and apparently never really exercised the office.

16) Manouel Lachanas († 1184)
Source(s): Van Dieten 1975, 287, 289. See also: Dölger 1995, 283, No. 1559 (for Andronikos' letter) and Cheynet 1990, 115, No. 157 (with references to other sources describing the events).
Further references: Cheynet 1990, 432 (where instead of Manouel, Lachanas is inadvertently named Leon); Jurewicz 1970, 98, 101.
Comment: Manouel Lachanas was, together with Theodoros Angelos and Leon Synesios, among the opponents of Andronikos I Komnenos, who had recently risen to the throne as a result of Angelos' and Theodoros' Kantakouzenos' revolt in 1183. They defended themselves behind the walls of Prusa (modern-day Bursa), which eventually fell to Andronikos in the summer of 1184. Lachanas and dozens of aristocrats were hanged while the rest of the opposition suffered various other forms of death or other kinds of punishment. Jurewicz points to Andronikos' letter to the disobedient (dated in spring 1184), in which he mocks Synesios and Lachanas in particular. The latter is addressed as a "vegetable-maker".



Fig. 3. RAM – Plovdiv. Seal of Ioannes Lachanas – here No. 17 (Photo: S. Ivanov)
Обр. 3. РАМ – Пловдив. Печат на Йоан Лаханас – тук № 17 (Снимка: С. Иванов)

12th/13th century

17) Ioannes Lachanas (second half of the 12th/early 13th c.)

a) Regional Archaeological Museum – Plovdiv[8] (fig. 3)

Obverse: Bust of the Mother of God, type Episkepsis (orans, with Christ inside medallion before her). To the left there are faint traces of the Greek sigla M̄P (“Mother”), and to the right there should have been the sigla Θ̄V for “of God”, but the surface is flattened, and for this reason the space is empty.

Μ(ήτη)ρ [Θ(εο)ῦ].

Mother of God.

Reverse: Circular inscription, in Greek; at the center, monogram in Greek.

Ἰω[άνν]ην σκ[έποις … Κόρ]η or Ἰω[άνν]ην σκ[έπε … Κόρ]η.

Virgin, protect Ioannes [...].

Λαχανᾶν or Λαχανᾶ.

Lachanas.

Ed.: Unpublished.

Comment: In Spring 2022, during rescue excavations at the site on 9 Artin Gidikov Str., at the center of Plovdiv (Byzantine Philippopolis; Божинова, Иванов (под печат)), two lead seal discs were found, one used and one unused.[9] The used disc, with Field Inventory Number (FIN) 135, is published here for the first time. Unfortunately, this seal was removed from the site without authorization and was only later delivered to archaeologists, so the exact find-spot and context are unknown. Moreover, the person(s) who removed it tried to clean it, thus damaging parts of the disc and especially the letters’ imprint. Both pieces are currently in the collection of the Regional Archaeological Museum – Plovdiv.

The site where the discs were found is located outside the medieval city walls, approximately 100 meters to the southwest of the church of Saint George. This church is mentioned for the first time in 1147 (modern-day Armenian church Surp Kevork).[10] Recent archaeological research in the

[8] The author is deeply grateful to Elena Bozhinova and especially to Kamen Stanev for permission to publish the specimen from the excavations in Plovdiv, as well as for providing valuable information on the site and its surroundings.

[9] The unused one, a blank with Field Inventory Number (FIN) 31, was discovered in a pit (named P307) together with pottery dated in the late 12th and early 13th c.

[10] See the map in Божинова, Станев 2018, 167. The site under discussion is located immediately to the right of the dot indicating the neighboring site, excavated at 65 Boris III Blvd., that gave finds dated in the 11th – 13th c.

area shows intense residential activity in the 12th – 13th c. (see an overview in Станев 2021, 150 – 151, № 34 – 39). As for the site excavated on 9 Artin Gidikov Str., numismatic evidence spans from the late 11th to the late 14th c., and fragments of wall-paintings suggest that there used to be a church/chapel or rich house here.

The seal consists of a medium-sized disc (total diameter: 22 mm; thickness: 2.5 mm; weight: 6.86 gr). Both sides of the disc are partly flattened. This could have happened because of an error during the strike when the seal was originally used or, less likely, later because of the disc's poor quality, which allowed a piece of it to fall off. The fact that both the obverse and the reverse have similar flat surfaces means that it must have been a bad strike or perhaps an imperfection in the boulloterion. On both sides' flattened areas there are scratches from some sharp-pointed object, which seem to have been made accidentally at an indeterminate time. Moreover, as hinted above, the person(s) who tried to clean the disc's surface caused irreversible damage to some of the letters. As a result, the thinner or weakly stamped lines have been distorted or have almost disappeared.

On the reverse side of the seal are faint traces of a border of dots and a circular inscription inside it, starting to the right of a cross. A large part of it is lost because of damage to the disc. The first visible letter seems to be an *iota* (I) or, less likely, a *tau* (T) followed by an *omega* (Ω). Then there are three letters not clearly visible and followed by an *eta* (H). This sequence matches the name IΩ[ANN]H. The next letters seem to be a damaged *nu* (N) (the middle hasta is no longer visible) followed by a *sigma* (C) and a vertical line that might have been the left hasta of a *kappa* (K). In this way, the inscription appears to be a metrical one in Greek: IΩ[ANN]HN CK[ЄΠOIC ...] or, in a more rare formula, IΩ[ANN]HN CK[ЄΠЄ ...]. The last letter of the inscription just before the cross looks like a broken *eta* (H). A possible solution is that this is the ending of the word [KOP]H, referring to the Mother of God portrayed on the obverse.

At the center is a monogram consisting of at least six visible letters: A, X, V, Ω, N, Λ, and perhaps a C in the pointed shape of <. It is possible that the monogram denotes the issuer's family name. It is of course neither certain nor necessary that all the recognizable letters should be used. In this respect, the most likely solution would be to use four letters and form the well-known family name Lachanas – Λαχανᾶς (here as Λαχανᾶν or perhaps but less likely Λαχανᾶ). The peculiar shape of some of the letters, such as the *alpha* (A) included in the monogram and the *iota* (I), together with the overall structure of the seal, point to a date in the second half of the 12th or even in the early 13th c. This date coincides with the attestation of other people having the name Lachanas, but if the solution of the monogram proposed here is correct, so far this is the first person with this name known from a seal with the name appearing in the form of a monogram. Since there are no titles or offices mentioned (and there is not enough space for this in the damaged part of the circular inscription), this was probably Ioannes' private seal. It is possible that this Ioannes Lachanas is identical to the homonym whose seal was also found in Plovdiv (here, No. 9c. See also the commentary above).

18) Anonymous Lachanas (late 13th c.?)

Source(s): Delehaye 1921, 132 (47).

Further references: PLP No. 14605.

Comment: This Lachanas was a landowner at Lopadion (modern Uluabat, near Bursa); his estate is described in the typikon of the Lips monastery. Empress Theodora gave this property to the monastery probably towards the end of the 13th c. because the typikon is dated ca. 1294 – 1301. Whether Lachanas was a low- or middle-class landowner or a member of aristocracy who owned property at Lopadion (as well as elsewhere?) cannot be said for certain.

19) Anonymous Lachanas (end of the 13th c.)

Source(s): Успенский, Бенешевич 1927, 74, № 106 (line 249).

Further references: Bryer, Winfield 1985, 295, No. 38.

Comment: The document mentions the monastery of Theotokos of Lachanas (ἡ μονὴ ἡ Θεοτόκος τοῦ Λαχανᾶ). This can be interpreted in two ways: a) either the monastery was established by a person called Lachanas, or b) the monastery was established by some unknown person at a location called Λαχανᾶς or, alternatively, (σ)τοῦ Λαχανᾶ and was eventually named after this location.

20) Anonymous Lachanas (end of the 13th c.)

Source(s): Успенский, Бенешевич 1927, 65, № 105 (line 13).

Comment: This Lachanas was probably related to the person after whom a(nother?) location was named (see here, No. 19). The text goes: εἰς τοῦ Λαχανᾶ.

14th century

21) Athanasios Lachanas (1325)

Source(s): Lefort et al. 2001, 359: 64.159 – 160.

Further references: PLP No. 14607.

Comment: He is listed among the many small beneficiaries of the testament of Theodoros Sarantenos (he received one cow and four hyperpera). His social status is not described and cannot be determined with certainty. He must have been a resident of the area around Veroia.

15th century

22) Anonymous Palaiologos Lachanas (first quarter of the 15th c.)

Source(s): Grecu 1958, 231 (28.2).

Further references: Barker 1969, 360 with note 108; Dölger 1965, 108, No. 3391.

Comment: Palaiologos Lachanas is mentioned together with Markos Iagaris[11] as a Byzantine ambassador to the sultan Murad II in late spring or early summer (possibly the 8th of June) of the year 1422 (στέλλει πρὸς τὸν Μωράτ ἀπροκρισιαρίους Παλαιολόγον τὸν Λαχανᾶν καὶ Μάρκον Ἰάγαριν, ἄνδρας εὐγενεῖς καὶ συνετούς). A previous embassy had been dispatched in April of that same year. Barker has commented on the number of embassies and the information of the respective sources.

This person, whose baptismal name is not mentioned, had two family names, Palaiologos and Lachanas. This was a common practice among Byzantine aristocrats of his time, indicating that one of his ancestors (most probably one of his parents) came from the Palaiologoi. His co-ambassador Markos (see above) is also mentioned in other sources with two family names: Iagaris Palaiologos. This can only mean that the emperor sent to Murad two trusted and skillful relatives (who were unable to fulfill their mission due to the sultan's temper and plans).

[11] The name Iagaris is the Greek variant of a foreign name or word. There are several solutions: Old English *Jager/Jaggar*; Germanic *Săger* or its Slavic version *Žagar*; or the (Ottoman) Turkic *zağar*; or even *Gagarin* (see below). He was already serving as an ambassador before his mission to Murad. See, for example, a document from the year 1117 in Σάθας 1880, 90, No. 62 (Chirmarcum Paleologum Jagari) and other documents in the same volume. On his career see also: PLP No. 7811; Guilland 1949, 174 – 175 (with some mistakes in the dates), as well as Klostermann 1977, where the author suggests a connection to the Russian name Gagarin.

23) Anonymous Laschares Lachanas (1409)

Source(s): Laurent 1972, 163 (44 – 51, 79), 164 (89, 115).

Further references: PLP No. 14613; Darrouzès 1979, 500 – 504, No. 3284; Laurent 1972, 54.

Comment: This anonymous person was sent by the emperor Manouel II Palaiologos to meet Makarios, metropolitan of Ankara, and ask him to either appear before the forthcoming ecclesiastical council in Constantinople or settle his issues with the patriarch in writing. The text mentions his title as archon (ἄρχων), which implies that he was either a high official or a confident of the emperor. In either case he was an important political figure.

His name consists of two family names: Lachanas and Lascharis, the latter probably being a misspelling of Laskaris (although it is attested like this throughout the document). This is not surprising, for we know of several members of the Laskarids who bore a second family name such as Angelos, Bryennios, Doukas, Metochites, Palaiologos, Philanthropenos, etc. It seems that the early 15th c. Lachanades had ties with both the Palaiologoi (see here, No. 22) and the Laskarids.

24) Anagnostes Lachanas (ca. late 14th/first half of the 15th c.?)

Source(s): Νικολόπουλος 1998, 191, No. 4: Saint Catherine at Sinai monastery, NE gr. 4, colophon.

Further references: see below, No. 25.

Comment: Father of Matthaios (here, No. 25). Anagnostes seems to be a personal name in this note, although it could well be an occupation, too ("one who reads aloud" in an ecclesiastic context). The name certainly derived from the occupation (either of this person or one of his ancestors).

25) Matthaios Lachanas, amonachos, scribe (1464, 1480)

Source(s): 1) Νικολόπουλος 1998, 191, No. 4: Saint Catherine at Sinai monastery, NE gr. 4, colophon (here, fig. 4); 2) Kamil 1970, 108, No. 1215 = Vogel, Gardthausen 1909, 258, 295: Saint Catherine at Sinai monastery, ms. gr. 908 (Gardthausen)/1215 (Kamil); 3) Vogel, Gardthausen 1909, 295 = Λάμπρος 1900, 238, No. 5044: Iberon monastery ms. gr. 924.

Further references: PLP Nos. 14606, 14614; 1) Ghent University, Online Database of Byzantine Book Epigrams: https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/persons/1633 and https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/manuscripts/16181; Diktyon (Pinakes) 61194: https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr//notices/cote/61194/.

Comment: Matthaios was the scribe of at least three known manuscripts. One contained the Θεία λειτουργία τῶν προηγιασμένων (Presanctified Liturgy) that he completed in January 1464 according to the colophon: Ἐγράφει... διὰ χειρὸς κἀμοῦ Ματθαίου ἀμονάχου τλήμονος καὶ εὐτελοῦς, υἱὸς δὲ ὑπάρχω Ἀναγνώστου, τοῦ Λαχανᾶ ἐπίκλιον ἔχω ἐγὼ ὁ τάλας... (fig. 4). Matthaios was the son of Anagnostes (here, No. 24). He refers to himself as ἀμόναχος (one who is not a "true" or fully initiated monk), εὐτελής (insignificant man), τάλας (miserable), and τλήμων (long-suffering). In a second manuscript also from the Sinai library that contains a menologion and is dated broadly to the 15th c., he signed as Λαχανᾶς ὁ τάλας (as given by Vogel and Gardthausen). In a third manuscript containing a psalterion, Matthaios Lachanas provides additional information about his life: Ἐγράφη ἐν Σινὰ τῷ ὄρη τῷ ἁγίῳ. Γραφὴ πέφυκεν ἡ βίβλος Ματθαίου ἀμονάχου τάχα καὶ θύτου. Χριστὸν σέβοντος πλὴν ἀσέμνου τὸν βίον… Ματθαῖος ἐγὼ ὁ τλήμων ὁ Λαχανὰς ἐπίκλιον ἔχων ἐγὼ ὁ τάλας. According to Lambros, the date written at the end is June 1480 while Vogel and Gardthausen prefer June 1408. If one considers the distance between these two dates and the certain date 1464, 1480 seems more plausible (otherwise, Matthaios would have been active for quite a long time, which is possible but less likely). The new information on his life, aside from the years of his engagement with copying and/or writing, is that he resided at Sinai and was a θύτης

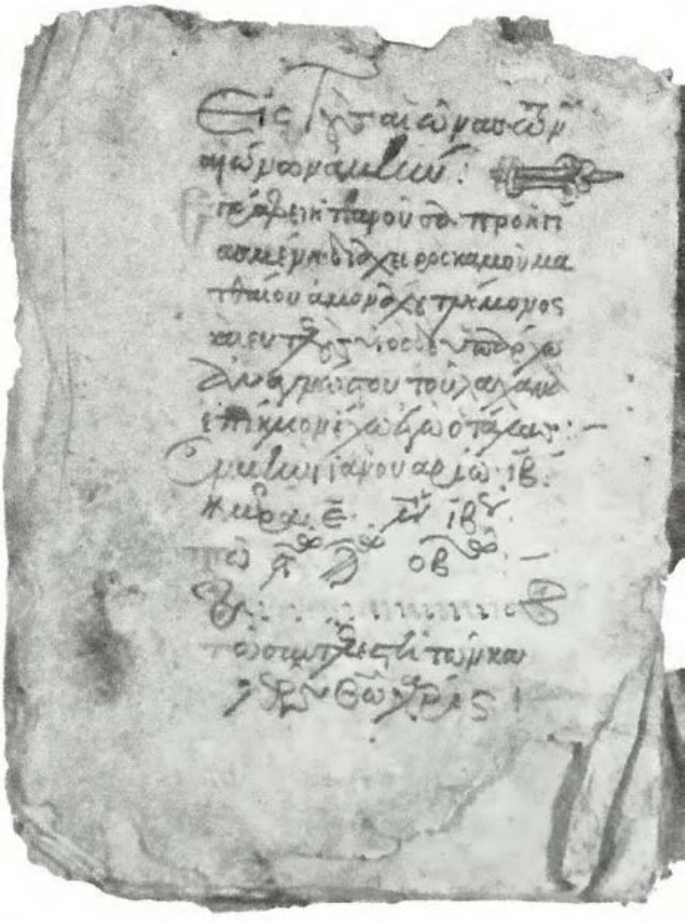


Fig. 4. Saint Catherine at Sinai Monastery, ms. NE gr. 4, colophon, written by Matthaios Lachanas in 1464 – here No. 25 (after Νικολόπουλος 1998, πιν. 155)

Обр. 4. Синайски манастир „Света Екатерина", NE gr. 4, колофон, написан от Матей Лаханас през 1464 г. – тук № 25 (по Νικολόπουλος 1998, πιν. 155)

(priest).[12] It is unknown whether Matthaios ever visited the Iberon monastery on Mount Athos or had anything to do with it in general, or if the manuscript produced at Sinai(?) ended up in the Athonite monastery's library for another reason.

Part II
(Paroikoi, workers and servants related to monasteries)

Lemnos island

26) Theodoros Lachanas (first third of the 14th c.)

Source(s): Βρανούση 1980, 174 ff. (appendix Γ), esp. 176, lines 16 and 19.

Further references: PLP No. 14611.

Comment: Theodoros Lachanas, as well as his son-in-law, were paroikoi on the island of Lemnos and subject to the Patmos monastery. Their names are mentioned in a list of paroikoi included in a (probably falsified) chrysoboullos logos of the year 1331 and in relation to the renewal of the monastery's rights to land and paroikoi on Lemnos, Leros and Kos.

[12] On certain occasions, the word *thytes* means the bishop or metropolitan, but it seems that this is not the case here.

Melintziane (Lower Strymon area)

27) Zoe Lachano, paroikos (1301)
Source(s): Lefort et al. 1994, 158: 70.24.
Further references: PLP No. 14621.
Comment: The Daughter of Ioannes Tzekon is called a widow, apparently of a deceased Lachanas (here, No. 28). Mother of Stanna, Draganos and Basileios (here, Nos. 29 – 31).

28) Anonymous Lachanas (late 13th c.? prior to the document dated in 1301)
Comment: Deceased husband of Zoe (here, No. 27), father of Stanna, Draganos and Basileios (here, Nos. 29 – 31).

29) Stanna Lachano (1301)
Source(s): Lefort et al. 1994, 158: 70.24.
Comment: Daughter of the anonymous Lachanas (here, No. 28) and Zoe Lachano (here, No. 27).

30) Draganos Lachanas (1301)
Source(s): Lefort et al. 1994, 158: 70.24.
Comment: Son of the anonymous Lachanas (here, No. 28) and Zoe Lachano (here, No. 27).

31) Basileios Lachanas, paroikos (1301, 1318, 1320)
Source(s): Lefort et al. 1994, 158: 70.24, 217: 75.42, 263: 79.37 – 38.
Further references: PLP No. 14608.
Comment: Son of the anonymous Lachanas (here, No. 28) and Zoe Lachano (here, No. 27). Husband of Eirene (here, No. 32) and father of Eirene, Georgios and Theodoros (here, Nos. 33 – 35).

32) Eirene Lachano (1318)
Source(s): Lefort et al. 1994, 217: 75.42.
Comment: Wife of Basileios (here, No. 31), mother of Eirene, Georgios and Theodoros (here, Nos. 33 – 35).

33) Eirene Lachano (1320)
Source(s): Lefort et al. 1994, 263: 79.38.
Comment: Daughter of Basileios and Eirene (here, Nos. 31 – 32).

34) Georgios Lachanas (1318, 1320)
Source(s): Lefort et al. 1994, 217: 75.42, 263: 79.38.
Comment: Son of Basileios and Eirene (here, Nos. 31 – 32).

35) Theodoros Lachanas (1318, 1320)
Source(s): Lefort et al. 1994, 217: 75.42, 263: 79.38.
Comment: Son of Basileios and Eirene (here, Nos. 31 – 32).

36) Anonymous Lachano (1318, 1320)
Source(s): Lefort et al. 1994, 217: 75.41, 263: 79.37.

Comment: Widow of the anonymous Lachanas (here, No. 37) and mother of Demetrios and Georgios (here, Nos. 38 – 39).

37) Anonymous Lachanas (early 14th c.)

Comment: Deceased husband of the anonymous Lachano (here, No. 36). Father of Demetrios and Georgios (here, Nos. 38 – 39). He is not explicitly mentioned in the documents, but since Lachano bears his (family) name, he should have been a Lachanas, too.

38) Demetrios Lachanas (1318, 1320)

Source(s): Lefort et al. 1994, 217: 75.41, 263: 79.37.

Comment: Son of the anonymous Lachanas and Lachano (here, Nos. 36 – 37).

39) Georgios Lachanas (1318, 1320)

Source(s): Lefort et al. 1994, 217: 75.41, 263: 79.37.

Comment: Son of the anonymous Lachanas and Lachano (here, Nos. 36 – 37).

40) Anonymous Lachanas (1341)

Source(s): Lefort et al. 1995, 60: 86.27.

Comment: Father of Kale (here, No. 41), who was married to a certain Velkonas, and Eudokia (here, No. 42).

41) Kale Lachano (?; 1341)

Source(s): Lefort et al. 1995, 60: 86.27.

Comment: She is called a daughter of Lachanas (here, No. 40). Therefore, it is unknown whether her family name was Lachano, Lachanina, or another derivative.

42) Eudokia Lachano (?; 1341)

Source(s): Lefort et al. 1995, 60: 86.27.

Comment: She is mentioned as sister of Kale (here, No. 41). Therefore, it is not known whether her family name was Lachano, Lachanina or another derivative.

43) Anonymous Lachanas (1341)

Source(s): Lefort et al. 1995, 61: 86.48 – 49.

Comment: His property neighbored the one described in the document. He could be identified with any of the aforementioned Lachanades at Melintziani.

Radolibos

44) Maria Lachanina (1316)

Source(s): Lefort et al. 1994, 204: 79.224.

Further references: PLP No. 14619.

Comment: Mother of Bezanos (here, No. 45). Lachanina is another form, apart from Lachano, of the female name Lachanas.

45) Bezanos Lachanas (1316)

Source(s): Lefort et al. 1994, 204: 79.224.

Comment: Son of Maria Lachanina (here, No. 44). His family name is assumed to be Lachanas since his mother was a Lachanina.

46) Michael Lachanas (1341)
Source(s): Lefort et al. 1995, 92: 87.188.
Further references: PLP No. 14615.
Comment: Husband of Maria (here, No. 46bis). Father of Georgios and Konstantinos (here, Nos. 47 – 48).

46bis) Maria Lachana (?; 1341)
Source(s): As above.
Comment: It is uncertain whether she kept her paternal family name or adopted that of her husband, Michael Lachanas (here, No. 46).

47) Georgios Lachanas (1341)
Source(s): Lefort et al. 1995, 92: 87.188.
Comment: Son of Michael and Maria (here, No. 46).

48) Konstantinos Lachanas (1341)
Source(s): Lefort et al. 1995, 92: 87.188.
Comment: Son of Michael and Maria (here, No. 46).

Hermeleia (Chalkidike)

49) Anonymous Lachano (1322 – 23, 1325, 1331)
Source(s): Papachryssanthou 1986, 161: 19.62, 168: 21.27; Lefort et al. 2006, 81: 77.7 – 8, 18.
Further references: PLP No. 92518.
Comment: Most likely the Lachano mentioned in these documents is the same person.

Pinson (Kalamaria)

50) Demetrios Lachanas (1409)
Source(s): Lemerle et al. 1979, 158: 161.32.
Further references: PLP No. 14610.

Stomion (Kalamaria)

51) Ioannes Lachanas ho Anatolikos (1300)
Source(s): Papachryssanthou 1986, 86: 4.6, 92: 5.5.
Further references: PLP No. 14612.
Comment: Ἰωάννης Λαχανᾶς ὁ Ἀνατολικὸς was husband of Maria (here, No. 52) and father of Kale and Panagiotes (here, Nos. 53 – 54). It seems that Lachanas was the family name and Anatolikos a nickname and not vice versa. Perhaps this person had migrated there from a region to the East of his new residence or he came from the area that once included the thema of the Anatolikoi and people originating from there were still (in the 13th c.) named Anatolikos (also used as a family name, apparently for the same reason).

52) Maria Lachana (1300)

Source(s): Papachryssanthou 1986, 86: 4.6, 92: 5.5.

Comment: Wife of Ioannes (here, No. 50), mother of Kale and Panagiotes (here, Nos. 52 – 53).

53) Kale Lachana (1300, 1318, 1320, before 1338)

Source(s): Papachryssanthou 1986, 86: 4.6, 92: 5.5, 122: 12.7, 129: 13.11 – 12, 232: Appendix II.5.

Comment: Daughter of Ioannes and Maria (here, Nos. 51 – 52), wife of a certain Georgios. The document published as Appendix II was composed between 1320 and 1338 and includes the names of Kale, Panagiotes, and his wife Maria (here, No. 54).

54) Panagiotes Lachanas (1300, 1318, 1320, before 1338)

Source(s): Papachryssanthou 1986, 92: 5.5, 122: 12.6, 129: 13.10, 232: Appendix II.5.

Further references: PLP No. 14616.

Comment: Son of Ioannes and Maria (here, Nos. 51 – 52), husband of Maria (here, No. 54bis).

54bis) Maria Lachana? (1320, before 1338)

Source(s): Papachryssanthou 1986, 129: 13.10 – 11, 232: Appendix II.5.

Comment: Wife of Panagiotes Lachanas (here, No. 54). We do not know her paternal family name, but after her wedding, she would have probably (though not necessarily) adopted the name Lachanas.

55) Kale Komana (1338)

Source(s): Papachryssanthou 1986, 189: 25.7.

Comment: She is mentioned as widow of a Lachanas (here, No. 56): Καλὴ Κομάνα ἡ τοῦ Λαχανᾶ. Mother of Anna (here, No. 57).

56) anonymous Lachanas (before 1338)

Source(s): Papachryssanthou 1986, 189: 25.7.

Further reference: PLP No. 14604.

Comment: Husband of Kale Komana (here, No. 55), father of Anna (here, No. 57).

57) Anna Lachana (1338)

Source(s): Papachryssanthou 1986, 189: 25.7.

Comment: Daughter of Lachanas and Kale Komana (here, Nos. 55 – 56).

Abbreviations/Съкращения

DO: Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

ODB: A. Kazhdan (ed.). The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium. New York – Oxford, 1991.

PBW: M. Jeffreys et al. № 2016 (King's College London, 2017) available at http://pbw2016.kdl.kcl.ac.uk.

PLP: E. Trapp et al. Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit. Wien, 1976 – 1995.

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ПРИНОС КЪМ ВИЗАНТИЙСКАТА ПРОСОПОГРАФИЯ. 3. ФАМИЛИЯТА ЛАХАНАС

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РЕЗЮМЕ

Настоящата студия е посветена на лицата, носещи византийското фамилно име Лаханас, познати от историческите извори и по сфрагистични данни с дейността си основно на Балканите, в Мала Азия и Егейските острови от XI до XV в.

Текстът представя първо обзор на името Лаханас с коментари върху неговия произход и варианти. Той е последван от коментар за известните носители на името, възможните връзки между тях и предполагаемото им място във византийското общество. Тъй като оловните печати с името Лаханас и известно местонамиране са оскъдни (налична е конкретна информация за едва 2 от показаните тук 22 печата), специално внимание е обърнато на екземпляр с това име, намерен в Пловдив, и публикуван тук за първи път (№ 17), както и възможната му връзка с друг, за който се предполага, че е от същия град (№ 9c). След това е предложен каталог на лицата, носещи фамилно име Лаханас, в две части. Първата част включва независими лица от различни житейски сфери със сигурен или предполагаем сравнително издигнат социален статут; втората – социално зависими индивиди като дребни земевладелци, парики, служители и други подобни лица, обвързани с даден манастир.

Гръцкото име Λαχανᾶς, означаващо „зеленчукопроизводител/продавец", е съставено от съществителното име λάχανον („зеле", „маруля", но и общо наименование за листни и други зеленчуци) и завършека -ᾶς, който показва професия, занимание. Подобно фамилно име във Византия е Μαρούλης. Както е отбелязвано в множество изследвания, фамилните имена във Византия са се развивали дълго след Късната античност (за появата и развитието на византийските фамилни имена вж. цитираната литература в Charalampakis 2018, 53, note 6).

Тъй като името Лаханас е могло да бъде получено от всеки, навсякъде във или извън Империята, и дори да бъде използвано като прякор (както е например случаят с Ивайло Лаханас/Бърдоква), слабо вероятно е всички индивиди, носещи такава фамилия, да са принадлежали към едно и също семейство. По-сигурни са данните за лицата, издавали печати в периода XI – XIII в., както и тези за по-известните личности от по-късните векове. При всички положения е трудно, дори невъзможно, да се установи връзка между тези Лаханас и обитателите на селата, зависими от атонските манастири, познати по официални документи: наемането/заниманието на дадена личност като зеленчукопроизводител трябва да е било по-често срещано в земеделските територии и популярността на името в такива райони е очаквано явление. От друга страна същите официални документи разкриват сред списъците от парики и имена, носени от прочути аристократични фамилии. В този смисъл тук е по-коректно да се говори за просопографско изследване на лицата, носещи това фамилно име, отколкото за изследване върху едно семейство. Въпреки това за някои от носителите на името Лаханас са регистрирани общи елементи, които биха могли да покажат, че лицата наистина имат роднинска връзка.

Според А. Каждан и С. Ронки, семейство Лаханас не притежават титли или високи служебни длъжности нито в цивилната, нито в църковната администрация и по тази причина членовете на фамилията не могат да се причислят към (византийската) аристокрация (Kazhdan, Ronchey 1999, 246). Вярно е, че са ни известни само три лица-носители на почетни титли, които по онова време не са били така значими, както в по-ранните векове: един Лаханас, който е императорски протоспатарий (№ 1), един протоновелисим (№ 11), и друг, който е ипат и антиграф (№ 2; Kazhdan, Ronchey 1999, 298, 366, No. 49). Броят на издигнатите в обществото Лаханас всъщност е много по-голям от досега приетото: един от тях е бил митрополит на Крит (№ 14), а друг е бил избран за митрополит на Херак-

лея Понтика (№ 15); друг пък е бил в роднинска връзка с Палеолозите и е станал посланик (№ 21), а един представител е бил свързан с Ласакаридите и е служил като императорски пратеник (№ 22). Вероятно по-малко изтъкнат, но все пак значим, е бил един Лаханас, който е платил за построяването на църква и следователно едва ли е бил от простолюдието (№ 19), протокентарх (№ 4) и граматик на Завариона (№ 6). Изглежда, че всички те са били по някакъв начин свързани, и че различни клонове на семейството са били разпръснати из Империята, както се е случвало и с най-изтъкнатите византийски домове.

Носителите на фамилията Лаханас се появяват във втората половина на XI в., по време, когато много други семейства са засвидетелствани за пръв път и се издигат във византийското общество. Важен факт е, че различни представители на семейство Лаханас се появяват именно по това време и са изключително активни през втората половина на XII в., и после отново през XV в., което едва ли е съвпадение. Освен това, с изключение на един представител, който използва фигурата на Св. Йоан Предтеча върху печатите си (№ 2), и друг, който използва Св. Теодор Стратилат (№ 13), останалите (пет) индивида, чиито булотириони са познати на науката, използват фигурата на Богородица (№ 1, 3, 8, 9, 17). Вероятно тя е била покровителка на семейство Лаханас, но при липсата на други данни за булотириони това засега остава хипотеза. Друга връзка между отделните представители е употребата на конкретни лични имена: в първата част на каталога преобладаващите имена са Йоан (7 пъти), Никифор (3 пъти), Мануил (2 пъти), Теодор (2 пъти) и Георги (2 пъти). Дори да допуснем, че някои от Йоановците са едно и също лице, броят им все пак е висок, а и е добре известно, че византийските фамилии имат предпочитания към конкретни имена.

Горепосочените примери са достатъчни да покажат, че: 1) поне някои от лицата с това име са свързани, макар точната роднинска връзка да не може да се посочи на този етап; 2) семейство Лаханас не е незначително, напротив: задълбоченото му изследване показва, че поне част от членовете му имат връзка с византийския елит. Допустимо е, че дадено (всяко?) семейство може да има членове, които се издигат до горните слоеве на византийското общество и установяват редица връзки както с аристокрацията (посредством сродяване, кариера?), така и с обикновени граждани. Както Ж.-К. Шейне отбелязва, самите фамилни имена отразяват произхода, който понякога е свързан със скромни професии, и все пак отделни индивиди успяват да изкачат социалната стълбица (Cheynet 2009, 96).

Освен гореспоменатите лица, сравнително голям брой хора с фамилно име Лаханас изрично са определени в изворите като парики или като дребни земевладелци. Те са познати основно от манастирски документи и обитават различни места в Македония, попадащи в съвременна Гърция, и на о. Лемнос. Един въпрос, който до момента не е намерил задоволително обяснение в научната литература, е дали париките са свързани с едноименни семейства от средната и горната средна класа. Отправна точка за този проблем е голямото присъствие на парики с фамилни имена, съвпадащи с тези на добре известни аристократични семейства, чиито членове, изтъкнати или не, не биха могли да се озоват в ролята на парики в манастир в Южна Македония. Възможно е известните фамилии да са имали много клонове и някои от далечните роднини на основния клон са били разпръснати из Империята и не са били в позиция да притежават богатство и престиж.

Друг проблем, свързан с това изследване, е наличието на едноименни лица. Каталогът съдържа разпространени и популярни имена, което прави разпознаването на отделните индивиди по-трудно. Това съдържа риск от погрешното отнасяне на печат или печати към лица, които нямат общо помежду си. От друга страна, ако приемем всеки отделен паметник за принадлежащ на отделен индивид, това може да доведе до дълъг списък лица, които могат да са един и същ човек.

Добър пример за омоними, които биха могли да са едно и също лице, се вижда от двата оловни печата от Пловдив (Филипопол). Единият от тях, открит наскоро, е публикуван тук за първи път (№ 17). Той е отсечен във втората половина на XII в. или може би в началото на XIII в. от Йоан Лаханас и показва Богородица на аверса и монограм с кръгов гръцки надпис на реверса. Другият екземпляр, издаден от омоним, който също показва Богородица и датира около средата или по-скоро втората половина на XII в., е вероятно открит в същия град преди няколко десетилетия (№ 9c). Тези лица са дадени като отделни записи в каталога. Въпреки колебанието в тяхната идентификация, има някои прилики:

личното и фамилното име; приблизителната дата; представянето на Богородица; местонамирането (?); подобни формули и думи, използвани в надписа: Μήτηρ Θεοῦ ἡ Κυριώτισσα. Σκέποις Λαχανᾶν Ἰωάννην Παρθένε vs Μήτηρ Θεοῦ. Λαχανᾶν Ἰωάννην σκέποις (или σκέπε) […] Κόρη. Не е невъзможно един и същ Йоан да е издал печатите и да е кореспондирал с лице или лица във Филипопол. Фактът, че нито един от печатите не показва служба или титла, би могло да значи, че Йоан не е притежавал такива, или пък, че печатите са отсечени от неговия частен (а не официален) булотирион. Колкото до употребата на монограм върху един от двата печата, не е невъзможно за едно лице да използва и двете форми в булотириите си, особено през втората половина на XII и първата половина на XIII в., когато монограмите са популярни и често срещани.

Двата екземпляра с името Йоан не са единствените печати на Лаханас, откривани в съвременна България: за печат на Мануил Лаханас (№ 13b) се счита, че е бил открит в Странджа (според Jordanov 2006, 257 – Мелница?). Макар и с несигурно местонамиране, за настоящото изследване е важно, че трети печат на Лаханас е открит в България, и особено в района на Адрианопол. Това не е изненадващо, имайки предвид, че много печати, издадени от отделни византийски фамилии с евентуални лични връзки, интереси или професионални мотиви, свързани с определени ареали, са откривани на различни места в днешна България (вж. записите в Jordanov 2006 и 2009, както и коментара в Cheynet 2008). Районите на Филипопол и Адрианопол (или може би долината на Тунджа западно от Странджа) са били сред територииите, разпределяни между по-важните византийски фамилии през XI – XII в., което може да означава, че семейство Лаханас също е получило такива земи от императора.

Тази студия добавя още едно име към познатите ни византийски фамилии, добили известност в изворите около XI в. и издигнали се в йерархията. Въпреки факта, че в повечето случаи родството на отделните Лаханас не може да бъде потвърдено (с изключение на париките, където документите недвусмислено определят техните роднински връзки), това изследване може да послужи и спомогне за бъдещи подобни търсения върху просопографията и социалната история на Византия.

Ключови думи: византийска просопография, Лаханас, оловни печати, обществена история

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;

[1] This paper is connected with the FIAS-FP project of Iryna Teslenko and PAUSE Programme project of Aleksandr Musin and was supported by the European Commission, Marie-Skłodowska-Curie Actions – COFUND Programme.

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 2021a; 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 2018a, 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 2018a, 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 2021a, 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.

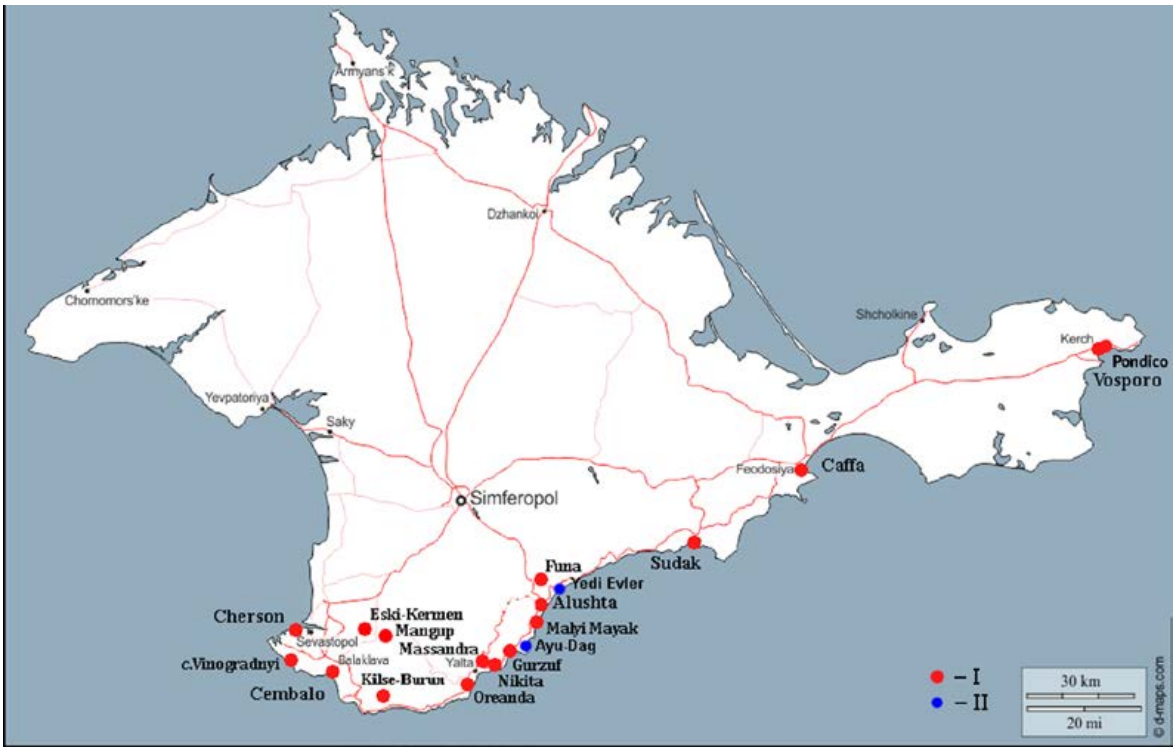


Fig. 2. Crimea, location of late 13th – 14th and 15th c. cemeteries mentioned in the paper: I. Cemeteries with burials accompanied by ceramic vessels; II. Other burial grounds (Authors: I. Teslenko, A. Musin)

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, Хайреди нова 2011, 423 – 426; Айбабин, Хайреди нова 2018б, 19 – 22; Хайреди нова 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, Хайреди нова 2008, 45 – 70, рис. 27, рис. 30, рис. 32 – 34; Хайреди нова

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 ἐφίημι) 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 2014а, 250). This means that the catastrophe could hardly have happened earlier.

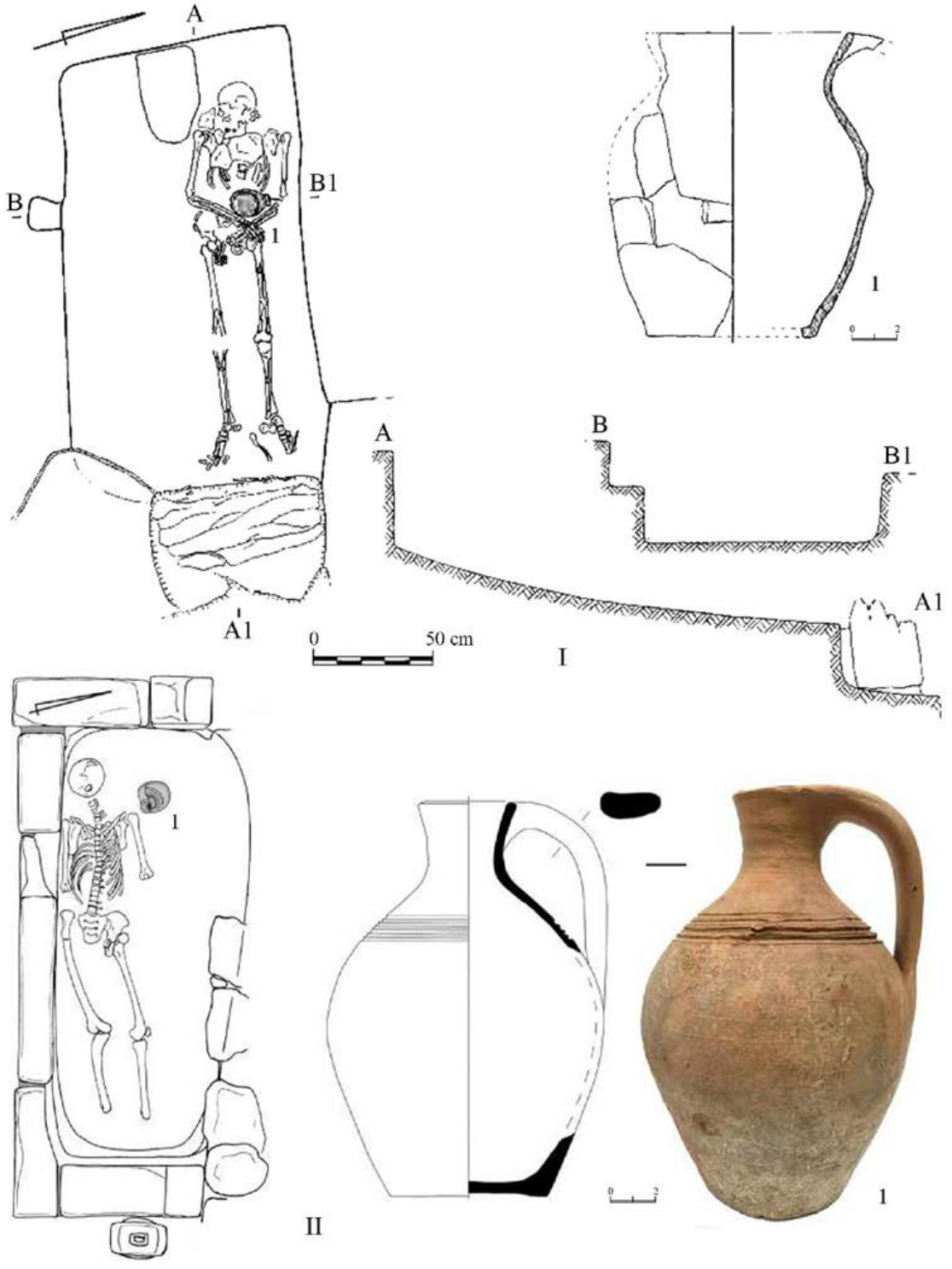


Fig. 3. Southwestern Crimea, Eski-Kermen, burials of the 10th (I) and the 13th c. (II) with ceramic vessels: I. Small chapel in quarter I, burial of a woman with an infant set into a grape press, 10th c., excavations in 2007 – 2008; II. Single-nave church in quarter II, tomb No. 6/2019 in the narthex,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

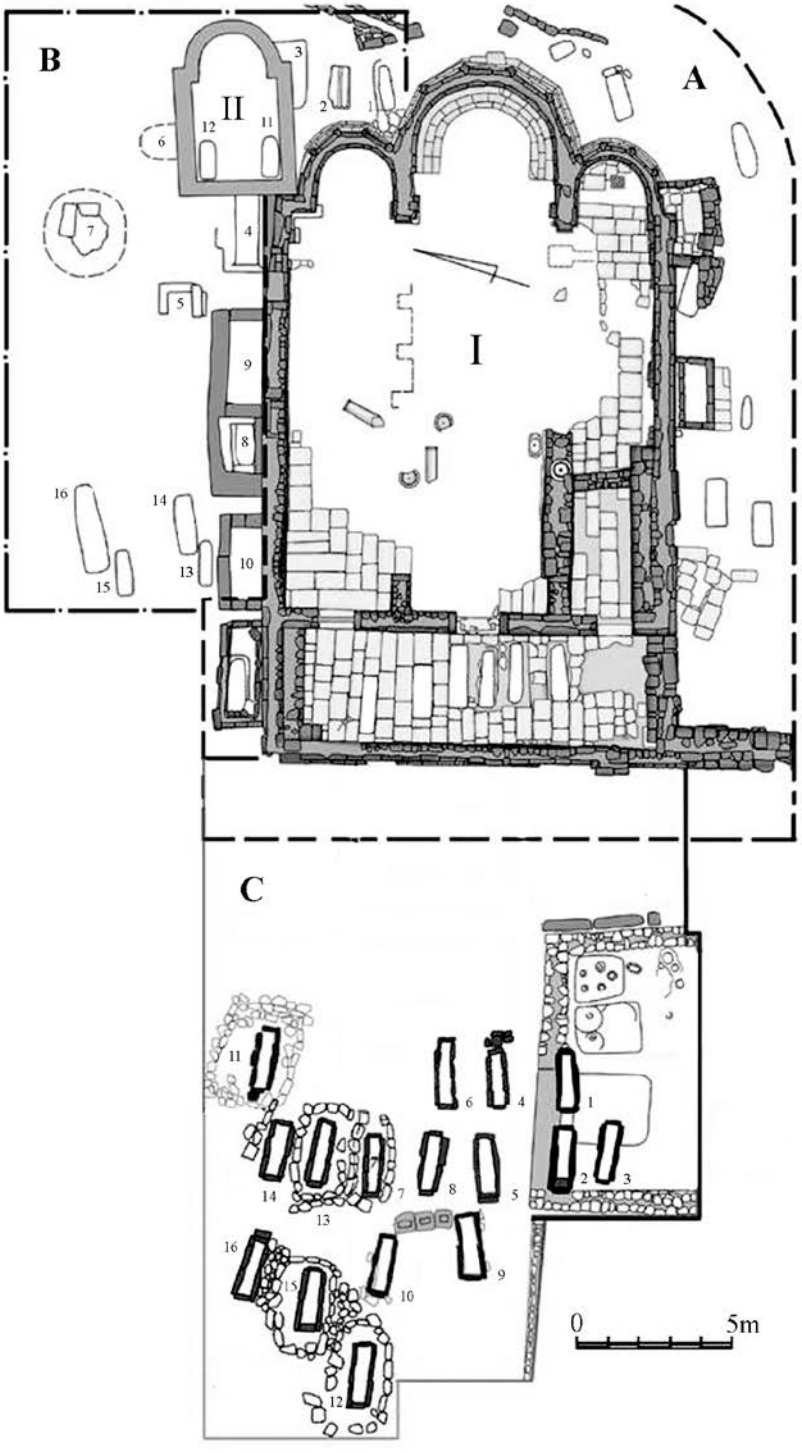


Fig. 4. Southwestern Crimea, Eski-Kermen, small chapel and necropolis of the 14th c. in the ruins of the large central basilica of the 6th – 13th c.: A. Excavations in 1930; B. Excavations in 1979 – 1981: 1 – 16. Funeral structures of the 13th and 14th c.; C. Excavations in 2018 – 2022: 1 – 16. Burial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

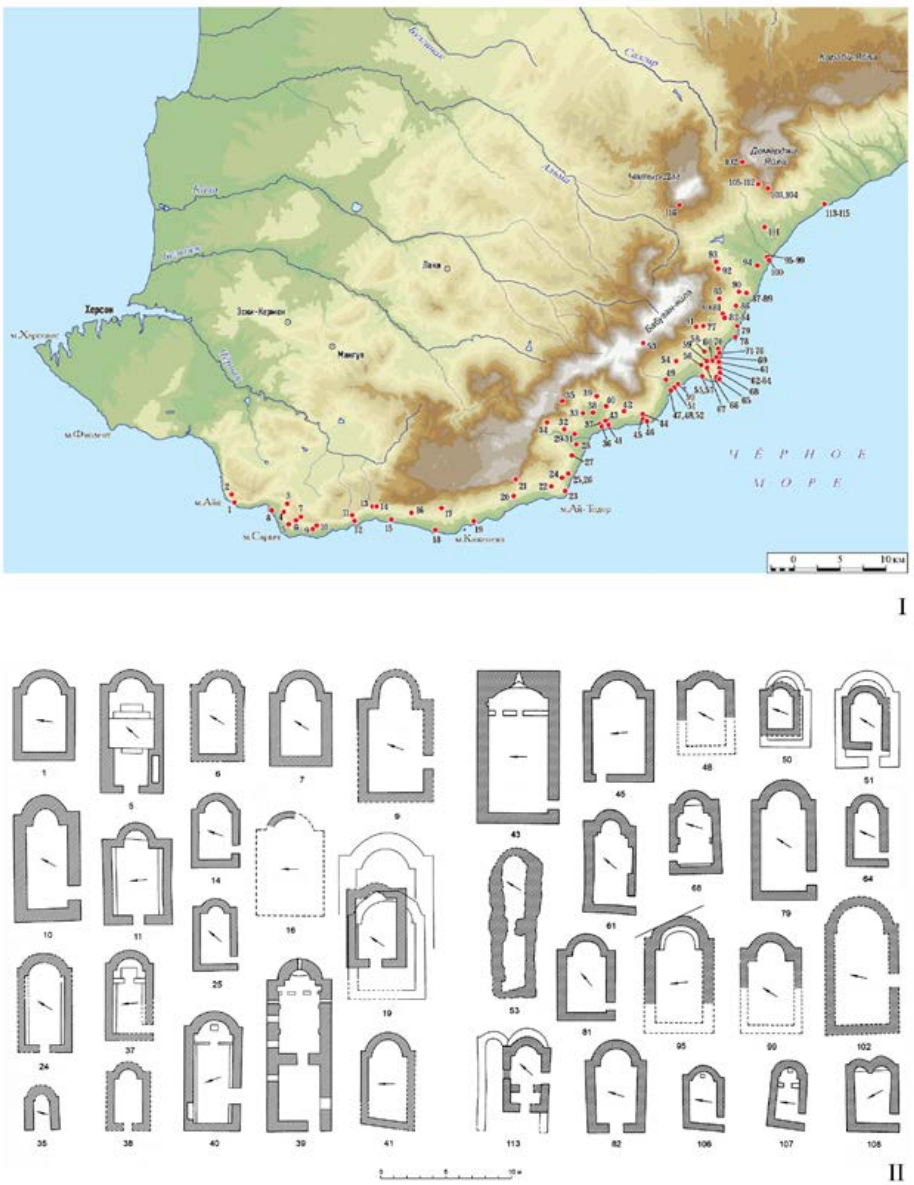


Fig. 5. Crimea, medieval churches and chapels on the southern coast: I. Locations; II. Layouts of single-nave churches. 1, 2. Kokiya natural landmark; 3 – 8. Laspi; 9, 10. Foros; 11. Kilse-Burun peak; 12. Melas; 13. Shaitan-Merdven; 14. Isar-Kaya; 15. Kastropol; 16. Beketovo; 17, 18. Opolznevoe (Kikineiz); 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).

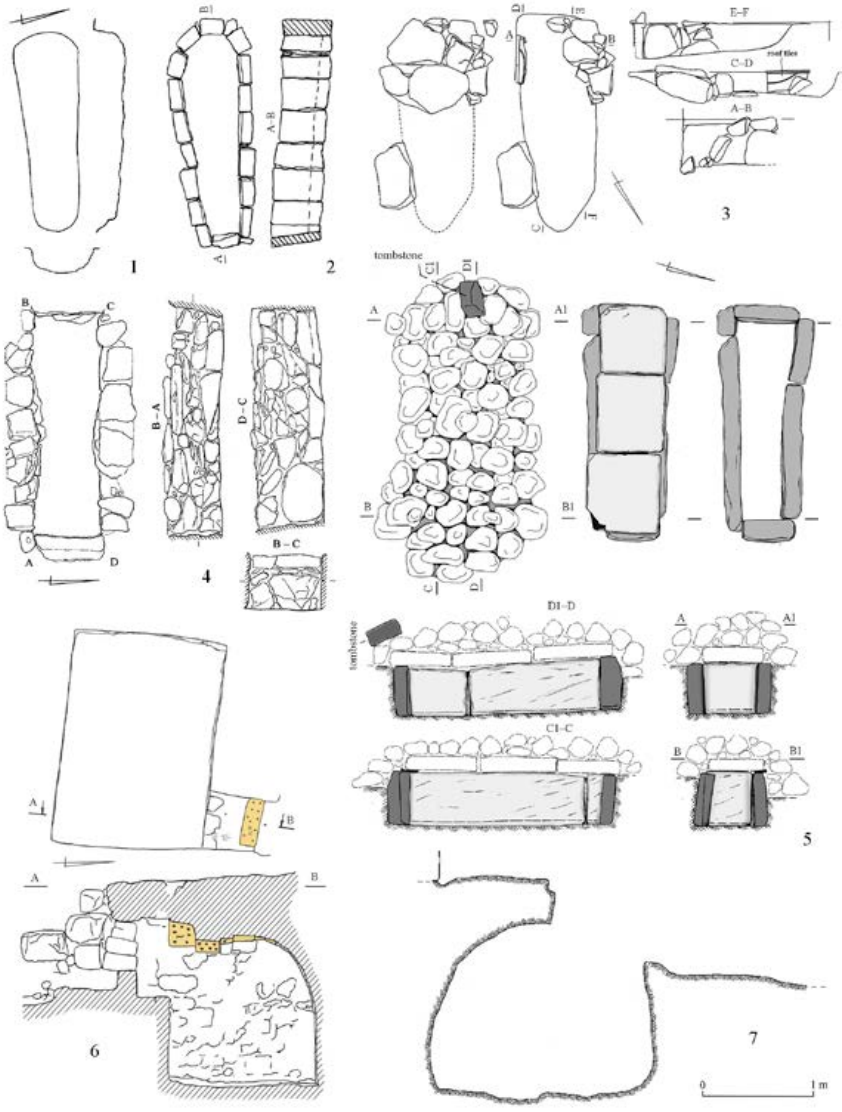


Fig. 6. Crimea, some types of late medieval funerary structures: 1. Simple ground pits – southwestern Crimea, Cembalo, double-apse church on the top of Kastron mount (No. 2), grave with two burials Nos. 11 and 12 under the floor of the church, plan and sections (after Адаксина, Мыц 2008, рис. 64 – 65); 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: E. B. 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 (Doksanaltı 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)

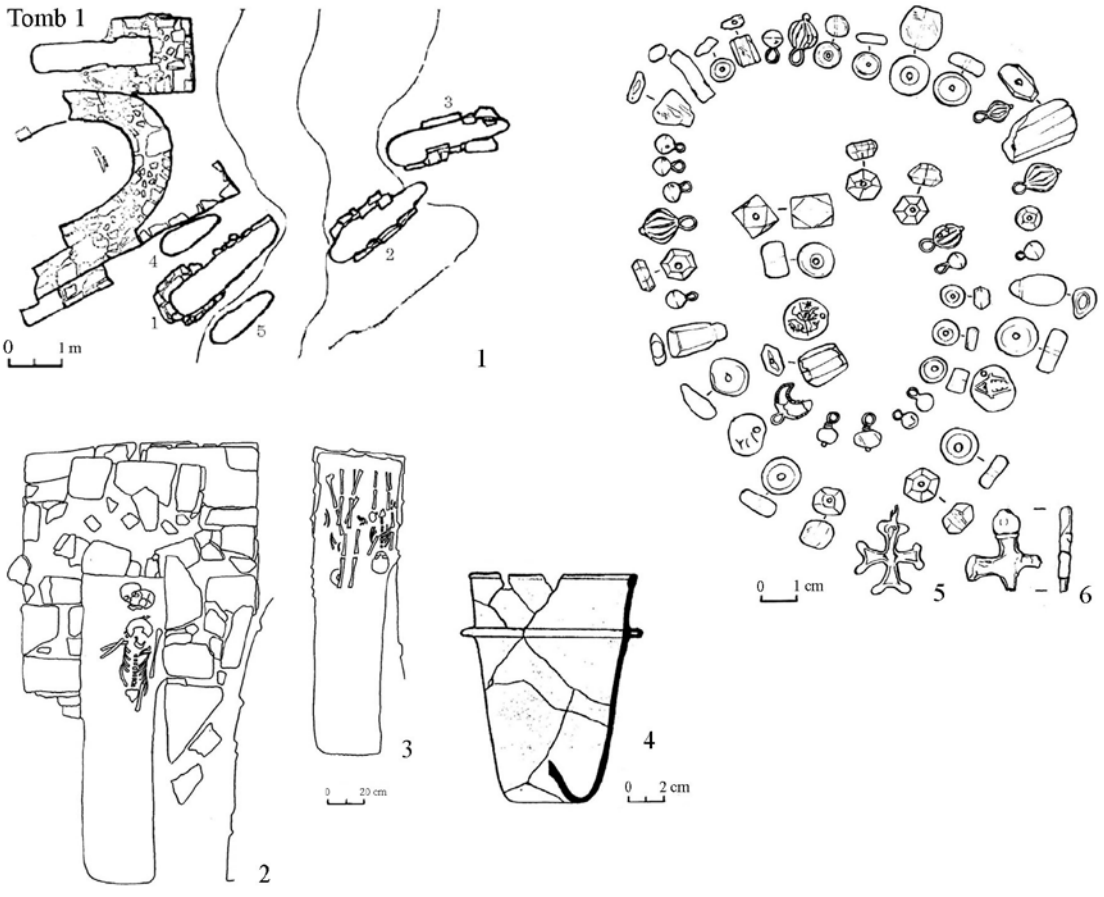


Fig. 9. Southeastern Crimea, Sudak. "Church 1993" with burial ground in the harbor area of the medieval city: 1. Plan of the excavated area; 2, 3. Tomb No. 1, first and second levels of burials, plans; 4. Glass vessel from tomb No. 1; 5. Grave goods from grave No. 4; 6. Cross found inside the church (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 2021а, 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,

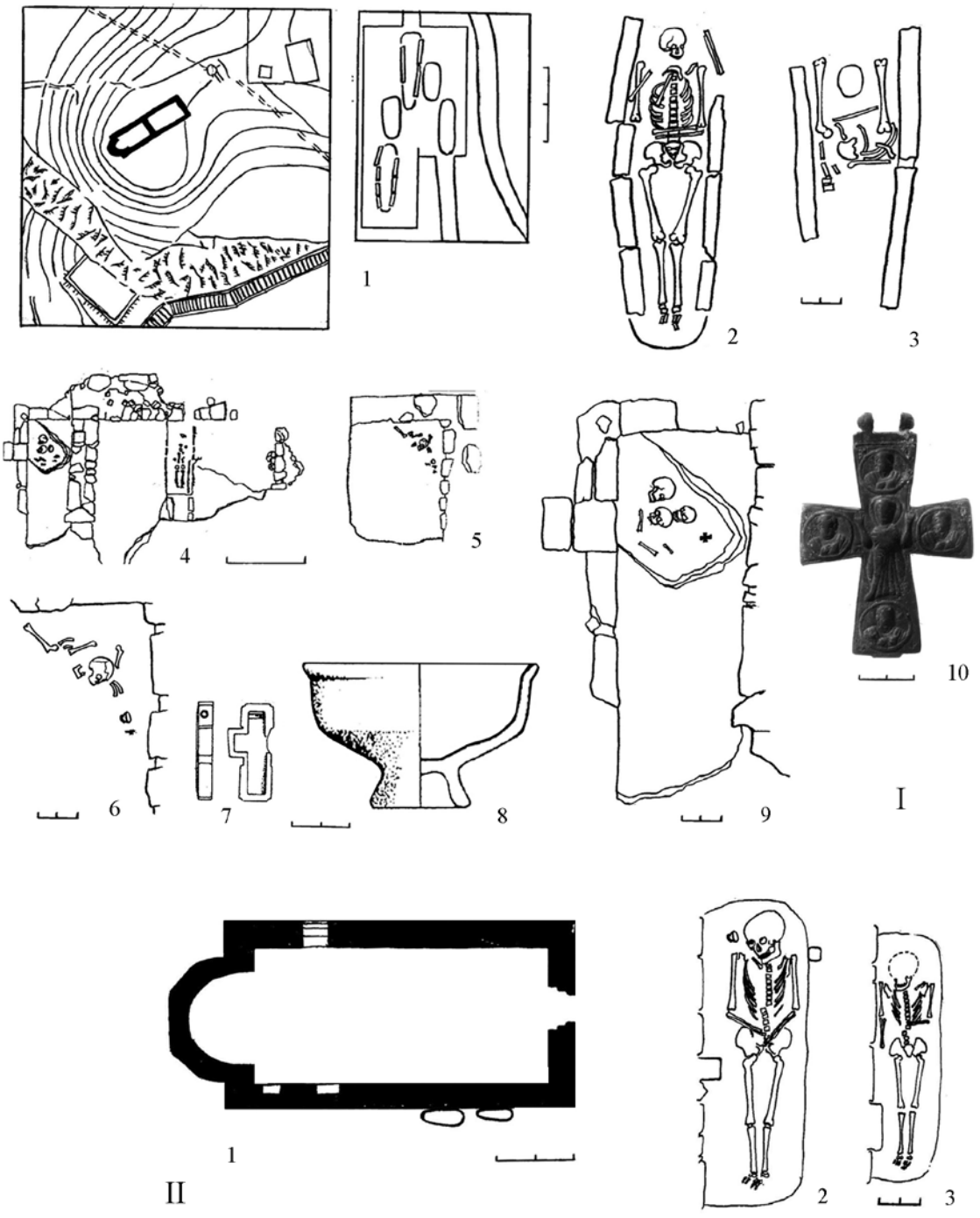


Fig. 10. Southeastern Crimea, Sudak: I. Church and necropolis Sudak-V – 1, 4, 5. General location of the church and the burials; 6 – 8. Grave No. 6; 9, 10. Tomb with multiple burials (after Майко 2007, рис. 96 – 97); II. Church of the 12 Apostles with cemetery – 1. Plan of the building; 2, 3. Graves 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 2021а, 41 – 42; Makropoulou, 2006, 10; Rohn et al. 2009, 501 – 615; Doksanaltı 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 2021а, 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 2021а, 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 2021а, 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 2021а, 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.

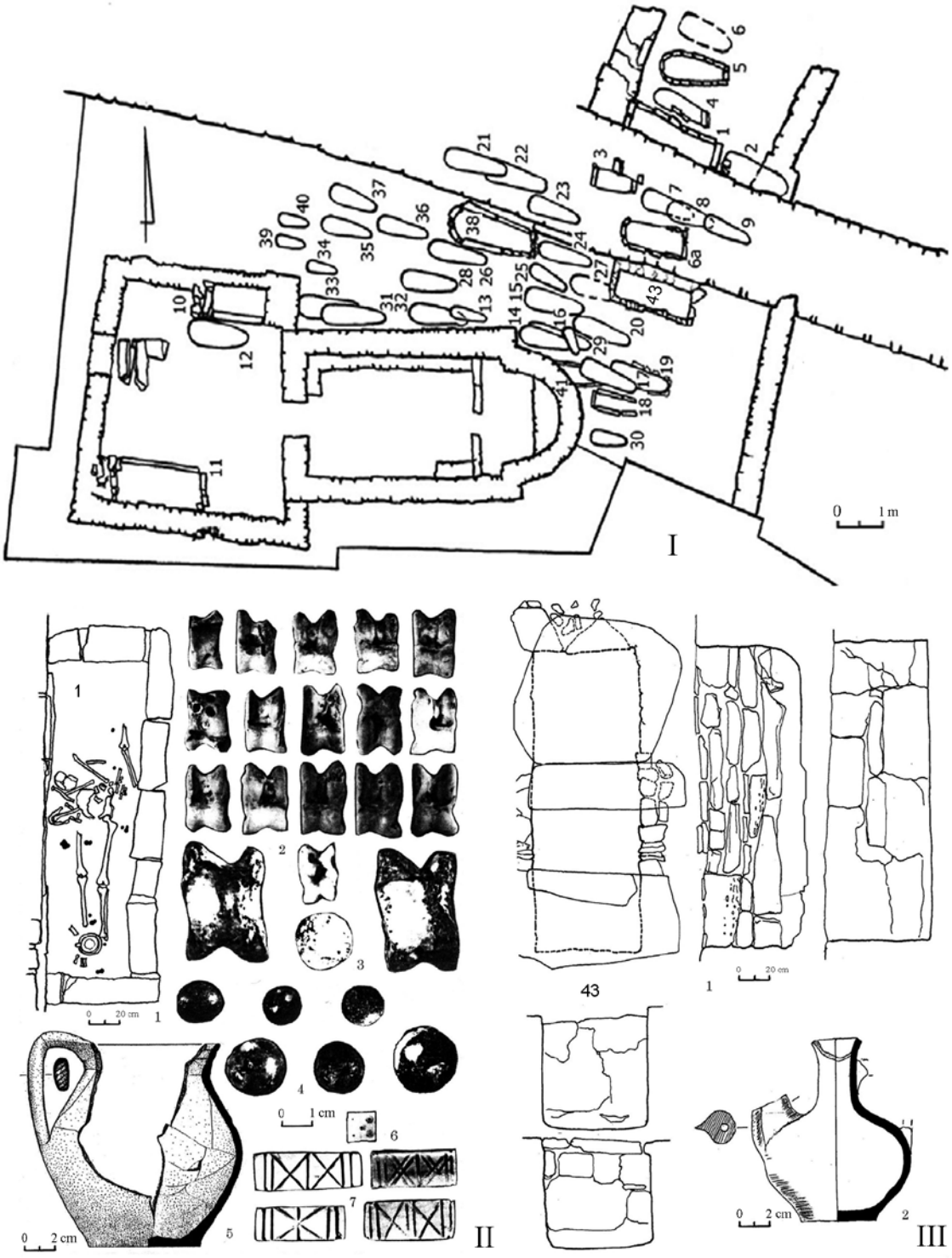


Fig. 11. Southeastern Crimea, Sudak. Church and burial ground in the area of the central part of the northeastern fortress wall of Sudak Fortress: I. Plan of the church and the burials; II. Tomb No. 1, plan and grave goods; III. Tomb No. 43, plan, front and sections, burial jug (after Майко 2007, рис. 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 1968а; 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.

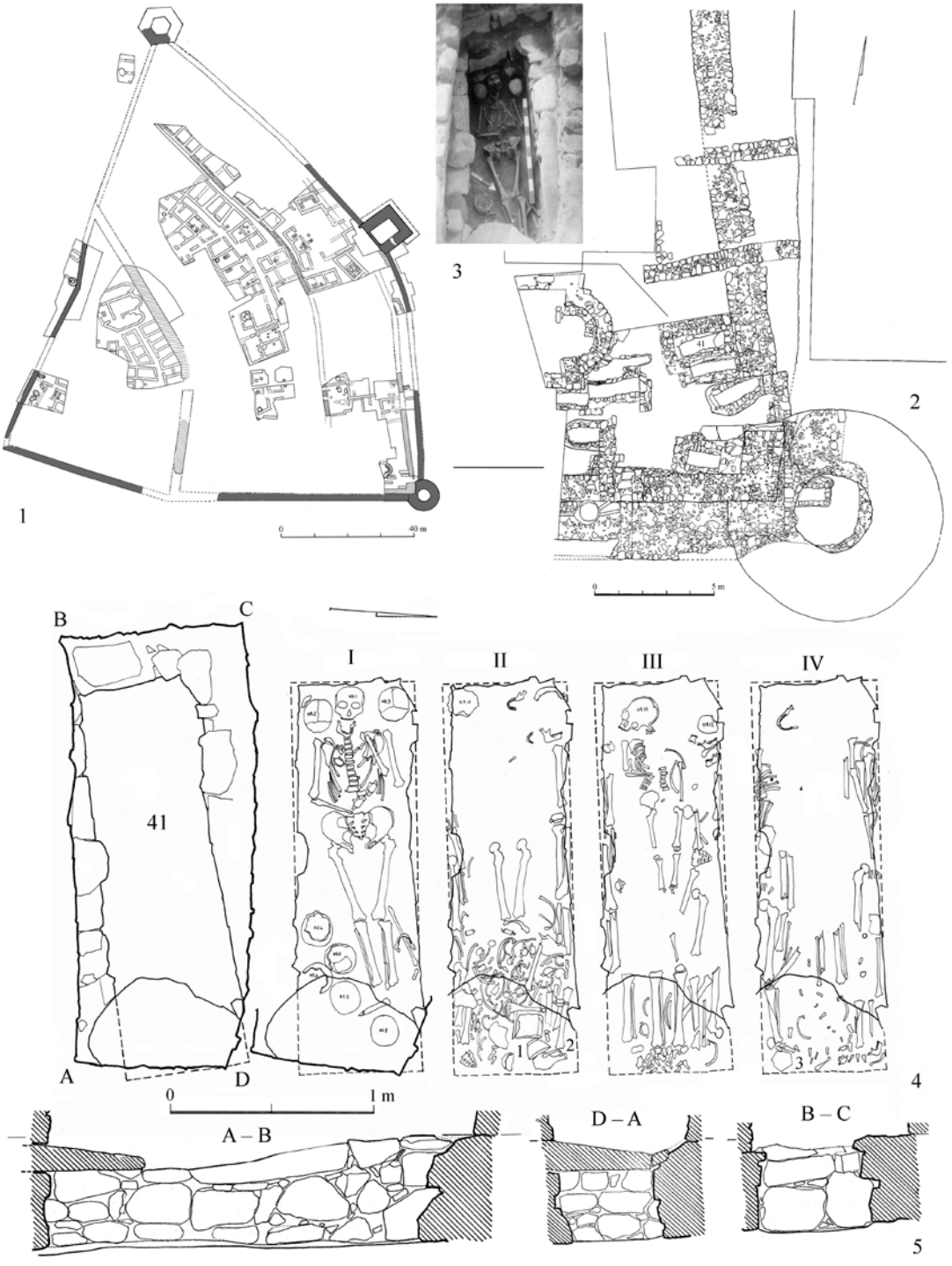


Fig. 12. Southern Crimea, Alushta. Medieval burial ground with church in the southeastern sector of the fortress: 1, 2. Plan of the fortress and the site with the church and the cemetery; 3. Photo of the burials in tomb No. 41, level I; 4. Tomb No. 41, plan: I – IV. Levels of the burials, 1 – 3. Ceramic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

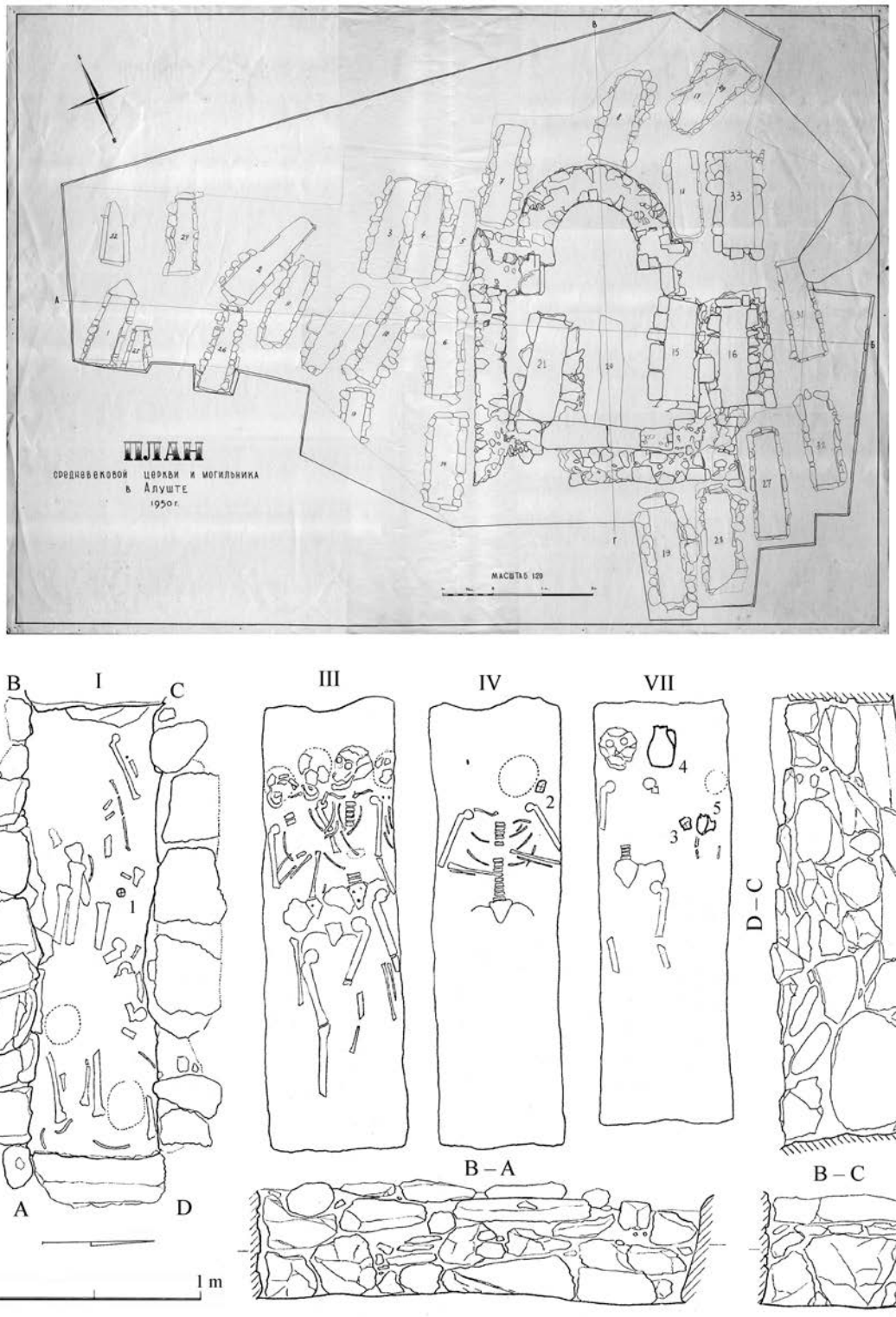


Fig. 13. Southern Crimea, Alushta. Alushta burial ground on the eastern slope of the Fortress hill: 1. Chapel and burial ground, excavations in 1950, plan (after Кирилко 2018, рис. 1); 2. Tomb excavated in 1992, plan and sections: I, III, IV, VII – levels of the burials; 4, 5. Ceramic vessels; 1, 2,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

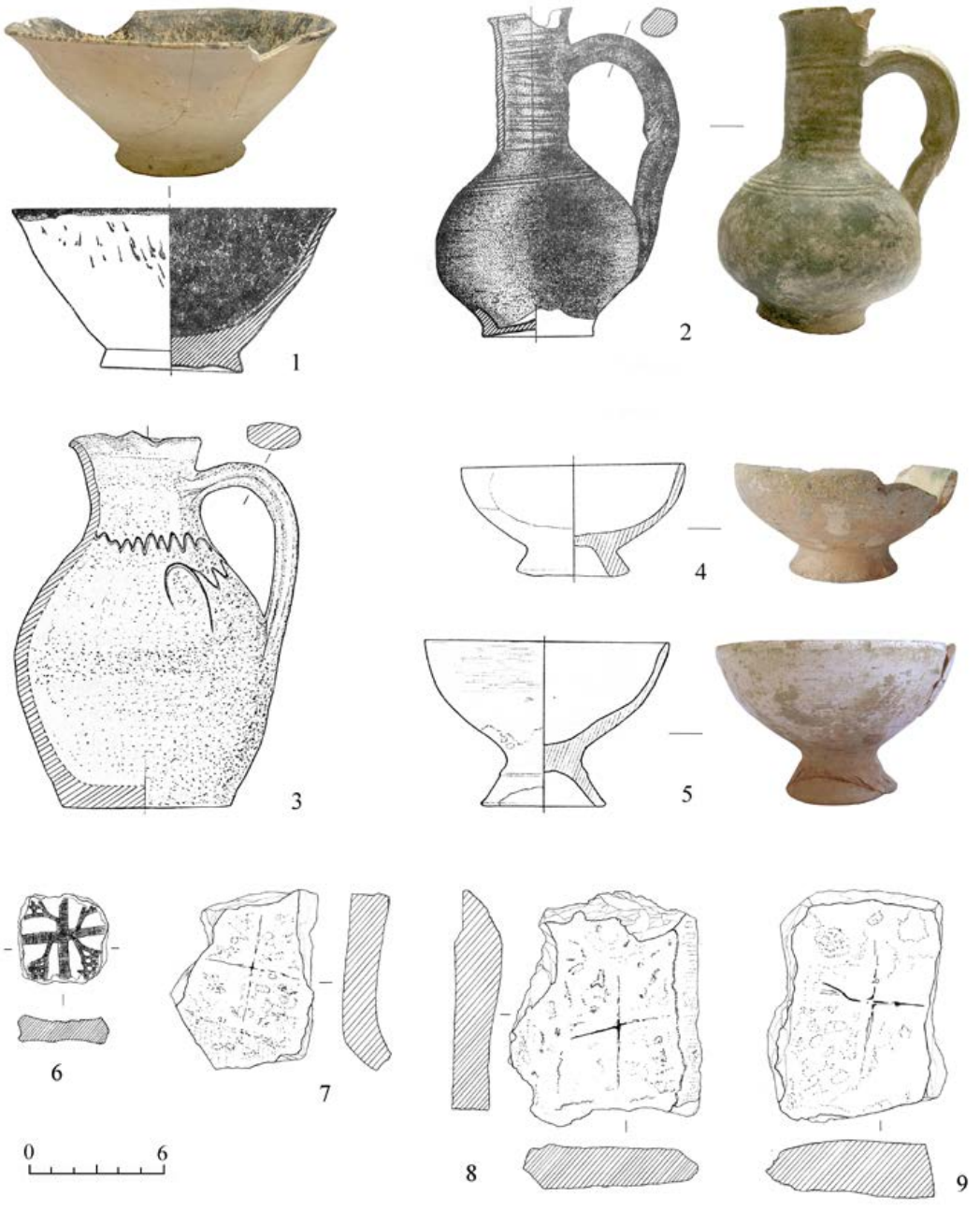


Fig. 15. Southern Crimea, Alushta, medieval cemeteries. Ceramics from the graves: 1, 2. Burial ground with church in the southeastern sector of the fortress, tomb No. 41, excavations in 1993; 3 – 9. Burial ground on the eastern slope of the Fortress hill, tomb excavated in 1992 (Author: I. Teslenko)

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)

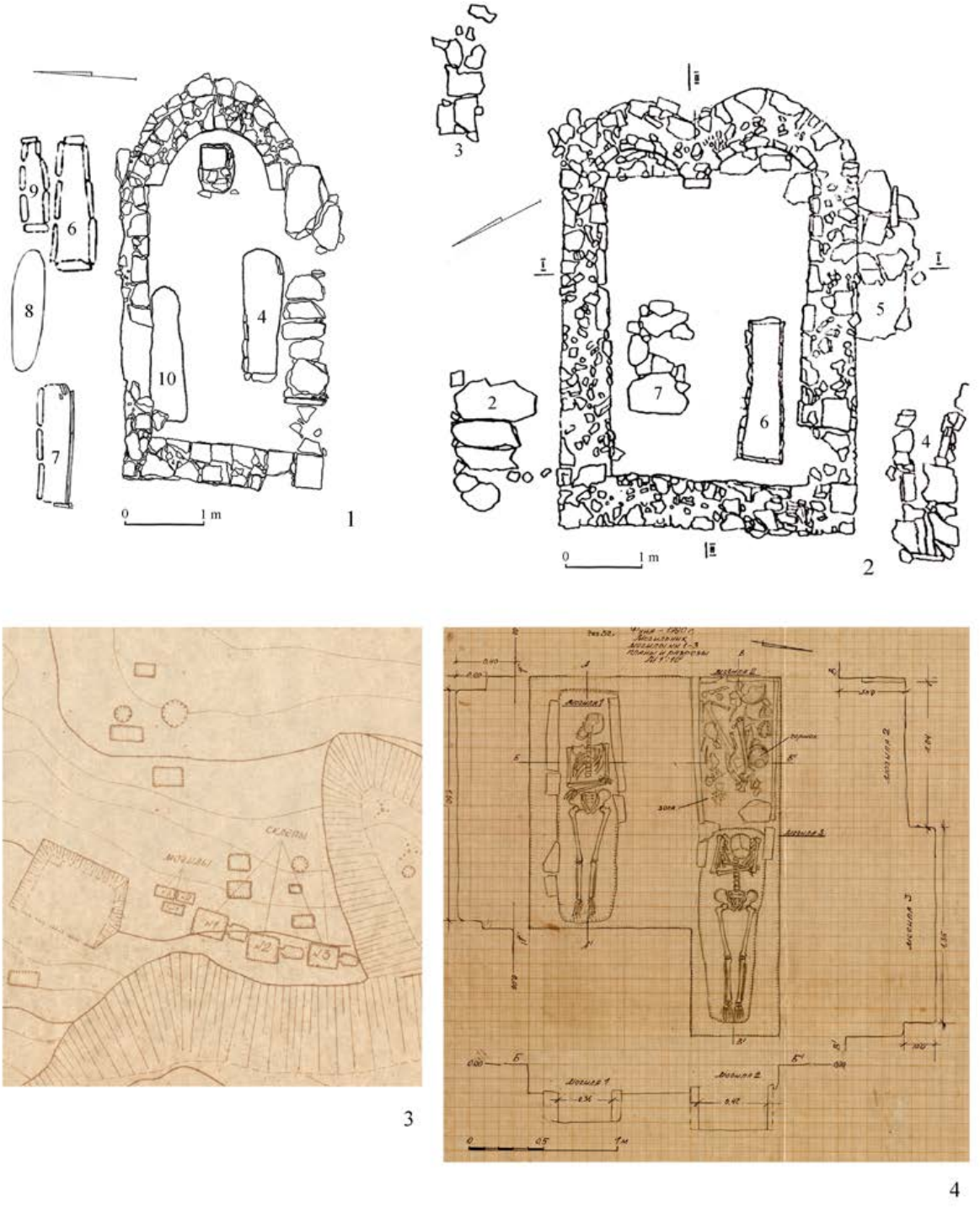


Fig. 16. Southern Crimea, Funa, medieval cemeteries: 1. Church in the eastern part of the necropolis (after Когонашвили, Махнева 1974, рис. 8; Кирилко 2010, рис. 2); 2. Double-apse church in the western part of the necropolis (after Айбабина 1991, рис. 3); 3. Southern part of the necropolis, plan of 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)

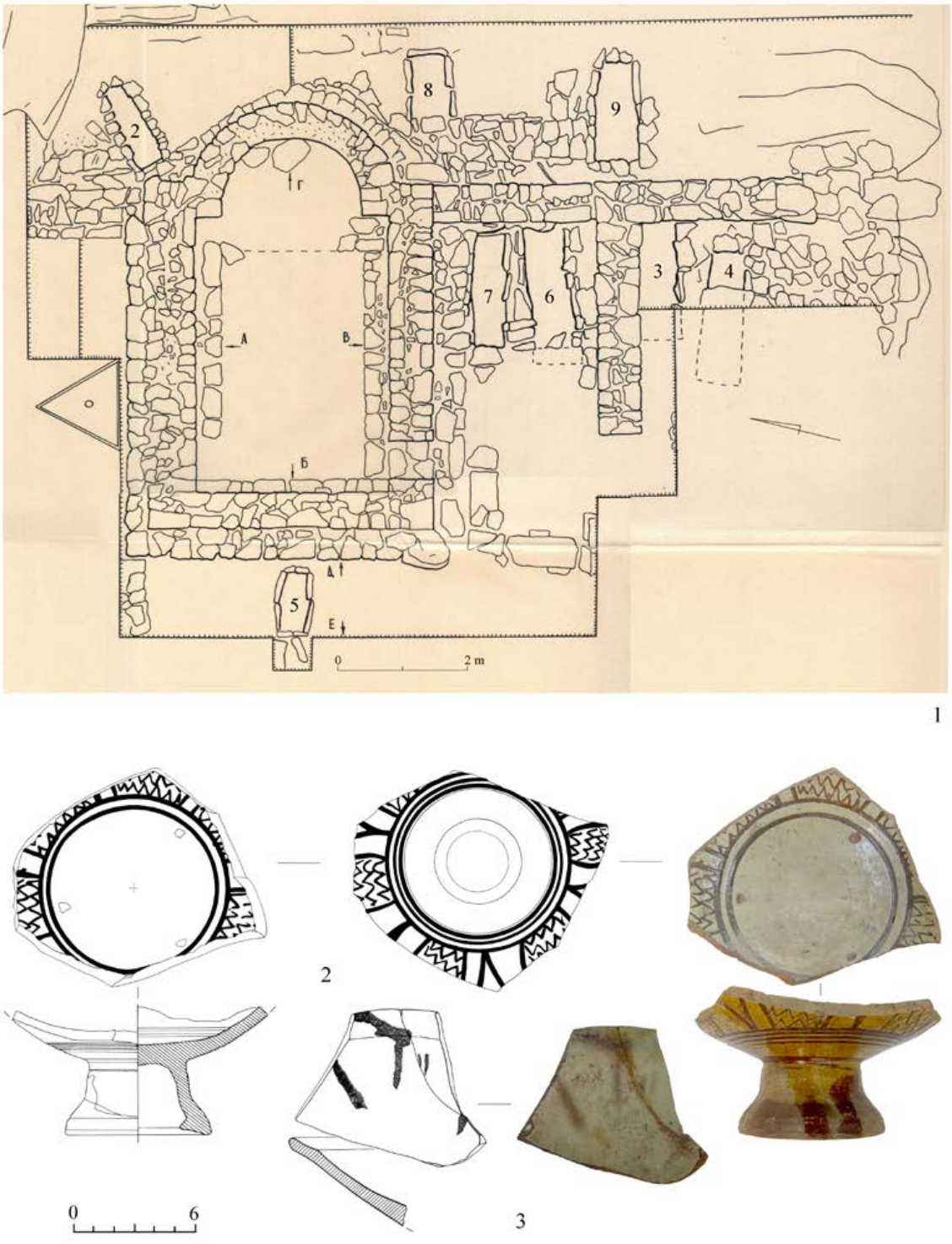


Fig. 18. Southern Crimea, Malyi Mayak village. Church with burial ground of the 14th – 15th c. on Ai-Todor mount: 1. Plan of the site (after Малый Маяк 1969, Scientific archive of the Institute of Archaeology at the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine) with numbers of the graves (2 – 9); 2, 3. Ceramic 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.

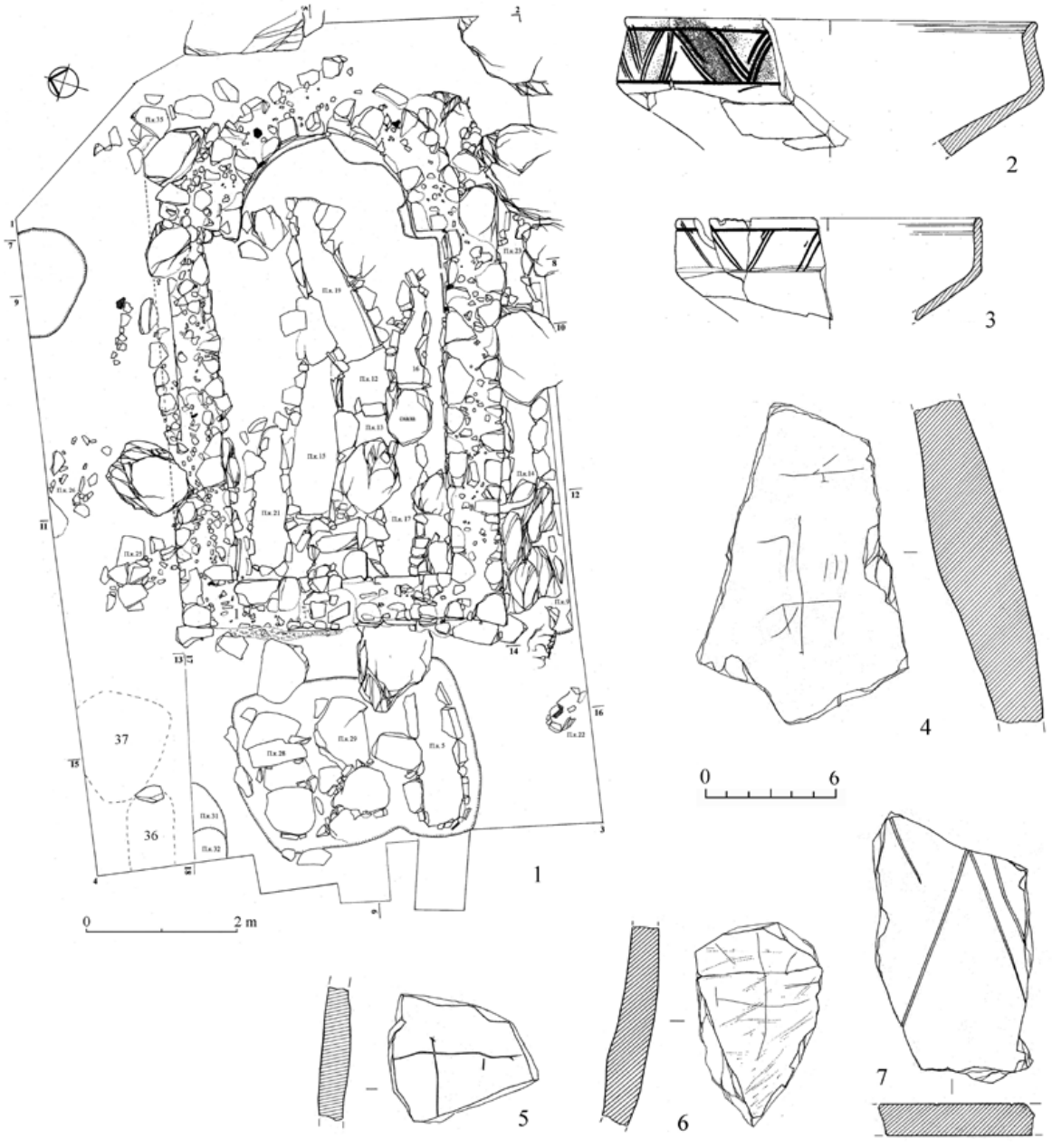


Fig. 19. Southern Crimea, Malyi Mayak village. Church of the late 14th – early 15th c. and burial ground of the late 14th – 18th c. on the southeastern spur of Ai-Todor mount: 1. Plan of the site with numbers of the funeral structures (1 – 37; after Тесленко, Лысенко 2004, рис. 3); 2, 3. Glazed bowls 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.

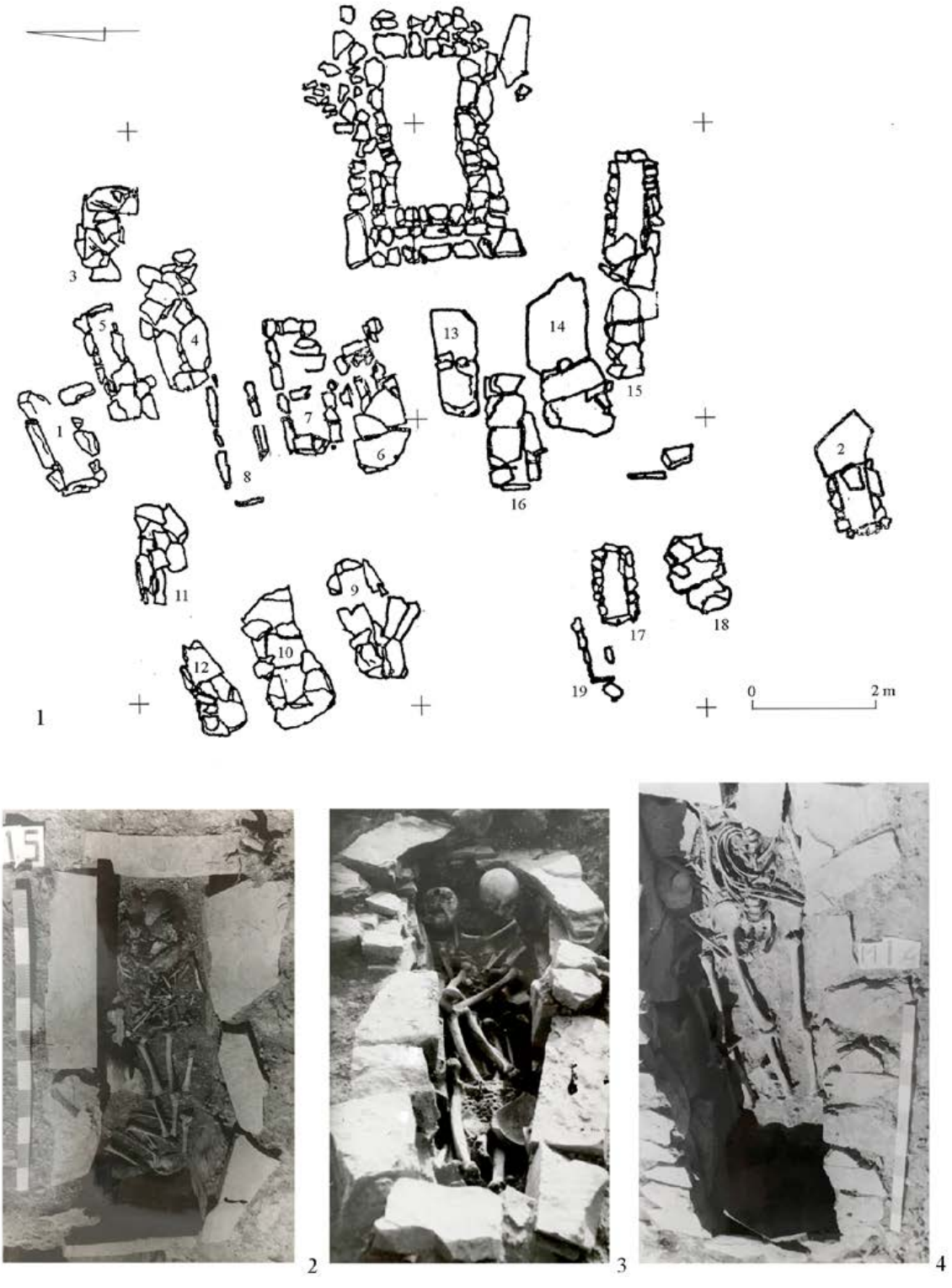


Fig. 21. Southern Crimea, Nikita, in the upper part of the modern Nikitsky Botanical Garden, 13th – 14th c.: 1. Plan of the site; 2 – 4. Burials in graves Nos. 15, 4 and 14 (after Паршина 1989, рис. 2, рис. 47, рис. 75, рис. 78)

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)

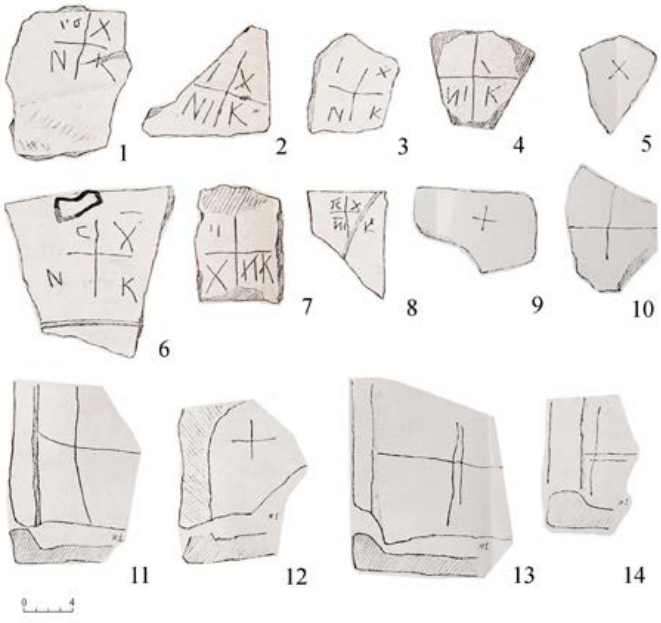


Fig. 22. Southern Crimea, Nikita, in the upper part of the modern Nikitsky Botanical Garden. Fragments of ceramic tile and vessels with engraved crosses and inscriptions: 1, 2. Grave No. 4; 3. Grave No. 6; 4. Grave No. 18; 5, 8, 9. Grave No. 3; 6. Grave No. 10; 7. Grave No. 12; 10. Grave No. 14; 11 –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

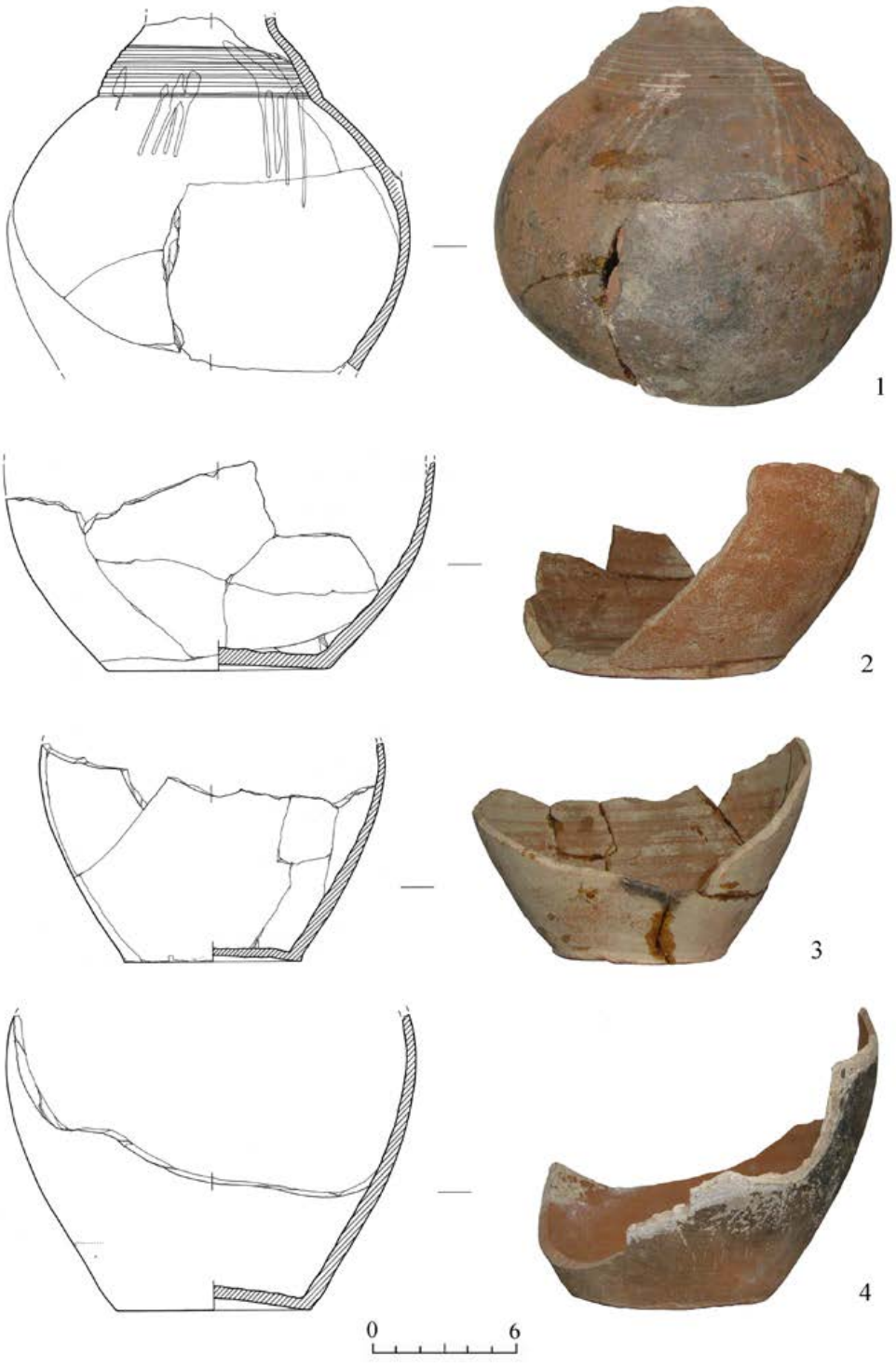


Fig. 23. Southern Crimea, Nikita, burial ground with chapel in the upper part of the modern Nikitsky Botanical Garden. Unglazed ceramics from the graves: 1. Grave No. 15; 2, 3. Grave No. 7; 4. Grave No. 1 (Author: I. Teslenko)

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)

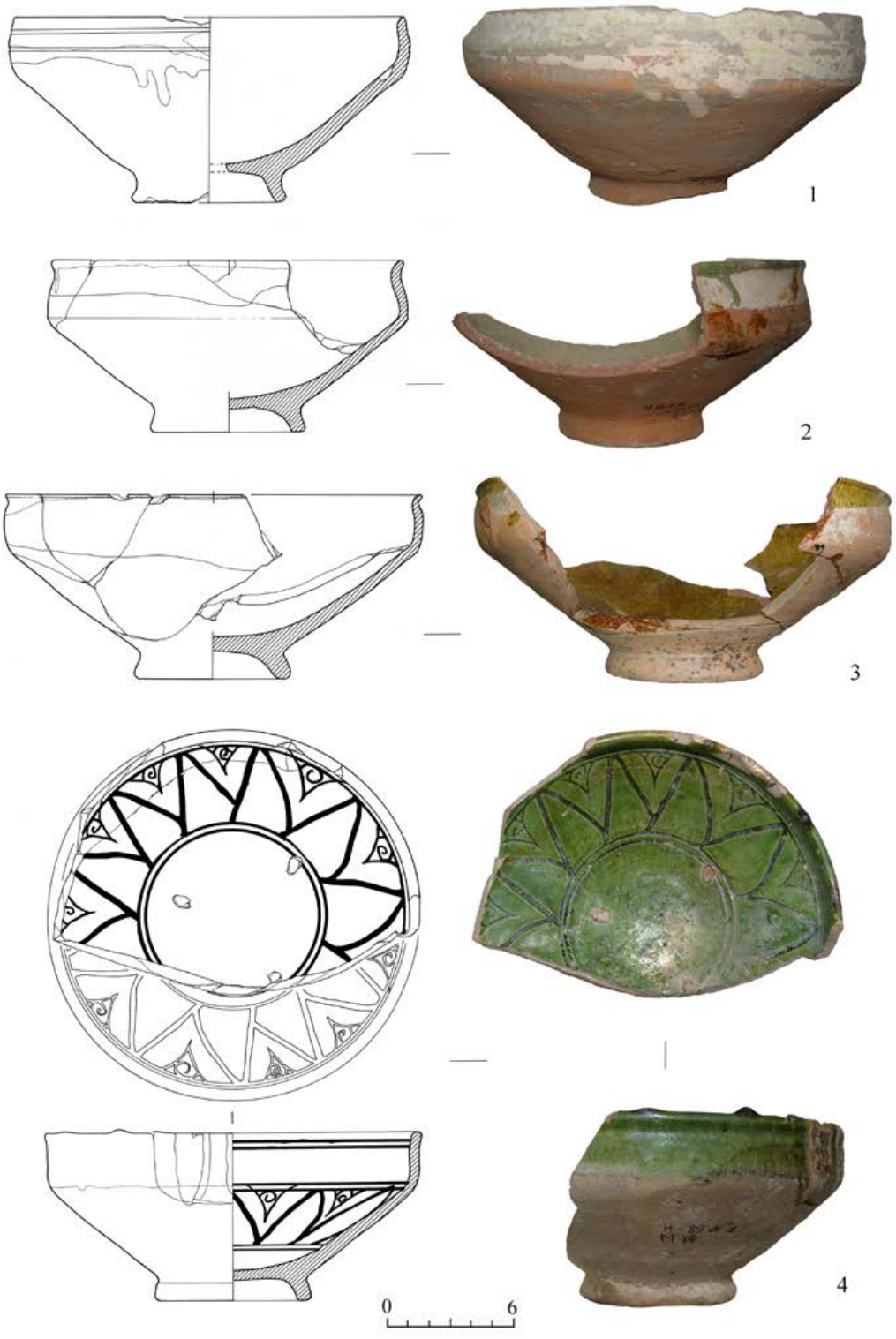


Fig. 24. Southern Crimea, Nikita, burial ground with chapel in the upper part of the modern Nikitsky Botanical Garden. Glazed ceramics of local Crimean origin from the graves: 1. Grave No. 17; 2. Grave No. 4; 3. Grave No. 5; 4. Grave No. 14 (Author: I. Teslenko)

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)

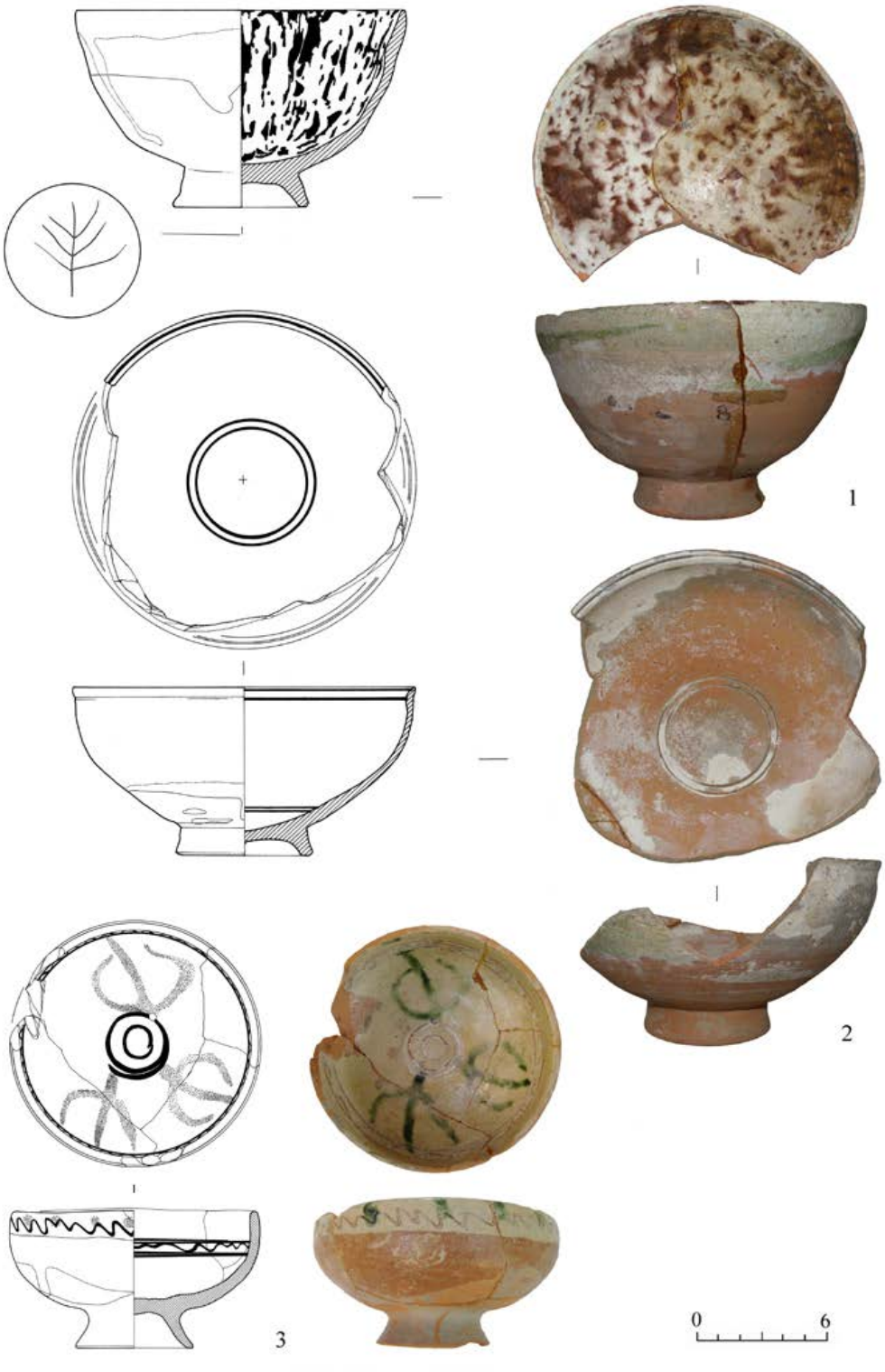


Fig. 25. Southern Crimea, Nikita. Byzantine glazed wares: 1, 2. Burial ground with chapel in the upper part of the modern Nikitsky Botanical Garden – grave No. 13 (1) and grave No. 15 (2); 3. Burial ground in the lower part of the modern Nikitsky Botanical Garden (Author: I. Teslenko)

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)

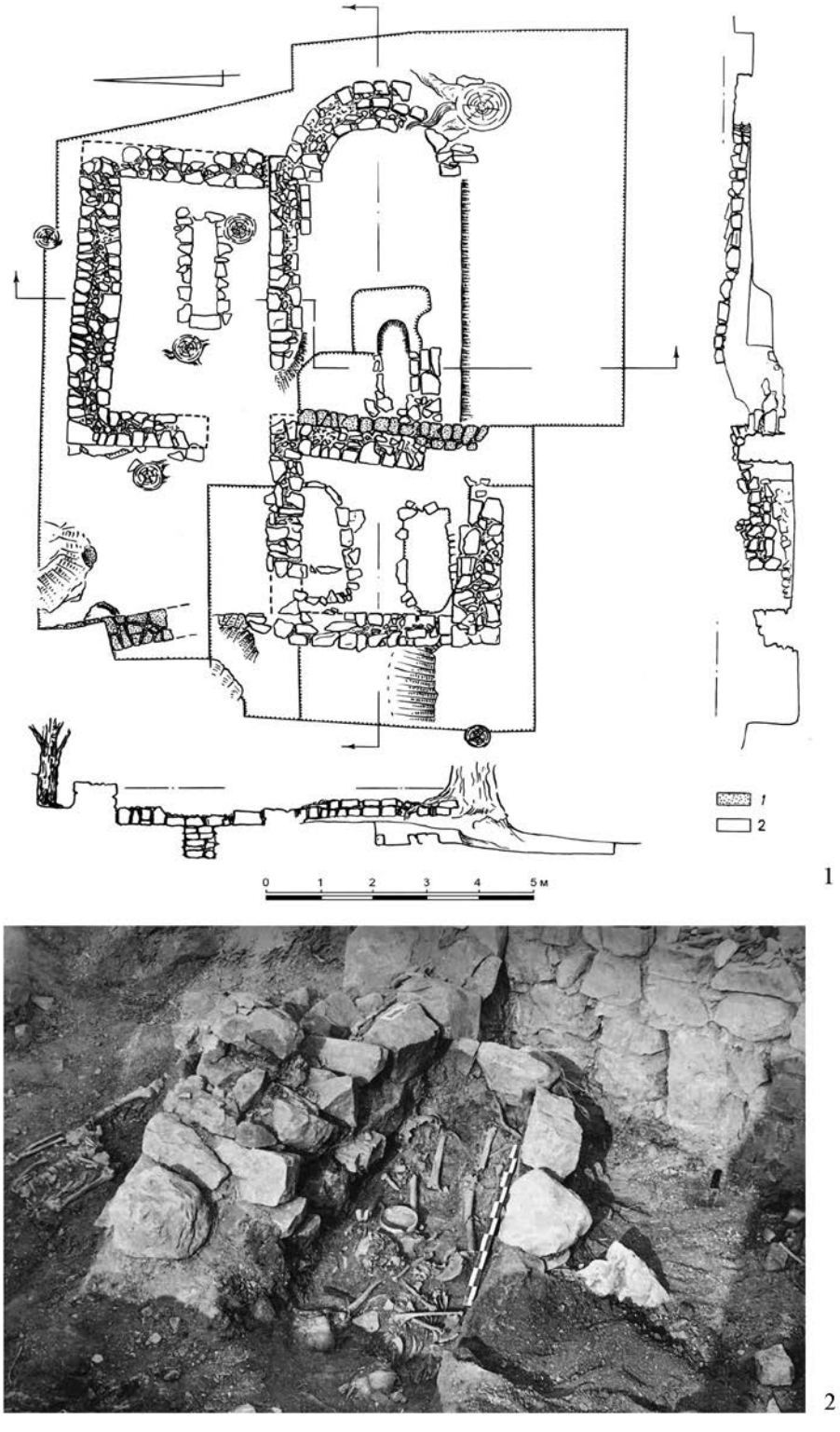


Fig. 26. Southern Crimea, Massandra, church with burial ground in Lower Masandra: 1. Plan of the site; 2. Grave in the west annex to the church, burial with bowl, view from the southwest (from the personal archive of V. P. Kirilko)

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.

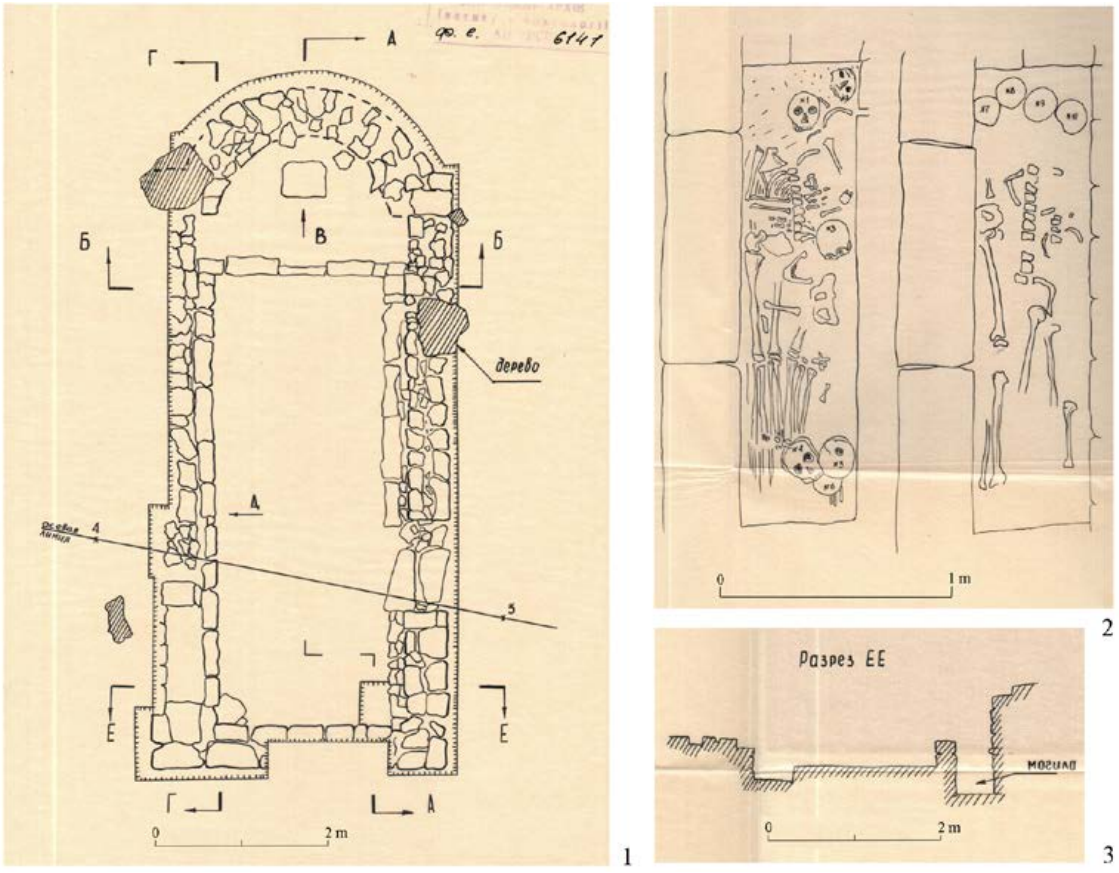


Fig. 27. Southern Crimea, Massandra, church with burial ground in Upper Massandra: 1, 3. Church with arcosolia, plan and section; 2. Burials in the arcosolia, plan (after Массандра 1967, Scientific archive of the Institute of Archaeology at the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine)

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 2018б); 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 2018а, 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).

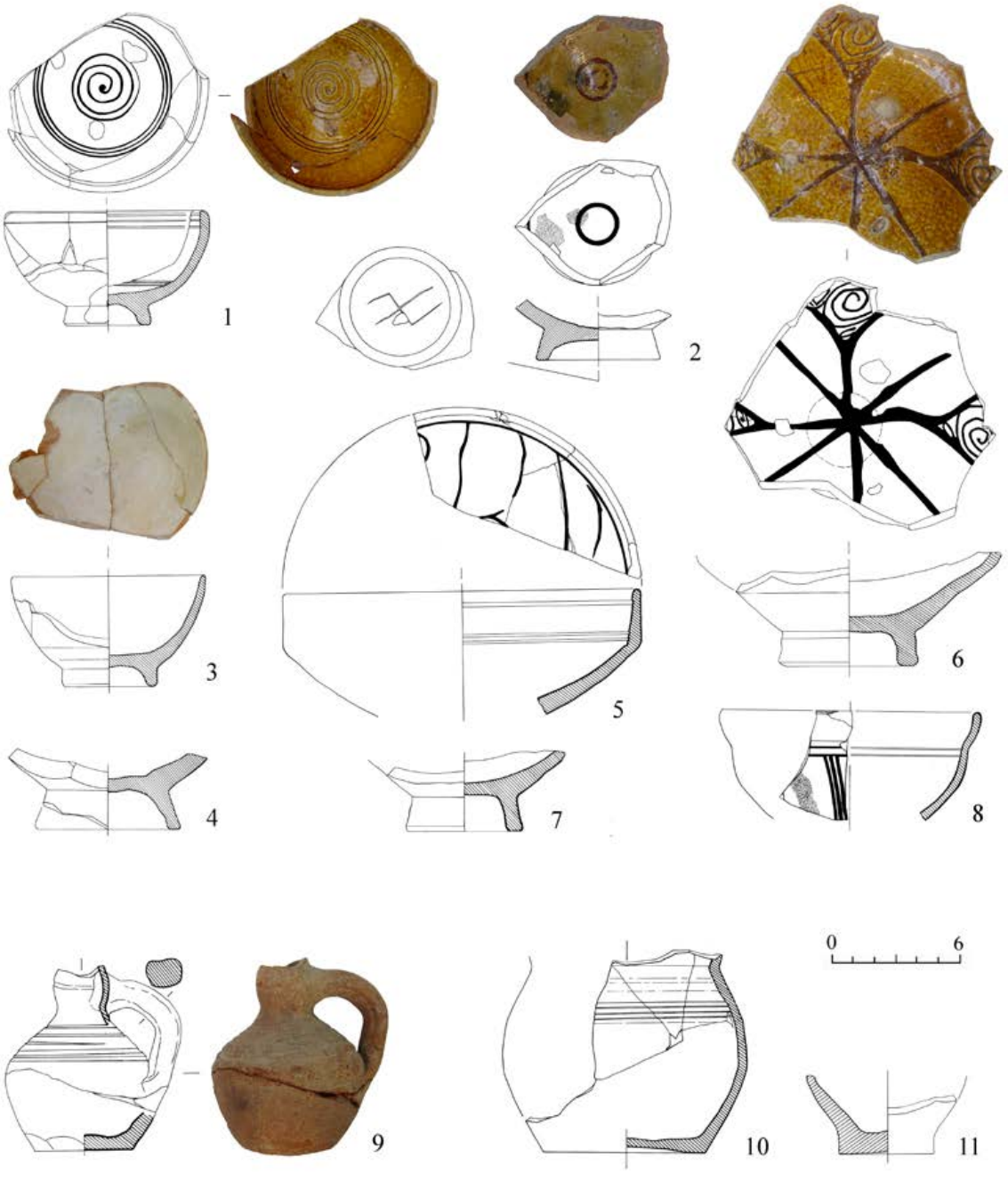


Fig. 28. Southern Crimea, Massandra and Oreanda, ceramic vessels from the graves: 1 – 8. Upper Massandra – arcosolium in the church (3, 4), graves in the church yard (1, 2, 5 – 8); 9 – 11. Oreanda, church with necropolis near the fork of the upper and lower Yalta – Alupka highway – grave No. 8 (9), grave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

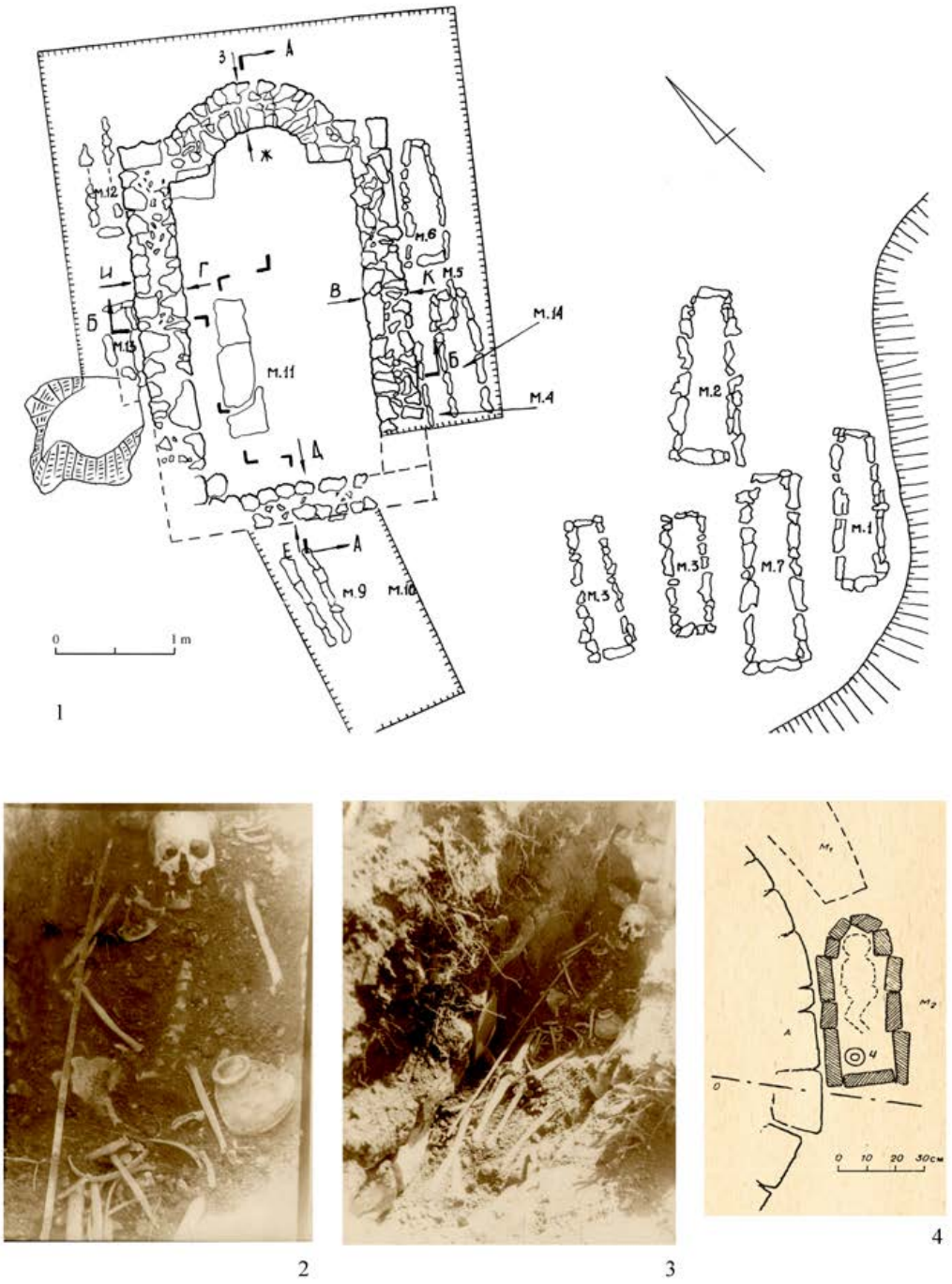


Fig. 29. Southern Crimea, Oreanda: 1. Church with burial ground near the fork of the upper and lower Yalta – Alupka highway (after Ореанда 1967, Scientific archive of the Institute of Archaeology at the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine); 2, 3. Krestovaya mount, grave No. 1 (after Scientific archive 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)

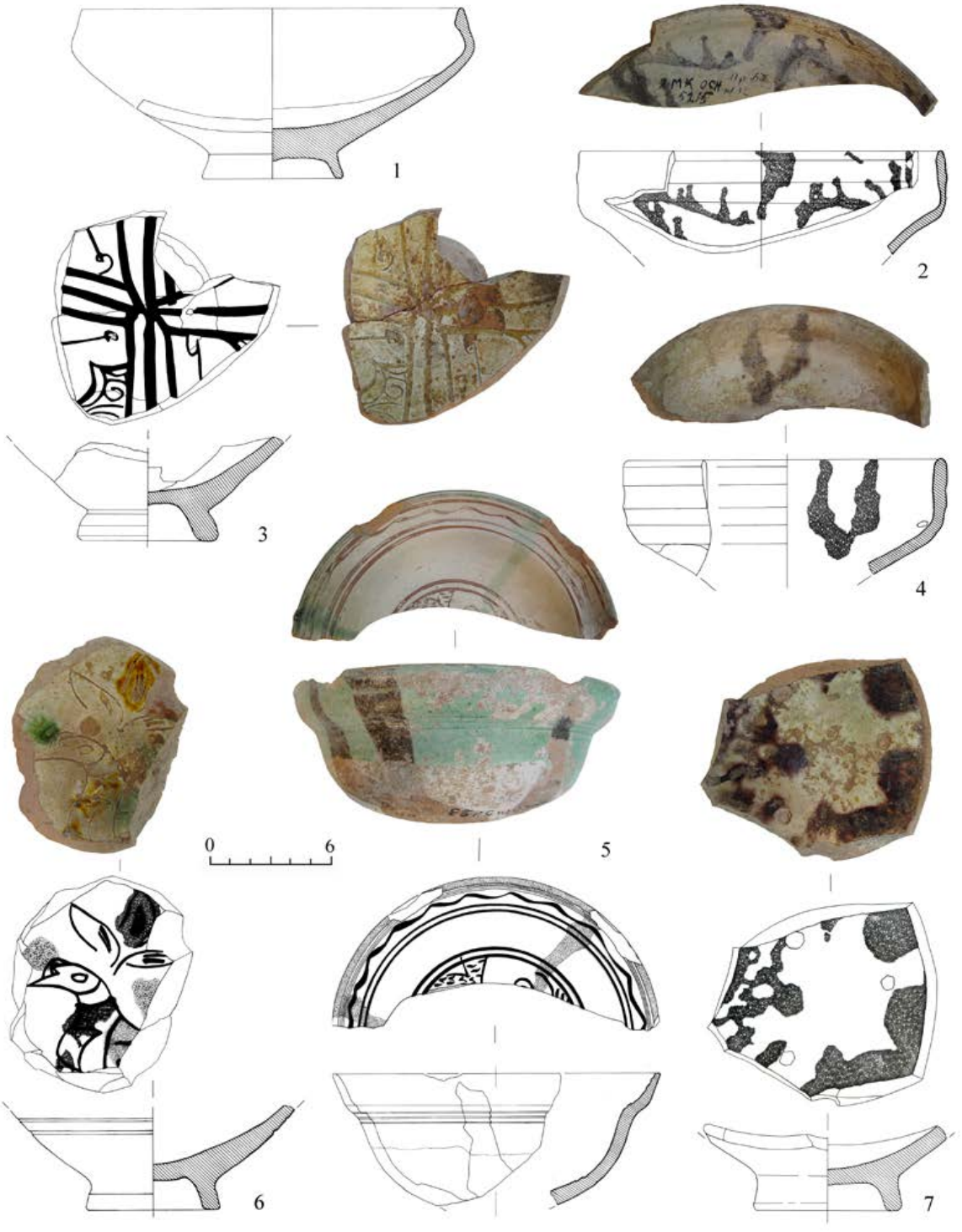


Fig. 30. Southern Crimea, Oreanda, church with necropolis near the fork of the upper and lower Yalta – Alupka highway, ceramics from the burials: 1. Grave No. 7; 2, 5. Grave No. 14; 3, 6. Grave No. 4; 4. Grave No. 2; 7. Grave No. 1 (Author: I. Teslenko)

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)

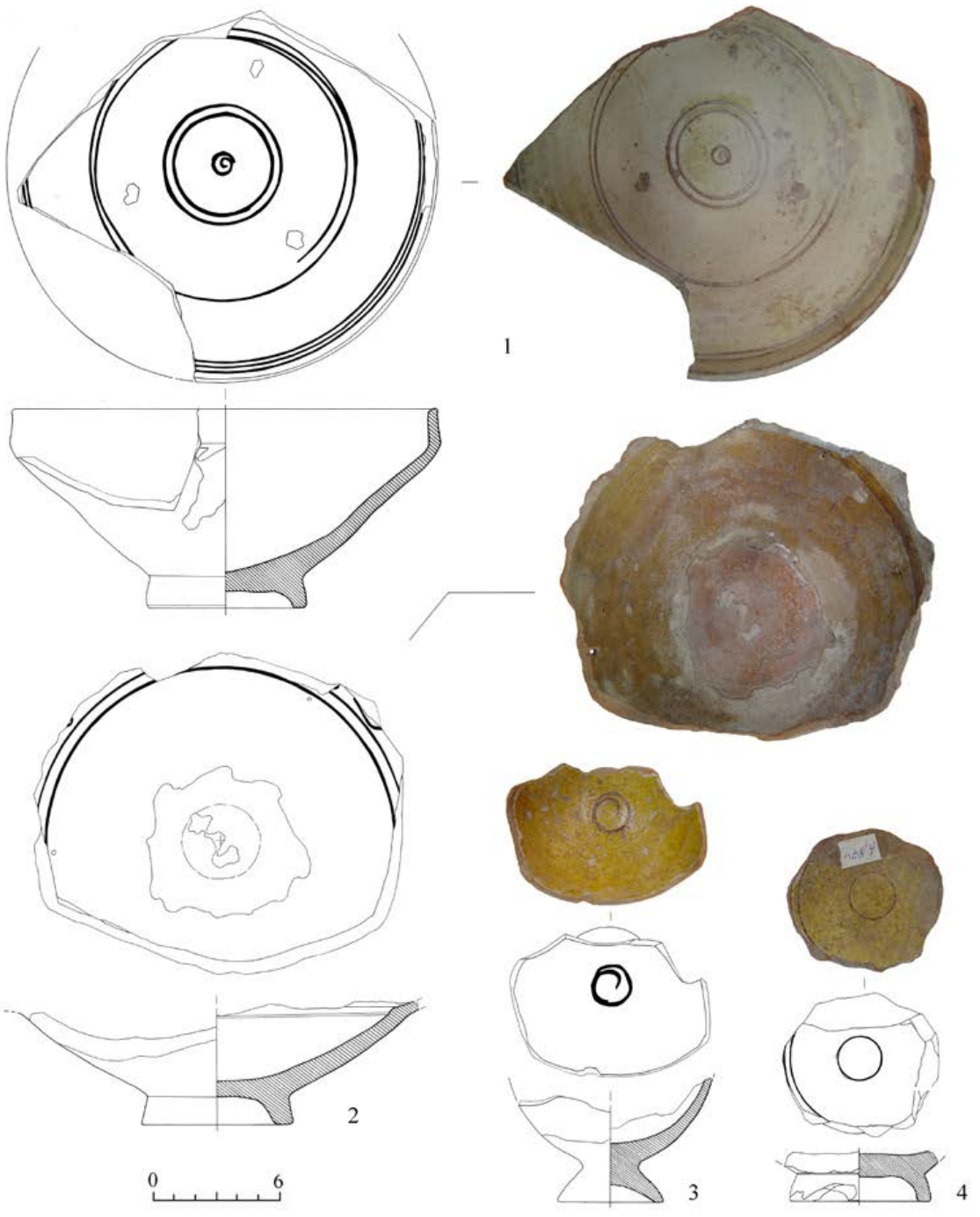


Fig. 31. Southern Crimea, Oreanda, church with necropolis near the fork of the upper and lower Yalta – Alupka highway, ceramics from the burials: 1. Grave No. 3; 2. Grave No. 2; 3. Grave No. 7; 4. Grave No. 9 (Author: I. Teslenko)

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).

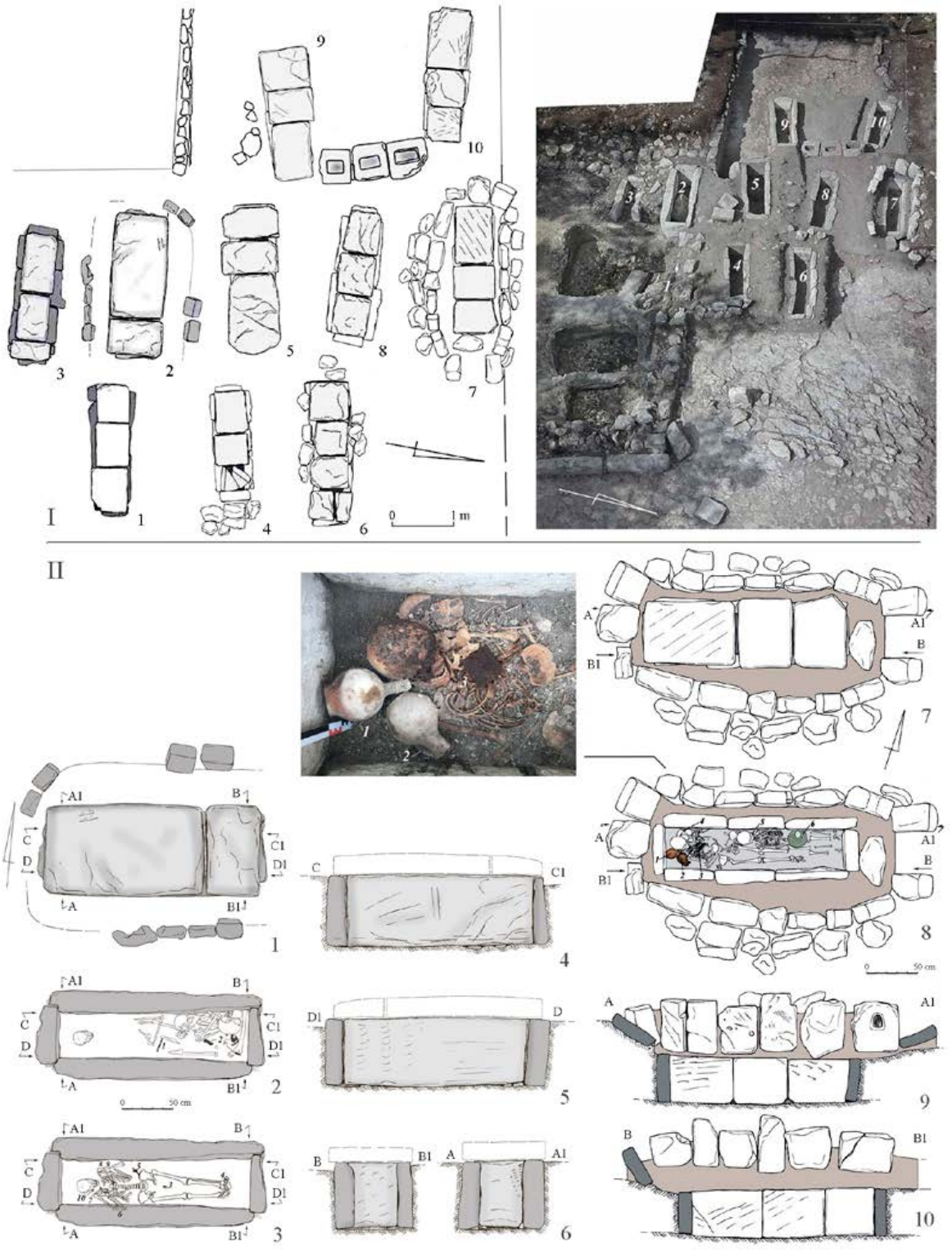


Fig. 32. Southwestern Crimea, Eski-Kermen, slab graveyard to the west of the basilica: I. General plan and photo of the burial ground; II. Tombs No. 2 (1 – 6) and No. 7 (7 – 10), plans and sections (after Хайрединова 2022, рис. 6, рис. 9)

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 2021а, 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.

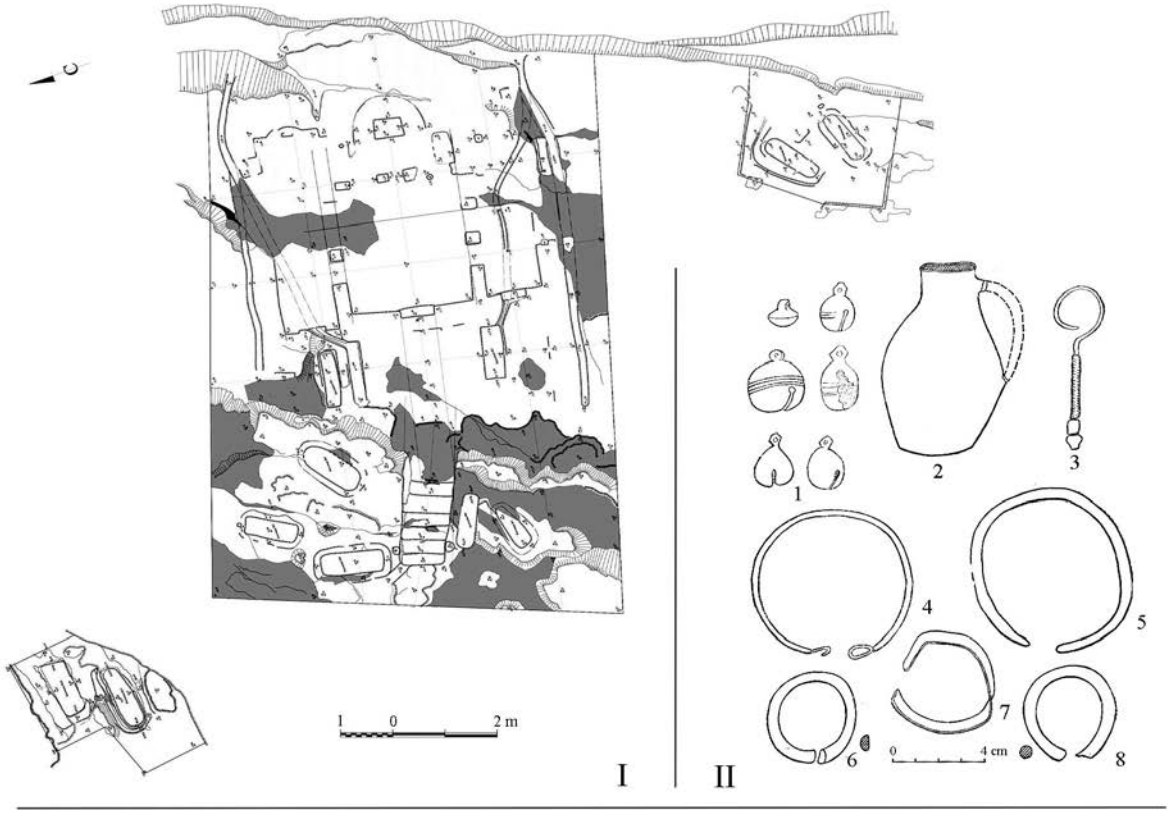


Fig. 35. Southwestern Crimea, Mangup, "Small Basilica" and burial ground 270 m south of the citadel: I. Plan (after Герцен и др. 2017, рис. 1: 8); II. Grave goods (after Веймарн и др. 1974, 131, рис. 5)

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.

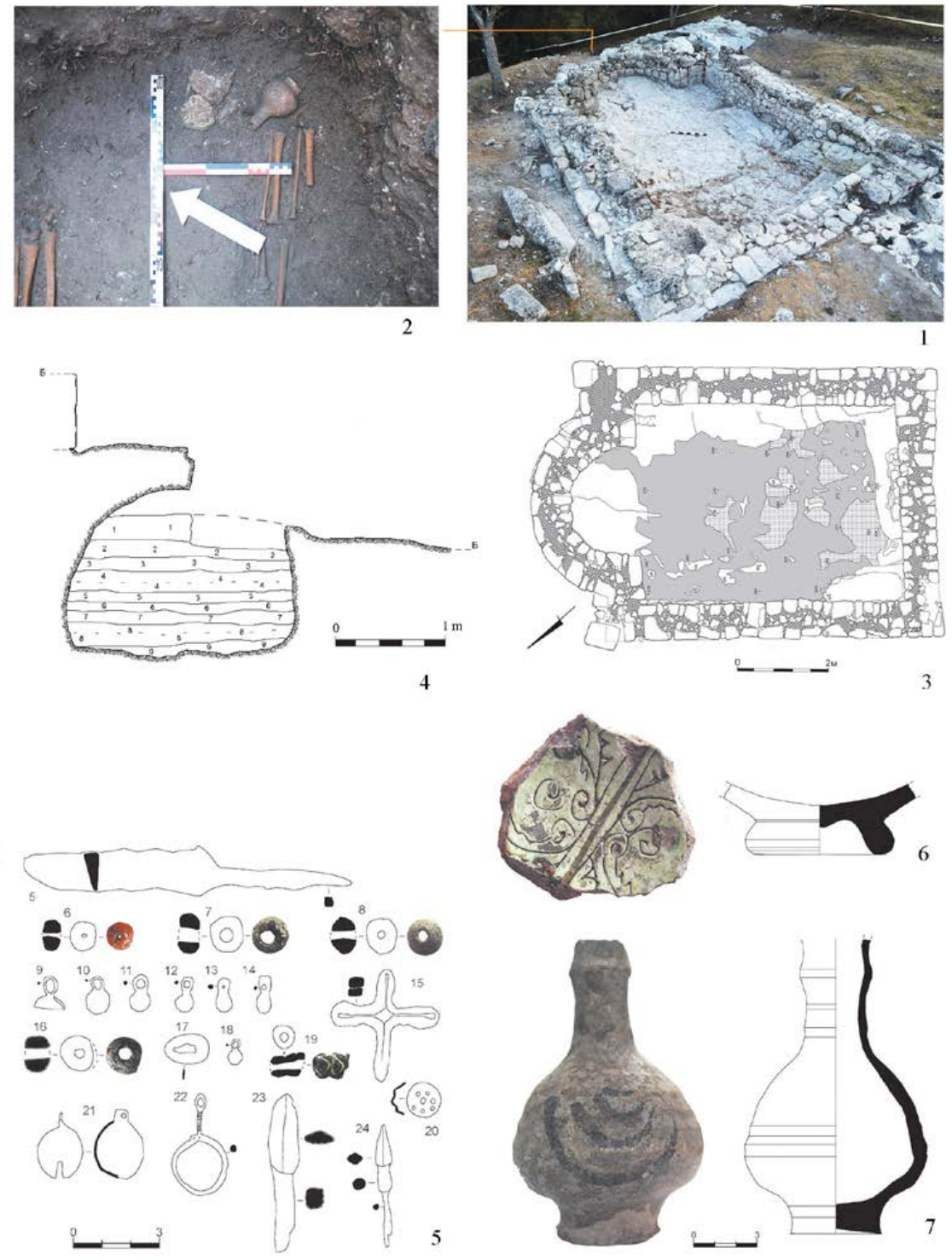


Fig. 36. Southwestern Crimea, Mangup, St. George's Church and burial ground: 1. General view from the west, after excavations; 2. Crypt No. 5, level 8, view from the south; 3. Church, plan of the building; 4. Crypt No. 5, section and stratigraphy; 5 – 7. Grave goods – small finds from the different levels (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)

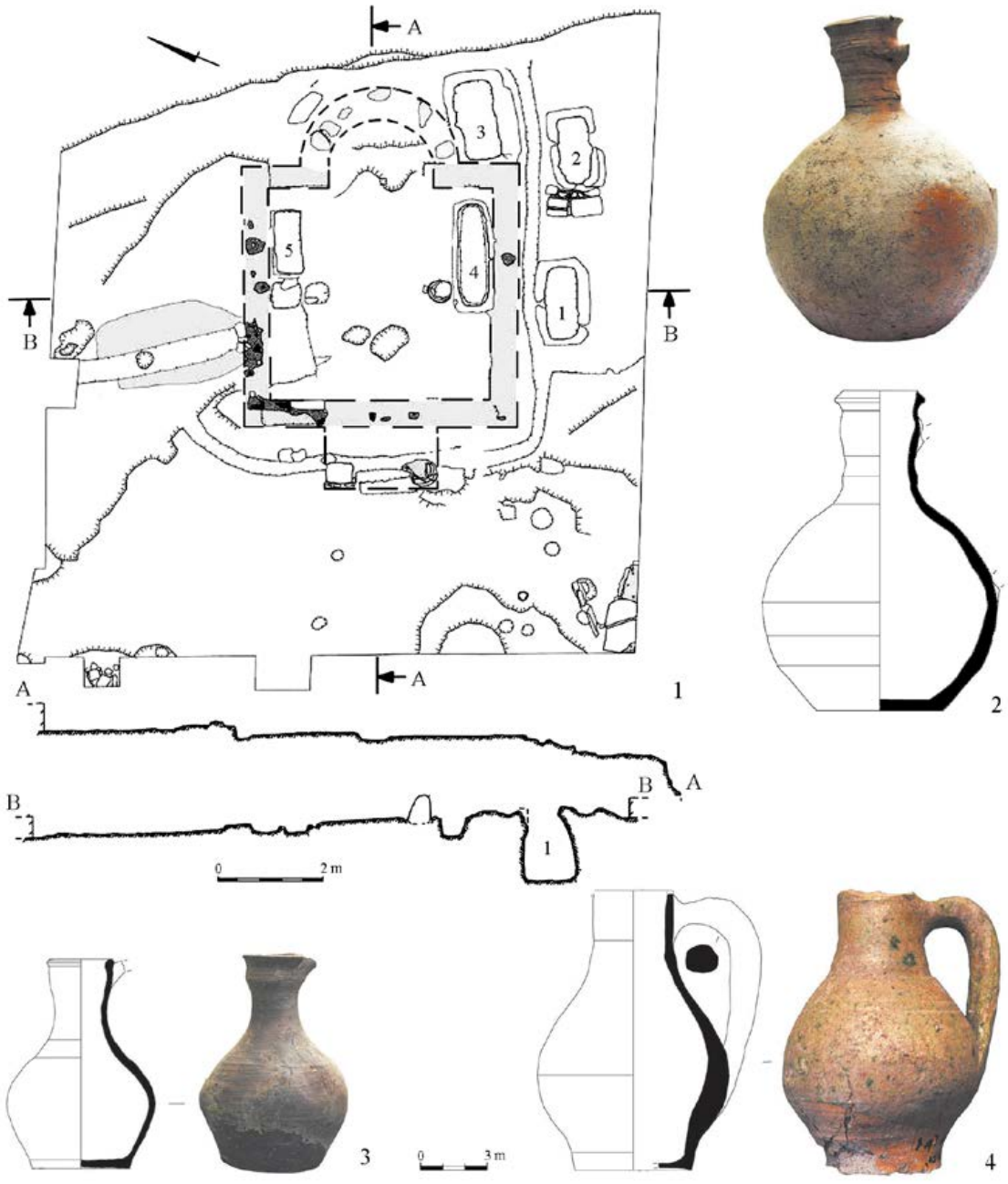


Fig. 37. Southwestern Crimea, Mangup, "Church of 2015": 1. Plan of the site; 2 – 4. Ceramic vessels from the funeral context – tomb No. 3, level 6 (2), tomb No. 2, level 4 (3), and tomb No. 1, level 3 (4; after Науменко, Душенко 2019, рис. 3; Герцен и др. 2017, ил. 81 – 83)

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)

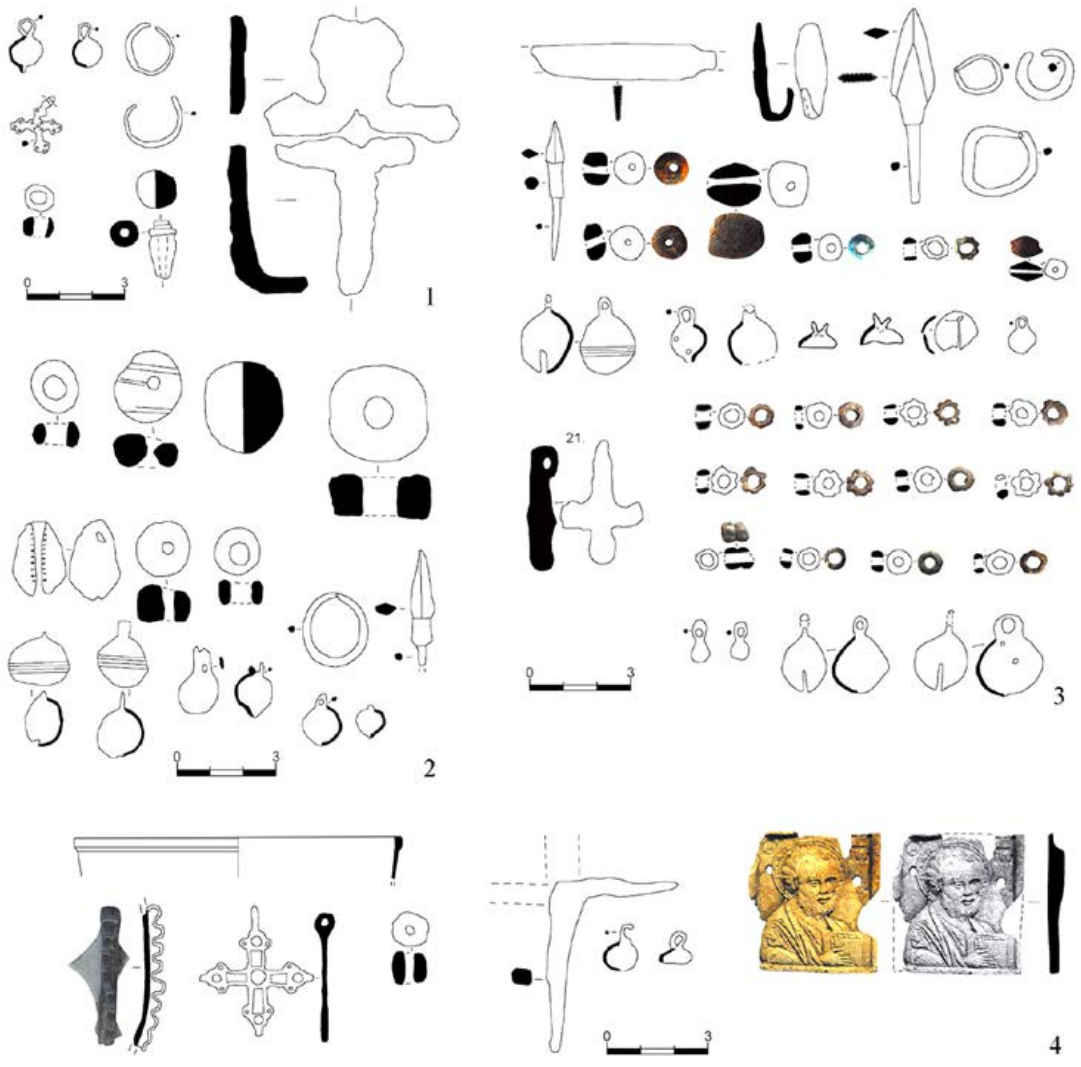


Fig. 38. Southwestern Crimea, Mangup, "Church of 2015", small finds from the tombs: 1. Tomb No. 1; 2. Tomb No. 2; 3. Tomb No. 3; 4. Tomb No. 4 (after Герцен и др. 2017, ил. 81 – 85)

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).

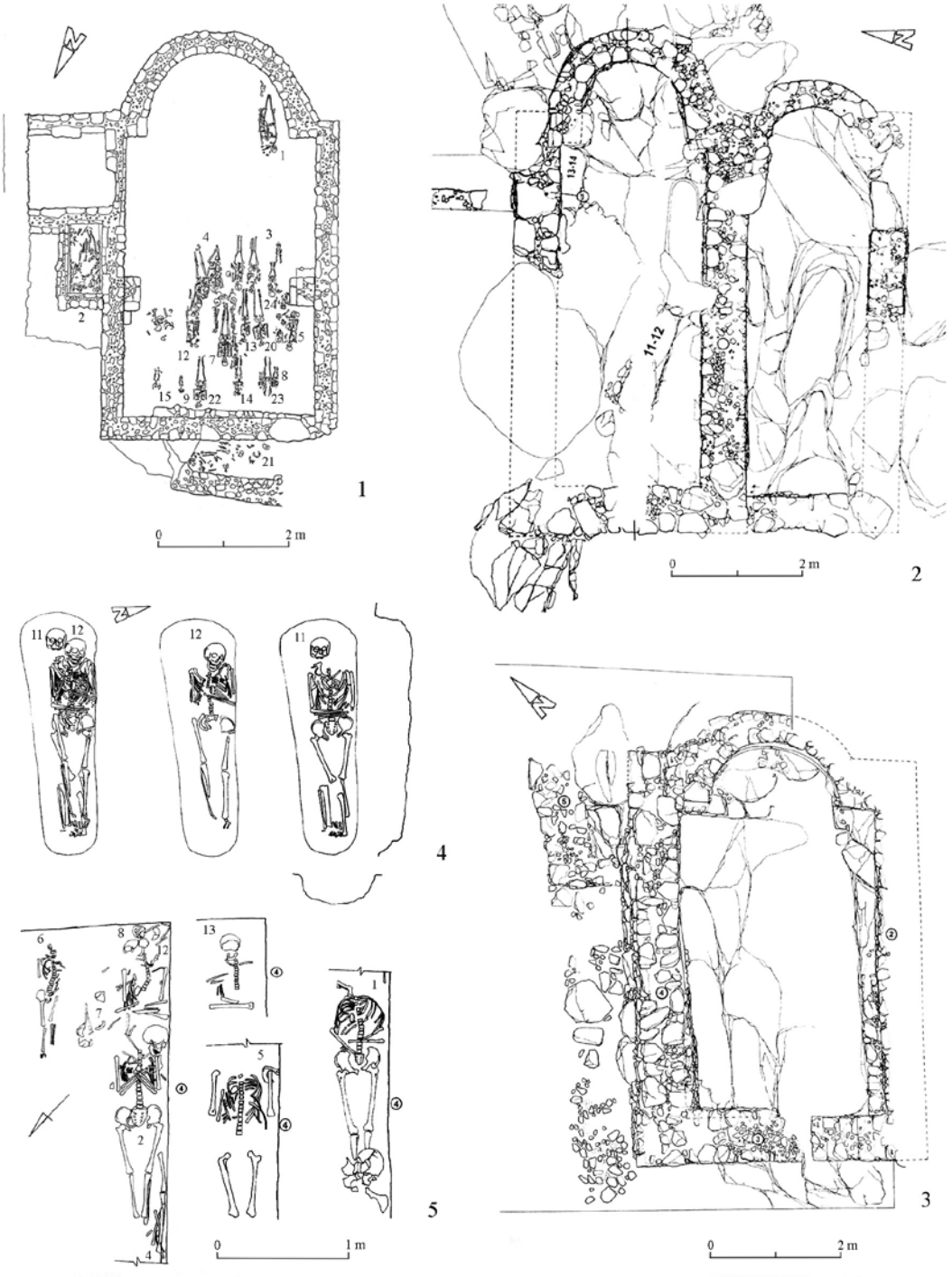


Fig. 39. Southwestern Crimea, Cembalo, churches with burial grounds with ceramic vessels in the graves: 1. Church of St. Nicholas in the Latin quarter (No. 1), plan (after Дьячков 2005, рис. 2); 2. Double-apse church on the top of Kastron mount (No. 2), plan (after Адаксина, Мыц 2008, рис. 62); 3. Roadside 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)

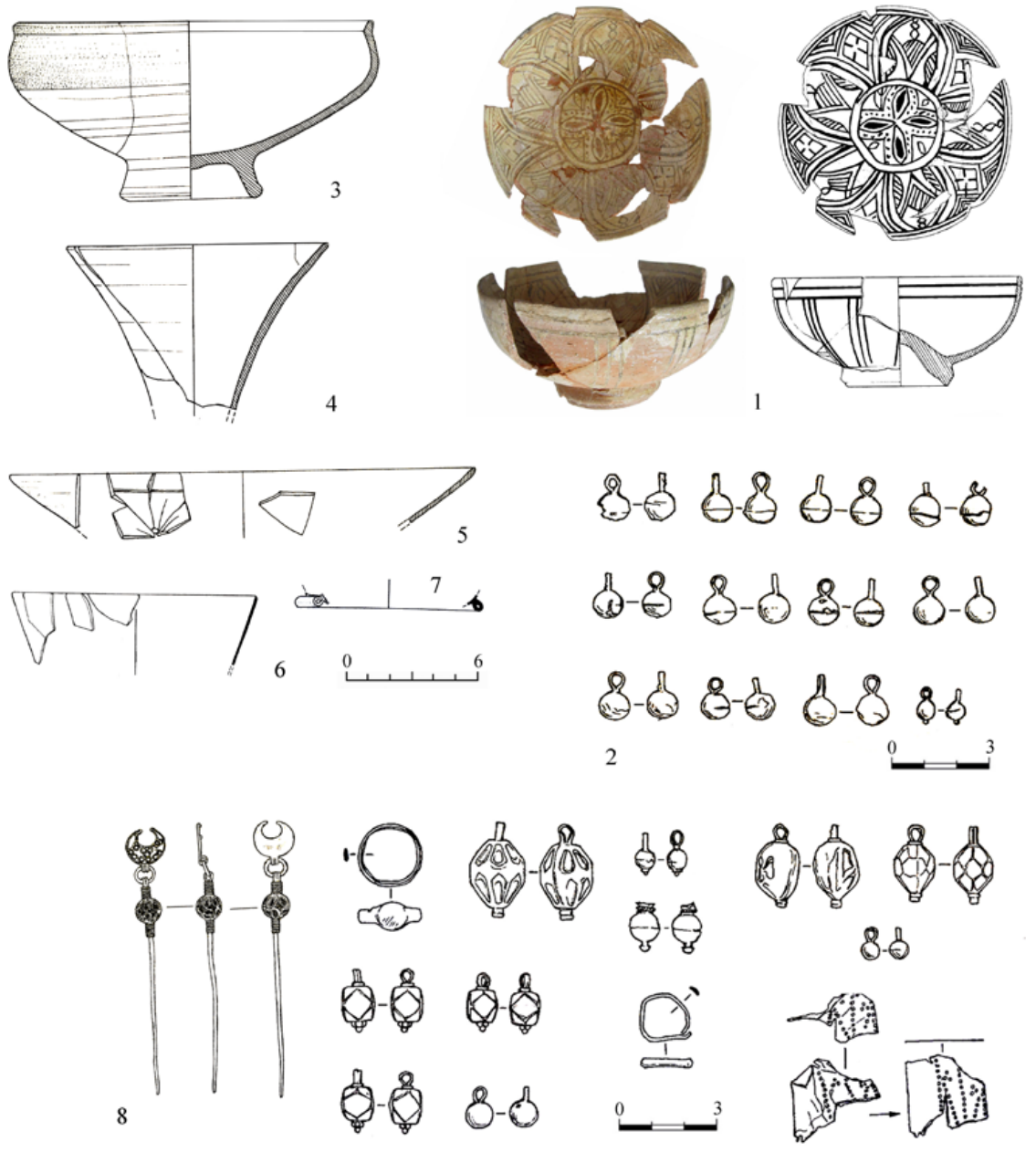


Fig. 40. Southwestern Crimea, Cembalo, churches with burial grounds, grave goods: 1, 2. Double-apse church on the top of Kastron mount – Byzantine bowl (1) from burial No. 11 (after Гинькут 2011, рис. 1) and bronze spherical buttons (2) from burials No. 12 (12 items) and No. 13 (1 item; after Адаксина, 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.

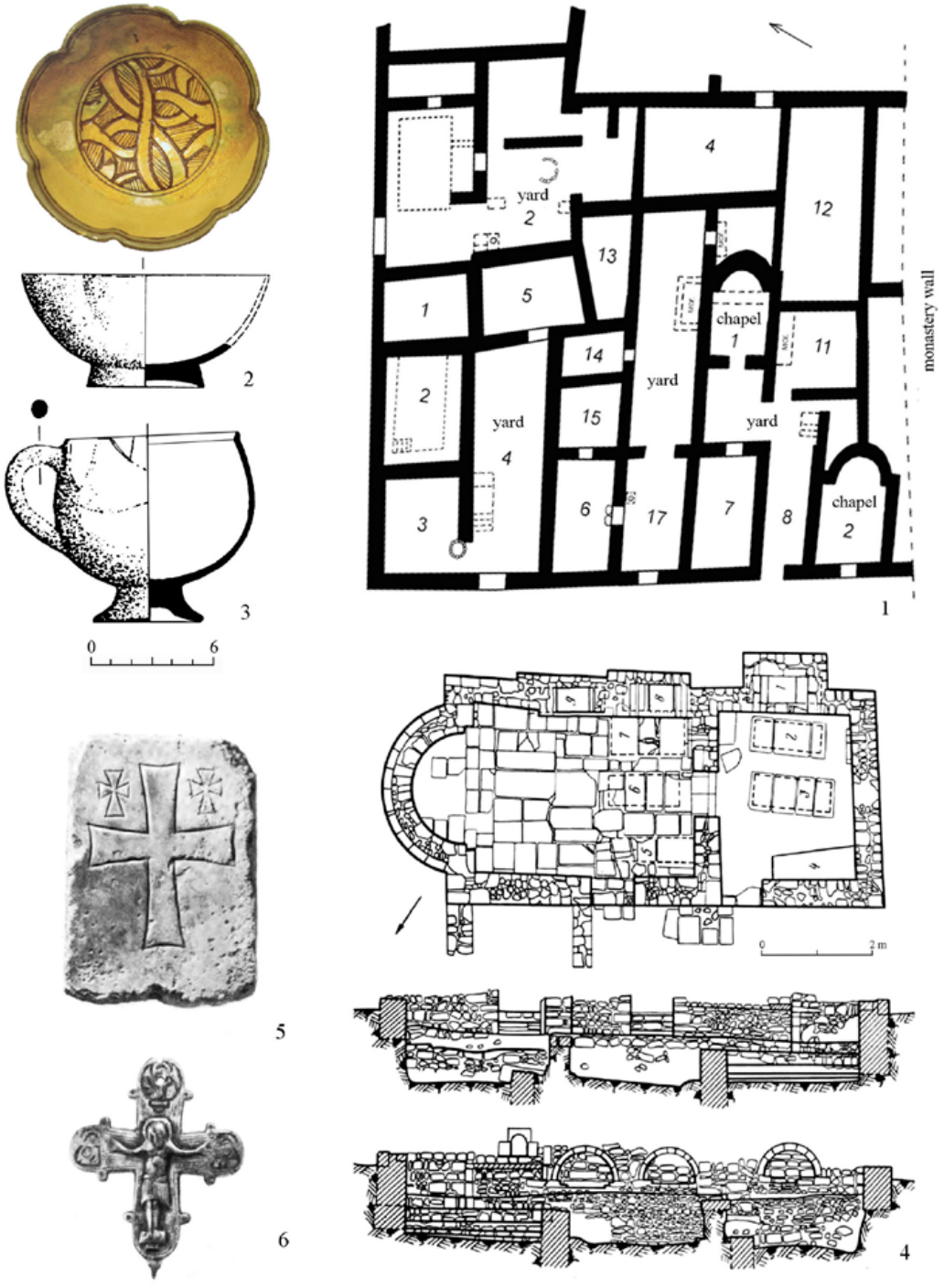


Fig. 41. Southwestern Crimea, Cherson. 1 – 3. Chapel No. 1 in quarter No. 10A in the northern area of the city: 1. Schematic plan without scale (after Рыжов 2001, рис. 5); 2, 3. Bowl and mug from grave No. 1 (after Рыжов, Голофаст 2000, рис. 8: 6, рис. 9: 6; Яшаева и др. 2011, 377, № 445); 4 – 6. "Church 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.

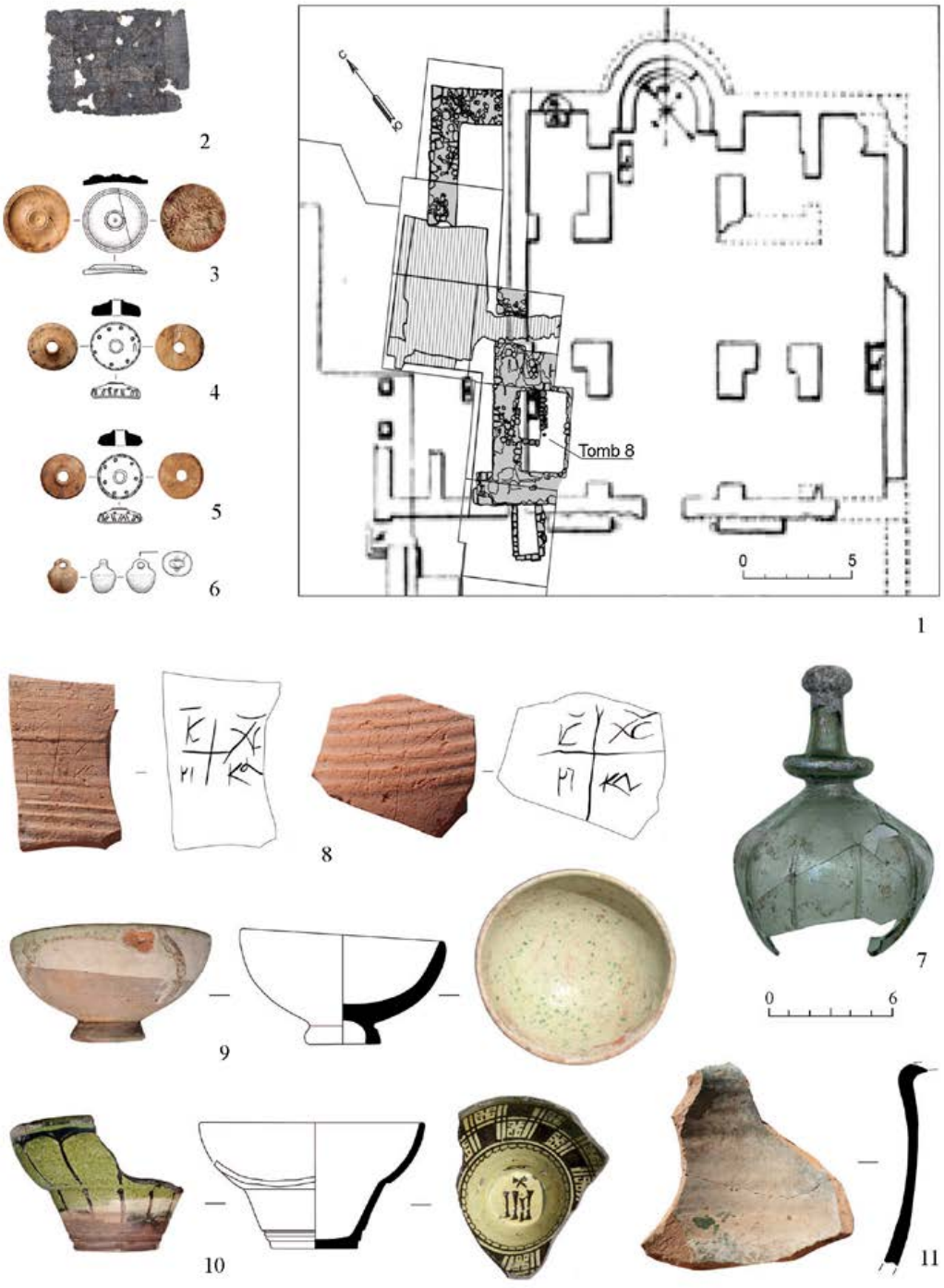


Fig. 42. Southwestern Crimea, Cherson. Church in the agora of Cherson: 1. Plan of the church published in 1905 by D. Ainalov, and fragment of walls and tomb No. 8, excavated in 2023 (after Лесная и др. 2024, рис. 1); 2 – 11. Grave goods from tomb No. 8 – 2. Tissue fragment; 3 – 6. Bone items; 7. Glass 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)

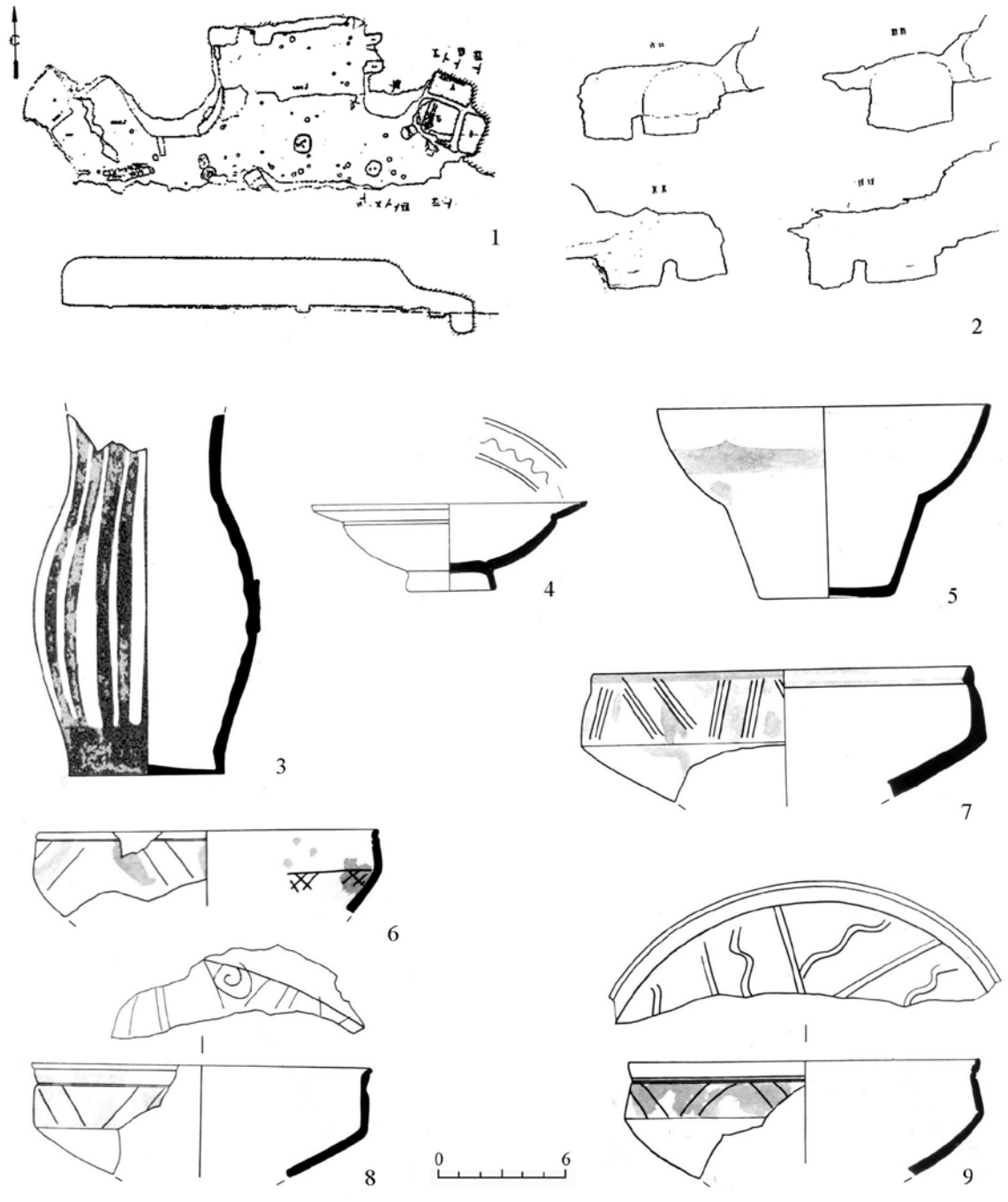


Fig. 43. Southwestern Crimea, Cherson districts, cave complex on Vinogradnyi cape: 1. Plan and sections without scale; 3 – 9. Ceramic vessels from the crypt (after Яшаева 1994, рис. 3, рис. 5, рис. 7)

Обр. 43. Югозападен Крим, Херсонски район, пещерен комплекс на н. Виноградний: 1. План и разрези без мащаб; 3 – 9. Керамични съдове от криптата (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).

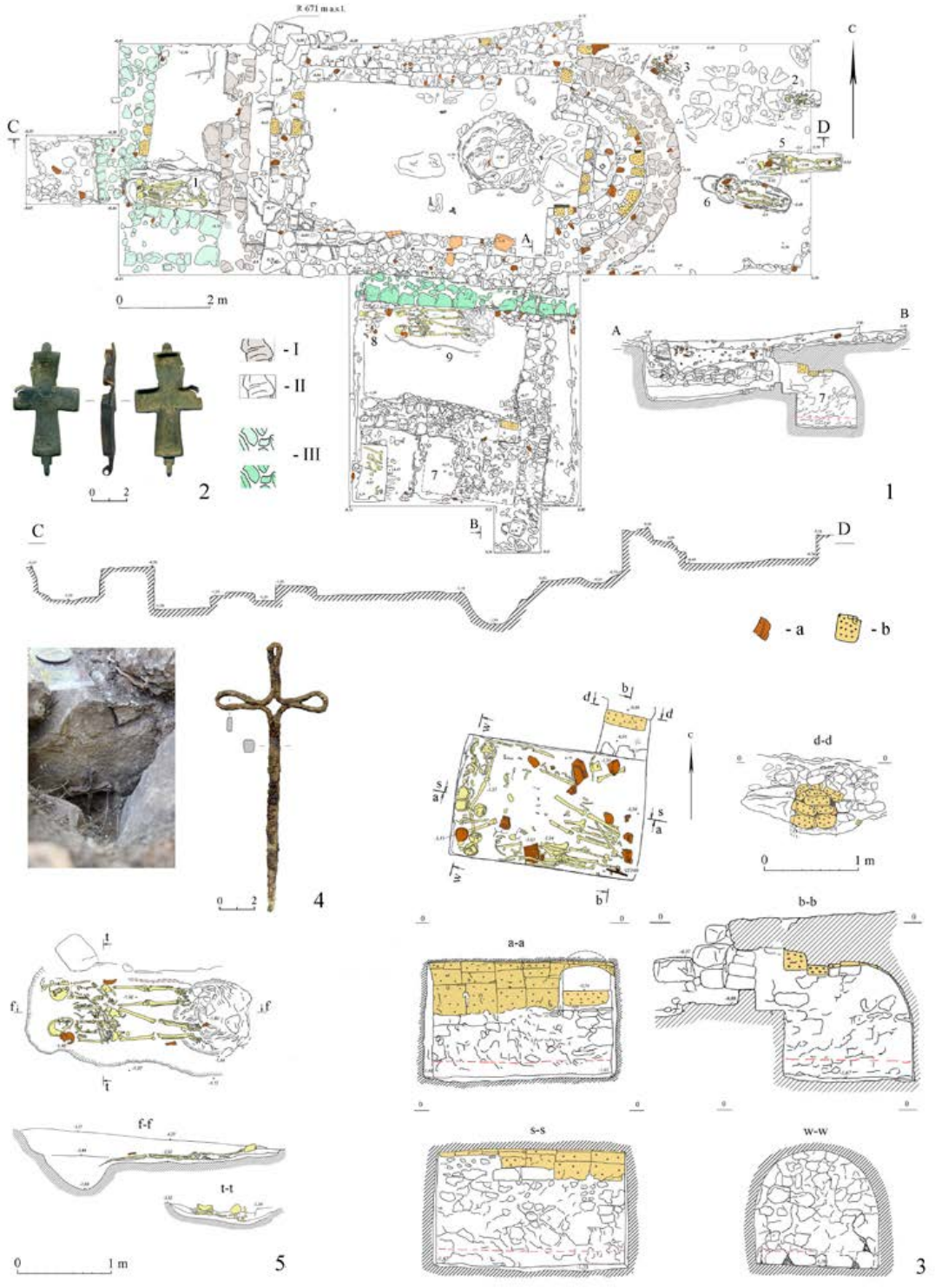


Fig. 44. Southern Crimea, Kilse-Burun, church with burial ground: 1. Plan and sections – I – III. Construction periods, a. ceramics, b. calcareous tufa; 2. Reliquary-cross from the masonry of vault No. 7; 3. Vault No. 7, plan and sections; 4. Vault No. 7, iron cross in the eastern wall; 5. Grave No.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

***

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
Cembalo	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
Vinogradnyi 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.

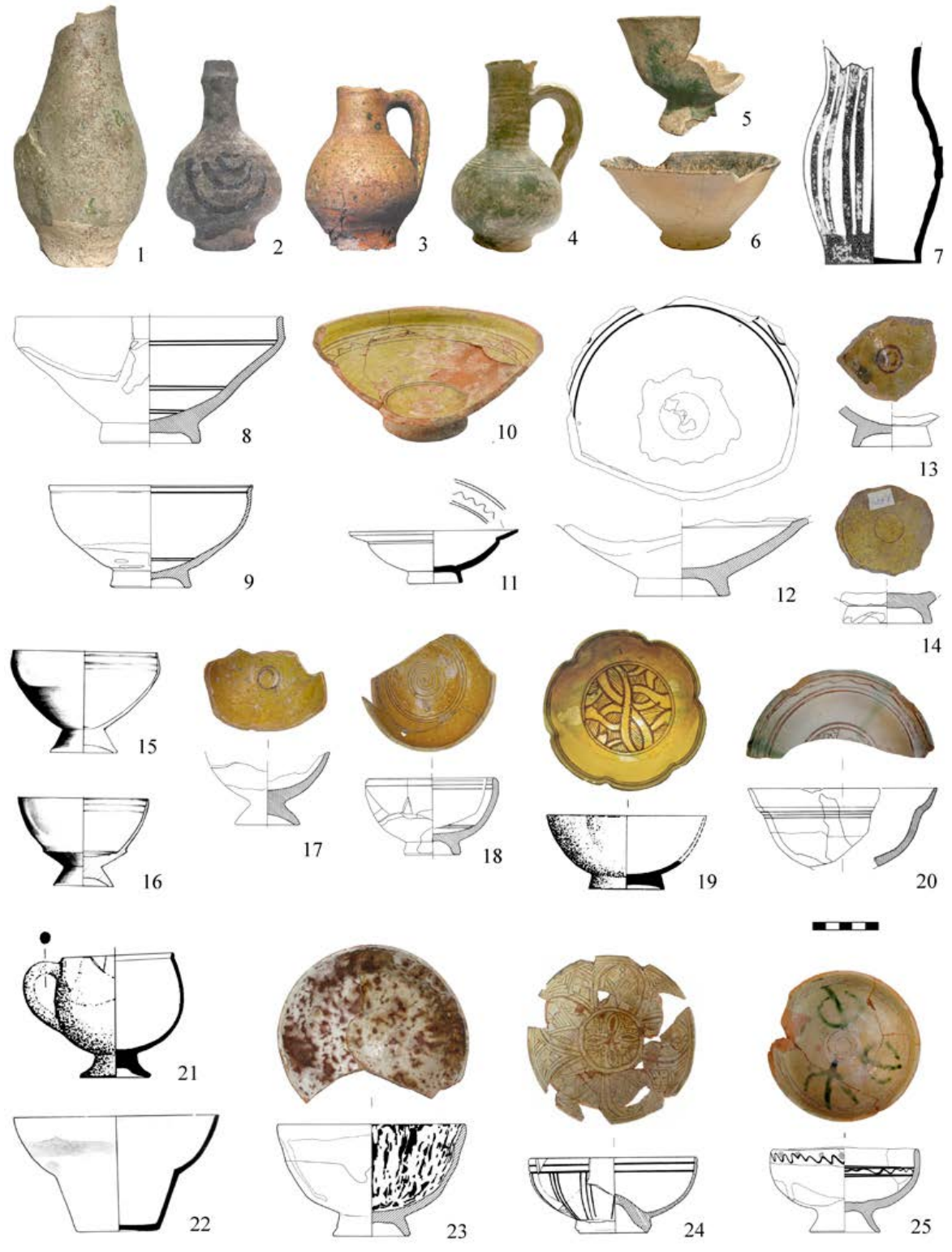


Fig. 48. Crimea. Byzantine glazed ceramic vessels from the graves, second half of the 13th – 14th and early 15th c. (Author: I. Teslenko)

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)

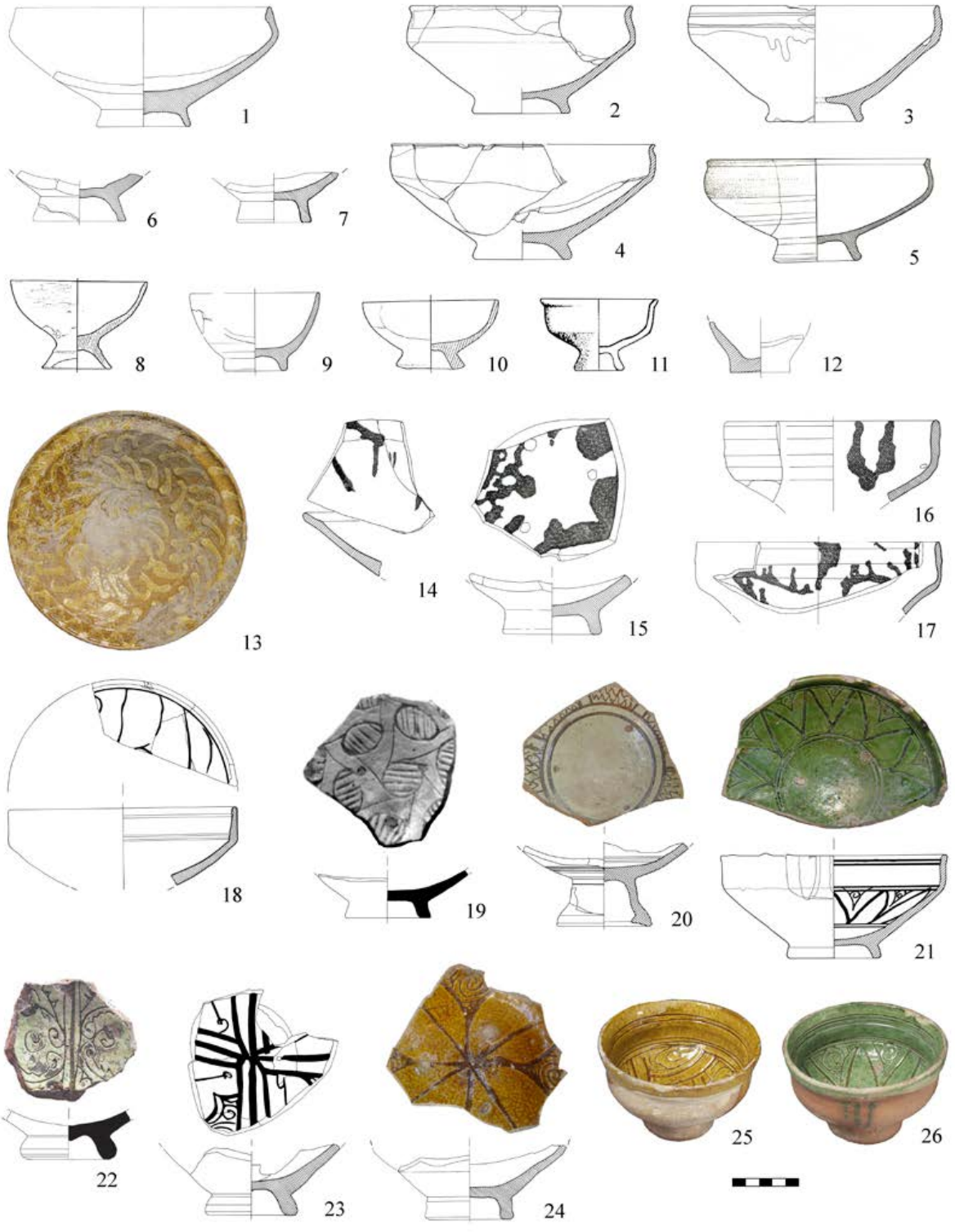


Fig. 50. Crimea. Local glazed ceramic vessels from the graves, late 13th – 14th c. (Author: I. Teslenko)
Обр. 50. Крим. Местни глазирани керамични съдове от гробовете, края на XIII – XIV в. (Автор: И. Тесленко)

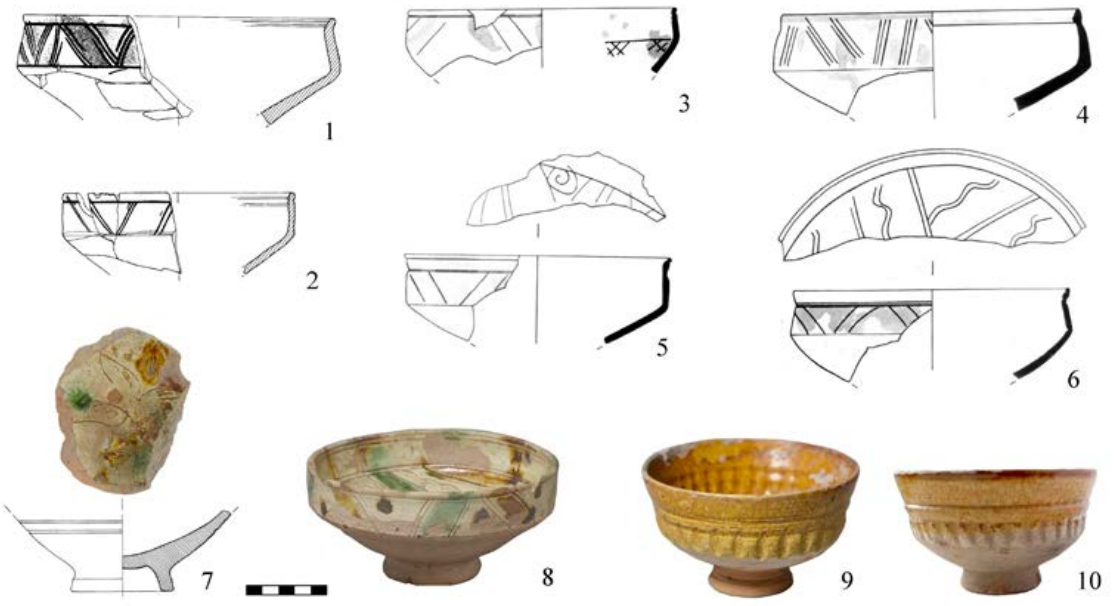


Fig. 51. Crimea. Local glazed ceramic vessels from the graves, second half of the 14th – 15th c. (Author: I. Teslenko)
Обр. 51. Крим. Местни глазирани керамични съдове от гробовете, втора половина на XIV – XV в. (Автор: И. Тесленко)

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 2018a, 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 2018a, 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 2018a, 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 2018a, 57, рис. 25).[73] A bowl decorated with a palmette (fig. 50: 22) is approximately synchronous with them (Тесленко 2018a, 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 2018a, 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 2018a, 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. Никея, църква при театъра; 11. Трапезунд, църква „Света София"; 12. Константинопол, джамия „Балабан ага", Великия дворец и Мирелеона; 13. Солун, манастир „Влатади", некропол на хиподрома, църква „Св. Димитър", Ротонда („Св. Георги"), църква „Св. Николай Орфанос", църква „Христос Спасител"; 14. Тива, некропол 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, некропол 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)

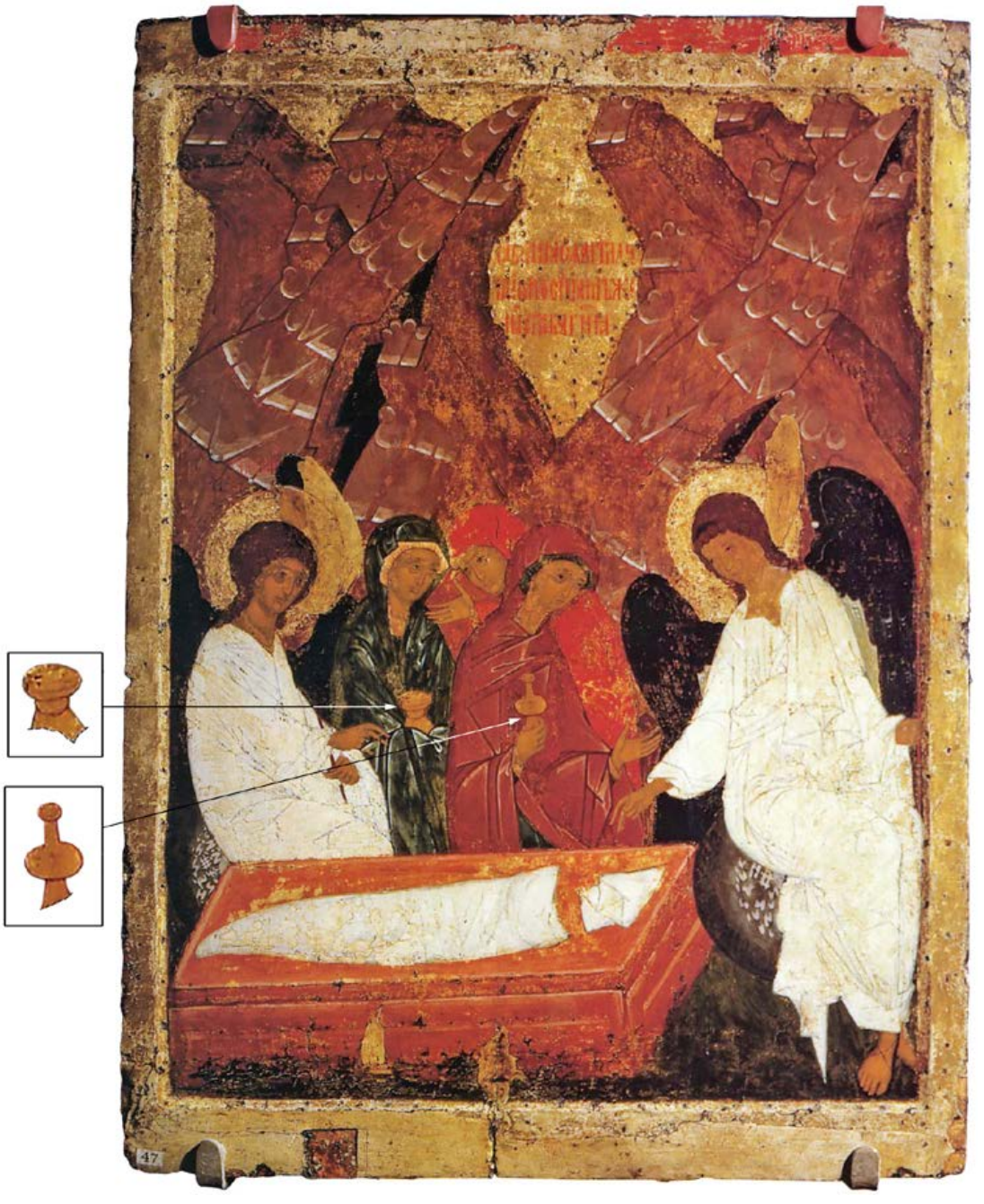


Fig. 56. The icon of the Holy Myrrhbearing Women at the Tomb of Christ with representations of recipients with oil and fragrant liquids used for the burial, late 15th – early 16th c., Monastery of St. Cornelius of Komela, Vologda district, Russia, Russian State Museum, St. Petersburg (after Ланс 1997,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

Acknowledgements

We want to express our gratitude to the European Commission, Marie-Skłodowska-Curie Actions – COFUND Programme, FIAS Fellowship Programme, the PAUSE Programme, Collegium de Lyon, University Lyon 2, team of the ArAr Laboratory CNRS UMR 5138 in Lyon, University of Caen Normandie, Centre Michel de Boüard – Craham UMR 6273, and Alexander von Humboldt Foundation – the institutions and foundation that supported our research in 2022 and 2023 – 2024. We also sincerely address our thanks to our colleagues from France, Bulgaria, Germany, and Crimea: Anne Baud, Anne Flammin and Anne Bocquet-Liénard for their thorough advice on burial practices in medieval France and for the great assistance in organizing the thematic international workshop "Life through Death" at the Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée in Lyon, France in April 2024, where the main ideas of this paper were discussed; Yona Waksman and Cecile Batigne Vallet for their help on organizing the preliminary presentation in 2023 in ArAr; Evelina Todorova and Georgi Sengalevich from the NAIM – BAS for providing information about the vessels from the Bulgarian burial grounds; Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan and Katarina Ragkou for fruitful discussion at one of the archaeological colloquiums hosted by the Department of Protestant Theology, at the Philipps University of Marburg, Volodymyr Kirilko for sharing rare archival materials and his research experience in Crimea, Anna Peskova for her help with attributing the reliquary-crosses, and Oleksandr Lysenko and Nataliya Turova for their assistance in finding rare publications and data.

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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 отЕски 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 некропола 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 некропол 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 некропола 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

ISSN 1310-7976 (print)
ISSN 2603-3410 (online)